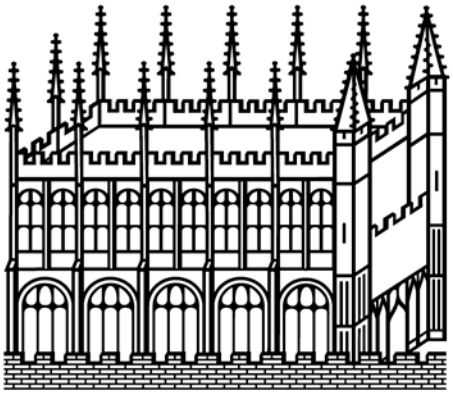

THE GENERAL ELECTION,

1885.

INDIA'S INTEREST IN THE BRITISH BALLOT BOX,

BY

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TO THE READER.

COROMANDEL, WOODVILLE ROAD,
EALING, W.,
September 18th, 1885.

BROTHER ELECTOR,

I venture to ask your attention to the facts and arguments contained in the following pages. They deal with Indian and Colonial affairs—affairs in which British electors ought to evince more interest than they do at present. My endeavour has been to put into the hands of those who bear responsibility for our rule of India and the Crown Colonies such particulars as are likely to be of value in enabling every-one who cares to know them to form some idea of the problems involved in the righteous rule of the countries mentioned. I do this with confidence. The subject upon which I address you being what it is, and the persons I address being British Electors, I have no fear that the matters put forward will be overlooked, or cast aside without consideration. Whatever faults there may be in the manner of my statement the matters themselves will, I am sure, receive consideration. I remember how keenly my countrymen resisted the stamping out of Polish nationality by the despotic empires of Europe and how warmly they sympathised with the aspirations and the efforts of the Italians to free themselves from the hateful yoke of the Austrians at Venice and of the French at Rome. Consequently, I am sure that the affairs of their fellow-subjects in India and in the Crown Colonies will not be pushed aside as of little concern, or that indifference will be felt as to the despotism which holds two hundred and five millions of the Queen's subjects in an iron vice preventing all political growth and denying to the peoples so

subjected any share in the government of their own country. The system of administration now existing in India is as certainly doomed to early overthrow as was Negro slavery in the United States when John Brown paid with his life for the gallant efforts he made for freedom at Harper's Ferry. The "signs of the times" are as clear now in India and in England as they were in the Slave States and Free States in America at that period.

The pages of this pamphlet will be found to be mainly devoted to Indian affairs. But it is not on behalf of India alone that I ask your attention. The affairs of our Crown Colonies, those Colonies being despotically ruled, as much need close overhauling in the House of Commons as do those of India. Irresponsible rule is an evil alike to rulers and to ruled. Colonial concerns *are* debated in both Houses of Parliament, and so far as this is the case there is occasion only for satisfaction. But these concerns are of a kind calculated to flatter our national pride and to appeal to our instincts as an imperial race. That which will make for Federation and will constitute the Empire one and indivisible attracts attention. Well and good. Colonial Federation, followed by Imperial Union, is most desirable so far as it is attainable by legislative ends and is workable by obvious means; no true patriot will hesitate to further this object. But what, if, when the chain is constructed, it be found that some of the links are weak and the chain breaks because the metal here and there has corroded through neglect? That event is extremely probable. We look, in our Indian and Colonial Empire, too much to what is grandiose and too little to what is useful and to what will make for the real good of the subject peoples for whose good governance the British Electors through the House of Commons are responsible.

An example of what I mean is afforded by Ceylon. In the United Kingdom the tax on bread has been removed, and a barbarous system of taxation remodelled. The House of Commons did these things. It ought to have done the same for Ceylon. The House of Commons is as much responsible for the administration of the affairs of Ceylon as it is for what

happens in the United Kingdom. Yet it has permitted the bread-tax to remain in Ceylon until this day unrepealed, and has forborne to touch the wretched and unfair system of taxation which exists there: until 1878, it permitted the bread-tax to be farmed precisely after the Herzegovinian fashion. For the continuance of unjust taxation the Colonial Office, in the major degree, is highly culpable. Forty-two or forty-three years ago, William Ewart Gladstone was Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies. He had not been in office long before he observed that the system of revenue and taxation in Ceylon presented a general character very much at variance with the more enlightened and liberal policy, financial and commercial, prevailing elsewhere in the British Dominions. To the youthful Under-Secretary as to the mature Statesman to discern an evil was to grapple with it. Mr. Gladstone wrote a despatch, which was approved by Earl Grey, Secretary of State for the Colonies, in which he stated that the time had arrived "for a revision of the present system of taxation, with a view to its adaptation to the altered circumstances and prospects of the Colony." With what result? Shortly after approval of his suggestions was expressed Mr. Gladstone ceased to be connected with the Colonial Office and has never returned thither; his despatch was pigeon-holed. Consequently we have this instructive comparison:

1843 or 1844.	1885.
Promise of Amendment.	Promise still unfulfilled and nothing done towards its fulfilment.

It remains to be seen whether a Reformed House of Commons will allow a system of taxation to continue whereby a common cooly in Colombo has to contribute annually much more than a tenth of his income—chiefly as a bread-tax and partly as a poll-tax—to the State, while all the land devoted to the growth of grain is taxed, that held by foreigners being exempted from any tax whatsoever, the poll-tax, too, being of the same amount for the poor man as for the rich man. On pp. 92 to 101 the reader will find some particulars relating to Ceylonese Food Taxation and the means whereby, without

adding any burden to the enterprising Tea or Coffee Planter, a readjustment of taxation may be made. It rests with the House of Commons,—that is to say, with every man who votes in November next,—to decide whether bread, or the staple food of a people whether that staple be rice or ragi, shall be untaxed in Britain and most heavily taxed in a British Colony. Such a question may seem small and of slight importance when proposals for Federation are in the air and on men's lips, but it were well we made our Colonies contented before we strove to cement them together. One of the first things Mr. Gladstone touched as a Minister was Ceylon taxation; may he not finish his great work as a Statesman without correcting the errors his youthful eye was quick to detect! His eye in matters financial is not dimmed nor in regard to aught for the good of humanity is his strength abated.

