India

FOR THE

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NOTES AND NEWS.

OUR readers will remember that at the first meeting of the Indian Famine Union it was agreed to submit a memorial to the Secretary of State for India praying for a special enquiry with the view of ascertaining the best means of preventing famine. The memorial has since then been drafted, and we are informed that a large number of copies have been circulated for signature. We are not yet at liberty to reproduce the text of the memorial, but the operative part of it runs as follows:—

> We are most strongly impressed with the conviction that the problem of checking famine in India cannot be usefully considered without further special knowledge of the different circumstances of its extended territories and of their inhabitants. What is beneficial in one area may be useless and even mischievous elsewhere. An exact diagnosis of the patient must precede the application of remedies. Our request therefore is that the Government will be pleased to cause a detailed enquiry to be made into the economic condition of a limited number of selected villages in each of the provinces which have been afflicted by famine. It is suggested that in each province the local administration should select typical villages, and appoint suitable persons, including officials and non-officials, Europeans and Indians, to make a complete enquiry into their condition, ascertaining the exact financial position of each cultivator, with the history and causes of his difficulties. When the economic record of these villages is complete, approved experiments in their management might be entrusted to administrators of proved capacity and discretion. Different groups of villages will doubtless be found to require different treatment; and the remedies, administrative and legislative, found efficacious in the typical villages could be afterwards cautiously extended to the groups existing under similar economic conditions.

The memorial is signed, for the Indian Famine Union, by Mr. Courtney (Chairman), and by Sir William Wedderburn, Mr. S. S. Thorburn, and Sir M. M. Bhownaggree (Joint Hon. Secretaries). The Hon. Secretaries were authorised to add the following names to the first copies of the document:—The Marquis of Ripon; Lord Hobhouse; Lord Kinnaird; Lord Radstock; Sir Richard Garth; Sir William Muir; Sir William Markby; Sir Auckland Colvin; Sir Lepel Griffin; Sir Raymond West; Sir John Jardine; Mr. W. S. Caine; Mr. Frederic Harrison; Mr. Alfred Wallace; Dr. Karl Blind; Mr. W. Digby; Mr. T. A. Denny; and Mr. H. D. Pearsall.

Many important signatures have since been added, including those of Lord Aberdeen, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Archbishop of Armagh, the Bishops of Carlisle and Liverpool, the Deans of Durham, Lincoln, Llandaff and Manchester, General Sir William Butler, Sir Edward Fry, Mr. Hopwood, Sir Massey Lopes, Sir Henry Norman, Sir John Phear, Sir John Schneider, Sir W. P. Treloar, Professor Westlake, the Principal of Jesus College and the Warden of Keble (Oxford), the Master of Catherine College, Cambridge, the Principal of Aberdeen University, the President of Queen's College, Belfast, the Lord Mayor of York, the Provosts of Ayr, Montrose and Paisley, and the Mayors of Barnsley, Barrow-in-Furness, Birkenhead, Blackburn, Bootle, Bradford, Bristol, Cheltenham, Coventry, Gateshead, Grimsby, Huddersfield, Ipswich, Maidstone, Newport (Mon.), Nottingham, Shoreditch, Stepney, Sunderland and Warrington.

The report of the Famine Commission, over which Sir Antony MacDonnell presided, has not yet been vouchsafed to the public. But the resolution of the Government of India upon it has evidently been published in India, as the Simla Correspondent of the "Times" was able to telegraph on August 30 a summary, with some quoted passages, from the resolution. We assume that the delay in publishing the report of the Commission is now almost at an end, for Lord George Hamilton's plea has hitherto been that he was awaiting the resolution of the Government of India. Meantime it is impossible to form any adequate opinion of the resolution in the absence of the report, nor can the resolution itself be fairly estimated from the brief abstract supplied by the Correspondent of the "Times." Such as it is, however, this partial abstract contains some points of interest. We read, for example, that "the total number of persons who died during the famine year was 1,000,000, three-fourths of whom belonged to Bombay Presidency." This looks like an error in telegraphy or in transcription. The number of deaths in the famine year was decidedly over a million. Perhaps what is meant is that the deaths through famine amounted to that number. But Lord George Hamilton, in his reply on the "Indian Budget debate" (August 16) said that the loss of life through famine was estimated at a million and a quarter, of which three-quarters of a million were in British territory.

"The death-rate," the abstract continues, "was lamentably high in Gujerat and Ajmere." What was it? We are not told. But it is interesting to note that "the principle is laid down that village relief should be the chief means of using famine labour." So the non-official critics of the Government have long maintained. If their advice had been taken how much misery and loss of life might have been avoided? Again, after all that has been said of the utility of railways in the relief of famine, it is curious to read that "the Commission urges an increase of railway rolling stock at the cost, if necessary, of the famine insurance grant. This recommendation is based on the fact that the railways proved unequal to the carriage of food and grain." Coming to the land revenue one finds that "an undesirable stringency is exercised" in Berar. Moreover, "the general conclusion of the Commission is that the revenue is nowhere sufficiently high to be in itself a cause of indebtedness, but that its levy in cash in seasons of deficient crops undoubtedly strains the resources" of the cultivators. "Common-sense at last," one is tempted to exclaim. The Famine Commission and the Government of India at length recognise a truth that has been plain for many years to those who have eyes to see and ears to hear.

The Correspondent of the "Times" adds something about "a people which has still to learn the value of thrift." It will be interesting to see the precise words employed by the Famine Commission upon this subject. Nothing, certainly, could be less justifiable than a general allegation of extravagance on the part of the peasants of India. The concluding portion of the resolution is cited textually:—

> The Commission makes a series of important suggestions as to the improvement of the condition of the agricultural classes, recommends a greater elasticity of revenue collection generally, and particularly in the districts of Bombay Deccan, the establishment of agricultural banks, the encouragement of land improvement, the expenditure of a larger share of the State funds on irrigation works, and the paying of wider attention to measures for increasing the knowledge, intelligence, and thrift of the cultivators. Particular attention is invited to the indebtedness of the cultivating classes in Bombay Deccan, and some very radical measures of reform are advocated.

So far as this statement is precise, it accords in every particular with the suggestions so long and so frequently made by the Indian National Congress. That is very much to the credit of the Famine Commission. But what is to be said of the Government which has so long and so disastrously neglected the practical warnings of well-informed

critics? The Government is at pains to show that it is doing something in the matter of village credit associations and the extension of irrigation works. There is some truth in the claim. But after how great an interval, and how many urgent reminders, have these belated and tentative steps been taken?

In this connexion it may be interesting to reproduce the following editorial note from the "Pioneer Mail" of August 16:—

Lord George Hamilton's statement regarding the delay in the publication of the report of the Famine Commission is sure to give rise to a good deal of profitless surmise; but there is no need to put more into the Secretary of State's announcement than it will naturally contain. It was extremely improbable that a Commission over which Sir Antony MacDonnell presided would issue a colourless report, and indeed the drift of the questions which Sir Antony put to some of the Bombay witnesses, as noticed at the time in the Bombay papers, showed clearly enough that he was not favourably impressed by all he heard of the results of the revenue system in the Western Presidency. The hot haste with which the Bombay Government set to work to introduce legislation for an experiment in the restriction of the right of free transfer, points in the same direction. Mr. Monteath's Bill can be put forward either to show that the Government of Bombay was ahead of the Famine Commission, or to block more drastic proposals should it turn out that Sir Antony MacDonnell has put what was evidently passing through his mind during the examination of some of the Bombay witnesses into the form of definite proposals. In any case the questions dealt with, as the Secretary of State says, must be of the greatest complexity and importance, and it is not extraordinary that his Council should take time to deliberate.

What exactly were the "very radical measures" advocated by the Commission, and how far does the recent Land Revenue Act resemble them?

A Bombay Correspondent writes (August 17):—"The rainfall in many parts of the country has been satisfactory, and it may be taken for granted that crop prospects everywhere are now assured. So far, so good. But, though we may have a good harvest it will bring no prosperity to the rayat prostrated by the cumulative effects of bad years. He has become such a helpless cripple that it is a problem how he can ever recover. The condition of the Deccan and the Gujerat rayats is now even more miserable than it was during the famine. They have lost everything, including their plough-cattle. The remission of revenue promised by the Government is nowhere. Instead, they are threatened with forfeiture of their lands and deprivation of the rights inherent therein. While this is the condition of the peasant, the Government of Bombay has issued a 'Resolution' on the miracles performed by the Survey and Settlement Department. It has been declared that no department in the Presidency has better deserved recognition from the State.

"It is to be wished that someone in London, conversant with the ways of the department, will narrate its history—how during the last thirty years rents have been enhanced till in many places they are not to be distinguished from rack-rent; how such rack-rent has driven the peasant to the money-lender; how the load of indebtedness due to the sowcar has left him destitute of the means of maintaining himself and his family; and how the accumulated effects have now ruined him beyond hope. It is this economic condition which compels the peasantry, when famine overtakes the land, to flock to the relief camp at the very outset. That phenomenon was apparent during the last two famines. But the revenue officers, with strange forgetfulness of the cause, ascribed it to demoralisation. The Indian Famine Union can do much by ascertaining and expounding the facts. I would therefore repeat my suggestion that Mr. Courtney and other independent members of the Union could not do better than visit India during the next cold weather, and ascertain the present economic condition of typical villages in the different provinces, and compare it with what it was before the days of the Settlement Department that has unsettled the fabric of our rural population."

Close on the heels of Lord George Hamilton's boast that no Secretary of State had ever presented a more satisfactory set of accounts to Parliament comes a telegram from Madras which throws a lurid light upon one of the methods of the Imperial book-keeper. It is a telegram from the Madras Correspondent of the "Times" reporting what he describes as a "huge mass meeting" held in the Victoria Hall last Monday afternoon "to adopt a memorial to the Government of India with reference to the inadequate allotment of funds to the Madras Presidency under the present provincial contract." The Correspondent says:—

Mr. Yorke, chairman of the Chamber of Commerce and a member of the Legislative Council, presided, and all the non-official members of the council supported the movement. All the speakers, as well as the memorial itself, testified to the deep and widespread dissatisfaction that is felt throughout the Presidency at the small share of its revenues that Madras it allowed to enjoy as compared with all the other Provinces of India. The onerous nature of the existing contract, which ends in April next, is shown by the fact that, despite the absence of famine, and, notwithstanding the most rigid economies in expenditure on public works, etc., the Madras Government has been unable to maintain a bare financial equilibrium. The speakers at the meeting insisted strongly on the claims of Madras to more equitable treatment, and dwelt indignantly on the fact that all administrative progress and improvement has been stopped owing to the fact that the local Government is obliged to cut down even its ordinary expenditure in order to make both ends meet.

Was it not Sir Antony MacDonnell who a few years ago described the contract system—that is, the apportionment of revenues between the local Governments and the Government of India—as "shearing the provincial sheep?" To save the face of the Supreme Government in a period of famine a province free from famine is so severely mulcted that, though "all administrative progress and improvement" is stopped it can hardly make both ends meet, and then the Secretary of State remarks on the phenomenon that the worst famine coincides with the best Budget, and invites Parliament and the public to marvel at the "economic advance" and the "recuperative power" of India. What "fudge" it all is, to be sure.

