

INDIA

A Record and Review of Indian Affairs

PUBLISHED MONTHLY

EDITED BY GORDON HEWART.

ENTERED AT STATIONERS' HALL.]

[OFFICES: 84 AND 85, PALACE CHAMBERS, LONDON, S.W.]

VOL. VIII., No. 6.]
(NEW SERIES.)

JUNE, 1897.

[Subscription, Post Free,
SIX SHILLINGS PER ANN.
IN INDIA, SIX RUPEES.]

CONTENTS:

	PAGE.		PAGE.
Indiana: Notes on Indian Affairs	161	Our London Letter	130
Conciliation or Litigation, by Sir W. Wedderburn, Bart., M.P.	167	Royal Commission on Indian Expenditure, I.—Evidence of Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji ..	182
British Indians in South Africa, I.—By Alfred Webb	169	II.—Evidence of Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjee ..	183
II.—By G. K. Gokhale	171	A Visitor to the Congress	188
III.—By "An Imperialist"	175	British Rule in India: Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji in Edin- burgh	189
India and the "Diamond Jubilee"	177	"A Retiring Civilian"	190
A History of Greek Literature	179	Bibliography of Books and Articles on Indian Subjects ..	192
		Recent Official Publications	192

Indiana.

THE famine is apparently attracting less and less attention on the part of a public whose leisure is for the moment divided between stirring events in Eastern Europe and preparations at home for the "Diamond Jubilee." Yet, according to the Viceroy's telegram printed in the newspapers of May 20th, the total number of persons on relief is no less than 3,608,000, and although, in the judgment of the Simla correspondent of the *Times*, "the calamitous period which was entered upon last autumn seems slowly drawing to a close," the people of India have certainly not yet come to terms with their unfathomable and inconceivable sufferings. Meanwhile, the *Times* has made an important discovery. It has found out that famine is not, after all, "an affair of climatic conditions alone," but is closely related to "the staying powers of the people." One is inclined to say, in the words of an impulsive member of Lord Salisbury's audience on a recent occasion, "common sense at last!" We should, indeed, have been glad, if space and other circumstances had permitted, to reproduce the articles, apparently only the beginning of a series, which appeared under the heading "Indian Affairs," in the *Times* of April 27th, May 10th, and May 18th. The writer, whose identity is not a very profound secret, addresses himself to "the inevitable discussion of the causes which underlie famine," refusing to admit

that "because the crops fail the people must perish."

"The battle against famine is perceived to be a specific stage in the struggle of man with nature in which everything seems at first on the side of nature, but in which the ultimate victory generally remains with men."

Nor is it enough that "the material resources of civilisation," such as irrigation works and railways, should be "applied suddenly to an Asiatic country." Civilisation has less tangible resources as well.

"The staying power of a people under the strain of a great calamity is the product of the normal well-being of the people in ordinary times, and of the reserve of resources which a high standard of well-being builds up. We thus come to the opposite side of the shield, and, losing sight for the moment of the rainfall and other natural causes of Indian famine, we find that its actual effects depend largely on the permanent prosperity of the people."

There is nothing very startling or novel about all this. But it is, to say the least of it, satisfactory to read it in the columns of the *Times*.

PROCEEDING to discuss the conditions which make for the permanent prosperity of the people, the writer of "Indian Affairs" calls attention to (a) the need of fixity of tenure, with special reference to Orissa and Assam; (b) external emigration, with special reference to the grievances of British Indians in South Africa; and (c) internal development, with special reference to

The "Over-
Population"
Bogey.

an equitable system of provincial finance. As to fixity of tenure, the following passage may be interesting :

"Throughout almost all India the Government lets the land to the people on thirty years' leases, and subject to certain provisions can, and as a matter of fact does, raise the rent at the expiry of each term. It thus secures the unearned increment for the State, and is enabled to provide for currency and other financial contingencies by keeping a firm hold on the land. But shrewd observers assert that the absence of a permanent settlement operates as a discouragement to improvement, and that, as a matter of fact, the Government pays dearly for its power to raise the rent by checking the prosperity of the people. . . . In certain parts of India permanence of rent has long been demanded in the interests of the people, and at each recurring famine the demand is repeated with increased force."

And here is an admirable passage upon the system of provincial contracts :

"We cannot truthfully assert that the State has done all that may be fairly expected of it to avert famine while the whole machinery of district development, by which alone the material resources of the country can be drawn forth and the staying power of the people strengthened, is thrown out of gear for the first half of each five years, and carried on during the second half in fear of the next dislocation. The decentralisation of Indian finance has been worked in a way which its projector, Lord Mayo, could not have foreseen, and which he would have been the first to condemn. Continuity is essential to economical progress, and while the population constantly increases the progress of the provinces is, during two years out of each five, impeded or brought to a stand by defective methods of finance."

The passages that one regrets in this series of useful articles are those which give prominence to the bogey of "over-population." The over-population of great areas in India has, we are told, passed into a proverb. No doubt. But is it a truthful and trustworthy proverb? It is employed on all sorts of occasions by all sorts of Anglo-Indians as a convenient excuse, a comfortable theory, with which to answer any and every complaint against a bureaucratic Government. What strikes one about this short way with "grievance-mongers" is that it proceeds rather upon assumption than upon demonstrated facts. Let the champions of the over-population theory give us facts and figures, instead of habitually begging the question. Are they prepared to show that population in India exhibits a higher rate of increase than population in Europe? And—what is of more importance—are they prepared to show how there *can* be over-population of working bees as distinguished from drones? The Indian is proverbially skilful, industrious, and frugal. Given a fair chance he is not only able to earn a bare subsistence, but also produces valuable commodities which reach "the top of the market." The chief difficulty lies, not in the number of Indians, but in faults of administration which keep the workers apart from the materials, direct their industry into wrong channels, and drain out of the country so large a proportion of the products of labour. The

Hindu is advised by some British wiseacres to change his religion. If we are to wait for a better economic condition until that change takes place we shall have to wait a long time. The simpler, more expeditious, and more hopeful method is to remedy the defects of government which are so largely responsible for the impoverishment of the mass of the Indian people.

The Philosophical Society of Glasgow
A Famine of Money. has published in pamphlet form a notable address on "Some Aspects of

Political Economy from a Commercial Point of View," recently delivered by Mr. George Handasyde Dick, the President of the Economic Science Section of the Society. About one-fifth of this interesting essay is devoted to the present famine in India, than which, in Mr. Dick's opinion, no question in modern history makes "more emphatic call upon economists for light and leading." Here is the "most remarkable phenomenon" to which Mr. Dick invites earnest consideration :—

"With a continent said by some persons to be threatened with the most awful calamity of famine which modern times have ever known, it is but rarely suggested, either in Indian or home papers, that there is any actual scarcity of food to feed all the people. The London *Times* of 4th February publishes a telegram from the Viceroy asking that money be sent in preference to food. Lord George Hamilton, speaking at Harrow on the 10th instant, stated the Viceroy and himself had arrived at the conclusion that 'with the spring crops there would be sufficient to carry the people on.' We constantly read of higher prices for food, but never that food cannot be abundantly bought at the higher prices. Did the world ever before see such a situation as a famine of money with which to buy food, while sufficient food existed to feed all the people?"

The Indian famine, it would seem, is a money famine, not a food famine. In support of this view, Mr. Dick observes that the rate of interest in the Indian bazaars is not quoted under 16 per cent.; that even at this usurious rate money could hardly be borrowed; and that the Bank of Bombay was refusing loans on Government paper, even at a time when its minimum lending rate was 12 per cent.

"Under these circumstances, and with discount in London under 2 per cent., money would at once and naturally flow to India, were it not that the rate of exchange at which it could be brought back again is so uncertain that even a difference of 10 per cent. in the rate of discount is recognised as insufficient to cover the risk incurred."

But Mr. Dick still asks how far the British scarcity of rupees is responsible for the "phenomenal" scarcity of money in India. For, comparing the highest price quoted for rice in India with the current price of wheat in Glasgow, he finds that

"We have eighty millions of people suffering from scarcity inimical to health, or from scarcity threatening death, when

food is apparently abundant enough to feed all, at a price of, say, '68 of a penny per lb. The present price of wheat in Glasgow is 16s. per 240 lb.—80 of a penny per lb."

This conclusion leads Mr. Dick to a reflection which might well have been written by Dr. Dadabhai Naoroji himself, and which has supplied the basis of all intelligent non-official criticism of the present situation in India :—

"Gentlemen," he asks, "has it ever occurred to your minds to conceive of poverty such as the foregoing indicates? Here we have probably the most industrious, the most economical, the most peaceable and well-regulated people in the world face to face with death from starvation, because they have not money sufficient to buy food grain, which can be purchased in the worst case at under a penny per pound. Remember, too, that beyond their food requirements their wants are of the fewest, as neither clothing nor houses are essential in immense districts of that country."

It would, as Mr. Dick says, be unreasonable to suppose that the reduction of the Indian people to starvation point is solely, or mainly, due to the partial failure of one season's rains in a country frequently producing two, sometimes three, crops in the year.

"It may be mainly due to economic causes. Such causes have long been foreseen and pointed out by many economists and by the viceroys and finance ministers of India. Notably has this been done in the remarkable despatch of the Government of India, signed by the Viceroy (Earl Dufferin) and his Council, of date 2nd February, 1886. . . . Read in light of later events, it goes to show that existing troubles in India are mainly due to economic causes for which the people and Government of Great Britain are mainly responsible. The First Lord of the Treasury has been at pains to point out that in this matter the moneyed interests here are permitted to rule the councils of the nation. Probably the permission is used in their own supposed interests. Certainly it has been used in direct opposition to the policy of the Government of India."

Mr. Dick proceeds to contrast in strong terms the charity which is now being meted out to India with the annual drain of India's resources to the United Kingdom :—

"If the dispatch mentioned is correctly regarded to-day as a monument of far-seeing wisdom and statesmanship—its truth demonstrated by experience—consider in connexion with it that this country is now fussily engaged, with much unctio to itself, in sending an insignificant charity dole of under a crore of rupees to the Government of India, which Government has for years past been compelled, by the alteration of laws in Europe and America, to send annually to this country Indian produce valued at 8 crores of rupees (at par of exchange £8,000,000) in excess of what the interest it has to pay was reckoned at when the debt was mainly incurred. It is asked—Are we thus in our relation to India, as rulers, reviving ancient barbarisms by living in luxury while drawing upon the labours of the subject races of India till these races are impoverished below subsistence point?"

Mr. Dick closed his references to the Indian famine with the "heartfelt prayer" that the mortality might be less appalling than it was in the last great famine.

"Such a record of preventable death would create a record

and memorial of the sixtieth year of the Queen's reign horrible to contemplate; and all the more terrible if it has arisen in despite of the arguments and warnings during many years of those best able to judge and guide. It is a satisfaction, if a poor one, to this Economic Section that every prominent economist has held clear arguments and reasons with regard to this awful matter. A pity and pain it is that perhaps 'the narrowing lust of gold' has not only rendered many hostile to the teachings of economists, but has led them to ridicule, malign, and misname those whose arguments, it is only charitable to suppose, they did not understand."

We make no apology for quoting these copious extracts from Mr. Dick's paper which, we are very sure, will be read with interest and gratitude throughout India. Mr. Dick's arguments are not, of course, new. But that they should be put forward by a Glasgow merchant, who is president of an economic society, is a welcome and encouraging fact. On the particular point that the present famine is not so much a famine of food as a famine of money, it may be interesting to compare with Mr. Dick's address an article, signed "X," which appeared in the *New Century Review* for March last; and on the general question of the poverty of India, Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji's writings and speeches *passim*—and the summary of his recent evidence before the Royal Commission which we print on another page.

As an indication of the development of the National public interest in Indian questions we may cite the following passage from the last annual report of the Executive Committee of the National Reform Union :—

"The terrible famine which is now devastating a large portion of India has directed public attention to the government of that great dependency, and it has been clearly demonstrated that one of the most fruitful causes of distress and death among our Indian fellow-subjects is the extreme impoverishment of the poorer classes, due to the excessive burden of taxation laid upon the country through the extravagant and wasteful military policy of the governing body, and to the absence of agricultural banks and the unchecked exactions of native usurers. While the native population has become less and less able every year to make provision against drought, there has been an annual increase in military expenditure during the last ten or twelve years of nearly four-and-a-half millions sterling. Your Committee urge that this question of the right government of India is one in which all Liberals should take an active interest, and they advise that special attention should be directed to it by lectures and literature during the coming year."

The National Reform Union, as many of our readers are doubtless aware, is an important "propagandist" association, which, especially, though not solely, in the North of England, advocates by means of leaflets and lectures the policy of the more advanced section of the Liberal party. The President of the Union is Mr. Philip Stanhope, M.P., and the able and energetic Secretary is Mr. Arthur G. Symonds, who is, we believe, connected with India by many

family ties, and loses no opportunity of urging the claims of the Indian people. The National Reform Union has of late years actively co-operated with the British Committee of the Indian National Congress, and has through its numerous lecturers disseminated over a wide area the facts and the doctrines which the Congress seeks to spread.

The Cantonments Question. A CORRESPONDENT writes:—An underlying assumption on the part of some of the military authorities seems to be that prostitution is a necessary evil, and therefore that, recognising it as such, they ought to take steps rather to mitigate its physical effects than to remove the evil itself. But even if, in a given place and for a given time, a rigorous system of examination and detention succeeded in mitigating the physical effects of prostitution, the value of such a system could not be fairly determined without reference to its indirect and remoter results—all the results, that is, which might be expected to follow (not in India alone) from a State system of quasi-insurance against the penal consequences of vice. As it is, however, the system of examination has not been shown to attain even this limited degree of success. The C.D. Acts were not repealed, even nominally, until 1886. Yet the admission rate per 1,000 among British soldiers in India gradually rose from 203 in 1876 to 385 in 1886 (page 15, recent Report). Since 1886 the rate has risen, though not steadily, to 536. But (a) the increase during these ten years after repeal is not greater than the increase during the ten years preceding repeal; and (b) repeal was not rigorously carried out in India. In the home army, where repeal has been rigorously carried out, the admission rate per 1,000 has greatly declined (page 19, recent Report). These facts perhaps render unnecessary the question of casuistry—how much disease must be prevented by the system of examination in order that the gain in health may counterbalance the hatefulness of the system? The fact that in 1895 the admission rate per 1,000 in India rose to 522 has encouraged the grotesque statement that half the army in India is permanently in hospital through contagious disease. The average number in hospital is 45 per 1,000 (page 9, paragraph 11, recent Report). As to the suggested contrast (page 19) between British and foreign armies, (a) is it probable that “admissions to hospital” are as accurate an index to the real amount of disease in foreign armies? and (b) foreign armies are not quartered in India. The disease fluctuates oddly (Memo., p. 4, para. 8, Lucknow and Cawnpore). How is this to be explained? And is it true that the virulence of the disease has increased not only after, but because of, repeal? All that the statistics seem to show is that the old system of examination is no remedy,

and, therefore, that a remedy must be sought in some new direction.

“Equal Justice” in India. MR. ALFRED WEBB writes: Surely in such cases as the following—cases that too often meet one’s eye in Indian

papers—should be more generally brought before British readers.

Calcutta, April 22.

Two apprentices in the Kanchrapara Railway workshop, by name Lawson and Collins, were charged before the Joint Magistrate of Ranaghat, who is a Bengalee gentleman, with assaulting two native women in a train, trespassing into the women’s car, riding on the foot-board, and false personation. It appears that on the 14th instant the accused got into an up-train without tickets. While the train was in motion, they examined the tickets of the passengers, pretending they were authorised ticket-inspectors. Between Chogdah and Ranaghat, Lawson entered the women’s car and Collins lowered the gas-light. Lawson assaulted the wife of an up-country pointsman and a widow with two children, who were the only occupants of the carriage. He tried to commit criminal assault upon the two women, who resisted him, while his friend watched from the foot-board. The train arrived at Ranaghat and the accused were arrested in a second-class bath-room where they had hidden themselves. The two women identified the accused, *who admitted the charge*. The Magistrate sentenced Lawson to one month’s rigorous imprisonment for assault, and a fine of Rs. 60 for false personation. Collins was fined Rs. 50 for false personation, travelling without a ticket and riding on the foot-boards while the train was in motion.—*Madras Standard*, April 23.

What can be more monstrously unfair than such magisterial action? It is difficult enough in India to convict whites of outrages on natives. Surely when convicted they should be sufficiently punished. Imagine what would be meted out to two apprentices for such outrages upon women in a railway train in the United Kingdom—in India but a month’s imprisonment and fines of some £3 15s. and £3 2s. ! If anything, punishments on whites in India for such crimes should be more severe than here. Do we not there assume to be the superior Christian race—standing as it were *in loco parentis* to the people—especially in relation to women and those who are weak and defenceless?

The Education of Hindu Girls. A RECENT Report of the Arya Girls’ School at Jalandhar contains an account of its work since it was opened in 1890, and marks a distinct advance in the education of Hindu girls. The school is a secondary one, unlike those which have been established by the State, or by missionary enterprise, and it aims at doing for the Hindu population of Jalandhar and its neighbourhood what the High Schools do for the Europeans and the Christians. At first some opposition was offered, but it has been successfully overcome, and the school has grown rapidly. The number of

scholars increased from 8 in 1890 to 104 in 1895, and among them are many married ladies, and some widows, of whom some are being trained as school-mistresses. Boarding-houses have been started for the benefit of pupils coming from a distance. The Ashram, which was opened in April, 1895, with only five girls, had increased its numbers to sixteen before the end of the year. By this means the usefulness of the school is greatly extended, and pupils have come from the Bombay Presidency, the North-Western Provinces, and Baluchistan. The course of instruction in the school includes physical exercises, hygiene, cookery, and music, as well as the ordinary subjects of reading, arithmetic, etc.; and, to judge from the many extracts from the school log-book given in the Report, the work is well taught:—

"The school promises to become a model in the Province, if its promoters continue the same interest in it as they have hitherto done, and the public does its share of duty towards such an institution. One of the special features of the school is that it commands influence outside the Jalandhar City; and several girls are now reading who have come from long distances, and they appear to me quite at home, and as much taken care of as they would be by their own people."

It would be difficult to exaggerate the benefit which ought to accrue from the higher education of Hindu women. Although it has been little attempted in the past, it is a scheme entirely consonant with the expressed opinions of the Vedic books, and should not, therefore, meet with opposition on religious grounds. It offers to Hindu women a possibility of releasing themselves from a life of excessive triviality, and of fitting themselves to work in the future for the good of their country and their fellows. The promoters of the school deserve great praise for the pioneer work they have done, and it is to be hoped that other cities will shortly follow the example of Jalandhar in supplying proper physical and mental training for their girls.

AMONG the English visitors to the last Congress was Mr. George Harwood, M.P., and he has since recorded his impressions in a newspaper article, from which we give some extracts on another page. Mr. Harwood's description will be read with some interest. It contains, as will be noticed, both light and shade. But when he abandons what may be termed the function of descriptive reporter and assumes the function of critic, he seems to be a little hampered partly by lack of information and partly, we must add, by a certain vein of subacidity. For example, he writes:—

"Short as has been my stay in India, it has been long enough to teach me what value should be put upon the words of the people; therefore I make little of the glowing eloquence," etc.

And again:—

"I ventured to suggest that one fault of all the proposed Resolutions was their verbosity, so that one could not see the wood for the trees."

"It is not the education of the juryman which is in question, but his justice and courage."

Similarly, Mr. Harwood appears to have embraced the "over-population" fallacy, while, as regards the proposed separation of judicial and executive duties, he thinks that

"the Congress might well address itself to the practical objections which are made to the change; such as that it would increase the expense of government and diminish its efficiency"

—just as if the Congress had not been addressing itself to these objections for the past ten years and more. Mr. Harwood is not, it would seem, acquainted with Mr. Romesh Chunder Dutt's scheme. As for simultaneous examinations, Mr. Harwood observes that "no examiner has ever yet discovered a test for those qualities of character which have more to do than any knowledge with fitness to govern." No doubt. But that is an argument against examination as a test; it is not an argument for refusing in fact, while we promise on paper, to admit Indians equally with Englishmen to the test of examination. Mistakes like these—due, obviously, to nothing less remediable than imperfect knowledge—detract, of course, from the value of Mr. Harwood's article as a whole. But his descriptive passages are, as we have said, interesting, and he is perfectly accurate when he writes: "The Congress claims that its members come from different parts of the country, that they are in close touch with the masses of the people, and that therefore they are often likely to know more of the feelings of those people than is possible to European officials. All that they ask is to place this knowledge at the service of those officials, and that due weight should be given to it."

When a collector of customs indignantly throws up his employment, quotes poetry, talks about "the reward of" his "own conscience" and "the inward certainty that time will do" his "memory justice," and offers to take the Government and the public into his confidence "at this crisis," he runs the risk of provoking more smiles than tears in an unregenerate world. Does not Thackeray say of Jos Sedley that at a certain period in his life he fancied himself to be somehow or other mixed up with the public welfare? Mr. F. H. Skrine, whose farewell letter has attracted some notice in India, and is reproduced on another page, seems to be labouring under a similar theory. But when all necessary discount has been taken off his rather painful heroics, his letter remains an interesting and instructive account of the Indian Civil Service from the

A Retiring Civilian.

other—that is, the disenchanted—side. The effect of the letter will not, perhaps, be quite what its author intended. It amounts rather to what the Germans call emptying out the baby with the bath. But when a disappointed worthy stands at the roadside and swears at large the discriminating listener may, after all, derive some advantage from his remarks. The *Indian Mirror*—one of the best of the Indian journals—says that Mr. Skrine's "denunciation is inspired more by envy than a sense of public duty." That is a severe judgment. But we confess that we should have attached more public importance to his criticisms if he had uttered them before deciding to resign. The truth seems to be that Mr. Skrine is not endowed with a lively sense of humour, else, for example, he could not have written "so complete is the absence nowadays of *esprit de corps* that one's successors rarely purchase any large proportion of one's household furniture." But, of course, that circumstance does not diminish the value of his observations upon drainage, technical education, and the Simla "exodus."

