

# INDIA.

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## Indiana.

### SIR WILLIAM WEDDERBURN, M.P.

I heartily congratulate Sir William Wedderburn on his election to the House of Commons, for, in him, India gains an able and eloquent representative to watch over her interests. It has been too much the habit to sneer at the members who take up Indian questions in the House of Commons as being Pagett's M.P.; and it has so happened that Mr. Bradlaugh, Mr. W. S. Caine and Professor Fawcett never resided in India for any length of time. This sneer cannot be directed at Sir William Wedderburn. A member of an old Anglo-Indian family which has been well known on the Bombay side for more than a century, he belongs to the very elect of Indian officialdom. Passing into the Civil Service in the competitive examination of 1859, he spent more than twenty-six years in the Bombay Civil Service, holding numerous high and responsible offices. He has been a consistent friend of the Indian people, and will be able to speak on their behalf with the confidence born of a thorough knowledge of Indian questions, and with the authority of one who has himself been an official in India. As chairman of the British Committee of the Indian National Congress he has worked hard outside Parliament on behalf of India, and the Indian people will rejoice that Banffshire has returned so influential a supporter of the views of the Congress. Sir William Wedderburn's rejection for North Ayrshire was a great disappointment to Indian reformers, but Banffshire has more than made amends for past defeat.

### THE BANFFSHIRE ELECTION.

The contest in Banffshire was severe; but the successful candidate showed himself equal to any

amount of hard work. The Scots are famous for their heckling power, and a long series of meetings such as Sir William Wedderburn addressed are sufficient to try the constitution and the temper of any man. It is satisfactory to know that Sir William's Indian career was referred to in terms of admiration by the local press as giving him a title to the confidence of the Banffshire electors. Just as Mr. Naoroji is member for Central Finsbury before he is member for India, so Sir William Wedderburn recognises that his first duty is to his Banffshire constituents. But his heart is with his Indian friends none the less, and they may rely upon having another powerful voice to speak for them in the House of Commons.

### SIR WILLIAM'S OPPONENT.

The numerous congratulatory telegrams received from all parts of India show how general is the rejoicing there at Sir William Wedderburn's success at the Banffshire election. The Tory party never exerted themselves, not even when Mr. Darling contested the seat against Mr. Duff, more strenuously than at the recent contest, and it is only just to add that they never have been able to put forward a better all-round candidate than Mr. Grant, a relative of the late Sir John Peter Grant, so well-known in India as Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, and throughout the Empire as the Governor of Jamaica, sent out to wipe away, so far as this might be possible, the stains on Britain's fair fame left by the bloody excesses of Governor Eyre, and his followers and instigators.

### HIS SUPPORTERS.

But despite their good candidate and zealous struggles the Tories were left in a minority of 771, which but for one of those untoward events against which mortal men are powerless to con-

tend would have been nearly 900. It is characteristic of the zeal of the Radical fishermen of the Banff coast that as soon as the day for the poll was fixed, they telegraphed to their brethren away in Stornoway to return at once and vote. Now, although this meant the loss of a whole week's work, the reply came promptly "Sail to-morrow." Some 70 or 80 duly made Buckie and other Banff ports on Tuesday and Wednesday morning, and polled solid for Sir William, but owing to the strong westerly gales then prevailing, a still larger number were unable to make the land before Wednesday night, and landed too late for the poll.

#### ARDOUR OF THE BANFF FISHERS.

Besides these men probably fully 1,000 more also gave up a week's work in order to vote on the right side and for the right man. The fishers of Banff consist of the large boat and the skiff fishers. The latter go out in the morning, and return in the evening, and these, therefore, had only to lose a single day, but the big boat fishers go out on the Monday morning a day and a half's sail, fish for three days, and return by the Saturday evening. The local Tory officials, and the officials are almost everywhere still Tories, an evil legacy left by the late Government, knowing this fixed Wednesday as the polling day, so as either to disfranchise the fishers, Radical to a man, or at any rate compel them to forfeit a week's work. Had the poll been fixed for Monday or Saturday, they could have worked for five days instead of six, as it was they had to give up a whole week's work, and they *did* so cheerfully.

#### SIR WILLIAM'S FRIENDS.

Sir William Wedderburn was fortunate not only in his local supporters, but in his friends who flocked in from elsewhere to advocate his cause with the people. First there was Mr. J. W. Crombie, M.P. for Kincardine, an eloquent advocate who would be a tower of strength to any cause. Next there was Mr. Angus Sutherland, member for Sutherland, a stalwart Radical, the son of a crofter routed by a former Duke of Sutherland, who took a noble revenge for the injustice to his father, by defeating the Duke's eldest son, in the contest for the county. Besides these, Baron Halkett, and Mr. A. O. Hume, well known to Indian readers, spoke up vigorously for Sir William, who himself moving rapidly about the constituency, and speaking everywhere with his accustomed directness and outspokenness gave the entire population an opportunity of judging what manner of man he is, and created an enthusiasm for himself such as has not been known in Banffshire for a generation.

#### INDIA IN PARLIAMENT.

The proceedings in Parliament reported in my second supplement do not contain much of interest to Indian readers. The debate on bimetalism forms the only exception. Mr. Naoroji made his first important speech, and was received with applause and listened to with attention on both sides of the House of Commons. He again defined his attitude,

which is that of the Indian National Congress—in favour of moderation and a waiting policy. On 10th March, Mr. Naoroji further gave notice "that he would shortly call attention to the present system of currency in India, and would move that no change should be made till an opportunity had been afforded for the House to consider it." Mr. Caine has also succeeded in getting a Commission appointed to inquire into the cultivation of and trade in hemp drugs. Fortunately, the Commission is to confine itself to *ganja* and kindred preparations, of the evil effects of which there is no doubt, and will not consider the vexed question of opium, on which eminent authorities disagree. Much, too, has been asked about the depreciation of the rupee and the jury question in Bengal, but nothing further will be done on these subjects until Lord Herschell's Committee and the Bengal Jury Commission have reported.

#### THE INDIAN COUNCILS AMENDMENT ACT.

Lord Lansdowne has at last made known his decision on the carrying into effect of Lord Cross's Act, and most thoroughly unsatisfactory is that decision. From the secrecy adopted, it was to be expected that the full and free concession of the right of election was to be denied, and the Viceroy has clearly and emphatically laid it down that though certain communities and local bodies may recommend members for Council, they can only recommend them for nomination by the supreme Government, not elect them. *Parturient montes* with the result of producing a very ridiculous little mouse. The promise made when the Act was passed has been broken, and it only remains for Parliament to insist that the Viceroy shall carry out the spirit of the Act. I avoid commenting at length on this last pronouncement of Lord Lansdowne, as only the telegraphic summary is available, but hope to print the text of his final regulations in my next number. I meanwhile print his former regulations in the present number with an elucidatory article by Mr. Morgan-Browne.

#### THE INDIAN BUDGET.

Sir David Barbour presented the Budget Estimates for the coming year to the Legislative Council of India at Calcutta on 23rd March. As only the telegraphic summary is yet known it is impossible to make many comments at present. It is enough to state that the Revised Estimates for 1892-3 show a deficit of Rx. 1,081,000 instead of a surplus of Rx. 146,690, and that the Budget Estimates for the coming year allow for a deficit of Rx. 1,595,160. A few lines of the telegraphic summary of Sir D. Barbour's speech deserve reproduction and meditation. "It is explained that the fall in exchange has "in two years added Rx. 4,142,400 to the expenditure, and that the future of Indian finance at the present time depends upon the course of exchange. "Although the Government of India are most unwilling to budget for a deficit, it is considered "expedient to take measures necessary for the restoration of financial equilibrium until the Home Government have received the report of Lord Herschell's Committee and given their decision



"on the Indian currency question. It is clearly shown that any measures which could be adopted at the present time must be either inadequate or unnecessary, and it is stated that the decision on the currency cannot be much longer delayed. Sir David Barbour appeals to all persons who have taken part in the disputes on the currency question to put aside personal feeling in the matter, to accept whatever decision may now be given, and to endeavour loyally to carry it into effect. He adds that he is willing to take this course himself, though he still prefers a settlement of the question by international agreement, and hopes that it may be possible to secure it at some future time. Notwithstanding the difficulties of the present day, he repeats his former opinion that the resources of India are adequate to her wants, but on condition that the measures of the Government of India are taken in good time, are regulated by prudence and forethought, and are carried into effect with strict regard to economy."

#### THE BENGAL JURY COMMISSION.

The more it is considered, the less satisfactory does it appear that the only response to the wide-spread feeling of indignant dissatisfaction against the abolition and curtailment of trial by jury in India should be the appointment of a small Committee of Inquiry in Bengal. The report of this Committee is stated to be favourable to the retention and even the extension of the power of juries, but its scope and powers were utterly inadequate. The Viceroy has attacked the system of trial by jury wherever it exists in India. It has been too hastily assumed that Bengal was the chief Province affected, and that Sir Charles Elliott alone is to be blamed. On the contrary, the more the Indian official papers are studied the more clearly it appears that the attack on trial by jury proceeds from the Supreme Government—from the Viceroy himself. Sir Charles Elliott may, indeed, have provoked the storm which has fallen on his head by his want of tact; but his notification is only part of a new scheme of Indian policy initiated by the Viceroy. Lord Lansdowne has gone out of his way to meddle with provinces in which the jury system was working well, and has taken resolutions in regard to it which must prejudicially affect his influence in India, at the very moment when he is putting Lord Cross's Act, amending the Indian Councils Act, into execution.

#### BOMBAY AND ASSAM.

In the last number of INDIA I called attention to the attitude adopted by the Bombay Government, and showed that it had enough statesmanship to understand the full bearing of the question, and declared itself on the whole satisfied with the working of the jury system and unwilling to interfere with it. Yet the Viceroy, Lord Lansdowne, has overruled the opinion of Lord Harris's Government and called on it to exclude homicides from the advantage of being tried by a jury! Still worse is the case in Assam. In that Province there is no independent-minded government as in Bombay and no powerful press as in Bengal to raise its protest. The late Chief Commissioner, the lamented Mr. Quinton, the

present Chief Commissioner, Mr. Ward, and the judge, Mr. Luttman-Johnson, were all perfectly satisfied with the working of the jury system in Assam. Yet here again the Viceroy has intervened. He has called on the Chief Commissioner to exclude homicides from going before a jury, on the ground that juries are not fit to try such cases, and as all other cases go before deputy-commissioners he has thus practically destroyed trial by jury in Assam. The Province has no Council, no independent press, and there is no means of rectification in this flagrant case except by appeal to Parliament.

#### INADEQUACY OF THE BENGAL COMMISSION.

The appointment of the Bengal Inquiry Commission is an attempt to draw a red herring across the trail. Trial by jury in India is assailed by the present Government of India, but public attention has, by the vigour of the Bengali press, been first called to its restriction in Bengal. The Commission which has just sat at Calcutta was altogether too local in its scope, too petty in its powers. It was appointed to advise about the nature of cases which Bengal juries should try, and on what changes should be made in the law. But it is not Bengal alone which is affected, and the Commission's instructions said nothing about Bombay or Assam. It was too small and local to be competent to deal with the second question, changes in the law, which affects the whole of India. It is not sufficiently influential or distinguished to overrule the opinion of the Supreme Council which has already pronounced its decision on all points connected with changes in the law. Only the Secretary of State can have the authority to take such a step. It is advisable that Lord Stanley of Alderley and Mr. Paul, who have already done yeoman's service in the House of Lords and the House of Commons in connection with the Bengal question, should widen their scope and take up the broader question of trial by jury in India. A powerful Commission of real jurists, including men like Lord Hobhouse and Sir Raymond West, men of statesmanlike instincts and with a wide knowledge of the principles as well as the practices of law, men of Indian experience and ripened judgment, should be appointed to examine the general question. If such a Commission were appointed, and I have no doubt if it is pressed upon the Government it will be, Lord Lansdowne's reactionary policy may, contrary to his expectation, lead to the extension of the jury system in India. If such a step is not taken, there is no doubt that Lord Lansdowne's expression of opinion will prevent the local governments for many years from extending the right of trial by jury, and the most thoroughly Liberal Government the British Empire has had for many years will bear the stigma of having curtailed the freedom of the large proportion of Her Majesty's subjects who dwell in India.

#### FURTHER DEVELOPMENTS OF THE MADRASA CLUB SCANDAL AT CALCUTTA.

I have received the following note on this important subject, to which I alluded in the last number,



and at the risk of recapitulating facts already made known to readers of INDIA, I print in *extenso*. "A recent mail from Calcutta brings intelligence of another arbitrary proceeding by the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal. He does not this time strike at trial by jury, or at municipal self-government; but at the humbler, though useful, existence of a students' debating society. We are told of Solomon that his botanical knowledge extended from the cedar which is in Lebanon to the hyssop which springs out of the wall. Sir Charles Elliott seems to have an equally wide range of subjects: it would be fortunate for Bengal if his action in dealing with them were guided by a little of Solomon's wisdom. The students of the Madrasa, the principal Muhammadan College in Calcutta, have formed themselves into a debating society, for discussion and mutual improvement, and a teacher of the Madrasa, Moulvi Kabir-ud-din Ahmad, is the president of the society. Mr. Webb, an American gentleman who has lately become a convert to Muhammadanism, proposed to give a lecture before the society on the subject, 'Why I became a Musalmán.' To obviate any possible objection which might be made to the use of a Government building for such a purpose, the meeting was held, not in the hall of the Madrasa, but in a house in a neighbouring street. That a number of Muhammadan youths should be interested in hearing the reasons which induced an educated American gentleman to embrace the creed of Islam seems to us natural and even laudable. It is not alleged that anything was said which bore the slightest trace of disaffection or sedition, or which was calculated in any way to disturb the public peace. In fact the matter would never have come to the knowledge of the Government but for a report of the meeting which appeared some days afterwards in a native paper. But the harmless character of the proceedings did not avail to mitigate the Lieutenant-Governor's wrath at what he considered the objectionable nature of the subject. The unfortunate Moulvi, who had presided at the debate, was ordered to be suspended for a year from the service of Government, and the sentence was only commuted to one of six months' suspension after an abject apology had been wrung from him. Not contented with this, the Lieutenant-Governor went on to say that the members of the debating society were to blame for allowing a subject of a religious nature to be introduced, and he accordingly directed that the Madrasa Club should be closed during the year 1893, and should not be re-opened till its rules had been approved by the authorities. Such an order, we do not hesitate to say, is not only despotic, but illegal. The students have a perfect right to discuss what subjects they please so long as they keep within the limits of the law. The order, it is true, can do no serious harm. Free thought and free speech in Bengal will survive the maladministration of Sir Charles Elliott, and may even be quickened into greater vitality by these unworthy attempts to curb and destroy them. But it is lamentable to see the power of the British Government prostituted to such ignoble uses as the arbitrary suppression of a students' debating club."

## SUMMARY DISMISSAL OF NATIVE OFFICERS.

One of the grave defects of the present administration of India is the dismissal of Native subordinates on *ex parte* statements. Again and again Native officials complain of being discharged without being afforded any opportunity of explaining their side of the case. Babu Haran Chander Chatterjee has just been dismissed from his post in Burma in consequence of a charge made against him while he was absent on leave. He was never asked for an explanation, although the evidence which led to his dismissal seems to show that he had committed no offence whatever. Another case is that of Jaza Rau, who was also deprived of his appointment at Vizagapatam, and who seems to have been caught in something like a trap laid for him. Whatever might have been the circumstances of the case, he was summarily dismissed owing to a secret and private communication, and he has never been allowed an opportunity of explaining or justifying his conduct. He served the Government of Madras for eighteen years with honour, and secured the confidence of his colleagues and superiors, and he not unnaturally holds that, as the Government refuses to examine into the merits of his case, at least some small pension should be awarded to him in consideration of his eighteen years of good service. He is not, like Mr. Phillips of Maimansingh, convicted of a whole "series of illegalities," but is merely charged with neglecting to report that a certain gentleman had offered him a present not a bride. The little pension that Jaza Rau asks after his eighteen years good service, ought not to be refused when it is remembered that Mr. Crawford, of Poona, was granted a compassionate allowance, although it was proved that for years he had been carrying on a system of wholesale "illegal borrowing."

## IS THIS A JOB OR NOT?

The theory of our Administration in India, is that appointments shall be made according to merit, and without reference to race, caste, or creed. And I should like to know how His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal fits in this theory with his recent appointment of Mr. Ernest Ormonde to act as Second Judge of the Small Cause Court at Calcutta, whereby he has superseded a distinguished Indian gentleman, Mr. K. M. Chatterjee, now acting as Third Judge, in favour of a European outsider without any known claim to the appointment? Mr. Chatterjee's record is a remarkably good one. He is a Barrister-at-law and has practised both in the North West Provinces and in Calcutta. In 1886 he was Tagore Law Lecturer; he has been the Reporter for the Indian Law Reports; has thorough experience in the practice of the court in which he has now sat for some years. Further, he is not only a trained lawyer, but is also well versed in Arabic, Persian, and Sanskrit, a rare and most valuable accomplishment in an Indian Judge. Now is this the sort of man who should be superseded by an untried outsider? Mr. Ormonde is much junior to Mr. Chatterjee at the bar. And I would ask, what are the claims and accomplishments of Mr. Ormonde



which have induced Sir Charles Elliott to act in so unusual a manner. The appointment has roused all the greater indignation among the Indian public in Calcutta because it has hitherto been the almost invariable custom to appoint an Indian gentleman to the Second Judgeship, and, on the occurrence of a vacancy to give promotion within the Court itself. Among those who have held this office with distinction may be mentioned the late Harro Chander Ghose and Kunjo Lal Banerjee. There are altogether five judges in the Calcutta Small Cause, besides a Registrar, so that the prospects of three other gentlemen besides Mr. Chatterjee are affected by the importation of a stranger. Mr. Jadunath Roy the acting Fourth Judge has had a long and distinguished career in the subordinate judicial source, while Messrs. Abdul Hussain and Panioty, who are acting as Fifth Judge and Registrar, are both barristers senior to Mr. Ormonde, and have done good service to government. It is true that they are not Englishmen. But I trust that the Lieut.-Governor will be able to supply some better reason than that for depriving them of the promotion to which they are fairly entitled. The matter seems to be one that ought to be brought forward in the public interest by interpellation in the Bengal Council under the new Act.