A paragraph has appeared in many of the newspapers to the effect that Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, who did such good work as member for Central Finsbury, has been selected as the Liberal and Radical candidate for North Lambeth, to oppose Mr. Horner, M.P., at the next election. This is, however, to some extent an over-statement of the facts, which we understand to be as follows. The North Lambeth Liberal and Radical Club and the North Lambeth Branch of the National Democratic League have adopted Mr. Naoroji as their candidate, which means that they believe him to be the gentleman who ought to be adopted by the party throughout the division. We are informed, too, that Mr. Naoroji has been selected by the delegates of the branches of the Lambeth Trades Council for acoption by their members. The final decision, however, rests with the North Lambeth Liberal and Radical Association, who are to determine the matter at an adjourned meeting. It is earnestly to be hoped that their choice will fall upon Mr. Naoroji who, as member for Central Finsbury, distinguished himself no less by his zeal and energy in connexion with the immediate interests of his constituents than by the unique services he rendered as "member for India." All who wish well to India will await anxiously the decision of the Association.

To judge from the report telegraphed by the Correspondent of the "Times," Lord Curzon spoke with great good sense at the educational conference at Simla last Monday. His remarks on the grotesque proposal to teach the dogmas of the Church of England in Government schools in India were very much to the point:—

I do not feel it necessary to speak of religious instruction, because, profoundly as I believe that no teaching of the young can have the desired results unless it rests upon a religious foundation, I hold as strongly that it is not for ourselves to undertake the teaching of a foreign religion in Government schools. I am not inclined to find the solution in the moral primer or text-book that was suggested by the Education Commission. If pupils can cram Euclid there is nothing to prevent them from cramming ethics. I am not certain either that the moral precepts which we understand are as easily grasped by the Native mind. The ideas of good and evil are equally entertained by East and West, but differently expressed. We must look for the religious instruction of Christian, Mahometan, and Hindu to the private institutions where the tenets of those faiths are taught by their own votaries.

It is satisfactory, too, to find the Viceroy saying that the Government has not fulfilled its duty in the matter of

primary education, and advocating "the extension of technical education by the creation of ordinary middle-class technical schools." And yet, and yet—"timeo Danaos et dona ferentes." Lord Curzon will have to put a check on those of his subordinates who think they see in technical instruction an instrument to oust, or at any rate to discourage, secondary and higher education in India.

A good deal of interest and importance attaches to the appointment, which has been made this week, of Mr. Harinath De to the Indian (Imperial) Educational Service. For a long time Indians have been in fact, though not in theory, excluded from this Service. Mr. A. M. Bose, in the address he delivered as President of the Indian National Congress, referred to the matter, and more recently it was the subject of correspondence between Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji and the Secretary of State. We are informed that, since a line was drawn between the Imperial and the Provincial Educational Services in India, Mr. Harinath De is the first Indian who has been appointed to the former. Mr. Harinath is an orthodox Hindu, born twenty-four years ago in a village near Calcutta. He is the son of Bhutnath De, Rai Bahadur, a pleader at Raipur in the Central Provinces, where he has been doing excellent work in connexion with the famine. Mr. Harinath has had a University career of considerable distinction. In 1897 he took the Calcutta degree of Master of Arts, with two gold medals.

In the same year he entered at Christ's College, Cambridge, and first began Greek. He took the College prize for a set of Latin hexameters, was elected a scholar of his college, and obtained a "Government of India" scholarship—the last-named involving a reward of £200 a year for three years. In the following year (after twelve months' Greek, that is) Mr. Harinath took the college prize for Greek iambics, and afterwards received various prizes for being first in the college examinations. Last year he was placed in the first class in the first part of the Classical Tripos. He then competed for the Indian Civil Service and, though he was not successful, took the first place in Sanskrit and the fourth place in French and was offered a Malay cadetship, which he declined. Returning to Cambridge he was recommended last spring by the Professor of Arabic for the Allen Research Studentship (which, however, was awarded to a student of theology), and won the Skeat prize for English literature. The latter distinction has only once before been obtained by an Indian—and the successful candidate on that occasion afterwards became Mr. Justice Mahmud. This year also Mr. Harinath has taken honours in the English section of the Medieval and Modern Languages Tripos. His appointment to the Educational Service takes him back to his native Bengal, where he will teach English and history in a Government College. He will start upon his duties within three months, receiving a salary of 500 rupees per mensem, with annual increments of 50 rupees per mensem.

The "Spectator," in its current issue (August 31), has an intelligent and interesting article upon "National Indebtedness." We transcribe the following passage:—

> There can be no question as to the economy of a loan contracted to provide the means of self-defence. Supposing the need to exist, borrowing must go on until all the money that is wanted has been got together. But is it wise—is it good economy—to borrow money to make railways or canals? That must always be a question of degree. Like any other form of productive outlay, it will be prudent or imprudent according to the means of the borrower. When we see a farmer sinking money in manures or agricultural machinery, we say, according to what we know of his financial position, that he is making a judicious investment, or that he is certain to land himself in difficulties. It is much the same with such expenditure as that of the British Colonies. In itself it is undoubtedly wise to make roads and railways, harbours and canals. But inasmuch as the only way in which the money for doing this in a young community is by State or municipal borrowing, a Colony has also to take into account the probability that it will be continuously able to pay the promised interest on the money it has raised.

The article made no explicit reference to India. But perhaps it is when British journals discuss questions not expressly connected with India that they see the truth about India most clearly.

It will be remembered that the Indian public were considerably surprised by a Reuter's telegram which not only made known the Secretary of State's rejection of a petition signed by 85 civil engineers appointed from Cooper's Hill, but added the following words from that officer:—"For the instruction of your Excellency's Government, these petitions and the recommendations which you felt bound to make concerning them, illustrate forcibly the great inconvenience, etc." It now appears that this censure did not refer to the petition of the engineers, but to petitions from two widows, who prayed that they might have the advantage of any concessions to which their husbands—deceased engineers—were held to be entitled. In fact the word "two" had been omitted before "petitions" in the telegram.

But this corection hardly makes the censure more explicable. The "Pioneer" is still faced by the dilemma that it is difficult to suppose that the Viceroy and five of his Council would put their signatures to a despatch warranting so severe a denunciation and equally difficult to suppose that the Secretary of State and his councillors would employ such terms of condemnation without some reason. In fact, the "Pioneer," after taking account of the correction, declares the language used "unwarrantable and indeed scarcely intelligible." Later on, our contemporary remarks that "the censure, in fact, is not so much overpitched as ridiculously inapplicable," and "looks like an after-thought interpolated by someone in a bad temper." The "Times of India" is no less outspoken. The incident is described as "one of those instances of petulant spleen in trivial matters, which are occasionally exhibited by the India Office." Our contemporary adds:—"If there is one thing more than another which engenders the lack of respect with which the India Office is regarded in this country, it is its extraordinary trick of being ponderously severe concerning the merest trifles."

The following is a copy of a letter addressed by Field-Marshal Count Waldersee to Lieutenant-General Sir Alfred Gaselee, Commanding the British Force in China, on the occasion of his laying down his office as Commander-in Chief of the Allied Troops in Chi-li:—

Army Headquarters, No. 2401.
Peking, 2nd June, 1901.

I have the honour to inform your Excellency that his Majesty the German Emperor, in agreement with his Majesty the King of Great Britain and Ireland and Emperor of India, has decided that the time has come when I may lay down my office as Commander-in-Chief of the allied troops in Chi-li.

In therefore giving up my command and returning to Germany, I feel it my first duty to express to your Excellency personally my sincere thanks for the loyal and knightly support you have at all times afforded me, and for the manner in which you have met my proposals during the time I have held command.

Though, unfortunately, it has been denied me to lead the allied armies in extensive operations in common against the enemy, yet I have at various times had opportunity to convince myself of the excellent condition and warlike tone of the British-Indian troops.

To have had such troops under my command is to me a great honour, and one which will never be forgotten by me, and I hope that the time passed together in China will have the effect of strengthening and placing on an enduring footing the feelings of true comradeship among the officers and the brothership in arms between the two closely related nations.

I beg your Excellency to express my thanks and my warm appreciation to all officers, officials, and men of the British-Indian troops who have been placed under my command, and yourself to accept the assurance of my highest regard and deep consideration.

Remittances on India for 30 lakhs were on Wednesday offered for tender by the India Council, and applications amounting to Rs.9,70,10,000 were received at prices ranging from 1s. 3d. and 31-32nds to 1s. 4d. and 1-32nd. The following amounts were allotted, viz., in bills, Rs. 12,52,000 on Calcutta at an average of 1s. 3.973d.; Rs. 4,30,000 on Bombay at an average of 1s. 3.969d., and Rs.3,18,000 on Madras at an average of 1s. 3.968d.; and in telegraphic transfers 10 lakhs on Calcutta at an average of 1s. 4.031d. Tenders for bills at 1s. 3d. and 31-32nds will receive about 2 per cent., and for transfers at 1s. 4d. and 1-32nd in full. Last week remittances for 25 lakhs were sold for £166,606, making the total disposed of from April 1 to Tuesday night Rs. 7,94,81,295, producing £5,273,971. Next week the amount to be offered will be increased to 35 lakhs.

EAST AND WEST.*

MR. MEREDITH TOWNSEND has gathered together in a modest volume "studies presenting the conclusions formed by him in a long life devoted to the subject of the relations between Asia and Europe." He has not troubled to rub off the distinctive marks of the original appearance of the articles in current papers; he has even left the dates of writing to be divined from internal evidence; and he has not expended energy on dovetailing the pieces together into an artistic whole. But it does not matter much; for he is concerned in the main with large and distinctive characteristics, permanent and pervasive, changing little, if at all, in hundreds and thousands of years. And yet, here and there, we shall probably find that it does matter, and perhaps in respects that are by no means unessential. Let us say at once, however, that the book is full of most suggestive and valuable matter, rich with the accumulated knowledge and experience of years and with the ideas of a very acute and trained intellect. Even where we feel compelled to disagree, we cannot but admire.

Three times already in history vain attempts have been made by Europeans to conquer or to dominate the continent of Asia. Now a fourth and greater movement seems to have been commenced, from the clear and conscious motive of trade expansion for the relief of the poverty of the European masses—a trade expansion that (the experts say) "must be protected by sovereign rights over the markets." Mr. Townsend carefully estimates the magnitude of the task. Asia is 41 times the size of France. "It would take ten armies each of 100,000 men merely to penetrate and in a military sense garrison Asia." Asia holds four times the population of Europe, and "taking the figures of the German conscription as our guide, there are in Asia eighty millions of potential soldiers, of whom certainly one-fifth know the use of weapons." Without following the interesting details, we note the summary conclusion that Asia "is not a continent occupied by savages, but one full of great and small nations highly though imperfectly civilised, proficient in all arts except sculpture and painting, with great cities, great laws, great literatures, and a great amount of social happiness, perhaps greater than exists in Europe." It is well that the British public should be told by an authority of the calibre of Mr. Townsend that the ordinary contempt for Asiatic religion and philosophy "is chiefly born of neglect and ignorance," and should be reminded that "all humanity, except the negroes and the savage races of America and Polynesia, regulate their conduct and look for a future state as some Asiatic has taught them." Mr. Townsend doubts whether the attempt will succeed; he is certain "it will not succeed without the infliction of a vast amount of human misery"; and he shrinks from the affirmation that government by Europe will be a compensation. We dare say, however, that his disagreeable suggestions will be hidden behind the well-approved screens of the blessings of "civilisation" and "Christianity." That is to say, if this apparent movement be indeed a real one, or develop into a serious and settled attempt. But there is a good deal in that "if."

