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Indiana.

ACCORDING to the most recent figures The Famine. which have been published the number of persons employed upon relief works in India amounts to 2,811,000, while the Mansion House Fund has reached £460,000. That is, in brief, the present position of the Indian famine as it appears to the casual reader of the newspapers. Lord George Hamilton, as will be seen from our Parliamentary Supplement, has not much to add to this information. He did, indeed, observe on March 9th, in reply to a question as to the mortality due to famine, that if the author of the question expected the present calamity to "pass over India without raising the mortality above the level which obtains in normal times," he stood alone in the expectation. Apart from this vague and indirect admission that the famine will probably cause some deaths, Lord George Hamilton is dumb. His private opinion probably is that members of Parliament who put questions on the subject are seditious agitators. They ought rather to say, as Sir J. Woodburn is reported to have said, somewhat mysteriously, in the debate on the Budget at Calcutta that, "while perfection could never be hoped to be attained, yet the Government of India had gained a measure of it." While the Government of India is congratulating itself upon gaining a measure of the unattainable, we continue to hear from India that the steps taken to combat the famine are inadequate, and the

wages paid on the relief works unduly low. The India Office apparently thinks that its duty at this moment consists partly in withholding information, and partly in excusing—which is sometimes the same thing as accusing—the Government of India. Fortunately, a large section of the British press is no longer content to accept this theory of its duties, and in many quarters we notice a strong determination to probe beneath the surface, and to enquire into the meaning of what is, after all, only a symptom.

AMONG the more vigorous protests against official optimism and superficiality may be mentioned two notable articles which appear in the *Progressive Review* and the *Positivist Review* for April. Professor E. S. Beesly, in a luminous and cogent article in the last-named journal, goes to the root of the matter when he says: "In India, or any other country, famine is the result not of drought, as Lord George Hamilton likes to think, but of poverty unable to make provision against drought. Therefore if it can be shown that British government is in any degree draining India of her wealth, it follows that in the same degree is British government the cause of Indian famine." Professor Beesly examines some of the topics which are familiar to our readers—such as the cost of Indian government, the drain of money to London in the form of pensions and other payments, interest on Indian debt, and so forth—and asks:

"What are we to think of a public subscription of half a

million to relieve distress in an exceptional year, when we are bleeding India every year to the extent of thirty millions? Even in this year of famine, every penny of the English claim on India will be exacted. 'Thou shalt want ere I want' is our motto. The interest on the debt will be forthcoming punctually. Every official in India or in London will receive the salary to which he is entitled. Lord Elgin will draw his Rs. 250,000, and Lord George Hamilton his £5,000. To meet the strain the debt will be further swelled; and, unless the new interest is to be paid out of new borrowings, new taxes must be devised for a people long since taxed to the uttermost and now suffering from exceptional distress."

The *Progressive Review*, writing in much the same strain, says—and we entirely agree—that the need of the situation is an exposure of the real meaning of British rule in India simple and vivid enough to catch the imagination of the people of this country.

"If Front Bench Liberals are going to stand in the way, so much the worse for them. Sir Henry Fowler is treading a perilous path; if he wants to reach the India Office again, to say nothing of any higher ambition, he will have to go more warily. The idea that, at this time of day, the House of Commons could be hoodwinked in regard to so old a grievance as the Famine Insurance Fund was quite fatuous."

Imperialism, the writer in the *Progressive Review* concludes, will be on its trial in various quarters during the next few years, and nowhere with more desperate stake than in India. All sober men will hope that another mutiny may not be needed to bring the famine-makers to their senses.

It may be interesting to reproduce here a brief analysis of the evidence recently given before Lord Welby's

Commission on Indian Expenditure by Mr. H. Morgan-Browne, formerly Secretary to the British Committee of the Indian National Congress. Mr. Morgan-Browne's evidence may be summed up in the following seven propositions with reference to the accounts of the Government of India for the twenty-one years 1875-6 to 1895-6:—

1. That during the last twenty years the increase of net expenditure upon the civil and military services, apart from exchange, has far exceeded any increase in the cost of these services caused by the fall in exchange; while the additional cost of exchange accruing under other heads of net expenditure has been more than met by decreased expenditure under these other heads. The following is a summary of the figures:

	Rx.	Rx.
Increase in Civil and Military Services	13,150,000	
Add Increase in Cost of Exchange	7,750,000	
Total Increase		20,900,000
Decrease in other Expenditure	8,600,000	
Deduct Increase in Cost of Exchange	6,600,000	
Total Decrease		2,000,000
Net Total Increase.. ..		Rx. 18,900,000

2. That taking 1884-5 as a middle year, and altogether excluding expenditure due to exchange, the increase in civil and military expenditure in 1895-6 over that in 1884-5 was more than double the increase in such expenditure in 1884-5 over that in 1875-6. The following is a summary of the facts:

From 1875-6 to 1884-5 there was an increase in total net expenditure (excluding exchange altogether) of Rx. 3,000,000; from 1884-5 to 1895-6 the increase is Rx. 1,550,000. The increase of Rx. 3,000,000 during the former period is made up of an increase of Rx. 4,200,000 under the heads of civil and military services (including collection of revenue) and a decrease of Rx. 1,200,000 under other heads of expenditure; while the increase of Rx. 1,550,000 during the more recent period is made up of an increase of Rx. 8,950,000 in civil and military expenditure and a decrease of Rx. 7,400,000 in other expenditure.

3. That since 1884-5 the effect of the heavy fall in exchange has been aggravated by a large increase in the sterling expenditure of the Government of India and by other increase not automatic in its character.

	Rx.
Cost of Exchange on Increase in sterling Expenditure (£1,900,000)	1,600,000
Cost of Exchange Compensation Allowance (1895-6)	1,400,000
	Rx. 3,000,000

4. That from 1875-6 to 1884-5 the military expenditure of the Government of India (excluding exchange altogether) was almost stationary, but that since 1884-5 (again excluding exchange in any shape or form) there has been an increase of nearly Rx. 4,500,000 per annum.

5. That during the twelve years 1884-5 to 1895-6, over and above a large increase in ordinary military expenditure (i.e., army and military works), and excluding all charges on account of Upper Burma and the cost of frontier railways, special and extraordinary expenditure has been incurred to the amount of nearly Rx. 12,000,000.

6. That, generally speaking, and whatever may be the explanation, while the fall in exchange has been a disturbing factor of considerable magnitude, increased expenditure on the civil and military services apart from exchange has been a more important source of financial difficulty.

7. That some of the statements in the accounts of the Government of India relating to debt are misleading; that the set-off against ordinary debt of debt transferred to public works is improperly carried out in these accounts owing to the mixing of gold and silver debt without taking into account the varying rate of exchange between the pound and the rupee; and that therefore the Government of India are wrong in stating that the ordinary debt less that transferred to public works has decreased since 1884-5 by about Rx. 9,000,000—it has, in fact, increased by nearly Rx. 3,000,000.

The foregoing propositions summarise the financial memoranda issued by the British Committee of the Indian National Congress, and we believe that not one of them was shaken in the course of Mr. Morgan-Browne's examination before the Royal Commission.

Mr. Caine's
Return.

WE print elsewhere a full report of the speeches delivered at the National Liberal Club on March 9th, on the occasion of Mr. Caine's return from the Twelfth Indian National Congress. The gathering was a large and representative one, and, while our

Indian readers will note with satisfaction the just and sympathetic temper which animated the proceedings, it may be hoped that the speeches of Sir W. Wedderburn, Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, Mr. Harwood, and Mr. Caine will further dispel delusions once deplorably prevalent in the United Kingdom as to the method and the aims of the Congress. Sir W. Wedderburn, in proposing the health of the Queen, expressed the hope that India might not be forgotten in this year of celebrations. Mr. Samuel Smith, Lord Kinnaird, and Mr. Caine strongly urged that the United Kingdom would be neglecting its duty to India if it failed to make an Imperial grant to supplement the work of private charity and State relief in the hour of famine and pestilence. Needless to say, this proposal, excellent as it is, only touches the surface. What is infinitely more important is that justice should be done to India all round, and the first step towards that end is to welcome and appreciate the wishes and aspirations of Indians themselves. This, no doubt, is a difficult task. But in the Indian National Congress the Government of India, and the people of England, have an unrivalled index of Indian public opinion. Sir W. Wedderburn, who remarked the difficulty of governing so many millions of people so many thousands of miles away, urged the paramount importance of loyal and cordial co-operation between the Government and the natural leaders of the Indian people. Unfortunately men like Lord George Hamilton are for the moment more disposed to sneer at the Congress than to listen to it. The Secretary of State for India denounced the recent proposal for enquiry into the causes of famine as a proposal emanating from the Indian National Congress. But that fact, far from discrediting Sir W. Wedderburn's amendment, was its chief recommendation. Lord George Hamilton's knowledge of India is, to put it gently, imperfect. Sir W. Wedderburn was able to quote from Sir Richard Garth, formerly Chief Justice in Bengal, a description of the constitution and objects of the Congress which was based upon knowledge of the facts, and was, therefore, in the highest degree favourable.

Critics of the Congress.

LORD GEORGE HAMILTON not only accused the Congress of sedition—by which he means that it dares to offer criticisms and suggestions to the Government—but also taunted it with unreadiness to help in the work of fighting the famine. No taunt could have been more uncalled for, or more grotesque. The Congress, as Lord George Hamilton ought to know, is a deliberative assembly. Consisting as it does of representatives drawn from all parts of India, who meet together for its proceedings and disperse at

their close, it is little suited for executive work. But, as Mr. Caine aptly showed, the individuals who are prominent in the campaign against famine in their several districts are supporters of the Congress. They subscribe to the relief fund. They form the local committees. And, as Mr. Caine might have added, they are responsible for the careful and fruitful investigations of such bodies as the Bombay Presidency Association and the Deccan Sabha. Mr. Caine disposed of the charge of sedition by the simple device of reading the Congress resolutions. The allegation that the Congress is not representative is only less absurd. Popular election has as yet little scope in India. But wherever popular election is permitted, the people of India, as Mr. Caine said, "love to elect men who have proved their interest in their welfare by conspicuous service in the Congress movement." Mr. Caine's description of a Congress election in the market-place of Sholapur is a useful and striking answer to the wiseacres who talk of election as if it were a Western institution unknown to India and unsuited to her people. Mr. Caine was impressed, as every English visitor to India is impressed, by the passionate affection which is entertained for Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji among all classes of the Indian people. Mr. Naoroji, who reminded his hearers that the Congress is the offspring of British rule, and seeks to strengthen the connexion between Great Britain and India, has no objection to being told that he has the poverty of India on the brain. On the contrary, he intends to retain the malady, if malady it be, until the English people are aroused to a sense of their responsibility. Prince Ranjitsinhji expressed the hope that the cause of justice to India might not become the exclusive concern of Liberals. The remedy lies in the hands of Conservatives, whose co-operation is always invited, but who seem to be permanently under the spell of the party whip. Lord Kinnaird does not think (and we heartily agree with him) that the friends of the Congress need be discouraged because they meet with some opposition.

Proposed Imperial Grant.

THE suggestion that a grant should be made from the Imperial Treasury to supplement State measures of relief in India has met with increasing support during the past month. It has, in fact, become a commonplace among public speakers and writers on the famine. Lord George Hamilton, however, in his reply to Mr. Buchanan on March 22nd, said that no application for assistance had been made by the Government of India, and her Majesty's Government did not see any reason to anticipate such an application by an offer of financial aid. In this connexion it may not be amiss to quote the words used by the Mahārājā of

Darbhangha in his speech in the Viceroy's Council, on March 26th, upon the Indian Budget :—

"For so long the burden has been exclusively borne by the Indian taxpayer that in the time of his need he may fairly appeal to the Home Government for a subsidy, and I am sure that he will not appeal in vain to the generous English nation, for his demand is based upon considerations of justice and equity. For England in the past he has made at least some pecuniary sacrifices, and to the English Government he may appeal for help in the time of pestilence and famine. I trust that your lordship's Government will see their way to press this view of the matter upon the attention of her Majesty's Ministers in England. The whole of India feels deeply grateful for the magnificent way in which the people of England have unanimously come forward to afford relief to the famine-stricken peasantry of this country. What I now request is that the English Government should supplement the good work performed by the generous English public. Any concession of this sort in a year like this will, I feel sure, not only be regarded with feelings of deepest gratitude by the thinking portion of the Indian public, but, what is more, it must go a long way to bind the two nations in closer bonds of union and love."

The Campaign against Ignorance. Mr. ALFRED WEBB who was prevented by illness from attending the meeting on March 9th wrote, in the course of an inspiring letter, that "the general ignorance prevailing in the United Kingdom as to the Congress movement was deplorable." Every supporter of the Congress must agree with Mr. Webb in this opinion. At the same time, it is only reasonable to recognise that during recent years some impression has been made upon public opinion, and especially upon the newspaper press. Nobody who now compares the tone and the volume of references to the Congress in British newspapers with the tone and the volume of such references a few years ago can fail to notice the progress which has been made. The truth about the Congress is by degrees becoming known. Among other causes to which this result is due, we may mention especially the growing frequency of visits to India, and (a very different matter) the bitterness with which the Congress has been attacked. As an example of the first kind of influence we take the following extract from an article printed in the *Star* (March 27th) and written by an Englishman who recently visited India :—

"As to the Congress. On my way out I met with members of both the civil and military services who loathed the very word Congress. I also met with Englishmen who were going out chiefly in order to attend its meetings. In face of this conflict of opinion I desired to see and hear for myself, and therefore made a point of reaching Calcutta, where the meetings were held from 28 to 31 December. I am bound to say, as the result of my own observation, that if India is to be allowed to have an opinion upon matters in which she is mainly concerned (and no Liberal, at any rate, would refuse that right to her) it is difficult to imagine that such opinion could be expressed with greater moderation, ability, and loyalty to the English rule than at the recent Congress. Here

was a gathering of upwards of one thousand delegates, the picked men from all parts of the country, reinforced by about five times that number of visitors. . . . It is impossible here to speak of the detailed resolutions, about twenty in number, which were all carried with entire unanimity. The fact is that before a question reaches the Congress stage it has been threshed out elsewhere, and only those subjects are admitted about which there is fairly general concurrence. A special feature this year was the larger adherence of the Muhammadan community, a distinguished member of which opened the proceedings in a speech of more than three hours' duration, and presided over all the meetings with marked ability. The official class does not love the Congress or its leaders. But perhaps the future historian of India will say that at the present stage of development the Congress was useful, not only for the reforms, legal and administrative, which it promoted, but also for preventing, by the publicity of its proceedings, the abuses to which non-representative government is liable."

All this is excellent; and, as readers of INDIA are aware, it is but one out of many instances of impartial and favourable testimony.

A grim commentary upon Mr. Chamberlain's menaces to President Kruger with reference to the grievances of the Uitlanders in the Transvaal is afforded by the persecution of British Indian subjects in British colonies in South Africa. Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji has been for two years, and still is, in communication with Mr. Chamberlain on this subject, but so far, it would appear, with very little practical result. In spite of protests and appeals from South Africa and India, Mr. Chamberlain has declined to disallow the new Franchise Law Amendment Act in Natal, which will have the effect of excluding British Indian subjects from civic rights. Other measures of a similar character are still, it would seem, under Mr. Chamberlain's consideration, and his decision in regard to the treatment of British Indian subjects in British colonies must inevitably supply a standard by which his attitude towards the Transvaal will be judged. Mr. M. K. Gandhi, who recently visited India, laid before his fellow-countrymen the disabilities and indignities under which Indians suffer, and the whole case was presented to Lord George Hamilton last December in an incisive memorial drawn up by Mr. Pherozeshah Mehta.

Indignities and Disabilities. The condition of affairs which the memorial and subsequent telegrams from South Africa reveal is deplorable. Throughout South Africa British Indian subjects of the Crown are not only subjected to the most humiliating indignities by European colonists, but are harassed by legal disabilities of the most vexatious and injurious kind. Indians, for example, cannot travel on the railways or tramways without frequent molestation. In some parts of South

Africa they are prohibited by law from travelling in any class but the third class. They are pushed off footpaths, and excluded from the public baths and Government schools. "Altogether," as Mr. Mehta says, "the Indian is a hated being throughout South Africa; he is shunned as a pariah. Every Indian is a coolie without distinction." Mr. Mehta suggests that the evidence which is forthcoming establishes a good *prima facie* case for a State enquiry. He admits, of course, that the "intervention of Her Majesty's Government with respect to such grievances can only be indirect and slow." But he believes that "an expression of an emphatic opinion may do much to allay the unreasonably strong feeling that seems undoubtedly to exist in South Africa towards the Indians." The real object of the disfranchising legislation in Natal is believed to be not so much protection against a future preponderance of the Indian over the European vote, as the degradation of Indians, "so that it may not be worth the while of a respectable Indian trader to seek his livelihood in Natal." Indians in Natal have no objection to a reasonable educational test, or a high property qualification, for the franchise. What they resent is disfranchisement on grounds of race, in spite of the Queen's Proclamation of 1853, which guaranteed to Indians equal rights with other British subjects.

A MEDICAL CORRESPONDENT writes:—

The Plague. "At a time when the attention of the public is taken up on the one hand with laudable attempts to mitigate the ravages of famine in India, and on the other with unedifying newspaper correspondence and discussion on the alleged effects of the withdrawal of the Acts which aimed at the diminution of diseases of a certain type in the army in India, another, and in many respects an equally serious calamity, the plague, is in danger of receiving less attention than its terrible importance demands. The famine is confined (if the word is allowable in connexion with such an extended and cruel force) to India. It cannot take ship from Bombay and travel speedily to Marseilles or to Liverpool. The plague, on the contrary, may quite easily seek for itself fresh ground, and is not likely to find much difficulty in meeting with a suitable soil among a famine-stricken people. The awful effects of the plague during its past visits to Europe should warrant a Government in taking very strong measures for its limitation. Those who have fortunately not been brought into contact with the horrors of this disease in India and desire to know something of it will find in Defoe's 'History of the Plague' a sufficiently gruesome account of the 'sickness' itself, the sufferings it entailed, and some of the means taken to escape infection. Defoe was

born about the time the plague was raging in London, so that he can have had no personal knowledge of it. But he lived at a period sufficiently close to it to have had opportunities of hearing the personal experiences of those who had themselves suffered, or had observed the appearances of the disease in those whom they tended. Interesting also it is to note that, even when the plague had lost its epidemicity, there were numerous scattered cases in the lower parts of London, each of which might have been the means of giving the scourge a new life, if proper soil had been met with. The deliverance from this menace came in the form of another calamity, the Great Fire of London. The lesson derived from all the visitations of the Black Death is that it is essentially a disease which flourishes among badly-fed and consequently ill-nourished people, and that the existence of bad sanitary conditions are simply a welcome extended to the visitation. Two years ago a distinguished army medical officer, in a lecture to the Public Health Society of Calcutta, besought them to take steps to prevent the plague from obtaining entrance there. He stated that if once the plague found its way into Calcutta the situation and sanitary condition of that city would make the disease show itself in a more formidable manner than it had done in Hong Kong. In the recurrence of the disease at Hong Kong in 1895 it was found that Europeans were more liable to be attacked than had been the case during the epidemic of the previous year, but that the chances of recovery were much greater among Europeans than among the native Chinese. No medicinal treatment seemed to be of much service, and reliance was placed upon alcoholic and other stimulants. A French bacteriologist, Dr. Yersin, has produced a *serum*, which he claims has curative powers, but its reputation has yet to be made. The same *savant* is continuing investigations—begun at Amoy and Canton—in Bombay. Nusservanji Fakirji Surveyor has also worked at the bacteriology of the disease, and has noted the existence in the blood of subjects affected with the plague minute bodies, which may possibly prove to be the spores of the plague bacillus. This gentleman, who is honorary physician to the Bombay J. J. Hospital, took some years ago the public health diploma at the University of Cambridge. Englishmen everywhere will wish him success in his efforts on behalf of his countrymen."