### THE OPIUM QUESTION.

Dr. R. N. Cust's vigorous letter in the last number of INDIA has brought me a considerable amount of correspondence, and in the present number I print a reply from Mr. Robert Brown. From the Indian point of view the great question is, as Sir William Wedderburn pointed out in the February number, that, if the anti-opium party wins the day, the additional burden shall not be cast upon the Indian taxpayer. On the general question I desire to maintain a complete neutrality, and am ready to let both parties have their say in the pages of INDIA. Both sides have many eloquent and enthusiastic supporters, but it is not the moral but the financial aspect of the question which concerns the Indian reformers.

### COMPETITIVE EXAMINATION FOR THE INDIAN COVENANTED CIVIL SERVICE.

The Regulations and Syllabus for the next examination for the Indian Civil Service to be held in August, 1893, are now published. To the general surprise, no less than fifty-six places will be filled up. It had been generally expected that in face of their financial difficulties, the Government of India would reduce the numbers of the costly Covenanted Service, and would found a claim for increased pay to its members on the ground of such reduction. Moreover, a double batch of civilians—the last under the old, and the first under the new, Regulations—proceed to India this year, so that it would have seemed likely that so large a number would not be needed. The absurd system of division into groups is maintained, by which a candidate who passes 15th, 29th, or 43rd is able to choose his Province, while the candidate who is unfortunate enough to be 14th has to go to whatever Province his colleagues in the group

leave to him. Surely it would be better to draw lots at once than to manage in this fashion. I notice that papers of questions in Greek and Latin philology may be taken instead of Greek and Latin verses, which is a distinct advantage for Cambridge men, as philology is one of the subjects in Part II. of the Classical Tripos. I insert the new regulations as to riding in their entirety: "(1) Shortly after the result of the Open Competitive Examination has been declared, or at such time or times as the Commissioners may appoint during the course of the probationary year. (2) Again, at the time of the Final Examination, Candidates who may fully satisfy the Commissioners of their ability to ride well and to perform journeys on horseback, shall receive a Certificate which shall entitle them to be credited with 200 marks to be added to their marks in the Final Examination. (3) Candidates who fail to obtain this Certificate, but who gain a Certificate of minimum proficiency in riding, will be allowed to proceed to India, but will be subjected on their arrival to such further tests in riding as may be prescribed by their Government, and shall receive no increase to their initial salary until they have passed such tests to the satisfaction of that Government. A Candidate who fails at the end of the year of probation to gain at least the Certificate of minimum proficiency in riding, will be liable to have his name removed from the list of Selected Candidates." I print elsewhere an article on the advantages of the Indian Civil Service, combating the idea which has been advocated that it presents a less advantageous opening than formerly.

### "ENGLAND'S DUTY TO INDIA."

A very fair audience assembled at the Harrow Liberal Club on March 9th, under the presidency of Mr. Russell Biggs, when a lecture on "England's Duty to India" was given by Mr. H. E. A. Cotton, (Barrister-at-Law), a son of the well-known author of "New India," and present Chief Secretary to the Government of Bengal. Mr. Cotton, who freely acknowledged his debt to the columns of INDIA, dwelt chiefly upon the two following planks in the Congress-platform, as being in themselves the starting-point of all future reform—the full and ample recognition of the Elective Principle in the Legislative Councils, and the need for a thorough reconstitution of the Covenanted Service by the holding of simultaneous examinations in England and India. The lecturer complained of the ignorance and apathy of Englishmen upon the subject of India, but if one may judge from the animated discussion which followed the paper, this reproach does not lie at the door of the Liberals of Harrow.

### THE BRAHMO SAMAJ.

The interesting article by Sir Charles Aitchison in the *Church Missionary Intelligencer* for March, deserves and will probably receive more attention than the ordinary articles published in missionary magazines. The lives and aims of those two remarkable men, Ram Mohan Roy and Keshab Chander Sen are once more sketched by Sir Charles Aitchison. His article may again draw attention to the existence of the



Theistic Church in Bengal, interest in which has been somewhat waning in England of late years. Sir Charles has formed a high opinion of the New Dispensation. "The movement," he says, "is doing a great work; and the late Bishop French told us that his best and most intelligent converts in India had come to Christianity through the Brâhmo Samaj."

### THE NEW FODDER PLANT.

I am informed that large orders for the seed of Professor Wagner's *Lathyrus Silvestris*, or Forest Flat Pea, have lately been received from India. It is said to be the great fodder plant of the future, being at once drought-resisting, productive, and nutritive. Personally I am not learned in fodder plants, but authorities like Mr. McClellan, Principal of the Royal Agricultural College at Cirencester, and Professor Kerich give it unqualified praise. It is less affected by drought than other plants of its kind, which makes it particularly suitable for cultivation in India. Those who feel inclined to try the new plant should prepare their land as if for growing peas, and should order from Mr. Clotten, Prof. Wagner's authorised agent in England, in time to receive the seed by next August at latest. The *Lathyrus Silvestris* is a great success wherever it has been tried in India, and I feel that I am rendering a service to the greatest of all Indian industries, agriculture, in drawing attention to it.

H. MORSE STEPHENS.

### THE JURY QUESTION IN INDIA.

THE paper read by Mr. Justice Jardine of the Bombay High Court, before the East India Association, on 2nd March on "Trial by Jury in England and India" is in many ways the most valuable contribution yet made on the subject, and it roused a profoundly interesting discussion. It was purely historical and juridical; it avoided entering upon the burning controversy, which is increasing in Bengal; and was in no way polemical. It was the question in its widest aspect which Mr. Justice Jardine discussed, and it may be added that both in his paper, and in the important speeches which followed it, there was a refreshing absence of party spirit and of personal recrimination. The speakers took a statesmanlike tone, which deserves all admiration, and raised themselves above the arena in which fighting politicians are obliged to struggle. "I do not intend to-day," said Mr. Justice Jardine, "to discuss the orders passed [by Sir Charles Elliott]. I know little about Bengal, and am unacquainted with the Districts to which Sir Charles Elliott's 'order applies.' The East India Association did not debate on the Bengal jury question, but considered the history of the existence of juries in both England and India, and the advantages or disadvantages they entailed upon the administration of justice and the well-being of a people. It is from this point of view that the present article is written. For a moment let us forget the controversial attitude that we are forced to adopt in another part of 'INDIA,' and endeavour to attain the more philosophical posi-

tion of Mr. Justice Jardine and his supporters. This position can be best understood by quotations from the words used by Sir Raymond West, Lord Hobhouse, and Mr. Justice Jardine himself.

In a learned and accurate sketch of the history of trial by jury in England, Mr. Justice Jardine pointed out that the Normans, being alien rulers of England, greatly fostered the growth of the native Anglo-Saxon habit of taking inquisition into matters of revenue and crime on the sworn oath of a body of the conquered race. Similarly he noted that the early English administrators of India showed themselves ready to make use of the Panchayat for ascertaining the truth of facts. In fact the jury system is of peculiar and unique advantage in such circumstances as existed in England at the time of the Conquest and in India at the present day. Alien judges and administrators cannot possibly, however honest, be certain of ascertaining the truth from native witnesses. They speak a foreign tongue and view questions in dispute from a different standpoint; they are naturally incapable of understanding minute indications and *nuances* of opinion and attitude, which are equal to patent proof to native observers. If an alien administrator depends on the advice solely of one or of a few natives, he throws a terrible temptation in their way of availing themselves of the possession of his ear for unfair purposes, while if he takes the opinion of a section of the native community, chosen at hap-hazard at different times and for different objects, that is of a jury, he stands a fair chance of obtaining a real and unbiassed native opinion on a criminal or a revenue question. And such an opinion is ten times more likely to be correct than the perception, however acute, of an alien authority. If this be true of the general subject of how to obtain a direct opinion on any native question under an alien domination, it is still more true of the administration of justice by the English in India. If the Normans were aliens to the Anglo-Saxons, the English in India are far more alien to the inhabitants of India; for differences of religion and social customs are far more deep; and it is in judicial questions above all that the difference is to be perceived. Yet it is in judicial questions that the advantage of consulting native opinion is withdrawn by the curtailment of the right of trial by jury. And the entire power is thrown into the hands of alien judges, who are not only aliens, but untrained in the appreciation of evidence. Englishmen have always prided themselves on the fact that their judges are selected from the Bar, while in France the contrary practice of keeping the judges and advocates in different hierarchies is observed. Yet in India alien judges, without experience at the Bar, are set to administer justice without the help of a native jury to assist them in coming to a decision on the facts. From a general consideration of the growth of the jury, it appears above all things fitted for the protection of a community under alien rule in judicial matters, and yet this is the safeguard which has been capriciously removed from the Indian people.

Again, it is too lightly assumed that the English introduced the jury system into India. Dr. Leitner, in a learned speech, exposed this fallacy as Mr.



Surendra Nath Banerji has previously exposed it in Bengal. "It has been well pointed out by a native speaker here," he said "that various forms of the jury system are as old as India itself, and that its principles are ingrained in every one of its castes and religions. The jury system, under whatever name you take it, dissociated from the special associations that may have marked its progress in England, has, as a matter of substance and fact, been the very life of India from the most ancient times. In a more modern development, that of Mohammedanism amongst the Sunnis, the Sunnat-u-Jemaa't; amongst the Sikhs as the organisation of the Khalsa; amongst the Hindus in their agglomeration of as many republics and tribunals as there are castes and occupations in the village Panchayats and trade Panches, we have been relieved by the survivals of ancient institutions which they still have from attempting what would have been perfectly impossible for any foreign nation to undertake, that is to say, the detailed administration of justice as regards a larger number of castes and classes than to the present day bring all matters before their own peers—matters which if brought before our tribunals would absolutely submerge our courts, which are already overwhelmed with work. The 'panchayats' have certainly left in the Punjab a great capacity for self-government, but all the trades have still more or less their 'panches.' I may mention that whatever may be our own views with regard to the introduction into India of this or that 'European' reform, it behoves us in every one of these attempts, to find out whether it may not already have an indigenous basis, and thus, if well-adapted, ensure success. Indeed, so far as we have gone, we find that we have been anticipated, in essence invariably, although it may not have been in the special form—not always an apt form—in which we had intended to introduce a particular reform. Now, it is perfectly clear, when you have a population or a number of populations teeming with life and with historical or religious associations, that to give them something which we may afterwards take back again, is neither generous on our part nor, I think, on the whole expedient. Inquiries which I instituted many years ago, among the Punjab population, about complicated questions of local District and Provincial Councils, elicited the fact that the elective system, or some other form of self-government, had been in operation amongst classes that we thought were perfectly illiterate, and that they possessed a capacity for loyal, political, and administrative co-operation with government, that is very rare even in Europe."

On one argument which has been used in favour of the abolition or restriction of the jury system, Sir Raymond West, a former judge of the Bombay High Court and a distinguished jurist, spoke in clear and decisive terms, showing that it is urgent to apply the argument to India alone. "We English people," he said, "in our own country grumble a good deal about the findings of juries, and we need not go all the way to India, certainly, to find unjust verdicts by juries. Without saying

"anything about what occurs very near us at home, I would ask anyone who has been in French courts or in Italian Courts to say whether the verdicts of juries there are not very, very frequently most unjust? I would ask whether any woman who shoots a lover who has discarded her would possibly be convicted by a French jury? I believe such a thing would be absolutely impossible. We therefore need not say that it is anything peculiar in Indian juries if they are reluctant to convict in certain cases. But that extends quite equally to our white fellow-subjects in India as to the black ones; there is not the slightest difference arising from complexion; because I may say there is not a year passes in India in which there is not a loud outcry that is based on reason and justice, against acquittals by juries in the High Court of Englishmen or Europeans accused of very grave and gross crimes. Most startling instances must have come under the observation of many of us. At the same time, no one thinks of abolishing trial by jury for Europeans. We learn to take the good with the bad; and upon the whole we think that trial by jury is a means of obtaining justice; and if there is an occasional failure, we have to accept that as being compensated by the very great advantages which arise in other cases. Exactly the same principle applies to trial by jury where the jury is composed of natives."

But the most eloquent and convincing speech delivered was that in which the Chairman, Lord Hobhouse, summed up the debate. To say it was eloquent is to give it too slight praise, for it showed alike perfect mastery of the legal, historical and political sides of the question. "There are certain broad considerations," he said, "which apply to every discussion on the subject of juries, without reference to which there can be no discussion at all. Now I think there are three main aspects in which we may consider the working of juries. We may consider them as an instrument for doing justice between one litigant and another, or we may consider them as an instrument of general political education through the minds of the jurors, or we may consider them as exercising an influence upon the law of the country. Now the first of these aspects is the one in which they are generally most praised and most blamed; praised because it is considered that they stand between the weak and the strong, and have saved the weak from the oppressor; and blamed because it is considered that the instrument is a clumsy, blundering, imperfect one, which often leads to illogical and absurd decisions. Now to enter into any controversy upon those points would take a long time. I do not intend to do it. I quit that part of the subject, merely observing that it does not seem to me by any means the most important effect of the jury system. The indirect effects that I mentioned I think are more important. First as to the effect upon the minds of the jurors themselves. No man is ever called upon to exercise a responsible function, especially if he has to exercise it in public, without feeling a stronger man at the end of it and feeling more fit and becoming more fit to exercise another public function. And, considering the number of persons who as jurors



"take part in the administration of the law, it must be that year by year there go into society so many men more fit to exercise public functions and there must be a substantial effect on the political and public education of the country. . . . I think by far the most important effect of the jury system is the indirect effect which it has exercised upon the law of the country. It seems to me that juries have kept our law sweet; they have kept it practical; they still do so; they are like the constant, unseen, unfelt, force of gravitation which enables us to walk on the face of the earth instead of flying off into space. Certainly nothing can be more important to the welfare and coherence, and the strength of a nation, than that its laws should be in general harmony with its convictions and its feelings. Now law givers may be the wisest of men, sometimes they are; but they stand above their fellow-man, and the laws that they pass are apt to be rather hard, rather theoretical, rather above the heads of others, rather beyond the ideas of the day that they live in. If such laws are carried into force by a rigid machinery, there follow national convulsions; and if the ruling authority is strong enough to put down those convulsions, then there follows inevitably a national apathy and atrophy. Now, the juries are passing every day innumerable decisions, each of them very small, but constant, ubiquitous, and tending to carry superfine laws down into practical life, so as to make them fit for human nature's daily food." . . . "In India there is even more need of a thing of that kind than there is in England, because India is ruled by foreigners, and there is a greater gulf between the thoughts of the rulers and the thoughts of the ruled, between the thoughts of the law-giver and the thoughts of the men who have to obey the law, than can possibly be the case here. I cannot help thinking that if juries are not despised and rejected, but if their proceedings are watched and noted, they may supply one of those points of contact between the rulers and the ruled in which Indian government is so sadly wanting, and may afford indications which wise officials will know how to regard. Of course, these are *a priori* considerations. I should not venture to pronounce a very strong opinion upon the particular point in controversy under the present circumstances, but my bias of belief is very strong, and I am very glad to see that Mr. Justice Jardine thinks in the same way, and is able to point to a large body of official and judicial opinion in India which is the same way."

It only remains to add that Mr. Justice Jardine has contributed an able article on the subject to the current number of the *Asiatic Quarterly Review*.

### THE STATUTORY INDIAN CIVILIANS.

THERE is no doubt that England is breaking some of her most solemn and oft-repeated pledges to India in the treatment meted out to the Native Civilians. Here are the facts: they deserve attention.

First, as to the pledges. In 1833 an Act of Parliament was passed declaring that in regard to appointments to the Indian Civil Service distinctions of race or religion should not be taken into account; and in a famous despatch commenting on this Act the directors of the East India Company declared that there should be "no governing caste" in India. In 1858 when India passed to the Crown these liberal sentiments were re-affirmed: "And it is our further will" runs the Queen's Proclamation, "that, so far as may be, our subjects, of whatever race or creed, be freely and impartially admitted to offices in our service, the duties of which they may be qualified by their education, ability, and integrity, duly to discharge."

Now we must explain for those of our readers who do not know all the bristling technicalities of the subject that there have long been two classes of Indian Civil Servants, belonging respectively to the Covenanted and Uncovenanted Services. The differences between these two services are many and great. The COVENANTED CIVIL SERVICE consists (a) of those who pass the "Indian Civil," as the yearly competitive examination is familiarly called, and proceed to fill comfortable berths in the administration of our Indian Empire, and (b) of statutory civilians, whose status is the point now in question. All the highest and most valuable appointments in India belong to this service, and, to the new "recruit," if he be an *Englishman*, every post up to the Lieutenant-Governorship of a province larger than the United Kingdom lies open, provided he has ability, perseverance and family interest—at least, this latter is always helpful. If however, such "recruit" be an Indian, however brilliantly he may have passed the examination, whatever his abilities and perseverance, and no matter what his family influence may be, the highest posts of the service (except on the judicial side) are inexorably closed. This, in itself, although not the special grievance which we have to make known, is a grave injustice—sanctioned by no Statute, and certainly contrary to the letter and the spirit of our expressed intentions towards the natives of India. It is one of those matters which the Government of India arranges for itself behind the back and against the orders of the British people. The UNCOVENANTED SERVICE contains most of the minor posts in the Indian Administration, and is not altogether recruited by competitive examination, but is partly filled up by nomination and selection. The pay is less, the status not so good and the higher grade appointments far inferior to the better posts in the Covenanted Service.