Limiting the immediate outlook to India, let us see what Mr. Townsend finds there and anticipates there. He finds a race of good agriculturists and horticulturists, great architects and admirable hydraulic engineers, expert craftsmen, capable soldiers; "there is no thrift like Native thrift, and abstemiousness is its root"; the Indians, if not in any sense democrats, are "nationalists" and "prefer—distinctly prefer—bad government by themselves and through themselves, to good government by the foreigner," though they may prefer one foreigner to another. On the other hand, "they have halted everywhere in their march towards mastery of nature." "Some strange fiat of arrest, probably due to mental exhaustion," has condemned them to "eternal reproduction of old ideas." They have not torn the coal out of the earth, or worked the metals. They are the slaves of superstition. Their morality is distinctly inferior: want of the power of sympathy is the root of the evil in (the Asiatics, and so in) the Indians, the ultimate cause of all tyrannies. They are at the mercy of the incalculable impulse of a potent will—"the secret of all the strange penances of India." Well, as elsewhere, one has to strike the balance. Is the result hopeless?

But, before striking the balance, one must examine the accuracy of the elements on both sides. Mr. Townsend, for instance, asks: "Why is not the world yet richer for an Indian brain?" Surely an extraordinary question in view of what Max Muller has written and what Mr. Townsend himself elsewhere admits. Lord Selborne vindicated the quality of Indian judges; everyone knows that distinguished Indian statesmen have ruled Native States; the poets and novelists are re-asserting themselves; the skill of craftsmanship has not died out of Native brains and fingers; has Lord Kelvin not declared his "wonder and admiration" of the researches of Professor Bose? Mr. Townsend, so far as we have observed, absolutely ignores the work of the Indian Social Conference—a movement, we take it, without parallel in the modern world. Nor does he bestow a thought upon the Indian National Congress, which, with all its drawbacks, has infused into the sentiment of educated India, wherein lies the leadership of India, ideas of common interest that must develop to great results and cannot be extirpated. "Not only," says Mr. Townsend, "has the Indian never thought of representative government, which even with the white man was a late discovery, and, so to speak, a scientific one, but he has never thought of government at all except as an imitation of government by Heaven or by the Destinies." Here is an amazing statement in the face of the history of the Congress. What does it matter if it be generally true for the millions of the masses whom we have done so shamefully little to raise and to educate, when it is so palpably untrue of the educated classes, the brains of the country? It may be seriously doubted whether India in Mr. Townsend's mind is not the India he left more than a generation ago. It is not the Indians alone, or Asiatics generally, that are liable to "some strange fiat of arrest."

This alleged arrest is not a mysterious dispensation of Destiny. One cause, and a most potent cause, no doubt, is the stereotyping effect of certain forms of religious and social—fundamentally religious—habit. But there is another, which is plain to Mr. Townsend, as well as to not a few others:

> It is not a pleasant thought, but it is an unavoidable one, that the conquest of the East Aryans by the West Aryans, though it has brought such marvellous blessings in the way of peace and order and material prosperity [?], though to millions all the results of political evolution [?] without the wearying struggle for them, may have also brought evils which over-balance, or almost over-balance, all its gifts. . . . . It is no time yet for conclusions, for the work of conquest has but just ended, and that of sowing seed has but just begun; but that decay of varieties of energy, that torpor of the higher intellectual life, that pause in the application of art knowledge, from architecture down to metal work and pottery, which have been synchronous with our rule in India—these are to the philosophic observer melancholy symptoms. . . . We have only to hope and to persevere; but it is impossible . . . not to feel a chilling doubt.

There is no real ground for any doubt. What else was to be expected? Now that a stronger altruistic sense has grown up in the Western world—a sense not to be dominated or cramped by a temporary insanity of "Imperialism"—and now that educated India is stirred by our own historical struggles and our own methods of freedom, there are distinct signs, as we have indicated, that Indian lethargy, succeeding the shock of conquest, has been thoroughly shaken into action, shaped most carefully into unimpeachable constitutional forms. Most true, "it is no time yet for conclusions." Then why attempt to formulate them, to the discredit of the Indians? It is quite unhistorical to expect that hundreds of millions of people, accustomed through ages to one kind of regime and downtrodden both politically and religiously, should stand up all at once in the full enjoyment and practice of another kind of regime, which in fact has not yet penetrated to their consciousness, except through the tax-gatherer and the policeman. But the germs are there, and Mr. Townsend may be well assured that they are striking root.

"We have only to hope and to persevere." Yes, but our perseverance will have to be guided by intelligence and sympathy if our hope is to be realised. Mr. Townsend himself is witness to the difficulty of both intelligence and sympathy, though he is too much dazzled by the energy

* "Asia and Europe." By Meredith Townsend. Westminster: Archibald Constable and Co., Ltd. (Price 10s. 6d. net. Colonial Edition, 3s. 6d. net.)

and superficial achievements of British Indian officials, and has little appreciation of the essential results of British domination. He has much to say about the influence of East on West, and of West on East, and touches the fact, we think, in his striking speculations on "the mental seclusion of India." But we think that he fails grievously to estimate the movements in progress throughout the population. His final conclusions must therefore lie under suspicion, awaiting the development of events. He asks: "Will England retain India?" He concludes that "the British Empire in India depends upon a non-existent loyalty"—a conclusion, we believe, absolutely antagonistic to the facts. He sees clearly that "if the active classes of India are to be induced to applaud or love the British dominion, they must be regularly and speedily invested with all the offices for which they show adequate intelligence—that is, in practice, with all offices whatever." He admits that "they are qualified for them in everything but their 'morale,' which is and will remain Asiatic." Well, but will it so remain? And he predicts that "the Indians will constitute within fifty years the whole Imperial service," that is, "the Indian Empire." Then the Deluge. We profoundly disagree. Mr. Townsend evidently does not know the quality of the modern leaders of Indian opinion. There is no question that Indians must make way into all the departments of policy and administration, and we must shape our course to their preparation for their task. But that they will attempt to turn us out prematurely or at all (except in the gradual monopoly of offices), that we do not for one moment believe. And when they are capable of managing their own affairs for themselves, our work is done. And surely such a work is incomparably more glorious than a permanent occupation necessarily cramping and stunting the national life.

OUR LONDON LETTER.

WESTMINSTER, Thursday.

Once more the impending retirement of Lord Salisbury has been announced, and once more the political world is agitating its mind over the question of the Tory leader's successor. The outcry is a little premature. If the gossips are to be believed, Lord Salisbury has been on the point of resigning, not once or twice, but repeatedly, within the last three years. The advance agents of politics have advertised so many farewell appearances that the public have got into the habit of waiting patiently for the next. Explanations are not lacking to excuse the falsification of former prophecies. Thus, if the Prime Minister failed to resign in 1899 it was only because the war-cloud in South Africa had unexpectedly burst; if he continued in office after the last general election it was in deference to the wish of the late Queen; and if he still remains at the head of affairs it is because the King has persuaded him to retain his official harness till the Coronation. The argument cuts both ways. So pliable a minister might well change his mind again, and when the Coronation is over may consent to stay with his party till it has passed through the ordeal of another election.

Meanwhile, the discussion as to who shall inherit Elijah's mantle is full of entertainment. Israel obstinately declines to turn its eyes in the direction of Birmingham. Mr. Chamberlain, we are told, cannot be spared from the Colonial Office, where there is still much work to be done. That, at least, is true. The Chancellor of the Exchequer might have had a chance, but he does not get on with the Liberal Unionists, cherishes antiquated prejudices against the closure, and retains some inconvenient remnants of a financial conscience. Then there is the Duke of Devonshire, a good, stolid, John Bullish sort of man, who might be trusted to safeguard the interests of the nation in times of tranquillity. Unfortunately, these are not such days, and accordingly the Duke is eliminated. Apparently then, it must be Mr. Balfour or nobody. The prospect is far from alluring, for although Mr. Balfour is one of the most captivating creatures who ever adorned a tea-party he is utterly unequal to enterprises of pith and moment.

When all is said and done, Lord Salisbury may spring another surprise on his squabbling followers. They are beginning to realise that there was a deeper motive than mere humorous cynicism in the promotion, last October, of Lord Lansdowne from Pall Mall to Downing Street. What if the ex-Minister for War, having risen on his failure to the Foreign Secretaryship, should now attain on his success to the supreme position? Stranger things have happened; and it must be remembered that Lord Lansdowne possesses some of Lord Salisbury's own qualities, that he is deep in the confidence of the Prime Minister, and that it devolves on the latter to nominate his successor. Moreover, the time is drawing near when the statesman who for many years has been assiduously educating himself for the duties of Foreign Secretary may be expected to return from India. If Lord Lansdowne succeeds to Lord Salisbury, and Lord Curzon to Lord Lansdowne, the remainder of the chessboard need not be disturbed.

High treason is so rarely heard of in England that the arrest, two days ago, of Dr. Krause, an ex-official of the Boer Government, on a charge of having committed that crime caused quite a sensation. The particular offence alleged against the accused man has not yet been defined, but it is understood that he is charged with having "adhered to the enemies of the King"—in other words, supplied his fellow-countrymen with information that might be of service to them in the war. Dr. Krause was the official who organised the peaceful surrender of Johannesburg to Lord Roberts, a service for which he obtained much praise both in our own newspapers and in the official despatches. He has since been sojourning in this country, presumably on parole, and the warrant for his arrest emanated not from London but from Cape Town. Like many other educated Afrikanders, Dr. Krause studied law in the Temple and has been called to the English bar. He is a man of wide culture, exceptional ability, and has hitherto enjoyed a reputation for unblemished probity.

Other arrests, it is rumoured, are likely to follow, so that the war may now be said to have spread its genial influence to the hearths and homes of England. An ominous feature of the situation is the attempt made in some quarters to promulgate the impression that London is honeycombed with conspirators of the Guy Fawkes type. The police are credited with great achievements in the way of detecting marvellous and mysterious plots against eminent personages in the neighbourhood of Whitehall and St. James's. Perhaps we shall hear more of these blood-curdling conspiracies, but, if not, little surprise will be felt. After all, the initiative in the case of Dr. Krause was taken, not by Scotland Yard, but by the Executive in South Africa. It would appear, therefore, that whatever the nature of the alleged crime may have been, it had no connexion with any secret movement in this country.

Ten days hence the war will not only be practically over but technically at an end. Strange to say, the reflection fails to bring contentment to the public mind. For one thing, Lord Stanley has betrayed his personal want of confidence in Mr. Chamberlain's prediction by venturing on a rival prophecy to the effect that hostilities are certain to be at an end within the next two months. The war in fact makes as many farewell appearances as Lord Salisbury himself. People who are most familiar with the conditions of South African warfare are confident that if peace is not restored within the next three or four weeks, the campaign is bound to go on for at least another year. The situation is full of perplexities and dangers that only the experts are in a position to appreciate, and it is becoming more and more clear that to combat them with drastic proclamations is simply to expose ourselves to the amusement of our vigilant and not too friendly neighbours.