A British Elector may not be indifferent to the concerns of Greater Britain even if he would. The responsibility which rests upon him is too great to allow of unconcern on his part. Every voter, who, in November, will record his vote will do so not only for himself, but also on behalf of

200,000,000 British subjects in India,
3,000,000 ,, ,, in Ceylon, and
2,000,000 ,, ,, in the Crown Colonies generally

In none of these places is there the semblance even of Representative Government. The countries, one and all, are ruled by pure despotism tempered with irresponsible criticism; the rulers are liable to no punishment, let the blunders or crimes committed be what they may. Nominally the Houses of Parliament, but really and truly certain "permanent persons" in the India Office and in the Colonial Office, rule these many millions of our fellow-subjects. They do not rule them wisely; they do not rule them well. It is impossible to say of our Crown Colonies that their native inhabitants have prospered and benefited by Downing-street despotism as those British subjects have prospered and benefited to whom self-governing facilities have been granted. The time has come for a careful enquiry into Indian and Colonial Administration. British Electors, you are

begged not to forget the need of your fellow subjects under other skies, and when you record your vote in November to remember that each of you is making his mark on the ballot paper for nearly seventy others who have no vote, exclusive of non-voters in the United Kingdom.

So far as India is concerned the emergency is great. During the interregnum of power enjoyed by the Conservatives —power obtained solely owing to defects in our system of electing Parliaments which it is to be hoped will soon be remedied*—there seems every likelihood that, in India at least, the hands of the clock will be put back, military expenditure will be increased, all the bad and none of the good features of Lord Lytton's vice-royalty will be repeated. Lord Randolph Churchill's speech on August 6, as Secretary of State for India, was not only marked by violent and virulent departures from truth unusually discreditable, because in the Office he administered there were facts he ought to have known entirely disproving what he said, but it was characterized by some of the worst aspects of past Indian administration; if not checked the course indicated betokens serious evil.

Yet, more urgently and of more importance, you are asked, not merely by one who strives, as I strive, to be a riend of India, but by the Indian people themselves, to take up their cause and become their champion. I have reason to believe you will soon be addressed by certain Representative Associations in India, and asked to consider their needs and to come to their help. The plan to be adopted is described in a letter published in the *Bombay Gazette* on August 10. The writer, signing himself "English Elector," demonstrates the need for making an impression on English electors, and adds that, in his opinion, action might be taken in two ways:—

(1) Efforts should be made to inform and influence the general public, and especially the more important constituen-

* I refer to Septennial Parliaments. Were we to return to the good old constitutional practice of Triennial Parliaments it is safe to say (1) Reforms would not be so "killingly slow" as they are, and (2) more than half the misfortunes we suffer from would not occur as the Tories would not (as they now do) get into power through the loss of Liberal virtue arising from want of frequent contact with the Electors. Only twice in fifty years have the Tories been elected to office by the British people, viz., in 1841 and 1874.

cies, such as those in the manufacturing districts of the north. Great public meetings should be addressed: among the masses there is a deep sympathy with India, and an appeal on her behalf is sure to meet with a hearty and generous response. After the example of the Cobden Club, pamphlets and leaflets should also be distributed in large numbers, giving brief but clear answers, from the Indian point of view, to the practical questions of the day: *e. g.*

Why does India prefer English to Russian rule?
What is our interest in Central Asia?
Is the Indian Council a benefit to India or the reverse?
Can India be defended within her own frontier and by her own citizen soldiers?
What are the aspirations of her educated classes?
What are the causes which impede her material progress and the development of her trade with England?

On all such questions India knows best where the shoe pinches, and can tell England what is the policy which is the most just and at the same time the most safe. In the solution of these difficulties England is as much interested as India. For any one who has studied the question must see that India is the pivot upon which the whole foreign policy of England turns. If we have been in trouble in Afghanistan, in Egypt, in the Soudan, in Central Asia, it is because we have been led there for the supposed defence of India. If in these enterprises we have uselessly squandered many lives and much money, it is because we have not yet abandoned an old and mischievous policy of suspicion, treating India as a sort of powder magazine which no stranger can safely be allowed to approach. But if the English people will listen to wiser counsels, if they will understand that the real defence of India consists in gaining the good-will and approval of this vast but reasonable and docile population, then indeed the whole situation becomes changed. India, instead of being a point of weakness, will, with her marvellous resources, become a tower of strength. By a just and sympathetic policy the friendly feeling now existing will become confirmed as a permanent national sentiment, and the two countries will be linked together in a partnership of common interest and mutual goodwill.