By the untimely death of Mr. Javerilal U. Yajnik, of which we received news The late Mr. Javerilal. by telegram from the Bombay Presidency Association on May 8th, the Indian National Congress, and the people of India, have lost the services of a gifted, assiduous, and modest worker, whose place it will not be easy to fill. The British Committee of the Indian National Congress at their meeting on May 11th, adopted a resolution expressing their deepest regret at the sad news. They recognised in Mr. Javerilal "an untiring and devoted worker for the good of his countrymen, the loss of whose wise counsel and guidance will be felt by all friends of India." We have received the following brief memoir from one of Mr. Javerilal's Bombay friends who is at present in London:—

"Mr. Javerilal was a native of Nariad, in the Gujerat district. That town is only a few miles from the rich and prosperous city of Ahmedabad. As his surname indicates, he belonged to the caste of high Brahmins. Like many of his contemporaries he was educated at the Elphinstone Institution, that abiding monument which the people of Bombay raised in 1827 to the genius of Mounstuart Elphinstone. From his schooldays onwards Mr. Javerilal was known as a man of steady application, and great natural talents. He successfully passed from school to college. In 1858, he was one of the two first Dakshin fellows of Elphinstone College—his colleague being that distinguished Sanscrit scholar and social reformer, Professor Ramkrishna Gopal Bhanhackar. After finishing his academic career, Mr. Javerilal became a merchant. King Cotton ruled the day in Bombay during the American War of Independence (1861-5). Owing to the stoppage of all exports from the United States of cotton to Lancashire, Bombay was the chief market whence that manufacturing county derived its supply of the raw staple. Mr. Javerilal joined a firm which traded in cotton, and made large profits, only to lose

them later when the issue of the war was determined. But, though engaged in mercantile pursuits, Mr. Javerilal was not slow to employ his leisure hours in the study of burning financial and economic problems. Mr. Javerilal had from an early age a special aptitude for such subjects as taxation and land revenue, on which in later years he was able to speak and write with all the authority of an expert. The revision of revenue settlements had commenced in 1861 in the district of Kaira. Mr. Javerilal took the greatest interest in watching these surveys, and how the survey officers of the day assessed the different agricultural holdings of his native district. He had many opportunities of checking these official operations, and later there appeared a series of letters from his pen on the subject, which were afterwards collected in the form of an instructive brochure called 'Notes on Kaira.' These notes brought Mr. Javerilal into prominence, and greatly encouraged him to pursue his studies on the land revenue system of India, and specially of Bombay. Later, he became a member of the Bombay Municipal Corporation, and devoted himself with singular energy to a study of civic finance. So that when the beneficent scheme of Lord Ripon was introduced into the country in 1882, Mr. Javerilal was in an admirable position, from his personal knowledge and experience, to write a 'Note on Local Self-Government,' which could still be read with profit and instruction by those who desire to acquaint themselves with the early beginnings of self-government in the Bombay Presidency. His literary activity manifested itself in other ways. He was a constant contributor to the English and Native press; and it is to be hoped that his executors will collect in permanent form the more valuable of these contributions. He was also a contributor to the pages of the *East India Association Journal*. There was one paper which at the time attracted great attention, namely, on the secret methods of the Anglo-Indian bureaucracy in India. That paper deserves to be rescued from oblivion and placed before the rising generation of Indians. The last ten or fifteen years of his life were entirely devoted to public affairs. Wherever a public movement was to be set on foot Mr. Javerilal would be one of the first to be invited. He was a persistent friend of municipal progress, and many are the battles of municipal retrenchment he fought in the halls of the Corporation. For his many services in the Corporation, Mr. Javerilal was elected President of that body in 1892-3, an office in which he acquitted himself with his accustomed good sense, discretion and impartiality. In 1894 he was elected President of the Bombay Provincial Conference. He was also honorary Secretary of the Bombay branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. So few are the hard and persistent workers in the public life of Bombay that it is impossible not to recognise the gap which the death of Mr. Javerilal leaves. And none will more deeply feel the loss than the Bombay Municipal Corporation and the Bombay Presidency Association. As a member of the Bombay Legislative Council, too, Mr. Javerilal has left his mark. No member was more persistent in his interpellations on the land revenue settlements, and no member applied himself with greater industry or more accurate information to ascertain the exact truth from the Government. Needless to say, his interpellations led to beneficent changes in the department of land revenue and agriculture of which the outside public know little."

The *Times* of April 27th contained a letter from Mr. J. P. Goodridge upon "British Iron Industries and Indian Ores." Mr. Goodridge invited attention to "the enormous and splendid accumulations of iron ore which occur in the metamorphic rocks of Chanda, in the Central Provinces of India." He added that "the present rules of the Government of India under which mining of any description can be carried on in India have discouraged rather than facilitated European enterprise."

CONCILIATION OR LITIGATION.

By SIR W. WEDDERBURN, Bart., M.P.

In support of my plea for a detailed village enquiry into the causes which have led to the ruin of the rayat, I have indicated, in previous articles, three directions in which those causes may be sought: the disorganisation of agricultural credit; the harsh and unsuitable methods of revenue collections; and the rack rents exacted by the Government. Many other causes, arising out of our centralised and unsympathetic system of administration, have contributed to blight the rayat's industry; but none more than that which I will notice to-day, I mean the establishment in our rural districts of debt courts on the European model. These courts were no doubt established with the best intentions, but in this respect they are only a type of the many blunders committed in our Indian administration from want of touch with the people, aggravated by our insular self-esteem, and absence of imagination, which makes us assume that what suits us must necessarily be beneficial to others. These debt courts, planted among the rural population, always remind me of Sydney Smith's rough joke about beef for the Hindus, and his ironical proposal to establish Government beef shops in all the villages of our Indian Empire: John Bull himself likes a beef steak; why then should not the Hindus also be similarly supplied, and thus share in the blessings of British rule?

The subject of these debt courts is a large one, and cannot be dealt with adequately within the limits of one article; so I will content myself with a brief exposition of the following propositions: (A), That the rayat cannot get on without the village money-lender, and that under the old native system the relations between the two classes were friendly and beneficial; (B), That by the introduction of debt courts upon the European model these friendly relations have been destroyed, and the rayat has been made the serf of the money-lender; and (C), That relief may be obtained by the revival and scientific development of the old system of conciliation and arbitration, by means of "Pancháyats," or village councils.

In order to illustrate these propositions in their order, we may take the case of the Bombay Deccan, partly because in those districts the chronic discord created by our civil courts broke out into open war, and partly because we possess in the five volumes which contain the Report of the Deccan Riots Commission a great body of facts collected on the spot by expert observers. We find, as regards (A), *the original relations of the two classes*, that the land is brought under cultivation by the joint action of the

rayat and the village "saukar" or money-lender. The established custom is that the saukar provides the seed-corn, and feeds the rayat and his family until the crop is ripe; making also cash advances to pay revenue instalments, buy bullocks, dig wells, and so forth. At harvest time a settlement is made, and the saukar receives a portion of the crop by way of payment for capital and interest. When therefore things work smoothly, the condition of the two classes may be regarded as a partnership founded on equity and mutual advantage; each taking a share of the crop which is produced by the industry of the one and the self-restraint of the other. To quote the words of Sir George Wingate, the father of the Bombay Revenue system, "the village money-lender and the rayat worked together in harmony, and both alike shared prosperity and adversity together." That this is the rayat's view of the natural order of things is amply shown by the evidence taken before the Commission. Thus one writer describes how he appealed for mercy to his creditor on the ground of this natural tie, and besought him saying: "You are my mother and I am your son." And in truth the parable is not inapt. For the saukar's advances are to the rayat as mother's milk. He cannot live without them. And all that he asks is to be treated with parental kindness and forbearance. This view, which recognises the mutual dependence of the two classes, and regards conciliation as the only hope of future prosperity, was urged by Mr. Shambhuprasád, a very experienced Native member of the Commission, who summarised his conclusions as follows:—

"The rayats cannot do without the sauks: they must have some people to borrow from, and Government cannot undertake the business of the sauks. No measures should therefore be taken that may disturb the amicable relation between the sauks and the rayats."

And the same view was strongly insisted on by the speakers in the great debate in the Viceroy's Council at Simla in 1879, on the Deccan Agriculturists' Relief Act; Sir John Strachey pointing out that "money-lenders are obviously as necessary to the Indian agriculturist as the seed which he sows, or as the rain which falls from heaven to water his fields."

Such being the natural friendly relations between the rayat and the village money-lender, we have next to enquire (B) *how those relations were broken up, and a condition of the bitterest antagonism produced*. The answer is perfectly simple. The change was produced by the introduction of our debt courts on the European model, which made the money-lender absolute master of the situation, arming him with the whole power of the Empire in the recovery of his debts. Under the easy-going Native régime, which exercised little coercion in such matters, the creditor had to cultivate the good-

will of his debtor, and to rely upon the local public opinion as regards the justice of his demand. He was one among many, and could not afford to outrage the general sentiment of the village in which he dwelt. Although therefore the nominal rate of interest was high, being equivalent to 12, 24, and 36 per cent. per annum, according to the rayat's credit, the actual recovery depended very much upon the result of the harvest, and the rayat's ability to pay. An appeal to the authorities practically referred him back to local public opinion. For among the Mahrattas the Pancháyat or Court of Arbitration was the main instrument for the administration of justice, and it was only in extreme cases that the creditor could reckon upon the coercive help of a decree from a stipendiary judge. But all this was changed by the introduction of our debt courts, governed by technical rules of procedure,—rigid, merciless, and irresistible. The high nominal rates of interest became a terrible reality when embodied in a mortgage bond. And armed with a decree for foreclosure and sale, the creditor could either evict the rayat from his ancestral acres, or keep him on the land as a tenant-at-will on a rack rent, reducing him to the lowest depths of serfdom. The angry despair which fills the hearts of the whole peasantry has from time to time shown itself in agrarian outbreaks, but none the less destructive are the results where the struggle goes on silently, oppression on one side, with evasion and fraud on the other. Volumes of reports have been filled with the tale of the rayat's woes, brought about by our imprudent and revolutionary changes, which have upset and broken up the whole framework of the rural economy. But the fruits of our innovation cannot be better described than in the words of Sir George Wingate:—

“This miserable struggle between debtor and creditor is thoroughly debasing to both. The creditor is made by it a grasping hard-hearted oppressor; the debtor a crouching false-hearted slave. It is disheartening to contemplate, and yet it would be weakness to conceal the fact that this antagonism of classes and degradation of the people, which is fast spreading over the land, is the work of our laws and our rule.”

If such be the results of antagonism why not try conciliation? Why not revert to the method which produced “mutual confidence and mutual goodwill”? And this brings us to our last proposition (C), that relief may be obtained by the revival and scientific development of the old system of conciliation and arbitration by means of “Pancháyats” or Village Councils. Mr. Mountstuart Elphinstone, the most distinguished Governor which Bombay ever possessed, was very strongly in favour of the Pancháyat system, and bears testimony to its popularity, quoting in proof the current phrase “Panch Parameswara,” an Eastern rendering of the maxim

Vox populi, vox Dei. In another place he says:—“Too much pains cannot be taken to encourage private arbitration.” And in his celebrated report on the Deccan he has given a full description of its excellent working under Rám Shástri and the great Minister Náná Farnavis, together with his own views as to its continuance under British rule. Sir Thomas Munro, Sir John Malcolm, and other eminent statesmen of a past generation shared in this view, and expressed opinions strongly in favour of reviving this national institution. Indian public opinion at the present day is solid in the same direction. When I was in India this feeling took a very practical shape in the Bombay Presidency. For the people of their own accord set up voluntary arbitration tribunals under the name of “Lawád” Courts, as a means of avoiding the mischiefs arising out of litigation. The following extract from a Native paper gives a brief account of what was done:—

“The movement for the establishment of private Arbitration Courts commenced about two years ago in the small Talooka town of Indapur in the Poona District. The want of such Courts was so generally felt, and the existing law was so favourable to their establishment that in two years private Arbitration Courts have been established in the Zilla towns of Poona, Sattara, Sholapur, Ahmednagar, Tauna, Ratnagiri, Nasick, Ahmedabad; and in the Poona, Sholapur, Sattara, and Tanna Districts, branch Courts have been established in the Talooka towns of Indapur, Supe, Karmale, Saswad, Talegaum, Kheda, Junnar, Kerjut, Kalian, and Wai. The Poona Arbitration Court commenced its work in January, 1876. At a public meeting of the inhabitants of Poona, a Committee of eighty-two gentlemen, representing all classes of the population, was appointed as a board of judges. Private suitors are allowed to choose any one or more out of this number to arbitrate upon matters referred to them. The Arbitrators sit by rotation, and get no remuneration for their voluntary labours. Nearly 3,000 suits during the last two years have been disposed of by private settlement in the Poona Arbitration Court.”

This public-spirited and patriotic movement interested me much. As a District Judge in the Deccan I had painful experience of the evils attaching to the existing system, and I was anxious to secure regularity and permanence to these voluntary arbitration tribunals, by bringing them into our judicial system. Accordingly, in consultation with experienced friends, I worked out a scheme to effect this purpose. The position was as follows: side by side there existed at this time two methods of settling disputes, one by conciliation, that is by friendly Pancháyat; the other by antagonism, that is by hostile suit in court. Each had its merits, and the idea was to combine the merits of both. On the one hand we had a strong staff of Native Subordinate Judges, trustworthy and highly trained, and accustomed to punctual discharge of business, but who, from their English education and isolated

position found it difficult to learn the real merits of each case, and were often imperfectly informed regarding the condition and feelings of the people. Also in hearing cases they were cramped by the technicalities regarding evidence and procedure. On the other hand we had the local Pancháyats, capable of thoroughly ascertaining the facts of each case, their defects being dilatoriness, with the possibility of being swayed by feelings of partiality. The proposal was to combine the two, and obtain the excellences of both: the exact information of the Pancháyat, controlled by the business habits and impartiality of the Judge. The plan for carrying out this object was based upon the old Mahratta system, according to which a dispute never came before a Judge until every form of Pancháyat had been tried and had failed. I proposed that each large village or group of smaller villages should have its recognised Pancháyat, the list of members being approved and published by the Government, and that before this Judicial Committee of the Village Council all claims for small debts should in the first instance be brought. As many cases as possible would be disposed of amicably, the remainder being reserved till the Subordinate Judge, coming periodically on tour, arrived at the village, when he would sit as "Sir-Panch" or President of the Pancháyat, and with their assistance dispose finally of all disputed points. As the members of the Pancháyat ask for no remuneration, no fee would be charged on cases settled amicably, or at most something trifling to cover petty contingencies. The usual Court fee would be charged if either of the parties invoked the aid of the Subordinate Judge, whether in the decision or in the execution of the award. This payment would discourage frivolous objections to the award of the Pancháyat, but would not deter a plaintiff or defendant from reserving his case if he had reasonable ground to fear injustice on account of local feelings of enmity or partiality. In no case should an appeal be allowed, for in these small debt suits a point of law rarely occurs, and when it does the Subordinate Judge is quite competent to deal with it. To guard against anything like a series of mistaken judgments we might trust to the supervision of the District Judge and his Assistants, who would travel about, questioning the people and hearing their complaints, inspecting the records, supervising and encouraging the Pancháyats, and using their influence to heal village feuds and maintain friendly relations among all classes. A system of this sort was recommended in the Deccan Riots Reports, and resembles the plan allowed by the Madras Regulation on Arbitration which was I believe drafted under the instructions of Sir Thomas Munro.

The next step was to obtain the opinion of

practical men, both those who have to administer the law, and also the classes specially interested. Accordingly a Bill was framed, and submitted to a large and representative public meeting in the Town Hall at Poona on the 4th of May, 1879. The general principles were approved, and the Bill was referred to an influential Select Committee chosen by the meeting. This Committee consisted of seven Subordinate Judges, two retired Subordinate Judges, two retired Revenue Officers, three Pleaders, two Bankers, and one editor; all practical men deeply interested in the welfare of the rural population. I have now before me their report, which was adopted unanimously, together with the Bill as amended. The preamble runs as follows:—

"Whereas with a view to bring about conciliation and promote friendly feelings between the money lenders and agricultural classes, and to diminish the expense of litigation and to render the principal and more intelligent and respectable inhabitants useful by employing them in administering justice to their neighbours, it is desirable that suits against agriculturists should be disposed of by Pancháyats, it is enacted as follows."

And to this preamble there followed the twenty clauses of the Bill providing in detail for the requirements of the case. In accordance with the request of the Committee I forwarded this draft Bill¹ for the favourable consideration of Government.

It was said of William the Silent that:

"He would do and ordain nothing except by the advice of the estates, by reason that they were best acquainted with the circumstances and humours of the inhabitants."

Unfortunately our Indian Government follows other and less wise counsels those those of the great Stadtholder. So this practical scheme for the benefit of the rayats came to nought. The popular movement was discountenanced by the authorities; the stamp duty upon Arbitration Awards was increased; and each of the Subordinate Judges who had taken part in the scheme was separately reprimanded. I give this as another instance of grievous mischief caused to the rayat by Government measures, and of the refusal of the Government either itself to remedy the evil, or to allow others to do so.

BRITISH INDIANS IN SOUTH AFRICA.

I.—By ALFRED WEBB.²

Sometime President of the Indian National Congress.

In the early fifties there may have been some excuse for the people of the United Kingdom considering themselves before the rest of the world in some respects. They prided themselves especially on their humanity. They appeared to have fully adopted the principles of free trade. They had

¹ The text of the Bill will be published in the next issue of INDIA.

² This article is reproduced, by kind permission of the author, from the *New York Nation* of May 6th.

abolished slavery in their colonies. They believed they had extended to the farthest confines of the empire those principles of freedom and equality under which, in Curran's time, on British soil alone the slave stood "redeemed, regenerated, and disenthralled by the irresistible genius of universal emancipation." The empire had extended widely over the globe. It was free to every nationality, and within its confines was known no distinction, "Greek nor Jew, circumcision nor uncircumcision, barbarian, Scythian, bond nor free." In all these respects we were inclined to consider ourselves innately superior to other peoples, guided by clearer reason, impelled by loftier motives.

The experiences of subsequent years have, however, tended considerably to modify our self-satisfaction. Subjected to the same tests, placed in similar circumstances, we have fallen short like other mortals. Our apparent superiority lay not within our own natures, but in our circumstances, and those of our own people, who had sought homes abroad under our flag. Under the stress of the Indian mutiny and the Jamaica rebellion, we developed a brutality as great as was ever shown by a civilised people, and which men of the highest culture attempted to justify. We defied ordinary canons of warfare as much as did Napoleon on his retreat from Syria. When the War of the Rebellion broke out, it was soon manifest how little British theoretical ideas concerning liberty prevailed as against aristocratic prejudices and supposed material interests. As our colonies were conceded self-government and came under democratic influences, they adopted protectionist principles. We censured the Chinese immigration restriction laws of California; but Australia and New Zealand, when the shoe pinched, followed suit with regulations as exclusive. The New Zealand Maoris, those that were left, fought their way to respect, but elsewhere in our colonies has developed colour prejudice as marked in proportion to the exigencies of the situation as in your Southern States.

Equal laws concerning the rights of citizens in all portions of the empire—more especially in India—still subsisted. Whatever the attitude of our colonists towards coloured foreigners, the rights of British-born subjects, of whatever race, stood intact. In the Queen's proclamation after the Mutiny, confirmed by Viceroy's upon numerous occasions, the Indian people were supposed to possess guarantees for equal treatment as inviolable as the provisions of Magna Charta.

"We hold ourselves bound to the natives of our Indian territories by the same obligations of duty which bind us to all our other subjects; and those obligations, by the blessing of Almighty God, we shall faithfully and conscientiously fulfil."

The letter and spirit of this proclamation have been set at naught by recent doings in South Africa, flagrantly in contravention of the theory of an empire guaranteeing equal rights and immunities to all subjects. The question has aroused widespread indignation in India, especially among those classes whose contentment with the general policy of the empire is essential to the peace of the country.