Although we are still in early autumn, London seems to be positively eager to anticipate the gaieties of winter. People are returning from their holidays in thousands, the shop-windows are blazing into the ruddy fashions of November, and the theatres are re-opening their doors in the confident hope of successful competition with the attractions of the river, the seaside, and the open-air cafe. Chief among the dramatic novelties of the week is Mr. H. V. Esmond's "When We were Twenty-one," variously described by various critics as "sentimental balderdash," "true and tender comedy," "wholesome drama," and "melodramatic nonsense." A play capable of stimulating emotion to such a diversity of expression is clearly something out of the common. The production was a great success in America, and it is probably destined to meet with an equal measure of popularity on this side of the Atlantic.

GLASGOW INTERNATIONAL ASSEMBLY.

LECTURES ON INDIA.

I.—SIR JOHN JARDINE ON THE COUNTRY, THE PEOPLE, AND THE JUDICIAL ADMINISTRATION.

[SPECIAL REPORT.]

We gave particulars in our last issue of the course of three lectures on India, which have been delivered this week in connexion with the Glasgow International Assembly. Below will be found a full report of the opening lecture by Sir John Jardine, K.C.I.E., late Judge of the Bombay High Court. It was delivered in the Philosophical Institution, Glasgow, on Monday evening last, the subject of the lecture being announced as: "India: the Country and the People; British Provinces and Native States; Judicial Administration." Professor Geddes presided, and briefly introduced the lecturer.

SIR JOHN JARDINE said:—There being little time at my disposal for preface, I would plead in excuse of any shortcomings to-night the vastness and variety of the subjects and the immense areas of both space and time with which I try to deal. India must not be thought of as one country like Scotland or Germany: our Indian Empire is as large as all Europe, excluding Russia. It contains a million square miles of British territory, and above 700,000 square miles under Native Kings and Princes, great and small. The 300 millions of people belong to widely different races: there are all sorts and stages of religion, while there are about four score languages, which often divide into dialects doubling the number. There are about 20 of these, each of which gives tongue to at least a million people. Turning to the history, note that it begins with literature and institutions older than the invasion of the Punjab by Alexander the Great, in 327-323 B.C.; and we have to sail down the stream of time to the Mahomedan conquests and dynasties and the Maratha Empire, while you merge in the doings of the East India Company and the rivalries of the English, French, Dutch, and Portuguese, until you reach the consolidation of the whole continent in the long reign of Queen Victoria. The further we go back into the mists of ages the more we meet the differences of views of our great scholars, European and Native; and while I avoid matters of perplexity, my humbler task will be to condense or repeat what has been said by such learned men as Professor Max Muller, Sir Wm. Hunter, M. Senart, Weber, and others equally distinguished.

"NOTHING WHOLLY DIES AWAY."

Writing about English laws, Sir H. S. Maine remarks that nothing in England wholly dies away. This is still more true of India. For great as has been the effect of modern British government on institutions and even on religion and sentiment, one can still study the ways of tribes surviving from those nations who inhabited India in illiterate ages past, before even rock inscriptions begin. For example the Juangs, a tribe of 10,000 people in Orissa, till lately had no knowledge of metals, nor until 1871 did their women wear anything but beads and a bunch of leaves. The head of the family and all the females huddle into a little hut: the boys and young men of the village live in a big building apart. Here we have a survival from the age of stone. When in 1855 our officers went to the Andaman Islands, now a great penal settlement, they found a ferocious set of savages, who kept them off with arrows for five years. In Travancore, far to the south, and also in the Himalayas are tribes where one woman has several husbands, and a man's goods descend not to his own sons, but his sister's children. Many of the castes we now call depressed classes are of aboriginal descent; who are made to live outside the villages, who live by the most despised crafts, or who subsist as much as possible on the game, the honey, the roots which the jungles afford, or by theft and robbery. Some of them, like the Bhils, have been partially civilised by long and patient efforts of officers like Sir James Outram; others have risen into strong communities like the Santals. Usually they worship demons and spirits, unless they have come under civilizing Brahman influences. Some, like the Khands, a race of 100,000 mountaineers, kept up that ancient institution of human sacrifice, twice a year, at seed time and harvest, till we stopped it about 70 years ago. The India of the last century, it has been said, was a museum where you could study mankind from his lowest to his highest stage of culture. In pre-historic ages some had risen to the use of metals, their iron weapons and golden ornaments are sometimes dug up along with Roman coins. Comparing the languages of living races, we find that they came from Central Asia. The Tibeto-Burman languages, spoken under the great mountain range of the north, show affinities with Mongol and Chinese words. The Kolarians came also through the Himalayan passes into Bengal. The Dravidian races found in large bodies, chiefly in the southern part of India, comprise between 40 or 50 millions, speaking Tamil, Telugu, and Canarese, languages said to be akin to those of the Laplanders and Finns: entirely distinct from those other languages of India—the Bengali, Marathi, and Gujerathi, which are derived from the Sanskrit. Leave out the wilder and the wandering tribes, and you may say that throughout the India of the present day there is a general, rather more than superficial uniformity, in the ways of nations by origin so diverse. The levelling up process can be seen among many of those living on the outskirts. How this came to pass is the next chapter in my story of to-night.

The history next founds itself on literature, religious hymns, warlike and romantic poetry, followed up by rock inscriptions, coins, metal tablets, and other records, affording more certain inferences. From the time of Alexander the Great's invasion we can compare with the Greek accounts condensed in Strabo, Pliny, and Arrian, and especially what Megasthenes, the Greek ambassador at Patna in Bengal (306-298 B. C.) told the ancient world. As the centuries rolled on Chinese Buddhist pilgrims wandering over India recorded what they saw, Fah Hian (399-413 A.D) and Hiouen Thsang (629-645 A.D.). These make up the material of history; but as Max Muller has taught us, much can be learned from the languages. By way of example, I may cite a fact that interested Sir Walter Scott, about the gypsies down Tweedside. No surer proof of their Indian blood can be wanted than the strong resemblance of many of their words to those spoken at Poona or Benares. Talking with one of them the other day at Yetholm, close to the Cheviots, I found him give almost the exact pronunciation of the Indian words for eye, head, nose, night, etc., although the race began to leave India a thousand years ago. But, coming back to my point, we find the aboriginal peoples menaced, and conquered or driven south in the course of ages by another race, high in civilisation, long before they left the plains of Central Asia, and crossed the everlasting hills of snow to spread their enduring influence all over India from the Punjab, eastward and southward. They understood live stock and tillage, the use of iron and the art of weaving. Organised under priests and warriors, their Brahmans and Rajput leaders, they formed settlements in their new homes, like the early American colonists, ever advancing into the countries beyond, often waging war on their way, and always impressing their ruder neighbours, as did the Romans, with their power, their arts, and their system. They were men of the Indo-European race: their language shows their brotherhood with the Germans, the English, the Greek, and Latin races. Fresh from a cold zone, their fairer colour marked them off from the people of the sunnier regions; in their oldest hymns, the Rig Veda, 3,000 years ago, they appear as fair-skinned heroes, defeating ugly, barbarous, uncouth, black-skinned enemies. To this day complexion tell its tale, and helps to distinguish the descendants of these invaders from the other half of the population. They called themselves Aryans, which means "noble"; and judged by their achievements in war and politics, in poetry and philosophy, we moderns must admit their lofty claim, especially when we reflect on the wide spreading, vast enduring religions they founded, Hinduism and Buddhism in all their forms.

THE BRAHMANS.

Their oldest work, the Rig Veda, is of unknown antiquity. It reveals the life of the Aryans in the Punjab, in their earliest Indian communities; and that period must be very far back in the past, as we find the Aryans 1,500 miles away at places in Lower Bengal in the fourth century B.C. The Rig Veda shows they were settled as farmers: and as in Abraham's time, the patriarch of the household is both ruler and priest, and ready enough to become a military captain. The married women shared the honours and work of their husbands in the domestic sphere: the burning of widows was unknown. When the tribe trekked from one country side to inhabit another, driving out the dark-skinned enemy, they marched along with families and cattle, like Mr. Kruger's father and the other founders of the Transvaal State. They adored powerful and on the whole beneficent gods, types of the great forces of nature; and some of these have practically the same names and attributes as the great divinities of Greece. The immense, universal, much dividing, close-penetrating system of castes, to be seen in India now, was then only beginning, and it took time to develop out of experts in sacrifices and rituals a hereditary set of Levites, the famous, powerful, learned class of Brahmans, the sacred people, who with many varieties and gradations are found in all parts, and whose capacity for public service and influence over the people has invariably been used by the rulers whether Hindu, Mahomedan, or British, in all branches of the civil service. Thousands of Northern Brahmans have enlisted in the Army. It is to the Brahmans chiefly that India is indebted for the sciences, for the general Hindu law which is considered sacred, and for the religious lights and sanctions thrown over much of what is custom and over social manners, marrying, eating, and drinking, besides most of the develop-

ments which have changed the religion of the Vedas into the Hinduism prevalent to-day. The Vedas and the great epic, the Mahabharata, are full of traces indeed of long early struggles between the priestly and the royal or warrior classes for pre-eminence: to these latter are imputed some of the oldest hymns. The contest led to bloodshed at times, and at times to compromises: as happened in Europe between the ecclesiastics and the feudal lords, the Pope and the Emperor. But a priestly class has more time and liking for learning than those whose breath is stormy war and sudden death. Kings and generals seldom acquire scholarly knowledge of religious classics; while the Brahman began early to commit the poetry to memory, and at the present day, as Dr. Bhandarkar testifies, some of them calling at Brahman houses for a pittance as begging friars, can repeat thousands of Sanskrit verses without a mistake of word or accent. Sanskrit means perfected. The perfecting of this language was mainly due to Brahmans; and the grammar made by Panini about 300 B.C. is a marvellous success of clearness, brevity, and logic. As the priesthood multiplied, so did the literature of religion: the works called Brahmanas attached to the four Vedas are included in the very word of God; and later still the sentences called Sutras, aphorisms based on these older works and valued as holy traditions, increase the bulk of written guides to sacrifice and ceremony. They plainly assert the supremacy of the Brahmans as a caste over all. Sir W. Hunter says, "The Brahmans were a body of men who in an early stage of this world's history, bound themselves by a rule of life, the essential principles of which were self-culture and self-restraint. As they married within their own caste, begat children only during their prime, and were not liable to lose the finest of their youth in war, they transmitted their best qualities in an ever-increasing measure to their descendants." These things account for their distinct type and pre-eminent influence to-day.

Religious Development.

While the warlike Aryan leaders established kingdoms, and the priesthood its influence, many others settled on the land of the Punjab and the other countries into which they advanced. The theories of theocracy and caste grew into practice: and there was leisure for spiritual and speculative thought. The heaven of the Vedas, a reunion with departed friends in a state of bliss, is exchanged for the dogma of transmigration of souls, which still sways Brahman, Jain, and Buddhist. The sages in six recognised schools of philosophy try to get rid of this endless perspective, the liberation being effected by getting absorbed into the one unity, the universe or the divine soul pervading it. Some denied the being of God: others thought that outside of God everything is illusion, mere phenomena; and the Vedanta, which Max Muller calls the common spiritual possession of all India now, recognises a part of God in each human soul, the only real thing with which man has to do. In the brooding East, where long calms and simple manners favour contemplation, philosophy gives a strong colour to religion, and among its own votaries supersedes the latter. But the Vedantists whom I have known, statesmen, and such, while claiming the Brahman freedom to think as they choose were careful to abide in the ancient rites and ceremonies, just as the dying Socrates wished a cock to be sacrified to Charon.