As to the position of Native Civilians in the two services. The initial difficulties of a foreign tongue and an alien climate have always operated as a practical bar to Indians; to say nothing of the fact that the great expense necessarily involved must prevent any but rich parents from sending their sons to England to compete in an examination where success cannot be assured beforehand. To remedy this practical abrogation of the Queen's Proclamation, the Indian Government have from time to time devised schemes, of varying ill-success, for the



appointment of natives of India to the Covenanted Civil Service by nomination and selection out there instead of by competition in England; but of these in their order. The practical point is that in spite of our numerous promises to India, the Covenanted Civil Service contains very few Indians. Theoretically all is open, practically nearly every avenue is closed.

Even in the Uncovenanted Service, which the least liberal Indian Administrations have professed to regard as a legitimate field for the ambition of Indian gentlemen, what has been the outcome of the system of nomination and selection? Why, that in 1888 out of a total of 2,351 higher-grade appointments only 188, or 8 per cent., were held by Indians! 223 by Eurasians and 1,946, or 82½ per cent. by Europeans! (Public Service Commission's Report, p. 184.) The ordinary Anglo-Indian will say, "Of course, the natives are so unfit." Unfortunately, there is no longer doubt that the authorities in India too often appointed incompetent Indians in order, as some maintain, to bring the employment of Indians in the higher posts of the Civil Service into contempt. Over and over again the authorities have been urged to hold simultaneous examinations for the Indian Civil Service in England and India, but so simple and just an expedient does not commend itself to the tortuous intelligence of the Indian Government.

This unjust exclusion of Indians from the administration of their native land has had a history and is now approaching a crisis. Limits of space compel us to be brief.<sup>1</sup>

1870. An Act was passed (33 Vict., c. 3) to provide *inter alia* "additional facilities" "for the employment of natives of India of proved merit and ability" in the Indian Civil Service. Power was given, (sec. 6) to the Indian Government, under rules to be settled from time to time by the Government of India and sanctioned by the Secretary of State, to appoint natives of India to any offices in the Covenanted Civil Service without a certificate from the Civil Service Commissioners, i.e., without passing the Indian Civil Examinations.

1875. Abolished rules under Act of 1870.

1878. Lord Lytton, Viceroy, suggests that a *close native Civil Service* should be established as a branch of the Covenanted Civil Service (*thereafter to be for Europeans only*), containing the lower posts of the Covenanted and the higher posts of the Uncovenanted Services as then constituted. Appointments to be by patronage.

Lord Cranbrook (Secretary of State) pointed out that such a scheme was impossible. [Of course. It involved the repeal of four statutes, the Acts of 1833, 1858, 1861 and 1870, the nullification of the Queen's Proclamation, and the breach of every pledge upon the subject made by England to India.] In official language he said he could not promote such a Bill in Parliament, which meant in plain English, "don't make preposterous suggestions." In particular he wrote that it was "competent for the Government of India to appoint every year any number of natives to the Covenanted Civil Service, in which case the number of Covenanted Civil Servants sent out from England would have to be proportionately decreased."

1879. Rules settled under Act of 1870:

I.—Natives may be nominated "for employment in H.M. Covenanted Civil Service." Such nominations are to be made annually; and, generally, nomination is subjected as far as possible to the conditions as to age, etc., attaching to the Indian Civil Examination.

II.—Provisions as to number of nominations and probation of nominees.

III.—Certain high appointments open to natives appointed under these rules subjected to certain conditions. [This was struck out by the Secretary of State. It is relevant here as showing that natives appointed under the Act of 1870 are to be treated as ordinary Covenanted Civil Servants—any divergence from such treatment requiring in the opinion of the authors a special rule to sanction it.]

IV.—Providing for transfer of a native civilian from one Province to another; indicating that such civilian when "finally admitted," i.e., after probation, became a member of the Covenanted Civil Service of India, and not of any particular Presidency or Province.

V.—Providing for removal of unfit persons.

1880. First appointment of natives under the Act of 1870 and rules of 1879.

1880-89. Appointments continue, and these native civilians (called "Statutory Civilians") are treated in every respect as Covenanted Civil Servants. Promotion follows as matter of course, as in an organized Service and as with all Covenanted Civil Servants—in the Civil Lists their names rank with the Covenanted Civil Servants according to the year of their admission (although by an unheard-of piece of injustice and breach of faith native civilians have recently been put back two years in their seniority), while the various notifications of the Government as to appointments, etc., all emphasize the fact that a so-called Statutory Civilian is to all intents and purposes a Covenanted Civilian. Here are the Indian Government's own words in a notification, No. 1187, dated 8th June, 1889: "A native Civil servant is a member of the Covenanted Civil Service in the Presidency to which he belongs, and ordinarily ranks in that Service according to the date of his appointment."

1890. Rules of 1879 suspended.

1891. The Indian Government, in the process of incubating a new scheme on the lines of the one so summarily rejected in 1878 by Lord Cranbrook, casually informs the "Statutory Civilians" (nevertheless the first official information of such a change) that they cannot be treated as members of an organized service earning promotion by length of service and good conduct, but that in future they must remember that they are only appointed to specific posts, and depend for any chance of future preferment on the goodwill or the caprice of the Indian Government.

Here then is the grievance, and surely it is a monstrous piece of iniquity. Let us look into it closely. The Indian Government are trying to create a "Provincial Service," or glorified Uncovenanted Service, which is nothing more nor less than the "Close Native Civil Service" proposed by Lord Lytton, with the omission of the rule that it shall be closed to Europeans. By leaving the matter indefinite they avoid conflict with statute, and with an unerring instinct reproduce all the most objectionable features in that extraordinary product of Anglo-Indian perversity. Into this Provincial Service they wish to drive all native civilians by making their position as Covenanted Civil Servants so precarious as to become untenable. By thus excluding the natives they hope to make, as they unblushingly and immodestly avow, a *corps d'élite* of the Covenanted Civil Service. Ye Gods! A body of Anglo-Indians with scarcely a redeeming circumstance—a stray Indian here and there by way of leaven, and to save the letter of our English promises! To carry out this precious scheme the Government of India must either bribe or coerce the statutory civilians. Now bribery is out of the question. You cannot bribe a man by offering him less pay,

<sup>1</sup> Chapter and verse for our statements will be found in the documents which we have printed on pp. 108-111.



poorer prospects and inferior position; so coercion, always easier and less expensive, is the *mot d'ordre*. The Government of India have deliberately gone back on their intentions, have shamelessly denied the proper meaning of their published documents and the obvious significance of their most public acts, in order to cheat the statutory civilians out of their just hopes and to bolster up a discredited scheme for the abasement of the natives and the glorification of that *corps d'élite* the British Covenanted Civilians.

We take a typical case of individual hardship. A. B., a native gentleman, went to England in 1875 to prepare for the "Indian Civil." In 1876 the limit of age is suddenly lowered, destroying A. B.'s chances of success. He returns to India, and subsequently applies to be admitted to the Service under the rules of 1879, but without success. He then engages in business with considerable profit. In 1882, an opportunity offering, he enters the Covenanted Service as a "Statutory Civilian," giving up an income of some 800 rupees a month for one of about 300 and the prospects of the service. For nine years he steadily works his way up to a post of 576 Rs. per month, treated in all respects of rank, promotion, etc., as a Covenanted Civilian, till in 1891 two things happen. He is put back two years in rank, and informed that he is not a member of the Covenanted or any other Service, but merely the holder of a specific appointment! Now, would any sane man give up an income of 800 Rs. to work ten years for a post of 600 Rs.? This putting back of two years is due to an arbitrary change in the reckoning of the date of entry of service. Whereas for eight or nine years such entry was reckoned from the date of first appointment, the Indian Government suddenly thought it would be a brilliant thing to count it from the date of confirmation (*i.e.*, after the two years of probation). By this neat swindle—we can call it by no milder term—some native civilians were made to lose some fifteen steps in promotion, but of course this is a detail when all promotion has been practically knocked on the head, and caprice and favouritism substituted therefor.

Here then is a tangible case—we give it merely by way of illustration. However unscrupulous all this must appear to the ordinary British mind, there are graver issues involved than the wrong done to individuals by a powerful and well-nigh irresponsible bureaucracy. With their reversal of Her Majesty's just and high-minded Proclamation, with their suppression of native aspirations—aspirations fostered by their own act and deed,—with their high-handed neglect of British Acts of Parliament and their insolent self-complacency about a *corps d'élite* the Government of India are insulting the Indian peoples, and bringing into suspicion and disrepute the pledged word of the British Nation.

## INDIAN FINANCE AND INDIAN MINES.

THE first and foremost incident of the month with regard to Indian affairs has, of course, been the publication of the Budget figures, which were announced on the 24th inst. The original estimate of the Budget for 1892-3 was a surplus of about

Rx. 147,000, but mainly consequent on the additional home charges due to the fall in exchange, the surplus, according to the revised estimate, is turned into a deficit of Rx. 1,082,000, and the start off of a new Budget estimate is an uncomfortable one, as for 1893-4 the revenue is placed at Rx. 90,005,700, and the expenditure at Rx. 91,600,800, leaving a deficit of Rx. 1,595,100. Sir David Barbour says that although the Government of India is most unwilling to make up a Budget showing a deficit, it is considered inexpedient to take measures necessary for the restoration of financial equilibrium until the Home Government have received the report of Lord Herschell's Committee, and given its decision on the Indian Currency question. In part the deficit arises from inclusion in the Budget of a certain amount of capital outlay, as about Rx. 1,120,000 are earmarked to the so-called Famine Insurance Grant also for the construction of railways and irrigation works, including some small amount for special advance. Before the Budget telegram came to hand, an unofficial statement was put about in the stock markets that the Indian Government did not contemplate any sterling loan whatever, and that only a Rupee issue of 3 million Rupees was arranged for. On this there was a momentary depression in the quotation of India Rupee issues, the price of which gave way, while sterling 3 per cents improved to about the like extent. The influence of the announcement definitely made of both a sterling loan of £1,300,000—really a conversion and not a new issue of capital—and confirmation of the intended issue of 3 million Rupees contributed to a wave of depression in the silver market and naturally adversely affected an already weak exchange. Exchange and silver were also adversely affected by the announcement that the drawings of the Indian Council for the new fiscal year will be considerably above what they had been in the previous year—£18,700,000 against £17,000,000. At the allotment of India Council drafts on Wednesday, March 15, out of the 60 lakhs that were to be tendered for, the Bank of England, on behalf of the Indian Government, accepted tenders for 7½ lakhs at a shade over 1s. 2½d., but the following week not a single tender was made at a price over 1s. 2½d., and the bank refused to accept that figure, consequently no allotments whatever were made.

The Committee termed Lord Herschell's has not yet presented its report, but the early publication is looked forward to. Meanwhile, the great currency question is as keenly discussed as ever, first in its bearings as regards India, and next as regards the United States, for there is a close connection really between the economic question of the two countries. If the United States takes a certain action, the steps to be adopted by India will be dominated by the course adopted in the United States. It is therefore desirable to consider what is the exact position in the United States. It will be recollected that in the early part of 1890 the silver party in the United States forced on an extension of the policy of buying silver and founding currency upon it. Instead of as previously, under the old "Bland" Act of 1878, buying two million dollars' worth of silver, coining



it, and issuing certificates against it, it was decided to drop the coining, and to extend the purchases of silver, issuing notes against the silver bought by the Treasury in the market at the price of the day. The consequence was that the note currency of the United States was added to by nearly eleven millions sterling per annum, and this has been going on since the early part of the autumn of 1890. But the effect of it has been altogether disappointing. The silver party protested that purchases to such an extent monthly would in a very short time clear the silver market of all the floating supply, absorb the production of the United States, and keep the price of silver stable. Instead of such being the case, the price of silver has receded to a lower quotation than ever before in financial history, there having been a London price during the month of the unprecedentedly low quotation of 37½ per ounce. The increase in the currency circulation of the United States has permitted the abstraction from that country of very considerable amounts of gold, which have come to Europe, indeed it may safely be said that the currency policy of the United States has greatly ameliorated the situation in Europe. The tide of the bullion drain from New York is not merely to be ascribed to the balance of trade, as regards exports and imports of commodities, manufactures, and produce, but also in part to the result of America paying Europe for enormous masses of securities, purchased ever since the Baring collapse, and possibly some amount of locating in gold standard countries of the gold of American capitalists who are apprehensive lest a continuance of the silver currency policy of the United States may lead to the appearance in the country of a gold premium. These are the facts of the position, and not the offering of any opinion. Naturally, with the depreciation in the white metal the exchange has fallen, trade has been disorganised, and all manner of expedients for establishing stability or improving exchanges have been under consideration; but the great authorities on the subject of currency measures are at issue with one another, and when doctors disagree who shall step in and decide.

Meanwhile the currency problem has undoubtedly been one of the main reasons for the continuance of unrest in the Stock Markets. India Rupee Paper during the month has been down to 62½, but the sterling issues are practically unaffected by the whole question, and for the time being are freely supported. Owing to the indications that money for some time ahead this year is likely to remain extremely abundant and cheap, the very distrust that has already been referred to contributes to force investors into the very cream of high class securities. Speculation has been flagging and contracting for the past two years or so. Whether we have come to the end of the downward trend remains to be seen; but there are indications that we are near if not at the end of the protracted period of distrust. It is to be recollected the collapse of 1890 is becoming matter of ancient history, ancient, that is, from the Stock Exchange point of view, where daily or fortnightly incidents are looked to more than the broader scope of great cycles of depression or inflation. There was a cycle of inflation from 1886 to 1889, a pause at

the apex, a collapse, and a period since of recuperation and retrenchment. Recuperation undoubtedly has made great progress in the last two years; retrenchment has resulted in an enormous mass of investment, capital lying in the hands of people who would be investors in the markets if they saw their way to safe and fair return. All that we have been passing through is but a repetition of what has happened in past years. We had the collapse of 1866, following two or three years of inflation; but after an extended period of reaction and recuperation matters began to mend, and it will be well in the recollection of everyone what a great movement there occurred, culminating about 1873 or 1874. There have been several indications the last few months of the anxiety of investors to secure something good. Loans, even for the Transvaal, brought out by the Rothschilds, were eagerly subscribed for many times over, and were rushed to a very high premium. Home Municipal Loans, and in the past month a Somerset County Council Loan, have been many times over applied for, all this indicating that there is plenty of money when the right thing comes forward offering employment for it. India is not alone in having her enterprises kept back waiting for better times, for after past experience the British public will only take up new industrial concerns of the greatest promise and highest respectability as to their surroundings.

It is very satisfactory to notice with regard to Indian enterprise how steady a progress has been made by Indian mining concerns. Writing last month we referred to the good returns made by Indian tea companies, and we may give a few words at the present time to the position as regards Indian mines. The Mysore Co., although it has come down to a dividend distribution of 50 per cent. only, after previous experience of two years with 75 per cent. dividends, had exceptionally bad times in 1892, owing to labour difficulties through a cholera outbreak in the early part of the year, want of water, and the discovery of a fault in one of the lodes, which discovery, for a time, gave a check to production, though it was overcome by the rich ore which laid above the fault being found to continue under it. The Company is doing remarkably well this year, and on March 8 the mine manager was able to telegraph over the very gratifying information that, at a depth of 1,260 feet, a very rich unexpected deposit had been come across, showing a lode 5 feet in width, assaying 2 ozs. to the ton. The benefit of the discovery is greater than otherwise it would be from the fact that in the shaft at the bottom of which it was found, levels have been driven north to work a very rich deposit, but no levels have been driven south, and the new discovery, it is expected, will admit of levels south tapping a new and rich body of ore without any necessity for a new shaft being sunk. The Nundydroog Company is doing well, and now that it has climbed out of the difficulties of the past the directors have considered it expedient to put the capital into complete shape, as when the Company was, so to speak, in the dirt, and had to issue debentures, shares were allotted to debenture holders, rendering the holders of such shares liable



for the amount of them. As they gave consideration for what they received it is now intended to reconstruct the Company so as to get over any legal technicality involving the liability. The Ooregum Company has also a very good record, and has a run of some 1,500 feet of paying ore exposed, averaging about 4 feet 6 inches, with an assay equal to about  $2\frac{1}{2}$  ozs. to the ton. The Ooregum, with its much richer quality of ore than its neighbours, has had its shares in greater public estimation than either those of the Mysore or Nundydroog, and it is consequent on the expectation of bigger net results on the same quantity of ore that the shares of this Company have appreciated, so that the yield to the investor who buys them is only about  $8\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. The Mysore Company gives a greater yield. Its shares at the present time, on the basis only of a 50 per cent. distribution—and it is to be recollected that two years in succession the Company paid at the rate of 75 per cent.—yield about 11 per cent. to the investor. The Nundydroog Company, perhaps because of people not understanding the reconstruction scheme, has its shares at a price which gives the investor, on the basis of the dividend paid for 1892, over 12 per cent. As to the dividend distributions for 1892, the Mysore paid 50 per cent., the Ooregum Ordinary,  $37\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. and Preference,  $47\frac{1}{2}$  per cent.; and the Nundydroog,  $28\frac{3}{4}$  per cent.

## Documents.

### REGULATIONS ISSUED UNDER THE LEGISLATIVE COUNCILS AMENDMENT ACT.

*Calcutta, the 2nd February, 1893.*

In exercise of the power conferred by Section 2 of the Statute 55 and 56 Vict., Cap. 14 (The Indian Councils Act, 1892), the following Rules have been made by the Governor-General of India in Council authorizing at any meeting of the Governor-General's Council for the purpose of making Laws and Regulations the discussion of the Annual Financial Statement of the Governor-General in Council and the asking of questions; the Rules have received the sanction of the Secretary of State for India in Council, and are now published for general information:—

#### II.—RULES FOR THE DISCUSSION OF THE ANNUAL FINANCIAL STATEMENT OF THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL IN COUNCIL.

2. The Financial Statement shall be explained in Council every year, and a printed copy given to each Member.
3. After the explanation has been made each Member shall be at liberty to offer any observations he may wish to make on the Statement.
4. The Financial Member shall have the right of reply, and the discussion shall be closed by the President making such observations, if any, as he may consider necessary.