The population of India increases rapidly and encroaches upon the means of subsistence. South Africa is the nearest outlet for emigration. The climate is congenial; and thither numbers of Indians have repaired—educated Parsees and other merchants to trade; men of the middle class as shopkeepers and clerks; coolies and hosts of the humbler classes as labourers—perhaps 100,000 altogether. While all were at first welcomed as helpful towards the development of the country, all alike have been subjected to disabilities by colour prejudice and by law. The subject was treated at the Indian National Congress of 1894. "Papers relating to the grievances of H.M. Indian subjects in the South African Republic (The Transvaal)" were presented to Parliament in September, 1895. Concerning wrongs in Natal, forty of the principal Indian residents there memorialised Mr. Chamberlain in February, 1896. Later, Mr. M. K. Gandhi, a Hindu barrister, long resident in South Africa, returned to India to arouse public interest in the subject. His address at Bombay, last September, has been published; also the memorial to Lord George Hamilton, from the Hon. Pherozeshah M. Mehta, C.I.E., chairman of one of the meetings, which he addressed. Mr. Gandhi says:

"The general feeling throughout South Africa is that of hatred towards the Indians, encouraged by the newspapers and connived at, even countenanced, by the legislators. Every Indian without exception is a coolie in the estimation of the general body of the Europeans. . . . Naturally neither the traders nor the English-educated Indians are treated with any degree of respect. Wealth and abilities in an Indian count for naught in that country except to serve the interests of the European colonists. . . . In most parts of South Africa we may not stir out of our houses after 9 p.m. unless we are armed with passes from our employers. . . . Hotels shut their doors against us. We cannot make use of the tramcars unmolested. . . . Public baths are not for the Indians. The high schools are not open for the Indians. . . . Even the primary schools are not quite open to the Indians. An Indian missionary schoolmaster was driven out of an English church in Verulam, a small village in Natal. . . . Such is the general feeling against the Indian in South Africa, except the Portuguese territories, where he is respected and has no grievance apart from the general population. You can easily imagine how difficult it must be for a respectable Indian to exist in such a country. . . . Ours is one continued struggle against degradation sought to be inflicted upon us by the Europeans, who desire to degrade us to the level of a raw Kaffir."

"Except the Portuguese territories, where he is respected and has no grievance apart from the general population"—how little cause has Protestantism to vaunt its humanity as superior to that of Catholicism, where prejudices or interests supervene!

The South African States in which the general treatment of British Indian subjects is above described, are (1) those independent of British control (such as the Orange Free State); (2) those under British suzerainty (the Transvaal); (3) those under British protection (Zanzibar); (4) independent colonies (the Cape and Natal); with (5) a Crown colony (Zululand).

Concerning the treatment of Indians in the Orange Free State, the United Kingdom has no direct responsibility and control. It could protest, as did the Italian Government regarding the number of Italians in New Orleans. This it has not done, as it

would concerning like treatment of white citizens. The Transvaal was conceded independence under what is known as the "London Convention." "All persons other than natives, conforming themselves to the laws" were guaranteed full liberty of ingress, residence, and egress, the right to "hire or possess houses, manufactories, warehouses, shops," and to "carry on their commerce, either in person or by any agents whom they may think fit to employ." The dissatisfaction of British Indian natives at the manner in which these provisions were ignored regarding them was such that in 1895 the British Government referred the case as between it and the Transvaal in this matter to the arbitrament of the Chief Justice of the Orange Free State. He decided in favour of the Transvaal largely upon the ground that Lord Derby, Secretary of State in 1885, gave "an assurance that her Majesty's Government will not desire to insist upon any such construction of the terms of the Convention as would interfere with reasonable legislation" to discourage the "general influx of foreign coloured natives." Thus, while English sentiment now appears inclined to justify a raid on a friendly State because British white citizens are delayed in their attainment of political rights, it makes no complaint, though British coloured citizens are debarred from ever acquiring citizenship or property, are permitted to settle temporarily only upon registry and payment of a fee of £25, and, when settled, must inhabit only special streets, wards, and locations, are debarred the use of the sidewalks, and restricted on railways to the third class.

In the recent disturbances in Zanzibar, under British protection, while, say Indian memorialists, "Her Majesty's European subjects were given the opportunity of going to the consulate and on board the English ship for protection, and their localities guarded by troops of police, no provision was at all made for us." They were robbed of their property, and some of them killed. The Cape has passed laws agreed to by the Home Government, authorising a municipality to frame by-laws prohibiting Indians from the use of sidewalks, and restricting them to specified localities. In Natal, Mr. Chamberlain has given the royal assent to an act excluding from the franchise British subjects not born in countries possessing parliamentary institutions. This excludes, and was meant to exclude, British Indians. An "Immigration Law Amendment Bill" is now under consideration by which Indian immigrant labourers must serve under a five years' indenture, must pay an annual poll-tax of £3 (equivalent to six months' wages) or leave the country. Laws in force prevent Indians from being out of their houses after nine p.m. without a pass, and from driving cattle without a pass. In Zululand, a Crown colony, under the control of the Home Office through the Governor of Natal, in recent sales of land only persons of European birth or descent have been permitted to purchase; and then under an agreement that if at any time purchasers or their representatives or heirs permit such land to be occupied otherwise than by persons of European birth or descent, it will revert to the Crown.

These varied disabilities, sufferings, and wrongs

have been most strikingly forced upon public attention, both in India and at home, by Mr. Gandhi during his mission to his native country. In the treatment meted out to him on his return to Natal, at the hands of the people whose conduct towards his countrymen he had exposed, we are reminded of early abolition days in the United States. When his steamer was signalled, a crowd of indignant whites collected, who mobbed him, upon his landing, with stones and beating. At length, rescued and taken to a friend's house, stones and other missiles were thrown against it, while "several stump speeches were made."

Neither great branch of the English-speaking family can, in truth, plume itself upon its peculiar innate virtues or immunity from failings. At the same time, the Constitution of the United States, with equal laws (broken or outraged, it is true, by sectional prejudices), would appear likely more rapidly to tend towards equal liberty and equal rights than the Constitution of the British Empire, under which imperial prejudices and differences of rights and immunities are sanctioned by unequal laws.

II.—BY G. K. GOKHALE,

Professor of History and Political Economy, Fergusson College, Poona.

The memorial which the British Indians in Natal have recently submitted to Mr. Chamberlain unfolds a tale which no Indian can read without bitterness, and no right-minded Englishman ought to read without a feeling of deep shame and indignation. We all know how Wordsworth, in one of his sonnets, recalls that a Roman master once stood on Grecian ground and to the people assembled there proclaimed the liberty of Greece, and that the proclamation filled the fallen Greeks with wild delight. And we know with what severe dignity the poet reproves the folly of the Greeks in imagining that liberty could thus be bestowed by one nation on another as a gift. Not all the blended powers of earth and heaven can do that, he exclaims. It must be acquired by a people for itself, and deserved before it can be acquired. If this is true of Liberty, I believe it is even more true of that other moral principle which occupied with Liberty so prominent a place in the early creed of the French Revolution—Equality. If Statutes and Proclamations—the spontaneous gifts of Parliaments and Sovereigns—could place a subject people on a footing of equality with their conquerors, the people of India had occupied a proud, a glorious position indeed to-day. For more than sixty years, this delusion of equality has been kept up, and it has beguiled many of us to live in that paradise which the wise man avoids. I do not pretend that even during all this time, this equality has been anything more than mere paper-equality, if such an expression may be allowed, or that prevarication and subterfuge have not been used by the representatives of the ruling race to get out of the obligations imposed upon them by their promises and declarations. But the very fact of their resorting to such means clearly indicated the moral strength of our position, and left us ground for hoping that in course of time we might so appeal

to the conscience of Englishmen that their sense of honour would triumph over their selfishness, and that we might at last have that justice done to us which, though long delayed, had never been irrevocably denied. The Englishmen of Natal, however, seem anxious to give us a rough shaking, and wake us to a truer, though more disagreeable, sense of the situation. And by a curious irony of fate, the year of the Diamond Jubilee of Her Gracious Majesty's reign is selected to bring home forcibly to our minds the fact that, after all, we are only British slaves, and not British subjects, and that it is idle on our part to expect justice or fair treatment where it does not suit the interests of Englishmen to be just or fair.

At the beginning of this century, England strove nobly for the emancipation of the slaves. Who would have thought that in the closing years of this self-same century, some of her children would endeavour to proclaim the doom of practical slavery for three hundred millions of people under her own flag—for one-sixth of the whole human race—and that she would quietly look on while this outrage was perpetrated in her name!

The Government of India has always been prompt in giving adequate protection to its English subjects, in whatever quarter of the globe they may need it. Will it not raise even a feeble protest, when the members of a British colony insult its Indian subjects in the most shameful manner, say that they are only black vermin and not men, that they can live on the smell of an oily rag, that they breed like rabbits, and that it was a pity that they could not be shot down, and so forth, and so forth? The bitter mockery of the assertion that we are British subjects, or that we have a Government to look after our interests, was never made plainer than by this Natal business.

The numerous disabilities, which have been imposed on the Indians in South Africa by men who are among the foremost in their denunciation of President Kruger for his treatment of the Uitlanders, have often been set forth and discussed in the pages of this journal, and I have no wish to enter into them on this occasion. My purpose in writing this paper is merely to call pointed attention to the leading facts connected with the anti-Indian demonstration that took place in Natal on 13th January, 1897, which was intended to prevent the landing of certain Indian passengers on board the SS. "Courland" and SS. "Naderi," and which culminated in a cowardly and disgraceful attempt to lynch a highly-cultured and respected Indian gentleman—an attempt that still goes unpunished. These facts are few, but they will not fail to convey to the Indian mind a lesson and a warning which will not be easily forgotten.

In August, 1896, a certain Sugar Company in Natal applied to the Immigration Trust Board, indenting for a certain number of skilled Indian labourers. The Board granted the application. As soon, however, as the information was published in the newspapers, a violent storm of indignation arose in the colony, and an agitation against the influx of any more Indians was set on foot. As a result, the sugar company grew apprehensive and withdrew its

application; but that failed to satisfy the agitators, who now wanted to rid the colony of Indians altogether. While the public mind was thus excited, a press telegram to the following effect was despatched by Reuter's Agency in Bombay to Natal:

"A pamphlet published in India declares that the Indians in Natal are robbed and assaulted and treated like beasts, and are unable to obtain redress. The *Times of India* advocates an inquiry into these allegations."

We all know that Reuter is no friend to India. But there are limits to misrepresentation beyond which even he is expected not to go. The result of his mischievous telegram was naturally to add fuel to the fire. The pamphlet was a statement of the grievances of the British Indians in South Africa by Mr. M. K. Gandhi, who had been deputed by the Indians in Natal to represent to their countrymen in India the grievances from which they suffered, and to secure the co-operation of Indian authorities and Indian public bodies in their struggle for their redress. That there was nothing in this pamphlet to justify Reuter's description of its contents became abundantly clear to every fair-minded man in Natal when copies of the pamphlet itself arrived there. But, meanwhile, the mischief had been already done. The two leading newspapers of Natal—the *Natal Mercury* and the *Natal Advertiser*—thus expressed themselves on the point. Said the *Mercury*:

"Mr. Gandhi on his part, and on behalf of his countrymen, has done nothing that he is not entitled to do, and from his point of view the principle that he is working for is an honourable and legitimate one. He is within his rights, and, so long as he acts honestly and in a straightforward manner, he cannot be blamed or interfered with. So far as we know, he has always done so, and his latest pamphlet we cannot honestly say is an unfair statement of the case, from his point of view. Reuter's cable is a gross exaggeration of Mr. Gandhi's statement. He enumerates only a number of grievances, but these by no means justify anyone in stating that his pamphlet declares that the Indians in Natal are robbed and assaulted and treated like beasts, and are unable to obtain redress."

The *Advertiser* wrote:

"A perusal of Mr. Gandhi's pamphlet, recently published in Bombay, leads to the conclusion that the telegraphic description of its objects and contents was considerably exaggerated. True, Mr. Gandhi complains of a certain amount of ill-treatment of indentured Indians, but there is nothing to warrant the statement that he alleges that the Indians in Natal are robbed, assaulted, and treated like beasts. His is rather the old familiar grievance that the Indian is regarded and treated by Europeans as belonging to a separate class and race, and not one of themselves. From Mr. Gandhi's point of view this is very deplorable, and it is easy to sympathise with him and his compatriots."

But, while this change of opinion was slow in coming, and even when it came, affected only the thoughtful few in Natal, the organisers of the anti-Indian agitation were doing their best to take advantage of Reuter's misrepresentation and rouse the worst feelings of many of the colonists against the Indian settlers. On 18th September, 1896, an Association, called the European Patriotic Association, was formed in Maritzburg, the object of which was the practical exclusion of the Indians from the Colony. Two months later, another Association for the same object was established in Durban, called the Colonial Patriotic Association. This Association drew up and circulated for signatures a petition, libelling and maligning the Indians as persons

whose presence in the colony was harmful to the best interests of British supremacy in South Africa. While the popular mind was thus in a high state of ferment, on 18th December arrived at Durban the two ill-fated ships mentioned above, viz., the "Courland" and the "Naderi," with about 600 Indians on board, one of them being Mr. Gandhi. This was a signal for the agitators to lose their heads completely, and then the colony entered upon a course of conduct of which its thoughtful members are already ashamed. The agitators decided to prevent the Indian passengers from landing at all costs, and the Natal Government so far forgot its duty and its dignity that it lent a more or less open countenance to the proceedings of the mob. The steamers had an absolutely clean bill of health during the voyage, and yet the Health Officer directed that they should be in quarantine until twenty-three days had elapsed since leaving Bombay. On the next day a proclamation appeared in the *Government Gazette Extraordinary*, declaring Bombay to be an infected port. But, after all, this twenty-three days' quarantine did not mean much, as the steamers had already taken eighteen days between Bombay and Durban, and the Durban mob therefore thought that the Health Officer had treated the Indian vessels indulgently. He was accordingly suspended, and one Dr. Birtwell was put in his place. As soon as the twenty-three days from Bombay were over, the ships claimed pratique, but, instead of granting that, Dr. Birtwell and a Superintendent of Police boarded the ships, examined the passengers and crew, gave instructions as to disinfection, fumigation, and burning of soiled clothes, mats, baskets, and other articles, and imposed a further quarantine of twelve days. This happened on 24th December. On the 29th, Dr. Birtwell again visited the vessels, and expressed himself satisfied with the work of disinfection and fumigation already carried out, but at the same time extended the period of quarantine to twelve days from the 29th December. The masters of the two vessels made urgent representations to Government that as the clothes, bedding, etc., of the passengers had been destroyed under its order, it should supply new blankets to the poor people, as they suffered greatly from wet and cold. No notice whatsoever was taken of these representations. In fact, if the Natal Government had been anxious that there should be an outbreak of sickness on board the ships, it could not have taken more effective steps to secure that object. What the Government would not do was, however, done by the Indian residents in Durban, who started a Quarantine Relief Fund, whereby blankets were supplied to all the passengers on both the ships, as also food-stuffs to poor passengers free of charge, involving altogether an expense of about £125.

The masters of the ships did everything in their power to protest against the barbarous treatment to which their passengers were subjected, and the loss which had been inflicted on themselves. Government, however, paid absolutely no heed to their remonstrances. At last, on 12th January, they sent the following ultimatum to Government:—

"The ships have now been at the outer anchorage for twenty-four days, and we are paying a sum of £150 per diem to us; and this

being so, you will see the reasonableness of your giving us a full answer by noon to-morrow. And we think it right to inform you that failing a definite reply giving us an assurance that we shall be paid £150 per diem from Sunday last, and that you are taking steps to suppress the rioters, so as to enable us to disembark the steamers, preparations will be at once commenced to steam into the harbour, relying on the protection which, we respectfully submit, Government is bound to give us."

The ultimatum proved effective, and elicited the following reply on the 13th January:—

"The port captain has been instructed that the steamers shall be ready to cross the bar inwards at 12 o'clock to-day. The Government needs no reminder of its responsibility for the maintenance of order."

The dignity of the Government was offended, but a definite answer was at last secured.

But, while the Government of Natal was inflicting what hardships it could on the Indian passengers by abusing its powers in the matter of imposing quarantine, the mob of Durban was not idle. The following notice appeared in the *Natal Advertiser* on the 30th December over the signature of "Harry Sparks, Chairman of Preliminary Meeting," one of her Majesty's commissioned officers:—

"Wanted every man in Durban to attend a meeting to be held in the large room in the Victoria Café, on Monday, the 4th January, at 8 o'clock, for the purpose of arranging a demonstration to proceed to the Point to protest against the landing of Asiatics."

At the meeting held accordingly, about two thousand persons bound themselves to do what they could to prevent the landing of the Indian passengers. The speeches delivered were worthy of the agitation. One passage may be quoted here as a sample. Dr. Mackenzie said in the course of his speech:—

"Mr. Gandhi,—(prolonged hissing and hooting)—that gentleman came to Natal and settled in the borough of Durban. He was received here freely and openly; all the privileges and advantages which the Colony could afford him were at his disposal. No contracting or circumscribing influence was brought to play upon him any more than on the audience or himself (the speaker), and he had all the privileges of their hospitality. In return, Mr. Gandhi had accused the Colonists of Natal of having dealt unfairly with Indians, and of having abused and robbed and swindled them. (A voice, 'You can't swindle a coolie.') He (the doctor) quite agreed with that. Mr. Gandhi had returned to India and dragged them in the gutters, and painted them as black and filthy as his own skin. (Applause.) And this was what they might call in Indian parlance an honourable and manly return for the privileges which Natal had allowed him. . . . It was the intention of these facile and delicate creatures to make themselves proprietors of the only thing that the rulers of this country had withheld from them—the franchise. It was their intention to put themselves in parliament and legislate for the Europeans; to take over the household management, and put the Europeans in the kitchen. . . . Their country had decided that they had enough Asiatics and Indians here, and they were going to treat them fairly and well, provided they behaved themselves; but if they were going to associate themselves with such men as Gandhi, and abuse their hospitality, and act in the way he had done, they might expect the same kind of treatment that was to be meted out to him. (Applause.) However great a misfortune it might be for those people, he could not get over the distinction between black and white."

The resolutions passed at the meeting were communicated to Government, who wrote back in reply:

"I am to state that the closest attention has been, is being, and will be given to this question, the extreme importance of which the Government most completely recognises. Government is in full sympathy with the consensus of public opinion

in this Colony as regards the desirability of preventing the over-running of the Colony by the Asiatics."

Another meeting of a similar character was held on the 7th January, and finally it was resolved to go to the Point to "receive" the Indian passengers and tell them that they were not wanted in the colony. The mob present at the meeting promised that "when they got to the Point, they would put themselves under their leader, and do exactly what he told them, if he told them to do anything." Meanwhile, to intimidate the passengers, a letter was written to them by Captain Sparks, "to acquaint them with the state of feeling in the Colony," and they were told that, if they attempted to land, they would run great risk of personal injury. A similar intimation was conveyed by Government to the masters of the two vessels, but happily the passengers remained firm, and thus on the 13th January the two steamers got ready for disembarking.

The scene at the landing, and some incidents connected with it cannot be better described than in the language of the memorial itself:—

"Long before the owners were informed that the ships were to be brought in that day, the town knew it. The bugles to rally were sounded at 10.30 a.m., the shopkeepers put up their shutters, and people began to flock to the Point. The following is an account of the muster at the Point, taken from the *Natal Advertiser*. 'Shortly before 12 o'clock the muster on Alexander Square was completed, and, as far as could be ascertained, the sections were as follows:—Railway men, 100 to 1,000—Wylie, leader; assistants: G. Whelan, W. Coles, Grant, Erlsmont, Dick, Duke, Russell, Calder, Titheridge. Yacht Club, Point Club, and Rowing Club, 150—Mr. Dan Taylor, leader; assistants: Messrs. Anderton, Goldsbury, Hutton, Harper, Murray Smith, Johnston, Wood, Peters, Anderson, Cross, Playfair, Seaward. Carpenters and joiners, 450—Puntan, leader; assistants: H. W. Nichols, Jas. Hood, T. G. Harper. Printers, 80—Mr. R. D. Sykes, leader; assistants: W. P. Plowman, E. Edwards, J. Shackleton, E. Trolley, T. Armstrong. Shop assistants, about 400—Mr. A. A. Gibson, J. McIntosh, leaders; assistants: Messrs. H. Pearson, W. H. Kinsman, J. Pardy, Dawson, S. Adams, A. Mummery, J. Tyzack, Johns, J. Rapson, Banfield, Etheridge, Austin. Tailors and Saddlers, 70—J. C. Armitage, leader; assistants: H. Mulholland, G. Bull, R. Godfrey, E. Manderson, A. Rose, J. W. Dent, C. Dowse. Plasterers and Bricklayers, 200—Dr. McKenzie, leader; assistants: Horner, Keal, Brown, Jenkinson. Pointmen, a small section—J. Dick, leader; assistants: Gimber, Clackson, Poyson, Elliott, Parr. General public, about 1,000—T. Adams, leader; assistants: Franklin, A. F. Garbutt, G. W. Young, Somers, P. F. Garbutt, Downard. Native section, 500—Mr. G. Spradbrow and Mr. R. C. Vincent organised the natives, and kept them in order on Alexandra Square, while the Demonstration was going on. They told the natives they had appointed a dwarf native as their leader. They were highly amused with this diminutive chap, who marched up and down in front of their ranks officering them, while they went through a number of exercises with their sticks, and danced and whooped. This proved an excellent diversion to keep the natives out of trouble. Later on Supt. Alexander appeared on horseback and moved them off the square.