In the midst of the society being shaped as I have described, we find early disturbances from re-action and from foreign influence. In the sixth century before Christ is placed the life of Buddha and his teaching in those regions of the Ganges valley which were frontier ground at that time to both the Aryan and the Non-Aryan races. He is the son of a King, and his story in which much legendary and supernatural matter is mingled resembles that of the hero of a Sanskrit epic. M. Senart has shown how his attributes follow older Hindu models: and Dr. Kern has doubted if this Gantama ever existed in reality. Dr. Rhys Davids takes the opposite view, pointing out how much of the history conforms to what any one may see in India now. The religion of Gandama is followed now by nearly half the human race. It raised the despised and fallen castes by the equality of its teaching, although this reformer does not appear in terms to have attacked caste as an institution. Bishop Bigandet, whom I knew in Burma, a Buddhist country, wrote that most of the moral truths of the Gospel are met in the Buddhist scriptures, which were written in Magadhi and Pali, the sister language of Sanskrit. He also points out that wherever Buddhism has struck a deep root, it has raised the position of women; the reason whereof is that it allows no difference between one person and another, except superiority in virtue. This result is seen if you compare the versions of the famous code of Manu, which in Burma are called Buddhist Laws. Rehatsek has remarked how, in Central Asia, Buddhism changed the savage Mongols, who used to make pyramids of human skulls, into gentler beings. It has also done much to abolish Shamanism; the worship of innumerable spirits, and the beliefs in witches, astrology, and palmistry. While imposing a higher and simpler system of morals, Buddhism was a re-action against ritualism and priest craft. In India proper Buddhism lingered on till the time of our Norman conquest, of the invasion of Mahmud of Ghazni; and about the Christian era, some great Northern kingdoms were under Buddhist rulers. About 257 B.C. Asoka, the King of Magadha or Behar, became a convert; in 244 B.C. he held the Third Buddhist Council at Patna: and his edicts are found carved on rocks or pillars over an immense area. Buddhism, with its love of equality, appealed to all castes and nations: it spread learning among the people, and one humane result was the institution of hospitals and an increased study of medicine. Such a religion soon came into violent contest with the Brahmans; and as it grew more powerful as a State establishment, the clergy increased, so did the rituals, while the dogmas became top-heavy. By making a man's destiny depend entirely on his merits and faults in the long chain of transmigrations, its philosophy tended to ignore a personal divinity, and the longings of the more ignorant and Non-Aryan tribes for gods to worship, divinities rather than abstractions or immense generalisations. After a struggle of 1,000 years, Brahmanism triumphed, having altered many of its Vedic conceptions, and made room in the older and sublimer Pantheon for the gods and spirits revered by the wilder peoples of the east and south. The brilliant deities of the old hymns became two-sided or many-sided. Vishnu, the sun-god, becomes a hero, sometimes martial, sometimes amorous; and under the names of Rama and Krishna, pervades India, especially among the middle ranks, and gives themes to literature. The other great god, Siva, the special god of the Brahmans, whose earlier ancestors held him to be "Mors Janua vitæ," death being the shadow of life, has acquired the terrific qualities which impressed the wilder nations, from whom the worship of the serpent and also of the phallus, the earthly symbol of energy in creation, have been received and incorporated. The written records of this great modification of religion are called Puranas, based on much older traditions. They assert the sacred loftiness of the Brahmans, they abound in legends, they uphold caste. But as the practices widely vary along with the intelligence of the tribe or caste, you will find every shade of thought somewhere or other, formal, mystic, pious: sublime meditation, frightful austerity, wild orgy. The cults of Siva and Vishnu led to literary progress in the vulgar tongues, as they were spread among the people by a series of reformers, who gave up all to live a poor and wandering life, casting aside the encumbering weight of wealth and good connexions, exactly as Buddha did. This seems to be the only way to get any wide religious influence in India. Most of them declared that men are equal before God, and in their deeper teaching explained that the one everlasting infinite god alone exists although it is reasonable for different men to make their own mental images of him and worship him under various names. You will find this view generally approved by Hindus of every class: to use a common saying, you see the sun reflected in all the household water pots, but still there is only one sun. I remember one afternoon strolling about when the Governor of Bombay was going in stately grandeur to meet the Princes at Rajkote. I chanced to enter a carpenter's shop, and asked him why he did not go forth to see those great personages. Instead of saying why don't you go yourself? he replied "In the view of the most high God, there is no great or small, but equality. Why should I?" I have said before that the Vedanta philosophy is most widely diffused. To predicate one infinite, it identifies the human soul and the universe with deity, the only reality; and in some of its forms it takes devotional and emotional views. I must now close this attempt to condense some prominent points of the Hindu religion. My reason for saying so much is that the Hindus are generally religious and philosophic, more spiritually minded than the bustling, trading, warring, competing nations of the West, domestic life at all hours and in all its changes being shaded by religious sanctions, and most trades, occupations, and customs coloured with precepts and legends more or less religious.

Some Outside Invasions.

I turn now to some outside invasions which affected the great river plains of northern India. It is curious to think of Alexander crossing the Indus near Attock, not far from Peshawar, marching across the land of the five rivers, to near Amritsar and to Mooltan, fighting Porus and other Indian kings, founding cities and colonies, descending the Indus to the sea in a fleet he constructed, marching home by Baluchistan and Persia, and sending part of his force away by the Persian Gulf. His successor, Seleukos of Syria, after a war gave up the Greek dominions to King Chandra Gupta, to whom also he sent a Greek ambassador, Megasthenes (306-298 B.C.), who during his stay on the Ganges took note of what he saw around him. He has given an account of the Brahman philosophers, the soldiers, the sober honest husbandmen; and like many European officials since, he was struck with those self-contained arrangements of the Indian village which make each into a little republic. Interesting too it is to find that Greek ladies came to India, and one of them, the Queen of Chandra Gupta at Patna, was the daughter of Seleukos. We know what the Greeks thought of the Indians: we would like to know what they thought of the Greeks. The latter improved the Indian astronomy and sculpture; and many traces of them are found, such as coins. There were later expeditions led far into India by Greek-Bactrian kings. But now a new race pours into the Punjab from Central Asia, of Scythian blood, warring, as the Greeks and Bactrian armies had done, with the Indian Kings. It is believed that the great race of Jats and many Rajpoot clans are of Scythian origin. They followed the Thibetan or Northern school of Buddhism, and thus made some connexion between India and China. About 40 A.D. we find their King Kanishka in Cashmeer ruling much of Chinese Turkestan, and a great portion of the plains watered by the Indus and the Jamna.

I have brought you now nearly to the time of the more important Mahometan invasions, and having briefly described the various races and religions, I may turn to another immense and enduring institution peculiar to India, namely caste. I have no time to recite the various views learned authors have taken about its origin: suffice it to refer you to M. Senart's "Les castes dans l'Inde." You will find that while the theory makes each caste

rigid and hereditary, the rule has been, and still is, broken through: men and women of one caste have united with those of another: races and tribes have in the remote past amalgamated. A caste has often divided into sections, which soon become castes themselves, the causes being schisms of different kinds, as when a certain number agree to avoid some part of trade or handicraft which the original body has followed or to give up eating or touching some food or material which a higher caste considers impure. It must often have happened as it does still, that a part of the caste finds itself in a new and remote region: they are cut off from their old comrades, exposed to new influences, and so close their ranks into a new caste. Families expelled and excommunicated find the same necessity. From the silence of the Vedas we must not infer straightway that there were no castes then. We know that the Aryans in India became three great classes, the priesthood, the warrior nobles, and the farmers; and that the conquered nations, called enemies and slaves, were looked down upon as helots. M. Senart points out that while in Greece and Rome the conflict between the privileged and the other classes ended in the creation of a state with what we call politics, leaving domestic and private affairs alone, caste fastens on and regulates these latter from the cradle to the grave, and is even more indifferent than the village community to outside and general matters. The latest newspaper I have received from India, my friend Mr. Malabari's "Voice of India," of the 3rd August, quotes the "Kayastha Samachar" for June, which complains that the new style of caste parliament, the result of English education, while helping reform in the caste, nips the new feeling of nationality in the bud. The whole article is worthy of attention, both as confirming M. Senart, and as an expression of a reformer's views:—"The 'Kayastha Samachar' for June publishes an article on caste conferences and national progress. The writer argues that caste conferences, which have sprung into existence since the spread of English education, and the consequent awakening of the national mind, have not been an unmixed blessing to the country. They have, indeed, helped onwards the cause of social reform among the various castes, and for this much credit is due to them. But, unfortunately, evil has trodden close on the heels of good, and while they have educated public opinion on the question of reform, and, in some cases, even been instrumental in bringing about the practical introduction of a few wholesome changes, they have at the same time encouraged the growth of caste feeling and thus retarded national progress. Says the writer:—'These conferences have rolled back the tide of nationality, which was rising with the spread of English education and obliterating all caste landmarks, and have brought once more into prominence that feeling of caste exclusiveness and separatist tendency which have been the bane of Hindu India in the past and threaten to be its ruin in the future. The idea of a Hindu nationality has been nipped in the bud, and its place has been taken by Kashmiri, Vaish, Kayastha, Khatri, and Kurmi feeling. And this, too, not among the ignorant masses, but among the highly-educated classes. You will find this caste-feeling predominating the Bar, the Press, the Government offices, the District and Provincial Committee.' Such being, in the opinion of the writer, the harm wrought by these caste conferences, he contends that they should either be abolished, or reconstructed on a reformed basis. But, as abolition is practically impossible, and perhaps undesirable in the present circumstances, there being no other agency available to take their place, he concludes by suggesting that they should be affiliated and worked in subordination to the Indian Social Conference." M. Senart rejects the notion that caste was invented by priestcraft, as the priesthood have no special need of such a means, and in other countries have established their predominance without it. But he agrees that they have regulated it and fostered it: and shows that among all lower castes there is a great desire to imitate the Brahmans, and the hierarchy of castes depends chiefly on the closeness of the imitation. The French scholar holds that the patriarchal family, bound together by consanguinity, is a type common to all the Aryan nations: while the family meal every day, and the more solemn funeral feast, the "perideipnon" of the Greeks, the "silicernium" of the Romans, being produced by the sacred fire of the family hearth, were visible signs of the community of the family, meant for them alone and carefully guarded from all foreign contact, which was considered impure. There were rules also excluding certain meats for the same reason, and these are found also with the ancient Persians. Analogous as these customs are to those of India to-day, and especially among Brahmans and the castes nearest to them, M. Senart considers them to be the germ of those strict and curious rules and exceptions about personal purity which in all historical time have affected Indian life. Then among conquering Aryans, always moving forward over India, some warrior leaders grew into nobles; others, as we have seen, become a learned hereditary priesthood, and both these are superior to the majority who live by pasture and tillage. Originally merely classes, the tendency is towards castes, each with separate common ancestors. The contact with new and barbarous tribes makes them fastidious to keep up their old rites and the ancient Aryan exclusions. But the subject tribes wish to imitate them, and to raise their own position: and as time goes on the lower classes of the conquerors and the higher classes of the old inhabitants find themselves on a level, and inter-marry. The Brahmans, systematic themselves, politic administrators, and therefore able to frame compromises, step in to regulate these results of events, and to provide theories, complacent to both the insiders and those seeking admission. In this way genealogies connecting wild chiefs with aristocratic gods, heroes and tribes are found, fictions of fact being as useful in their College of Heraldry as fictions of law are in our courts. Caste having become a system, it probably suited the convenience of many trades to enclose themselves in this way, especially if connected by blood; and certainly many castes are defined by the trade name, or by it plus the locality or plus that of some older class from which they are sprung. M. Senart observes that in no part of the ancient world did the Aryan race show much taste for manual labour, e.g., the Greeks and Romans left the handicrafts to slaves, freed men, and foreigners. In India the castes following such occupations are, with many exceptions, treated either as the husbandmen were as in the third or Vaisya class, the lowest among Aryans or twice-born; or are held to be Sudras, people born only once, like the original peoples of the land whom the Aryans fought and conquered. Sir W. W. Hunter writes:—"As a rule, it may be said that the Aryan or twice-born castes adhere most closely to the ethnical principle of division: the once born or distinctly Non-Aryan to the same principle, but profoundly modified by the concurrent principle of employment; while the mixed progeny of the two are entirely classified according to their occupation." You will have perceived that the effect of caste, regulated by Brahmanism, is to restrict social intimacy and general politics. The institution puts strict limits on inter-marriage, and on the part of society with which one may eat or drink. Its nature being circumscribed is intense. It often does the work of a trade guild. One of its great merits, and an immense one it is, consists in its providing for the poor and miserable, without any State poor law. It does this efficiently in all ordinary times, and I think this was a good reason why the British Parliament should, as proposed by Sir W. Wedderburn and Mr. Robinson Souttar, have voted a few millions to help these self-respecting people when they were submerged by millions in the past terrible famine. I am sorry that our Christian nation, led by the Ministers of State, refused to give a single shilling of public money. I wish you to notice that in caste you find one of the most deep-seated and universal institutions with which the British-Indian Government has to take account. Following the example of the best Mogul Emperors, we have long resolved to let it alone, and subject to the general laws of the land, our jurisprudence leaves castes to manage their own affairs, the usual anologies cited by judges being the non-established churches and the various clubs of this country which frame and work their own rules. I may also here notice that our jurisprudence concedes to the people their local and family custom, and that we administer to the Hindus the sacred law written in Sanskrit, to the Buddhists the same law found in Pali or Burmese, and to the Mussalmans that of the Koran, interpreted in their own ways for Shias and Sunies. There is an ancient Brahman text before our day requiring rulers to administer the customary as well as the sacred law, lest the disgusted people should rebel and refuse to pay taxes. It has been our long settled policy to be tender of the religions of the land. The British in India have never persecuted, and have never imposed religious tests, like the taking of the Holy Communion was in living memory as a qualification for a civil appointment. There is some small concurrent endowment at the expense of the Indian taxpayer of the English Episcopalian and Scottish Presbyterian religion, and I think a tendency to erect the English into an Established Church, but as yet there is no such thing, in strictness of language. The State paid English Bishops have of late years become heads of missionary efforts: but our other public servants are neutral, and so far as I have seen display none of that proselytizing energy which, as you will find in Sir John Kaye's first volume, was not uncommon among officers of the Bengal Civil Service and Bengal Army before the Mutiny. By means of a tolerance not found in either England, Scotland, or Ireland and a policy of not using its government as a propaganda, the East India Company and the Crown have avoided some of the misfortunes by which the Mogul Empire and the Portuguese lost supremacy.