#### III.—RULES FOR ASKING QUESTIONS.

5. Any question may be asked by any Member, subject to the following conditions and restrictions.

6. A Member who wishes to ask a question shall give at least six clear days' notice in writing to the Secretary to the Government of India in the Legislative Department, submitting in full the question which he wishes to ask.

7. Questions must be so framed as to be merely requests for information, and must not be in an argumentative or hypothetical form or defamatory of any person or section of the community.

8. The President may disallow any question without giving any reason therefor other than that in his opinion it cannot be answered consistently with the public interests; and in such case the question shall not be entered in the Proceedings of the Council.

9. The President may, if he thinks fit, allow a question to be asked with shorter notice than six days; and may in any case require longer notice if he thinks fit, or extend, if necessary, the time for answering a question.

10. When the President has permitted a question to be asked, it shall be entered in the Notice Paper for the day, and questions shall be put, in the order in which they stand in the Notice Paper, before any other business is entered upon at the meeting.

11. A question shall be read by the Member by whom it was framed, or in his absence, if he so desires, by some other Member in his behalf, and the answer shall be given by the Member in charge of the Department concerned or by some other Member whom the President may designate for the purpose.

12. The President may also rule, at his discretion, that an answer to a question on the Notice Paper, even though the question be not put, shall be given on the ground of public interest.

13. No discussion shall be permitted in respect of an answer given to a question asked under these rules.

14. The question asked and the answer given to it shall be entered in the Proceedings of the Council.

### DOCUMENTS RELATING TO THE CASE OF THE STATUTORY CIVILIANS.

(i.)

Extracts from a speech of the Duke of Argyll (Secretary of State for India) on the clause which afterwards became sec. 6, Act 33, Vict., cap. 3.

The Duke of Argyll (March 11th, 1869) said, regarding the clause: "Its object is to set free the hands of the Governor-General . . . to select for the Covenanted Service of India natives of that country. . . . With regard . . . to the employment of natives in the government of their country in the Covenanted Service . . . I must say that we have not fulfilled our duty, or the promises and engagements we have made." He then quoted the pledge given in 1833 in the Statute of William IV., and referred to the complaint of Lord Monteaigle in 1853, and said: "If the only door of admission to the Civil Service is a competitive examination carried on in London, what chance or what possibility is there of natives of India acquiring that fair share in the administration of their own country, which their



"education and abilities would enable them to fulfil, and therefore entitle them to possess? I have always felt that the regulations laid down for the competitive examination rendered inoperative the declaration of the Act of 1833; and so strongly has this been felt of late years by the Government of India that various suggestions have been made to remedy the evil." He then referred to the "utter inadequacy" of the palliative provided by Lord Lawrence in the shape of "nine scholarships for a Government of upwards of 180,000,000 of people." His Grace had ordered these to be discontinued. The speaker then went into the history of the competitive examination, and showed how, under circumstances of necessity, it had been accepted as a solution of the difficult problem of patronage. He continued: "Now I venture to submit that, as regards the selection of natives for the administration of their country, there is no risk whatever of the Government of India being influenced by political jobbery or family nepotism, and I think, therefore, it is safe and expedient to open the Civil Service of our Indian Empire to selections by the Governor-General, under such restrictions as may be laid down in concert with the Government at home."

(ii.)

33 Vict., c. 3, sec. 6: The Act enabling the Government of India to appoint Indians to the Covenanted Civil Service without requiring that they should have previously passed the Indian Civil Examination.

Whereas it is expedient that additional facilities should be given for the employment of natives of India, of proved merit and ability, in the Civil Service of Her Majesty in India: Be it enacted that nothing in the "Act for the government of India," 21 and 22 Vict., cap. 106, or in the "Act to confirm certain appointments in India, and to amend the law concerning the Civil Service there," 24 and 25 Vict., cap. 54, or in any other Act of Parliament or other law now in force in India, shall restrain the authorities in India by whom appointments are or may be made to offices, places, and employments in the Civil Service of Her Majesty in India, from appointing any native of India to any such office, place, or employment. Although such native shall not have been admitted to the said Civil Service of India in manner in sec. 32 of the first-mentioned Act provided, but subject to such rules as may be from time to time prescribed by the Governor-General in Council, and sanctioned by the Secretary of State in Council, with the concurrence of a majority of members present; . . . . .

(iii.)

Extracts from a despatch from the Government of India to the Secretary of State for India, dated May the 2nd, 1878 (No. 35 of 1878), giving a brief outline of the "legal aspect of the question," and setting forth Lord Lytton's proposals for a close Native Civil Service.

3. By Act 3 and 4 William IV., cap. 85, passed in the year 1833, it was enacted that "no native of the said territories (India), nor any natural-born subject of His Majesty resident therein, shall, by reason only of his religion, place of birth, descent,

"colour, or any of them, be disqualified from holding any place, office, or employment under the said Company." The Court of Directors interpreted this Act in an explanatory despatch in the following words:—"The Court conceive this section to mean: that there shall be no governing caste in British India; that whatever other tests of qualification may be adopted, distinction of race or religion shall not be of the number; that no subject of the King, whether of Indian, or British, or mixed descent, shall be excluded either from the posts usually conferred on Uncovenanted servants in India, or from the Covenanted Service itself, provided he be otherwise eligible."

4. In regard to Uncovenanted posts, this despatch was productive of practical results; and the proportion of such posts held by natives is at present so far sufficient that we need not further revert to that point. But in regard to posts reserved by law (Act 33 George III.) to the Covenanted Service the statute remained a dead letter. The nomination to these posts was at that time vested in the Court of Directors, and we believe that no native of India was ever nominated by any director to the Covenanted Civil Service.

5. By the legislation of 1853 the appointments to this service were thrown open to public competition. Since that period natives of India have been theoretically free to compete; and, as a matter of fact, there are at present nine natives of India who hold appointments in the Covenanted Civil Service, which they have obtained by public competition.

6. The difficulties necessarily arising from the competitive examinations being held in England have, however, practically debarred natives of India, save in a few instances, from availing themselves of the right to compete.

7. The principle of the law of 1833 was again reaffirmed in Her Majesty's Proclamation of 1858; and three years later (in Act 24 and 25 Victoria, 1861) an opportunity was taken, while legalising certain appointments which the Government of India had made, in contravention of the terms of Act 33 George III., to define more accurately the appointments to be reserved, under ordinary circumstances, for members of the Covenanted Civil Service. The same Act permitted the appointment by the authorities in India, under certain restrictions, of any person who had resided in India for a period of not less than seven years, to any of the reserved posts.

8. This law, however, like its predecessors, was followed at the time by no practical endeavour to employ Natives of India in posts generally reserved to the Covenanted Civil Service; and the question was again taken up by the Secretary of State in his despatch of 28th October, 1868, in which he expressed his desire to facilitate the introduction of Natives of India into the Civil Service.

9. Lord Lawrence's Government, believing that this could best be done by encouraging Natives to study in England for the competitive examination, established a number of scholarships of £200 a year each, tenable in Great Britain for a period of three years. The Secretary of State (the Duke of Argyll) did not approve of this arrangement; and, in the corre-



spondence that ensued, he advocated a system of selection for Natives, rather than one of competition.

\* \* \* \* \*  
10. The Duke of Argyll's policy had been embodied in the Act of Parliament passed in 1870 as Act 33 Vict., cap. 3, to provide "additional facilities for the employment of Natives of proved merit and ability in the Civil Service of Her Majesty in India," and was intended to open the door of the Civil Service to Natives, by means of selection, as well as by competition. In consequence, however, of some differences of opinion between the Indian Government and the Secretary of State, the rules necessary to give effect to the Act were not finally settled till 1875; and the endeavours since made to give effect to those rules have not been attended with success.

\* \* \* \* \*  
30. The proposals, therefore, to which we desire your assent are—

- (1) The establishment of a close Native Civil Service, to which should be transferred a proportion of the posts now reserved to the Covenanted Civil Service; the annual number of competitive appointments being henceforth reduced in a similar proportion.
- (2) The transfer also to this service of a proportion of the posts now held by Uncovenanted officers.
- (3) That the appointments to this service be made by selection, and not by competitive examination; tests of qualification being supplied by special examination, and departmental tests, such as those now in force, being maintained. The Government to be at liberty to transfer to the new service, at first starting, and probably for some years to come, a certain number of Uncovenanted officers; but afterwards the service to be strictly a graded service, with a fixed number of appointments allotted to it, to which the members of the service should have an exclusive claim.
- (4) That equivalent posts, when held by members of the Native Service, should, as a rule, be less highly paid than when held by Covenanted civil servants, but should be equal in status and position.
- (5) That nominations should be made by Local Governments; but the actual appointments conferred by the Viceroy in Council.

\* \* \* \* \*  
32. In the opinion of the Government of India, and of most of the officers who have been consulted, it is desirable that, when this Special Native Service is constituted, the ordinary Covenanted Civil Service should no longer be open to Natives.

\* \* \* \* \*  
33. The difficulty, indeed the utter impossibility, of getting European officers of position and education to serve cheerfully and successively (*sic*) in subordination to Natives of India is one which, whatever may be thought of it from an abstract point of view, no one with personal experience of India will under-

estimate. In regard to the executive work of a district, this difficulty is, we do not hesitate to say, practically insuperable. So long as Natives can obtain admission to the Covenanted Service by competition, this difficulty will be liable to arise, and the only complete remedy would be to close the competitive service by law to Natives of this country. But the recent reduction of the standard of age for the competitive examination will practically render the competition of Natives, educated in their own country, a matter of exceptional difficulty; and as the prohibition would involve the repeal of sec. 32 of Act 21 & 22 Vict., cap. 106, which renders Natives of this country eligible to compete, and as such legislation would be of an apparently illiberal character, we content ourselves with recommending the point to your Lordship's consideration, without making it an indispensable condition of our scheme.

34. The other question to which we have to refer is the general necessity for legislation, with a view to giving effect to our proposed scheme. It has been pointed out that the practical of Act 3 and 4, William IV, would be to prevent the establishment of a close Native Civil Service. The object of it was, of course, to facilitate the admission of natives into posts reserved for the covenanted European Service; but it is argued that the words "no natural-born subject of His Majesty shall, by reason of his birth, etc., be disabled from holding any place," are opposed, no less to the exclusion of Europeans by the reservation of special appointments to natives, than to the exclusion of natives by the reservation of special appointments to Europeans.

35. It is further urged that to remove any of the appointments from the list now reserved to the Covenanted Civil Service is in opposition to sec. 2 of 24 and 25 Vict., cap. 54, which lays down that all vacancies happening in any of the offices specified in the schedule shall, with certain reservations, be filled up and supplied from the Covenanted civil servants of the crown.

36. Finally, it is urged that to exclude natives from the Covenanted Civil Service on the one hand, and to reserve to a close graded service certain specified appointments on the other, involves a modification of the Act of 1870, which allows the Government to appoint any natives of proved merit and ability to any appointment under Government.

(iv.)

Extracts from the answer of the Secretary of State for India (Lord Cranbrook) to the above, dated November the 7th, 1878 (Public No., 125).

6. But your proposal of a close native service with a limited class of high appointments attached to it, and your suggestions that the Covenanted Civil Service should no longer be open to natives, involve an application to Parliament, which would have no prospect of success, and which I certainly would not undertake. Your Lordship has yourself observed that no scheme could have a chance of sanction which included legislation for the purpose of repealing the clause in the Act of 1833 above quoted, and the obstacles which would be presented against any attempt to exclude natives from public competition



for the Civil Service would be little less formidable.

\* \* \* \*

10. It is, therefore, quite competent to your Lordship's Government to appoint every year to the Civil Service of India any such number of natives as may be determined upon, and the number of Covenanted civilians sent out from this country will have to be proportionately decreased. The appointments should in the first instance, be only probationary, so as to give ample time for testing the merit and ability of the candidates.

\* \* \* \*

13. I am quite alive to the force of your arguments in paragraph 33 as to what you term the impossibility of officers of position serving cheerfully and successfully in subordination to natives of India, though I observe that in Egypt, in Turkey, and even in India itself, English gentlemen of the highest character are not unwilling to accept subordinate positions under native authorities. But the right of admission of natives to the Civil Service gives no claim to any particular class of office, and every appointment must be determined in reference to what the public interests require.

(v.)

Extract from a despatch from the Government of India to the Secretary of State dated May the 1st, 1879 (No. 31 of 1879), explaining the rules of 1879, which were annexed to this despatch.

7. In our original proposal for a new close Service it was suggested that a proportion (10 to 20 per cent.) of the offices now held by the Uncovenanted Service should be reserved for members of the new Service. We were disposed to consider that, if it were possible, it would still be desirable, under the modified scheme, to set apart a certain number of the higher Uncovenanted offices for Native Civil Servants. For if the posts open to Native Civilians were thus multiplied, the Native section of the Service would be larger, the yearly number of recruits would be more numerous, and the measure now to be taken would possibly be more acceptable to the Native public. As, however, the Native Civil Service is not to be a separate close Service, but is to be a section of the Covenanted Civil Service, we have found it impossible to carry out this view. As pointed out in paragraphs 4 to 7 of the committee's report, there would be risk of inconvenience and difficulty if we linked in these rules a number of posts in an open and subordinate Service to the offices available for the members of a close and superior Service. Moreover, if Natives, admitted under these rules to employment in the Civil Service, be appointed to offices which had never been reserved for the Civil Service, and for which they have all along been eligible, the Government will be liable to the charge of having disappointed the expectations held out by the Statute to which these rules are intended to give effect. We therefore accept the view that the number of Natives to be admitted to employment in the Civil Service in any one year must be strictly proportioned to the ratio of reserved civil offices of the higher grades to which Natives are hereafter to be appointed. Native Civilians will, like other Indian subjects of Her Majesty, be eligible

for the higher Uncovenanted offices, and for appointments not reserved for Civil Servants by Act of Parliament. But, in practice, Native Civil Servants will, probably, be generally restricted to Civil Service offices; because the higher posts of the Uncovenanted Service will ordinarily be given to the most successful and efficient members of that Service.

(vi.)

Notification of the Government of India (No. 1187) date June the 8th, 1880, indicating the position and status of a Native Civil Servant under the rules of 1879.

"A Native Civil Servant is a member of the 'Covenanted Civil Service in the Presidency to which he belongs, and ordinarily ranks in that service according to the date of his appointment to an office in the Covenanted Civil Service, his name 'being entered in the Civil list accordingly.'"

(vii.)

Notifications of the Government of India in which the appointments of Indian Civilians have been announced.

Fol. 4,115A, the 22nd Sept., 1881.

His Excellency the Governor-General in Council has been pleased to confirm Babu Nanda Krishna Bose in his appointment in the *Covenanted Civil Service*.

Fol. 1,747, dated 3rd Nov., 1882.

The Governor-General in Council has been pleased to appoint Babu Gopendra Krishna to be a member of the *Dengal Civil Service*, in accordance with the rules issued under sec. 6 of the Statute, 33 Vict., cap. 3.

(viii.)

Extract from a letter of the Government of India (No. 4,884 of 1890) showing their change of front in dealing with the Statutory Civilians.

"In addressing the Secretary of State, the Government of India in their despatch No. 58, dated 9th October, 1888, observed that 'a Statutory Civilian 'is appointed not to a Service but to a particular 'post.' In his reply the Secretary of State laid down clearly that the appointment of Statutory Civilians should continue to be treated, as hitherto, 'as outside both the Covenanted and the Provincial 'Services; adding that those officers would not 'belong to any organised service, in which they 'would, under ordinary circumstances, rise by 'seniority, and that their claims to advancement 'would depend entirely on the merit and ability 'that they might display, each step being treated 'as a fresh appointment under the rules passed 'under the Act of 1870.'"

MR. J. A. BAINES, the Imperial Census Commissioner, whose work is noticed elsewhere, read a paper at the Indian Section of the Society of Arts on March 9th, on "Caste and Occupation at the last Census of India," which proved once more that he can not only compile tables of figures, but wrest from statistics their inner meaning.



## Correspondence.

### DR. C. N. CUST AND THE OPIUM TRADE.

To the Editor of "INDIA."

SIR,—I have the honour of belonging to the company of sentimental fanatics whom Dr. Cust collectively describes as pretty young ladies and old Chinamen and women (though I can hardly determine under which heading I come) and as such permit me to make some comments on his letter in the March issue of INDIA. I do plead guilty to going about the country with a magic lantern, which is highly appreciated, if I may attach any value to the applause of my "foolish audiences." I also plead guilty to telling a story, for which, however, I beg Dr. Cust's permission to repudiate the epithet "exaggerated romance"; and, indeed, I only wish I could have the Doctor beside me on the platform, for he would certainly support at least one statement which I never fail to make, viz., that India is plundered. But when Dr. Cust and I are at one on this point, why does he find fault with me for proclaiming the fact, and so endeavouring to get the plunder stopped? If this is Pharisaism, it is surely a very respectable kind of it, and quite different from the ancient kind which bound heavy burdens upon men's shoulders, but would not itself touch them with a little finger.

His whole letter is a tissue of statements for the destruction of which one does not need to travel beyond the letter itself. He tells us that India is financially independent of England, but this independent country is at "Britain's mercy bound "hand and foot," it has to submit to an "annual "plundering of £17,000,000," and "dare not levy a "moderate duty on manufactured imports from "England." He tells us that an export duty of millions is placed on opium, and yet the export from India to China is a "petty traffic." He says that reasonable indulgence of an appetite must not be interfered with, and yet he asks us to hold up our hands in horror at the spectacle of English ships carrying tons of what he admits to be "English "poison."

As Dr. Cust has been studying Indian affairs since 1843, will he answer the following questions suggested by his letter?

(1) When did famine and pestilence take their final farewell of India?

(2) When was every acre of land in India brought under cultivation? The "Statistical Abstract" for 1888-89 gives the following (exclusive of Bengal):

	Acrea.
Cultivated Land .. .. .	161,533,524
Uncultivated Land (capable of cultivation) .. .. .	89,814,481
Forest .. .. .	45,524,640

(3) He says "that the Emperor of China might "by a single edict, destroy the opium trade, and no "attempt would be made by England to prevent him." Will Dr. Cust use his influence with Mr. Gladstone to get him officially to say the same thing, and to

send a formal intimation thereof to the Chinese Emperors?