"As the 'Courland' entered the bay all eyes were on the look-out to see what form the demonstration was taking. A row of people, extending from the south end of the main wharf to some distance along the north pier, could be perceived, but they seemed to take matters very calmly. The Indians on board did not seem much scared, and Mr. Gandhi and a few others who were on deck looked on with an unperturbed expression. The main body of the demonstrators, who had thronged the vessels at the main wharf, could not be seen from the incoming steamers. The surprise experienced by these on the embankment when they saw the 'Courland' laid alongside the Bluff Channel moorings, was seen by their actions. They were seen to rush hither and thither, entirely

at a loss how to proceed, and soon they all left to attend the meeting on Alexander Square. This was the last that the vessels were to see of the much-talked-of demonstration. The passengers landed in small batches in ferry boats, about two hours after the crowd had dispersed. As for Mr. Gandhi, the Superintendent of Water Police was instructed by Mr. Escombe to offer to land him and his family quietly at night that day. Mr. Gandhi accepted the offer with thanks. Later on the same day Mr. Laughton paid him a friendly visit on board, and suggested that they should land together. The suggestion was accepted, and on his own responsibility, at his own risk, and without previously informing the Water Police, landed near Addington with Mr. Laughton at about 5 o'clock. He was recognised by some boys, who followed him and his companion, and as they were proceeding along West Street, the main street of Durban, the crowd became large. Mr. Laughton was separated from him; Mr. Gandhi was kicked, whipped, stale fish and other missiles were thrown at him, which hurt his eye and cut his ear, and his hat was taken off his head. While this was going on, the wife of the Superintendent of Police, who happened to be passing by, bravely afforded protection with her umbrella, and the police, on hearing the yells and the cries, came to the rescue, and escorted him safely to an Indian house. But the crowd, which had by this time become very large, did not leave, and, blockading the front of the house, demanded 'Gandhi.' As darkness deepened the crowd continued to swell. The Superintendent of Police, fearing serious disturbance, and forcible entry into the house, had Mr. Gandhi removed to the Police Station disguised as a police constable."

That the affair of this demonstration has filled sober Englishmen, even in Natal, with pain and shame, may be seen from the following letter which one of them—Mr. Laughton—deemed it his duty to write to the *Natal Mercury* on 16th January:—

"I observe in your leader in this morning's issue of the *Mercury*, you give it as your opinion that Mr. Gandhi was ill-advised in landing and coming through Durban on Wednesday last; and, as I was certainly a party to his coming ashore as he did, I shall feel obliged by your giving me an opportunity of answering your remark. Hitherto it has been useless to speak unless you were prepared to adopt the programme of the demonstration party and its particular mode of attaining its ends; but, now that the Committee is dissolved, and the minds of men are no longer being inflamed, I trust that my letter will receive calm and thoughtful consideration. Let me commence by saying that while the agitation was proceeding I obtained a copy of Mr. Gandhi's pamphlet published in India, and concerning which we received Reuter's cable some months ago, and I can assure your readers that Reuter, not only misrepresented the pamphlet, but misrepresented it so much that, on reading the two, I cannot but come to the conclusion that the writer of the cable had not read the pamphlet. I can say further that there is nothing in the pamphlet which anyone could take exception to on the ground of untruthfulness. Anyone can obtain a copy and read it if he chooses. Let your readers do so and answer honestly: Is there anything in it untrue? Is there anything in it which a political opponent was not justified in saying in support of his cause? Unfortunately, the mind of the public was inflamed by Reuter's version of it, and throughout the recent disturbances there was not a man to point out to the public the difference between the true and the untrue. I don't wish to hurt any man's feelings by repeating the words which he uttered in the hour of excitement and which I know in his calmer moments he will deeply regret, but, in order that the position may be understood, I must place before your readers shortly, what Mr. Gandhi's position was before he took the step of landing and coming into town. I shall, therefore, without mentioning names, give the effect of just a few of the public statements made concerning him: (1) That he had dragged our reputations through the gutters of India, and had painted them as black and filthy as his own face. (2) That he might be allowed to come ashore, but that we might have the opportunity of spitting at him. (3) That some special treatment, at the word of command, should be meted out to him, and that he should never be allowed to land in Natal. (4) That he was an engaging

himself on board the quarantined ship in getting briefs from passengers against the Government. (5) That when three gentlemen, representing the Committee of the demonstration, went on board the 'Courland,' he was in such a 'funk' that he was stowed away in the lowest hold; and, on another occasion, that he was seen sitting on the deck of the 'Courland' in a most dejected mood. These are only a few of the things stated against him, but I take them as sufficient for my purpose. If the above charges were true, if, in other words, he was a cowardly calumniator, stabbing us when at a safe distance, and if he had acted so that he was a fit object to be spat at, and afraid to return and face the consequences, then he was unfitted to be a member of an honourable profession, or to hold the position of leader in a great political question in which his countrymen take as much interest as we do, and who are as much entitled to ventilate their political views as we are. Before he went to India I had met him in business matters on several occasions, and was struck with the anxiety shown by him to avoid litigation and to put matters in dispute on a fair basis, and with the honourable manner in which he dealt with business matters, so much so that I formed a very high opinion concerning him. I say this advisedly, and I have no doubt my words will be approved by the members of the profession who know Mr. Gandhi. It was once said by an eminent judge that success at the Bar was not attained by endeavouring to injure opponents at the Bar, but only by so qualifying oneself as to be equal or superior to such opponents. So in political matters, we must give fair play to an opponent, and answer his argument by counter-argument, and not by heaving half a brick at his head. I have found Mr. Gandhi, both in legal matters and on the Asiatic question, a fair and honourable opponent, obnoxious to us as his contentions may be, who would scorn to hit below the belt. To vindicate himself before the public, then, it was decided that he should not give his enemies an opportunity of saying that he was 'funking it' on board the 'Courland,' where he could have stayed for a week if he had chosen; that he should not sneak into Durban like a thief in the night, but that he should face the music like a man and like a political leader, and—give me leave to say—right nobly did he do it. I accompanied him simply as a member of the Bar, to testify by so doing that Mr. Gandhi was an honourable member of an honourable profession, in order that I might raise my voice in protest against the way in which he had been treated, and in the hope that my presence might save him from insult. Your readers have now the whole matter before them, and the reasons which induced Mr. Gandhi to land as he did. He might have kept to the boat at Cato's Creek, when he saw the crowd collecting to receive him; he might have taken refuge in the police-station—but he did not. He said he was quite ready to face the men of Durban, and to trust them as Englishmen. Throughout the trying procession his manliness and pluck could not have been surpassed, and I can assure Natal that he is a man who must be treated as a man. Intimidation is out of the question, because if he knew the Town Hall was going to be thrown at him, I believe, from what I saw, that he would not quail. Now you have the tale impartially told, I hope. Durban has grossly insulted this man. I don't describe the scene; I prefer not. I say Durban, because Durban raised the storm, and is answerable for the result. We are all humiliated at the treatment. Our traditions concerning fair play appear to be in the dust. Let us act like gentlemen, and, however much against the grain it may be, let us express regret handsomely and generously."

III.—By "AN IMPERIALIST."

It would be difficult to find in the history of the English colonies a more sordid and cowardly record than the account of the proceedings in connexion with the anti-Indian demonstration at Durban in December last. The memorial just presented to the Colonial Secretary by the Indian residents in Natal furnishes a full statement of the facts, together with copious extracts from the South African press bearing on the question. The appendix contains the text of the various communications which passed

between the two steamers "Courland" and "Naderi" and the Durban officials, with some other interesting correspondence. The news and comments reprinted from the South African newspapers give ample support to the various contentions of the memorialists. The question at issue is by no means entirely a question of race and colour, although antipathies of race have to some extent entered into the matter. Nor is it, as some have contended, a labour question. It is in the main an effort on the part of a small selfish commercial class, who have utilised existing vulgar prejudices, to secure the exclusion of commercial rivals and perpetuate their own monopoly of South African trade. The arguments which the Colonial Patriotic Union put forward in its petition addressed to the Government are grotesque in the extreme. We are assured that native civilisation will be retarded so long as the introduction of Asiatic races into the colony continues, "their civilisation depending upon their intercourse with the white races." Besides, "the low moral tone and insanitary habits of Asiatics are a constant source of danger to the progress and health of the European population." It is refreshing to note the calm assumption for Europeans of both godliness and cleanliness to the exclusion of their darker brethren. How unfortunate it is that statistics do not bear out the contentions of these guardians of public morals and welfare. The proportion of Asiatic to European inhabitants is not increasing; in fact, the number of European immigrants exceeds the number of free Indian immigrants. And, class for class, Dr. Veale assures us that the Indians live better and in better habitations than Europeans. So, again, the appeal to the example of the Australian colonies in preventing Chinese immigration is quite beside the mark. The Chinese are not British subjects, and the comparison between Chinese and Indians is grossly insulting to the latter. Nor has any objection been made to the introduction of indentured Indians, provided that they are re-conveyed to India on the expiration of their indentures. Their "low moral tone" does not interfere with their employment as personal attendants on the leaders of this insane agitation. It is interesting to note in the account given by the *Times of Natal* that "during the recent commotion at Durban a section of the demonstrators was about to proceed to a ship which had just arrived with some Indians from Delagoa Bay for the purpose of preventing their landing, when some individual called out that the Indians were merchants, and this satisfied the mob." Apparently, therefore, the mob wished to prevent the landing of Indians suspected of being artisans, while their leaders, from equally ignorant and mistaken notions of political economy, wished to prevent the landing of merchants. There is admittedly no competition between the free Indians, to whom the Patriotic Union objects, and the Natives. And the fear of competition between free Indians and the merchants is a nightmare natural enough to men who assert that "John Bull pays through the nose for his adherence to the principle of Free Trade."

The economic importance of the matter is thus seen to be trivial, especially when one remembers

the ignominious collapse of the great organised demonstration, and its resolution into a merely personal assault on Mr. Gandhi, a highly-esteemed lawyer of Natal, who has championed the cause of his countrymen throughout. But there is a graver aspect presented by the attitude of the Natal Government and the Colonial Office towards the quarrel. A leading part in the agitation was taken by a member of the Natal Ministry, the Hon. Harry Escombe. At a public meeting he assured the audience that the Government would certainly bring no force to oppose the demonstration. "It stands on record, then," says the *Natal Witness*, "that the Ministry, on the slightest appearance of a riot at Durban, had resolved that mob law should be supreme." Some explanation of this action may be found in the near approach of the general election in Natal, which may have induced the Government to take underhand means to win the votes of the lowest class of electors. But why was no rebuke administered from the Colonial Office at any time during the twenty-five days which elapsed between the arrival of the two steamers and the landing of their passengers? All that time the agitation was being eagerly fomented, and the Colonial Office was doubtless accurately informed of all that passed. Mr. Chamberlain's deep sense of the injustice done by the Transvaal Government to the Uitlanders was made manifest in his examination of the witnesses before the South African Enquiry Committee. He cannot therefore be blind to the wrongs of British Indian subjects in Natal. Nor can the Government as a whole be accused of insufficient regard for Indian susceptibilities. Were we not told by the supporters of Lord Salisbury's Eastern policy that his considerate treatment of the Sultan was prompted by the fear of wounding the feelings of the millions of Muhammadans who own the Queen's rule in India? Evidence of facts is not wanting to show that the present "strong" Ministry has a tendency to yield with scarcely an effort under pressure of any commercial interest. How far this phenomenon is due to the preponderating influence of the Unionist leader would be a delicate and interesting enquiry. The tendency has at any rate been clearly illustrated in the case of the cotton duties, the open sympathy for the raiders, and the agitation under notice. It is this spurious Imperialism, this narrow commercialism, that is responsible for the blunders and inconsistencies of Imperial policy, which demands above all things a wide and farsighted view.

Neither the present Government nor Lord Salisbury's previous Administration ought apparently to be taunted with blindness to the importance of our African possessions. The hostile demonstration off Lisbon a few years ago, and the present attitude of the Government towards Germany and the Transvaal, prove a determination to maintain existing British rights in Africa. It is almost inconceivable, therefore, that a policy towards Indians calculated permanently to injure the interests of British Africa should be tolerated for an instant. The statistics of the German colonies prove beyond dispute that the great difficulty confronting colonial effort in Africa is the difficulty of finding men able to withstand the dangers of the climate for lengthened periods. The

records of German emigration to America show that the Teuton is not, like the Frenchman, a stay-at-home colonist. Yet, the European population of German Africa has only increased by some 800 in six years, exclusive of the number of additional troops sent out to guard German interests against the suspected designs of the British Colonial Office. Englishmen can live comfortably on the high plateau of South Equatorial Africa which Britain was fortunate enough to secure in the scramble for colonial possessions seven years ago. But there are many important parts of our African Empire as impossible for Englishmen as is Sierra Leone. In an interview with Reuter's agency, Mr. Alfred Pease, M.P., said a few days ago: "The Somaliland Protectorate is a much more important British sphere of influence than people at home seem to think. It is administered by the Bombay Government." In the last sentence is contained a solution for England of the difficulty which the other African Powers may well despair of solving. There is, on the one hand, a large extent of country eminently suitable for Indian settlers, eminently unsuitable for English settlers, except under such conditions as obtain in the Government service, and, indeed, in private commercial undertakings in India. On the other hand, India has a rapidly increasing population, and most opportunely the caste rule against crossing the ocean is, under British influence, slowly but surely losing force. It is of prime importance, therefore, that the connexion already existing between India and Africa should not be interrupted, but strengthened by every possible means. There are all the materials to our hand for another great empire or series of empires in Africa, happier counterparts (one devoutly hopes) of our Indian empire, and colonised by loyal Indian subjects of the crown. If a young colony ignorantly thwarts its own progress by stupid and childish behaviour, it is the duty of the Imperial Government to bring such influence to bear as may awaken it to a sense of its duty and its best interests. It is almost superfluous to remind the Government of the Proclamation of 1858, by which Indians are entitled to the same civil rights as Englishmen throughout the Empire. For when the Home authorities fail to keep peace between the various members of the Empire, the very existence of the Empire is threatened. It is the immediate and pressing duty of the Colonial Office not merely to refuse its sanction to the new measures of persecution proposed by the Natal Government under the head of quarantine, licences, and restriction of immigration, but to insist on a repeal of the Immigration Law Amendment Bill, or at any rate of the objectionable clauses. To prevent the adoption of any measures which may act as a check on the colonisation of Africa by Indians, or force the Indian Government in the interests of its subjects to prohibit emigration to Africa, is a matter of grave Imperial concern.

* * * We regret that, in consequence of unusual pressure upon our space this month, Reviews, Correspondence, and much other matter are unavoidably held over.

NOTICES.

TO CONTRIBUTORS.

The Editor of INDIA cannot hold himself responsible in any case for the return of MS. He will, however, always be glad to consider any contributions which may be submitted to him; and when postage stamps are enclosed every effort will be made to return rejected contributions promptly.—Address: Editor of INDIA, 84 and 85, PALACE CHAMBERS, WESTMINSTER, LONDON, S.W.

TO SUBSCRIBERS.

The annual subscription to INDIA (post free) is six shillings for England and six rupees for India. Subscriptions are payable in advance. Remittances, or communications relating to subscriptions or to any other matter of business connected with INDIA, should in all cases be sent to the Manager of INDIA, 84 and 85, PALACE CHAMBERS, WESTMINSTER, LONDON, S.W.

Cheques and Post-office orders should be made payable to Mr. W. Douglas Hall.

Copies of INDIA can be obtained from the Offices of the Paper; from Mr. Elliott Stock, PATERNOSTER ROW, LONDON, E.C.; from Messrs. Deighton, Bell and Co., TRINITY STREET, CAMBRIDGE; and to order at any Railway Bookstall.

TO ADVERTISERS.

INDIA presents unique advantages as an advertising medium. All communications as to advertisements should be sent to the Advertisement Manager of INDIA, 84 and 85, PALACE CHAMBERS, WESTMINSTER, LONDON, S.W., who will, on application, forward lists of charges.

INDIA.

LONDON, JUNE, 1897.

INDIA AND THE "DIAMOND JUBILEE."

"Remember, no government is ultimately strong but in proportion to its kindness and justice; and that a nation does not strengthen by merely multiplying and diffusing itself. We have not strengthened as yet by multiplying into America. Nay, even when it has not to encounter the separating conditions of emigration, a nation need not boast itself of multiplying on its own ground, if it multiplies only as flies or locusts do with the god of flies for its god. It multiplies its strength only by increasing as one great family, in perfect fellowship and brotherhood. And lastly, it does not strengthen itself by seizing dominion over races whom it cannot benefit. Austria is not strengthened, but weakened, by her grasp of Lombardy; and, whatever apparent increase of majesty and of wealth may have accrued to us from the possession of India, whether these prove to us ultimately power or weakness depends wholly on the degree in which our influence on the native race shall be benevolent and exalting."—*Ruskin: Lecture on War.*

"It is a thousand pities that the celebration of so unique an occasion as the 'Diamond Jubilee' should take place in a year when the lustre of the brightest jewel in Queen Victoria's diadem is being darkened and diminished by the black presence of famine and plague. . . . It speaks volumes for the loyalty and love Queen Victoria has inspired in the hearts of her Indian subjects that for her gracious sake they are ready to put aside their mourning for a while in order to give undoubted testimony of their devotion to the Throne by the due celebration of the 'Diamond Jubilee.'"—*The Indian Mirror* (Calcutta.)

"That State then is most excellently administered in which the largest proportion of citizens use the words 'mine' and 'not mine' with reference to the same thing in the same way? Yes, much the best. Or, in other words, that State which comes nearest to the condition of an individual man. Thus, when one of a man's fingers is hurt, the whole association which stretches

right along the body to the soul, so as to form one single system under the governing principle, is sensible of the hurt, and all of it at the same time feels a sympathetic pain, as a whole, with the part that is hurt. And thus it is that we say 'the man is in pain in his finger.' So, too in respect of any part of his body—we speak in the same way of the man's pain if any part is hurt, and of the man's pleasure when it eases. Yes, he said, we do; and, to return to your question, there is the closest analogy between such a case and the condition of the most excellently governed State."—*Plato: Republic* (v. 462.)

No Englishman who is not content to limit his current information about the affairs of India to the meagre scraps of news and the occasional essays in criticism that find their way into the enterprising press of the United Kingdom can fail to have noticed the reflections universally excited in India by the approaching festivities in honour of the "record reign." The extract reprinted above from the *Indian Mirror* may be regarded as typical. The *Bombay Gazette* states that the congratulatory address to Her Majesty which has been prepared by the Bombay Corporation will "of course make reference to the terrible visitation which has wrought havoc among the people of Bombay." The *Pioneer* (Allahabad) remarks that "with famine and pestilence afflicting or threatening almost every part of the country" India cannot be expected to be "strongly represented at the Queen's celebration in June." It would be easy to multiply quotations showing how widespread and how acute is the sense of contrast in India between the sufferings of her own people and the rejoicings of her rulers. To do justice to the contrast would test the merit, as it would baffle the powers, of a Swift or a Junius. Perhaps the contrast is not wholly overlooked even in London. One would imagine, at all events, that during the past few weeks some of those who have observed the colossal preparations for sight-seeing, and the "perpetual cataract of congratulation" (to borrow a phrase of Mr. Frederic Harrison's) in the newspapers, must have been troubled with searchings of heart. For many, no doubt, the holiday aspect, and for some the commercial aspect, of the "Diamond Jubilee" is enough. Many more, no doubt, are merely bored. But among the thoughtful few there must be some whose thoughts have turned to India, and to whose minds her present plight suggests an occasion not so much of unctuous self-praise as of sackcloth and ashes. It is not merely that India is in pain. The British empire, if we may adapt the illustration employed by Plato, is in pain in India.

India is, then, in a very literal sense, the skeleton at the feast of the "Diamond Jubilee." But to realise that fact is of little use unless it prompts the enquiry: Cannot something be done? Cannot this year of Imperial celebrations be rendered noteworthy, after all, in Indian history for something less dismal than the famine and the plague? The

question is, what ought that "something" to be? Well, in the first place it is easy to say what it ought not to be. An official expression of sympathy and regret, however gracious the terms in which it may be conveyed, will not be enough. It will not be enough, though it may be in accordance with precedent, to pay the Indian people the compliment of charging them with the cost of the Jubilee reception which, if report may be trusted, is to be held at the India Office because, by a curious coincidence, the rooms at the India Office (for which the indigent taxpayers of India paid) happen to be more splendid than the rooms at the other Government offices (for which the British taxpayer paid.) Nor will it be enough, though it has hitherto been the common practice, to make India's chief share in a notable occasion consist in a handful of decorations and promotions conferred upon persons who have distinguished themselves by blind subservience to officialism and by consistent opposition, and even something like treachery, to their more enlightened and liberal-minded fellow-countrymen. The rumour is already current that a decoration of this unenviable kind is to be conferred upon the slight politician who for the past few years has been the humble and convenient instrument of the less creditable purposes of the India Office. Such an incident, if it occurred, would be merely grotesque. Far from affording any satisfaction to the Indian people it would merely—so far as it might be deemed worthy of serious notice at all—tend to confirm unpleasant suspicions and strengthen a widespread antipathy.

No; the benefits which should be conferred upon India—or, to speak more accurately, the instalment of justice which should be rendered to her—in celebration of the sixtieth year of Her Majesty's reign must be sought elsewhere. "Whatever apparent increase of majesty and wealth may have accrued to us from the possession of India, whether these prove to us ultimately power or weakness depends wholly on the degree in which our influence on the native race shall be benevolent and exalting." Nowhere shall we find a closer parallel to Ruskin's words than in the gracious Proclamation issued by the Queen in Council to the princes, chiefs, and people of India in 1858, when the administration of British India was transferred from the East India Company to the Crown:

"We hold ourselves bound to the natives of our Indian territories by the same obligations of duty which bind us to all our other subjects, and those obligations, by the blessing of Almighty God, we shall faithfully and conscientiously fulfil. . . . In their prosperity will be our strength; in their contentment our security, and in their gratitude our best reward."