The Ascendancy of Akbar.

Soon after the prophet Mahomed was laid in the grave, we find his Arab followers on the Bombay coast, and in 712 A.D. another army fighting the Rajputs in Sind. I must pass over this period rapidly, remarking that Mahomedanism is not of Indian origin nor peculiarly Indian, though our Mussulman subjects number 50 millions at least. During the centuries in which England was under the sceptre of the Norman kings and the Plantagenets, India was invaded from the north-west by the Turkies of Ghazni, by Afghan kings and by Moghul bands pouring in from the north. In 1398 the famous Tamerlane, with his Tartar hordes, took the city of Delhi, the seat of a Mussulman kingdom, and massacred the people there and at Meerut. His descendant, Babar, coming from Cabul, invaded India in 1526, and is the first of the great Moghuls. But the greatest of all is Akbar (1556-1605) one of those wise, tolerant, and philosophic Princes worthy of comparison with Marcus Aurelius. He greatly extended the Empire, reducing both Afghan and Hindu monarchs to dependence, partly by force of arms, partly by conciliation, by opening careers to Hindus, by himself marrying Rajput Princesses, by securing political equality to the two great religions. He became paramount over all northern India, and made some progress in subduing the south. Many Moslems still consider him unorthodox, as he loved to hear the arguments for all religions, from Jews and Parsees, Christians and Brahmans, and in the end set forth a religion of his own, extracted from the best points of each creed. He made Agra his capital, and there he lies in his splendid tomb. In Akbar culminates the glory of his race, though his magnificent successors Jehangir married to Nur Mahal, the Light of the World; Shah Jehan, who built the most noble of lovely buildings, the Taj Mahal; and Aurangzeb, whose intolerance and cruelty undid much of Akbar's great work, have left great names behind them. The European nations have now appeared on the scene. Our first ambassador, Sir Thomas Roe, has described the Court of Agra in 1615. In the western mountains, too, a new military nation, the Marathas, had begun to harass the Mahomedan kings

of the Deccan, whom Aurangzeb subdued. The warlike and adventurous Shivaji soon appears as a power, and in 1674 crowns himself in one of those hill forts which look down on the Bombay coast. The Rajputs and other Hindus of the north, tormented by Aurangzeb's religious persecutions, join against the Moghuls. After Aurangzeb's death in 1707 their empire declines rapidly to its fall. In George III's reign the ruler is a puppet or pensioner of the Marathas and the English, and the struggle begins between these two races, while the British have to wage fierce wars also with the French in India and their allies of Mysore, Hyder Ali and Tippoo Sultan. Time forbids me to relate the fortunes of the Marathas under the house of Sivaji, their great battles and conquests, the confederacy, of their five kings under the Peishwa of Poona, and the annexations of the territories of three of them by the British, the last being in 1817, while Scindia, Holkar, and the Gaekwar are territorial Princes. I may only glance at the Sikhs, from whom we took the sovereignty of the Punjab so late as 1849. The immense annexations we have made since 1784 can be seen if we compare Peter Auber's map of that year with any recent atlas: only Bengal and Behar, the island of Bombay and a patch round Madras are painted red. The Marathas were a race of mountaineers, the Sikhs a fervid religious sect, who in the downfall of other institutions, changed into a political power, adopting a military bond of life. Their founder, Nanak, born in 1469, was one of those reformers who spring up among the Hindus and gain converts on all sides by proclaiming the unity of God, the need of a high morality, and the insignificance of caste.

India and the Powers of Europe.

Indian history in the last three centuries is involved with the powers of Europe. Vasco da Gama reached Calicut in Malabar in 1498, and four years later a Papal Bull gave to Portugal the monopoly of the Indian seas and shores. This paper blockade was soon contested by the Dutch, while English enterprise tried to get round North America and Siberia, and in those efforts Newfoundland and the port of Archangel were discovered. At length the London merchants made up their minds to get some of the profits which the Dutch drew from the import of pepper from the Isles of Spice: and the first East India Company was started with a charter from Queen Elizabeth, in 1600, with 125 shareholders, and a capital of £70,000. It was this institution under various forms which ruled India until 1858, from the City of London, from which all vestige of its importance has now disappeared. Originally a close city company with a monopoly of trade in all the Eastern world, it began business in the usual trading ways of the time. Sea voyages were then dangerous risks, as the ships met with pirates and enemies on the ocean, and arbitrary rapacious Princes and peoples on the shores. We have the records of the early voyages. The ships were under warlike captains, who carried merchants and factors with them, whom they left behind in Sumatra, or Java, or Borneo, when they could induce some Native chief to assign them a house to dwell in and a warehouse for goods. These men were the first Indian Civil servants: the buildings they used became the factory; when defensive walls were erected it changed into the fort, and from the chief or President of the small trading body we got the word Presidency. The constant rivalry and enmity of the Dutch soon induced the English Company to quit the Malay Islands, and settle more firmly on the coasts of India. In the first 20 years from the Charter, its agents are found at Bantam, Surat, Aden, Ahmedabad, Mocha, Agra, and many other places, and soon after that they opened other factories all along the Indian coast. In 1665 we got possession of Bombay in dowry of Charles II's Queen: Madras was founded in 1639, and Calcutta in 1686. Wars with the Native powers and the French in India led to territorial sovereignty: and after the victory of Plassey Grove in 1757 Clive obtained for us the fiscal management of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa, which threw on the Company the responsibility of government, although for some time until 1771 they put forth the Great Moghul as the nominal sovereign, and Bishop Heber relates how our great pro-Consul Warren Hastings once gained high favour with the people by riding with a fan of peacock feathers in his hand behind the Emperor's elephant at Delhi. For the transition period when British officials feathered their nests, those rich Nabobs who came home and bought up corrupt boroughs, you should read Macaulay's Essays on Clive and Hastings. But these two great men and their successors, notably Lord Wellesley, who established a college at Calcutta for training the European Civil servants in Native languages and laws, saw that both duty and policy required us to govern the people for the people, not merely to earn dividends for the Company and fortunes for themselves. Parliament, which had always had to do with the great Company, began to regulate its services and operations in 1773: and the Crown erected its own Courts in the Presidency towns, importing with the Charters the principles of English law. Officials guilty of corruption or oppression were made responsible to the King's Bench, and also to a mixed Court of members of both Houses of Parliament and judges, as they are still. Under Warren Hastings, a code was framed by Chief Justice Impey for our Courts up-country; and Sir William Jones, Colebrook, and others set themselves to translate the sacred laws of Indian and Arabian origin. When last century was beginning, we, of the Civil Service, were forbidden private trade for our own gain: but for a long time we had to sell the cargoes sent out by the Company, buy return cargoes, and look after investments. Still the Company kept its monopoly of Indian trade till 1814, and that of the trade with China, including tea, till 1834. Though dependent on Parliament the East India Company had large political influence. Our American cousins remember well the attempts made by George III to make them drink its tea, and in "Harper's Magazine" for August I find an engraving of a "Boston Tea Party," which is explained to be a quiet mob of colonists, who disguised as Red Indians boarded the ship and threw the chests overboard, one of the incidents before we lost those colonies. The Company, being peculiarly English and monopolist, had long before, as capitalists, opposed the union of the English and Scottish crowns in Queen Anne's time, when as I read in Bruce's work (the annalist of the East India Company) Glasgow would have been content with a license to send four ships a year to the English-American colonies, to fill up with return cargoes. You should read in Burton, or Macaulay, or Sir Walter Scott about the miserable ending of the Scottish attempts under Pattison to set up an East India Company, and to found a new Caledonia on the Isthmus of Panama. These things and the memory of Glencoe had embittered the nation; and the following events remind one of those that preceded our war with the Boers. England was marching troops to the border and repairing the castles at Carlisle and Berwick, Scotland called out all her able-bodied men to arms and forced Queen Anne to touch with her sceptre an Act of the Scottish Parliament, providing that on her death Scotland should have her own king, a different person to whosoever might succeed in England. But great statesmen saw the far-reaching evils of a war: and at length the English capitalists submitted, and Scotland got access to colonial trade, and the union was accomplished. This result led up directly to vast numbers of poor but well educated Scotsmen getting into the Indian services and other employments, and rising to distinction, as I have explained in my article on Scotsmen in India (see the "Asiatic Quarterly Review," April, 1901). Speaking among Scotsmen, in Scotland, under the shadow of a great University, I cannot refrain from a passing mention of this pervading influence on India, and the chief cause thereof.