(2) So much with regard to an appeal to the general English public. But it is equally necessary that those constituencies should be specially addressed where the candidates are men who have shown themselves either friends or "unfriends" of India. Mr. Slagg, Mr. Digby, Sir John Phear, and others have performed most valuable services to India, and both from gratitude and self-interest the people are

bound to do what they can to secure their return. It seems therefore natural and proper that they should assure the electors that the views held by these gentlemen are those approved by the intelligent classes out here, and that if these views are acted on the country will be contented and prosperous. On the other hand, there are candidates, like Sir Richard Temple, who do not enjoy the confidence of the Indian people; but who, on the strength of the high offices they held out there, put themselves forward as authorities on Indian subjects, aspiring probably to higher office still. In such cases it is proposed to tell the electors that the people of India do not wish to say anything with regard to these gentlemen personally, or as to their general politics; but for self-protection they must repudiate them as friends of the Indian people and as exponents of a sound Indian policy. By such a procedure the hands of India's real friends will be strengthened, while the wolves in sheep's clothing will be stripped of their outer garment before the eyes of an admiring public. And great indirect benefit will accrue if the results of even a single election can be affected. For candidates will then understand that they cannot afford to neglect Indian questions, and even those least altruistic by nature will think it worth their while to get up Indian questions and personally to conciliate the good-will of the Indian people.

This counsel has proved acceptable to Native-Indian Reformers, to the large number of Indian Liberals throughout the Continent, and, probably, action in the various directions suggested will speedily be undertaken. Englishmen have never yet turned a deaf ear to such an appeal; if it be made I, for one, am certain, it will be heeded.

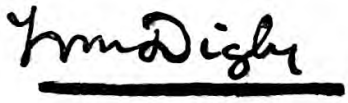
May I, therefore, ask you, to carefully consider what is set forth in the pages of this pamphlet? I venture, further, to hope the result of such consideration may determine you to press upon those who seek your suffrages the desirability of pledging themselves to an enquiry—

1. Into past and present administration of India, Ceylon, and the Crown Colonies as a whole; and
2. Into the possibility of early readjustment of administrative arrangements, whereby Despotism shall be replaced by Constitutionalism, alike in India and in our Crown Colonies generally.

In so doing you will largely contribute towards the consolidation of the great Empire of which all British subjects are proud; will do much to remove the dissatisfaction now prevalent in all quarters of the British globe; and will so strengthen every part of the Empire from within that of all and every portion of it Shakespeare's words will become literally true:

> "Come the three corners of the world in arms,
> And we shall shock them."

I am, your Obedient Servant,



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For good or for evil, in all probability for good, India and the consideration of Indian questions have passed into the domain of British Party politics. Affairs of the highest importance to our fellow-subjects in India will no longer occupy that "no man's land" which lies between the two great Parties in the State—a region wherein a state of suspended animation marks all that misfortune or indifference drives thither. A living subject introduced into the atmosphere of the "no man's land" of politics instantly becomes comatose. Indian questions have, by consent of Liberals and Conservatives alike, and generally from the highest motives, long remained in a place where no political summer comes to stimulate growth and ripen for harvest. Liberals have consented to this condition of things out of the intense interest they have felt in Indian affairs and from their desire that questions of such magnitude as those affecting our Eastern Empire should receive the united consideration of the political England of both Parties. Excess of affection on their part has destroyed the life they desired to cherish. Conservatives, on the other hand, have—until this present year—objected to India being made a Party question because they have regarded the administration of that country in all its particulars as the Duke of Wellington regarded the British Constitution in the old days of rotten boroughs and unreformed Corporations; the Duke was accustomed to observe that if a Constitution were to descend from Heaven, complete in all its parts, it could not be more perfect than was the British Constitution *ante* 1832. With like adoration most Conservatives and not a few Liberals have been in the habit of regarding the British administration of India.

Those days are past, never to return. As is now customary in English politics it is the Conservative Party which has, with the full approval of one of its chief newspapers,* made the revolution. Whilst Mr. Trevelyan argues for proceeding along the old paths and deprecates the Indian Civil Service becoming partizan,† Lord Randolph Churchill, the Tory-Democratic Secretary of State of four weeks' standing, breaks down the barriers, and when the Indian Financial Statement for 1884-85 and the Estimates for 1885-86 were introduced into the House of Commons on August 6th, India was, once for all, brought into the sphere of British Parties.

"For this relief, much thanks!" One certain consequence will be that greater vivacity, it may be no little violence, will mark the discussion of Indian questions. There will be some loss, but this will be counterbalanced by much greater gain. The increased vigour of treatment, while far from pleasing while it lasts, will be followed by some action, by some progress. Hitherto, Indian questions have been regarded from a theoretical standpoint: hence they have excited no enthusiasm and have not been the subject of beneficial change. Henceforward, they will share the fate of British politics. Much will be said about them and their promoters, in the heat of public discussion, of a regrettable character; much dust of a blinding and choking kind will, for a time, fill the political atmosphere. In the meanwhile the particular matter under discussion will have become a Party

* "It is, we know, the fashion of Indian administrators to insist on the severance of Indian administration from questions of Party politics. . . . *Now that the pressure of constituencies is essential before any question receives due consideration in the House, it is more than all requisite that India should be brought into the arena of Party politics.* . . . . Lord Randolph Churchill was perfectly right in importing into his financial statement party and somewhat personal arguments." —*Saturday Review*, Aug. 15, 1885.

† "It is a new thing, and one most deeply to be regretted, that Party politics should hold a very general sway in the Indian Civil Service. In the old days of that Service men were comparatively indifferent to Party politics, for the most honorable of reasons, because all their attention and interest was concentrated on the work of Indian administration. But of late, there has been an organized attempt to make Conservative opinions fashionable and prevalent in the Indian Civil Service just as they are in certain bodies and Corporations at home; and this attempt if successful, will constitute a terrible danger for India. We can afford to have the Stock Exchange Tory. We can afford to have the Corporation of London Tory. We can even afford to have the Church of England Tory, though perhaps in the end the Church will not be able to afford it itself. But we cannot afford to have Party politics dominant in the Indian Civil Service, and least of all a form of politics not held by the majority of our countrymen at home, and not in favour with that portion of the Native population which interests itself in the proceedings of Parliament. To range itself under either of our Party banners would be only a degradation to that famous service which had once, and I hope long will have, the tradition of a nobler form of politics—the politics of Metcalfe and Mountstuart Elphinstone and Grant and Lawrence—the devotion of health and strength, of every thought and every faculty, to the service of India, and through her to the service of their country."—*G. O. Trevelyan, M.P., at the Eighty Club Dinner*, July, 1885.