The Doctor deprecates "interference with constitutional rights and tyrannous destruction of "individual liberty." These are exactly the sentiments of the anti-opium party, and all that we ask is the application of the principle in our national dealings with China. On his own showing he ought to join our party.

ROBERT BROWN.

Glasgow, March, 1893.

### THE JURY NOTIFICATION WITHDRAWN.

The withdrawal of the Jury Notification in Bengal, the news of which reaches us only as we go to press, is most gratifying, the more so, as it tends to show that with a good case, it is not hopeless to invoke British public opinion in the matter of Indian grievances. The British Committee of the Indian National Congress does not move without good cause, but thus far, this year, they have been successful in every matter in which they have taken action.

### SIR SEYMOUR KING DEFEATED.

Still more hopeful is the crushing defeat of Sir Seymour King in the House by Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji. Sir S. King, a typical blatant Anglo-Indian, calmly, and with an impudence worthy of a better cause, introduced a motion, the net result of which would have been to raise the emoluments of Anglo-Indian officials at the expense of the people of India. Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji at once proposed an amendment, stipulating that no such arrangement should be made at India's expense, and this amendment was carried by an overwhelming majority. It is quite clear now, reviewing the events of the last three or four months, that India has at last got in the thin end of the wedge, and if her people will only possess their souls in patience and adhere loyally to the golden path of purely constitutional agitation, that wedge will be driven home for them, sooner than a year ago seemed possible, by the growing forces of British public opinion and British love of justice and liberty.

THE Rájá of Rapúrthala, one of the Sikh Cis-Sutlej Chiefs, who rules a State containing over 250,000 inhabitants, and owns a large estate in Oudh, granted to his grandfather for his loyalty in the Mutiny, containing as many more, is about to visit the Chicago Exhibition, and thence proceed to England.

THE Edinburgh Indian Students' Association held their Annual Dinner last month, Mr. Azutullah, President, in the chair. It is satisfactory to hear that the Association is flourishing, and doing admirable work in keeping the Indian Students in the Scottish Capital in touch with each other.

THE new number of the *Journal of the East India Association*, contains the text of Lord Stanley of Alderley's paper on "The Storage of Grain against Famine," and Surgeon-General Sir William Moore's reply to the critics of his paper on the Opium Question.



## INDIA

is published on the 1st of each month in London, and will be despatched to India by the mail preceding or succeeding the day of publication, according to circumstances.

Supplements will be published, free to subscribers, from time to time, containing VERBATIM reports of debates on Indian questions in Parliament, and documents of historical or current interest.

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## INDIA.

LONDON, 1 APRIL, 1893.

## THE INDIAN COUNCILS' REGULATIONS.

By H. MORGAN-BROWNE.

ALLUSION was made in the last number to the new rules under the Indian Councils Act 1892 relating to the discussion of the financial statement and to the right of interpellation. The rules themselves and the remarks of the Viceroy on their introduction illustrate once more that unintelligent spirit of grudging concession which so frequently marks and mars our relations with India. Seeing that the principles of discussion and interpellation had been conceded by the Act of 1892, these rules are a singular instance of misplaced distrust and fear of their own policy. It is a golden rule, which has been followed by all strong governments, that trust or distrust of the governed should be complete in any one particular, and no strong or good government may hesitate to give logical effect to its convictions in this respect. If there is distrust, let it be boldly shown, let the government say:—"We govern well; all experience, all knowledge, and all political wisdom are in us; you of the governed rate are ignorant; you have not the genius of government; you never will have, and so far as we are concerned, you never shall; you may write to us and tell us your views, but you cannot expect us to take any notice of them; and we are not going to assist your pretensions by

"giving you even the outward forms of helping us to govern. We rule, you obey." Such an attitude would be intelligible; it might be mistaken, but it would have a certain amount of frank lawlessness about it, and would, consequently, not necessarily forfeit all respect. To give the Indian government their due this has chiefly been their standpoint in the past, and to tell the simple truth, this is still their innermost conviction to-day. But a change is coming over their too self-complacent dream; something there is in the air; something, it may be to their credit, stirs within them. The steady remorseless march of Indian officialism begins to falter. The strong man begins to doubt, but to doubt reluctantly. Now reluctant doubt is a dangerous thing, and the parent of many absurdities. Those new rules are some of its offspring. For what is it the Indian Government have done? Whether we give them credit for incipient good motives, or for matured political motives, they have begun to doubt whether India can any longer be governed by an autocracy frank in its brutality, and perfect in its absolute and comprehensive distrust of the people. *Hinc illa regule.* Among its many good qualities the government of almost any country seldom possesses political foresight, and whether it be due to its composition, or to the special unkindness of Providence, the Indian Government is more than ordinarily deficient in this valuable commodity. Let us analyse briefly what it is that they in their inscrutable wisdom have said to the Indian peoples through the clumsy medium of their latest blunder.

## I.—The Budget.

Discussion is to be allowed on the financial statement. The rules are simple, not to say innocent, in appearance, they state:

- (1) That the statement shall be explained in Council every year, and a printed copy given to each member;
- (2) That after such explanation each member may make such remarks upon the statement as he thinks fit;
- (3) That the Financial Member shall have the right of reply, and the discussion shall be closed by the President;

Similar rules apply to the local legislatures.

Simple and frank in semblance; so simple, in fact, so bald, that we turn to Lord Lansdowne's speech to find out the true inwardness of these rules, and to learn the probable spirit in which they were conceived, and in which it is intended to carry them out. His Excellency spoke plainly, here are his words. "The financial discussions will now take place with regularity, and not upon sufferance, and I feel no doubt that both the public and the Government of India will gain—the one by the wider knowledge and insight into public affairs which it will obtain, the other by the increased opportunity which will be given to it of explaining its position, and defending its policy". Excellent, your Excellency! but a trifle thin. The unctuous reference to "regularity" does not mean much, for the sufferance had doubtless become such as the Government did not care to disturb, but the statement of advantages means less. The gain of the public amounts to this, that



the discussion shall take place by law where lately it has taken place by custom or on sufferance. The gain of the Government is greater, and the rules have been carefully framed in that direction; "increased opportunity . . . of explaining its position and defending its policy!" Just so, a barren discussion, and a well-matured Government reply full of vague thanks to its critics and vaguer promises of consideration for their suggestions. And the great point is this. Lord Lansdowne ingeniously shows that the object and intention of the Government is to turn an apparent concession into a means for the glorification of the Government's financial policy—only this and nothing more. We turn to the other rules.

## II.—*Right of Interpellation.*

After stating that any question may be asked by any member, subject to six clear days' notice, and provided that the question be merely a request for information, neither argumentative nor hypothetical in form, nor defamatory of any person or section of the community, the rules proceed:

8. The President may disallow any question without giving any reason therefor, other than that in his opinion it cannot be answered consistently with the public interests; and in such case the question shall not be entered in the proceedings of the Council.

How does this work out? Here is the concession: "Any question may be asked, subject to a few restrictions—quite *pro forma*, of course." And here is the compulsory retrocession: "Any question may be disallowed, and in this case there are no restrictions." This is something of an achievement. At one and the same time a right is granted and immediately made the basis of an usurpation. A grudging concession to a growing and a righteous democratic demand is utilised to point the moral of a more rigorous and unbending autocracy.

The thing is beautifully simple: the "public interests," what are they? Of course with a wise and beneficent government, without the shadow of a flaw, or the hint of a reproach—with such a government the public interests are the Government's interests—for does not the government exist for the welfare of the governed? And the Government's interests, to whose discretion and in whose hands shall they be entrusted, if not to the responsible heads of Government, to the Viceroy and his able coadjutors? Therefore, who should know better than the President of the Council, instructed by himself as Governor-General, what is contrary to the interests of the public, *i.e.*, of the Government, *i.e.*, of the Governor-General and his staff? Truly a discreet and far-seeing provision? And so the Governor-General will promptly disallow the questions which are distasteful or embarrassing to the Viceroy, and the Viceroy will eloquently answer those questions which permit of elaborate vindication of the action of the Governor-General.

If there shall be danger of a disagreeable question, two courses are open to Government: (1) To make up their minds to disallow the question, pleading jeopardy to the public interests; (2) If the circumstances permit, to put up some member of the Council to ask the question in such a form as shall

best serve their purpose—forestalling more direct and searching interrogations, and then pleading their previous answer as all that can be safely uttered on the subject.

The next point of interest is that where a question has been disallowed with a careful regard for an enlightened public interest, a still more enlightened self-interest rules that it shall not be entered in the Proceedings of the Council. There must be no traces preserved of viceregal caprice or governmental ineptitude, no awkward questions unanswered but put on record—all must be eyewash and whitewash where the immaculate Indian Government is concerned! "But the press, or some small part of it, is 'always open: if there is a real grievance of course 'it will find publicity and be recorded,' safely and ironically urges the government functionary. Indeed? A question is disallowed—to press with it then! Will this be so? Of course not. A viceregal snarl about "breach of etiquette"—an Anglo-Indian chorus of "betrayal of government confidence," and the thing cannot be done, or rather will not be done. Oh no! the rules show some skill of framing, there is foresight of a kind, there is the expectation of evil which shows an ignorance of good—and, for the rest, absence of statesmanship and weakness aping prudence.

Lastly, there shall be no discussion on the questions asked! Was this necessary? Are the questions rendered possible by the foregoing limitations likely to be such as to provoke discussion of any kind, whether really useful or expectedly harmful? Surely this was to paint the lily; such a finishing touch of irony was just a little fanciful, just a little overdone. The whole thing may be a delicate joke, but it is always a pity to make your joke too palpable. Something should be left to individual imagination, some piquancy of doubt, some possibility of good intention. Still it is eminently consistent—the Indian Government is exact and painstaking, it spares no trouble to make its meaning plain. And when it desires to make its weakness manifest, with a creditable candour it dots its *i's* and crosses its *t's*. But the pity of it! The needless foolishness of these rules! If only the Indian officials could understand how they mar their good work by that unenlightened want of adaptability which is their chief characteristic. If they only knew how small in the estimation of their countrymen is the lifework of an Anglo-Indian official, however good the work may be, merely because of that cast-iron silliness with which the Service restricts its own freedom of action. The age advances, but the rulers of India, with some notable exceptions, are as autocratic as the men who went out there fifty years ago.

The steady march of Indian reform cannot be prevented by such expedients as these rules. The officials are assuredly laying up for themselves tribulation in the years that are to come. Not perhaps from the Indian peoples, upon whom the growing sympathy in England will have its effect, but from the short stern protest of the English people. For the widening of democratic institutions means the expanding of a nation's heart, and a day is coming more quickly now than heretofore when the British nation will awake to the possibilities of



their connection with India and to the greatness of the task which their greatness as a people demands of them. In those days if the Anglo-Indians have not set their house in order, they will fare ill. The democracy is patient but acts suddenly and energetically. Quickened by the splendid self-control of India's vast population and strengthened by the enkindling union of her many millions, strengthened also by the spirit of evil in the Indian administration, reform will come not piecemeal, but drastic and overpowering; and then a class of men so much out of sympathy not only with the people they govern, but with the democracy they represent, will have to render an account of their stewardship, in which while their masters will not set down aught in malice, yet assuredly will they nothing extenuate. It will go hard with the officials of that day if they are caught discrediting too flagrantly the honour and the freedom of our British institutions.

H. MORGAN-BROWNE.

### THE INDIAN CENSUS OF 1891.<sup>1</sup>

BY H. MORSE STEPHENS.

THE publication of the results of the third Indian census, taken in 1891, is an event of more than ordinary importance. It forms the most important inquisition into the success or failure of the British Government of India. By the unerring test of figures, the condition of the population is reviewed at regular intervals of ten years, and statistics when fairly grappled with are more eloquent than pages of rhetoric. A bureaucratic government, like that of India, is compelled to regulate its administration by the statistical information it collects. Ridicule is sometimes thrown on the Indian system of governing by reports, and there can be no doubt that much of the time of Indian officials is taken up by writing reports, memoranda and returns. But it is difficult to see what other method can be adopted under the present circumstances, and it is a matter of highest importance that the written and printed bases of Indian administration should be full and correct.

The most important documents compiled by the Indian Government are the results of the successive enumerations of the people. The history of the Indian census is instructive. The first census for all India was taken in 1872. Its returns were fairly accurate for the settled districts of British India, but in the more backward tracts and in the Native States they were less trustworthy. A feeling spread among the less educated part of the population that the numbering of the people was a preliminary to fresh taxation. An Oriental population distrusts still as it did in the time of King David any regular counting of the people as something impious and likely to lead to national misfortunes. This feeling was shown by several riots, and a general opposition to the work of the first census in the backward dis-

tricts. By the time of the second census in 1881 the prejudice had largely disappeared, and a far more accurate enumeration was obtained. But it is characteristically remarked that there was a hesitation in giving the true numbers and ages of the females. In every way the census of 1881 showed improvement on its predecessor, and the Imperial Census Commissioner, Sir William Chichele Plowden received the distinction of K.C.S.I. But if the census of 1881 showed an improvement in fulness and general tabulation, that of 1891 is far more valuable. Mr. J. A. Baines has shown a positive genius for his work, and the exceptional ability of which he has given proof has caused the Indian Government to intrust him with the task of compiling the *Decennial Statement of the Moral and Material Progress of India*. The last Decennial Statement containing the results of the census of 1881 was prepared by that distinguished Indian writer, Mr. J. S. Cotton, and it will be interesting to compare Mr. Baines's treatment of the subject with Mr. Cotton's. The Decennial Statement will interpret the inner meaning of the facts which Mr. Baines has collated, and will form the regular manual for Indian administrators for the next ten years as Mr. Cotton's has been for the last decade.

One of the characters in a well-known French comic opera has a passion for *La Statistique*, which is amusingly expressed in his principal song. Most people do not share his passion, and would decline even to look at the volume of general tables which has just been issued. Over 500 large folio pages, devoted entirely to statistical tables, give a vast impression of the diligence of Mr. Baines, but cannot be said to form tempting reading for the general public. Yet a careful study of them brings to light many curious facts.

Of itself the general statement that the population of India has grown during the ten years between 1881 and 1891 from 253 millions to 287 millions is a startling fact, which demands serious attention. The conquest of Upper Burma and the enumeration of tracts previously neglected accounts for 5½ million of this increase. But the actual population of the area enumerated in both years shows an increase in 1891 of 27½ millions, or nearly 11 per cent. This enormous increase foreshadows very serious difficulties for the English administration of India. As Sir William Hunter has pointed out, the withdrawal of the three previous checks on over population, famine, pestilence, and the sword, under the British *rāj*, has led to a most threatening danger. Great as is the present pressure on the economic resources of India, it threatens to become still greater. The difficulty of making a livelihood must continue to increase until some new check, such as emigration, is resorted to, to make existence possible. It is over-population at home which has sent the Chinese forth in their millions to settle throughout the Asiatic Archipelago, Australia, and America. Professor Pearson in his most instructive book on *National Life and Character*, published a few weeks back, shows that at the present rates of increase the whole world will soon be fully occupied; and it is possible that a surplus Indian population will be forced to take its share towards this consummation. But at present the Indian

<sup>1</sup> CENSUS OF INDIA, 1891. *General Tables for British Provinces and Feudatory States*. Vol. I. *Statistics of Area; Population; Towns and Villages; Religion; Age; Civil Condition; Literacy; Parent-Tongue; Birth-Place; Infirmitates and Occupation*. (London: Printed for the Indian Government, 1892.)



peoples do not take kindly to emigration. Some Tamil coolies go over yearly to Ceylon and Burma; a few coolies are shipped to the Mauritius and the West Indies, and that is all.

The immobility of the Indian peasant is once more proved by the census of 1891. In spite of the pressure on the soil he declines to leave his native village, and the waste districts in Burma and Assam still call aloud for labour. One of the most satisfactory features to be observed in the results of the last census is that the natural increase of the population has been largest in the more thinly peopled provinces. Thus in Lower Burma the population has increased by nearly 25 per cent., and in Sind by nearly 19 per cent. At the risk of wearying the reader with figures, I will venture to point out the percentages of increase in the different British provinces. In the Presidency of Madras, where the population had decreased between 1872 and 1881 owing to the great famine, it has increased between 1881 and 1891 by 15½ per cent. In the Bombay Presidency proper (excluding Sind) the increase has been 13½ per cent.; in Assam and Oudh, 11 per cent.; in the Punjab, 10½ per cent.; in the Central Provinces, 9½ per cent.; in Berár, 8½ per cent.; in Bengal, not quite 7 per cent.; and in the North-Western Provinces (excluding Oudh), 4½ per cent. The general ratio of increase in British India between 1881 and 1891 has been 9.70 per cent. as against 6.99 between 1872 and 1881.

Even more striking than the increase of the population in British India is the enormous increase in the Native States. During the period between 1881 and 1891 the population of feudatory India has increased by 15½ per cent., or almost four times the increase made between 1872 and 1891. Part of this apparent increase may be due to more thorough enumeration in 1891. But this cannot account for the whole of the increase. It seems as if the better government of the Native Princes of to-day is attracting inhabitants from the British districts. If this increase continues, and economic reasons cannot be alleged, it seems from these figures that native rule is becoming more congenial to the people of India than British rule. It is too early to generalise on this subject. Mr. Baines may contribute some useful comments upon it in the Decennial Statement. But the Census of 1901 will be examined eagerly to see whether the proportional increase of the population of the Native States over British India is continued.