The Native States.

With Lord Dalhousie Governor-General, from 1848 to 1856, we begin with a more modern India: that great reformer introduced the telegraph and the cheap postage, started the first railways, opened the Ganges Canal, and created the Public Works Department. After wars, he annexed the Punjab, and most of lower Burma. Believing that direct government by the British was better than the Native State, he also annexed for failure of heirs one territory after another in the interior of India, Satara, Jhansi, Nagpur, and at last Oudh. The changes that went on roused much discontent and suspicion among influential classes, the Native Army thought that we meant to destroy caste, and suddenly the Indian Mutiny began, and before the rebellion was over, Parliament transferred the government from the Company to the Crown. Since then we have tried to avoid the mistakes which, as you will read in "Kaye's Sepoy War," led up to the Mutiny. We have brought the Native Army under more stringent discipline, and now maintain a much larger force of Europeans, and with slight exceptions all the artillery is European. We are careful not to interfere with religion or caste. The policy of annexing Native States has been given up, Lord Canning having proclaimed that on failure of natural heirs, Chiefs would be allowed to adopt. Far from wishing to destroy every shred of independence, Indian statesmen now are generally agreed that it is desirable to keep up the simple and cheap forms of government by Native States, as the people are well disposed to the Chiefs and the Princes, and the latter are becoming, by means of education and association, more and more desirous of fulfilling the duties of their lofty station. Something like a third of the population is under these rulers. In the smaller States, and many are very small, so much of the work is done by British officers and their subordinates as to make them seem much like British territory. But the great States are managed by the Princes and their ministers: and some of them may be compared with European kingdoms. The Nizam of Hyderabad rules over eleven millions, more than double the number in the Philippine Islands or in Sweden. The Gaekwar of Baroda has say 2½ million subjects, the Maharaja of Kashmir about the same; Cuba and Puerto Rico combined have about that number. Mysore has double. At each great Native Court you find a British Resident, who sees that treaties are observed, and conducts negotiations when new circumstances arise. These Residents take their orders from the Viceroy's Government, the Viceroy himself usually taking this Foreign Office work, while our officers in smaller States are made responsible to the Provincial Governor. As a general rule, the Chiefs have during the last hundred years agreed to some important restraints on independence. All their negotiations and disputes with other States are conducted through us. Restrictions are placed on armaments, and while some are bound to assist us with their forces, others have agreed to assign cantonments for British troops located in their midst, such as the great garrisons at Secunderabad in the Nizam's country, and Bangalore in Mysore. When Lord Ripon in 1881 arranged the affairs of Mysore, he stipulated that the Maharaja should follow the advice of the Government of India in all matters. Some have their ancient old fashioned coinages; others have their own rupee, identical in weight and fineness with ours; others agree to accept our coinage. When a railway is made, the Chiefs usually cede the jurisdiction to us. In many respects these Princes may be compared to those of the German Empire. But they have their own penal codes; they each manage their own judicial affairs, as well as their revenue and fiscal systems. It is obvious that a pushing Viceroy or even a pushing Resident might, under the arrangements I have described, make a Native Prince very uncomfortable, and inclined to resent interference. But as in three great instances within living memory, those of Mysore, Baroda, and Dholpur, the Government has refused even to think of annexing, the temptation is lessened and the best and most experienced of our diplomatists see the propriety of keeping up the dignity and self-importance of the Chiefs. It is remembered that some of them in the times of

the Mutiny retained their authority, and became our faithful allies, when our own administration had been swept away for a time in certain tracts of country. It is also felt that the Native would like the pomp and splendour of Courts, brilliant retinues and such things: that many Natives find lucrative careers there that they cannot get in British India, and that we ourselves may learn many useful things from the Native statesmen who become ministers of Native States. The system works well on the whole, saves us a vast amount of responsibility and expense; and it is gratifying to find the whole body of Indian Kings and Princes placing their troops and transport corps at the Viceroy's disposal for frontier wars, and to help us in China. These facts are held to justify our present policy of non-annexation.

How we Govern India.

I return now to British India, not to its history, but to the way we govern it to-day. There is a general resemblance of administration in all our provinces, as when forming the new ones, such as the Punjab or Burma, we copied from the older ones. Instead of dealing in figures and statistics, I will try to take you with me to the several centres of official life in the parts with which I am familiar. Let us begin with the village, a veritable little republic to-day as it was 300 years before Christ, when the Greek ambassador first made that remark. The rural people will content themselves with any dynasty, if only their village ways are respected, and they are not oppressed or taxed too heavily. I will suppose you are riding a march with me, and we turn down a cross road to where you see a collection of houses tiled or thatched with one or two upper stories and a temple spire rising over the encircling mud wall under the shade of trees. In the centre is a small open square hall, with a rude idol at the end. It happens that a dozen men are sitting there, the village elders. They are discussing and settling, it may be, some right of village common, or disputed boundary or a new tax. There is the head man, usually a farmer, who can inflict shilling fines or put an offender in prison for a few hours. He or his brother are bound to see that the Government Land Tax is paid up. There, too, is the man of letters, the parish clerk, who keeps the accounts and writes the correspondence. The others are headmen of the common rural trades, the joiner, the smith, and others. At this parish meeting they arrange the subscriptions for their small public works, for the great religious festivals, and other things of village concern. Outside are sitting the village servants, often hereditary, the village constables and scavengers. All is done in the vernacular, for there is no English school here, and the quiet decent people go along the noiseless tenor of their way from the cradle to the grave. In India five out of every seven people are somehow connected with the land.

A Typical Day.

Let us continue our ride across the cotton fields or through the high-standing jowari, and we see among great trees a more imposing building, with strong walls and a bastion at an arched gateway, through which we enter a village larger than our last. The place belongs to a Native nobleman; and the villagers are his tenants, not those of Government. His freehold may be based on charters of Moghul kings: he has traditions of ancient greatness: his heart tells him that the old times were better than these. Let us then respond to his courtesies and listen to his stories. He has been levelled down to be a common subject: but as an ancient landowner and influential, we have made him a magistrate under the procedure code, and he and the British officials exchange visits of ceremony. But we must mount again to spend an evening in a county town: the hot glare is getting a little cooler, and the whole air and landscape is putting on the restful Sabbath air of the cooling afternoon. In course of time we reach the place, on its outskirts there is a camp and tents. They belong to the British, or assistant, unit of administration, known as the Assistant Collector and Magistrate, whom we have come to see. He is passing from his Court House tent to the Bungalow for his tea: his day's work is nearly over. He tells us he got up at seven o'clock and rode twenty miles to this camp, visiting three villages by the way, examining the site of a new tank, inspecting revenue accounts and receipts, and meeting the police at the scene of a recent murder. He bathed, he dressed, he opened his official letters, he passed scores of orders about land, he sentenced three thieves, acquitted two more, he wrote reports on teak forests and on an outbreak of cholera. He means after tea to walk through the town to satisfy himself that the Municipality is keeping it clean. Let us go with him. I must tell you that as he has passed his examinations he has just been made a Magistrate of the first class, and can sentence to two years' imprisonment, to Rs.1,000 fine, or both, and to whipping. He has five counties under him, and looks after the land revenue, the stamps, the liquor shops, and many other things. He is 26 years old, has been out three or four years, and can speak the language he works in. He knows already, or he soon will, that he makes many mistakes, and has much to learn, as much as a Scotsman suddenly made a magistrate in Spain or Turkey would. He is grateful to the Collector, his commanding officer, for instructing him, and he is grateful also to the Native Magistrate of the County, whose advice on all local matters is valuable, who knows something about everything. To the latter everything is familiar for he grew up in it: the young Britisher has everything to learn. As we walk along we reach the Cutcherry, the County Buildings: out comes our Native Magistrate, the Tahsildar clothed in white muslins and turban: inside on the floor, with pillows to support their backs, are his clerks at work. There is a prisoner whom he is trying. on one side is a police cell, and next to it a treasury. Some of these men are highly educated: many have the two years' powers; others belong rather to the old school, and can only sentence to six months. Most of them are Brahmans. The work of the county surges round him and his Cutcherry, day by day: he has to be all eyes and ears: clever, courteous, capable and entitled to great respect. On the opposite side of the green is another building, which is now being closed for the night. It is the Civil Court, and the Judge is something like the Tahsildar; but his work, though very hard, is not so many-sided. He tries all sorts of cases, about land as well as bills of exchange and debt. It is now the time known as that of lighting the evening lamp. The plough bullocks and their owners are coming home. The bazaar is busy with evening purchasers. For the official classes the work of the day is over. But when we get back to the camp, we find the President of the Municipality is lying in wait for a talk. He is a well-to-do public-spirited trader.

We have a long ride to do next day; and our friend of the Civil Service orders tea and toast and two boiled eggs a piece to be ready at dawn. As they sing out there in a splendid pig-sticking song, men get into the saddle "when day-spring's light first crowns each height and tips the diamond dew." We reach at last the head-quarter station, where the Collector and the District Judge, the Executive Engineer, Superintendent of Police, and Civil Surgeon dwell: high roads with shady avenues converge on it, and public buildings make the outskirts conspicuous. The Native town lies further on: the British live in garden houses, and the Cantonment for the troops adjoins the Civil Station. The residents in flannel suits and solar topees are going home with tennis bats in their hands to bathe and breakfast. There is nothing to distinguish the Collector from the rest of them, but he is known to both Natives and Europeans as the most important unit of our authority. He is charged with the same various work as I have described in the Assistant Collector, of whom he has several. He is responsible for 12 or 15 counties, as head of the Magistracy, the revenue, and in fact all the local administration. He has to know the whole country, and all the interests and habits of the Natives. A Civil servant becomes a Collector after 12 or 15 years' service. The best Collectors are promoted to be Commissioners, a grand office of supervision over several Collectors. In Burma, the Punjab, and the Central Provinces the Collector is called Deputy Commissioner. There are about 250 such officers, with on an average 800,000 people under each. But in Madras there are some with 1½ million, and in some wilder provinces less than 200,000.

The Judicial System.

The judicial system is managed on similar lines, with subordinate judges (Natives) who take nearly the whole of the original civil trials, and district judges (usually Civil servants), who sit in appeal, and try criminal cases beyond the power of the Magistrates. The areas are larger: a District Judge often has two Collectorates under him. He may pass sentence of death: but that is subject to the confirmation of the High Court, to which the case must be sent up in a week. He holds Criminal Sessions every month.