Now, there is a special reason for recalling this Proclamation on the present occasion, for in the

Jubilee year 1887 her Majesty the Queen repeated her words of "kindness and justice," and shortly afterwards the people of India received the substantial advantages arising from the expansion of the Legislative Councils. What could be more fitting or more useful than that the "Diamond Jubilee" should be signalled by the further extension of the Indian Councils Act? The lines upon which such extension should run are familiar to everybody who knows anything at all about the Indian National Congress. The two points of chief importance are that (a) the number and (b) the powers of the representative members should be increased. It would be difficult to exaggerate the advantages of such a reform, which is more than justified by the conspicuous success with which the experimental measure now in operation has everywhere been attended. Nor is that all. Another passage in the Proclamation of 1858 was as follows:

"And it is our further will that, so far as may be, our subjects, of whatever race or creed, be freely and impartially admitted to offices in our service the duties of which they may be qualified, by their education, ability, and integrity, duly to discharge."

"So far as may be." Whatever the precise meaning of that limiting term may be, nobody can justify a system which at one and the same time professes to admit Indians equally with Englishmen to the competition for posts in the Indian Civil Service and, because the examination is not held simultaneously in Calcutta and in London, imposes upon Indian candidates a heavy—often a prohibitive—preliminary fine. The House of Commons resolved four years ago, on the motion of Mr. Herbert Paul, that this contradiction between our theory and practice should cease. It has not ceased yet. On the contrary it is avowedly maintained in order to keep down the number of successful Indian candidates. Here, if anywhere, one would think it an opportunity ready to hand to cause the "Diamond Jubilee" to be remembered with gratitude in India. Let effect be given at last to the resolution of the House of Commons which the Government of India has hitherto been permitted to over-ride. If, in addition to these "concessions," steps are also taken to give the Indian rayat reasonable fixity of tenure—a thing which the present famine has once again proved to be a necessity of the case—and to revive, in accordance with the suggestion of many of the witnesses recently heard by the Royal Commission on Indian Expenditure, the advantages of the Parliamentary stock-takings which were periodic under the rule of the East India Company, then, indeed, some consolation will have been extended to India in her hour of mourning. Her Majesty the Queen has on more than one occasion personally

intervened in the interests of her loyal and loving subjects in India. Is it too much to hope that in this year of happy omen, not unmingled with tribulation, the same gracious influence may once more be exercised in works of "kindness and justice"?

A HISTORY OF GREEK LITERATURE.¹

"THANK you so much, Professor," a fair member of one of those numerous companies whom a thirst for knowledge, a love of travel, and the enchantments of Dr. Lunn and Mr. Perowne have lately drawn to the Eternal City, was overheard saying, "thank you so much for your most interesting antiquarian lecture. There was just one point that I felt to be a little obscure. Would you mind my asking you? *Were those Vestal Virgins of whom you spoke Roman Catholics?*" To such confusions of mind may the over-hasty absorption of indiscriminate information beguile us. Mr. Heinemann's new series of "Literatures of the World," like all books that attempt to condense into small compass a vast quantity of knowledge and yet aim at being attractive and easy to follow, opens indefinite possibilities in this direction to the unwary. *Verbum sapientibus*: there are no "short cuts" to sound knowledge discovered yet, though "many run to and fro" and believe that they have found them.

Mr. Murray's volume is certainly one to be handled with some caution by the general reader and the University Extension student. Those who, being themselves ignorant of Greek, desire to gain some notion of the main characteristics of the great masters of Greek literature must still be referred to Mr. Jebb's admirable Primer. But those who read Greek authors, or have read them in youth, should make trial of Mr. Murray. They will learn something from his suggestive criticisms, they will be interested in reports of the latest German speculations, they will be delighted by frequent flashes of wit, and they will (we hope) be a little scandalised by his modernity. It is this last characteristic on which, at the risk of being thought ungracious and ungrateful, it seems most necessary to dwell, because it is likely to be disregarded or even welcomed by some of our professional critics. The importation of slang and current allusion into a serious work on Greek literature by a distinguished Oxford scholar is not a thing to be dismissed with indifference. Whatever may be the use or the uselessness of a classical training for daily life, there can be no question that for literature, at least, the man who has made a study of Greek prose and poetry is in possession

of a standard, of a touchstone, to which others can hardly attain. He knows the pure gold of "the best thoughts expressed in the best way," with a sureness of instinct denied to the reader who knows only the moderns. If that is so, he has a duty to perform to the literature and the criticism of his own day—the strenuous upholding of the standard he has learnt from the ancients. Does this seem an "impossible loyalty" in these days of unlimited printing? Be it so; Oxford, the "home of impossible loyalties," expects it of her sons. But the truth surely is that this loyalty is neither impossible nor a very grievous act of self-denial. Mr. Mackail has shown, in his masterly book on Latin literature, that it is possible to write on classical themes with self-restraint, with dignity and delicate grace, and yet interest a large number of readers. The wide and warm welcome given to that book is a fact worth the attention of any lovers of the classics who are disposed to despair of the maintenance of old literary standards and traditions. In direct contrast to Mr. Mackail, Mr. Murray comes dangerously near surrendering the citadel of culture, and it is not easy to see that he gains anything by coquetting with the enemy. Is anything gained, for instance, by calling Xenophon a "fibustier"? Slang, it has been well said, is "all very well for a first-term freshman to astonish his sister with;" and Mr. Murray's undergraduate audience will perhaps like the expression. But will it in any sense be helpful to them? Will they understand Xenophon's life or character better for it? Here is what Walter Savage Landor, in his "Imaginary Conversations," had to say on this particular word, in its earlier form, *fibustier*—

"While we reject the good of our own countrymen, we adopt the bad of the foreigner. We are much in the habit of using *fibustier*. Surely, we might let the French take and torture our *freebooter*. In our fondness for making verbs out of substantives, we even go to the excess of *fibustering*. And now from course vulgarity let us turn our eyes—"

The remainder of this last sentence does not concern us, but it was necessary to quote its opening words to show the full extent of Landor's condemnation. Again, are we helped by hearing Thucydides called "a trained stylist"? or by having λέσχη translated "Conversation-hall"? These are small points in themselves, but they are significant. They seem to show that Mr. Murray, with all his learning and all his enthusiasm for Greek poetry, has not learnt, and is therefore not at pains to teach, the great lesson of perfect artistic form that is conveyed in every masterpiece of Greek literature and Greek sculpture. Still more ominous is Mr. Murray's preference for Euripides to Sophocles. A critic has congratulated him on the courage he has shown in evidently disliking Sophocles. But courage is not

¹ "A History of Ancient Greek Literature." By Gilbert Murray, M.A. ("Literatures of the World," Vol. I.) London: W. Heinemann.

the only qualification for a literary guide, and there is such a thing as an absolute standard in art, or we had better give up writing books on literature. What does the preference of Euripides to Sophocles really mean? It is a suffrage for the "problem-poet," for the Ibsen of his day (the comparison is Mr. Murray's own). It is more than a mere appreciation of him. That Mr. Murray has written with sympathetic insight of Euripides, "who broke himself against the bars both of life and of poetry," is matter for gratitude. But to prefer Euripides to Sophocles is to prefer the poet who sees life unsteadily and in fragments to the poet who sees it steadily and whole. Our literary criticism is sadly in danger of forgetting that any fool can ask more questions than a wise man can answer. We do not understand the self-restraint of the great poet or novelist. We think him superficial sometimes, because he deliberately turns away from some question that he might ask and will not. We think he does not see the question: he sees it far better than we; but he will not raise it out of wantonness, nor unless he can put mankind on the road to a solution. He will help us, if he can; if not, he will not add to our misery.

"That strain I heard was of a higher mood,
But now my oat proceeds."

There is an altogether minor matter on which, as this is the first volume of a series, it seems worth while to make a suggestion. Mr. Heinemann or Mr. Gosse has set his authors a difficult task: the combination of literary criticism with the results of the latest scientific research. Mr. Murray says he has "tried to conceal all the laboratory work." He has not altogether succeeded: the name of Wilamowitz-Moellendorf occurs too frequently for the peace of mind of the old-fashioned reader. Would it not be well to relegate the "laboratory work" to appendices, after the fashion of the useful notes appended to each chapter of Holm's "History of Greece"? The scientific student would welcome more numerous and systematic references than Mr. Murray has given; he might have them to his heart's content, and the non-scientific reader would go on his way undisturbed.

If Mr. Murray's book had not been very good it would not have been worth the pains we have taken to point out its blemishes. The faults are chiefly dangerous because the book is in many ways so good—so fresh and stimulating and vigorous, so full of learning, and yet so full of interest. The clear and reasonable account of the Homeric question, the fine eulogy of Pindar, the appreciation of both sides in the tragic conflict between Socrates and Anytus, the discussion of the work of Thucydides—these are some of the notably strong points.

The preface warns us against the error of con-

ceiving the old Greeks as "all much alike." It is their variety, Mr. Murray thinks, that makes them so living to us. He has certainly made his own portraits of them human, living, and varied. Behind each writer he has striven to see the man, and the result is always an interesting, if not always a convincing, picture. Perhaps it was inevitable that in this attempt to come to close quarters with the ancients, as in the attempt of Euripides to treat gods and heroes realistically, something of the ideal and heroic, something even of dignity, should be sacrificed. Neither in Euripides nor in Mr. Murray do we feel that the "touches of things common" always "rise to touch the spheres." But of both writers it may be true that the sources of their strength and weakness lie close together; and the blemishes to which attention has been called are partly the defects of the qualities that give the book its freshness and animation. Yet, when all allowances have been made, one cannot escape the feeling that the most serious faults might have been lessened by a reverent study of that Sophocles whom the successor of Professor Jebb at Glasgow regards with something like indifference.

OUR LONDON LETTER.

Great success has so far attended the "platform campaign" which Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjea, Professor G. K. Gokhale, and Mr. Subramania Iyer are now conducting in various parts of the United Kingdom. Although the season of the year is not favourable to public meetings, and there has been much else to distract the attention even of persons who are politically minded, the Indian speakers have attracted large and attentive audiences, and there is every reason for congratulation upon the admirable work they are doing in spreading among British electors the Indian view of the Indian question.

The series of meetings was opened in South Lambeth on May 13th. Mr. J. Herbert Roberts, M.P., presided. On May 19th, Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji and Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjea addressed a large and enthusiastic meeting at Sunderland. Among other places for which meetings have been fixed may be mentioned Clapham (May 20th), Belper (May 23rd), Mile End (May 25th), Hastings (May 26th), and Lewisham (June 12th). A series of meetings in Yorkshire is also being arranged, and it is expected that meetings will be held in Gloucester and the Ealing division—Lord George Hamilton's constituency.

As an indication of the results obtained by this campaign of public meetings it may be interesting to quote the following from a letter received by the British Committee of the Indian National Congress from the Secretary to the Sunderland Liberal Association:

"Our meeting last night was a grand success. The audience

were delighted, and the effect of the speeches is that many friends are won over to your side. I trust—and I speak on behalf of our committee—that you will be able to send us down another deputation later. I can promise them a really hearty north-country welcome. With best wishes for the success of your movement," etc.

Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjee and Mr. Subramania Iyer have now completed their evidence before the Royal Commission on Indian Expenditure. It is stated that no further witness is likely to be heard except Lord Dufferin, and that the Commission will forthwith proceed to the consideration of its report.

The Mansion House Fund amounted on May 21st to £527,600.

"After all, it is very probable," writes a correspondent of the *Westminster Gazette*, "that the Marquis of Lorne, and not Lord Zetland, is to have the succession to the Viceroyalty of India. The fact of the matter is, the member for South Manchester has been desirous of engaging once more in serious administrative work, and he would like to take either India or Victoria—Dublin Castle being out of the question. The difficulty has been the health of the Princess Louise. It is just possible, however, that the matter may be compromised by letting Lord Lorne, as Governor-General, be alone during the Calcutta season, while the Marchioness proceeds to Simla for the season in the hills."

Mr. J. Herbert Roberts, M.P., has given notice in the House of Commons that he will, at an early date, move the following Resolution: "That, in the opinion of this House, it is desirable that in future no Indian prince or chief shall be deposed on the ground of maladministration or misconduct until the fact of such maladministration or misconduct shall have been established to the satisfaction of a public tribunal which shall command the confidence alike of the Government and of the princes and chiefs of India."

The following paragraph appeared in the *Daily News* of May 13th:

We understand that the Marchioness of Salisbury's health is not yet sufficiently robust to allow of her going through the fatigue of a great reception at the Foreign Office on the evening of the official celebration of the Queen's birthday. The Queen's birthday banquet will be given as usual at the Foreign Office to the Ambassadors and Ministers, and it is understood the reception afterwards will be held at the India Office, Lady George Hamilton or the Duchess of Devonshire presiding. The India Office has some magnificent rooms, and lately direct communication between the Foreign Office and the India Office has been established.

"The India Office has some magnificent rooms"—yes, and the indigent taxpayers of India paid for them. On a former occasion India was further required to pay the expenses of a State entertainment because it happened to be given in the India Office. Is that "melancholy meanness" to be repeated on the present occasion?

A series of articles dealing with the grievances of British Indian subjects in South Africa will be found in another part of the present issue of INDIA. The following letter, on the same subject, from the Mahārājā of Darbhanga was printed in the *Times* of May 3rd:—

Sir,—May I be permitted to appeal through your columns to the Colonial Secretary, and to the Parliament, the Press, and the people of England, on behalf of my fellow-countrymen

now subject to grievous hardships and difficulties in Natal, South Africa? The Imperial sympathy for India and Indians has just now been shown with a magnificent generosity by the whole British nation, from her Gracious Majesty the Queen-Empress down to the humblest contributor to the Indian Famine Relief Fund. Those generous sentiments have not been confined to the English people in the United Kingdom: they have been shared by every class of her Majesty's subjects scattered over all parts of her world-embracing dominions, and, not least, by the colonists in South Africa. Surely the moment is an auspicious one for a frank appeal both from India and England to the nobler feelings of British Africa, especially in Natal.

"The objections that have been alleged to exist in Natal against the free and friendly admission of my countrymen to that colony have been proved to be absolutely unfounded; that fact is now admitted by everyone, including the Colonial Secretary. And it is now stated that the question is a labour question, and not a racial one. But, if that be so in truth, surely it is obvious that the restrictions sought to be imposed on the admission of Indian labour to-day may, for the same reasons and with equal justice, be imposed on the admission of English labour to-morrow. There can be no question as to what the policy of the Imperial Government is with regard to this matter. A Government that desires that President Kruger should confer the rights of citizenship upon the foreign subjects of the Transvaal must at least be equally anxious that British subjects, though they be Indians, should not in a British colony of Natal be treated as aliens and be subjected to serious difficulties. But no responsible Indian statesman would dream for a moment of asking for the coercion of Natal by the Imperial Government. And we have sufficient confidence in the good feeling of the British colonists in Natal to believe that such a course would be entirely unnecessary. But we do ask the Imperial Government and the Parliament and the Press of the United Kingdom, as representing the whole British people, to join us in urgently appealing to the good feeling and to the Imperial instincts of the authorities and the people of Natal. The people of India feel sure that no commemoration of this auspicious year of the Diamond Jubilee of her Majesty would be more pleasing to the Queen-Empress than the adoption by her colonial subjects of such a liberal and friendly policy towards India and Indians as would show that we are all alike proud of being fellow-subjects of the greatest empire the sun shines upon, and in the enjoyment of the blessings of equal laws and equal rights under one of the best of earthly sovereigns."

The Appendix to the Reports of the Select Committee of the House of Commons on Public Petitions for the present session contains the following:—

"169. The humble Petition of the Inhabitants of Pandharpur Taluka, District Sholapur, Bombay Presidency, India, in public meeting assembled,

"Most respectfully sheweth,

"That the resolution of your honourable House, by which India is made to bear the ordinary expenses of the Indian army sent on Suakin expedition, has given great dissatisfaction to them; that they had very strong hopes that the injustice in connexion with the payment of the expenses of the above-said expedition would be at once removed when the question was referred to your honourable House, but they now find to their great regret, that when the interests of India and England are in a conflict India has to go to the wall, to suffer loss and incur burdensome responsibility. That it is, no doubt, a very serious grievance that India has had to pay the expenses of an expedition with which she has no direct connexion whatsoever, whether commercial or political. But there is a still greater grievance, and a cause for real and serious anxiety, which is that the Parliament, which is always regarded to be the final seat of justice, sometimes utterly disregards the just interest and complaints of her Majesty's subjects in the far East; and, lastly, that as a consequence of this step taken by your honourable House, a deep feeling of discontent and dissatisfaction has spread itself here, and that they consequently pray that your honourable House will, with a view to check it, correct the past error by a reconsideration of the same, and adopt means against its recurrence in future."

The petition, which contained 289 signatures, was presented by Sir William Wedderburn.

The Countess of Warwick entertained a large party to lunch at Warwick Castle, on May 10th. Many of the guests were those who had interested themselves in the sub-section "Education" at the Victorian Era Exhibition, of which the Countess is president, and travelled from London and Oxford by special train. "On arrival at the castle they were received," writes a reporter, "by the Earl and Countess in the great hall, and at two o'clock lunch was served in the banqueting hall, nearly eighty guests sitting down. The Blue Hungarian band played during lunch and afterwards, while later in the afternoon Miss Esther Palliser delighted all by her singing. During the afternoon most of the guests were taken over the castle and shown its treasures and points of interest by Lord Warwick, while others wandered through the grounds with Lady Warwick and Lord and Lady Algernon Gordon-Lennox, or went in the steam launch down the river Avon, to see some of the most picturesque views. At five o'clock tea was served, after which the large party dispersed, having greatly enjoyed their visit." Among those present were Sir William Wedderburn, Professor Gokhale and Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjee. Professor Gokhale has, we understand, undertaken to read a paper dealing with Education in India at the "Victorian Era Exhibition."

ROYAL COMMISSION ON INDIAN EXPENDITURE.

I.—EVIDENCE OF MR. DADABHAI NAOROJI.

We print below Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji's summary of the "most important contentions" contained in his evidence tendered to the Royal Commission on Indian Expenditure. Mr. Dadabhai had submitted to the Royal Commission a series of six printed statements, which he wished to be regarded as his evidence in chief. The following summary of them was prepared by him for use as a brief recapitulation when he came to be orally examined as a witness on March 25th. The course of cross-examination prevented the summary from being read through in the order in which it was written (and is here printed). But each of the contentions contained in it was stated by Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, and may be found in the official report of his evidence:—

"I have handed in to the Commission six printed statements. These statements contained the facts, figures and authorities upon which I rely, and I am prepared to be cross-examined upon them.

The headings under which my evidence falls are: (A) The Administration of Expenditure, (B) the Apportionment of Charge, (C) practical remedies. Upon each of these headings, I am prepared to state categorically my most important contentions on behalf of India.

With reference to (A) Administration of Expenditure, I consider that the Act of 1833, confirmed by the pledges contained in the Queen's Proclamation of 1858, conferred upon Indians a right to their full claim and share of public employment and emoluments and voice in their own expenditure, in order to secure their happiness and prosperity and

good government and attachment to British rule and the prosperity of the British people themselves.

I maintain that the administration of Indian expenditure is not conducted according to the principles thus laid down, and that the non-fulfilment of these pledges has produced poverty and degradation; the inherent and essential defect of British administration being the financial, political and intellectual drain, which is inseparable from a remote foreign dominion exercised in disregard of the sound principles above stated.

In my six statements I set forth the facts of India's poverty, as shown by the comparative production and consumption of each province, by calculating the average production of India per head; by analysing the trade returns; and by reference to the small amount of revenue obtained after exhausting all sources of taxation.

I maintain that the impoverishment and degradation of British India has been caused by the compulsory employment of costly foreign official agencies and foreign capital (represented by the public debt, political and commercial) beyond the means of the taxpayer, resulting in a drain from British India, financial, political and intellectual—aggravated by heavy frontier Imperial war expenditure—and that indirectly the foreign dominion has caused a further drain by creating a practical monopoly in favour of foreign private capital which reaps the advantage of British India's material resources.

With reference to (B) apportionment of charge, my propositions are—

(1.) That it is the desire of the British people that British rule should be one of justice and righteousness for the benefit of both India and Britain, and not for the benefit of Britain only to the detriment of India, and that the financial relations in apportionment of charge should be as those between two partners and not as those between master and slave.

(2.) That upon this equitable basis the apportionment of expenditure in which Britain and India are jointly interested should be according to extent of the interest and according to capacity to pay.

(3.) That the creation and maintenance of British Imperial supremacy in India is a British interest of the first magnitude; yet, with a few exceptions, India has been unjustly charged with the whole cost of creating and maintaining the British Imperial supremacy without Britain paying any portion, and without India being allowed to share in the advantages connected with that supremacy.

(4.) That law and order are beneficial to India, but they are also a British interest, as a condition essential to the very existence and prosperity of British rule.

(5.) That, assuming, as it is said, that India should bear all those charges for internal and external protection which she would have to bear if British rule did not exist, she should not bear the special cost of European Agency so far as used solely to maintain British Supremacy. And moreover that if British rule did not exist, every one employed will be an Indian and not an European.