Question,—the Leaders on the Liberal side will advocate it, stake the existence of their administration upon it: the Conservatives will stoutly denounce what is proposed, will see "red ruin and the breaking up of laws" in the suggested reform, will stigmatize it on platform, in the Press, and from the Opposition benches of the Houses of Parliament. One of two things will happen. Either the Liberals will carry the reform, as they have carried so many reforms during the past fifty years; or, they will, having borne the burden and heat of the day of agitation, having, by infinite toil, brought the question to a point where practical consequences are possible, fall victims to a Parliamentary combination, retire temporarily from office, and from the left of the Speaker, see the Conservatives carry, in an enlarged form, the reform hitherto decried and denounced, once again as so often before becoming more liberal than the Liberals. But, at what sacrifice of principle! At what weakening of moral fibre! Anyway, the Indian people gain, progress is reported, liberty is enlarged, and therewith and thereby occasion for contentment arises.

Nevertheless, let the fact always be borne in mind, that Indian reform is altogether impossible, does not come within the range of practical politics, save on the double condition that it becomes a Party question and is due to the initiation of Liberals. None but Liberals are prepared for the annoyance, vexation, misrepresentation, misunderstanding, which always accompany the initiation of reform — whether for one's own country or for another. An examination of the list of candidates now before the electors of Great Britain shows that there are between twenty and thirty who, in one way or another, may be said, either from official or non-official connection with India, to be representative of that country. Two-thirds of these are Liberal; those who are Conservative are, with one exception, known to be hostile to reform in Indian Administration in a sense likely to be acceptable to native Indians. Only one of the Candidates, and he a Liberal, has made his connection with India and his desires for Indian reform, a claim on the electors for support, or has made the stoutest planks of an indicated platform out of certain specified objects for India. In this calculation, Mr. Lal Mohun Ghose, the Liberal Candidate for Deptford, is not reckoned, his position being exceptional.

There are many reasons why an appeal to British Electors

should be made at this present moment. Lord Ripon has not created a new India, but he has actually done the next thing to creation. He has breathed upon a valley of dry bones and bidden them live. The dry bones have heard him, have felt the influence imparted, and, in the words of the Prophet, they live, and stand upon their feet, an exceeding great army. By the supremely wise administration which characterised the period of his viceroyalty in India, and especially by the spirit which he evoked among the two hundred millions of our fellow subjects in that great Empire, India no longer stands where she did. She has stepped from the morass of indifference as to the conditions under which she is ruled, and now stands on firmer ground, instinct with desires for self-rule, profoundly loyal to the British authority, and penetrated with a determination no longer to be confined in swaddling bands but to obtain and to exercise influence in the government of her own land. This must be apparent to the most sceptical of observers. Sir Auckland Colvin, Finance Minister in India, himself a civilian, not the least eminent in a family of East Indian Civil Servants, shortly after Lord Ripon's departure from India, and with relation to the unexampled tribute paid to the departing Viceroy, wrote a remarkable article for an Indian journal, the tenour of which may be judged (1) from the title, "If it be Real—What does it Mean?" and (2) from the following passages:—

"So far from being superficial, the demonstrations now being made throughout the country are significant of a profound change which for many years has been preparing itself, and which the incidents of Lord Ripon's administration, more particularly those connected with the passing of the Criminal Procedure Bill, have brought into the foreground of events." . . . .

"It will be asked, why, if such a general change was occurring, Englishmen in India failed to be conscious of it? At any time a great administrative service, whether it be that of the Napoleonic Prefecture, or of the Indian Civil Service, is, from the nature of its existence, unwilling to recognize progress, other than that which it has itself promoted and presided over. Still more is this the case when outward and visible signs give little indication of the maturity of the seed which is rapidly ripening underground. It is very natural and very reasonable to question the accuracy of assertions that great changes are taking place, when as yet those changes are in the earlier stages of accomplishment. In India there are several reasons to explain why the recognition of the organic change which has occurred should have been exceptionally difficult. So far as could be seen, it was mostly confined, for example, to isolated centres with which the mass of the English

official world were rarely brought into contact. In outlying tracts or in provincial towns little of it met the eye. Native officials trained under the old school—the class in closest contact with members of the Civil Service—had little sympathy with the new ideas, even had they succeeded in understanding them. The very rapidity with which the Empire was acquired, and the deep veneration with which the names of those associated with its earlier development, and with the method of administration known as 'a benevolent despotism' are regarded, blinded officials, the conditions of whose existence predisposed them to such blindness, to what was taking place about them. The large section of Indian society, which is dominated by military opinion, was averse to recognize an order of things which was profoundly incompatible with the notions of discipline and subordination, inseparable from military habits of thought. Finally, the commercial and mercantile world is rarely inclined, or were it inclined, has rarely the leisure, to raise its head from its desk, or to ask itself what is passing beyond the sombre precincts of the Counting house.