At the top of the judicial system are the High Courts, whose judges get Rs.4,000 a month, and hold their places at the pleasure of the Crown. The Act of Parliament requires the Bench to be made up of both Barristers and Indian Civil Servants. The Barristers selected are sometimes practitioners of experience in the country, acquainted with the local statutes and the Hindu, Parsee, or Mahomedan law: sometimes they are sent out quite fresh from England, seldom from Scotland. The Civil Servants are taken from that part of the service who have left the Executive line and become District Judges. In the Punjab and Burma the Chief Court does the work of a High Court. In backward Provinces, for instance, the Central and Coorg, a single officer is called Judicial Commissioner, and invested with the powers of a High Court in his sole person. I held a similar office in Burma some years ago. It is obviously much better that a judge below should not be upset in appeal by a single judge. I can say from experience that it was a very serious responsibility for me, to say, sitting alone, whether a sentence of death passed by a Sessions Judge should be confirmed or not. You must have been surprised to hear of magistrates being able sitting alone to sentence men to two years' imprisonment. I would explain two of the safeguards. There are great statutory facilities of appeal: and even where no appeal lies, there is a remedy by revision. The District Judge or the Collector Magistrate may at his own motion or on petition call for a case; and so may the High Court; and when the case reaches the High Court it can interfere, acquit, or reduce sentence, and, though with more precautions, interfere with acquittal. In practice the revision system works well and cheaply, and corrects many errors and injustices. Again the lower Courts are greatly helped to understand the laws by the system of codes. Criminal and civil procedure have long been codified: so has that perplexing subject, the law of evidence. All these are translated into the various vernaculars: and the decisions of all the High Courts are reported. The finest achievement of all was the Indian Penal Code drafted by Lord Macaulay. It was made law soon after the Mutiny: and supplies in an octavo volume nearly the whole of the criminal law. Besides the above which make up the Magistrate's useful library, contracts, easements, transfer of property, registration of deeds, stamp law, etc., have been made into Codes: and such things as Divorce Acts or Parsee Matrimonial Law are dealt with in one statute. The Legislative Department has thus simplified the labour of the Judge.

But after all, an Indian Judge requires, I think, a greater variety of learning and experience than is essential here. He has to be an all-round man, like those cricketers who can bat, bowl, and field equally well. In every case he sits as Judge of Equity as well as law. Each of us had to administer criminal law at Assizes as well as in appeals. Any day the list of suits in Bombay might shew, one depending on Hindu law found in Sanskrit books, e.g., whether a bachelor may adopt; another on the Koran,

a third on the modified law of England, which prevails in Bombay City. We usually left Admiralty cases to a particular Judge: but we all took divorces as they came, and for months I was the Judge ordinary of the Parsee nation in those matters. I think the Act which allows Natives to sit on the High Court Bench has improved our justice. However expert a European may become, say in Hindu law, however much he has learned of Native ways and customs and languages, it is a great security and especially in capital cases to have as a colleague such men as were Mr. Justice Telang and Mr. Justice Ranade, who imbibed with their mother's milk and heard on their father's knees much which we had to acquire by study and imperfect observation. Even then a case may disclose facts to which neither the European nor Native Judge has any clue from experience. I remember a matter of demon-worship which baffled Mr. Justice Telang and myself, till Sir James Campbell referred us to some papers in his "Gazetteer of Bombay." A Glasgow man strolling into an Indian High Court would be astonished at the fluency of the Native lawyers in our own language. He would soon find that many of them have taken high degrees, and are great ornaments of our Universities. I may here mention that trial by jury, with some modifications, has been extended from the High Courts in the Presidency towns to many up country places. The Natives like it, and although as is the fact in England also, juries are disinclined to convict in capital cases, the system works too well to make it politic to uproot it, as some of our officials would like to do. Capital punishment is hateful in the eyes of the best Hindus, Buddhists, and Jains. Our procedure in India allows a Judge to pass transportation for life instead of death, if he has sufficient reason: and this provision makes that law, I think, better than the law of Britain; and it certainly works well. The lighter sentence is quite sufficient punishment, say for a young woman who, in an agony of shame, kills her baby, or for a man of defective but not insane wits, who murders for the first time.

"Our Enormous Responsibilities."

While the Viceroy in Council is placed over the whole Civil and Military establishment, and can thus make his influence felt in all executive matters, while he controls the finances and the Native States, and foreign relations, India is divided into Provinces, of which two, Madras and Bombay, have a Governor, usually an English nobleman or politician in a small way, helped by two colleagues from the Civil Service. But Bengal with 70 million population, out-numbering the United States, the North-West and Oudh with 47 millions, comparable with the German Empire, and the Punjab with 20 millions, which compares with Spain and Portugal together, are under Indian Civil servants called Lieutenant-Governors. So is Burma since a few years ago. Smaller provinces are ruled by officers, modestly called Chief Commissioners, such as Baluchistan or Assam, with its five millions, about the number in Sweden; while the ten millions in the Central Provinces compare with Holland and Belgium combined. You see how vast our interests are in India, how one small province contains more people than any of our great colonies, Canada or Australia or South Africa. Yet India seems so far away, because its people are so different from us, that our immense stake and our enormous responsibilities there are treated with too much indifference.

The Problem of the Future.

A great Indian ruler said some years ago that the loyalty of the 300 millions of India depends not on sentiment but on calculation, on the benefits and comforts our rule gives them. Sir Richard Temple once remarked that our hold on the country rests on two things: the military force to keep order and resist invasion, the powerful and beneficent Civil administration. That seems to me a clear way of stating the facts. But both these pillars of empire may conceivably be weakened, as they were before the Mutiny, as you may read in Kaye's first volume. To keep India, our Ministers would do well to avoid war anywhere else. The military force required to keep order in India was carefully fixed years ago in Lord Northbrook's time, and is supposed to be never more than what is really wanted, for India has to pay for it. Yet in the strain of these wars in South Africa and China thousands of troops are taken away, and thousands more whose term is expired are being kept because we can't send reliefs. What would happen supposing one of these small wars ended, as our war with the American Colonies did, in our being at war with four great nations, or say with even one European Power? British troops would pretty soon be taken away from India in much larger numbers. We would then be forced to trust greatly to the help of Native States, and to rely on the loyalty of our own Indian subjects. The certain inference is, therefore, that we should cultivate the best relations with both. We have done a great deal, and we are there to stay, for if we were to leave, it would probably happen as when other great Empires in India and Europe have broken up, the ambition of Princes and classes would lead to a long period of chaos and bloodshed. It is well then that both our political parties here have agreed not to annex any more Native States, and that we are to promote Natives of India more and more to high places. We are not likely to interfere with religions nor to use official methods to convert the people. Both parties are agreed that the Natives must have a large share in making laws: and they are appointed mostly by nomination to that Council where the Viceroy makes laws for all India, and also to the Legislative Councils of Madras, Bombay, the Punjab, the North-West, Bengal, and Burma; and here I may digress a moment, and say that after trying the other system we found that one Parliament sitting at Calcutta could not do the work of the Provinces, so we have got to home-rule all round. In these Parliaments, the members may put questions on executive matters, and thus grievances are ventilated and mistakes set right. Now I think we should continue to advance in all these directions. Many excellent officials dislike governing by the people, mistake criticism for treason and discontent for disloyalty, and would like to put back the clock. They wish the political agitator would confine himself to social reform, but as in England and in Italy before independence, the brightest minds wish to shine in both these spheres: in India they belong to the small class which has absorbed new notions from British education and literature, which provides the ablest men in all the professions, which fights hardest for reforms in Native customs, in matters of marriage; and which has set up new Theistic Churches, borrowing much from the Bible on one side, and the most spiritual hymns of the ancient Vedas on the other. Surely this is a class with whom we can have many sympathies: and I have come to think that any considerable reforms in Native society must come from them, as in such matters we are ignorant compared with them, and it is risky and often useless for foreign officials to interfere. The British in India are more removed from the people than the Russian officials are in Asia so far as I can judge: neither do we boast, as some Portuguese historians do, of any readiness to solve certain difficulties by inter-marrying with the brown-skinned races. We are not settled or domiciled there: we are strangers and pilgrims: we serve our time, and our place knoweth us no more. We have, I think, reason to be proud of our peaceful impartial rule in the past; and as it is right and natural that our Native fellow subjects should wish to share in that glorious work, the problem to be solved in the future is how to find due place for them among British methods and British officials responsible to the British Parliament.

At the conclusion of the lecture a vote of thanks was accorded to Sir John Jardine, on the motion of Principal Dyer, of the West of Scotland Technical Training College.

THE FAMINE IN INDIA.

485,000 ON RELIEF.

The Secretary of State for India has received the following telegram from the Viceroy, dated August 31:—

Famine. Rainfall slight except in Central Provinces, Eastern Bengal, Burma; and total to date generally largely below the average. Prospects continue favourable except in Kathiawar, in part of which rainfall has been less than four inches up to date, where there is apprehension of failure of crops should no rain fall. More rain is wanted generally in Punjab, Gujerat, Deccan, Madura, Upper Burma; but Central Provinces require break. Prices stationary in Bengal, Madras; falling North-Western Provinces, Central Provinces; rising Punjab, and showing no change of importance in Bombay. Cheapest grain fallen to 20 seers per rupee in part of Gujerat, and after a small rise is still 18 seers Ahmedabad. Number of famine relief recipients shows a decrease of 22,000 in Bombay. Decrease largest in Gujerat. Number of persons in receipt of relief:—Bombay, 403,000; Bombay Native States, 39,000; Baroda, 26,000; Haidarabad, 8,000; Central India States, 3,000; Central Provinces, 4,000; Mysore, 2,000. Total, 485,000.

Writing on August 31, the "Investors' Review" said:—Subjoined is the Viceroy's famine message, dated August 24. It is so little heeded in this country that some of the newspapers stuff it away in any odd corner. The figures show a further decline of 22,000 in the numbers gratuitously kept just above starvation point, but the real significance of the message lies not in that fact. It lies in the acknowledged deficiency in the rainfall, which again insures a gloomy, hungry autumn and winter over wellnigh half the Indian Peninsula. Such a state of affairs cannot be contemplated without the deepest misgiving, and there is something ominous in the apathy with which the British people look on these indications of renewed and extended famine. Are we never to wake up to the fact that India is bleeding to death beneath the cast-iron wheels of our bureaucratic Juggernaut car?

THE REPORT OF THE FAMINE COMMISSION.

The "Morning Leader" writes (September 2):—The Simla correspondent of the "Times" telegraphs an abstract or summary of the resolution of the Government of India upon the report of the Famine Commission. The summary is brief and guarded, but it contains quite enough to explain why the report, which was signed several months ago, has so far been withheld from Parliament and the public. It appears, for example, that the death-rate is reported to have been lamentably high in Gujerat and Ajmere; that a system of village relief is recommended; that undesirable stringency in the collection of land revenue is found to have been exercised in Berar; that the levy of revenue in cash in seasons of deficient crops is said to strain the resources of the peasants; and that the establishment of agricultural banks and the expenditure of a larger share of the taxpayers' money on irrigation works are found to be necessary. All this, together with some other things in the obviously imperfect abstract, reads to us uncommonly like the resolutions of that much-abused but helpful body, the Indian National Congress. Things do move, after all. But what a pity that good advice should be spurned until the worst famine in history shows how good it is!

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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. BONNERJEE.

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