It would be possible to write at great length on the various suggestive points in the general tabulation of the results of the Census, but it is only possible here to allude to a few facts. Once more it is proved to demonstration that the population of India is still mainly agricultural. Only 25½ millions out of 287 millions live in towns of more than 5,000 inhabitants. And the urban population, in spite of the increase of the great cities, therefore forms less than 10 per cent. of the whole. From another point of view the same fact is shown. Mr. Baines has adopted a different classification to his predecessors. Instead of giving the number of adult males engaged in a particular occupation, he gives the total number of persons—men, women, and children—dependent

on each for their livelihood. From this statement it appears that 61 per cent. of the people—or, including general labourers, nearly 70 per cent.—are supported by the cultivation of the soil and the care of cattle. Some other curious results come under the table giving the occupation or means of subsistence of the people. It appears that our 4½ millions are independent of work for their livelihood, and that over 5½ millions are engaged in the learned and artistic professions, while 140,000 subsist by sport and amusements.

As regards religion, some curious results are tabulated. It seems that the great bulk of the population, 207 out of 287 millions are returned as following some form of Hinduism. There were over 57 millions of Muhammadans, of whom over 23 millions are inhabitants of Bengal, 11½ millions of the Punjab, 7½ millions in the Native States, 6½ millions in the North Western Provinces and Oudh, and about 2½ millions in Madras and in Sind. Over 9 millions are classified as worshipping animistic religions, and this term is used comprehensively for the religions of forest tribes who do not accept the Hindu system. Of the 7 millions Buddhists, nearly all are inhabitants of Burma, and the 1,900,000 Sikhs are nearly all residents in the Punjab. There are 1,400,000 Jains, of whom nearly a million are resident in Native States, 89,000 Parsees, and 17,000 Jews, and nearly all in Bombay.

But the most curious return to English people is perhaps that of the Christians in British and Feudatory India. It appear that over 21 millions persons return themselves as Christians, of whom 2 millions were natives. This seems on the face of it a poor result for the amount of money expended on Christian missions. Of these 2 millions, 1½ millions are Roman Catholics. About 1 million of the Roman Catholics reside in Madras or the Native State of Travancore. There are 200,000 Syrian Christians who follow the rites of the ancient Christian Church originally introduced into India. There are 295,000 members of the Church of England, of whom, however, only 164,000 are native converts. Baptists number 186,000 Native Christians, Lutherans 64,000, Presbyterians 30,000, and Protestants giving no further particulars of their sect, nearly 50,000. There are some quaint reflections suggested by some of the Christian returns. Six natives in Central India term themselves members of the Church of India, whatever that may mean, and must form a rather isolated congregation. There appear to be four Primitive Methodists in the length and breadth of India, and two Eurasians in Assam call themselves Anabaptists. It would be an interesting speculation to find out the particular form of faith professed by the two Puritans in Haidarabad; and the two Moravians in the Punjab, the one member of the New Jerusalem Church in Bombay, the five Swedenborgians and the eight Welsh Calvinists must feel rather lonely. Under the head of minor religions are some curious returns, such as five Unitarians (all in the Punjab), 47 Theists, 12 Deists, 27 Atheists, 5 Freethinkers, 69 Agnostics, and alas! for the Religion of Humanity, only two Positivists. It should be noted, however, that 202 Unitarians, one Theist, and two Agnostics return themselves as Christians! Perhaps most



curious of all is the fact that only eighteen persons deliberately return themselves as of No Religion out of all the millions of India.

It would be interesting to dwell at length on some of Mr. Baines' results; but enough has been said to show that buried in his elaborate tables are to be found facts full of instruction to the statesman, affording food for thought to the missionary, and even amusement to those who look for it.

H. MORSE STEPHENS.

## THE INDIAN CIVIL SERVICE AS A PROFESSION.

By L. M. N.

SOME months ago, the writer of one of the articles on "Indian Affairs" in the *Times*, after commenting on the result of the last Civil Service Competitive Examination, went on to remark that in view of the depreciation of the rupee, it would be impossible to induce "first class men from Oxford and Cambridge" to give up "their bright prospects at home" for the sake of an Indian career, unless the Government of India revised the scale of salaries of its officials at an early date. From that I concluded, even then that an attempt would be made, and from the history of all such transactions in the past, successfully, to increase the salaries of Indian Civil Servants. Since then, the reported assurance of Lord Lansdowne to the same effect—for that is what his remarks virtually amounted to—in reply to a deputation that waited upon His Lordship in Calcutta, not so long ago, has confirmed my conclusion. And the latest available information bearing on the subject, elicited by Sir H. S. King in the House of Commons, to the effect that the Secretary of State has had under consideration the grievances of the Civilians, arising from the fall of the rupee, points to its being already very near settlement. The final settlement, however, will most probably be referred to a Select Committee of the House of Commons. In any event, there is no doubt that the argument of the writer in the *Times* will be the one to which the greatest importance will naturally be attached. I would therefore ask your permission to examine it somewhat closely; and I shall be able to show that:

- (1) "The bright prospects of first class men of Oxford and Cambridge," are, in most cases, mythical.
- (2) The present depreciation of silver notwithstanding, the Indian Civil Service opens a career at least twice or three times as valuable as any possible career at home, in the vast majority of cases.

In order to do so, it will be desirable to give a rough account of what the career of an Indian Civil Servant is like. He begins with a salary (in most of the Presidencies) of Rs. 4,800 a year, which is equal to £240 *taking the rupee to be equal to 1s. only*. In the course of one year it rises to £300 a year (on the same computation); in the course of five or six years, in the majority of cases, it rises to £600 a year, including "extra allowances," while every man of fair ability can calculate on getting about £2,000

a year before retiring, the maximum salary being that of the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal—over £5,000 a year.

The following additional details (as the result of a rough analysis) might be of interest in this connection.

Before completing total service of	Max. Salary, including allowances. A year.	Minimum.	Most Men get
3 years	Rs. 14,000	Rs. 6,000	Rs. 9,200
6 "	15,200	9,600	12,000
10 "	20,400	10,800	14,400
15 "	32,400	19,200	24,000
20 "	98,000	—	26,400
25 "	40,000	—	30,000
30 "	80,000	30,000	32,400
35 "	106,000	30,000	46,000

In the above calculation, besides taking the rupee to be only equal to 1s. (it is actually 1s. 2d.), I have not taken account of the fact that a portion of the salary is spent in India. But this is not all. There are the "furlough allowances," (which are extremely liberal), the retiring pensions (£1,000 a year), and "widow's pensions," all of which are paid in sterling.

Now what are "the bright prospects at home"? I have had some opportunities of knowing what they are; for I am intimately acquainted with several good first-class Cambridge men, with whom, I have discussed most of them. I shall enumerate the more important of these.

1.—The Home Civil Service (Superior Grade). With regard to these, the following points are of interest:—

- (a) No appointments are guaranteed; nor are examinations held at definite intervals. There is always thus an element of uncertainty about it.
- (b) The salary begins at £200 a year (and some according to the "Playfair Scheme" at £100 a year), with an annual increment of £12-10, till it reaches £500 (in *twenty-five years*); then, on special recommendation, it may go up to £600.

2.—Teaching. This is the *one* profession to which a large number of first-class men look for a living. Yet, excepting in the case of a few appointments such as those of headmasters of the larger schools, which are only given to distinguished men and are often restricted to clergymen, the salary begins at £120 to £200 and goes up to £300, or thereabouts—*no pension*.

3.—A few Inspectorships of schools and factories. Salaries, £300 to £500.

4.—Holy Orders. It is well known that the emoluments in the Church are not excessive.

5.—The professions of Law and Medicine, in which, in their present over-crowded state, it is impossible, without influence and capital, as well as special ability and aptitude, to achieve even moderate success, and that after years of waiting.

6.—Business. I mention this for the sake of philosophical completeness. It is hardly necessary to



point out that, up to the present, first-class honours at the University have been regarded as rather disqualifying men for business, and that success in it always presupposes the possession of capital.

No one, I believe, who takes these facts into consideration, will deny that the Indian Civil Service offers pecuniary advantages far superior to those of every other kind of work that a first-class man can betake himself to in this country; while as regards *prestige* there is no comparison between the two. As to whether the advantages are sufficiently great to induce men to go to India, in spite of prejudices, predilections, and other considerations, it is not for me to give an opinion. It will have to be decided according to the principle of competition in general. Some remarks, however, might be made without prejudging the case.

In the first place, it would be necessary, before deciding as to whether the inducement is sufficiently great, to allow time for the universities to make up their mind as to it. I am told, that at Oxford, in spite of various adverse influences, some of the colleges have taken up the preparation of candidates for the Civil Service as a part of their regular work. At Cambridge, on the other hand, nothing of the kind (except by a private coaching establishment) has been done. The reason, to my mind, is not indifference on the part of the authorities to the advantages of the Indian Civil Service, but is to be sought in the fact that they are at present much too busy developing scientific studies in the university to concern themselves with any special work of this kind. Unlike Oxford, moreover, Cambridge does not possess any men, so far as I know, who take such living interest in Indian affairs as Sir W. Markby or Sir W. W. Hunter. It is to be hoped that the gentleman who has been appointed to look after the selected candidates for the Civil Service serving their probation at Cambridge, may deem it a part of his duty to bring home to the authorities of the colleges the desirability of following the excellent example of such colleges as Balliol and others at Oxford.

Another remark that is, I believe, pertinent to the present question, is that a great deal too much is said of the supposed sacrifice made by an Englishman when he goes to India. I am prepared to admit that in some places, the climate, for a part of the year, is trying to a European; but it must not be forgotten that it proves more trying than it ought to be, owing to a foolish disregard on the part of a vast majority of English ladies and gentlemen, of the elementary principle that food and drink must be suited to the climate and country, independently of early habits. It does not require much thought to find out that strong drink and a large amount of animal food (in a country where animals suffer from heat as much as men) must be bad, and yet how many men are there who follow out the simple rule of life that it indicates? Moreover, so long as India is regarded, as it is by the average civilian, not as a country of his adoption, but one to which he has been driven by force of circumstances, in order to make money, so long will this exaggerated notion of sacrifice be associated with life and work in India.

But the point on which I wish to lay special

emphasis is this—that the scale of salaries of Indian Civil Servants before the depreciation of silver should not be regarded as a *standard* by which one ought to be guided in regard to this question. And yet this is what is implied in the argument of the writer in the *Times* as well as that derived from the “hardship” of the present members of the Civil Service. I do not deny the existence of this hardship; for it is a hardship for a man to be getting £1,000 a year while he was previously getting £2,000; but the question that the Government of India must ask itself is whether the former sum is or is not a *sufficient remuneration*, taking all the facts of the case into consideration—whether they will get good enough men for the money. There might be some slight difference of opinion about that, but I don’t think there can be any difference of opinion among unprejudiced men that the former scale of salaries of the Indian Civil Service was most inexplicably high. For a young man (according to the former regulations, only 21), a salary of about £500 a year to start with, rising to £600 in the course of one year, does represent something. But when one remembers that he used to get £1,200 a year in the course of six or seven years, £2,400 a year in another ten or twelve years, with a more or less sure prospect of going up to about £4,000 a year and some prospect of getting £10,000 a year, one must admit that in the interest of economy a lowering of such a scale of salaries might have been urged with good reason if the present difficulty had not arisen. It has, therefore, lowered a scale which was abnormally high, to begin with. To argue from this, therefore, to the grave responsibility of the Government in relation to its servants, without some reservation at least, is to show an unpardonable ignorance of the most important facts of the case, as well as a gross want of candour.

L. M. N.

## Reviews.

### HUNTER’S “INDIAN EMPIRE.”

*The Indian Empire : Its Peoples, History, and Products.*  
By SIR WILLIAM WILSON HUNTER, K.C.S.I., C.I.E.  
New and Revised Edition. (London : W. H. Allen and Co., 1893. Price £1 8s.)

The appearance of a new edition of Sir William Hunter’s well-known “Indian Empire” demands a prolonged notice. For his volume is the indispensable handbook for all who have to study Indian questions. The accuracy of the condensed knowledge accumulated by Sir William Hunter has been recognised by all Indian authorities, and the absence of party spirit which he displays in dealing with political, social, and economic questions has contributed to gain for his work its deserved popularity. The present Secretary of State for India has given his countenance to the preparation of the new edition of this volume, and the author gratefully acknowledges in his preface the assistance given to him by experienced officials like Sir Theodore Hope and Sir Charles Bernard, by scholars like Sir Alexander Cunningham and Mr. Stanley Lane-Poole, by authorities on missionary subjects like Mr. Osborn



Allen and Dr. George Smith, and above all by the accomplished Indian Census Commissioner, Mr. J. A. Baines. Sir William Hunter has always shown himself ready to recognise the extent of the assistance received by him in his various undertakings. It is obviously impossible that any single individual could compile such a volume as the present without assistance. But Sir William Hunter deserves the credit of condensing the labours of other men; he possesses the rare faculty of presenting lucidly the results of learned investigations; he can deduce morals from complicated statistics and masses of figures; and he imparts a literary charm to all he touches which moulds his work and gives it the impression of his own personality.

The history of the birth and growth of Hunter's "Indian Empire" is interesting and instructive. When Dr. Hunter, as he then was, undertook to boil down the 128 volumes of the "Statistical Survey of India" into "The Imperial Gazetteer of India" he devoted the greater part of his fifth volume to an article on India, which summarised the results of the other volumes, and gave the general view necessary for understanding the special information contained elsewhere. This article on India was revised with the rest of the "Imperial Gazetteer", and issued as vol. vi. of the 2nd edition, in 1886. But its merits, as the most concise and accurate manual of Indian matters in existence, were so generally recognised that it was also issued separately in Trübner's Oriental Series as "The Indian Empire: Its History, People, and Products". This volume has for some time been out of print, and a new edition has been urgently demanded. The Secretary of State for India has not seen his way to authorise a new edition of "The Imperial Gazetteer" at the present time, but he has given his *Imprimatur* to a new edition of the article on India, that is of "The Indian Empire."

This third edition is more than an ordinary new edition of a classic work of reference. The author has not considered it sufficient merely to replace former figures by their modern equivalents; he has practically rewritten the whole work. For the purely statistical part this was comparatively easy, as the Blue Books dealing with Indian Trade, etc., are issued in much the same form as in earlier years. But the whole chapters relating to the numbers and occupations of the inhabitants are entirely revised by the results of the 1891 Census of India. This of itself is no slight gain, for as we have pointed out in another portion of this number, the new Census is a great improvement on its predecessors, and is both more full and more accurate. The historical chapters however show perhaps the greatest improvement on the former edition. They bear evidence on every page of careful revision. They make abundant use of the new information which has been acquired on Indian history. The passage on the Mughal revenues contains a masterly exposition of a difficult subject. The additions made to the account of the Portuguese and the French in India show a hearty acceptance of modern research in these fields. And in a few pages the recent history of India under Lord Dufferin and Lord Landsdowne is skilfully summarised. These are

but instances of the careful revision the whole book has undergone; but many useful minor additions can be perceived on a careful comparison of the two editions. Special praise may be given to Sir William Hunter's practice of throwing figures, wherever he can do so, into a tabular form. Among new and useful tables may be noted two on the character and subjects of publications in India in 1890 on pp. 573, 574, and one on the increase of revenue from Indian forests during the last eight years, on p. 626.

Readers of INDIA will naturally desire to know what attitude Sir William Hunter adopts with regard to the Indian National Congress. The passages which we reprinted from his brilliant address to the Society of Arts last month contain more of a profession of faith than the few words to which he is restricted by the size of his book on "The Indian Empire." It must be remembered that in an encyclopædic work like this, which contains a record of facts rather than a statement of opinions, the author is obliged to take up a neutral position. But it is no small gain that in an authoritative work of this nature a fair mention should be made of the Indian National movement. The enemies of the Congress are never tired of asserting that it represents a spurious enthusiasm, which will soon die away. Evidently Sir William Hunter does not consider the progress of Indian local government or the Congress movement as purely temporary, or he would not have written the following lines upon the subject: "Municipal Councils and District Boards have, during the past thirty years, been gradually created throughout India. Such Councils and Boards received a powerful impulse, with extended opportunities for usefulness, from the measures of Lord Ripon. Their members consist chiefly of Native gentlemen, many of whom are elected by their fellow-citizens. These Municipal Councils and District Boards now manage many branches of the local administration. Their legal powers and their practical ability to do good work are increasing. . . . At the same time a 'National Congress' of delegates from all parts of India has since 1886 been held each December in one of the provincial capitals, such as Calcutta, Madras, Bombay, and Allahabad. This Congress discusses plans for opening a larger share in the work of legislation, alike in the Viceregal and Provincial Legislative Councils, to Natives of India. It desires, among other things, that a proportion of the members of the Viceregal and Provincial Legislative Councils should be elected, and not all appointed, as heretofore, by the Government. The more advanced party in the Indian Congress advocated, in 1890, the adoption of a system for all India of popular elections for members of the Legislative Councils. It even went so far as to divide out the various Presidencies and Provinces into electoral areas. But wiser councils prevailed in the Congress, and it was felt, both in England and India, that such a scheme of universal representation by electoral areas was greatly in advance of the actual conditions and requirements of the Indian races" (pp. 503, 504).

It could be wished that Sir William Hunter had said a little more about the aspirations of the Con-



gress, but we must be thankful for what we have got. It is a matter of congratulation that a writer who has so much influence in the formation of English opinion on Indian matters refuses to regard the Congress with the contemptuous indifference or the acrid hostility which characterises only too many retired Anglo-Indian officials. After all, what is most needed for a right appreciation of India's needs is a knowledge of India, and no book yet published contains so much accurate information about India as Hunter's "Indian Empire."

## THE ADMINISTRATION OF LORD HASTINGS.

*The Marquess of Hastings, K.G.* By MAJOR ROSS-OF-BLADENSBURG, C.B. (*Rulers of India Series*. Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1893. Price, 2s. 6d.).