(6.) That, as a practical arrangement, Britain should pay for all British employed in Britain, that

India should pay for all Indians employed in India, and that as regards British employed in India and Indians employed in Britain, there should be an equitable apportionment according to respective benefit and capacity to pay.

To put it still more moderately, the payments to Europeans in both countries may be divided half and half between Britain and India.

(7.) That in the Army, Navy, and Civil Service, public employment, with its advantages and emoluments, should be proportioned to the charge; and in considering this point it should be borne in mind that in India, Government employment monopolises in great part the sphere of private enterprise and the open professions as practised in Britain.

(8.) That the wars carried on beyond the Indian Frontier of 1858 are, as stated by Lord Salisbury, "an indivisible part of a great Imperial question," and that therefore the cost should primarily be borne by the Imperial Exchequer, India contributing a fair share on account of, and in proportion to, indirect and incidental benefits accruing to her, and direct share in the services.

(9.) That from April, 1882, to March, 1891, nearly Rs. 129 millions were spent from Indian revenues beyond the Western and North-Western Frontiers of India, for avowedly Imperial purposes, and that a fair share of this amount should be refunded from the Imperial Exchequer, and similarly for the cost of the Burmese War.

Since putting in my statements I have obtained further figures showing the amounts spent from Indian revenues upon military operations beyond the frontiers of India. Col. H. B. Hanna, in his book "Backwards or Forwards," gives at page 40 a table and makes the total about Rs. 714,500,000—out of which the British Exchequer paid £5,000,000 towards the expenses of the Afghan War. Besides this amount he points out several omissions.

As regards (C) Practical Remedies, the principle I approve is that which was declared by the Duke of Devonshire, who said "If the country is to be better governed, that can only be done by the employment of the best and most intelligent of the Natives in the Service," and, as pointed out by Sir W. W. Hunter, "If we are to govern the people of India efficiently and cheaply, we must govern them by means of themselves, and pay for the administration at the market rates of Native labour."

An administration conducted on these principles will stop the material, political and intellectual drain from India.

In the case of the Mysore State this method was adopted by Lords Salisbury and Iddesleigh "as a guarantee for the good government of the people and for the security of British rights and interests." This experiment, though disapproved by the Anglo-Indian authorities, was loyally and effectively carried out by them, and proved a brilliant success, resulting in a contented people, a full treasury, moral and material progress, and attachment to British supremacy. It is a brilliant episode in British Indian History.

Similarly, British India will be prosperous and contented if the same principles are followed, local administration being entrusted to competent Native

officials, under European control, co-operating with representative assemblies.

I gladly recognise the benefits of British rule, especially as regards law and order, education, and freedom of the Press and public meeting; but I believe that British power and influence are much weakened by the refusal to administer expenditure in a way so as to give the people justice and a voice in their own affairs, by the consequent "extreme poverty" of the masses, and by the non-fulfilment of the solemn pledges, given by Parliament and the Crown, of equal opportunity in the public service to all subjects of Her Majesty; and I sincerely desire to see British rule strengthened on the lines most beneficial to the people both of India and of Britain.

I desire to put in my correspondence with the War Office, the Admiralty and the Civil Service Commissioners. In this I claim that neither the War Office nor the Admiralty had any authority or power to exclude Indians from the Commissioned ranks.

II.—EVIDENCE OF MR. SURENDRA NATH BANERJEA.

We take the following passages from the evidence recently given by Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjea before the Royal Commission on Indian expenditure:—

[GROWTH OF EXPENDITURE: THE SERVICES.]

The question of the wider employment of the people of India in the public service of their own country is more or less a financial problem. The expenditure has gone on increasing, especially in the military department; and Indian public opinion regards the growth of military expenditure as utterly beyond what the country can bear, and as seriously interfering with legitimate expenditure on the most necessary domestic improvements. The people of India who are capable of forming a judgment on the subject are at one with Sir H. Brackenbury in the opinion that the cost of the portion of the Indian army in excess of what is necessary for maintaining the internal peace of the country should be met from the British Exchequer, and the expenses on the salaries of the European portion of the army ought to be fairly apportioned between England and India. Until this is done, the resources of India will not be found equal for the purposes of good and progressive Government, and no improvement is possible in the condition of the masses. By the wider employment of the people of India in the public service, economy would be introduced and an impetus imparted to the intellectual and moral elevation of the people. Ten years ago, the Public Service Commission presided over by the late Sir Charles Aitchison, at that time Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, and consisting of some of the most distinguished officials and non-official representatives of the day, reported upon the question of public employment in India. The gist of their recommendations may be summarised as follows: "That indigenous agency should be more largely employed in the public service, that the recoupment of the official staff in England should be curtailed and advantage taken of qualified agency obtainable in India." In other words, the Provincial Service recruited in India should be the backbone of the administrative agency, subject to European supervision and control. "Considerations of policy and economy alike require," observed the Commission in their report, "that, so far as is consistent with the ends of good government, the recruitment of the official staff in England should be curtailed and advantage taken of qualified agency obtainable in India." As a matter of fact, however, the higher appointments in almost all branches of the Public Service are held by Europeans, although more than ten years have elapsed since the Commission have submitted their Report. The Public Service Commission found in 1886 that, out of 1,015 officers in the superior engineer establishment, so many as 810 were non-domiciled Europeans, 119 Europeans domiciled in India including Eurasians, and only 86 were natives of India (page

122, Public Service Commission Report.) The Commission observed, to use their own words, recruitment from the Cooper's Hill College as being "at present excessive." We find, however, that at present there are 800 engineers of the superior establishment, of whom only 96 are Indians.

COVENANTED APPOINTMENTS.

The Public Service Commission recommended that one-third of the Judgeships should be held by members of the Provincial Service. The total number of district and sessions judges is 126; out of these 5 only are Indians, according to Mr. Jacob's table. This cannot be correct, for in Bengal alone we have 7 district and sessions judgeships held by members of the Statutory Service. But even in Bengal, which is considered to be the most advanced province in the matter of the employment of natives of India in the public service, the percentage recommended by the Public Service Commission has not been attained in regard to a class of appointments for which natives of India are considered to be specially qualified; for out of 30 district and sessions judgeships only 7 are held by members of the Statutory Service. According to the recommendation of the Public Service Commission, 10 of these appointments should be held by them. Further, according to the recommendations of the Public Service Commission, one membership of the Board of Revenue, one commissionership of division, one under-secretaryship to Government, one secretaryship to the Board of Revenue should be excluded from the list of reserved appointments and should be held by members of the Provincial Service. In the North-West Provinces the secretaryship to the Board of Revenue is held by a member of the Provincial Service. As members of the Statutory and Provincial Services draw two-thirds of the salary attached to the reserved posts, when they hold such posts, there would be considerable saving by giving fuller effect to the recommendations of the Public Service Commission. On the Bengal establishment there are 267 civilians, including members of the Statutory and Provincial Service holding Civil Service appointments, of whom 24 are Indians, and 243 are Europeans. The monthly salaries, including allowances drawn by the Indians, come up to Rs. 30,000; those drawn by the Europeans come up to Rs. 4,00,100 in round numbers.

THE POLICE (BENGAL GOVERNMENT).

In the same way, in the Police Department the higher appointments in Bengal are practically monopolised by Europeans, though the Public Service Commission distinctly recommend (page 120 of the Report) "that endeavours should be made to introduce a reasonable proportion of native officers, due regard being always had to the efficiency of the service." Including the Calcutta Police, there are 108 of these appointments from the post of superintendents and upwards. Of these 101 appointments are held by Europeans and 7 only by natives of India. The monthly salaries, including allowances of the European employees, come up to Rs. 60,000 in round numbers, the monthly salaries of the native employees come up to Rs. 3,000 in round numbers. In this connexion I may mention that a competitive examination is held in Calcutta and another in London for recruitment to the higher offices in the Police. From these examinations natives of India are excluded, although there is nothing to prevent their appearing at the open competitive examinations for the Indian Civil Service, provided, of course, they complied with the necessary terms and conditions. There seems to be no reason for this exclusion on the ground of race; for the District and Assistant Superintendents of Police have done their work admirably; and one of them recently distinguished himself by the capture of a number of dacoits, as will be seen from the following report in the newspapers:—

"Babu Girindra Chunder Mukerji, Assistant Superintendent of the Bengal Police, had an encounter with five dacoits on the road connecting Ichhapore and Shamnagar, on Saturday night. The dacoits attacked the coachman of the hackney-carriage in which the police-officer was driving from Naihaty to Barrack-pore at midnight. Hearing the noise, he jumped out of the carriage, and caught the men. They were then placed inside the carriage and brought to the Barrackpore Police Station. They will be tried by the Deputy Magistrate of Baraset."

Further, the exclusion of natives of India from the examinations to which I have referred is in direct conflict with the terms of the Proclamation of her Majesty of the 1st November, 1858, which, in clear and emphatic terms, laid down

that merit was to be the sole test of qualification for office in India, and that Indian subjects, of whatever race or creed, were to be freely admitted to all offices the duties of which they were qualified, by their ability, education, and integrity, duly to discharge.

In Bengal, burglaries and other offences against property are believed to be on the increase, and the people of Bengal attribute this partly to the want of detective power in the European heads of the District Police, and to their want of familiarity with our customs and language. It is a notorious fact that a District Superintendent of Police is unable, through his ignorance of the language of the people, to enquire into the ordinary cases of theft and burglary; and the larger employment of Indians in the Police would therefore add to the efficiency of the force, while reducing total expenditure.

PUBLIC WORKS DEPARTMENT (BENGAL).

In the Public Works Department we find the same thing. There are 69 appointments in the superior establishment, of which 53 are held by Europeans, and 16 are held by Indians. The total monthly salaries, including allowances drawn by the Europeans, come up to Rs. 49,000 in round numbers, the monthly salaries paid to the Indians come up to Rs. 6,000 in round numbers.

OPIUM DEPARTMENT.

In the Opium Department, excluding the opium agents and the factory superintendents, who are covenanted civil and medical officers belonging to the Indian Medical or the Indian Civil Service, we find there are 27 sub-deputy opium agents classified under five grades in the Civil List of the Bengal Presidency corrected up to 1st January, 1897. Together their salaries come up to Rs. 17,600; not a single native of India has a place in these grades, although the Public Service Commission recommended "equality of treatment of all classes of her Majesty's subjects" in regard to their appointment to offices in this department. Out of 44 assistant sub-deputy agents, there are only 9 who are natives of India. Their monthly salaries come up to Rs. 2,250. The monthly salaries paid to the European employees come up to Rs. 10,400.

CUSTOMS DEPARTMENT.

With regard to the employment of natives of India in the Customs Department, it may not be out of place to quote the remarks of Sir Charles Trevelyan: "There are whole classes of employment," said Sir Charles Trevelyan, "for which the natives are specially qualified. The natives are specially qualified for revenue functions. The whole of the appointments in the Customs might be filled by natives." But what are the facts? With one exception, the superior appointments in the Customs Department in Calcutta are filled by Europeans. Their total monthly salaries come up to Rs. 12,360. There is not a single Hindu or Muhammadan name to be found among the officers of the Preventive Service, although the Public Service Commission recommended that "there is no ground for the exclusion of qualified candidates of any race from the appraiser's or the Preventive Branches of the Department." The Public Service Commission point out that "native Christians in Bombay have been employed in the Preventive Service, while a Brahmin Preventive officer in Madras is admittedly efficient and in discharging his duties has experienced no difficulty owing to his race" (page 97, Public Service Commission Report). I have been informed that a Parsi gentleman so efficiently performed his duties as an appraiser in the Bombay Customs Department that he was asked by the authorities, after he had retired on pension to *rejoin* his appointment on the passing of the recent Tariff Act imposing duties on imported goods.

MEDICAL SERVICES (BENGAL).

In 1877 there were 67 commissioned medical officers, of whom 5 were Indians. There were in addition to the above 28 uncovenanted medical officers. Of these, 7 were apothecaries (all Europeans), and 3 were Indians. In 1887, there were 62 commissioned medical officers, of whom only 6 were Indians. There were 29 uncovenanted medical officers, of whom only 4 were natives of India, the other 25 were Europeans and Eurasians (13 apothecaries and 12 non-military medical men). There were 142 assistant surgeons. In 1897 there were 66 commissioned medical officers, of whom only 4 were Indians. Thus practically the number of commissioned officers on the Bengal

establishment who were natives of India remained stationary for a period extending over twenty years from 1877 to 1897. In fact, the number in 1897 was slightly less. In 1897, there were 36 uncovenanted civil medical officers, of whom only 4 were Indians, the rest were Europeans and Eurasians, 25 were apothecaries and 7 non-military Europeans. The total amount of monthly pay drawn by the commissioned officers in 1897 was Rs. 66,024, out of which the four Indians get Rs. 3,870 per month. There are 138 assistant surgeons, all Indians, drawing a salary of Rs. 26,296 among them. Thus it will be seen that the 62 European commissioned officers draw more than double the salary of all the assistant surgeons in Bengal put together, whose number, it should be remarked, is double the number of the commissioned officers. It will thus be seen that, while the number of apothecaries holding the higher appointments has increased by over 300 per cent., the number of natives in India employed has actually decreased. There is a distinct tendency to put the apothecaries who are now called assistant military surgeons over the heads of Indian assistant surgeons, although their medical training is inferior to that of the Indian assistant surgeons. Appointments have been taken away from the Indian assistant surgeons and given to the military assistant surgeons. Their status has been improved. They begin on a salary of Rs. 75 a month; the assistant surgeons begin on Rs. 50 as supernumeraries. The pay of the assistant surgeons was fixed about sixty years ago as follows:—Third grade, Rs. 100; second grade, Rs. 150; and first grade, Rs. 200. There are besides a few prize appointments which carry a higher salary. The scale of pay remains unchanged after sixty years, notwithstanding the petitions presented to the Government on their behalf, notwithstanding that the pay of the subordinate judicial and executive services has been raised, and notwithstanding the fact that the price of food has more than doubled itself within the last sixty years. While the highly paid officers of Government receive Exchange Compensation Allowance, it is remarkable that this deserving class of Indian public servants should continue to draw a scale of pay which was fixed for them sixty years ago.

REORGANISATION OF THE MEDICAL DEPARTMENT.

The medical service may be so organised as to lead to considerable economy without interfering with efficiency. There are at present (July, 1896) about 375 commissioned medical officers in Bengal, besides twenty-five military assistant-surgeons who have received honorary commissions. Of the medical officers who have received their commissions in England about one-half are employed on military duties, mainly in military charge of native regiments. The remainder are in civil employ. The medical charge of a native regiment may with advantage be held by a native military assistant surgeon, instead of the more expensive commissioned European medical officer.

At present to each native regiment (as well as to each detached wing or squadron), besides one commissioned medical officer, one or generally two hospital assistants are attached for duty. These last receive a medical training in vernacular for three years—commence their duties on Rs. 20 a month—reaching the maximum of Rs. 80 during their service of thirty-two years. The commissioned (European) medical officer when in charge of a regiment commences with a minimum of Rs. 386 per month, plus on the average twelve per cent. on his pay as exchange compensation allowance. In a cavalry regiment he draws Rs. 65 in addition for horse allowance. The pay increases according to the length of service, and there is nothing to prevent him from holding the medical charge of a regiment for the entire period of his service. Thus, after twenty years' service he draws Rs. 1,000 per month—exclusive of allowances—for doing the same work for which he received Rs. 386 plus allowance when he joined the service. I submit there is no necessity for keeping up such an expensive system for the following reasons: The duties of a military medical officer are of two kinds. First, such as those that devolve upon him in cantonments and those that he is called upon to perform in war time. In cantonments the average daily sick in a regimental hospital is under four per cent. of the strength. That is, in a regiment of between 800 or 900 men the number of sick sepoys present in hospital rarely exceeds twenty or twenty-five. In a cavalry regiment the number is considerably less. The cases as a rule are mostly of a trivial nature, and can be easily treated by a properly qualified native assistant surgeon.

I consider it as unnecessary waste of money to pay Rs. 800 or 1,000 a month to look after twenty sick sepoys, most of whom are in hospital for very trifling complaints. As for the British officers attached to a native regiment, I would suggest that they and their families may be looked after by an officer of the army medical staff. Excepting in the Punjab frontier and Assam, there is always a detachment of British troops wherever native regiments are stationed. The army medical staff officer in medical charge of the British troops can for a small additional consideration look after the British officers and their families. On the Punjab frontiers there are generally two native regiments with a battery of artillery stationed at one place. The senior medical officer also performs the duties of the civil surgeon of the station. I would suggest that one army medical staff officer, with a sufficient number of native assistant surgeons, can perform all the duties just as well and far more inexpensively than what obtains at present.

As for the medical service in war time, it is admitted that the present arrangement is unsatisfactory. The greatest difficulty is experienced to obtain a sufficient number of medical officers. The only alternative is to engage a large number of commissioned medical officers for whom, as I have shown above, there is hardly any work during peace time. The remedy I would suggest is that a sufficient number of native military assistant surgeons may be trained in the country—paid on the scale of civil assistant surgeons, and who will perform all the professional duties—the administrative portion of them being left to experienced officers of the army medical staff. In place of the present system of imperfectly qualified hospital assistants and a limited number of very highly-paid commissioned medical officers, there will be a large number of properly qualified men who will for all practical purpose be quite equal to their duties during peace or war.

The present civil medical system is open to greater objection. A civil surgeon of a district is supposed to look after one or two hospitals at the headquarters of a district. Generally speaking, he is in charge of the district jail—not only as a medical officer but as its superintendent. He is the superintendent of vaccination for the district, as well as sanitary adviser to the head of the district. This by no means finishes the category of his duties. A lunatic asylum, a leper asylum, or a blind asylum, sometimes all three, are thrown in the lot. He is also responsible for the meteorological returns of his district. First, as to hospital work. At places like Benares, Agra, Lucknow, the civil surgeon is supposed to look after over 125 beds in the different hospitals scattered through the town; while at Jessore, Faridpur, Noakhaly, the number of beds varies between ten and twelve. It will strike most people that 125 patients are more than what can be properly attended to by a single medical officer, and that looking after five or six patients in hospital is hardly exhaustive work for one man. But such is the curious anomaly of the system that only the same emoluments are received by the two officers so differently situated, but the one who has nominal work to do can by the present arrangement get more pay than his infinitely more hard-worked colleague. To do away with all these anomalies and for the better management of hospitals, I would suggest, and I believe the time has arrived to carry out the suggestion, that the system which, I understand, obtains in England may be partially adopted in India. There is a large number of properly qualified independent medical men trained in India as well as in Europe who will accept the post of honorary surgeons and physicians in the large hospitals at the headquarters of the provinces and districts. As to the fitness of the Indians to hold such appointments, I would point to the Campbell Hospital, Calcutta, to the comparative list of surgical operations performed by commissioned European medical officers and Indian civil assistant surgeons, as well as to the few Indian commissioned medical officers who have been permitted to hold civil appointments. In large towns there is generally a hospital for Europeans exclusively. At all these places there are highly qualified independent European medical practitioners who, I am sure, will be only too glad to offer their services gratuitously to such institutions. As for the hospitals for Indians, I would suggest the appointment of honorary physicians and surgeons may be left in the hands of the municipalities or other local bodies. All the hospitals suffer for want of funds. The Inspector-General of Civil Hospitals, North-Western Provinces, observes in his triennial report, ending 31st December, 1895 (page 20): "As a consequence of the want of means many civil surgeons not

only find the greatest difficulty in meeting the demands for the most ordinary and inexpensive medicines, but have also to defer or abandon the purchase of necessary instruments." Proper diet, which is such an important factor in the treatment of diseases, is supposed to be adequately supplied at the average cost of one anna per diet (page 55, N. W. P. Triennial Report, and page 93, Annual Report of the Dispensaries in the Punjab for 1895). At some places, such as Jhelum and Pind Dadan Khan, that modest amount is supposed to be quite large enough to meet the expenses of even two diets. When it is considered that the average famine diet costs about two annas per head, the sum expended in the nourishment of sick patients in the Indian hospitals cannot be open to the accusation of wanton waste. At the Ramsay Hospital at Naini Tal, which is a hospital for Europeans, the average cost of each diet is Rs. 3-0-9 (page 75, Triennial Report of the Dispensaries of North-West Provinces ending 1895), which shows what is supposed to be the proper expense for a sick diet, and the contrast between this diet and that allowed to the sick native of India is striking.

Such being the state of things, it is highly uneconomical to keep up a large number of military medical officers at an enormous cost. In some hospitals the pay alone of the commissioned medical officer comes up to more than the combined expenses of assistants, menial establishment, medicines, surgical instruments and dieting of all the hospitals and dispensaries of the entire district. As, for instance, the total expenditure during 1895 stood thus in the following districts in the North-Western Provinces:

Almora ..	Rs. 5,082- 2- 5..	P. 51 Trien. Rept., ending 1895
Dehra Dun ..	6,582- 1- 3..	P. 59 " "
Etawah ..	5,806-14-11..	P. 63 " "

If the above were in charge of a surgeon-captain his pay would come up to Rs. 6,600 a year, exclusive of exchange compensation allowance. By adopting the method here suggested there will be a considerable saving of expense.

FOREST DEPARTMENT (BENGAL).