It is a good sign for the moral progress of India when men of light and leading among her own sons come forward and appeal publicly to their fellow-countrymen in such a matter as Hindu female education, urging them to put their shoulders to the

The Education of Hindu Girls.

wheel and personally promote the good cause. This remark is called forth by a memorandum on Hindu female education by Dewán Bahádúr Manibhai Jasbhai, printed at Bombay last year, which has just come under our notice. The Dewan is well known in the Bombay Presidency, especially in Gujarát, his native province, where he has held the important post of Minister to the Gaikwár of Baroda, after holding a similar position in Kutch. As he is well to the front among Native Administrators, his opinions on the important subject with which he deals are worthy of all attention. He divides his remarks into ten chapters, as follows: i, The present situation; ii, The need for female education; iii, Woman as wife and mother; iv, The consequences of neglect of female education; v, Methods of instruction; vi, Vernacular literature for women and infant schools; vii, Ways and means; viii, The course of instruction; ix, Conclusion. In describing the present situation the Dewan gives us some very interesting statistics. There are in Bombay 11,864 institutions for the education of males, numbering 597,840 scholars, while for females there are but 901 institutions with 84,101 scholars, the percentage of male scholars to male population of school-going age being 28.79, and that of females being only 4.32. To take primary schools, the most important in a general view of the care of a people to provide for the education of their children, there were, in 1895, 8,636 institutions for males and 731 for females, the former having 184,107 scholars and the latter only 68,870, although in actual numbers the male population in the Bombay Presidency, including Native States, only exceeded the female by 849,613, the males being 12,841,959 and the females 12,992,346. Out of the 68,870 female scholars even, only 25,095 were sufficiently advanced to be able to read printed books. To give greater emphasis to this comparison, the Dewan points out that girls are mostly withdrawn from school just at a time when they have barely passed what may be termed the parrot-like stage, when lessons are learnt by little children by rote, without the requisite maturity of thought or understanding. The proper period for the commencement of effectual instruction is only then reached, and thus, practically speaking, Indian women hardly get any real benefit from education. He admits that some progress is being made, but it is miserably slow, for, as has been remarked by Mr. Baines, the late Census Commissioner, where there were ten years ago four women in every thousand who were not illiterate there are now five.

THE arguments by which the Dewan supports his plea for further efforts in the cause of female education are well known, and need not be recapitulated here.

We proceed at once to the measures he proposes in order to improve matters. These are epitomised at the end of the pamphlet, and the chief of them may be indicated as follows:—

- (i) The education of native opinion in favour of female education, especially by the delivery of lectures by male and female agency.
- (ii) The supply of a greater number of female teachers—a want very much felt, especially for the continuation of the education of girls when they reach the marriageable age, and are almost universally withdrawn from school, by an increase of scholarships available at the Kathiawar and Ahmedabad Training Colleges, and the opening of a Preparatory Class at Surat. (These provisions (i) and (ii) apply to the Province of Gujarát and Káthiawar.)
- (iii) To provide partly for the Deccan and Konean, the establishment of a Training College at Bombay, with Mahráti and Gujaráti sides, with such other measures for the former as might be recommended by well-wishers there based on local requirements.
- (iv) The appointment of an Inspectress in addition to the Director-General of education.
- (v) The establishment of a *Stri' Guan Shálá*, or school for the instruction of grown-up women, with home teaching as an optional alternative. This institution to have attached to it a Sanskrit Pandita to impart religious and moral instruction. (N.B.—The former of these objects would be objected to as part of the system of State education.)
- (vi) The promotion of vernacular literature for women: this is accompanied by a recommendation for the preparation of a graduated religious series in the vernacular with quotations of Sanscrit texts, to serve as manuals to be taught by experts, which also would be inadmissible in State education.
- (vii) Publication of vernacular magazines especially for women.
- (viii) Establishment of infant schools and introduction of the Kindergarten system.
- (ix) The organisation of a *Stes' Vardhak Sabhá*, or society for the promotion of female education, with branches in the mofussil and a special fund.

And, lastly,

- (x) The adoption of an approved graduated course of instruction and the preparation of the requisite text books.

The programme is thorough-going and sufficiently comprehensive, but, as we may remind the Dewan, also expensive, and we much fear unattainable in the present state of India's finances, unless his arguments induce a large number of Indians of wealth and influence to subscribe handsomely for the purpose. Could he not assemble a conclave of retired native officers to consult on the subject, and place before their fellow-countrymen and the Government some tangible scheme for the fulfilment of his praise-worthy proposals. Perhaps he will think—as we do—that the Government of India might well devote to education much of the money now squandered upon militarism.

THE CANTONMENTS QUESTION AGAIN.

BY PROFESSOR STUART, M.P.

The Report of the Departmental Committee on Venereal Disease in the British Army in India, which has just been issued, is creating quite a furore of excitement. While there is no need to minimise the importance of the facts brought forward in it, it is just worth while stating that the statistics which it gives convey absolutely no additional information beyond that which has been year by year placed before the public in the regular official documents.

The whole point, however, for consideration lies not in the figures, which have practically not been in question, but in what inference we are to found on them and what steps we are to take to meet the evil.

As was anticipated, the attempt is at once being made by the advocates of the C. D. Acts to secure the reimposition of these odious measures. They say, "Look at this grievous amount of disease; the C. D. Acts have been repealed in India, therefore we must restore them." The fallacy of this position lies entirely in this, that the C. D. Acts are no remedy. They have been tried and failed.

Here are the facts shown fairly enough by the Report itself. The admissions into hospital for these diseases were increasing in India while the system was in operation quite as rapidly as since it has been repealed. Anyone can see this who turns to the last columns of page 19. From that it will be seen, taking the last clear ten years while the system was in full vigour, viz., from 1876 to 1886, that the numbers in question increased from 203 per thousand to 385 per thousand. From that date till last year, they rose from 385 to 522; figures which fully bear out what I have said. (Repeal nominally took place in 1888).

There is another most important fact which is also brought out on the same page and in the column preceding that to which I have referred, viz., that the admissions in the home army in England have very greatly decreased since repeal. The number of admissions per 1,000 in the home army in 1882 (the last year when the Acts were in full vigour in England) was 246. But since that date it has greatly diminished, and the figures for the last four recorded years (1892-95) are 201, 194, 182, 178.

How, then, is it in any way logical to attribute to repeal the rise since that event in India, when, first, the rise there was taking place before repeal, and when, secondly, repeal in England has been accompanied by so great and continuous a fall?

By the way, I may just here correct an error which is made by a large part of the defenders of the C.D.A.

system. It is frequently said that half the army in India is in hospital. This, of course, is not the case. The figure 522 above quoted, refers to the number of admissions into hospital, and includes quite trivial affections. The army returns show that the number of men constantly in hospital from these diseases comes to about $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of the whole in India, which is about a twelfth part of the other figure. It is well to view these figures, bad enough as they are, from the proper standpoint, and to be accurate as to what we are dealing with.

Those who are unalterably opposed to the immoral and discredited C.D.A. system are yet by no means in favour of a do-nothing policy. From the first we have known and said that the abolition of the system of Regulation was but a clearing of the ground, and our hope was that when the ground should be so cleared the army authorities might be led to seek and to find a better way. Such a better way has not, I am afraid, really been seriously entered on. The things that can be done all come under one great head. An honest attempt must be made to diminish the vice which is the cause of the disease. To do anything else while neglecting this is in vain. We demand, therefore, that there should be no reversion to an immoral and discredited system, but that practical steps should be taken which, while supplying adequate means for treatment of disease, should be based on a positive discouragement of sexual vice and a positive recognition of the merits of abstinence. There are many and most important suggestions which have been made and which can be made in this direction, and these ought to be at once considered, and such of them as recommend themselves should be adopted. Those who clamour for the reintroduction of the C.D. Acts are standing in the way of rational and effectual remedies.

INDIA'S ECONOMIC DRAIN.

BY W. M. J. WILLIAMS.

In a recent number, in giving a summary of Mr. O'Connor's Review of the Trade of India in 1895-6, a brief reference was made to the constant large excess of the exports over the imports. This was characterised as a "drain" upon India, but the subject was not pursued. The Editor, however, in a note made some remarks upon the subject, drawing attention to the just characterisation as a "drain," but demurring to the view taken by some that this said excess is justly to be regarded as a part of Indian trade. As the article and the note have received some notice, it may be useful once again to ventilate this question of the drain. As to the fact, that there is a drain, there can be little

question: what significance should be attached to it is, indeed, one of the Indian questions respecting which a sound conclusion is much to be desired. In this paper I propose to regard this "drain" as anything but a channel of health. While doing this, if the Editor permits, I will not deny that the statistics of India's trade rightly include transactions required to meet the claims roughly represented by the excess of exports by the economic drain. There can be little question that these necessary transactions take place much in the ordinary way of commerce, and, indeed, cannot be distinguished from ordinary commerce except by the ultimate results. In the course of these transactions those who engage in them have made profits or losses, as the case may be; the "drain" is found to have been dug when a balance of all the trade done comes to be drawn. But our purpose is to consider the drain, to ascertain it as a fact, and to consider its relation to the welfare of India. Happily the tables upon which the report of the trade by Mr. O'Connor was founded are now to hand, and, together with other documents, they enable us to make a few comparisons bearing upon this crucial question.

The following table summarises the trade of India for 5 years ending 1895-6.

	1891-2.	1892-3.	1893-4.	1894-5.	1895-6.
Exports—	Rx.	Rx.	Rx.	Rx.	Rx.
Merchandise ...	108,173,592	106,595,475	106,503,369	108,913,778	114,334,738
Treasure ...	3,286,686	6,958,924	4,100,192	8,226,072	4,259,811
Total Exports	111,460,278	113,554,399	110,603,561	117,139,850	118,594,549
Imports—					
Merchandise ...	69,432,383	66,265,277	77,021,432	73,528,993	72,936,753
Treasure ...	14,722,662	17,009,810	18,461,256	9,581,207	13,367,986
Total Imports	84,155,045	83,275,087	95,482,698	83,110,200	86,304,739
EXCESS OF EXPORTS	27,305,233	30,279,312	15,120,873	34,029,650	32,289,810

These figures include Government stores among the imports and exports of merchandise. Mr. O'Connor supplies us with a set of figures distinguishing these Government transactions as they affect the excess of exports.

India—Excess of Exports.

	Including Government Transactions.	Excluding Government Transactions.		Including Government Transactions.	Excluding Government Transactions.
1886-7	17,359,900	20,398,400	1891-2	27,305,200	29,869,100
1887-8	18,317,800	15,774,700	1892-3	30,279,300	33,850,100
1888-9	15,548,400	18,268,400	1893-4	15,120,900	18,090,100
1889-90	18,709,700	21,219,400	1894-5	34,029,600	37,246,600
1890-1	8,440,700	11,253,200	1895-6	32,289,800	35,920,100
—	Rx.	Rx.	—	Rx.	Rx.

It is very convenient to have the figures analysed so, but it seems that with regard to the subject in hand we must take the excess on the grand total, including Government transactions, as our guide and basis. The above table will then become very

interesting when studied along with the following table:—

Drawings of the Secretary of State in Council Bills.

	Pounds £	Ex-change.	Rx.		Pounds £	Ex-change.	Rx.
1886-7	12,136,279	17'441	16,700,300	1891-2	16,093,854	16'733	23,082,900
1887-8	15,358,577	16'899	21,812,400	1892-3	16,532,215	14'984	26,478,400
1888-9	14,262,859	16'379	20,899,100	1893-4	9,530,234	14'546	15,723,600
1889-90	15,474,496	16'566	22,418,700	1894-5	16,905,102	13'1	30,969,900
1890-1	15,969,033	18'089	21,186,900	1895-6	17,664,493	13'638	31,085,500
—		Pence.	Rx.	—		Pence.	Rx.

This table makes me qualify the remark following the previous table respecting the basis of the enquiry. The excess of exports including Government stores may be taken as a basis, but it would be misleading, were we to omit the Rx. 3,530,300 for 1895-6 say, from the economic drain, because it is excluded as a Government transaction in stores. As a balance of trade in the produce and merchandise of India the exclusion is legitimate and the balance of exports over imports for 1895-6 is no less than Rx. 35,820,100, a truly colossal sum. What discussions on policy would arise in Great Britain were the British returns to show such a phenomenon! As things are, we have some wiseacres among us who with crying and tears lament that our imports show an excess over exports, but on the whole these cries are as unheeded as the screeches of pelicans in the wilderness. John Bull, with all his pother, never mistakes regarding the advantage of larger incomings than outgoings. But India, so strangely and so long deemed strewn with pearls and rubies and choked with wealth of various kinds, is seen to be subject to an opposite state of things. And this loss on the balance is a steadily progressive one. The excess of exports for 1895-6 represents about 2s. 9d. per head of the population, or equal to a fortnight's income of India's poor. At a time when famine is devastating the greater portion of India, and looking to the fact that this excess of exports is a chronic feature of Indian affairs, to pay attention to so serious a leakage is a duty of the most pressing kind.

One of the remarkable features of the above tables is the Government import of treasure, of gold and silver. Further details show that in 1895-6, of gold there was an excess of import over export of Rx. 2,526,000, and of silver of Rx. 6,582,000, or a total excess import of gold and silver of Rx. 9,108,000. This reminds us that the excess of exports of merchandise is far greater than appears from the total figures, and it is found to be no less than Rx. 41,398,000. But of the exchange which India makes with Great Britain a very large sum is seen to be in gold and silver. Seven-eighths of the silver imported into India in 1895-6 was in bars, the remainder being taken in rupees, dollars, and other coins. This points to the fact that most of it was taken for trade purposes by the dealers. Mr. O'Connor, indeed, is at much trouble to show how the closure of the mint in June 1893 has influenced the form in which the silver is taken. His elaborate diagram and

Postal Services £106,606; Telegraph Services £101,071; General Administration £248,912; Contribution to Admiralty £236,599; Political Services (Mission to Persia, £7,000; her Majesty's establishments in China £12,500; the Shazada's visit to England £25,408; etc.) £47,693; Political Pensions £9,565; Civil Furlough and Absentee Allowances £223,452; Superannuations and Pensions £1,817,711; Stationery and Printing for the India Office and Stores £45,443; Examination Expenses, etc., £18,286; Railway Revenue Account £5,747,782 Buildings and Roads £117,321; the Army £4,136,692; and Defence Works Stores £45,241. In addition, there were payments in the nature of capital expenditure, or discharge of Debt, as follows:—Railways and Irrigation Works £683,215; Debt Cancelled £2,001,600; Payments to Railway Companies on Capital Account £853,820; and Remittances to England £996,754. This last item, of course, includes only remittances made on behalf of the Government of India, and does not take cognizance of any sums transmitted by private persons. The nature of these Government payments will enable any reader to understand how very expensive a thing is Government to India. This expensiveness may be regarded from two points of view at least, viz., with regard to the poverty of the great mass of the population, and also because of the double Government establishment, viz., in India and in London. We have established the fact that in 1895-6 a deficit of over Rx. 32,000,000 was found in the exchange of Indian produce. This is almost, if not quite, wholly accounted for by remittances to England in various ways. To any sober and sane mind the fact is staggering and when we put it along with the famine now raging, the Mansion House Fund, however creditable in itself, only makes it look the more ominous and threatening. It will be, and it is said that for the most part, with the exception of the Army Charges, the large sums which we have just named are paid for great works which were capitalised from England, and from which India is to—and will increasingly—benefit. Here, of course, how easy it would be to enter on a fray, a perennial battle, in which Anglo-Indians are conspicuous for belabouring each other. Let it be conceded that these works are calculated to benefit India ultimately. Does it not become increasingly clear that India cannot afford them? Many a poor man would find many expensive things exceedingly agreeable, but their cost would crush him and leave him dead by the wayside; on the contrary, some of a less expensive kind, rendered as he could manage to use and pay for them, would be not only bearable, but highly productive in raising his status. All who have paid any attention to the careers of those who have represented England in India here to-day can admire, but it is equally true that many have also gone to India and returned with such a fortune was to be made in India. Some of them mental power and energy, and some of them simply of the type of the "swept-up" men, who are so common in the East.

beneficent, and economically withering. It has secured for India a share in the *Pax Britannica* but at the cost of supporting in London and India a gubernatorial caste which by its pride, cupidity and military lust, has taken for itself the produce which should have been sustaining the teeming millions of India's plains and hills. Need it be said that this sad tendency of the English rule in India has not been deliberately sought of the high governmental authority. It has not been the fault of Government as such, but it has assuredly been chiefly the fault of bureaucratic officials, including the individuals comprised in the Government at home and in India. And whether there be an early agreement as to such apportionment of culpability, it is to be hoped that the day is near, very near, when the British people will deliberately take in hand the resolution of the problem presented to them when India has an annual tribute of over Rs. 32,000,000 to pay to some of them, and that though she is subject at short periods to suffer the horrors and privations of a famine. When that happy moment comes, I believe the verdict will be short and sharp to the effect that an end shall be put to such a condition of affairs. No condition will be tolerable to India and honourable to England, save that in which India's exchange with England shall show a balance, however small, in her own favour. To wait for the verdict of the Royal Commission on Indian expenditure before these things are again placed before the public is impossible; they are so pressing, they are so dangerous, and well will it be should they prove less dangerous than we fear. At some other time I may be able to say something of the way in which the Indian people are taxed to meet the expense of their Governments, and we shall find that to be a subject complementary to that of the excess of exports which I have tried to set before readers of these columns. So long as taxes are heavy and tribute is great there can be no wonder if suffering is dire when rains fail and crops are not.

OUR DUTY IN INDIA.

By DONALD N. REID.

"He'd seen his duty a dead-sure thing,
And he went for it thar and then;
And Christ ain't a-goin' to be too hard
On a man that died for men."—JIM BLUDSO.

"We justly reprobate Ottoman mis-government, and pity the unhappy peasantry of the Turkish provinces. It is a serious reflection that almost equal misery is being inflicted over a far wider area, under the best meaning of Governments, and through the most scientific systems."—*W. G. Tedder* on "*Famine and Debt in India*," in *Nineteenth Century* for 1877.

A few years ago cholera broke out in its most virulent form among the troops stationed at Lucknow. The disease had disappeared, two years ago, but it had been incessantly recurring in the hills to the south of the city. It was so common that it was called the "cholera of the hills." It remained for some time, and it was considered that it was a

their return to Lucknow, they received quite an ovation from the soldiers who filled the church for morning service, as every man sprang to his feet and remained standing until the little ladies had taken their seats. I wish I had been there to witness that scene; it would have been better for me than any sermon that was ever preached, as Christ was certainly in the hearts of the men who made the spontaneous demonstration of respect and gratitude for duty performed in the face of death.

The so-called Parliament of Religions, which was held at Chicago in 1893, and which drew together the representatives of all the religions of the world, gave the first practical recognition to the teaching of the Apostle who said that "in every nation he who feareth God and worketh righteousness is accepted with Him." And now we hear of English nurses being anxious to volunteer for service in the plague-stricken districts of India, to work among the natives, if the public will provide the necessary funds for their outfit and passage. Here indeed is a noble example shown by our countrywomen, who solemnly acknowledge the duty owing to their fellow-subjects in the East. But let it be said with shame and sorrow that the bureaucrats of the India Office are still afraid to face an enquiry on the spot into the condition of the masses. Every well-wisher of India wants the true state of matters to be brought vividly home to the imagination of the British public, and the India Office shirks its duty by refusing to lift the veil; while on the other hand our delicately nurtured English sisters are prepared to throw themselves into the jaws of death at the prompting of the higher instincts of humanity.