"We come next to the criticism that the movement is greatly exaggerated. To those conversant with native society in the presidency towns of India, or in such cities as Poona, Allahabad, or Lucknow, the change in native thought and native life is, for the most part, obvious. But even others, who have more restricted means of observation, must be aware how greatly the habit of seeking an education in England has of late years extended. In remote districts, where thirty years ago the Hindu of the old type lived quietly among his retainers, his son visits but occasionally the home, which residence of several years in England has taught him to regard with distaste. Muhammadans are flowing in ever increasing numbers to the English Colleges and Universities. The rapid development of railways is facilitating the interchange of ideas among all classes of the native community, and the beat of the engine is breaking down barriers which the voices of many missionaries were impotent to remove. Like the first flushings of dawn at the immediate advent of an eastern day, a glow of enlightenment, still tremulous and tentative, but growing ever warmer and warmer as the horizon clears before it, is visible throughout the land. Religions, it has been said, are disused, not disproved; civilization, similarly is of inhalation, not merely of instruction; and its progress in India is far more rapid than by any process of mere education could have been attained. A vernacular literature, rough, crude, and in embryo, no doubt, but full of energy and full of aspirations, is rapidly assuming very considerable proportions. Pamphlets on economic questions, such as that of Saiad Muhammad Husein on agricultural economy; on policy, as the pamphlet recently published by Sir Madhava Rao; or, more important still, on social and domestic reform, such as the writings of Mr. Behramji Malabari, are circulated broadcast about the country. The reports brought back by those who go to England, of the consideration conceded to them by the English, and the contrast they find on their return, has created a profound conviction that the attitude of Englishmen in India towards them is local only, and is not shared by the mass of the English. With that conviction has come the desire to resist, and to induce a change in an attitude believed to be humiliating and unauthorized. In a thoughtful article which

appeared in the *Aligarh Institute Gazette* of the 25th November, the writer has dwelt much on this particular aspect of the case. His point is that the nature of the difference between yesterday and to-day, is that yesterday the native respected authority only, whereas to-day, though he respects authority, no less has he learnt also to respect himself. Self-respect, or the sense of what is due to one's self, follows necessarily on the consciousness of exertion and improvement. The writer concedes to the English the entire credit of having, by their policy, conferred on the people of India this boon; but he holds that the boon is irrevocable and has become a grave political force. Few will be found to deny the truth of Sir John Strachey's assertion that 'the England of Queen Anne was hardly more different from the England of to-day, than the India of Lord Ellenborough from the India of Lord Ripon.' Yet what, in material affairs, is so obvious, meets with absolute scepticism or angry denial in respect of moral, social, or intellectual advancement. Sir John Strachey, indeed, though he dealt immediately with the material side or the subject, was careful to add that India had 'gone on, with a speed hardly surpassed in any country, steadily increasing in knowledge and in wealth, and in all the elements of progress.' . . . .

"We have to ask ourselves whether it is only the natives of India who have to be educated, or whether we ourselves have not much to forget and much to learn? Have we not ourselves to forget so much of the old system as made for mere repression? Have we, alone of all men, not to learn that as the times change we must change with them? It seems, indeed, but a truism to affirm that the genius of our nation in India must conform itself to the requirements of progressive days. The task of the present generation is, unquestionably, far more difficult and far more delicate than that which awaited their predecessors. To bind is easy; to unloose, inspire, and encourage in the conduct of a new departure requires an infinite skill. The business of the last generation was to restrain; the problem which lies before that of the present day is to guide. The experiment of British rule in India, conducted, as it must be, in conformity with these fundamental principles of equity and freedom which are the divine fire entrusted to the Anglo-Saxon race, and carried out as it equally must be, in the presence of a free Parliament and a free Press, is thus entering upon a most critical state. The creative, adaptive, and plastic skill with which the Sclavonic races are exclusively credited is what we now in India especially need; and time only can show whether we possess it; or whether, from the failure in this regard with which, among the nations of Europe we are generally reproached, and from blind veneration of an old Olympus, with its demigods and its honoured myths, we are destined to bring affairs to such an *impasse* as to lead to events the gravity of which it is impossible to exaggerate. 'Our fathers worshipped in this mountain,' it is admitted, and to criticise the creed of our fore-fathers may seem presumptuous; but, unless we choose, with the Samaritan, to be content with such truth as lingers among the ancient hill-tops, we must submit to be searchers for that spirit of time to which the present days are bringing us. . . . .

"Lord Ripon, if he could boast no practical experience of India, brought at least an eye unobscured by impressions received from them of old time, unclouded

by the trite results of such limited personal experience as falls within the opportunities of most Englishmen in India. 'Lookers on' says the adage, 'see most of the game;' and so far as the game is played between natives of India and Englishmen resident in India, Lord Ripon may be said, during the comparatively limited term of Viceregal office, to have been in the position of a looker-on. To him on arrival it may have seemed only too clear that a stage of progress had been reached which was unrecognised by most of those habituated to residence in the country, He would have discerned this, not from any superior insight, but simply from his position as an outsider, fresh to the scene and deeply interested in understanding and interpreting what was passing. The determined opposition to his policy among the English in India may in great part be because each has approached the question from an opposite quarter. It is, very probably, in great part, not a difference, so much of view, as of point of view. A policy of self-development, of local self-help, of educational extension, of free trade, of recognising and conceding a generous sympathy to the aspirations he saw everywhere about him, must have seemed to the Viceroy as much the legitimate and irresistible outcome of the conditions which he diagnosed, as *stare super antiquas vias* seemed to his opponents to be still the highest wisdom. Is it not because of this fact, that what others did not or would not recognise Lord Ripon, from the vantage ground of his standing point, admitted and allowed, that the native mind has shown itself so conscious of his good-will towards it; and on the occasion of his departure has exhibited the extraordinary enthusiasm which is making even the dullest sleeper turn uneasily on his pillow? If this is not the true explanation, it would be curious to learn what other is true. That the explanation is reasonable it has been the object of these remarks to show; that it is correct we have the assurance of the best organs of the Native Press, which, if they do not trace, as has been here done, the philosophy of the movement, are unanimously in agreement as to its immediate cause. If a man will ask himself whether it is in the power of any individual to create an unbounded enthusiasm for which there exist no materials,—whether a mine can be fired before it has been laid—he will have some idea of the unreasonableness of supposing that what is passing under our eyes is mere moonshine—that a *consensus* of Anglo-Indian opinion (even did it exist) is necessarily a final verdict, and that Lord Ripon is a mere dreamer and a visionary."