THE volumes of the *Rulers of India Series* continue to appear with commendable regularity and punctuality. It was only two months ago that we had the pleasure of reviewing Sir Charles Aitchison's able life of Lord Lawrence, and recommending it to readers of INDIA as a noteworthy book on the life of a great statesman. From one point of view Major Ross-of-Bladenburg did not have so good a subject as Sir Charles Aitchison. No one can compare Lord Hastings with Lord Lawrence without being convinced of the immense intellectual and moral superiority of the rugged self-made Anglo-Indian official over the polished and extravagant Irish nobleman. But, on the other hand, Sir Charles Aitchison had to run the gauntlet of comparison with previous biographers of the eminence of Sir Richard Temple, Robert Cust and Bosworth Smith, whereas Major Ross-of-Bladenburg had a clear field. It is a curious fact that a man like Lord Hastings, who, in his time played many great parts, who was one of the most distinguished, if not the most distinguished English general in the American War of Independence, whose march across the Netherlands was the most remarkable military feat of the Duke of York's campaign against the French Republicans, who was a conspicuous figure in the society of the Regency, and the intimate friend of George IV, who was one of the most notable politicians of his time, and who governed India for a longer period than any of his successors, should have had to wait so long for a biographer. It would have been thought that a man whose varied career gave so much scope for picturesque description during one of the most dramatic periods of English history would have found some enterprising historian to write his life ere this. But the chance has been reserved for Major Ross-of-Bladenburg, and it is now our duty to see how he has availed himself of it.

Owing to the character of the series to which it belongs this little volume is devoted mainly to an account of Lord Hastings's Indian administration, and touches but lightly on the rest of his career. For his work the author had the advantage of being able to use Prinsep's History of the Political and Military Transactions in India during the Administration of the Marquess of Hastings, which was published in 1825. With such an admirable base to

work upon, it was not likely that he could go far wrong in his treatment of facts, nor was there much reputation to be won in summarising them. Yet Major Ross-of-Bladenburg has done his work well. Prinsep's book is a little antiquated to modern eyes, and modern readers prefer a short bright sketch to too long and serious volumes. Brightness and shortness are characteristics of the *Rulers of India Series*, and the present volume is no exception to the rule.

The administration of Lord Hastings is the complement of Lord Wellesley's. Lord Wellesley laid it down as the keynote of his policy that the British power must be paramount in India. He only partially succeeded, for the Maráthás were only defeated not politically destroyed at the end of his term of office. Lord Hastings completed the work by the third Maráthá war, after which he annexed the dominions of the Peshwá. Lord Wellesley also laid it down that it was incumbent on the British as the paramount power to maintain peace throughout the whole of India. Lord Hastings carried this project into action by his destruction of the hordes of Pindáris, or wandering freebooters, who pillaged and ravaged all over the country. In many ways the younger Irish nobleman cannot be compared with the elder. Hastings was no originator, he had none of that lucid insight into facts which distinguish Wellesley; he possessed neither the grandiose nor the audacious sides of Wellesley's brilliant genius. But he had one advantage over Wellesley. He was an experienced soldier and general. He was able to execute himself the military plans which he formed, and his military capacity is manifested more than his statesmanlike powers during his administration. His lengthy government of India will always be remembered by his overthrow of the Maráthás and Pindáris, and his name will live in Indian history as the ruler who completed and carried into effect Lord Wellesley's policy.

There are other points in Lord Hastings's administration which deserve to be commemorated. The story of the Nepál war is distressing reading, even after all these years. In internal questions Lord Hastings himself introduced no great reforms, and contented himself with continuing the system of administration which had hitherto prevailed. But it was during his time that Sir Thomas Munro, on whom we are glad to see a volume is promised in this series, introduced his justly famous *rayatwari* settlement into Madras. But one passage in this book deserves quotation, for it shows that Lord Hastings was in advance of his time. In Major Ross-of-Bladenburg's own words Lord Hastings "cordially approved of education, promoted it in every way in his power, and established out of his own private means. He was the first to encourage the moral and intellectual improvement of the natives, and his views on the subject were altogether in advance of Indian officials of his time. Soon after the Nepál war he took an early opportunity of proclaiming his anxiety to raise the people committed to his care by education, and his repudiation of the narrow policy which unfortunately animated so many Europeans who lived in India. This government, he said, will never



"be influenced by the erroneous position that to spread information among men is to render them less tractable, and less submissive to authority. . . . It would be treason against British sentiment to imagine that it ever could be the principal of this Government to perpetuate ignorance, in order to secure paltry and dishonest advantages over the blindness of the multitude" (pp. 209, 210). Wise words these, and worthy of record at a time when there is a disposition abroad to deny the value of education to the Indian people.

## TWO BOOKS ON RELIGION.

1. *Hinduism and its Relations to Christianity*, by the Rev. JOHN ROBSON, D.D. New Edition. (Edinburgh and London : Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier, 1893. Price 3s 6d.)
2. *Words on Existing Religions, An Historical Sketch*, by the Hon. ALBERT S. G. CANNING. (London : W. H. Allen & Co., 1893. Price 3s 6d.)

BOTH of these books are concerned with India, the first, as its title implies, in particular ; the second, in so far as it treats of the relations of the great religious systems of the world which come in contact with each other in our great Empire of the East. Dr. Robson's book is the work of a missionary who has made good use of his opportunities in India for studying the religious thought and practices of the people whom he endeavoured to win to his cause. It is written in a spirit of admirable tolerance. Though the author states plainly that he has been confirmed in the opinion which he formerly stated that there can be no compromise between Hinduism and Christianity, that the latter is the religion for India and will one day prevail, yet he is a chivalrous combatant, not slow to recognise merit where he finds it, and not attempting to conceal the defects and failures of his own side.

The larger part of the book is occupied with an account of Hinduism and the various elements from which it has developed. The subject is treated on the same lines as in Monier Williams's useful little book on Hinduism. Both are intended for general readers, and naturally we do not look for anything new or original. From this point of view the present work has in some respects the advantage. It is more free from technical terms, the introduction of which is apt to deter the reader unacquainted with Sanskrit, and the differences between Eastern and Western modes of thought are pointed out and illustrated. The chapter on Hindu philosophy in particular is singularly good and clear. The Vedic period still offers us problems as yet unsolved, and, pending further investigation, short accounts must of necessity be unsatisfactory. Still the author has made good use of the limited space devoted to this part of his subject, and writes here, as elsewhere, with clearness and in general with accuracy, if we except a few statements which belong to the theories of the past, with regard to etymology and the relations of race and language.

With regard to the progress of Christianity in India Dr. Robson is on the whole hopeful, though he admits that the number of conversions in the last decade does not compare favourably with the results

of a former period. He believes that the work of evangelising can be done by none but Protestants, and that it will be accomplished only by more determined efforts and by sending more workers into the field ; but he finds not a few reassuring facts in the course of events, particularly in the advance of female education. Whether or no India will be Christianised by the middle of the twenty-first century, as has been predicted by calculations based on the recent progress of Christianity, time alone can show.

Enough has been said to show that this work is the result of careful study, and that its conclusions are worthy of careful consideration ; but the case is different when we turn to the second book mentioned above. Of this work we can only say that it deserves little attention and less praise. It consists of an introduction followed by a series of chapters on Christianity, and the great religions of the East, with some final remarks on modern freethought. Perhaps a quarter of the matter is made up of quotations from a large number of authorities, mostly excellent in themselves, which are enumerated in a list at the beginning of the book. Such an anthology may be interesting, but most serious readers will probably prefer to examine the passages *in situ* and to draw their own conclusions. The introduction is a panegyric upon the theme of the great increase of our knowledge with respect to ancient religions, that has rewarded the researches of the present century, and upon the blessed tolerance that Christians now show in treating of such matters. This occupies eighteen pages, and the same ideas are continually harped on throughout the book. We could wish that there was more evidence of this increase of knowledge in the rest of the author's contributions to the work. The remaining two hundred pages, so far as they are not occupied with quotations, consist of short paragraphs with little apparent connection, full of repetitions and obvious conclusions. The author appears to be seldom certain of his opinions and most of his statements are introduced with an "apparently" or "it seems." A work like this, full of vague and unscientific statements, will be useless to the student and will only mislead and confuse the general reader, who may be in search of plain and accurate information upon the subject of which it treats. When we turn from the matter to consider the manner the case is no better ; the language is sometimes ungrammatical, not infrequently grotesque and often obscure, and the general style is such as would merit correction in a schoolboy's exercise. We can only congratulate the author on his choice of a Title. No one can deny that he has written "Words" on existing religions. We are glad that he did not write "Thoughts" upon his title-page.

THE *Academy* in its Indian jottings of 25th March, 1893, notices the first number of the *Journal* of the Buddhist Text Society of India (Calcutta : the Baptist Mission Press), the *Journal* of the Bengal Asiatic Society for 1892 (London : Kegan Paul and Co.), the March number of the *Indian Antiquary* (London : Kegan Paul and Co.), and the *Journal* of the Maha-Bodhi Society.



## The Voice of India :

SELECTIONS FROM THE INDIAN PRESS.

[Extracted from the *Indian Spectator* and *Voice of India*.]

### THE PROPOSED REFORM OF THE INDIAN LEGISLATIVE COUNCILS.

SINCE the hopeful and encouraging signs of the spirit in which the Viceroy has received the Councils Act, His Excellency has made a statement which amply confirms us in the view that has been taken. Owing to some legal technicality necessitating a further reference to the Secretary of State, it will be some time before the rules enlarging the constitution of the councils will come into operation. But the Viceroy is anxious that the difficulty which has arisen in this respect should not delay the introduction of the reform which has been sanctioned relating to the functions of the councils. Be it said to the honour of Lord Lansdowne that he is himself deeply impressed with the wisdom and importance of the reform, and it is in no grudging spirit, but with the heartiest cordiality, that he wishes to give effect to the wishes of Parliament. We do not like to spoil the sentiments he has expressed in the Supreme Legislative Council by any paraphrase. The words are of the utmost significance and importance, and, therefore, they deserve to be noted and coned over. . . . Honest, earnest words suited to an occasion which marks the commencement of an epoch in constitutional government in this country! Lord Lansdowne has referred to the good of the reformed Councils coming in greater touch with the public. For this very reason, we wish some chosen public associations had been invited to give their opinion on the rules that are to be framed relating to the enlargement of the constitution and functions of the Councils. The necessary disadvantages of a close, compact, and alien bureaucracy can be neutralised, in some degree, by seeking the public opinion and feeling on questions of great moment instead of hatching them in the dark, and launching them, with the suddenness of a thunderbolt, on the country. We readily admit that the authorities are always well-intentioned in the measures they adopt; but with the best of intentions they may seriously err from ignorance of the light in which they may be taken by a people, alien in race, religion and social condition. If, for example, the Government had sounded the public feeling on the jury question, before publishing the famous notification, might they not have seen reasons to modify that document in some essential particulars? The reform of the Indian Councils is a measure which affects the people far more deeply and generally than any other Act of Government, and every reason weighed in favour of the Government inviting the views upon it of municipalities, universities, chambers of commerce, and some native political organizations of standing and influence. Although the Government have not cared to learn their opinions, it is very gratifying to note the spirit of liberal sympathy in which the rules under the Councils Act are likely to be framed—*Rast Goftar* (Bombay).

We must of course wait to see the new procedure at work before pronouncing any definite opinion about it, but as much has been said about the procedure in the House of Commons, it will be expedient to point out the difference between the Parliamentary procedure and the proposed procedure in the Councils here, and also to show that the change in the function bears an intimate relation to the proposed change in the constitution. The right of interpellation here will be subject to the veto of the President, a person having no resemblance whatever to the Speaker of the House of Commons. The Speaker does not belong to the ministry, but is merely the constitutional chairman of a meeting. The right of interpellation is exercised as a sort of control over the executive, or the ministry. In our Councils the Speaker will himself be the head of the executive, and will not be able to treat questions about the executive with the same unconcerned neutrality as the Speaker of the House of Commons. The most liberal-minded Viceroy or Governor will find himself in some difficulty; and, looked at from this point of view it is not difficult to understand Lord Lansdowne's observation, that this right of asking questions is a serious and far-reaching measure. The new constitution of the new Councils is the most important consideration, because much depends upon what kind of members are nominated. Only independent men will have the courage to ask questions seeking information, to bring perhaps official high-handedness to the notice of the Council, and generally to exercise his right as a representative of the public interest. Could anyone for instance, except a man like Rájá of Bhinga, put a question about some reported wrong-doing on the part of some official or some other act of oppression? When new nominations are made, if any, we shall be in a position to judge how the new functions will be discharged. Let us know the men, and we shall be able to say whether Lord Lansdowne's weighty, impressive, and very serious speech will produce similar results.—*The Tribune* (Lahore).

As His Excellency the Viceroy intimated when making the important statement in the Legislative Council, referred to last time, the rules for the discussion of the Budget and the right of interpellation were published in the *Gazette of India* on Saturday week, and in the local *Gazette* on Thursday last. With reference to these, we cannot help protesting that while the pettiest bye-law or Bill is published for general information before it is passed, these rules of extreme importance were not placed before the public before they were given the force of law, the only glimpse the people had being that conveyed by the Viceroy's declaration a few days before they saw the light in the *Gazettes*. This suspicious procedure on the part of the Government of India, notwithstanding repeated appeals for the opposite course, will evoke very strong criticism, and create misgiving in the popular mind. Coming to the rules for the discussion of the Budget in the Viceregal Council, we are sorry to find no provision for a vote on the debate, in order that the policy finding favour with the majority might be obligatory upon Government. But that, of course, was not to be expected.



No doubt the new rules are an improvement on the old order of things, in that they require the submission of the Budget to the Councils every year, instead of when any new tax is proposed to be imposed or an old one to be repealed. But the object in view will be gained only when the discussion leads to some decision, and does not consist of a mere expression of opinion on the part of the members. The rules for interpellation are also conceived in a halting spirit. Of what material use will this new right be if no discussion is permitted on the answers given by the executive? The questions are, moreover, to be mere requests for information, and are not to be put in an argumentative or hypothetical form, or in defamatory language. The Viceroy spoke thus on the points:—"These two 'restrictions are substantially identical with those 'under which questions may be put to Her Majesty's 'Government in the British House of Commons.' It will not do, we submit, to cite the practice in Parliament as a precedent, because members of the Legislative Councils have not similar powers here. They will not be able to raise the question for discussion before the Council some other time, as, we believe, can be done by members of Parliament. Then again, the President can, besides the barriers imposed by Parliament, disallow any question 'with- 'out giving any reason therefor.' This is certainly open to objection.—*The Indian Spectator* (Bombay).

The financial member shall have the right of reply; after which the discussion shall be closed by the president making such observations, if any, as he may consider necessary. The more important rules of interpellation are that at least six days' notice shall have to be given in writing to the Secretary to the Government of India in the legislative department, and the question shall have to be submitted in full. Full in what? in thought or language? Here is another rule which would be more appropriate as a bye-law of a students' debating club than as a rule for the guidance of members of the Supreme Council. It lays down that questions must be framed so as to be merely requests for information, and must not be in an argumentative or hypothetical form or defamatory of any person or section of the community. If they are not so or *are not considered so* by the president, we suppose the question would be disallowed. Here then clearly there is great discretion allowed to presidents of the council. We do not mean to suggest that as a rule this discretion will not be wisely and judiciously exercised. But we must at the same time bear in mind that "wise" and "judicious" are after all relative terms; and we are not sure that now and then, here and there, we would not come across thin-skinned and over-fastidious officials who would suspect mischief where there is none. It is nothing strange that such should occasionally happen to be the case, considering the traditions in which they are brought up and the artificial atmosphere in which they live; and, when it does happen, the result will be unfortunate, an unnecessary tension of feeling. We should be glad if our dark surmises are not realised; but if the past be any indication of the future it is not at all surpris-

ing that such would be the case occasionally.—*The Advocate*, Lucknow.

As affairs stand at present, the Home Government is beset with grave difficulties—internal and external. There are the difficulties of Irish Home Rule, and there are the rocks ahead in connexion with the ministerial revolution in Egypt. These are by themselves sufficient to occupy all the time of the cabinet till Easter. The great party to which Lord Kimberley belongs would, therefore, naturally wish that its hands were not further embroiled by Indian agitations. There is the jury question hanging fire. Then, there are the troublous questions about the Pamirs, and the policy of the Indian Government towards the much baited and bullied, but forbearing Ameer of Afghanistan. There is also the burning question of currency in all its complications with the artificial grievances of the services regarding increase of salaries, as if the salaries allowed were not in all conscience enough, and above those which could be allowed in any other part of the civilised globe save India. To add this fourth difficulty to the triangular one just referred to would indeed be calamitous. And we, for one, note, therefore, with some satisfaction that Lord Kimberley has delayed sanctioning the rules. Though delays are proverbially said to be dangerous, in this instance, at least, it is to be hoped that the delay may prove to the advantage of India and the Indians. The speed and the secrecy with which the Imperial Government and the administrations subordinate thereto have rushed through the rules, and the unseemly hot haste with which the Viceroy and some of the provincial authorities have pronounced their intentions with regard to the procedure to be adopted for the formation of the new legislative councils of the empire, have hardly met with public approval. Apart from the precious little these have tried to tell the public, the little of which the public were perfectly aware before the show was made to take it into their official confidence, there is absolutely nothing known as to the procedure of election or selection. It was owing to this scandalous mode of ignoring the public, that the Congress wisely tacked to its resolution on the subject, the prayer that the recommendations of the Government would be widely published for general information before they were acted upon. And the wisdom of the Congress, we see, is confirmed by the respectful but firm tone in which the public-spirited local chamber of commerce expressed itself in its annual report on Monday last.—*Kaisar-i-Hind* (Bombay).