England's duty to India is to make it impossible for famine to take hold of the people in that country, and in fulfilling this duty England should condone everything but failure to save life in man and beast. At present the tradition of the India Office is that it is Utopian to expect to save the people when crops fail them. As the old lady said, "sailors are used to drowning," so the India Office declares that the rayats are accustomed to die of starvation. The bureaucratic idea is that famine is one of Nature's methods for getting rid of the surplus population of the soil; and, although it is the duty of the Government to render some assistance by means of relief works, still the real danger lies in giving too much. Well, the result of this system was seen in Southern India in 1877-78, when nearly 6,000,000 people perished from starvation; and even during minor famines most ghastly scenes are enacted, as will be shown by the following extract from a letter of Mr. Archibald Forbes, the *Daily News* commissioner to the famine districts in 1873-74:

"The north-western section of the subdivision of Sitamarhi is that part of Tirhoot in which the ravages of the famine of 1866 were the most terrible. The wider-spread calamity in Orissa threw into the shade the Tirhoot famine of that terrible year. Mr. Robert Wilson was living then at Parhiar factory, in the very heart of the famine-stricken area. The people died like flies all over the place. In a little plot of land close to the feeding place of the factory, Mr. Wilson used to find from ten to twenty corpses every morning. Stronger women drowned the weaker for the sake of the pittance of food the latter were carrying away from the factory cooking-place, and it became necessary to insist that those who were fed there should eat their allowance on the spot. Unquestionable cases

of cannibalism were forced upon Mr. Wilson's observation. Whole villages were depopulated, and the district to this day is but sparsely inhabited, owing to the mortality in the famine year of 1866. The air was heavy with the effluvium of decomposition, and there are fields which are now fertile because of the number of bodies buried in them. Great as was the mortality among the labouring classes, *they were not the heaviest sufferers.* The factory distributions of cooked food kept life in many, and caste prejudices were thrown off that life might be saved."

My object in giving the above long extract is to show how suddenly famine can take hold of the people in the rice-growing tracts of country that are not protected by irrigation works and by the storage of grain. The sub-division of Sitamarhi is intersected by two large rivers (the Baghmati and the Lakhandai), and by numerous minor streams, the waters of which are utilised for irrigation in a perfunctory manner in seasons of drought. But there is no organised system of irrigation practised, and the result is that the people continually suffer from either serious distress or famine on the failure of their rice crops. On the other hand the Tharus (a race of Indo-Chinese origin), who cultivate the sub-montane lands in the north of Ramnagar Pargana in the Champaran district, are a marked exception to the poverty-stricken rayats of North Behar. These men are most expert irrigators, and have constructed channels many miles in length to convey the water of the hill streams to their fields. Moreover, they take the precaution to store their rice against seasons of scarcity; the result of this far-seeing measure being that not a single Tharu (man, woman, or child) came on to the relief works during the famine of 1874, when one-third of the population of North Behar was being almost entirely supported by Government. The Tharus by their general prudence and foresight have raised themselves far above all other cultivators in the province, and when the famine was at its height in 1874, they declared that they had still sufficient rice in store for six months' consumption. Surely what the Tharus can do the other rayats could imitate if they were freed from the yoke of the middleman and relieved of the burden of debt. This is work indeed to give the Anglo-Indians some healthy interest in life, instead of taking in deadly earnest the cynical aphorism that "If you want to make money, be sure not to make anything else."

In reading the detailed account of the debate on the address which followed the amendment moved by Sir William Wedderburn, I was struck by a remark made by Sir James Fergusson, which I think requires to be contradicted. He said that Sir William Wedderburn had not made "a very extensive foundation for the very wide and far-reaching enquiry which he now proposed. When the hon. baronet was in India his views on the question of administration were not in harmony with those of the great majority of the members of the service to which he belonged." Now, I have already given an extract from a most interesting article in the *Nineteenth Century* for September 1877, from the pen of the late Mr. W. G. Pedder, who was Secretary to the Government of Bombay, and afterwards served his term of service as a Secretary in the India Office. This is what

that highly-placed official said regarding the indebtedness of the rayat:—

"It must be remembered that the question of debt is an almost equally pressing one in almost every province in India, and equally affects not the yeoman alone, but every class of landowner, from the Rajput or Muhammadan noble to the aboriginal tribes of the hill and forest."

Again he said:—

"A few years ago, an old peasant in the Gaekwar's country, then infamously misgoverned, was complaining to a British officer of the oppression his village suffered from, but on being asked why he did not come into British territory, where land would be given him, he replied, 'God forbid! At least we have no civil courts.' There is, however, a depth lower than penury or exile. Sometimes the wretched debtor executes an agreement which almost avowedly makes him the bond slave of his creditor. In one case cited by the Commission, a cultivator and his wife, after their land and property had been sold, passed a bond to labour for the creditor for thirteen years, '*desh wa par-desh*,' at home or abroad, for food and tobacco, and one blanket a year."

The above may, however, be looked upon as ancient history by the apologists of the Government. In that case I refer them to the article in the *National Review* for February, 1894, by Mr. H. E. M. James, another highly-placed Bombay civilian, who was a member of the Governor-General's Legislative Council in the year 1895. Mr. James is no narrow-minded faddist; as anybody can see by a perusal of his book, "*The Long White Mountain*," that he has been a most observant traveller in his day; and I recommend the reader to study and digest all that he says in the *National Review* about the iniquity worked to the rayats through the agency of our civil courts. Then there is still another highly-placed Bombay civilian, Mr. H. P. Malet, who some years ago published in the *Salisbury and Winchester Journal* a very distressing account of the ruin brought upon the districts of the Deccan, by the substitution of English rule for that of the Peshwá, in 1818. This is what Mr. Malet said regarding the storage of grain:

"In former years when roads were bad, it was usual to find great stores of grain in the smallest villages. I have known it kept for four years. The transit duty was abolished in 1836, roads have been improved and railroads made, a ready market is obtained, and no grain comparatively is now stored."

This is what he said about our civil courts:

"The civil courts are now solely used against the cultivators; forgery, perjury, and false accounts are brought into play against those who have no wit of their own, and no money to buy other wit to help them."

Mr. H. P. Malet is one of the oldest retired officers of the Indian Civil Service. He was formerly a member of the Bombay Council, and his personal knowledge of that presidency is very extensive, as it stretches over the last half-century.

Regarding the storage of grain, anyone conversant with agricultural practices will see the insane folly of the system of exportation which is now in vogue. In my article in the February number of this journal I pointed out that the inferior food-grains of India were enveloped in a very thick husk. Now, the lives of the cattle are to be considered in a famine as well as the lives of men, and if these grains were stored for local consumption in seasons of drought, the husk would be utilised as food for live stock. But in a famine year under present conditions we

make the fortunes of grain dealers by purchasing from them clean rice to feed the starving people. Where do the cattle come in under these conditions?

Another subject which I must touch upon, before closing this paper, is the evil of mixed cropping in seasons of drought. In the seventies I wrote to the papers in India, and pointed out the great harm that was done to the cereal crops by mixing with them in the same field strong and quick-growing oilseed plants, such as mustard and rape. These oilseeds are sown by the rayats with the object of realising sufficient money to satisfy the demands of the money-lender and the rent-collector; but a year like the present suits these plants, which flourish exceedingly on very little moisture, with the result that they completely choke the slower-growing crops of wheat and barley so long as they are in the ground. The story of Sir David Baird's mother, who remarked, "God pity the poor lad that's chained to our Davie" (when she heard that her son was a prisoner in Tippoo Sahib's hands), is illustrative of the fate of the wheat plant when chained to mustard or rape in the same field in seasons of drought. The sowing of oil-seeds with the cereal crops of rabi should therefore have been strictly prohibited all over India this year, as the money-lender and rent-collector could surely wait for their money until the people were in better circumstances. The following table, showing results obtained per *Saran beegah* (= $\frac{2}{3}$ ths of an acre) from wheat in fields adjoining each other, will justify my condemnation of the system of mixed cropping in seasons of famine:

	Produce of Wheat in lbs. per <i>Beegah</i> .	
	Grain.	Straw-chaff.
	lbs.	lbs.
1. Wheat grown with oil-seeds ..	474	850
2. " " " " ..	1,150	2,650
3. Wheat grown alone ..	1,650	5,100

Field No. 1 bore a crop of maize during the *kharif*, and was afterwards sown in *rabi* without being manured; field No. 2 was kept bare-fallow during the *kharif* season, and manured with cow-dung; field No. 3 bore an indigo crop in the *kharif* season, and was sown only with wheat in the *rabi*.

WANTED: TECHNICAL INSTRUCTION.

[FROM AN INDIAN CORRESPONDENT.]

A recent number of the *Journal of the National Indian Association* furnished some interesting statistics as to the number of Indians residing (whether temporarily or otherwise) in England in 1896. There has, it appears, been a slight decrease in numbers as compared with five years ago. It is suggested that fewer young Indians now go to England with the object of studying for the Bar, this profession not always being found to compensate the heavy outlay. Probably loss by exchange explains, to a great extent, the alleged decrease in numbers. But if it be true, as is surmised, that the number of young men studying for the Bar is not so great as it was five years ago, it is a hopeful and encouraging sign. It would be useless to disguise the fact that, despite some conspicuous successes, many Indians who return to their own country to

practice as barristers prove to be comparative failures. It is unnecessary to enter into the reasons which account for these failures. It is enough for my purpose that those who are interested in sending young Indians to England appear to be realizing the position and prospects of a barrister in India, and may be expected for the future to pay more attention to other professions or occupations which will be both remunerative and suited to the tastes and qualifications of the students concerned.

Meanwhile, what do we see in India? Graduates in law and in arts are being turned out each year by the Universities by hundreds, and undergraduates by thousands. Of those who pass only the Middle School Examinations we need take no account. The fact is very gratifying, no doubt, so far as it is a sign of the progress of education in India. But it would be still more gratifying if the result of this education were a little different in one respect from what it is. For it has too often infused into the minds of the people an abhorrence of their hereditary occupations, and of manual labour of any kind, and has encouraged them in the ambition to become pleaders or clerks. Nothing, of course, is easier or more wrongheaded than to throw cold water upon the legitimate ambitions which popular education inspires and justifies. Nor is it a wise economy to employ razors for cutting wood. By all means let us have the advantages of the "ladder of education" and an open course for proved ability. The mischievous effects of a mistaken view of education are apparent when we find educated Indians, who have a tolerable capacity for business, content to toil on a mere pittance as clerks with European tradesmen, while they would consider it a degradation to carry on trade on their own account, with the prospect of making a competence. In workshops and factories we find young Indians employed as clerks, store-keepers, and time-keepers at a salary of 10 or 15 rupees a month. But we do not find them working as fitters, carpenters or smiths, who earn from 30 to 40 rupees a month. It would be a loss of dignity on their part if they were to throw away their pens! In fact, it is no uncommon thing for graduates to apply for appointments as clerks at 15 or 20 rupees a month, and, failing to obtain such appointments, to sit at home brooding over their misfortunes, and leading idle, discontented, useless lives. It would of course be absurd on these grounds to blame the system which has placed higher education within the reach of all classes. The fault is largely our own. The Government can find employment for only a certain proportion of the young men who pass through the colleges and the high schools. The railways, the municipalities, the mercantile offices, factories and private individuals with means can absorb another portion of the educated youth whose ambition it is to use the pen, even though it be as copyists. But what is to become of the surplus, and that not a small surplus, who have found no scope for their ambition? It is a serious matter, and one which, if we are not prepared to face it resolutely, is likely to lead to disastrous results.

The Government, it must be admitted, has failed to discharge its duty in one respect. It has taken

no steps to provide for, or to encourage, technical education. It is true that until the last decade there was not much demand for schools where a training in mechanical arts could be given. But, on the other hand, Government did nothing to stimulate educated youths to utilise their talents in acquiring a knowledge of the arts by offering prizes or scholarships or by holding out the hope of employment to successful students. In Bombay there is a school of art. But the instruction imparted there is elementary. In Patna we have the School of Engineering. It was recently visited by the Lieut.-Governor of Bengal, who kindly promised it his support, and hoped it might soon become a technical institute or college for the whole of Behar. In Lahore there is the School of Art, which has made its mark. But what can these few institutions do for a country like India, with its millions of inhabitants? It is the duty of the Government to provide for the wants of the people in this respect. Every encouragement and facility should be offered to those who seek technical training. If it cannot be obtained in India, a selected number of young men ought to be sent to Europe to acquire a knowledge of the technical arts. The Baroda State has recently sent four students at its own expense to Europe. One is in London learning cabinet-making. Another is in Geneva trying to master the intricacies of watch-making. A third is also at Geneva acquiring a knowledge of pottery; whilst the fourth has gone to Boston to study engineering. What a contrast the action of the Baroda State presents to the lethargy and indifference of the British Government!

But, whatever be the shortcomings of the Government in this respect, we cannot absolve ourselves from the charge of indifference. Scores of young men who eat their dinners at one of the Inns of Court would have done much better, so far as their own prospects are concerned, if they had apprenticed themselves to a firm of engineers or manufacturers and, on their return to India, had filled lucrative appointments now necessarily given to Europeans who have received the requisite practical training. Here in India the rage for quill-driving is really impoverishing a good many families of the middleclasses, whose members are earning a pittance as clerks, whereas, if they pursued their hereditary callings, they would have much better wages. As regards the three higher castes they would have done well if they had reflected that "it is the man who determines the dignity of the occupation, and not the occupation which measures the dignity of the man." These classes have to face a specially gloomy outlook. They have not only to contend against the competition of their own castes but also against the surging mass from the lower castes, eager to oust them from the professions. Twenty years ago the kayasths almost monopolised the offices which required some literary ability. But now they are being replaced to a great extent by the bunya, or money-lending, class. This is the only caste which has prospered under British rule. Whilst the others are being gradually impoverished, these have reaped a golden harvest from the misfortunes of their fellow-men. It is a credit to them that they are giving their sons a good education.

But necessity knows no law. Here in India we find a repetition of the old process of man's adapting himself to circumstances. The touch of a Sudra is pollution to a Brahman. Yet we find a Brahman complacently rubbing shoulders with a *chamar* or a pariah in a railway carriage. At each new station where it was proposed to construct waterworks there was an outcry on behalf of the higher castes. But a few years after the proposal had become an accomplished fact, the Brahman and the Sudra, the Kshetriya and the pariah, were to be seen calmly taking their turn to draw water from the same standard. And so in course of time will the struggle for existence remove the abhorrence of certain castes for manual labour. Already the process has begun. The hereditary calling of a Brahman is that of a priest. But in these degenerate days this occupation is by no means so remunerative as it was.

The other day I came across a man in court who being asked his caste said that he was a Brahman, and being asked his occupation said that he was a cultivator. Hard times had compelled him to handle a plough, which would have filled his ancestors with horror. Not long ago, crossing a river I found the *Mullahs* wearing the sacred thread. I asked them what their caste was and found, much to my astonishment, that they were Brahmans, who, as they told me, had to eke out their limited income by taking a contract for the ferry. And among the educated classes it is gratifying to find that a Brahman, Pandit Krishna Mohan Dhur, has undertaken the work of tanning leather. Having himself learnt the process he now owns a manufactory which he personally directs. For the kayasths it is no unusual thing now to engage in wholesale and in retail trade, though I am not aware that any have yet become artisans. The great obstacle in their way would be the difficulty of learning a trade. They would be as reluctant to resort for instruction to a carpenter or a smith as these would be to impart knowledge to persons not belonging to their caste. It is here that technical schools, started by the Government, would have a most useful sphere. A hopeful sign is that Kayastha Sabhas in Upper India are bestirring themselves to obtain the consent of the community for members of the caste to engage in occupations which are forbidden to them by established usage.

This is very encouraging so far as it goes, but a great deal more needs to be done, not so much perhaps individually as by co-operation. It is to the educated classes that we look for this. India at one time supplied the whole world with her manufactured articles. But now India is dependent on imports for the necessities of life. The majority of Indians would have to go naked, so far at least as finer goods are concerned, if Manchester were to stop its trade with this country. Yet at one time the calicoes and the muslins of India were famous all over the world. The artisan has not yet lost his cunning if only he were to receive encouragement. The manufacture of muslins in Dacca is decaying. But there are weavers who are still able to supply as fine a cloth as could be desired. The silversmiths of Cuttack and Delhi can turn out jewellery which, for fineness and delicacy of workmanship, is simply

unequalled. The brasiers of Benares, Moradabad and Guzarat are now largely exporting their manufactures, which are most artistic alike in design and execution. The report of the Material Progress of the Punjab for the decade 1881-1891, issued by the Local Government, says:

"The smiths of Kolli Loharan (Sialkote) are capable of forging small objects with intricate joints with truth and neatness that could not be surpassed in Europe."

And again:

"Among a multiplicity of small wares in iron, locks, which are of prime necessity in native life, may be mentioned. A representative of Messrs Chubbs' firm lately visiting the Punjab was greatly struck by the ingenuity and skill shown in the best work, and by its extraordinary cheapness."

If only the Native princes, the zemindars, the rich merchants and the educated classes generally, were to make up their minds to encourage and support the decaying manufactures of the country, it is not unreasonable to hope that a fresh stimulus would be given to the trade and industry of India and an immeasurable blessing conferred on those classes who, under British rule, are being gradually impoverished.

THE FAMINE IN INDIA.

The British Committee of the Indian National Congress continue to receive from their correspondents in India replies to the enquiries recently circulated with reference to the famine.

The recent reports from Dhulia and Bellary confirm the intelligence which we published last month to the effect that the measures adopted by Government are regarded in the affected districts as inadequate, and that the rate of wages paid to labourers employed on relief works is too low.

RAINFALL.

As regards rainfall, the information received by the British Committee of the Indian National Congress may be summarised as follows:—

	Normal yearly rainfall.	Actual rainfall in 1896.
	inches.	inches.
Ahmednagar (Bombay) ..	21	19.58
Bhagalpur (Bengal) ..	46.40	40
Muzaffarpur (Bengal) ..	about 50	46.85
Murshidabad (Bengal) ..	60	39.15
Oudh	35.73	23.22

The Congress correspondent at Ahmednagar adds that "the late rains, upon which the district chiefly depends, almost failed." The correspondent at Muzaffarpur says: "In 1896 the rainfall was not far below the average, but the rains did not set in at the proper time, so that there has been failure in the rice-crop."

PRICES OF GRAIN.

The following table summarises the information

received by the British Committee of the Indian National Congress with reference to prices of grain:—

	Staple Grain.	Usual price.	Present price.
Ahmednagar	Jwari or Bajari	55 lbs. per rupee	18-20 lbs. per rupee
Bhagalpur	Rice	19 seers per rupee	10 seers per rupee
Muzaffarpur	Rice, Makai, or Wheat	15-20 seers per rupee	8-10 seers per rupee
Murshidabad	Rice	Rs. 2.8 per maund (80 lbs.)	Rs. 4 per maund
Oudh	Jwari, Barley, etc.	17-38 seers per rupee	8 seers per rupee

The Muzaffarpur correspondent writes that "in the middle of January rice was selling at 8½ seers per rupee, but a private trader imported some Burma rice, which he sells at 9 seers; therefore the price has fallen."

The Murshidabad correspondent writes, under date February 17th: "Owing to the importation of a large quantity of rice from Burma to Calcutta, there has been a slight temporary fall in the price of rice in the Mofussil districts of Bengal."

THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC FEDERATION AND LORD GEORGE HAMILTON.

The following is the text of the reply of the Social Democratic Federation to Lord George Hamilton's letter on the Indian Famine:—

TO THE RIGHT HON. LORD GEORGE HAMILTON, M.P.,
SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA.

My Lord,—I am directed by the Executive Council of the Social Democratic Federation to say, in reply to your letter of the 18th, that the resolution unanimously passed at the great meeting in St. James's Hall, on February 10th, means precisely that which its words convey, namely, that we should at once stop the direct tribute which the India Office now draws from India. Your letter states that the Government intends, if it is at all possible, to extort produce to the value of no less a sum than £17,000,000 from our impoverished dependency, even in this terrible year of famine and plague. My Council certainly suggests, and the resolution on which you comment demands, that, rather than that such a crime should be committed in the name of the people of England, the pensions of the European functionaries who have maladministered and now bleed India should be at once cut off; that the expenditure on the civil department and the military branch of the Government here (the latter, costing not less than £4,700,000 a year, even Sir Henry Brackenbury has just publicly declared to be utterly useless to India) shall be suppressed; and that the interest and dividends on moneys borrowed and expended, without the consent of the people of India, should cease to be paid.