There are 23 superior appointments in the Forest Department. With a single exception, they are all held by Europeans. The monthly salaries drawn by the European members of the Forest Service come up to Rs. 12,100; the salary drawn by the single Indian member of the Service is Rs. 300 a month. The Public Service recommended that "the staff should be divided into an Imperial and Provincial branches, and that, as to the Imperial Civil Service, the Imperial Branch of the Forest Service should be a *corps d'élite* limited to the number of officers necessary to fill the superior controlling appointments and such a proportion of the assistant conservators' posts as will ensure a complete training of the junior officers." It further recommended "that the Government should review the policy of training in India men qualified to fill the higher administrative appointments, so as to remove as far as possible the necessity for expanding the Imperial Branch of the Service." From the facts stated above, it does not appear that any serious effort has been made to encourage natives of India so that they might take charge of the superior appointments, for, with one exception, these appointments are filled by Europeans.

THE EDUCATIONAL SERVICE (BENGAL).

The Educational Service in Bengal, which has recently been re-organized, has given rise to much dissatisfaction. Under the orders of the Secretary of State, "the Department is to be divided broadly into (a) the superior service, and (b) the subordinate service. The former will consist of two branches, one including all posts to be filled by persons appointed in England, which will be called "The Indian Educational Service," and the other including all posts to be filled by recruitment in India, which will be known as "The Provincial Educational Service." The Indian Educational Service will consist of 27 officers. The Provincial Service is to consist of 104 officers. The recruitment for the Indian Educational Service taking place in England, it need hardly be observed that natives of India will have little or no chance of appointment to the superior grade. Indeed, it would seem, from the orders of Government, that natives of India with degrees from the Universities of England, Scotland, and Ireland are now to be admitted only to the Provincial Service, for we find the following laid down in the scheme as sanctioned by the Secretary of State:—

The Provincial Educational Service is to consist of 104 officers, as follows:—

- 5 Inspectors of Schools.
- 10 Assistant Inspectors.
- 7 Principals and
- 51 Professors of Colleges.
- 24 Headmasters of Collegiate and Training Schools.
- 7 Others, including the (1) Assistant Superintendent and the (2) Headmaster of the School of Art, (3) the Personal Assistant to the Director of Public Instruction, and (4) supernumerary appointments (Professorships) to be filled by Indian gentlemen with degrees from the Universities of England, Scotland, and Ireland, or by Premchand Roychand students.

The concluding words of the extract which I have quoted supports the view which I have put forward, viz., that it appears to be the intention of the Resolution to confine the employment of Indians practically to the Provincial Service. There is absolutely no reason for this exclusion, when it is borne in mind that Indian gentlemen in the Educational Service with degrees from the English Universities have attained to the distinction which has been achieved by men like Dr. Bose and Dr. P. C. Roy. They are able to hold their own against any Englishman in the particular departments in which they have won distinction; but in future, under the operation of the new scheme, men like them will be relegated to the Provincial Service. It is, indeed, the case that the Government of Bengal itself is not satisfied with the scheme, inasmuch as the prospects of the officers in the lower grades are very discouraging and the scheme fixes the pay of the lower grade of the Provincial Service at Rs. 150 a month, while the pay of the lowest grade in the other Provinces appears to be higher. This is what Sir Alexander Mackenzie, the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, observed in this connexion in his Resolution dated the 26th March, 1897: "His Honour observes that, owing to the narrowness of the scale of the Provincial Service, as compared with existing salaries, the prospects of officers in the lower classes are very discouraging. For instance, officers now placed in class VI on Rs. 250 of the Service, are all in class III (Rs. 200, 21, 300) of the existing Service, and before they can receive any increase of pay, they must rise to the top of class VI, and then move slowly to the top of class V. He also observes that the Provincial Services of other Provinces are practically devoid of class VIII on Rs. 150. Sir Alexander Mackenzie regrets this state of things, and, with a view to improving the prospects of the Provincial Service, he proposes at an early date to consider whether something may not be done by assigning a greater number of officers to some of the intermediate classes."

THE SURVEY DEPARTMENT OF THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.

The Public Service Commission, in their Report, observe that the admission to the junior division should not be confined to special classes of Her Majesty's subjects (evidently referring to the practical exclusion of Indians from the Provincial Service of the Department), but that it should be recruited by competition from among selected candidates (page 152, Public Service Commission's Report). In this Department there has always been considerable objection to the employment of Indians, as will be seen from the following memorandum written by Colonel De Pru, late head of the Survey Department, which was laid before the Public Service Commission: "I may here remark incidentally that my numerous late inspections show me that the tendency of the European surveyors is to stand and look on while the natives are made to do the drawing and hand-printing, as if they thought themselves quite above that sort of thing. This is a mistake, and cannot be permitted for the future. Besides, it is suicidal for the Europeans to admit that natives can do any one thing better than themselves. They should claim to be superior in everything, and only allow natives to take a secondary or subordinate part.

"In my old parties I never permitted a native to touch a theodolite or an original computation, on the principle that the triangulation, or scientific work, was the prerogative of the highly-paid European; and this reservation of the scientific work was the only way by which I could keep a distinction, so as to justify the different figures respectively drawn by the two classes between the European in office time and the native who ran him so close in all the office duties as well as in field

duties. Yet I see that natives commonly do the computation nowadays, and Europeans some other inferior duties."

The Public Service Commission also noted the objection to the employment of natives of India in their Report, and they observe:—"The Junior Division has been hitherto officered for the most part by Europeans domiciled in India and Eurasians, of whom many have passed the Matriculation Examination of the Indian Universities. . . . In the year 1884 the Government of India determined that natives should be employed in the Junior Division, believing that educated or trained natives could be found who were competent to perform all the duties of the subordinate staff, and that, as the competence of such natives had not been made the subject of trial, the presumption of incompetence could not be admitted (page 132).

But the fact seems to be forgotten that at one time the head of the Computing Department of the great Trigonometrical Survey was a Bengal gentleman (Baboo Radhanath Sikdar) who performed his duties with remarkable ability and efficiency. As it is we find that in the Survey Department, out of 119 appointments in the Provincial Service, only ten are held by Indians. The monthly salaries and allowances paid to European employees come up to Rs. 35,715, while the monthly salaries paid to Indian employees come up to Rs. 2,012. There is not a single Indian in the six grades of Extra Assistant Superintendents comprising appointments the salaries of which vary from Rs. 300 to Rs. 500 a month.

THE TELEGRAPH DEPARTMENT.

There are in the Indian Telegraph Department eighty-two superior appointments, exclusive of the examiner and deputy examiner of accounts. All these appointments, with two exceptions, are held by Europeans, and by students passing from Cooper's Hill College. The monthly salaries drawn by the European employees come up to Rs. 56,025: the Indian member of the telegraph department, who is also a passed student of Cooper's Hill College, draws a monthly salary of Rs. 300. There is one other Indian member of the department, who is appointed on the Provincial scale of pay, and gets Rs. 150 a month. The Government of India resolved, on the recommendation of the Public Service Commission, to make some appointments to the telegraph service on the Provincial scale of pay, which is about 66 per cent. of the scale of English pay, from among the native students of the Thomason College, Roorkee (*vide* Government of India Resolution, No. 156, P.E., of 25th August, 1892, P.W.D.). Since the publication of this Resolution, twenty-one appointments have been made, out of which four have been made in India, and of the four, only one has been given to an Indian; the other three have been conferred on Eurasians. If the Government had exercised the powers which it assumed by the Resolution referred to above more largely, and the terms of which are quoted below,¹ there would have been a saving of expenditure, and a proportionate relief to the finances. The Thomason Engineering College is equipped for the purpose of turning out duly qualified candidates for the telegraph service. There seems to be little doubt that some of the Indian Colleges are turning out students whose services might with advantage be utilised for the telegraph and other scientific departments, with considerable relief to the public exchequer. Dr. J. C. Bose, Professor of Science in the Government Presidency College in Calcutta, who has acquired a European reputation by his discoveries in connexion with electrical science, thus observed, in a paper that he read in this country on the Progress of Science Teaching in India:—"The advanced students, whom we hope to train in our laboratories, will form the best material for recruitment to the various scientific departments under the State. The students who now work in electric science in our Presidency College laboratory acquire a very high efficiency in it, and it would be an advantage to the telegraph department to utilise their services. Indeed, this was at one time contemplated, and Sir Alfred Croft, the retiring Director of Public Instruction, interested himself in it. It is to be hoped that something will be done in this direction." If the hope expressed by Dr. Bose is fulfilled, a considerable impetus would be imparted to the teaching of

science in India, and the interests of economy would also be ensured. The Public Service Commission practically made the same recommendation. They recommended the gradual reduction of the staff recruited in England, and that a superior local telegraph service should be recruited in India from classes to be established at one or more of the Indian engineering colleges (p. 139).

There are 85 sub-assistant superintendents divided into two grades, 41 being in the first grade and 44 in the second grade. The maximum pay allowed in the first grade is Rs. 350 per mensem; in the second the maximum is Rs. 275 per mensem. There are only two Indians in these two grades. If the department were reorganised and native Indians employed more largely it would be possible to place it upon a more economical footing.

It would seem that all telegraph masters and signallers receive in addition to their substantive pay an allowance in the shape of house rent of Rs. 15 and 10 per month respectively when posted to Presidency towns and Rs. 10 and 5 respectively when employed in out-stations. But this rule does not apply to natives of India. In other words, it is only the European and Eurasian telegraph masters and signallers who are entitled to this privilege. In 1882 the Government of India in the Public Works Department issued the orders granting house allowance to all telegraph masters and signallers, with the exception, of course, of such as were provided with quarters. In 1883, orders were issued that native telegraph masters and signallers were not entitled to the allowance. Some native Christian signallers who had adopted the European mode of living prayed for this house allowance, when they received the following letter in reply:

From the Director-General of Telegraph,
To the Superintendent, Calcutta Office. No. 3375T,
dated, 26th September, 1890. Simla.

SIR,—With reference to your letter No. 2596T, dated the 16th of September, 1890, I have the honour to inform you that, under the orders of the Government of India, native signallers, as distinguished from European and Eurasian signallers, are not entitled to house allowance when not provided with quarters. By natives must be understood pure Asiatics, and the details of religion and dress that may be adopted by natives are questions which do not enter into the matter.

2. I am unaware of any special exceptions to this rule that may have been made in former years, but if such exceptions exist they afford no grounds for any further additions to them being made.

I have, etc.,
(Sd.) C. H. REYNOLDS,
Director Traffic Branch.

The house allowance granted to telegraph masters and signallers comes up to the sum of Rs. 7661 2ans. a month, or nearly a lakh of rupees a year. The details are given in the following statement:—

GOVERNMENT TELEGRAPH DEPARTMENT.

House allowance drawn by the Europeans and the Eurasian Signallers serving in the following telegraph divisions.

	Rs.	as.	p.
1. Bellary Division	37	8	0
2. East Coast	35	0	0
3. Madras	919	13	9
4. Bombay	2485	6	8
5. Nagpur	53	8	0
6. Rajputana	392	1	1
7. Sind and Belachistan	418	6	4
8. Punjab	416	0	0
9. Kashmere	342	5	8
10. Bengal	280	15	0
11. Arrakan	143	0	0
12. Lower Burmah	374	0	0
13. Upper Burmah	279	0	0
14. Calcutta	1,422	1	6
15. Oudh and Rohilkhand Division	62	0	0
16. Assam and Dacca Divisions			nil.
	7,661	2	0

¹ "The number of appointments shall ordinarily be two and one in alternate years, but these numbers may be varied according to the requirements of the department, due notice whereof will be given."

Because the signallers and the telegraph masters in these two divisions are provided with quarters—

	Rs.	Rs.
1. Number of European and Eurasian Telegraph masters	157	
2. Number of European and Eurasian signallers	1,145	
Total ..	1,302	1,302
Number of Native Telegraph masters	15	
Number of Native signallers ..	324	
Total ..	339	339
Grand Total ..	1,641	

No. 1 draw Rs. 15 and 7½ when posted to Presidency towns and mufussil respectively when not provided with quarters.

No. 2 draw Rs. 10 and 5 when posted to Presidency towns and mufussil respectively when not provided with quarters.

If all telegraph masters and signallers were natives, it is very obvious that under the existing rules the whole of this amount would be saved, and the saving would be in proportion to the employment of natives as telegraph masters and signallers. The distinction is invidious, and causes bitterness and ill-feeling between persons working in the same department and to the prejudice of public business.

A VISITOR TO THE CONGRESS.

Mr. George Harwood, who represents Bolton (Lancashire) in the House of Commons, was among the visitors to the recent Congress at Calcutta. Mr. Harwood, on his return, has described the Congress in a newspaper article, from which we extract the following. A reference to Mr. Harwood's article will also be found in "Indiana."

The Congress claims that its members come from deifernt parts of the country; that they are in close touch with the masses of the people, and that therefore they are often likely to know more of the feelings of those people than is possible to European officials. All that they ask is to place this knowledge at the service of those officials, and that due weight should be given to it.

The Indian Congress is certainly more representative than a Church Congress, of which anyone can become a member who chooses to buy a ticket; for only delegates can speak or vote, and these delegates have to be elected by the different Congress Circles throughout the country, in numbers proportionate to the membership roll of those Circles. Every delegate who attends the Congress has to pay ten rupees for his ticket, which is a fair measure of earnestness in so poor a country. In addition, most of the delegates pay their own travelling and other expenses; I talked with a number, and found that their attendance would cost them altogether sums varying from fifty to two hundred rupees, depending upon the place from which they had come, for distances are great in India. Of course, there is the largest muster from the neighbourhood of the place where the Congress happens to be held, and to meet this it is shifted to a different part of the country every year; but this year in Calcutta I spoke with a good many delegates who had come from the Punjab, Bombay, Madras, and even further south. Those who have experienced the joys of Indian railway travel, will understand the sacrifice of comfort involved, to say nothing of the money cost.

Perhaps the most interesting part of my experience was attending—three days beforehand—a meeting of the Committee which had to discuss the subjects to be brought before the Congress. Unlike our Church Congress—of which the programme is crystallised before by the local Committee—this Congress leaves its subjects to be settled by the members themselves; and, as these cannot meet from such great distances except a few days before the gathering, it follows that the arrangements have to be put together in a hurry. Indeed, there is a meeting each evening to settle the next day's work,

but the general outline is fixed by the Committee, which I attended. What an interesting assembly it was, merely to look at! If not "Parthians and Medes and Elamites," at any rate there were Hindus and Muhammadans from all parts of India. And what wonderful manners they all have; so polite and bright and engaging! And what still more wonderful English they all speak! Perhaps the most astonishing feature of this Congress is that all its proceedings are conducted in a language which is foreign to all the speakers, as if the Church Congress was carried on in French or German. The comparison makes one marvel at the intellectual versatility of these people, even though one cannot help smiling at the curious style of their speech; a style combining the subtlety of Mr. Gladstone with the sententiousness of Dr. Johnson.

The Congress itself was a very picturesque and impressive sight. No gathering of five or six thousand Eastern people could help being picturesque; especially when it is considered that they had come from all parts of the great continent, and were got up in their "Sunday best." The President's turban was a study in itself; what ladies would call, "a sweet thing in green and pink and gold": and this was only one amongst hundreds of varieties. Then the structure in which the Congress was held was likewise a picture; a sort of bamboo temple, without sides, the roof being supported by pillars which were ingeniously festooned to look like palms. Of course, there were the usual flags, only more of them; and a host of gaily-attired stewards, with white wands, symmetrically dispersed over the building, gave a character to the scene. There were about a thousand deputies, seated in groups "according to nations," as the old phrase expressed it; the rule being that those who had come farthest sat nearest, whilst the people of the place had the worst seats. Beyond the deputies were the general public, numbering about five thousand, I should say, who all paid for admission, and had seats accordingly, the prices for some of them being low, but for most of them being high, according to Indian ideas.

The President was a Muhammadan, a lawyer of Bombay, who has held high office, and has certainly all the marks of a well-bred and kindly gentleman.

The Congress was opened by the singing of two odes by a choir of men dressed in white. I suppose I must call it music, though that is not the word I should have chosen, unless I had remembered that ideas on such matters are so various. One of the most striking things in India is that one so seldom hears amongst the people even any attempt at music, and such attempts seem to result only in monotonous wails. Perhaps, though, one would have thought the same of the strains which so moved the ancient Greeks; indeed, this is certain if what we hear in modern Greece is any guide. At any rate, no objection could be made to the sentiment of their odes, as will be seen from the translation of a verse from each, which runs thus:—

"Let not applause be your sole aim,
Nor let abuse your soul subdue;
Devote your life to what is good,
And what is great, and what is true."

and

"Sons of India! sing the glory
Of the land that gave you birth;
Sing with heart and soul accorded,
Of her greatness and her worth."

Then came an address of welcome by the chairman of the Reception Committee, a Knight, who had been a judge of the High Court, and a member of the Imperial Council; and this was followed by the President's address. Both of these were much too long, according to our ideas; indeed, the President, after reading away for several hours, had to give up from sheer exhaustion. Swift's method of ruling out every other word would have greatly improved both their speeches, but would not have been half drastic enough. Both speakers, as, indeed, all the speakers of the Congress who touched on the topic, were full of praise of "the enlightened and essentially just Government under which we live"; both also protested, again and again, that "we offer help, but no menace, to that Government."

The list of topics discussed did not include many new subjects, for the Congress is now in its twelfth year, and so has roamed pretty well over its possible field. The present condition of the country, of course, made the Famine a pro-

minent subject, and the Congress decided that the true remedy against a recurrence is "the adoption of a policy which would enforce economy, husband the resources of the State, and foster the development of indigenous industries which have practically been extinguished." It seems to me that both England and India have a serious lesson to learn from these famines; England, that her government, whilst very good, is also very costly for such a poor country; India, that she must somehow teach her people not to populate so close to the line of starvation. I ventured to point this out to a number of the leading members whom I met at lunch. Of course, it is a delicate subject, surrounded by a labyrinth of religious prejudices and social customs; but there is no hope for India unless the population can somehow be diminished. Our responsibility in the matter is great, since by our systems of relief we counteract nature's effective—though cruel—method of rectifying the errors of men.

Another subject discussed was the old one of separating the Judicial from the Executive functions. This change has been advocated by many of the ablest of the Anglo-Indian officials, and is undoubtedly supported by reason, as well as by our well-known maxim that the accuser should never be also the judge. Perhaps the Congress might well address itself to the practical objections which are made to the change; such as that it would increase the expense of government, and diminish its efficiency.

The Congress got its blood up about the new education scheme which has just been sanctioned by the Secretary of State, because it seems to confine natives to the provincial service, and shuts them out from the higher grades. I think this must be a misunderstanding; as a Government which admits natives to the highest positions in the law can hardly exclude them from any other branch.

A resolution was passed that the examinations for Government employment should be held simultaneously in England and India. The upper-class Hindu has a tremendous belief in examinations, and a tremendous desire for a Government post. Of course, it is invidious to have to point out to him that no examiner has ever yet discovered a test for those qualities of character which have more to do than any knowledge with the fitness to govern; but the Congress seemed to recognise the difficulty, for it did not ask that positions should be assigned regardless of race, but only that a certain number should be reserved for natives.

The Congress condemned the severity of the Salt Tax, asking that the duty should be restored to its level of 1868; and it also again raised its plea for the extension of trial by jury, claiming that the progress of education has made a sufficient number of suitable persons available in all parts of the country. Perhaps it went too far in asking that the verdicts of such juries should be final; for it is not the education of the jurymen which is in question, but his justice and courage.

The question was raised of whether the Universities ought not to admit their graduates to a larger share of power, and resolutions were proposed in favour of the establishment of technical schools and agricultural parks. It was also urged that the settlement of the land question, which has been fixed in certain parts of the country, should be made permanent and extended to the other parts; and the Congress reaffirmed its contention that the Medical Service ought to be reformed, so as to give a better chance to native talent. The Government was called upon to secure proper treatment for the Indian subjects who emigrate to South Africa; and was asked to grant greater concessions for obtaining arms in districts where destructive animals abound.

Other matters were raised with which I need not trouble you; and I will only add that no resolution was allowed to be brought forward unless the Subjects Committee was practically unanimous about it, and that every resolution was carried by the Congress without opposition, and most of them amidst loud cries of "All! All!". Whatever else may be thought about this Congress, every Englishman must feel that it is at least a very interesting instance of that which is said to be the sincerest form of flattery. Most thoughtful Englishmen who know anything of India will also allow that our present system of governing that country cannot go on for ever, just as it is, and that this Congress may perhaps suggest certain wise directions of change.

BRITISH RULE IN INDIA.

MR. DADABHAI NAOROJI IN EDINBURGH.

A public meeting was held on April 26th in the Literary Institute, Edinburgh, to hear an address by Mr. H. M. Hyndman on "The Coming Collapse of British Rule in India." Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji presided. We take the following brief report from the *Scotsman*, which estimated the number present at 700.