There is absolutely no possibility of reform which shall, in a sense, place India in a different groove to that in which she now moves, save through the instrumentality of the House of Commons; that is to say, through the instrumentality of the English people: to be more definite still, through the efforts of the Liberal Party. The work of reform cannot be done by the people of India: they have no means of making their voice heard or their power felt. They can furnish facts for the fighters; they can, in a variety of ways, back those who advocate their claims in England. More than this, at present, they

cannot do. If an enlightened statesman like Lord Ripon initiates beneficial change in Indian affairs, he finds the Secretary of State's Council at the India Office in Whitehall offer the most vehement and effectual opposition: instances in proof thereof will be quoted in later pages. Therefore, though we send our best men to Calcutta, and though they see the need for change, and the way to bring it about, they find themselves powerless to do much good. Indeed, the burden of Empire placed upon the shoulders of a Viceroy is too great to be borne, while he is so buttressed with "interests,' all crying, not for preservation, (things have not, alas! got as far as that in the way of reform in India),—but for extension, for consolidation, and he is so hampered by the unreasoning clamour of eight out of ten Britons in the country, official and unofficial alike, that "biting a file" must seem to be a mode of obtaining nutritious food to a reforming Viceroy when he deals with essentials in Indian administration and regards the results he is able to achieve. As for the India Office itself it is equally futile to look to that Palace of Obstruction and Routine for an appreciation of any situation involving change. It is capable of office work and that is all. It can docket documents with precision and publish them at a "killingly slow" rate. It is incapable of initiation. So, at least, say they who know it best. No one is, or could be, better acquainted with what the India Office can or can not do than Sir Louis Mallet, for many years Permanent Under Secretary for India. He has left it on record, in a document presented to the House of Commons and published in due course, that "if there is any one thing which is wanting in any investigation of Indian problems, it is an approach to trustworthy and generally accepted facts." He adds, "there is hardly a subject upon which the best authorities do not absolutely disagree as to the fundamental facts. I could mention the most startling instances, but they must be present to the minds of all of us [members of the Indian Council.] Now, I am compelled to say that, since I have been connected with the India Office, I have found just as strong a repugnance to the adoption of any adequate measures for the collection of a comprehensive and well digested set of facts as to the recognition of general principles." In advocating the preparation of this set of facts he "encountered the vehement opposition of some members of Council."

To Liberal Reformers, to the Electors of the United

Kingdom and Ireland, and to the House of Commons, therefore, are we, of necessity, driven in advocating the cause of Indian Reform. These constitute a trinity of power that will, if it be properly informed and adequately roused, prove irresistible.

As regards Liberal Reformers, the feeling of hopelessness which so long dominated their minds in respect to the vastness, complexity, and difficulty of Indian affairs is giving way. It is now realised that there are certain broad principles of progress in Indian administration as in English, that these may be readily grasped and effort freely undertaken with regard to them. So strongly and so widely prevalent is this view becoming that, ere long, it may be anticipated special broadly defined Indian reforms will take a regular place in the programmes discussed on Liberal platforms. For example, here are four; not one of them exhibits difficulties which could not be made plain to the meanest comprehension at the cost of very little effort:—

1. Reform in the Civil Service, whereby the way shall be made easy for Natives of capacity, without needing to come to England for education, to enter that Service:
2. The establishment, in the various Presidencies and Provinces, of Legislative Assemblies, partly nominated and partly elective, in which large powers of control over finance shall be given:
3. Army Reform, whereby the Imperial and Native Armies shall be amalgamated, to the increased advantage of the State from an offensive and defensive point of view, and great saving in expenditure ensured: and
4. Improved relations established between, and a juster policy exhibited towards, the Native-Indian States by the Paramount Power.

Of the Electors there is abundant hope,—nay, more than hope: there is ground for confidence. The late Mr. Fawcett, M.P., is renowned throughout the British Empire, among the rank and file of the Anglo-Saxon race, not because of his high scholastic attainments or for his keen appreciation of economic principles, but because he was "Member for India." It was as "Member for India" that the Liberal electors of Hackney provided him with a seat when Brighton Conservatives

ejected him from the representation of their borough. A like constituency has welcomed a Bengali for its candidate; and everywhere when those, who on public platforms, address the electors speak with knowledge on Indian affairs they are listened to with attention of the most absorbing character. Properly approached, in spite of the many objects of reform directly affecting itself, the British electorate is ready to give itself with enthusiasm to Indian work.