If these necessary retrenchments involve the proclamation of the bankruptcy of India, this is a far more honest and, in the long run, more politic course than a persistence in the present fatal system. There can be no bankruptcy so ruinous in its effects as that which is forcing millions of the most industrious, thrifty, and temperate people in the world to huddle together on the relief works, a prey to plague and cholera, for the sake of a wretched pittance; dooms many millions more to perish miserably of starvation in their own homes; and yet continues to exact £17,000,000 of direct tribute from the remaining population of starvelings.

The raising of further interest-bearing loans, on the credit of India, as a temporary means of postponing the crash, will only make the ruin more complete when the day of reckoning comes; while your notion that railways contribute to the wealth of India and check famine is directly contrary to the truth. The railways of British India, constructed most expensively with English capital, and managed in all the upper grades by extravagantly-paid Englishmen, so far from enrich-

ing the country or acting as a protection against scarcity, are huge syphons which drain away the substance of the people to England.

If, however, the pensions, interest, dividends, and home charges *must* be paid, as you allege, they should be discharged by the proceeds of a special tax levied on the landlords, capitalists, and middle-class of Great Britain. The workers of this country have never at any time derived the slightest benefit from the Empire in India; nor are they, in any sense whatever, responsible for the present famine, which has been brought about by the policy of the governing classes. It would be monstrous, therefore, that they should be called upon to bear any share of the taxation which you suggest may be imposed here.

The tribute now taken by this country from India is nearly double the £17,000,000 which you state the India Office directly draws from Calcutta. According to the trade figures given in the official Statistical Abstract for 1894-5 (the last year available), the total taken without commercial return from India in that year amounts, properly calculated, to upwards of £30,000,000. This ruinous drain is directly due to the English domination in its present form, and to nothing else. During the eighteen years which have elapsed since the close of the last great famine in 1879, not less than £500,000,000 worth of produce, measured in gold, has, on a moderate computation, been taken by us out of India without return. Moreover, in that same period, the sum of 3,600,000,000 rupees, or, even at the present low rate of exchange, £220,000,000 have been paid out of the revenues of poverty-stricken British India by way of salaries to Europeans. In addition, between 1879 and 1897, 714,000,000 rupees or £44,000,000, have been expended on frontier expeditions: the "sacred trust" of the Famine Insurance Fund having been largely misappropriated to that end. Here, then, is the enormous total of £764,000,000 diverted from useful application by the natives of India in India, to serve the purposes of foreign conquerors within the short space of eighteen years.

Thus has the very life blood of British India been drained out of her, and in this way has the British Government itself manufactured the present famine and plague.

The great Native States, Indore, Gwalior, Hyderabad, Travancore, and Mysore, though governed under light British supervision, and suffering from precisely the same drawbacks of climate as the British territory by which they are surrounded, are able to pay with ease much heavier taxation per head of population than the inhabitants of British territory, and are flourishing and prosperous even at the present time. This, beyond all question, is due to the fact that their wealth is not drained from them continuously, as is the case with the 250,000,000 of inhabitants under our completely Europeanised government.

The catastrophe, which elaborate documents by high officials pigeon-holed in the India Office prove to be inevitable, unless a thorough reorganisation is at once entered upon, will assuredly involve the downfall of our rule. In spite of the flippant fashion in which you yourself have throughout treated the fearful calamity which has fallen upon British India, the Council of the Social Democratic Federation still hopes that the highly successful plan, so happily adopted by Lord Salisbury when he restored Mysore to native rule thirty years ago, will be applied to the rest of Hindostan, and that the solemn pledges contained in the proclamations of 1858, 1879 and 1887 by the Empress of India and Queen of England will, even at this eleventh hour, be fulfilled.

That you should decline to receive a deputation from the great St. James's Hall meeting seems to my Council natural enough on your part. It is easy to deliver a rollicking speech on famine and plague to a set of schoolboys at Harrow; it would be much more difficult for you to defend your policy of fictitious optimism and calculated neglect in the presence of men who know the facts and would not have the slightest hesitation in stating them to your face.

I am, my Lord, your obedient servant,

H. W. LEE, Secretary.

337, Strand, W.C.

LORD GEORGE HAMILTON AT CHISWICK.

Speaking on March 10th at the annual dinner of

the Chiswick Constitutional Club, Lord George Hamilton said that

"they had to a certain extent surmounted the greatest difficulties of the task that lay before them in India. Although there must be and would be a deplorable amount of privation, on the whole the operations of the Government had been singularly successful. Though the numbers on the relief list were enormous, the ratio of increase had steadily diminished. If India were only blessed this year with normal rain, he believed they had surmounted the crisis. The response made to the appeal issued some three months back, not only in this country, but throughout her Majesty's dominions, had been most remarkable. (Cheers.) He believed that the total would not be less than one million sterling. (Loud cheers.) On the whole the House of Commons had treated the matter with remarkable consideration, but occasionally questions were put by individual members which showed that they did not in any way realize the magnitude of our rule in India or the enormous masses of people we there governed. Though a casualty might occur here and there, the organization in itself was equal to the strain put upon it. (Cheers.) The contributions from this country would draw closer than before the ties between the Eastern and Western subjects of the Queen-Empress. (Cheers.) He trusted that as they approached the warmer weather the plague would steadily diminish. He had been particularly struck with the courage with which men and women had responded to the appeal made to them to go out. From France and Germany two of the most distinguished savants were trying, on the methods initiated by M. Pasteur, to avert the consequences of the plague. He had received a telegram that day pointing to the marvellous success which had resulted from the inoculation practised. Referring to the Cretan question, Lord George Hamilton said that there had been no Prime Minister of recent years who had succeeded in establishing anything like the European reputation and authority which had attached to the name of Lord Salisbury as Foreign Minister of this country. (Loud cheers.) He was not one of those who believed that they must necessarily hold to what was called the Concert if they differed entirely from the principles upon which that Concert rested. But this much might be laid down as a cardinal principle regulating European policy—that the Eastern Question had arisen in an acute shape and tended to the advantage of the Crescent over the Cross because of the disunion and division among the Christian Powers of Europe. Lord Salisbury was, therefore, anxious to maintain so long as he could the Concert of European Powers, for the moment that the Concert was broken up the probable result would be, if war broke out, that the Powers previously united would find themselves in collision with one another."

EXTRACTS FROM THE NEWSPAPERS.

The wealth which our commerce has obtained from our Indian possessions brings with it an enormous responsibility when we reflect that a population of over 300 millions, or one-fifth of the total of the human race, is comprised in that Indian Empire which acknowledges the Queen of England as Empress.—*Sheffield Independent*.

It is a lamentable fact that much money is wasted, that the cost of the bureaucracy in salaries and pensions is enormous, and that petty wars, which absorb vast treasures, are entered into light-heartedly in pursuance of ambitious "forward" programmes. . . . After all has been said for and against, there does undoubtedly remain substantial ground for the opinion that our system of government in India is far from being the best possible, and that, if a policy of progressive improvement tending to increase the interests of the natives in the administration is not followed, there may come a day when even the power of the sword will not be able to repress the discontent of the myriads now subject to British rule.—*Newcastle Leader*.

We now know that originally the Home Government, unfortunately misled by that of India, failed to perceive in time the gravity of the problem. Yet there was warning enough, and many who knew the case of India best strongly represented that a period of exceptional distress was at hand.—*Irish Times*.

The British people, among whom we may, we hope, include

the Irish, have a responsibility to their fellow-subjects in India far more direct and immediate than when the East India Company administered that great Empire. We are now more closely united with them than we ever previously were. Steam and the electric telegraph have brought India almost to our own doors. The people may now be said to have become our own kith and kin.—*Northern Whig*.

All through the crisis the Indian Secretary has shown himself the mere phonograph of Calcutta officialism. . . . It is one of the axioms of Anglo-Indian statesmanship that the occurrence of rainless monsoons are a natural and recurrent phenomenon which must be reckoned with and provided against, by the construction of irrigation works and railways, and if the funds set apart for that purpose had been faithfully dedicated to these works of necessity and mercy many thousands of Hindus who have gone to their graves during the last few months would be alive to-day. But again and again have those funds been wrested to the purpose of military expeditions and territorial aggrandisement, multiplying the nation without increasing the joy. The present famine is not an inscrutable calamity; very largely it is the clear retribution on the crimes of statesmen who have sinned against the light.—*Bradford Observer*.

A weak Viceroy always tends to lean on the permanent officials, and in this way he may become the passive instrument of more mischief than a self-willed, imperious ruler would accomplish. The permanent officials in India are excellent servants when kept in their places and well supervised. But when they are allowed to dictate policy and to control the executive they become a positive danger. In dealing with the annexation of Chitral, Lord Elgin appeared to be little else than a tool in the hands of the military and civil members of his Council. So, too, in dealing with this famine, he has allowed his subordinate officials to dictate his policy, in defiance of the almost unanimous opinion of unofficial India, European as well as native.—*Newcastle Leader*.

Just now it is enough work to fight the increasing dearth; but it may be trusted that, when the crisis is over, the question of a permanent remedy will not be ignored as it has been to a great extent in the past.—*Liverpool Mercury*.

As to the Government of India, there can be no doubt that it would be able to act more easily if it had been more careful to accumulate sufficient reserves as a Famine Relief Fund, and had not spent so freely on Chitral and similar expeditions. . . . The Indian taxpayer is poor, poorer than we have any conception of.—*East Anglian Daily Times*.

A conference has been held in London at which a resolution was passed, thanking the Government for the benevolent help it was giving towards mitigating the calamitous consequences of the present famine in India, but at the same time urging the Government to take steps to restrain the drain of wealth from India, which is one of the causes of the frequent recurrence of such calamities. There seems little doubt that the Indian National Congress represents the collective opinion of the educated natives.—*Melbourne Age*.

"MILITARY ENTERPRISE AND AGGRESSION."

The first annual meeting of the Increased Armaments Protest Committee was held on Friday night in London. Dr. Spence Watson presided, and was supported by Sir Wilfrid Lawson, M.P., Mr. H. J. Wilson, M.P., Sir W. Wedderburn, M.P., Sir Robert Head, Mr. A. E. Fletcher, Miss Eliza Orme, Mr. W. P. Byles, Mr. William Clarke, Mr. D. Naoroji, etc.

Mr. G. H. Perris (hon. secretary) read a letter from Mr. Labouchere, in which he said, "No one entertains a stronger opinion on this scandalous expenditure upon armaments, which are generally used to crush the weak. The late incident in Cretan waters is an instance of this misuse.

We actually have shown the sincerity of our protests against Turkish atrocities by slaying men fighting to be freed from Turkish rule, and this in order to maintain the integrity of the Turkish Empire."—Mr. Justin McCarthy, M.P., wrote: "I am sorry to say that I fear I shall not be well enough to take part in your meeting. But my whole sense and spirit and soul go with your purpose. Rivalry in the increase of armaments is the disease and curse of modern European States."

The Chairman, in his opening address, said the society was started in order in some way, if possible, to counteract the dangerous spirit of spurious patriotism which seemed to prevail everywhere. They were told at the outset that it was a quixotic enterprise, and that it was absurd, for they were an exceedingly small minority. It was true they were a small minority at present, but the history of minorities was one of progress. They might depend upon it that this expenditure on armaments was a business for the rich and not for the poor. The armaments gave us power to make those miserable little wars which were such a lasting disgrace to us, and by such wars rich men became richer, but they did so at a heavy cost to England and the good reputation of Great Britain. The South Africa Committee had cast much light upon these little wars. What a sorry mess the enquiry had revealed! (Hear, hear.) He anticipated it would lead to such an outburst of feeling as would put a stop to the slavery which was being carried on under the name of enforced labour, if it did nothing else. (Cheers.) We told Europe that we had no evil intentions in increasing our armaments, but no one believed it, and in response other nations began increasing their armaments. It seemed to him that our increased naval expenditure up to the present had brought about this extraordinary result, that we were to do the dirty work of despotic nations, and that those nations were to decide what the dirty work should be. Where, he asked, were the bishops while all this was going on—why were they dumb dogs when the cause of their Master was at stake? (Cheers.)

Sir Wilfrid Lawson, M.P., moved the first resolution as follows: "That this meeting protests against the further increase of army and navy expenditure in the present year, and especially against the scheme for squandering £5,000,000 sterling on useless military works. It believes that Great Britain could more easily than any other Great Power propose and initiate a general reduction of armaments, and that every step in the opposite direction is an aggravation of national burdens and international dangers." He said they were protesting against what Mr. Gladstone called the "wild, wanton, and most perilous expenditure in which this country is engaged." With all the misery, wretchedness, pauperism, and starvation which existed in this country, it was monstrous that the Government should play ducks and drakes with the money of the country; indeed, it was a national crime so to dissipate the resources of the country. He regarded the armaments scheme as a scheme for the murder and mutilation of human beings. He agreed with Mr. Chamberlain that it was our duty to develop markets, but as a Little Englander he said markets without murder: while the Great Englanders said murder for markets.

The resolution was seconded by Miss Orme.

Mr. W. Clarke, in supporting it, said the policy of bloated armaments was economically ruinous to the richest country in the world.

On the motion of Sir W. Wedderburn, M.P., seconded by Mr. D. Naoroji, the following resolution was adopted: "That this meeting deeply regrets the destitute condition of the Indian masses, which renders them ready victims to famine and disease, and calls upon Parliament to put a stop to the policy of military enterprise and aggression, in pursuance of which the Indian Government diverts to mischievous purposes the public money, which should be employed to improve the condition of the people."

Mr. A. E. Fletcher then moved: "That this meeting deplores the use of British forces against the Cretans and their Greek friends, and regards the recent events in the East as affording abundant proof of the uselessness for good and the power for evil of the enormous military establishments of our own and other European countries."

This was seconded by Mr. W. P. Byles, and adopted.

NOTICES.

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INDIA.

LONDON, APRIL, 1897.

THE INDIAN BUDGET.

THE telegraphic summary of Sir James Westland's financial statement is, as was of course to be expected, dressed up in a form that makes the best attainable show of a sadly dilapidated situation. In spite of famine and plague, with all their distressing concomitants, things are found to be not so bad after all; and the perennial cheerfulness of the Finance Minister is reflected in the ever rosy hopefulness of the Indian Secretary, who told the House of Commons the other night that "the credit of the Government of India has, I believe, never been appreciably higher than at the present moment." What Lord George Hamilton has in his mind to support such an airy statement will probably remain, as it now is, inscrutable. Probably, however, he is aware that only some ten days or a fortnight back the Bank of Bengal was in a position to do business at eleven or twelve per cent., if only it could have run the risks attendant on somewhat reduced reserves. We might fairly assume that any other Secretary of State would be able to assess the meaning of such a state of the money market in Calcutta as has been witnessed during, say, the past half year, especially when the monetary conditions are so exceptionally involved with the Government

balances. "Practically," said Sir James Westland so recently as last December, "almost the whole of the available current capital used in commerce is composed of the Government balances;" and the Hon. Mr. Playfair promptly endorsed the Financial Minister's statement. It is an odd situation, as regarded from London. But there it is, and it indicates in the most significant manner the overpowering influence of the Indian Treasury upon the trade of India. Such being the abnormal importance of a healthy state of Indian finance, the spectator can only regard with amazement the amiable futilities of the Indian Secretary in view of the yawning abyss into which officialism is cheerfully guiding the drift of the Treasury of India, and with the Treasury the fortunes of the Dependency.

The artificial situation, so laboriously buttressed by Sir James Westland, has again broken down. Sir James was enabled to manipulate deficits into surpluses by the aid of the import and excise duties and by the coaxing of the exchange through the gradually increasing monetary stringency. The surplus of 1895-96, Rx.1,534,000, an improvement of Rx.583,000 on the estimate of the previous year, was indebted to the rise of the rupee for little short of the whole sum. Rx.163,000 are attributed to the railways, and would be a welcome sum if the good of it went undiminished to the country where it was raised. Rx.213,000 are said to have been saved on military expenditure, a feat that recalls the emphatic declarations of General Brackenbury that military expenditure had been already pared down to the last possibility of parsimony consistent with efficiency. Either the General was mistaken then, or the efficiency of the army has been so far imperilled in the interest of the figure of the Budget. In any case, the whole situation has turned upon the sheer chances of the fluctuations of the exchange; and therefore there can be no solid satisfaction in the nominal surplus of the year.

The outstanding fact in the revised estimates of the financial year just closed is the cost of the famine, which strikes the account hard on both sides. It involves not only a vast expenditure, but also a serious loss of income. Apart from Rx.75,000 set aside for the famine in Bundelkhand in the earlier part of the year, the famine relief works are estimated to have swallowed up Rx.1,891,000. This is no doubt a heavy call upon the light purse of the Government, though it would not have been surprising if the figure had been very considerably larger, in view of the unparalleled extent and the local severities of the famine. It had been anticipated that agriculture would rather go backward during the year, but the estimated decrease of Rx.2,394,000 in land revenue cuts severely at the largest root of the

Government income. The reflection is apt to rise unbidden that a judicious distribution of a much less decrease at an early date might have been a better bargain for the Government both in rupees and in human lives. The Native States, as we have pointed out on former occasions, manage these things vastly better. The declension of the salt revenue by Rx.262,000 also tells its gruesome tale. It expresses significantly the lack of food over a large area of population, and implies a terrible diffusion of physical and mental suffering. The railway net earnings are diminished by Rx.1,234,000, in face of the exceptional movements of grain and foodstuffs generally in the campaign against the famine. This testifies to a marked striction of the ordinary trade of the country, obviously to be connected with the distresses consequent upon famine and plague, and perhaps not remotely with the monetary stringency that has radiated its influence from Calcutta to the very ends of the Peninsula. Running up all the figures directly attributable to famine and scarcity, the financial statement totals them at Rx.6,081,000, and of this sum Rx.574,000 are charged on provincial balances, which are to this extent again discouragingly depleted. Notwithstanding this comparatively large cost of the famine visitation during 1896-97, the revised estimate shows a deficit of only Rx.1,987,000, which is a declension of only Rx.2,450,000 from the Budget figures. The improvement in exchange reinforces the position with Rx.1,329,000—a windfall resulting from the realization of 14·46d. for the rupee instead of the 13·75d. of the Budget estimate. Rx.608,000 have been saved on the military estimates, apart from the Rx.196,000 of excess expenditure attributed to the higher rates induced by the scarcity—another testimony to the possibility of safe military reductions, were there only a mind to make them. Other improvements under various heads co-operate in the same direction. Opium, however, is heading steadily downwards; it shows a loss of Rx.419,000. China is pressing the competition, and the exchange difficulty between the countries operates against India. The decrease was, or ought to have been, anticipated. Before dismissing the year now closed, we may usefully repeat that the sheer luck of exchange has saved the deficit from being all but doubled.

Will the rupee continue to be forced higher—perhaps to the desired 16d.? Sir James Westland's hopes turn strongly in that direction, for he has adopted the last year's rate of 14·46d. as the basis of his Budget Estimate for 1897-98. The deficit he forecasts at Rx.2,464,000. He anticipates that the relief of famine will absorb Rx.3,641,000, and that the consequences of famine will reduce the land revenue by Rx.447,000, and the railway earnings by

Rx.917,000, while opium will go worse by the large sum of Rx.1,139,000. In addition, he calculates advances to rayats to the extent of Rx.800,000. Military expenditure, however, strange to tell, is to be lessened by Rx.511,000, last year having included, we are told, expenditure for special mobilisation. The total expenditure on famine relief for both years Sir James puts down at Rx.5,607,000, "but much depends," he adds, "upon future prospects as to weather and crops." The saving clause is obviously essential. The fact is that the forecast is the merest guessing in the dark. No man can tell what the famine will cost. The figure may be 12, as easily as 6, millions; it will certainly not fall within the estimate. It must further be insisted on that the Finance Minister is placing his hopes on the high exchange with something of the daring of despair. Looking to the operating causes of the rate, it must also be impressed once more that they tend steadily and heavily to the crippling and disorganisation of trade. No doubt, the contemplated loan of £3,500,000 in England will go some way to strengthen exchange, although the result can hardly have the happiest effect upon the contemplated loan of four crores to be raised in India, unless counterbalanced by anxious English investors. Besides these loans, it is intended to add another £1,000,000 sterling to the temporary debt. And so the miserable country is persistently plunged deeper and deeper into the mire of debt inextricable. The loans, we shall of course be told, will be productive; for is not the railway system to be pushed forward briskly in accordance with the policy explained a year ago? Rx.10,130,000 are to be spent on railways in 1897-98, "besides Rx.2,470,000 and Rx.3,284,000 spent "by branch lines and other companies not under "direct guarantee." We never hesitated to stretch a point to build a railway for fighting famine, but that object is officially proclaimed to be no longer available. So far as railways can control famine, the work is done. We never doubted the value of railways for the development of the country, within the limits of the country's ability to afford means of development. But the present furore for railways is wholly unjustifiable in presence of the pressure upon the finances, and the derivative pressure upon the whole trade of the country; and it is flaunted in the face of the English public simply and solely, in our opinion, as a material argument to confound those of us who denounce the official optimism as to the state of the Calcutta Treasury and of the country at large. To our minds, the unsound position is aggravated more and more with every year. Every year we are being carried away further and more rapidly from the possibility of a healthy development, which can alone retrieve the finances of India—and enrich the English trader.