A good deal will depend, however, on the spirit which the Government, as well as the unofficial members, will bring to bear on the discussion. If the statement is published sufficiently early, and the public are enabled to criticise it fully, the unofficial members may be in a position to ventilate in the Council the impressions of the public. The Government too should not get annoyed at the freedom or errors which might characterise the discussion, especially at the initial stage, but should place every possible facility before the members in mastering the features of the financial position, and making their criticism practical and sound. It is not, how-



ever, the discussion of the financial statement, but the exercise of the privilege of interpellation that will most try the patience of the Government. If the members are allowed to exercise this privilege freely, it can be made the means of a very effective control over the administration. But the Indian Legislative Councils are not like the British Parliament. The Councils meet very rarely, and the interpellation being allowed only while the Council is in session, all the administrative measures that may be launched at other times are secure against reference by questions in the Council. It is moreover open to the President to disallow any question on the ground that to answer it will be against public interest. With what public interest it will be inconsistent, and how it will be inconsistent, the President alone can judge, and on the veto resorted to by him no discussion will be allowed. Thus, the two changes that are about to be adopted in the procedure of our Legislative Councils are not fraught with serious consequences, and it is in the power of the Government to minimise any hindrance they may be liable to place in the way of its executive power. Still, as marking the points of departure from the old arrangements, these changes are to be welcomed, and we have no doubt that our countrymen will exercise the privileges conferred on them with thorough decorum and in a spirit of loyalty to Government as well as to the interests of the public.—*The Hindu* (Madras).

As to the additional restriction on the members of the local councils, though it looks reasonable on the surface, it will most effectually exclude all those topics which are generally subjects of popular complaints. Salt tax and abkari, for instance, which are so oppressive to the people of this Presidency, may be excluded from the discussion because they have been assigned to Imperial revenue. In fact, the only branch of revenue which will escape the operation of these rules is the land tax. Thus, it will be seen how this much-vaunted right of discussion is almost nullified by a very simple process. Of course, there is still the freedom to notice these topics in the Supreme Council; but that will be useless, and may be often-times impossible, on account of the absence of any provincial representative there. Let us now come to the other privilege—the right of interpellation. If the right of discussion was almost nil, the right of asking questions is still more deceptive. The questions asked must merely be requests for information, and even then they can only be put if the president allows them. Now, what new information is to be acquired by the members by asking such questions beyond what is usually given out in official documents? All the information which the Government thinks harmless is even now published in annual reports and other papers; while we may safely take it for granted that if a member ventures to ask for any unpleasant details, the president will take good care not to allow the question. Again, even if the question is put, the ex-officio councillor can and will give as evasive a reply as the Under Secretary often gives in the House of Commons. With respect to the provincial councils there is also a further restriction similar to the one mentioned

about the discussion of the budget, and the remarks which we made about it also apply here. What useful information is then to be expected from questions that are guarded with so many barriers, and how is a member to conduct himself amidst these pitfalls? The exercise of the right is made exclusively dependent on the will of the president; and if we take into account the usual character of viceroys and governors, we may be quite sure that no question will be allowed which might in any way prejudice the Government. The much-vaunted Councils Act has thus proved to be no revolutionary measure, which at one time threatened the stability of the Government, but a very tame affair. Some good use may occasionally be made of these rules if a plucky member happens to be in the council; but Government need not fear this contingency very often, if the constitution of the councils is framed in the same spirit in which they have regulated their functions. The most important rules under the Act, namely, those relating to the appointment of members are yet to be published; but we may petty well guess their character if they are to be nominated and if their number is to be limited to the minimum.—*Mahratta* (Poona).

The rules as to questions asked in the local Legislatures are conceived in the same spirit, but they contain two special and important restrictions. Under the first of these, members of council are precluded from asking questions with regard to matters or branches of the administration other than those under the control of the local Government. The second restriction is this, that in matters which are, or have been, the subject of controversy between the Governor-General in Council, or the Secretary of State, and the local Government, no question shall be asked except as to matters of fact, while the answer must be confined to a statement of the facts. The necessity of both these facts is obvious and requires no defence. The Viceroy concluded his speech by saying that these changes will come into immediate operation; that he was obviously precluded from speaking of those changes which are likely to follow and which affect the constitution, as distinguished from the functions, of the councils, while the matter was still in the hands of the Secretary of State for India. In this country we have to be thankful for small mercies, and therefore it is as well not to look a gift horse too closely in the mouth. Still these reforms are a step in advance; for up to the present, members of council have been absolutely precluded from asking for information, or enquiring into matters of public interest. The value of these reforms depends, however, entirely upon the nature and extent of the reform in the appointment of the members of the council. If the rules, which are under the consideration of the Secretary of State, are framed and worked in a really truly liberal spirit, and made it possible for the people to return their own trusted representatives to the council, there and then alone will their privileges of discussing the budget and asking questions be of any good to the people and of real good to the Government, and not otherwise. As Parliament is now sitting we shall probably soon get further information



on points about which Lord Lansdowne was silent, especially regarding the present hitch between the two Governments.—*Indian Union* (Allahábád).

been still more grateful, if we had something more substantial.—*The Bengalee* (Calcutta).

Coming to the rules what do we find? As far as the rules relating to the financial statement are concerned, we have nothing to say. They are simply a reproduction of the Act. They could not have been more liberal or less liberal. The Act itself does not permit of a division upon questions arising in the course of the discussion, in connection with the financial statement. The rules follow the Act. But it is in connection with the rules regarding the important right of interpellation that we have to express our profound disappointment. The Viceroy's speech expressly lays down the matters, in regard to which no questions shall be allowed. The rules do not, however, lay down with equal explicitness the cases where questions shall be allowed, irrespective of the discretion of the President. His Excellency observed that in regard to military preparations and financial matters which may lead to the disclosure of the state of the money-market, no questions shall be put. We have nothing to say to these limitations. We should not have a word of protest to utter if, barring these classes of questions, the right of interpellation was allowed to extend to all other matters. When we are told that the concession which has been made follows the lines of the rules which obtain in Parliament in this respect, we reply that there is no class of questions which is expressly excluded, and although the Government is allowed a great deal of discretion, such is the state of public opinion in England that the Government cannot really refuse to answer any question upon the mere pretext of public interests. We do not mean to insinuate that the plea of public interests will be often used here as a means for evading unpleasant replies. But it would be taking a too hopeful view of things, if we were to come to the conclusion that this would not be done sometimes. In India the hard school of bitter experience has inspired us with a profound distrust of the exercise of discretionary authority. We have seen in a recent case how discretion, vested in a Local Government, was grossly abused. Power is a dangerous possession. The chances are that discretion is likely to be abused, unless fettered and controlled by limitations, which are precise in their nature, and are independent of mere personal opinion. One possible safeguard which, it might be presumed, would afford some sort of a check, is done away with, by the rule which provides that when a question is disallowed, it shall not be entered in the proceedings. All official record of the question, all evidence as to whether the discretion vested in the President has been rightly used or not, thus completely disappears. Any appeal to a higher tribunal, to the enlightened opinion of the British public, as to whether the discretion has been properly exercised or not, would be wanting. No doubt the speech of the Viceroy was eminently conciliatory. Its tone was sympathetic. But we have long outgrown that infantile state in which we could be pleased by mere words. We want something more substantial than fine phrases. We are grateful to His Excellency for his kind words; we should have

#### NATIVE COVENANTED CIVIL SERVANTS.

We trust that one of the many friends of India in Parliament will seize an early opportunity to put a question on the status of the Indians in the Covenanted Civil Service of India. It is to be regretted that the matter has not attracted attention in this country though we had occasion to refer to it several months ago. All Indians who have entered the Civil Service after duly passing the competitive examination have been jealously excluded from all Secretariat and political appointments. One officer was appointed Secretary to the Bengal Board of Revenue, but lest it should give him a claim on the next vacancy in the Bengal Secretariat he was removed from the Board of Revenue and placed in charge of a district. District appointments alone have been open to Indians in the Civil Service and we do not find a single Indian holding any other appointment than that of a District Magistrate or Sessions Judge or appointments subordinate to those. No Indian has ever been attached to any political office or accredited to any Native State. Not one among the twenty or thirty Indians in the Civil Service has ever been appointed an Under Secretary or Secretary to any Government, local or imperial. This steady exclusion cannot be due to a mere accident but must be the outcome of a settled policy and the Government may be well called upon to explain the grounds on which they refuse to take Indians in the Covenanted Civil Service into their confidence. Nominally Indians have the same rights and privileges as the European members of the Service, but we have unquestionable evidence that in practice there is no such thing in existence.—*The Tribune* (Lahore).

#### THE COMPOSITION OF THE JURY COMMISSION.

Later news about the Jury Commission fixes definitely the composition. The Hon. Mr. Justice Prinsep will be president. Mahārājā Sir Jotendro Mohan Tagore, Sir Romesh Chunder Mitter, Sir Griffith Evans, and Mr. Cecil Wilkins, the last being nominated by the Bengal Government, are the members. The names had to be submitted to the Secretary of State at his request, and the terms of reference to the Commission, which have also received the sanction of the Secretary of State, will be shortly announced. Without, of course, in any way anticipating what the view of the Commission may be after taking evidence, the composition leads to a strong hope that the inquiry will be impartial and independent. Some of the members have expressed an opinion one way or the other, but we take it they will reconsider their opinion by the light of fresh evidence. Mr. Justice Prinsep is one of the judges of the High Court who did not pronounce a favourable opinion on the jury system, but who afterwards, from the bench, repeatedly expressed surprise that trial by jury had been dispensed with in an important class of cases. Mahārājā Sir Jotendro Mohan



Tagore was one of the conveners of the indignation meeting, but did not commit himself to any definite opinion. Sir Romesh Chunder Mitter may be relied on for manful independence of opinion and judgment. On the bench, it must be remembered, he was senior to Mr. Justice Prinsep. Sir Griffith Evans is a lawyer of great ability, but has been long connected with the Government as an additional member of the Legislative Council, and, if we can trust our memory, took no part in the protest meeting in the Calcutta Town Hall. Mr. Wilkins is a Sessions Judge, and is probably opposed to the jury system. All that is to be hoped is that the Commission will not record a mass of opinions, but facts, and will merely report whether the facts adduced before them justify the Bengal Government notification or not.—*The Tribune* (Lahore).

## The Voice of Britain on India:

SELECTIONS FROM THE BRITISH PRESS  
ON INDIAN MATTERS.

### THE INDIAN BUDGET.

For the year 1893-4 the Budget estimate is decidedly gloomy. Sir D. Barbour contemplates a deficiency of no less than Rx. 1,595,100. We may, perhaps, venture to indulge the hope that things will not turn out quite so bad as this. There is a tendency in India, if we may say so, to indulge a little in the luxury of woe. The exchange is exceedingly unfavourable, and must be a perpetual annoyance to everyone concerned with Indian finance. It appears to be supposed that this country could, if it would, do something to raise the price of silver, and, although no one has yet been able to propose measures that will bear criticism, there is a distinct disposition to regard our inaction as a grievance to be cherished. We are told that in two years the fall in the price of silver has added no less than Rx. 4,142,000 to Indian expenditure. It is a most unfortunate circumstance, and one entitling the Indian Government to all sympathy. Yet, if the case be really as serious as Sir D. Barbour makes it out, it is rather singular that the Government of India proposes nothing whatever by way of restoring financial equilibrium. It adopts a waiting attitude, and professes to hope for salvation from some decision to be taken by the home authorities. From Sir D. Barbour's earnestly expressed hope that everybody, whatever his private views, will loyally accept whatever suggestions may be made by the Herschell Committee, we gather that the solution of the difficulty is expected to come from this body. . . . The bright spot in Indian finance is the steady improvement in the ordinary revenue, which is described as growing rapidly. This means, beyond all question, a steady improvement in the general condition of the population, which is the surest guarantee for the permanent stability of Indian

finance. Indeed, Sir D. Barbour, though by no means in an optimist mood, admits that if there were any assurance that silver would not fall lower still there would be no great cause for uneasiness. The loss of the revenue is in fact the gain of the cultivators. If the rupee is worth less to the Indian Government, it must constitute a smaller burden upon the man who pays it for land tax. Change of this kind may not be quite so rapidly felt in India as in this country, but it must assuredly occur. Sir D. Barbour observes that if America ceases to purchase silver, India will be compelled to absorb silver worth Rx. 8,000,000 yearly. One hardly perceives where the compulsion comes in. India will not get silver for nothing in any case, and if she absorbs that large amount yearly, it can only mean that she has surplus goods to give in exchange. She is, as a matter of fact, absorbing greatly increased quantities of silver—in other words, the Indian population is saving money, and, fortunately, is investing its savings in the very commodity which the rest of the world wants to sell.—*The Times* (March 24th).

The telegram from the Viceroy of India which we publish to-day gives another gloomy forecast concerning the revenue and expenditure of our greatest dependency. A small surplus has been unexpectedly realised on the accounts of 1891-92, but in the current year there is a deficit of more than a million rupees, which is wholly due to the depreciation in the value of the rupee. This was taken in the last Budget at the rate of 1s. 4d., and in the new Budget is estimated at no more than 1s. 23/4d. The expenditure on the Army continues to increase, and this, with other things, leads to the estimate of a still larger deficit for 1893-4, while it is believed there will be a falling off in the net revenue from opium. The Finance Minister, however, repeat his conviction that the resources of India are fully adequate to her wants if foresight and economy are studied. He also explains that though he has no liking for deficits he is unwilling to take any steps to get rid of them until the report of Lord Herschell's Committee has been considered by the Home Government and the future of the Indian currency question formally decided. Till that is settled he thinks any measures he could take in India would be "either inadequate or unnecessary;" and for this reason things must be allowed to "slide" at present. We cannot help believing that economies can be safely effected in India, in Army matters if in nothing else; and now that the splitting up of the Army into three separate organisations is to be ended there ought to be no difficulty in saving a good deal that has until now been simply wasted. Mr. Campbell-Bannerman's proposal to bring three infantry battalions home, and increase the strength of the battalions remaining out will save India the double pay of three sets of regimental officers. That in itself would be no mean retrenchment. But it is quite clear that the Home Government should lose no time in coming to a decision about the currency. Whatever way the decision goes, it must be better for India to know just how she is to stand, and then she can accommodate herself to circumstances.—*Daily Chronicle* (March 24th).



## Gossip.

### ABOUT PERSONS AND BOOKS.

DR. R. N. CUST has published a vigorously-written pamphlet "The Indo-Chinese Opium Question, as it 'stands in 1893; or, Are the Constitutional Rights 'of the Millions of British India to be Sacrificed?'" (Hertford: Stephen Austin and Sons.)

MISS LILIAN TREWBY, L.R.C.P. and L.R.C.S., Edinburgh, whose departure for India was noticed in the February number of INDIA, has gone up to Shikarpur in Sind to take charge of the hospital just opened there by Lady Dufferin's Fund.

MR. GLADSTONE, the Marquis of Ripon, Lord Reay, Mr. Herbert Paul, M.P., and Sir William Muir, K.C.S.I., have been unanimously elected patrons of the Indian Students Association at Edinburgh for their sympathy with Indian reforms.

MR. JHINDA RAM, Pleader, Chief Court of the Punjab, has reprinted his letters to the *Lahore Tribune* under the title of "My Trip to Europe". It can be procured from the author, at Dera Ismail Khan, for one rupee in India, or 2s. in England.

MR. NOLINI MOHAN CHATERJEE delivered an interesting lecture, on "The Nature and Origin of Caste in India," in the saloon of Hampden House, Phoenix Street, to the Hampden Guild of Fellowship, on March 16th.

MR. SATYA CHANDRA MUKERJI, M.A., B.L., Gold Medallist in History and Cobden Medallist in Political Economy of the University of Calcutta, has in the press an "Indian History of Our Own Times, 1859-88."

MOULVI RAFI-UD-DIN AHMAD, whose article on the Queen's Hindustani Diary in the *Strand Magazine* for January attracted much attention, has contributed an article on "England in relation to Muhammadan States" to the April number of the *National Review*.

Two of the most interesting announcements in Messrs. W. H. Allen & Co's list of forthcoming works are, *An Oriental Biographical Dictionary* by the late T. W. Beale, edited by H. Keene, C.I.E., and *Portuguese Discoveries, Annexations and Missions in Asia and Africa*, by the Rev. A. J. D. D'Orsey.

It is again announced that Sir Charles Elliott, the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, will take six months' sick leave in June; but it is now asserted that Sir Antony Macdonell, the Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces, and not Sir Alexander Mackenzie will act for him.

MR. DACOSTA has reprinted his excellent article on the Maimansingh case, "A Recent Criminal Prosecution in Bengal," from the February number of the

*Law Magazine and Review*. Copies can be obtained at the office of the British Committee of the Indian National Congress.

### MAPS OF INDIA.

MR. G. W. BACON (187, Strand, London) has sent me two wall maps of India, belonging to his well-known "Excelsior Series." They are boldly executed and coloured, and well suited to adorn the walls of schoolrooms, offices, and even of more pretentious buildings. Their distinguishing feature is the bold printing of the names of places, and the clearness with which the chief physical features are shown. But we have one adverse criticism to make. The boundary of Lower Burma is not clearly distinguished, either from Siam or the Malay Peninsula, and a false impression is therefore given of the boundary of the Indian Empire. This error will doubtless be rectified, and Mr. Bacon's map will then rank as one of the best for educational and general purposes.

### INDIA OFFICE LIST.

The India Office List for 1893, published by Messrs. Harrison and Sons, has only just reached me. It is as correct and as valuable as ever. The record of the services of officials forms its distinctive characteristic. These short sketches of the official lives of Indian civilians form instructive reading, but it might be wished that this department of the book should be increased even at the expense of eliminating some of the standing matter that can be found elsewhere. The few pages at the commencement, which contain a chronological list of the heads of the Indian administration in India and at Home are peculiarly valuable. The unobtrusive work which has been done at the India Office in this direction has never been fairly appreciated. The list of early governors of Bengal is of singular value, but it would be a boon to students of Indian history if the list of members of the Supreme Council, which appears on pp. 22-24, would go back to 1786, when the Bengal Council was reduced to two members, instead of commencing as it does in 1820. Or it might go back as far as 1774, when the quarrelsome councillors of Warren Hastings were appointed. Also a chronological list of Residents at the principal Native Courts, especially of those who held office when the non-existence of the telegraph made a Resident of greater importance than he is to-day, would form a valuable historical addition to the India Office List.

### BIBLIOGRAPHY OF ARTICLES IN MONTHLY AND QUARTERLY MAGAZINES ON INDIAN SUBJECTS.

(Extracted from the "REVIEW OF REVIEWS,")  
WITH ADDITIONS.

MARCH, 1893.

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