As for the House of Commons,—here at first-sight might appear an obstacle to reform. The House on an Indian Budget night has become proverbial for emptiness and unconcern. The House of Commons, however, is what the Commons of England make it. Should they send to St. Stephen's as their representatives men who are earnest and energetic in the cause of India, the Secretary of State for India, on Budget night, would have as good an audience as the English Chancellor of the Exchequer has when he brings forward his Statement of Ways and Means,—that is, so long as the House of Commons is concerned with Indian finances. May the time soon come when Indian finance shall be as much heard of in Parliament as is Australian finance—that is, not at all! Even now, however, the House of Commons is potent in Indian affairs, and the influence wielded by a Member of Parliament, if he cares to exercise it, is very great indeed. The Secretary of State for India, speaking on the 6th of August in this year, referred to improved administration of Indian gaols, and said, "If there has been, as undoubtedly there has been, a great improvement in the management of Indian gaols, and if more humane methods have been introduced, it is entirely owing to the continual repetition of questions by the hon. member for Dungarvan. That is only one instance. I could cite others." All that is required to secure the close attention of the House of Commons to Indian affairs is—1st (shame that it should be first!), To make Indian questions Party questions; and 2nd, That they should be presented in such a way as to be easily and readily understood. These points considered and due allowance made therefor, the cry that the House of Commons cares naught for Indian questions will cease to be heard, and the time will be hastened when, having paid due and proper attention to Indian affairs the British Parliament will no longer be troubled by them: those most concerned in the affairs will be found fitted to under-

take their management, and will, as a matter of consequence, be entrusted with them.

Indian questions need to be popularized. The main facts of the Empire's administration must be familiarized, must be boiled down and rendered easily digestible, if they are to be generally understood by busy men who are unable themselves to study the voluminous documents containing the story year by year of what is attempted and what is accomplished in India. Can this be done? The writer of these lines, for his part, thinks it can, and hopes to see it undertaken by competent hands. Meanwhile he submits a humble essay in the direction described. And, partly because the record is a triumph for Liberal principles as applied to India, it is his purpose to lay before the Electors of Great Britain — that is to say, before such as care for a knowledge of Indian affairs, happily a daily increasing number—a statement of Lord Ripon's administration of India in all its varied departments, followed by a presentation of both sides of the shield, showing alike the good and the evil of our conquest and occupation of India. The record of Lord Ripon's achievements indicates what wise Liberal legislation can do for India. The work done reveals the lines on which Indian reform must in future proceed, accentuating certain features and replacing others by new lines of progress. There must be no slavish imitation of what Lord Ripon did. Indeed, that is impossible. Some of the things done—*ex. gr.* the removal of repressive legislation from native-Indian journalism and the triumph of a free trade policy—have been done once for all. They stand as landmarks in history. Where Lord Ripon's administration has proved to be of greatest value is in the influence it has had upon the Empire as a whole. When the Russo-Afghan crisis occurred and Princes and People vied one with the other in demonstrations of sincerest loyalty, placing the resources of the State and of the individual at the Viceroy's service, when the whole Empire stirred itself as one man to resist the Muscovite foe, when it was seen that the influence of one Liberal statesman possessing courage to carry out a policy which regarded the interest of the great body of the people was of more value to the Empire than two Army Corps, then, indeed, were the mode and matter of Liberal Reform for and in India amply justified, and the foolish cries of the Mrs. Partingtons of the English and Anglo-

Indian press conclusively silenced and those who cried aloud and spared not put to open shame. The addition of one hundred thousand British troops to our forces in India—the native Indians remaining in the state of mind in which they were at the end of Lord Lytton's period of rule—would not have made India one half so strong to resist the Russians or any other foe as the Empire was in the Spring of 1885 as the consequence of Lord Ripon's far-seeing and eminently Liberal governance during the preceding five years. Therefore it is that, in an an attempt to popularize Indian questions, special attention will be given to Lord Ripon's Viceroyalty.

In what condition did Lord Ripon find the Empire he was called upon to govern? In his own words, uttered at Bolton on August 24th last, he found the country engaged in a great and harassing war. "Some sixty thousand men," he adds, "were across the British frontier. It was impossible at that time to recruit our vast native army, for recruiting had ceased in India; and, although the Government which preceded me had resorted to the unusual—I believe unprecedented—attempt of offering a bounty for recruits, they could not even by that process get any number of men. The orders had actually been issued by my predecessor to withdraw our troops from Eastern Afghanistan, to withdraw them from Kabul, and from that part of the country with the utmost possible speed compatible with safety, and without waiting, if it should not be possible to bring about that consummation immediately, the establishment of a stable Government in that country, which we had reduced to anarchy by our invasion. I found established as the nominal ruler a man of straw, with no influence in the country. I found a vast expenditure of money going on which reached a sum of more than fifteen millions sterling. I found useful work and productive expenditure suspended in every direction. I found, besides, a fettered Press and a general feeling of dissatisfaction and uneasiness spread throughout the country, which led to most exaggerated alarms with respect to our financial and military positions." A serious heritage indeed, and in every respect as bad as the words just quoted make it appear to be.

I.—FINANCE.

In taking up the *rôle* of Indian Reformer, Mr. Fawcett devoted his attention almost exclusively to financial affairs. He rightly discerned that herein lay the core of the whole matter. In respect to Finance Lord Ripon's administration did excellently.