THREE ANNIVERSARIES AND A CONTRAST.

THE formal celebration of the sixtieth anniversary of Her Majesty's accession has been fixed for the twenty-second of June, but already the rejoicings of the nation have taken concrete form in the shape of the Prince of Wales's Hospital Fund, and the promotion of other charitable objects, while the Vice-regal Court at Dublin has expressed its feelings of thankfulness in traditional English fashion by giving a great banquet. The Egyptians thought it not incongruous with festivity to display to the banqueters a mummy, the emblem of man's end. So ancient and excellent a precedent may be pleaded by those who would remind a nation in its hour of gladness that this present year of grace, the sixtieth anniversary of the commencement of a glorious reign, is the fortieth anniversary of the Indian Mutiny, and the twentieth anniversary of the proclamation of Victoria, Empress of India, and the inauguration of the new policy. That the year will be famous in the annals of India as the year of tribulation goes without saying. Whether it will be marked also with a white stone as the beginning of a new era of justice for India, or only with a black stone as the culmination of two decades of depression, will depend on the ability of the English people to appreciate the contrast between the condition of England and India after sixty years of a beneficent reign. It is a common boast that India is ruled by Englishmen for her own good. Englishmen are fond of quoting with approval the opinion of a popular French writer, that the British are the best rulers in the world. The conclusion is obvious. How comes it, then, that the plight of India at the present moment is so pitiable while England is so prosperous? No doubt there have been famines and plagues of old time. No doubt, too, British rule compares on the whole favourably with any which has preceded it. But it does not necessarily follow that the utter prostration of India is due solely to unavoidable causes; much less does it follow that British rule has attained a high or even a satisfactory standard of excellence. Indeed, it cannot at present bear contrast with the administration of the twenty years following the mutiny. To compare it with the administration at home is palpably absurd. Yet if there were any sufficient ground for official self-satisfaction such a comparison should surely be not impossible. Therefore it is with no intention of making any unworthy appeal to fear, but rather in the hope of arousing a more active and intelligent interest in the welfare of our Indian fellow-subjects, that we would divert attention for a moment from the grounds of rejoicing in the "diamond jubilee," and beg politicians to consider how

far the lessons of the Mutiny have been taken to heart and consistently adopted as a basis of policy; and whether the good omen of the proclamation of Her Majesty's imperial power in India—that significant parallel to the transference of a Roman province from senatorial to imperial control—has been followed, as in Roman times, by such an improvement as it portended.

The welfare of a nation is not altogether a matter of finance, it is true; but there is something almost pathetic in the repetition of an experience known to all enquirers into India's hardships, the inevitable reduction of nearly every problem to terms of crores and lakhs. Unhappy indeed is a people which finds in its poverty the source of all its sorrows; whose struggles to exist almost preclude the possibility of higher aspirations. Yet such is the position of India. The steadily increasing calls on the exchequer have only been met by increased taxation, and the raising of new loans. While England finds it possible to liquidate the huge charges imposed on her by the maintenance of an army and a navy proportionate to the extent of her ever-increasing commerce and her empire, with little or no recourse to fresh imposts and no violation of her principles of free trade, India, whose territory is, but for unprofitable accessions, stationary, and whose relations to the rest of the world have not radically changed for three centuries, is forced as a last resort to tax her own productions and impose duties that hamper her trade. The chief sources of English revenue, excise and income tax, both bearing a direct relation to the prosperity of the people, prove by their steady increase and their excess over estimate the elasticity of English finance. The chief source of Indian revenue, the land tax, with its extreme assessment and its cast-iron rigidity independent of the prosperity of the taxpayer, stands in painful contrast. With an expanding revenue and a steadily decreasing National Debt, Parliament shows no tendency to grudge necessary expenditure, yet at the same time submits every item in the Budget to a close and prolonged examination and discussion extending over many sittings. On the other hand, the Indian Budget, drawn up by a practically irresponsible council, imposed on a people which has no means of protecting its own interests, dealing with as large a total as the English Budget, and supplying repeated deficits by recourse to repeated loans, is passed by a scanty House in one afternoon's sitting. What a satire is this on the traditional British love of fair play! Lord Lansdowne's suggestion that the transference of India to the flag of the United States, for instance, might greatly affect her financial exigencies, is a notable hint to the advocates of a so-called Imperial policy. We may decline with Lord Lansdowne to discuss the

applicability of English methods of financial control to India, and refuse to affirm even as an academic statement of right that taxation confers a claim to representation. But we have no hesitation in concurring with Mr. Naoroji's position that the Government of India has forfeited its claims on our confidence, and should not be trusted with control of finance any more than the executive at home is so trusted. "Taxation implies representation" was never an axiom of the British or of any other constitution. But the right to good government is an inalienable one, and an administration which has failed as the Indian administration has undoubtedly failed in matters of finance, should certainly be put under popular control of some kind. The latest Budget is in itself a confession of incompetence and perversity. There is no attempt to reduce expenditure, and resort will have to be had to loans of eight millions sterling. Mr. Playfair, speaking at the annual meeting of the Chamber of Commerce in Calcutta on March 12th, found room for congratulation in the great expansion of Indian trade during the present reign, and the large amount of capital invested in India. On the other hand, a consideration of the great excess of exports over imports, and of the proportion of interest on railway capital which is paid out of taxation, tends to damp enthusiasm over the mere increase of the aggregate of imports and exports, and the amount of invested capital. Large investments of foreign capital are by no means an unmixed blessing. If such energetic communities as the Australian colonies found themselves in severe financial distress four years ago through excessive importation of foreign capital, it may reasonably be inferred that India would, if consulted, decline compliments to her credit so dangerous as those implied in the recurrence of British loans.

Inelastic methods of finance, unsuited to the conditions of India, have depleted her grain stocks, while the railway rates found necessary to enable the State-guaranteed lines to pay part of their dividends have tended to reduce the area under cultivation for export. In face of a famine the country lies abject and helpless, with no reserves. The plundering of the provincial balances for Imperial purposes has checked the adoption of essential sanitary measures, and left the towns powerless to struggle with the plague. Time was when fires performed the work of destruction healthful to crowded districts. But municipal councils with straitened means, while guarding against fire, have found themselves unable to adopt regular and more modern methods of sanitation. So at a crisis a paternal government is compelled forcibly if politely to suspend the municipal councils of Karachi, Bombay, and Calcutta, and undertake the improvement which

chiefly its own extravagance has rendered impossible hitherto. If a third of the money spent on military departments during the last twenty years had been devoted to sanitary works and famine reserve, neither famine nor plague would have been in the slightest degree difficult to control. The passive submission of a people who have been made for centuries the victims of successive conquests, and their unaffected loyalty even in the midst of the most terrible disasters, instead of inspiring in their rulers a feeling of shame for their own conscious shortcomings, have begotten in them an overweening self-confidence, and an arbitrary habit of making Indian interests subservient to what they conceive to be Imperial interests. It is not to be doubted that if the British electorate could be aroused to a sense of the importance of the questions at issue, their instinctive love of justice would insist on remedial legislation. Parliament votes nearly fifty millions annually for army and navy expenses. The army at home is sometimes said to be mainly a reserve for the British army in India. The chief portion of the money voted for new naval construction in the last five years has gone to the formation of two powerful homogeneous squadrons for the Channel and for the Mediterranean, the latter squadron being maintained, we are told, in the interests of our Indian empire. Yet in spite of these concrete proofs of the importance England attaches to the retention of India, the House of Commons, face to face with the desperate situation of India, allows itself to be lulled to its customary apathy by the honeyed words of Anglo-Indian officials, and is complimented by Lord George Hamilton on its subservience. "On the whole the House of Commons has treated the matter (of the famine) with remarkable consideration, but occasionally questions were put by individual members which shewed that they did not in any way realize the magnitude of our rule in India, or the masses of people we there governed. Though a casualty might occur here and there, the organization in itself was equal to the strain put upon it." The man who flatters our faults is a dangerous friend. There is considerable risk that if the present opportunity for insisting on a full enquiry on the lines suggested by Sir William Wedderburn, to supplement the evidence before the Finance Committee, be lost, Parliament may again be lulled to sleep until the next disaster, which may come sooner than we anticipate. There is all the more danger that our obvious duty may be overlooked in the preparations for national rejoicings, and our consciences soothed by the warm glow of generous virtue as we contemplate the rising total of the Mansion House Fund. That as far as in us lies we may prevent the continuance of a state of things at once unjust and fraught with danger to

the Empire, we have ventured to recall the consequences of our apathy in 1857, of the promise implied in the proclamation in India of Victoria the Good, in 1877, and the contrast between the promise and the performance which has so grievously aggravated the disaster of this year of rejoicing in England, and of mourning in India—1897.

LONGFELLOW.¹

It is tempting, but it would be unfair, to regard the inclusion of Longfellow in a series of "Oxford Poets" printed at the University Press as a sort of canonization of a popular favourite. It would be unfair, because the University presumably does not make itself responsible for the publications of Mr. Frowde; but it is tempting, for in any case admission to such a series of poets is a distinction, and the fact that Longfellow has attained it is a convenient starting-point for some useful reflections. If we set aside those to whom the critical have never allowed the name of poet at all—the Martin Tupper and Eliza Cooks, whose gilt-edged volumes still please their indiscriminating patrons—there is probably no poet in whose case such a complete divergence exists between the critical and uncritical estimates. If we are to gauge the greatness of a poet (after the fashion lately adopted by at least one literary paper) by the sales of his books, Longfellow would come next after Shakespeare and Milton on the list of English-speaking poets; perhaps his place would be even above Milton. On the other hand, the critical ignore his very existence. As the æsthetic undergraduate said, when pigs were mentioned in conversation, "I have never seen any," so the cultured critic might answer, if asked what he thought of Longfellow's poems, "I have never read any." The fact that he has never read Longfellow would not, of course, prevent our critic from delivering himself of a sarcasm on the shortcomings of the American domesticated muse and the untutored taste of her admirers. Now, it is unfortunately true that the appreciation of poetry, as of any other fine art, requires a special training. But the absolute divergence of cultured and uncultured taste is an evil with far-reaching consequences. Criticism may do something to increase or diminish the divergence. The critic who is anxious to prove his own superiority will naturally emphasize the points of disagreement; the critic who cares for the future of literature will be more solicitous to distinguish the sound from the unsound instincts of uncultivated admirers, and to acknowledge what is sound at least as cheerfully as he rejects what is unsound. To say,

as a superior critic did the other day, that the ordinary admirer of Wordsworth admires him for the unpoetical elements in his work may possibly inspire awe of the critical faculty in a humble-minded reader, but it can serve no useful purpose. It mystifies the plain man instead of helping him to a better judgment; and, besides, it is not true. If we look fairly into the causes of Longfellow's popularity, we shall find both positive and negative reasons for it. Positively, it is due to his possession of certain good qualities; negatively, it is due to the absence in the mass of the public of that fine literary fastidiousness which makes his common-places almost intolerable to those who have once learnt the charm of great and perfect art. It is right to lay bare the second reason; criticism must tell the truth even at the risk of hurting the feelings of estimable people. But it is not right to ignore the first reason, and so to widen the gulf between the cultured and the uncultured. It is but a sham Wisdom that takes her stand in the market-place, crying, "Seek ye me early and ye shall not find me!"

A story that won a success somewhat out of proportion to its merits a few years ago owed part of its popularity to its title, which was borrowed from a line of Longfellow's—"Ships that pass in the night and speak to each other in passing." The metaphor pleased the popular fancy, and for some months it became a favourite occupation for young ladies to hunt for the line in their Longfellows—a search not often crowned with success, as the line occurred in one of his later poems that was only published in the copyright editions. It is not likely, by the way, that Longfellow was guilty of any plagiarism, even unconscious, but almost the identical words, "Gone as a ship that passes in the night," occur in Clough's "Dipsychus," and Clough uses a very similar idea in two other poems, "Sic Itur" and "Qua Cursum Ventus." The image in the latter poem—

"As ships becalmed at eve that lay
With canvas drooping, side by side,
Two towers of sail at dawn of day
Are scarce long leagues apart desiered;
When fell the night, upsprung the breeze,
And all the darkling hours they plied;
Nor dreamt but each the self-same seas
By each was cleaving, side by side"—

is finer in itself and far more beautifully wrought than the simile in Longfellow. It is characteristic of the injustice with which the popular voice, when left to itself, awards literary distinction, that Clough's poem remains comparatively unknown, while Longfellow's line has become a household word. But, in spite of this, the line of Longfellow (if we assume its originality, which it would be ill-natured to dispute)

¹ "Longfellow's Poetical Works." The Oxford Poets. London: Henry Frowde.

has real merit, real suggestiveness, real pathos, and owes its success to its good qualities.

In the words real suggestiveness, real pathos, we have already touched upon two of the secrets of Longfellow's popularity. The poet has been defined as "one who sees the infinite in things." The great poets, seeing into the very heart of infinity, often dazzle the ordinary mind with excess of light, so that it is only blinded, not illuminated. Longfellow sees only a little way into infinity, but he sees further than the unpoetical man, and therefore he helps him. When he says, for instance—

"Each man's chimney is his golden milestone,
Is the central point from which he measures
Every distance
Through the gateways of the world around him,"

the thought and the expression are commonplace enough, but they are perfectly sincere, and they are at least a shade less commonplace than the average man's average thoughts, even when he is doing his best to be poetical. For the same reason, Longfellow is particularly helpful to children, on whom all but the most simple, objective, concrete passages in the great poets are usually thrown away. So, too, with the pathos. Its range is limited, but it is perfectly genuine. If he passes outside his proper sphere, he fails at once. How puny are the characters in his "Golden Legend" beside Marlowe's "Faustus" or Goethe's "Faust"! The great tragedian, as Professor T. H. Green profoundly said, shows us man "standing in the strength of his own spirit, remaking the world by its power."

"Let us place ourselves, by the poet's help, within the soul of Lear or Hamlet, and we shall be able to follow the process by which the spiritual power, taking the form of passion in one and of thought in the other, and working outwards, draws everything into its own unity. . . . The incidents of the tragedy are wholly subordinate, issuing either from the spiritual energy of the actors, on the one hand, or, on the other, from destiny, to whose throne the poet penetrates."

Here we have a function of art wholly beyond the powers of Longfellow, and beyond the understanding of most of his readers. Indeed, his greater contemporary Tennyson scarcely ever attained to it. One remembers the delight with which Mr. John Morley hailed the appearance of "The Ring and the Book." "The ethics of the rectory parlour set to sweet music," he wrote, "the respectable aspirations of the sentimental curate married to exquisite verse, the everlasting glorification of domestic sentiment in blameless princes and others, as if that were the poet's single province, as if domestic sentiment summed up and included the whole throng of passions, emotions, strife, and desire—all this might seem to be making valetudinarians of us all." After Tennyson's "mediæval knights masquerading in nineteenth-century evening-dress"—so one dis-

satisfied reader described them—the undiluted villainy of Browning's Count Guido was felt to be a relief. And many American readers must have turned with very similar feelings from Longfellow to Whitman. In Whitman they found, as his latest American critic writes, more of "that pristine element, something akin to the unbreathed air of mountain and shore, which makes the arterial blood of poetry and literature," than in any other modern writer. Longfellow's poetry, his apologist must admit, is somewhat anæmic. Only (to turn the metaphor about a little) let us add that those who want literature to furnish them with a tonic should take care to apply for it to the great poets, who see life steadily and see it whole, not to the quacks of so-called "realism."

In saying all this it may seem that we have made Longfellow out to be a very minor poet indeed. But, though it may well be doubted whether his work contains enough of the "pristine element" to ensure its immortality, it has valuable qualities that minor poetry generally lacks. Not the least of these is its cheerfulness. The minor poet is generally dolorous; Longfellow is as optimistic as Browning, whose characteristic note was, "God's in his Heaven; all's right with the world!" As a rule, the minor poet appeals to an extremely limited audience. Most often he has no really individual note; his poetry is but an echo. If he has an individual note, it is apt to be a mannerism that repels more readers than it attracts. But Longfellow has both individuality and width of appeal. No one else has rendered in quite the same way, for instance, the charm of old-world Flemish or German cities. It is often from him, dweller in a world where nothing is old but "the forest primæval," that the English child first hears the names of Bruges and Nuremberg, and falls under the spell of the Middle Ages. It is often, too, in his poetry that the child first catches the echoes of the old Norse Sagas, or learns the romance of the North American Indians. His metres, again, have great freshness and variety, and some of them, including his hexameters, possess a curious fascination for the untutored ear. There are few minor poets of whom so much could be said, and his great historic service has still to be mentioned. Probably no one has done so much to unite the English-speaking races of the East and West by the bond of a common literary sympathy. No true lover of literature, surely, would wish to disparage the greatness of that achievement, or rashly to deny that one who accomplished so much had "spoken things worthy of Phœbus."

"No one disputes that there will be occasional droughts and consequent failure of crops in India. But it does not follow that whenever crops fail there must be famine."—PROFESSOR BRESLY.

OUR LONDON LETTER.

Mr. D. E. Wacha, of the Bombay Presidency Association, and Professor G. K. Gokhale, of the Deccan Sabha, have arrived in London, and are expected shortly to give evidence before Lord Welby's Commission on Indian Expenditure.

It is not expected that the sittings of the Royal Commission on Indian Expenditure will continue much longer. A bulky Blue-book containing the first portion of the evidence was issued a few months ago, and since the sittings of the Commission were resumed in January last important evidence has been heard from Lord Northbrook, Lord Roberts, Lord Ripon, Lord Lansdowne, Sir Henry Waterfield, and others. At the latest sitting before we go to press Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji was called as a witness. He has handed in to the Commission a series of valuable memoranda, dealing chiefly with the poverty of India, and setting forth his well-known views as to the deep-lying economic dangers of the existing system. It is understood that these documents will be regarded as Mr. Naoroji's evidence in chief, upon which he will be cross-examined by his colleagues on the Commission. After him some other Indian witnesses will be heard, and the Commission is expected shortly afterwards to consider its report. Having enquired into Indian expenditure, Lord Welby and his colleagues might well devote their attention to the hardly less important questions connected with Indian revenue and taxation.

Major Rasch has given notice that he will, at an early date, call the attention of the House of Commons to the Health of the British Army in India; and move a Resolution.

In recognition of services rendered in connexion with the relief of Chitral, the Queen has approved of the following corps being permitted to bear the word "Chitral" on their colours or appointments:—The Buffs (East Kent Regiment), Bedfordshire Regiment, King's Own Scottish Borderers, East Lancashire Regiment, King's Royal Rifle Corps, Seaforth Highlanders (Ross-shire Buffs, the Duke of Albany's), and Gordon Highlanders. Perhaps a more suitable inscription would be "India pays."