"Mr Naoroji in taking the chair, expressed his obligation to the Edinburgh branch of the Social Democratic Federation. He did not, however, stand there as belonging to any section of British politics, but solely and simply as an Indian—(applause)—appealing to the British public on behalf of his country. They were met to consider the disastrous events that were occurring in India. They were always told, and there was some truth in it, that British rule had done some good in India, but they must consider whether that good had been sufficient to counterpoise the many evils to which India had been subjected under the same rule. He spoke of the present famine, also of the plague, and of the wars that had already done evil, and said the fact that the condition of India was such to-day, after nearly one hundred and fifty years of regular British administration, was a thing which it was very necessary for the British public to consider. He knew very well, and it had been his faith during the past forty years, that the British public wished India should be governed on righteous and honourable principles. (Applause.) They had at present a very sympathetic feeling exhibited by the British public in the circumstance that they had already collected at the Mansion House over half-a-million, and that at other places the amount collected also amounted to a large sum; but whether that sum was small or large, the Indians were equally grateful. The question was not only how to get over the present famine, but, what was important to the British name as well as to India, they should understand why there should be any famine at all there. (Applause.) If droughts under exigencies of climate should take place, it did not follow that because there was a drought or short crop there should be a famine sufficiently dreadful to carry away millions of their fellow-subjects. (Applause.) Proceeding to give a short sketch of the underlying principles of British rule in India, he said that the spirit of the whole administration at the first was pure selfishness, carried out in the most rapacious manner possible. Gradually a system was formed by which a regular drain of wealth from India to Britain began, and at the present time the amount of the drain was perhaps ten, twelve, or fifteen times the three millions a year it was at an earlier date. During the past eighteen years, from the time when the last famine took place up to the present day, the drain of wealth from India had been something like 400 or 500 millions sterling—('Shame')—and they, therefore, must not blame Indians if they said that the present famine collection was not worthy of the British people and the British name. (Applause.) But in their dire condition they were grateful for it. Oppressed and kept down as they were, he went on to state, they were deteriorating in intellect, wealth, and work, but that, up to the present time was not the fault of the masses of the British people. It was for the British people to restore to righteousness what had been for the past 150 years an unrighteous rule. Those famines would never be prevented if the administration in the name of the British public was to go on in the same way as it was at the present time conducted. Not only on the principle of righteousness, but on the low principle of selfishness, it was to the best interests of Britain and of India that India should be righteously governed. After stating that there were 300 millions of people in India, and arguing that the trade with India might, if the country were righteously governed, be so increased that the word 'unemployed' might be erased from British dictionaries, he said they could understand that if they continued to bleed a person or a nation, that person or country must in time die. If, however, there was a peaceful revolution of the principles upon which the Indian Government was at present conducted, Britain and India would both be blessed. (Applause.)

"Mr. Hyndman, in the course of his address, said that Britain was crushing down in every possible way the rights of the people over whom she had control.

"Mr. D. Blackburn moved:—'That this meeting of citizens of Edinburgh, in view of the terrible famine caused by the drain of produce from India to England of not less than thirty million sterling a year, without commercial return, calls upon the Government to stop this drain now, and henceforth to substitute native administration, under British supervision, for the present wholesale Europeanisation in every department.'

"The resolution was seconded by Mr. John Bain, supported by Mr. Mullick, a native of India, and adopted."

Commenting on Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji's speech, the *Greenock Telegraph* (April 27th) wrote, in a leading article entitled "Draining India":—

"The public of Great Britain have often been dazzled by gaudy rhetoric; and no finessed phrase has more tickled the popular palate than the one which tells us that India is the brightest jewel in Britannia's Imperial Crown. We have all read many a time of the wealth of India, of the enormously rich rajahs, of the magnificence of the Delhi and Lucknow bazaars, of the fertile fields of Bengal, and the opulence of the far-famed pearl fisheries. The picture-books and Sunday School magazines of our youth familiarised us with the idea of luxury, the turbaned and soimitted chiefs, riding on richly-caparisoned elephants, the great marble palaces of Agra, the costly idols of Benares, and even the simple ryot living in peace and plenty under his mango tree. But this, it seems, however real it once was, is now largely a picture of imagination. That there are still piles of wealth in Madras, Calcutta, and Bombay, countless diamonds and precious stones of inestimable value in such old cities as Delhi and Lahore, and no end of rich rajahs and nawabs, goes without saying. But what of the condition of India as a whole? There are very many authorities who still maintain that the conquest and administration of Hindostan last century has proved a blessing to the teeming millions of many races and many sects; that but for the military genius and energy of the Anglo-Saxon race from the days of Clive onward, the soft and pliable Hindus would long before now have been conquered by some other hardier race—either the Tartars and Afghans, or the hordes of Muscovites from Asiatic Russia. And the argument is that, if India was destined to be held in subjection at all, better far that her rulers should be the enlightened, highly Christianised and just British, than the wolfish Afghans and the hill tribes, or the sly ever self-seeking Russian Bear. But the question is, has the lapse of time proved that argument to be true? Many of our most thoughtful and just public men are asking themselves, has Britain acted fairly and honourably towards her great Empire in the East? We all know the infamous exactions of Warren Hastings, the wicked despoiling of the Princesses of Oude, and the official lootings of Delhi and other populous cities. But that is not what the present critics of British administrators of India are thinking of. The story of Warren Hastings, and the other 'old Indians' of John Company, is a closed book. The point is, How has Britain governed India since the era of the Mutiny? Has England—because the policy is always dictated from London—played once more the part of the conscienceless blood-sucker, as some say she does towards Ireland and Scotland? Speaking in Edinburgh last night, an Indian, Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, ex-member of the British Parliament, made several sweeping accusations against this country's rule in India. He declared that 'the spirit of the whole administration at the first was pure selfishness, carried out in the most rapacious manner possible; and he laid this down as a fact that during the past eighteen years, from the time when the last famine took place up to the present day, the drain of wealth from India had been something like 400 or 500 millions sterling.' What, asked Mr. Naoroji, was a dole of half-a-million or even a million of famine fund to this enormous and systematic drain of money from the Indian peninsula to the British Islands. 'It was for the British people,' said Mr. Naoroji, 'to restore to righteousness what had been for the past 150 years an unrighteous rule.' This way of putting the Indian question will surprise most people. One thing, if India has been plundered, it has

not been by the masses of Great Britain and Ireland, but by the Anglo-Saxon ruling classes, who have for centuries past done a tolerable amount of thieving at home."

"A RETIRING CIVILIAN."

MR. F. H. SKRINE "TAKES THE PUBLIC INTO HIS CONFIDENCE."

Some interest and a good deal of amusement have been excited in India by a farewell letter addressed to a Calcutta journal named *Capital* by Mr. F. H. Skrine, a member of the Indian Civil Service on the point of resignation. The following account of Mr. Skrine appears in the "India List" for the current year:—

SHRINE, Francis Henry Bennet, Indian C. S. (Bengal).—Educ. at Blackheath Proprietary Sch.; apptd. after exam. of 1868; arrived 22nd Nov., 1870, and served as asst. mag. and collr. in Bengal; on famine relief duty 1874 and 1877-78 (in Madras); Supt. of Salem Central jail, Jan., 1878; joint mag. and dep. collr. May, 1884; mag. and collr. Aug., 1887; offg. commr. Bhagalpur, 1893-94; collr. of customs, Calcutta, Oct., 1895.

The following is taken from Mr. Skrine's letter:—

SIR,—Since your contemporary the *Pioneer* announced last month that I was about to resign the Civil Service I have received innumerable letters from friends anxious to know why I have adopted so crucial a course. It is due to my colleagues and to the people of this province that I should, to a certain extent, take them into my confidence at this crisis. I will do no more than allude here to my private grievances, for the Press has never been used by me as a vehicle for representing them. There exist constitutional channels for that purpose, of which I will not fail to take advantage. In this communication I will confine myself to causes which affect the whole body of my colleagues, and, therefore, indirectly, the millions for whose happiness they are responsible.

A SMALL DOMINANT CASTE.

It is the fashion with Viceroy's on returning to ease and dignity, and with Secretaries of State, to eulogise the Covenanted Civil Service; and, indeed, everyone who is aware of the adverse conditions under which its task is performed must admire the fortitude and the sense of public duty which animate the units composing it. But of corporate life this Service no longer possesses a spark, and the attempts made of late years to galvanise it into collective action have resulted only in the evolution of a particularly hideous blazer. It began to die with the extinction of Haileybury; for what *esprit de corps* can there be in so heterogeneous a body, while social distinctions and pride of birth are still so strong amongst us? The process of destruction has been hastened by the gradual formation of a small dominant caste which has grown out of the complexity of official work, the weakness of our rulers, and the annual migration to hill stations. Now, the advantages of life on those breezy heights are enormous. Those who are privileged to enjoy it have a climate and scenery superior to those of England. (See the trenchant remarks of Sir Henry Cunningham, who alone of the members of the Indian Finance Commission had the courage to raise his voice against the injustice of the exodus.) They have a numerous and varied society to count on, and domestic surroundings more sumptuous, while they are more cheaply purchased than those at the command of the middle classes in Europe. And all these advantages are monopolised by them with pension rules and salaries calculated to preserve health and counter-balance the great inconvenience of life in the plains. A divisional commissioner, for instance, has duties as onerous as those of any secretary, with a far larger share of responsibility, and yet he must spend at least a quarter of his income on ice, punkahs, leave, often on sick certificate, and on maintaining a separate establishment for his wife and children in the hills or at home. As to leave, what secretary is there

who does not avail himself of every month to his credit? . . . There is no fetish about Secretariat work. It is very often of a slipshod quality; and I could pick as many grammatical holes in Government resolutions as Cobbett did in poor King George III.'s speeches from the throne.

"FEROCIOUS SELF-SEEKING."

The ferocious self-seeking, the postponement of public to private interests which are now so rampant, are subjects of remark with all who read the newspapers. The *Pioneer*, which is certainly not open to the imputation of being "agin Government," animadverted lately on the nimbleness with which high officials skipped from province to province, regardless of the necessity that exists for maintaining a continuous administrative policy. This dominant caste is kept together by a tacit understanding that outsiders shall never break their ranks. A lieutenant-governor (or a chief commissioner) is often uncomfortably aware that his secretaries "know too much," and, as he can assimilate only such official provender as he receives from them, he is always very much in their hands. Hence it is within the power of secretaries to suppress the work of possible rivals, to misrepresent their character, to stab their reputation. An eminent subordinate of the Government of India, who has lately retired, said, when the tactics of a colleague notorious for that kind of thing, were canvassed in his presence: "Yes, but you know a successful secretary must be a bit of a snake!"

I have enlarged, perhaps, sufficiently on the humiliation inflicted on the vast majority of the Civil Service by their exclusion from all the sweets of office. The surroundings in which the "submerged nine-tenths" are forced to live are to the last degree depressing. To tell the story of the decay of social life and the deterioration of physical environment in Lower Bengal would carry me too far. Their ruinous effect is enhanced by the frequent transfers which are the rule; and by the absence of proper house accommodation. I have five times been compelled to set up home in twice as many years; and on each occasion I have lost heavily on the sale of my effects. So complete is the absence nowadays of *esprit de corps* that one's successors rarely purchase any large proportion of one's household furniture. A divisional commissioner (not my successor, I am glad to say) lately refused to take over a single stick of his predecessor's, who was driven to the ignominious expedient of raffling his horses and carriages. . . .

WHAT BENGAL WANTS.

Unfavourable surroundings and the immense growth of harassing routine work have reacted most disastrously on the administration. Scarcely anything is done to develop the natural resources of the province or rescue the seething masses of semi-barbarians from the grasp of the village Shylock. What Bengal, indeed, wants, is not the cadastral surveyor, the law-giver, or even the schoolmaster, but the civil engineer. She cries for drainage in the fever-haunted central districts. The Rajapore scheme, one of the few carried out during the last ten years, pays 20 per cent., and I could point to scores of better ones. She cries for pure water, bridges, and roads everywhere. In the Chittagong district there are millions of acres of deep loam covered with jungle; while Behar and the Santal Parganas cannot maintain their population. And how utterly erroneous is our whole educational system! A late High Court judge once remarked to me that the Secretariat and the Education Department were the two *vers rongeurs* of the Civil Service. He said that the "schoolmasters" from England who, in point of birth and attainments, were not at all behind civilians, found themselves branded as "uncovenanted," and the bitterness and jealousy thus engendered reacted strongly on their teachings. And we have given the disaffected throughout the peninsula a *lingua franca* in which to communicate their hopes and plottings. Yearly do our schools and colleges convert thousands of youths who would have been happy and useful at the paternal plough-tail into abject office-seekers or sullen Adullamites. The rich and beautiful vernaculars have been shamefully neglected. The whole provincial allotment for fostering them is, I believe, Rs. 10,000 annually. District technical education, which I laboured so hard to promote eight years ago, is persistently discouraged.

It is now almost too late to seek an effectual remedy for abuses so inveterate. I would, however, suggest that some

good might be effected by the conversion of the Board of Revenue into an executive council. I mean no disrespect to my old friends who are, for the moment, guiding the destinies of that venerable craft; but the truth must be told. It is costly, cumbrous, and antiquated; while, as it is frequently in conflict with the Lieutenant-Governor, it is a source of positive weakness. . . .

THE SIMLA "EXODUS."

And what shall I say of the annual migration to Simla, which has been imitated by provincial Governments of all degrees? It is an abuse which has been endured only because it has grown imperceptibly, and so many are interested in maintaining it. That it should have sucked the life blood of the administration for thirty years will not be credited by our successors a generation hence. If only for the sake of public morality, toleration should no longer be extended to the almost universal craving to avoid the inconveniences of a residence in the plains. What a spectacle does this blunted sense of public duty on the part of scores of high officials afford to the people of India! Few who have not repeatedly visited Simla, as I have done, are aware of the extent of the evil. I have taken the trouble to count in the Simla directory the number of European and Eurasian subordinates of the Government of India alone who summer there. It is precisely 444, and this in addition to perhaps three times the number of babus who are dragged there annually much against their will, and consoled for chattering teeth and being packed like herrings by handsome "hill allowances." The gross cost to the State of the fittings to half a score of sanatoria must be something enormous; but the skilful juggling in the annual accounts baffles the too curious inquirer.

Now, I am not an opponent *quand même* of the Simla exodus. It is vain to point to Cornwallis and Wellesley toiling for years in the swamps, for had they possessed a European climate within a few hours of Calcutta they would not have been content with Government House and Barrackpore. I think that viceroys, lieutenant-governors, and their advisers, on whom depend such vital interests, are entitled to the best and healthiest surroundings procurable. But what claim have such departments as those in the following list to bury themselves for three-fourths of the year in the bowels of the Himalayas?

Superintendent of Thuggee and Dacoity.
Inspector-General of Imperial Service Troops.
Military Accountant-General.
Ordnance Department.
Commissary-General.
Examiner of Military Works Accounts.
Director, Military Works.
Accountant-General, Military Department.
Meteorological Department.
Surveyor-General Department.
Remount Agency.
Veterinary Department.
Postal Department.
Telegraph Department.

It is very clear that the heads of these branches of the administration would be much better employed for nine months of the year in tours of inspection; while their office establishments would be more appropriately located at Calcutta, Allahabad, or Poona. Whenever this great official Babylon has burst on my view, its hillside studded with buildings devoted to the secretariats and erected at a cost out of proportion even to their enormous bulk, my mind's eye has called up those annexes of the chateau of Versailles which dwarf the palace itself. Here, under the old *régime*, the entire public business of France was concentrated. To the baleful bureaucracy which tenanted them was due the paralysis which fell on the kingdom in 1792 and led to the awful excesses of the Reign of Terror.

Next in importance is a reform in the Secretariat, whose exclusive privileges have taken the heart out of the Civil Service, even as those of Napoleon the Third did out of the French army.

Secretaries must no longer be allowed to monopolise honours, pleasure, and profit, or to "run with the hare and hunt with the hounds." They should be given the option of working on salaries and leave rules similar to those which are maintained in the home Civil Service, or of taking their share of

the burden and heat of the day in the plains. Promotion to posts requiring statesmanship, such as those of lieutenant-governor and chief commissioner, should be given only to men who have passed through all stages of practical administrative work. A knowledge of mankind can never be attained by those whose duties throughout their career have been clerical, or at best literary. Such men remain doctrinaires to the end, and are either inert or mischievously active as administrators.

A PARTING GIFT OF—ADVICE.

And now, sir, you will perhaps permit me to offer a few words of advice by way of farewell to my native friends. . . . To those who desire to raise their countrymen from the slough in which they are content to wallow I would say:—Try to infuse a little more brightness and colour into the social life around you. It is incredible how dull is existence in the mofussil! . . . Encourage technical education as some relief to the eternal literary cram which is doing such vast mischief by its universality. So shall you, perchance, revive the cunning of hand and eye which made your ancestors so famous, and that artistic sense which has been killed by ages of philistinism. Use the precious years of British peace, not to conspire and complain against a Government which is the most honest the world has ever seen, but to set your own house in order, to purge your domestic surroundings of barbarism, to elevate your women, and to instil courage and bodily health into the young by promoting manly sports. There is no precedent in history for the growth of a national existence in a community of doctrinaires and bookworms. The world is for the strong, and every race ultimately gets the Government which it deserves.

THE PENALTY OF VIRTUE.

Such are the principles which, throughout my whole career, I have preached and practised. If these last words of mine sink deeply into the hearts of those who read them, I shall have done more for India by rendering it possible that I should say them publicly than by continuing to serve the State. With many shortcomings, alas, I have tried to do my duty; and if I have raised enemies in a class far too numerous in India, which resents energy and self-reliance as a reflection on their own smug mediocrity, I have, at least, the reward of my own conscience, and the inward certainty that time will do my memory justice.

Quod mihi viventi detraxerit invida turba
Post obitum duplici fenore reddet honos.

Calcutta, April 13, 1897.

F. H. SKRINE.

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

MAY, 1897.

- BLACKWOOD'S MAGAZINE. "The Queen's Own Guides Corps in India."
CHURCH MISSIONARY INTELLIGENCER. Weitbricht, Rev. Dr., "Itineration in Lyallpur, Punjab."
INDIAN MAGAZINE AND REVIEW (A. Constable and Co., 2, Whitehall Gardens, S.W.). Symonds, William Alfred, "The Palmyra and its Uses." Rogers, Alex., "The Famine in India." "Dr. J. C. Bose on Electric Waves." Muthu, Dr. Chowry, "The Science of Health."
MISSIONARY REVIEW OF THE WORLD. Chamberlain, Dr. Jacob, "Hinduism as It Is."
MONIST. Carus, Dr. Paul, "The Mythology of Buddhism."
NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW. Dufferin and Ava, Marquis of, "How India fights the Famine."
QUIVER. Woolmer, D. L., "Child Wives and Child Widows in India."
ST. MARTIN'S-LE-GRAND. Ferard, A. G., "With the Indian Mail from London to Bombay."

SCOTTISH REVIEW. "Lord Roberts in India."

SUNDAY MAGAZINE. Preston, William C., "The Holy Land of India."

UNITED SERVICE MAGAZINE. "Cordite Manufacture in India."

YOUNG MAN. Clark, F. E., "The Famine at Short Range."

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF BOOKS ON INDIAN SUBJECTS.

MAY, 1897.

- COWELL, E. B. AND THOMAS, F. W. . . . "The Harsa-Carita of Bana." (The Royal Asiatic Society) — —
CROOKE, W., Bengal Civil Service (Retired) "The North-Western Provinces of India." (Methuen) 10s. 6d.
SOUTTAR, ROBINSON, M.P. "Glimpses of our Empire." (Hodder and Stoughton) 1s. 6d.
MACLEAN, JAMES MACKENZIE, M.P. "A Guide to Bombay." (Street and Co.) Rs. 5.

RECENT OFFICIAL PUBLICATIONS.

HOUSE OF COMMONS REPORTS AND PAPERS:—

- [66.] EAST INDIA (OPIMUM)—Return of Opium Statistics, 1885-86 to 1894-95 0s. 1d.
[88.] EAST INDIA—Return relating to the Extension of Railways by Private Agency 0s. 3d.
[110.] EAST INDIA (INCOME AND EXPENDITURE)—Return of the Net Income and Expenditure of British India for the eleven years from 1885-86 to 1895-96; with Appendices 0s. 7d.

HOUSE OF COMMONS BILLS:—

- [185.] EAST INDIA COMPANY'S OFFICERS' SUPER-ANNUATION—Bill to remove doubts as to the power of the Secretary of State in Council of India to grant Superannuation and Compensation Allowances in certain cases to Officers on his Establishment 0s. 1d.

PAPERS BY COMMAND:—

- [8338.] TRADE OF BRITISH INDIA—Tables relating to the Trade of British India with British Possessions and Foreign Countries for the five years 1891-92 to 1895-96 0s. 9½d.
[8347.] PRISON-MADE GOODS (INDIA)—Correspondence between the Board of Trade and the India Office, and between the India Office and the Indian Government, on the subject of Prison-made Goods 0s. 1½d.
[8376.] "WARREN HASTINGS," WRECK OF—Reports, etc., relative to the Wreck of the Indian Transport "Warren Hastings," on the 14th January, 1897 0s. 3d.
[8379.] EAST INDIA (CONTAGIOUS DISEASES), No. 1 (1897)—Report of a Departmental Committee on the Prevalence of Venereal Disease among the British Troops in India; with Tables and Appendices. (With Chart) 0s. 6½d.

GUARDIANSHIP.—MR. C. C. ORD, M.A., of Magdalen College, and Secretary of the Appointments Committee in the University of Oxford, acts as Guardian to persons coming to England for Education, and gives information as to the methods available of Education, General and Professional. Address Secretary, INFORMATION OFFICE (opposite Examination Schools), 44, High Street, Oxford, England.—(Advt.)

Printed by A. BONNER, 1 & 2, Took's Court, E.C., and Published for the Proprietors (the Indian National Congress), at 84 and 85, Palace Chambers, London, S.W.