The *New Saturday*, of March 20th, following up a previous article on the crisis in Bhopal (to which reference has been made in our columns) wrote:—

"However things may result, what is now inevitable is an independent British enquiry into the allegations specifically submitted. . . . The Government of India, we know, will do nothing if it can possibly help in such a case. It relies on the ignorance of the people at home. It remains for the people at home to lend the weight of their opinion to the modest request of the expatriated and oppressed people of Bhopal. For it is on the people at home, ill-informed as they necessarily are, and preoccupied with laborious trifles as they are constantly kept by every Government, Liberal and Conservative in turn, that lies the final and awful responsibility for what is done, or not done, in their name in India."

The *Reformer*, a vigorous little "monthly" which was issued for the first time on March 15th last, gives the first place in its first number to the Indian famine, which it rightly describes as more

important to England than the Cretan dispute. The writer concludes as follows:—

"One man can do something, but not much. Mr. Fawcett, Mr. Bradlaugh, Mr. Naoroji and Sir W. Wedderburn have each in turn done something; but give India representation, let her send delegates to her own Council Chamber, where she can watch over her own interests, with a closer knowledge of her needs and her capabilities than is possible to any non-resident Englishman, and then her future will be to a considerable extent in her own hands. In the meantime all available funds and all available energy should be concentrated in the effort to relieve the famine-stricken millions in Hindostan."

The *Investors' Review*, which, as was to be expected of Mr. A. J. Wilson, has always taken a strong and independent line on Indian questions, contained in its March number a further article upon the meaning of the Indian famine. We extract this vigorous passage:—

"India is overloaded. We keep pouring millions more of our money into the country every year, and this helps to disguise the ravages of our forcing system of 'progress' upon the recuperative and vital powers of the country. But, though it may be that ten or twelve millions sterling fresh capital per annum, 'invested' in India every year relieves the strain of her pre-existing obligations to us—enriching a certain diminishing class among the people in the by-going—none the less it is as sure as the succession of generations of men, that the end of this policy is not strength but exhaustion. Of what use is it to cover the land with railways when the people have no money to pay for the food these railways could carry? The country is drained, not fed, by these expensive undertakings, and can no more stand up under the frightful obligations we have bound upon the people's backs, than we could endure to take over its loads were it to succumb to over-pressure. From this point of view the famine now raging may be looked at as one more warning to us to make haste and put our house in order."

The Indian famine is no laughing matter, but some of the "comments" which it has provoked in the British Press decidedly are. One of the richest of these is the sapient discovery of the *Nottingham Guardian* that Sir William Harcourt's democratic Budget of 1894 is at the bottom of it all. Here is the amazing passage—taken (need we say?) from a "leading article":—

"We have no desire to make political capital out of such a subject, but we are perfectly satisfied that part of the proceeds of the new estate duty will be paid by the half-starved Indian peasant. People who are compelled to make large provision for the demands the State will make upon their property at their death cannot, if they would, contribute as generously as they have been accustomed to do to charitable purposes, and hence it will be found that Radical finance, which was supposed to tax only the rich, has heavily taxed every kind of public charity."

Upon this encouraging text, "S.L.H." offered some pertinent remarks in the *Morning Leader*:—

"The notion is that the poor millionaires are so bothered with heavy taxation that they will not, or cannot, subscribe to charities. The only logical outcome would, of course, be to allow millionaires to go untaxed altogether so that they will have lots to give away. And it follows clearly enough that you ought to clap all the taxation on the very poor, because, roughly speaking, they give nothing away, so the difference would not be noticed. I hope Sir William Harcourt is duly penitent now for his misdeeds when he finds that amongst other trifles he is responsible for starvation in India! . . . I put it to any fair-minded starving man, who is huddled up at night on the Embankment or in Trafalgar-square, is it fair that these poor creatures who inherit their hundreds of thousands and millions (for which they have actually done nothing at all, so it is not their fault)—is it fair, I ask, that they should be taxed? I am sure that the age of chivalry has not gone, and the starving tramp will put in a word or two for the harassed millionaire, who would like to contribute to the Indian Famine Fund, but, according to the *Nottingham Guardian*, cannot, because of that wicked 'Arcourt.'"

INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS.

MR. W. S. CAINE'S RETURN FROM INDIA.

MEETING AT THE NATIONAL LIBERAL CLUB.

Sir William Wedderburn, on Tuesday, March 9th, gave a reception and luncheon at the National Liberal Club to welcome Mr. W. S. Caine on his return from the Indian National Congress, which he attended as the delegate of the British Committee. Sir William presided at the luncheon, and had on his right the guest of the day and on his left Lord Kinnaird.

There were four Vice-chairmen, viz., Mr. H. J. Wilson M.P., Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, Mr. H. N. Haridas and Mr. W. Martin Wood: while the guests also included Mr. Burt, M.P., Mr. F. W. Cawley, M.P., Mr. Geo. Harwood, M.P., Sir Wilfrid Lawson, M.P., Mr. J. Herbert Lewis, M.P., Sir J. Leng, M.P., Mr. Swift McNeill, M.P., Mr. Justin McCarthy, M.P., Mr. J. Herbert Roberts, M.P., Mr. Samuel Smith, M.P., Mr. C. E. Schwann, M.P., Mr. Robinson Souttar, M.P., Mr. John Wilson, M.P. (Govan), Prince Ranjitsinghi, Sir Geo. Birdwood, and Messrs W. Digby, the Hon. Conrad Dillon, A. E. Fletcher, A. G. Symonds, A. J. Wilson, and Fisher Unwin, and the Hon. Mr. Justice Jardine. Over 70 sat down to luncheon.

After luncheon, the Chairman asked the company to drink the health of the Queen Empress. (Cheers.) This, he said, is a toast which in India is always received with the greatest enthusiasm, because Indians will never forget that after she had reigned twenty years her Majesty personally gave them the great Queen's Proclamation of 1858, which they regard as the Magna Charta of India. (Cheers.) They will never forget that, in speaking of the people of India, she said, "In their prosperity will be our strength, in their contentment our security, and in their gratitude our best reward." (Cheers.) Well, gentlemen, forty years have passed since that time, and this year there will be great celebrations of triumph all over the Empire for great prosperity has accrued to the British Empire. But, sad to say, India alone lies prostrate, and therefore we may hope that her Majesty will not forget India, and as we know she personally intervened to put the words I have quoted into the Proclamation of 1858, we trust that the personal intervention will be again exercised in this Diamond Jubilee, so that India may not be forgotten. (Cheers.)

The toast was duly honoured.

The CHAIRMAN: There are some of our friends invited who were not able to attend, but have written letters regretting that they cannot be here to welcome Mr. Caine. I will read but two of them. The first is from Sir William Hunter, a great authority upon Indian matters. He writes:—

"Oaken Holt, Near Oxford,

"March 6th, 1897.

"My Dear Wedderburn,—I much regret being unable to be present at your luncheon to welcome home Mr. Caine. But, as you are probably aware, I have to preside at a Famine Relief meeting on that afternoon, and so must prefer duty to pleasure. I beg you will remember me kindly to your guest, and I feel sure that the gathering will be a cordial and sympathetic one. We all have the interest of India at heart, and little differences in our methods of working should not be allowed to obscure our identity of aim.

"Ever sincerely yours,

"W. W. HUNTER."

The other letter is from Mr. Alfred Webb, who presided at the previous Congress, and whom we had the pleasure of entertaining in this room two years ago. It is as follows:—

"11, Frankfort Avenue, Rathgar, Dublin,

"March 6th.

"Dear Sir William,—Illness has prevented my acknowledging your kind invitation for the 9th. Even still I have to employ an amanuensis.

"Were it possible, nothing would give me greater pleasure than to be one of the company to welcome Mr. Caine back. I have followed his course in India, and he is worthy of all honour. How beneficial it would be to both countries if men of his calibre and clear-sightedness oftener visited India.

"It is deplorable the general ignorance here prevailing

regarding the Congress movement. By here I mean the United Kingdom at large.

"It is amazing how difficult it is to rouse public interest on the question, the most important of all others to the future of the Empire, I do not even exclude the Home Rule question, to which I have given so much of my life. People appear blinded to the overwhelming importance of the political and educational forces at present at work in India, and which sooner or later will work their way—whether for good or ill largely depends on the manner in which we meet or help to guide them.

"I am very sincerely yours,

"ALFRED WEBB.

"SIR WILLIAM WEDDERBURN, BART., M.P."

Among those who have also written expressing their regret at not being able to attend are: Mr. T. R. Buchanan, M.P., Sir Charles Cameron, M.P., Dr. Clark, M.P., Mr. Michael Davitt, M.P., Mr. J. E. Ellis, M.P., Mr. Charles Harrison, M.P., Sir Robert T. Reid, M.P., Mr. C. P. Scott, M.P., the Hon. Philip Stanhope, M.P., Mr. E. T. Cook, Mr. H. W. Massingham, Dr. Clifford, Mr. Frederic Harrison, Sir John Budd Phear, Mr. Geo. W. E. Russell, Dr. Guinness Rogers, and Sir James Stansfeld. The object of our meeting this morning is to give a hearty welcome to our friend Mr. Caine, upon his return from India, and to say how glad we are that he has come back safe and sound. (Hear, hear.) We wish also to tender to him our thanks for his services in India. At considerable personal risk he has visited that country in order to be the delegate to the 12th Indian National Congress, and to carry to the people of India a message of good will and of deep sympathy in their sufferings. (Hear.) For, gentlemen, a double calamity has now fallen on India. To the famine pestilence is superadded, and, whatever efforts may be made there will, no doubt, be great misery and great loss of life. We know that twenty years ago, when there was a famine, no fewer than five millions of people perished, and what will be the number to perish on this occasion no one knows. The problem how to avert disaster is a very difficult one. Here in this island we have a population of 40 millions, and with the people of this country rests the whole power and the whole responsibility. And 6,000 miles away there is India with its 300,000,000 inhabitants: they have none of the power, but they have all the need and all the suffering. The problem is a difficult one. The only thing is for us all to work together with mutual goodwill and confidence: the Government must do all that it possibly can, and the natural leaders of the people must do all that they can, but even that will not suffice unless all work heartily together. (Hear, hear.) What we want is solidarity in facing this question, in order to bring together public opinion in this country and in India. To do this our friend Mr. Caine recently undertook this journey to India. He has not only attended the meetings of the Congress, but he has visited many local centres and been present at gatherings at which delegates to the Congress were elected. I hope that he will tell us something of his experience, in order that those present may judge of the real substance and basis of this movement for the benefit of the people. (Hear.) I should explain that at one time it was doubtful whether the Indian Congress would meet this year: so great were the difficulties and hardships, and so occupied were the people in their own homes, that some thought it would be better not to meet at all. I think it was highly to their credit that all those difficulties were overcome, and delegates assembled from districts long distances apart, and were able to place before the Government their past experience of famine difficulties, together with suggestions as to the best means of overcoming them. What they want to impress upon the Government is this: that it is not enough to deal with the present famine—(hear)—in dealing with the question it is not the mere superficial symptoms that must be got rid of, but you must strike at the cause of the disease. (Hear.) The universal belief of Indian public opinion is that the originating cause of the disaster is the extreme poverty and destitution of the people—this poverty and destitution being so great that the people are unable to resist even the first attacks of pestilence and famine. That was the opinion of the Indian National Congress, and we, who are the friends of India in Parliament, as in duty bound, brought that view of the case before Parliament. I am grateful to those members of the House who are here, and to those who have not been able to come to-day, for the support they

gave me in bringing the matter before Parliament. An amendment was moved. We did not even ask that the Government should accept this statement of the Indian Congress; we only asked for an enquiry in order that it might be ascertained whether or not the universal feeling of the people of India was founded upon fact and truth. (Hear, hear.) I am sorry to say—and I say it with deep regret—(hear)—that the Secretary of State refused this enquiry: he not only refused it, but he also made what I consider to be an altogether uncalled for attack upon the Congress. Lord George Hamilton took up a very extraordinary position in this matter. The very justification for our action in the House was that we took it on behalf of a great representative body in India; and his great objection to my proposal was that it emanated from the Indian National Congress, instead of that being considered, as it really was, the greatest recommendation it could have had. (Cheers.) He not only made this attack upon the Congress, but he further ridiculed the claims of the Congress to be a representative body, and I am sorry to say he also taunted the Congress with unreadiness to help in mitigating the famine. Now, as regards that taunt I think I should like my friend Mr. Caine, who has been through India, to say whether it is a deserved taunt. (MR. CAINE: It is not.) My own belief is that the Indian people are the most charitable people on the face of the earth. (Hear, hear.) They have no poor law, because in time of disaster they shew a marked feeling of brotherhood in helping one another, and I believe it will be found that the leaders of the Congress have been among the first to help the people during this famine. (Hear, hear.) Then, as regards Lord George Hamilton ridiculing the claims of the Congress to be representative. I should like to say a word about that. I will not give my own opinion, but I will quote that of a most undeniable authority in answer to the Secretary of State, who has never been in India, and does not consequently know very much about it. Our friend Sir R. Garth, a Conservative Chief Justice of Bengal, who has been in India and does know a great deal about that empire—(hear)—in an article in the *Law Magazine and Review*, refers to this question, and says:—"The Indian National Congress is a large, influential and important assembly of earnest and patriotic gentlemen, who, since 1885, have, at the close of each year, met at one or other of the large centres in India, such as Calcutta, Madras, or Bombay, to discuss their political views and opinions. They consist of delegates from every part of India, who are duly elected at a number of divisional headquarters. We are told that at the Congress meeting in Allahabad in the year 1888 fully three millions of men took a direct part in the election of these delegates, who themselves numbered no fewer than 1,248. The constitution of this important body was thoroughly representative; it consisted of princes, rājās, nawabs, fifty-four members of noble families, members of Council, honorary magistrates, chairmen and commissioners of municipalities, fellows of universities, members of local boards, and professional men, such as engineers, merchants, bankers, journalists, landed proprietors, shop-keepers, clergymen, priests, professors of colleges, zemindars, and others. I should also say that they were thoroughly representative as regards religion, as well as their rank and profession. The Hindus of various castes numbered 964, the Muhammadans, 222; the Christians, 38; and the Jains, 11." Then Sir Richard Garth goes on to enquire what these men have done to merit the relentless persecution of the Government of India. And he answers his own question as follows: "What have they done? I will tell you what they have done. They have dared to think for themselves, and not only for themselves, but for the millions of poor and ignorant people who compose our Indian Empire. (Cheers.) They have been content to sacrifice their own interests and to brave the displeasure of the Government in order to lend a helping hand to these poor people." (Cheers.) Well, gentlemen, bearing in mind that these are the aims of this Indian National Congress, I ask is that a body to whom a responsible Minister of the Crown should refuse a hearing? Are these men to be treated contemptuously? Is there any reason for doing that? I say that there is none. (Cheers.) I very much regret that Lord George Hamilton and others who have filled the position of Secretary of State for India have never had an opportunity of meeting this Congress of wise men from the East. (Hear, hear.) The other day I asked in the House whether the Secretary of State would not consider the propriety of inviting some representative and experienced Indian gentlemen to sit on his Council. I think he need not have gone far to find at least one such

gentleman; he could have invited our friend Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji—(cheers)—who occupies a position quite unique in the love, affection, and confidence of the people of India—(cheers)—whether in or out of Parliament—and I hope he will soon be in Parliament again—(hear)—he will ever remain the one single member for India. (Cheers.) If Secretaries of State would take opportunities of meeting men like him—men of the experienced older generation—they would probably consider the claims of India with a little more respect. And then, too, consider the young men who come to this country. We have not yet got simultaneous examinations in London and in India, so that candidates from India are heavily handicapped. Yet India, after all, has had the gratification of seeing Mr. Chatterjee out-distance all his competitors in the examination for the Civil Service of India. (Hear, hear.) Again, in science we have recently heard from Professor Bose his discoveries in light and electricity, which have gained for him the admiration of men of science throughout Europe. Then, too, we have our distinguished friend Prince Ranjitsingh: has he not taught us how to play our national game? (Cheers.) It seems to me that under the circumstances it is most monstrous that a hearing should be refused to the claims of men like these. (Hear.) It says very little for the wisdom with which we are governed and with which India is governed that the Government of India should treat in a hostile way these men who constitute the Indian National Congress, and who are doing their utmost to teach the Government how the people of India may be made prosperous and contented under British rule. (Cheers.) But I must return to our friend Mr. Caine. I should like to say how very much we feel his absence from the House of Commons. His inexhaustible energy, his ready resource and his vigorous speech were of the utmost value to us. We hope he will very soon regain his post there. (Cheers.) Not that being in the House and attending to Indian affairs is altogether a bed of roses—(laughter)—especially when you have to bring matters before a careless and indifferent House, when you have to face a powerful Ministerial bench with a majority of 150 behind it, and especially as, I am sorry to say, is the case, we get no help from the front Opposition bench such as we have a right to expect. Indeed, an ex-Secretary of State seems always waiting an opportunity to attack us in the rear. His proceedings remind me somewhat of what was said of Austria in King John: "Thou ever strong upon the stronger side." (Laughter.) And he speaks on Indian matters with all that ease and assurance which go with practical ignorance of the subject. (Cheers and laughter.) We are very weak in the House of Commons, and need all the support that public opinion can give us. But I am very glad to think that the Press is strongly represented at our meeting to-day, and I wish to tender our grateful thanks to the independent press for the assistance and support they invariably give us. I even feel a certain amount of gratitude to the hostile press—the *Pioneer*, the *Globe*, and the *St. James's Gazette*, for they pay a tribute to our little efforts as is proved by their sometimes losing their temper and falling into personalities. (Laughter.) It is always gratifying to see one's opponents lose their temper, as it shows a shortness of argument and facts. When they find they cannot deal successfully with our facts and arguments they call us bores and faddists. (Laughter.) We have sometimes heard of blessings in disguise: I think we may term this a compliment in disguise. (Laughter.) After all, what is a faddist? It is a person who has an idea in his head and follows it up whether it does harm or good to himself. If he is to get any good by it for himself he is not a faddist. As to being a bore, all good work is a bore to the lazy and self-indulgent; indeed, to such people both duty and conscience are a bore. Therefore I do not think we need complain of being called bores and faddists. (Hear, hear.) We hope that public opinion will continue to be heard on the side of justice for India, and I believe that in due time the House of Commons will recognise that what is now deemed to be a bore is a sacred duty that they must perform and a responsibility which must be discharged in the interests of India and of this country. (Cheers.) Gentlemen I must apologise for the length of my remarks, and I will now only ask you to drink to the health of our friend Mr. Caine, to wish him long life, and to thank him for the valuable services he has rendered to India and to humanity. (Loud cheers.)

MR. DADABHAI NAOROJI: I rise with the most cordial feelings and with the deepest appreciation of Mr. Caine's services. I

welcome him home on my own behalf, and on behalf of all my Indian friends who are here present. (Hear, hear.) I am most heartily glad that he has been to India, and that he has seen the National Congress at its labours, and I trust he will give us a very clear and just account of what he has seen, both with regard to the constitution and the work of that assembly. I, as one of those who were present at the formation of the Congress, do not care a straw whether our objects are misrepresented or misunderstood. I said then, as I said forty years before, that my political creed was that I had the utmost confidence in the conscience of the British people. I repeat that to-day, after fifty years' experience; I have the same confidence still, and, whatever may happen, however many may be our disappointments, I still feel faith in the efforts of our friends, and I hope I shall continue to hold that faith to the end of my life. (Cheers.) It is useless for me to offer any strong remarks with regard to those who misrepresent us or misunderstand us. If there is one thing more than another of which the British people should be proud in regard to the Congress, it is the fact that the very creation and existence of the Congress are a result of British rule. (Hear.) I say that the British people should be proud of that. It means—whatever misrepresentations may be made of it—that a great force has been created, and if it is endeavoured to-morrow to suppress the Congress, it will quickly rise like a phoenix from its ashes. (Hear, hear.) I believe it will continue its work. The system of British Government has faults as well as merits, and we believe if we can point out evil defects in that system, we shall be doing useful work. Our object is to strengthen the connexion between Great Britain and India. (Hear.) At present, unfortunately, the system is directed more or less to the benefit of one party only, while the other party suffers from great destitution and poverty. I am sometimes told that I have the poverty of India on the brain. Well, it may be so, and it will remain there till the British people are aroused to a sense of their responsibility, and as long as my feeble voice can be raised, I will raise it in an attempt to make the British people understand their duty and fulfil their responsibilities. (Cheers.)

MR. SAMUEL SMITH: I am sure we are all very anxious to hear our friend Mr. Caine, and therefore I will not long detain you. I wish just to express my deep sympathy with the people of India, who are now suffering from famine and pestilence. I do not think that India possesses any truer friend than Sir William Wedderburn—(hear)—and I only wish the House of Commons would give him as good a hearing as he has had this day. Unfortunately, our experience is that the House of Commons takes little interest in discussions on Indian questions. Now, we all, I am sure, feel a very deep sense of sympathy with India in her trials. (Cheers.) Those of us who have been in India know something about the magnitude of the famine. I am afraid it will prove to be one of the most widely extended famines of the century, and the suffering will be extensive in spite of the efforts of the Indian Government, which I believe is doing all it possibly can do to relieve the distress. (Hear.) But I believe this country will not be discharging its duty to India if it does not make it a handsome Imperial grant. The Indian Government, after all, cannot undertake to do more than grant a bare subsistence. It cannot in justice to the taxpayers undertake to do more. A good deal, however, needs to be done beyond that, and I therefore hope our Government will do what I believe the nation would like it to do, and make a generous grant in aid of the sufferers in their long-continued and terrible trial, and thus strengthen the union between Great Britain and her Eastern dependency. (Hear, hear.) I only wish to say in conclusion, Sir William, how much we are indebted to you for calling us together. (Cheers.)

LORD KENNAIRD: I will only occupy one or two minutes. We in the House of Lords do not go in for long speeches, and therefore I have not got into the habit of making them. (Laughter.) First, I wish to thank Sir William Wedderburn for having invited us to this pleasant gathering, and then I wish most heartily to welcome home Mr. Caine, whose experiences in India we shall be very glad to listen to. With regard to the suggestion that a grant should be made from Imperial money in aid of the Indian Famine Fund, I must express my earnest hope that if one is made, it will be rendered perfectly clear that it is not intended to be in any way a check upon private charity. (Hear, hear.) I am afraid that people

are only just beginning to realise the vastness of the need for assistance. Our fellow-countrymen in India are wholly unable to cope unassisted with the disaster, and I hope it will be found that among all the Queen's subjects, from the highest in the land to the lowest, there will be a readiness to afford that help which is so much required. (Hear, hear.) I do not think the friends of the National Congress need be discouraged because they are meeting with some little opposition: it should spur them to greater efforts. We gladly welcome you you home again, Mr. Caine, and we hope that the work which you and others interested in India are doing will be carried forward to a successful issue. (Cheers.)

SIR WILFRID LAWSON, M.P.: I am as glad as anyone in this room, or, indeed, in the country, to see our friend Mr. Caine safe and sound back again. We are old comrades in arms. (Hear.) I remember reading an advertisement in the *Matrimonial News* once, in which a young man "tall, fair, and good-looking, is anxious to meet a young lady of the same way of thinking." (Laughter.) Well, I think you, Mr. Caine, have met that young lady of the same way of thinking. As you know pretty well what we think, I need not dilate upon it. I was much struck by the expression of Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji when he said he was accused of having the poverty of India on the brain.

MR. CAINE: As I am said to have drinking on the brain. (Laughter.)

SIR WILFRID LAWSON: We know how much Mr. Naoroji has done for India, and we believe that as long as his life is spared he will continue his efforts, and will be able to do a great deal more for that Empire. May he, and may our guest, live long to fight the cause they have so much at heart, both at home and in India. (Cheers.)

MR. H. J. WILSON, M.P.: I am very glad to join my voice with those who have preceded me in most heartily welcoming Mr. Caine back to this country, and in thanking you cordially for your kindness, Sir William, in thus bringing us all here together again. (Hear.) While you may agree that speech is silver, yet, as you are all waiting to hear our guest, I am positive you will assent to this proposition that silence on my part will be absolutely golden. (Hear, and laughter.)

MR. BURT, M.P.: Having heard both the House of Lords and the House of Commons, I am sure all will agree that the sooner Mr. Caine is addressing us the better, and therefore I shall be satisfied with simply expressing my thanks to you, Sir William, for giving us this opportunity of coming together again, and testifying to our hearty sympathy with Mr. Caine in the efforts he is making for the improvement in the condition of our fellow-subjects in India. (Cheers.)

SIR WILLIAM WEDDERBURN: When just now I referred to the fact that the front Opposition bench failed to give us that support which we think we had a right to expect, I should have mentioned that there were some very pleasing exceptions, and that Mr. Burt for one has always readily supported any action the object of which is to do justice to India. (Hear, hear.)

SIR GEORGE BIRDWOOD: I am very glad indeed to assent to Sir William Wedderburn's invitation to add a word of cordial welcome to Mr. Caine personally on his return from India, and equally glad to comply with his peremptory instruction not to exceed "two minutes" in what I may say. A candid friend who happened to know that I was a Conservative in home politics described me, on my entering the room, as "a fly in a pot of ointment." (Apologetic cries of "No, no!") Yes, yes!—but even so my presence here serves, and quite agreeably to myself, to set off the exceeding preciousness of the Radical unguent in which I find myself floundering. (Loud laughter.) But it has also weightier justification. I have never identified myself with Indian politics. But all my life it has been my public duty to promote to the best of my opportunities and very humble abilities the knowledge in this country of the reproductive resources of India, and it has been the absorbing occupation of my private leisure to vindicate the title of the artistic and religious culture of the Hindus to independent development, in the direction given to it by the natural tendencies of the race, and the reaction on their inner consciousness of the position which India has occupied during the past 3,000 years in international history. I therefore naturally sympathise with everyone who recognises the regeneration of the people of India through their own spontaneous efforts, and, so far as possible through their own traditional institutions, and, differ as I may

from Sir William Wedderburn as to some of the means by which he seeks the common end we all have in view, I fully and respectfully recognise the high ideals by which he has ever been actuated, and his absolute disinterestedness in all he has endeavoured to do for their realisation; and he has always commanded not only my grateful, but I may add, for I have many pleasing associations with his name and family from my student days in Edinburgh, I will add therefore, my affectionate regard. I also recall with pleasure the previous occasions in which I have been permitted to share in the charm of Mr. Caine's ever genial company; and I most heartily join in the welcome accorded to him this afternoon, and pray that he may be long spared to devote the sound physical health and vigorous mental powers with which he is blest to the sympathetic and fruitful service of the people of India. (Cheers.)

Prince RANJITSINGHI: It is indeed a very great pleasure to me to see such strong and influential friends of India assembled in this room, and I trust that sooner or later the whole of the people of this country will entertain towards India the feelings which actuate Sir William Wedderburn, Mr. Caine, and Mr. Naoroji. (Hear.) I know you are all anxious to listen to Mr. Caine's experience, but, at the same time, may I be allowed to make a suggestion? One reason why the Indian National Congress is misrepresented is because it is generally believed to be associated with the Liberal party of this country. I trust that the people of this country will not make Indian questions party questions—(hear, hear)—and if it could be realised that there is no party aspect, I feel sure we should find among our supporters a great many Conservatives as well as Liberals. (Hear, hear.) I am especially glad to welcome Mr. Caine, because I know he has at heart another cause in which I am able to sympathise with him, and that is the cause of temperance. (Hear.) I trust he may long be spared both in health and years to do good work on behalf of the two causes, both in this country and in India. (Cheers.)

Mr. HARWOOD, M.P.: I believe I have the honour of being called upon to say a few words to you because I had the pleasure of attending the last National Congress, although I did not participate in its work. I was there simply as a student, for I wished to learn all I could as to the movement, and I was very glad indeed to meet Mr. Caine there and share in some of his experiences. We stayed together at the same house for a period of ten days, and I saw enough of him during that time to be able to say at the close that he disliked me less than he expected;—(laughter)—and I liked him a great deal more than I expected. (Renewed laughter.) As I said, I attended many of the meetings in which Mr. Caine took part, and I should like to note one fact in regard to the Congress. Its name and fame is not generally associated with the most extreme timidity and moderation;—(laughter)—but I was struck with the courageous, moderate, and critical attitude taken up by those who participated in the debates. It is not for me to say anything as to the Congress itself; I merely looked on from the outside, but of this I am convinced that it is not a movement which has for its object interference with the supremacy of England:—(hear)—on the contrary, that supremacy is fully recognised as an axiom of the whole movement. I think the Congress is a distinctly Conservative movement in the sense that its object is to conserve the position of this country in regard to India and to make that position more secure by bringing it into closer *rapprochement* with the feelings of the people of India. (Cheers.) At some of the committee meetings which I attended, that was impressed very strongly upon me. It was there stated, again and again, that the main object of the Congress was to bring the Government of the country more into touch with the feelings of the people, and, therefore, as to its being a mere party question it is so only in the sense that it is distinctly a Conservative movement. I went through the famine districts—or most of them—and the impression I gathered was that one great cause which is producing such disastrous results in our Eastern empire is the depreciation in the purchasing power of silver. This consideration I recommend to economists, because I hold that with a gold currency much might be done to relieve distress. I can only say, in conclusion, we heartily welcome Mr. Caine back, and wish him health to continue his labours in the cause of patriotism and philanthropy. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. HERBERT LEWIS, M.P.: I am glad to be able to say a few words. I am sure there is not a nationality in the world which more heartily sympathises with suffering, where-

ever it may be found, than does Wales. (Hear.) Mr. Naoroji spoke of the power of sympathy, and I venture to think that that is one of the most important and potent factors in the national life of the present day. (Hear, hear.) We have seen its power within the last few days, and I am sure that the people of Great Britain only need to be informed, as they should be, with regard to the true state of things in India, and then, certainly, there will be no lack of sympathy, material, as well as moral. (Hear, hear.) It has sometimes been suggested that India exists only for the benefit of Great Britain and of Englishmen who are sent out to take part in its administration, but I am sure the people of this country are determined that she is not to be governed merely for the sake of revenue or for the benefit of the governors. It is the action of men like Mr. Caine which inspires the feeling in India that the masses of the people there are not deserted, but that they have true friends in this country who are determined to do their best to secure justice for them. (Cheers.)

Mr. FLETCHER: I have no claim whatever to the distinction of being called upon to address this gathering, beyond the fact that during my career as a journalist I have always tried to awaken the sympathy of the English people in the cause of India. But there are journalists present who have done far greater service in that respect—men who have proved that they had India, not only on the brain, but in their hearts. I am glad to join in the welcome home to Mr. Caine, and I hope we shall soon hear of his return to the House of Commons. (Cheers.)

Mr. W. S. CAINE, who was received with cheers, said: I must, first of all, Sir William, thank your guests who are assembled here to-day for the kind and hearty manner in which they have received the toast which you proposed. I will not take up your time with elaborate thanks, and I will only say how fully I recognise the kind sympathy, and that I accept the function we have been engaged in to-day, at the invitation of Sir William Wedderburn, as an indication that, so far as the work entrusted to me in India is concerned, I have at any rate performed it to the satisfaction of my chief. (Hear, hear.) Now, while I do not wish to be led away from the subject of the meeting of the National Congress by the sympathetic remarks which have been made as to the famine in India, I should like to say how heartily I reciprocate the suggestion of my friend Mr. Samuel Smith, that a grant should be made from imperial funds so that the people of the United Kingdom may aid the people of India in their terrible distress. (Hear.) I believe that if the Government proposed that a million sterling should be voted the suggestion would meet with a hearty response from the democracy. (Cheers.) It would, at the same time be a message of sympathy which the Indian people would thoroughly appreciate, and it would do more to settle the permanence of British rule than any other step that could be taken at the present moment. (Hear, hear.) Now, I went out to India during the past winter as the representative of the British Committee to the Indian National Congress. The British Committee is held to be an integral part of the Congress and not an outside body, and it is entrusted with the function of promoting the interests of the Congress in this country, and especially in the House of Commons. As the representative of the British Committee I not only attended the Congress in that capacity but I was also elected as the representative of seventeen electoral districts in India. I did not have to select my constituency as I would have had to do in this country. I visited in addition twenty-two leading Congress circles and electoral districts, and studied with great care the methods by the procedure of which this important body is called into active existence. With the exception of my friend Mr. Hume, I am the only Englishman who has seen three Congresses. I have been at three separate ones, and therefore I may claim to speak with some authority with regard to the operation of this important body. My four visits to India—for this last was my fourth—have impressed me more and more with the vastness and intricacy of the social problems which still have to be settled there. (Hear.) After my first visit to India I returned to this country thinking I knew something of the national feeling, but since then I have found out how difficult it is for any Englishman to know very much about the social and political problems which so immensely affect the peoples who form the Indian nation. (Hear.) It is absolutely impossible for Englishmen, however able they may be as administrators, to satisfactorily settle any of these vast and

intricate problems without the aid of the Indian people themselves, and the Indian National Congress, more than any other institution in that country, is in a position to furnish that help to the Government of India by enabling them to get at the opinions of the people of India themselves. (Hear.) Unfortunately there has been a great deal of misunderstanding in the public mind as to the main objects of the Congress, and even the Secretary of State for India does not appear to have the remotest idea of its real aims. I have read with great care the speech which he made in the House of Commons in respect of the reasonable amendment proposed to the Address by our Chairman, and I think we may take that speech as a type of the vulgar estimate in which the Congress is held. For instance, look at his cheap sneer in regard to the generosity of the leaders of the Congress! It was a sneer which was prompted by pique at being driven from his absurd and optimistic position with regard to the famine. At the very time that speech was being made, however, a meeting was being held in Calcutta in aid of the fund, and the men at whom the sneer was directed were contributing largely to the Famine fund. The Mahārāja of Dharbanga, one of our strongest and warmest friends, actually contributed eight lakhs of rupees, and expressed an intention of giving eight more should it be necessary to do so, besides making large remissions of rent. Others evinced an equally generous spirit, and were doing so while Lord George Hamilton was indulging in a sneer at them. I found that the men everywhere undertaking the work of raising money for famine relief in India were almost all of them members of the Indian National Congress, and that local charity and mutual self-help were doing much to mitigate the distress. Under the circumstances I think Lord George Hamilton would have been better advised if he had not given utterance to that sneer. (Hear.) In the same speech he charged the Congress with never losing an opportunity of attacking the Indian Administration and with endeavouring to diminish its influence over the people of India. This is evidently intended for a grave indictment against the Congress. But, even if that were true, it is precisely what Sir William Harcourt is doing at the present moment; for he, Lord Kimberley, Mr. Morley, and other members of Her Majesty's Opposition are engaged in never losing an opportunity of attacking the administration of the Government and endeavouring to diminish their influence over the people of this country. The Indian National Congress was once described by Lord Lansdowne as the advanced Liberal party of India. I am not prepared to accept that definition—(hear)—I prefer, instead, our Chairman's description of its object and aims. Lord George Hamilton, in the same speech, made some extraordinary statements as to the doings of the Congress. Has he read the resolutions passed by it? Has he ever read one of the published reports of the Congress meetings? Let me read you the condensed telegrams sent from Calcutta by Reuter. We are constantly being charged with being a seditious body. I rather think the resolutions prove the utter lack of foundation for any such charge—(hear, hear)—and it would therefore be well for everyone to understand in the future that in the opinion of Lord George Hamilton sedition in India simply means disagreement with the Government of India—(laughter)—everybody adverse to that Government is seditious. (Renewed laughter.) A good many people now present are consequently seditious—and, of course, there are some who are not. (Laughter.) Now, what were the resolutions passed by this seditious body? The first was one heartily congratulating the Queen-Empress on the attainment of the sixtieth year of her reign, and earnestly hoping that her Majesty may long be spared to rule. The resolution was passed unanimously, all the delegates standing. I fail to find any sedition there. (Hear, hear.) The second resolution expressed the thanks of the Congress to Sir William Wedderburn and other members of the British Committee, and accorded a hearty welcome to me, the Committee's delegate. The third resolution advocated an important reform in the shape of the separation of judicial and executive functions. That was sedition five years ago, but now the Government have promised to give effect to the reform, and thus it has come within the range of practical politics. (Hear.) The fourth resolution urged that the demands of the Imperial Government on the local governments should be limited and that the latter should spend money for the improvement of their own provinces. That is surely a very simple proposal. Then, we have a demand that immediate effect shall be given to the resolution passed by Parliament in 1893, that

Civil Service examinations should be held simultaneously in England and in India, and, further, a protest against the recent scheme of education for the Civil Service excluding Indians from the higher posts. Then, here is a most seditious resolution—it is in favor of the introduction of the system of trial by jury throughout the country. (Laughter.) Next, there is a protest against the salt duty; while the ninth and last resolution passed on that particular day is the most seditious of all, for it sent the warm congratulations of the Congress to Mr. Gladstone on completing his 87th year. On the following day the Congress protested against the disabilities imposed on Indian settlers in Africa, and appealed to the British and Indian Governments to guard their interests and relieve their disabilities. The second resolution endorsed the medical reforms advocated by Dr. Bahadurji before the Indian Expenditure Commission, at a table around which sat both Conservative and Liberal statesmen. I do not think anyone there would have charged Dr. Bahadurji with sedition simply because he suggested important reforms in the Medical Service of India. (Hear, hear.) The next one might just come within the charge of sedition, because it advocated excise reforms, a system of effective local option over liquor and drug shops, equal treatment of all sections of the people, an Arms Act, the founding of military colleges for the natives of India, the granting permission to natives to join volunteer corps, and the abolition of the compensation allowance of the Indian Council, as well as the establishment of a High Court in the Punjab. Then came the famous Famine resolution, which authorised the President to cable to the India Office and to the Lord Mayor urging the immediate opening of public subscriptions, and which seems to have been specially obnoxious to Lord George Hamilton. The first resolution carried at the final sitting of the Congress urged that the Acts of Incorporation of Indian Universities should provide that they should teach and not simply examine; the second advocated the repeal of the Coolie Emigration Act; the third urged the appointment of a third member to the Governor's Council in Madras and Bombay; the fourth demanded that the settlements of the land revenue should be guaranteed for a minimum of sixty years; the fifth declared it to be desirable that no Indian Prince should be deposed until maladministration or misconduct had been proved to the satisfaction of a public tribunal; the sixth urged the assimilation of the methods of electing the Legislative Council in the Central Provinces to those in force in Bengal, Madras, and Bombay; the seventh expressed satisfaction at the selection of Mr. Wacha, Secretary of the Congress, to give evidence before the Welby Commission; and the eighth declared full and unabated confidence in Mr. Naoroji as a representative of the people of India in the House of Commons, and expressed the hope that he would be re-elected for Finsbury. (Hear.) These are the resolutions which were passed by the Congress, the proceedings of which closed with three cheers for the Queen-Empress. What on earth is there in them that any reasonable politician can object to? They constitute fair and legitimate criticism of the Government of India, and if that Government were wise it would welcome the existence of the Congress and pay respect to its recommendations. So much for the charge that the Congress never loses an opportunity of attacking the Indian administration. There is, of course, in these words a distinct suggestion of treason and sedition which is altogether unworthy of any statesman. Lord George Hamilton, in the same speech, declared that "the Congress arrogate to themselves the representation of millions of the people of India," and added, "There never was a more preposterous claim." If I am not trespassing too far on your time and patience, I should just like to deal with that assertion, for I shall be able in a few words to show how completely justified we are in the claim that millions of the people of India were represented at the Congress. This statement again proves how little Lord George Hamilton knows about the Congress at all. I cannot give the representative character of the Congress which Mr. Harwood and I attended at Calcutta, because the figures are not yet published; so I will take the Allahabad Congress in 1893, although the statistics as to that are not exceptionally favourable. Still, it was held in the centre of the country, and it was a National Convention to which the different provinces sent delegates. Now, I find that for that Congress there were 140 electoral divisions, which returned an aggregate of 528 delegates, in addition to 97 which were representative of Allahabad city itself, thus giving us a total

of 625. Madras was the most remote province represented, but it sent for 19 districts 39 delegates, each of whom had to travel 3,300 miles at his own cost. So far as Madras was concerned, those delegates were thoroughly representative. Bengal sent 105 delegates from 39 districts. The *Glasgow Herald* referred to the Congress as the happy hunting-ground of the irresponsible Bengali babu. Undoubtedly, Allahabad was more convenient to Bengal than any other place—Calcutta excepted—and that will explain why the representation was so large. Yet I am not so sure that it was more than it ought to be. There are, be it remembered, 71 millions of people in Bengal out of a total population in British India of 221 millions, so that the province was really entitled to one-third of the representation at the Congress, although it only embraced one-sixth as a matter of fact. The remainder of the Congress included 77 delegates from 22 districts in Bombay, these delegates having had to travel 1,700 miles at their own cost; 22 from 6 districts in Berar, 40 from 13 districts in the Central Provinces, 99 from 25 districts in the North-West Provinces, 76 from 12 districts in Oudh, and 19 from 4 districts in the Punjab. The Congress was thoroughly representative. We are always being told by our opponents, as we were told by Lord George Hamilton, that the Muhammadans stand aloof from these National Congresses. Why, at the Allahabad Congress there were 39 Muhammadan delegates in the total number; the Muhammadans form one-fifth of the population of British India, and they were represented by one-seventh of the Congress, and this in a body created by popular election. I think that this in itself a complete answer to the charge that the Muhammadans stand aloof; but if further evidence were required, there is the fact that the Chairman himself was a Muhammadan. We are told that the Congress men are not representative men of India: that they represent only the vakil, the press man, and the babu; and that wherever representative institutions exist, Congress men do not come to the front. I venture to assert that in nine cases out of ten the men appointed to act on these representative institutions are adherents of the Indian National Congress; and I will point out that the representative character of the Congress delegates has got its confirmation in the recent opening of the Legislative Councils to elected representatives. And who are elected to these? Are they drawn from the India which Mr. Bhowagregree represents, or from the India the Congress represents? Let us see. Take the constitution of the Viceroy's Council to-day. Bengal is represented by the Mahārājā of Dharbanga; Madras by Ananda Charlu, the President of the Nagpur Congress; and Bombay by Mr. Sayani, the Mussulman President of the Congress to-day. Mr. Mehta, Mr. Sayani's predecessor, is also a member of the Bombay Council; while Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee, another Congress president, has also been a member of the Viceroy's Council, and Mr. S. N. Bannerji, the president of the Madras Congress has been elected a member of the Bengal Council. I might go on and give other instances, but I think I have said enough to show that for such popular election as there is in these legislative councils, the people of India love to elect men who have proved their interest in their welfare by conspicuous service in the Congress movement, and have thereby gained the confidence of the population. (Hear.) We are often asked, What does the Congress represent? We do not claim that it represents those who do not approve of the movement, but we do say that it represents all educated India, and I have no hesitation in asserting that nine out of ten of the men who have matriculated at the universities there are staunch Congress men. (Cheers.) I think I have justified my contention that it is not preposterous for us to claim that the Congress represents millions of the people of India. (Hear, hear.) Then, we are told that the Congress has no claim to represent rural India, and can at best be only said to represent the urban populations. But even that justifies us in what Lord George Hamilton calls our preposterous claim to represent millions of the people of India. (Hear, hear.) Everyone with the least knowledge of India knows that these urban centres have vast influence over rural India. There are over 2,000 of them, and their inhabitants are all in touch with rural India. (Hear, hear.) There is nothing more remarkable than the recent Bombay exodus; 350,000 people have fled before the plague. Where have they gone? one and all to their native villages. Bombay is largely dependent on the mills there; people work in them six or seven years, and save enough to enable them to go back to their villages and to buy a little bit of land to cultivate, and thus

the reflex influence upon the urban from the rural population is very great and difficult to measure. Further, I have no hesitation in saying that there is a very large direct representation of the rural population in the Congress itself, and I believe that at the Allahabad Conference, no fewer than 150 of the six hundred and odd delegates might be termed landholders. I believe the figures show that 145 out of 625 were directly engaged in agriculture. This interest is certainly quite as well represented at the Congress as it is in the British House of Commons, where the agricultural labourer is only directly represented by Mr. Joseph Arch. Now, during my four winters in India I have probably been present at at least 100 meetings for the election of delegates to the Congress, and I have watched the method by which the selection is made. My own constituency is Sholapur; I attended an election there four years ago. That electoral district comprises 583,000 inhabitants; the city itself has a population of 62,000, so that the rural constituency numbers 521,000, spread over an area of 4,540 square miles and containing 716 villages. The arrangements for the election were made weeks beforehand by the local Congress centre, the villages were all communicated with, a large number were visited personally by members of the Congress Circle Committee, and speeches were made explaining the objects of the Congress and the resolutions it was proposed to submit to it. Each village was requested to appoint a delegate to take part in the final election in the Market Place at Sholapur. We saw the people come into the city; many had had to walk 30 or 40 miles; there were in all from 15,000 to 20,000 present, and they represented a population of at least 400,000. No fewer than 140 such meetings were held up and down India, and it is, of course, the only way in which these elections could be conducted. At the meeting at which I was present at Sholapur names were brought forward and discussed and the candidates were selected who were able to undertake the long journey to Calcutta—a distance of 3,000 miles. The elections are going on all over India throughout the months of October, November, and December, the Congress being held in Christmas week. That is the method by which the Congress is elected. And what is the work of that Congress? It is to discuss questions which affect the general welfare of the people of India. The proceedings are conducted entirely in English. I wonder how many people there are in this country who could discuss questions in the French language? Yet these natives of India speak English as fluently as anybody in the House of Commons, not excepting the Irishmen when they are obstructive. (Laughter.) I heard men like Mr. Ghose and Mr. Bonnerjee speak, and I have no hesitation in saying of the 625 members who took part in the Congress that they constitute a body fully equal in capacity to the House of Commons itself. (Hear.) Yet this is the body in regard to which Lord George Hamilton has indulged in these cheap and stupid sneers! And these are the men to whom he has taken so much exception! I ask you, on the contrary, to say that their influence with regard to matters affecting the welfare of the Indian people is a good one, and that the demands they make are reasonable ones and ought not to be stigmatised as either seditious or ridiculous. (Cheers.) At the National Congress I heard men asking to be allowed to have some share in the government of their own country—men who have sought to be returned to Parliament by constituencies in this country. (Hear.) There are a number of young Indians present to-day who, under the law giving lodgers votes, are automatically placed on the registers and given power to vote for members of the British House of Commons. Yet when they return to their own country they will enjoy no such privilege in regard to the administration of Indian affairs; they will be unable to express any wish whatever, except through the Congress, with regard to the methods by which they are governed. I say not a single word in disparagement of the great Indian Civil Service, but I think we have a right to criticise its methods, and that is a work which the National Congress is fully competent to undertake. (Cheers.) I again thank you, Sir William, for your kindness in inviting so many friends to meet me here, and for the hearty welcome you have all been good enough to give me on my return home. It has been said that I went to India at great personal risk and inconvenience, but all I can say is that nothing could give me so much pleasure as to go to India again, where I have formed many friendships, and to do what I can to strengthen—so far as my limited powers go—the attachments which exist between this country and her greatest dependency. (Cheers.) In conclusion,

I wish to say I was never so much impressed as with the warmth of the affection—the passionate affection—entertained for Mr. Naoroji in India. (Hear.) From one end of the Empire to the other his name, whenever mentioned, is enthusiastically received and his popularity differs only from that of other popular men by reason of the fact that it exists among every class in India alike. (Cheers.) He is everywhere recognised as a true friend of India, and, although some may think that for fifty years his has been but as a voice crying in the wilderness, it will be found that he has accomplished a great and good work, and I trust that our dear old friend may live to see the fulfilment of his aspirations. (Loud and prolonged cheers.)

Mr. NAOROJI briefly proposed a vote of thanks to the Chairman, and

Sir WILLIAM WEDDERBURN, in reply, said: It affords me very great pleasure to meet you all here, and I thank you for so readily coming to welcome our friend home again.

THE INDIAN BUDGET.

The following information regarding the Indian Budget appeared in the newspapers of March 19th:

The Secretary of State for India has received the following telegram summarizing Sir James Westland's financial statement, which will be published in India to-day:

"Accounts for 1895-96 closed with a surplus of Rx.1,534,000, being Rx.583,000 better than estimated last year. Of this improvement Rx.163,000 is in railway revenue and Rx.213,000 in military expenditure.

"Main feature of the revised estimate, 1896-97, is the loss of revenue and expenditure due to famine. Expenditure on famine relief works is estimated at Rx.1,891,000 in addition to Rx.75,000 provided for in Budget on account of Bundelkhand famine in the earlier part of the year. Loss of revenue is estimated as follows:—Land revenue, Rx.2,394,000; salt, Rx.262,000; other principal heads of revenue, Rx.374,000; railway net earnings, Rx.1,234,000; total, Rx.4,264,000. Military expenditure is increased Rx.196,000 by high prices, due to scarcity. There is gain in irrigation of Rx.270,000. Total of figures directly attributable to famine and scarcity, Rx.6,081,000, of which Rx.574,000 is charged on provincial balances and Rx.5,507,000 falls on Imperial accounts. Revised estimate accordingly closes with deficit Rx.1,987,000, being Rx.2,450,000 worse than Budget, being the Rx.5,507,000 above mentioned and Rx.419,000 loss on opium account, less Rx.1,329,000 improvement in exchange due to better rates, Rx.474,000 protective railways transferred to capital account, Rx.608,000 savings in military estimates exclusive of the Rx.196,000 excess expenditure, and Rx.1,065,000 improvement under other numerous heads. The exchange realized during the year has been 14.46d., against 13.75d. taken in Budget estimate.

"In framing the Budget estimate, 1897-98, this same rate of exchange, 14.46d., has been taken without alteration. The Budget estimates, 1897-98, work out to a deficit of Rx.2,464,000. Compared with Budget 1896-97, exchange is better by Rx.1,360,000; land revenue worse Rx.447,000, and railway earnings worse Rx.917,000—both due to famine; opium worse Rx.1,139,000, owing to low prices; military expenditure in India less by

Rx.511,000, as last year included special mobilisation expenditure; the famine relief expenditure provided for in the Budget is Rx.3,641,000.

"Total famine relief expenditure both years Rx.5,607,000, but much depends upon future prospects as to weather and crops. This is independent of about Rx.800,000 advances to rayats.

"The statement announces continuation of programme of railway expenditure. In accordance with policy explained in March last, Rx.8,758,000 have been spent in 1896-97, and Rx.10,130,000 will be spent in 1897-98, besides Rx.2,470,000 and Rx.3,284,000 spent by branch lines and other companies not under direct guarantee. This necessitates Government loan of four crores in India and £3,500,000 sterling in England, besides £1,000,000 sterling temporary debt. Drawings of the Secretary of State on India will amount to £13,000,000 sterling. The statement contains a full review of provincial finance and of the new quinquennial settlements with local governments. In conclusion it refers to the cost of famine being so much greater than the declared deficits, and bases upon this the hope that when famine and plague have passed away financial progress will be resumed."

Review.

MEDICINE IN INDIA.

A Short History of Aryan Medical Science. By H. SIR BHAGNAT SINGH JEE, K.C.I.E., M.D., D.C.L., LL.D., F.R.C.P.E., Thakore Saheb of Gondal. With ten plates. (London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd.)

It is pleasant to see an Indian who has taken the highest English degrees in medicine, applying his first leisure to the patriotic task of setting forth to his English confreres an outline of the history of medicine in his own country. The pleasure is heightened into admiration when that Indian physician is also the ruler of a Native State. For the example will tend to dissipate the stupid imagination, still only too prevalent, that Native Indian princes are either devotees of Oriental pleasures or villains of melodramatic type. The Thakore Saheb of Gondal has not only been invested with the honorary degrees that are easily accessible to rank and wealth, but he has also achieved in the hard and beaten track of continuous study and serious examination the English medical degrees that testify to the best modern knowledge of the subject. With all this personal industry and acquirement, the Thakore Saheb bears a high name for enlightened rule and administration in his State of Gondal. In the present volume he takes his stand simply as medical historian, and he bears himself with the modesty of knowledge, and yet with the dignity of spokesman for a long history of medical theory and practice that has been more freely criticised than studied by the experts of the West. He dedicates his work to his old teacher and friend, Professor Sir William Turner, and thereby assures it of the fairest

consideration from the very flower of British medical competence.

By the very nature of the case, the art and science of medicine must be of incalculable antiquity in India as elsewhere. In India, however, like all other sciences, medicine has never been able to separate itself definitely from the all-embracing and overshadowing influences of religious theory and practice. Very probably the persistence of this companionship has had a great deal to do with the hasty opinions that Western science has pronounced upon Indian medical ideas in a general sense of depreciation. The apparent lack of positive and inductive procedure has suggested to pride and prejudice a short cut to an adverse, not to say a contemptuous, verdict. The Thakore Saheb has expounded the case for Aryan medicine in methodical form, if concisely; and he has patiently set forth many particulars which an English historian of the subject would, in all probability, have swept away with impatience. But this very fact adds to the value of the work. The Thakore Saheb, with the modern British science of medicine before his mind, quietly and firmly puts forward the Indian facts, however odd and preposterous on the face of them, and claims that the science as conceived and built up in India "contains a mine of information not to be altogether despised by the students of medicine of our day." "Should it be approached in a spirit of fairness and enquiry," he says, with just claim, "possibly it might disclose the germs of not a few of the marvellous discoveries in the realm of medicine of which the present century is justly proud, and afford a diligent scholar ample scope and materials for comparison between the old and the new systems, with a view to supply the deficiencies with one or the other for the benefit of mankind." The expression of claim could not be more modestly presented, yet it is patent that under the velvet touch there is a harder substance which challenges the right to be duly reckoned with. The political position of the Thakore Saheb will reinforce his professional qualifications in securing a fair hearing for a little understood science that it concerns the rulers of India to study with the frank allegiance to facts required from all sober seekers after the truth.

The Thakore Saheb, pointing to the advanced state of Aryan enlightenment, properly reminds us that much progress in civilisation implies a long and continuous development. He makes a proud claim for his ancient countrymen—a claim that deserves at least to be patiently estimated:

"The country was a cradle of learning for the whole world, and history bears witness to the fact that many a nation that now walks with its head erect would have been nowhere had it not borrowed considerably from the intellectual storehouse of the ancient Hindus. This country was at the pinnacle of glory when other nations were either not in existence or were wallowing in crass ignorance. Most of the sciences, which the present century boasts of so much, were not unknown to the ancient Hindus; and one has but to look into their writings to see whether the truths propounded by them some thousands of years ago do not still endure in their natural freshness."

It was only the other month that we had occasion to speak a word for the Hindu attainments in Astronomy and Mathematics. Similar claims might be strongly advanced in respect of their study of

chemistry, language, music, architecture, military science, law, religion, philosophy and politics. "When the state of civilisation was so perfect, and when all sorts of useful sciences were regularly studied, there should be no wonder," as the Thakore Saheb urges, "if the science of medicine, too, received its share of attention." On the contrary, the wonder is that Western students, armed with the inductive method, should have so far forgotten it as to pass sentence on Aryan medicine without applying a deliberate and full examination of the ascertainable facts. If the Indians have never been able to extricate science from the domination of religion, neither have Europeans always been able to exclude the bias of prejudice from investigations that can be rightly conducted only in the pure light of reason. Let us make a fresh start. The controlling power of religion over Hindu medicine may be found after all to be more a matter of form than of essential restriction. In any case, the business of scientific enquiry is to get down to the real facts underlying the superficial appearances.

The Thakore Saheb passes in review the ancient writers on Hindu medicine, and outlines the Hindu theory of creation. He then expounds Hindu practice during the period of nubility, the principles of hygiene as understood by the Hindus, and next the theory of Indian medicine. On this last-mentioned subject he remarks as follows:

"The science of Aryan Medicine is, as we have seen, based on the three morbid diatheses. These dispositions are born with man—nay, it is asserted that there is no substance in the universe which does not owe its formation to the humours in more or less proportion. The humoral pathology of the ancient Aryans has been in existence for ages. Diagnosis made on the principle of this theory, and medicines administered in conformity with its teachings, have, say the Hindus, worked pretty successfully in India. This theory seems to have been borrowed from the Hindus by Hippocrates (460 B.C.), the Father of Greek Medicine, and to have retained its hold on the medical schools of Europe for more than 2,000 years. To discard this theory as thoughtless and barbarous is, urge its advocates, unjustifiable. The epithets are strongly resented by the Aryan physicians, who complain that their science has not been properly studied and examined by modern investigators, who have condemned it on insufficient data. They are, however, taking comfort in the hope that modern medical science, in the course of its onward march, or on reaching its goal of progress, may possibly land its votaries on the very theory which they have at present rejected."

The chapters on the Indian *materia medica*, on Hindu writers on aetiology, diagnosis, and treatment, and on the qualities of a physician and his prognosis, contain numerous elements of curious interest. There is even more striking matter in the narrative of the rise and fall of Indian surgery. The Thakore Saheb points out that numerous ailments that are now in Western countries treated by the knife were anciently in India cured medicinally; and he makes strong claims for the early proficiency of Indian surgeons. Thus:

"It was only in rare cases, and for effecting a speedy recovery or affording immediate relief, that they had recourse to surgical operations. And yet their earliest works mention no less than one hundred and twenty-five surgical instruments for ophthalmic, obstetric, and other operations. They were experts in forming new ears and noses . . . and 'our modern surgeons have been able to borrow from them (Hindus) the operation of rhinoplasty' (Weber.) On this subject Dr. Hirschberg of Berlin says: 'The whole plastic surgery in

Europe had taken its new flight when these cunning devices of Indian workmen become known to us. The transplanting of sensible skin flaps is also an entirely Indian method.' The same writer also gives credit to the Indians for discovering the art of cataract-couching, 'which was entirely unknown to the Greeks, the Egyptians, or any other nation.' The cataract operations are, it is said, performed by Indian practitioners with great success even to this day. The Hindus were also experts in performing amputations and abdominal section. . . . Inoculation for small-pox seems to have been known to them from a very early age. . . . 'The Hindu philosophers,' says Dr. Wise, 'undoubtedly deserve the credit of having, though opposed by strong prejudice, entertained sound and philosophical views respecting the uses of the dead to the living; and were the first scientific and successful cultivators of the most important and essential of all the departments of medical knowledge—practical anatomy.' . . . A certain incense should be kept burning in the operation room: this foreshadows the germ theory of the present day. . . . Brain-surgery, which is considered one of the greatest achievements of modern science, was not unknown to the Indians."

It is added that "the surgeon should not leave his patient without offering a prayer to the Almighty for his speedy recovery." The chief cause of the decline of the ancient Hindu surgery was "the aversion of the Brahmins, who had the monopoly of teaching the various sciences, to animal food and to the sacrificial offerings, which were too common in the pre-Buddhistic period." The whole volume is exceedingly able and strangely interesting, and we close it with keen appreciation of the Thakore Saheb's final word:

"Let the Western and the Eastern Schools of Medicine, then, join hands and reconcile themselves to each other whenever possible. Let them meet as friends, and not as foes or rivals. Under present circumstances the East has much to learn from the West, but the West, too, may have something to acquire from the East if it so chooses. If the Medical Science of India, in its palmy days, has directly or indirectly assisted the early growth of the Medical Science of Europe, it is but fair that the latter should show its gratitude by rendering all possible help to the former, old as it is, and almost dying for want of nourishment. The Indian Medicine deserves preservation and investigation. It is the business of all seekers after truth—be they Europeans or Hindus—to take up the question in the spirit of fairness and sympathy. The arrival of such a spirit will, it is hoped, lead at no distant date to a juster appreciation of Aryan Medical Science."

We should add that six of the plates figure varieties of pharmaceutical apparatus, and the remaining four a selection of surgical appliances and instruments. A useful bibliography is appended, and the glossarial index is judiciously full.

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