There are few countries in the world so poor as India, where the difficulty of raising revenue is so great. Nearly five-sevenths of the people are engaged in or interested in agriculture: the cropping from the fields is very poor in yield owing to the poverty of the agriculturists who but poorly manure their land. If that were not done in India which is unknown in any other civilized country, viz., (1) nationalization of the land and the collection by the authorities of the rent of the land as a tax, and (2) the undertaking of private trade in the shape of the growth and disposal of opium, on which a duty often exceeding 200 per cent. on the cost of production is levied, it is not going too far to say that means to supply the requirements of good government and the immense cost of a foreign administration could not be found. But for the forcible appropriation of what in other countries is left to fructify in the hands of private citizens, the whole machinery of administration would collapse. The Indian Government stands in the unique positions of Landowner, Trader, and Governor. In each of these aspects it receives and spends money which, otherwise, would pass through the hands of several classes and in so passing would enrich the community in many ways. The peculiar condition of Indian finance has never been adequately realized—in this country at least. A comparatively small sum is raised by taxation properly so-called. Nearly half the net revenue is raised from rent of land. Were the rent of English cultivated land appropriated in like manner, and a trade monopoly retained in the hands of the Government, the revenue would be annually increased by the sum of £87,000,000, being £60,000,000 so-called Land Tax, and £27,000,000 the equivalent for the Opium Revenue. What is more, the sixty millions would be obtained from an area only

one-seventh that of British India whence twenty-two millions of pounds sterling are with difficulty, and at the cost of much suffering, obtained. During the past forty years the Indian revenue has risen nearly fifty per cent.: the English revenue has increased in the same period by a like proportion. In England there has been a gross remission of taxation amounting to nearly seventy-five millions, while the National Debt has been reduced by many millions; in India until within the past few years remission of taxation was not dreamt of as a remote possibility, while in respect to National Indebtedness there has, in the period, been a leap from £35,790,000 to £159,270,000. During forty-five years' administration there have been eighteen years of surplus and twenty-sevenof deficit, thus,—

Twenty-seven years of Deficit	£79,903,000
Eighteen years of Surplus..	24,063,000
Net Deficit	£55,840,000

It is a significant fact that the surpluses have, in a majority of instances, coincided with the administration of a Liberal Viceroy,—as in Lord Ripon's case: three years of surplus, one of deficit; and in Lord Northbrook's, likewise three of surplus, one of deficit. With Lord Randolph Churchill, Secretary of State for India, a new era of deficit has been opened: should the Conservatives obtain a majority at the General Election it is safe to predict that the era will last as long as their administration and as much longer as it will take their opponents to remedy, to reorganise, and to put straight the extravagance and disorganisation which they will inherit.

"I declare that I have endeavoured to contemplate the action of the late Government of India without any Party passion at all. I found in it not one redeeming feature. It was so clumsily, so stupidly, handled that progress has been thrown back almost for a generation; and, having to place these results before the House of Commons in the practical matter of fact form of figures and finances, I disown and repudiate on the part of the present Government all responsibility of any sort or kind for that policy, and I hold up that Viceroyalty and the Govern-

ment which adopted it, to the censure and the condemnation of the British and Indian Peoples."—*Lord Randolph Churchill*, Aug. 6, 1885.

Thus far malignant Party venom. "The coin is spurious, nail it down." The reader will please pass from such frenzied, forcibly-feeble statements to the following narrative of facts, all of which find record in the various publications issued from the India Office.

In taking office in 1880, Lord Ripon found himself in the same position as did his Liberal colleagues in Downing Street, when, in the same year, they succeeded the administration of Lord Beaconsfield. Financial affairs at Calcutta as in London were in a muddled and disorganised condition. There was, however, this difference,—Lord Ripon had, by far, the greater difficulties to contend with. The Finance Minister (Sir John Strachey) estimated the cost for that year of the war with Afghanistan at £4,060,000; the actual cost was £10,364,497; the difference was £6,304,497! The Conservatives are, to put the fact as pleasantly as possible, exceedingly unfortunate in their finance, both in England and in India, especially in India. Liberal administration means, in the East as in the West, an almost invariable surplus in each year's accounts; Conservative administration exhibits almost exactly the opposite feature: the two deficits which appear in the Accounts during the Ripon *régime* were both legacies from Lord Lytton and his Finance Minister. Eliminating from the statement the War Expenditure of his predecessors, every year but one of Lord Ripon's Viceroyalty showed a surplus. Briefly put, the results of Lord Ripon's finance may be thus stated:—

Year.	Surplus.	Year.	Deficit.
1881—82 ..	£2,582,727	1884—85 ..	£710,000
1882—83 ..	706,633		
1883—84 ..	1,357,000		
Total ..	£4,646,360		

Net increase of Surpluses over Deficit, £3,936,360, or nearly one million per annum.

To put the matter in this bare form however is to do Lord Ripon and his Finance Minister* far less than justice. They

* The Finance Minister of India during the greater part of Lord Ripon's Administration, was Sir Evelyn Baring. To Sir Evelyn, the ex-Viceroy has publicly paid the following tribute:—"As soon as peace was fully re-established in India and our expenditure was brought down to a normal

abolished Customs Duties, making India the most perfect Free Trade country in the world; they reduced taxation on a prime necessity of life and made it more readily available to consumers; they resisted unfair impositions which the British Government desired to put upon them, steadily resisting pressure when the India Office weakly yielded; while they acted justly and generously towards the Provincial Governments. Regarded from the point of view of sound finance, involving in this remark that every department was maintained in a condition of great efficiency, Lord Ripon's financial administration is deserving of the highest praise. Some particulars may be given to show the sound, cautious, and statesmanlike principles accepted and acted upon.

1.—*Abolition of the Customs' Duties.*—In 1882-83 the cotton duties and the general import duties were entirely abolished, placing the Empire from a Free Trade point of view in a far more enviable position than is England. Were as much done in this respect at home as has been done in India, John Bright's ideal of a free breakfast table would be realized, and many of Mr. Chamberlain's projects in financial reform, easing the burden of taxation borne by the toiling classes, would be within a measurable distance of realization. The only articles on which customs dues are now levied in India are arms and ammunition; liquors: malt, spirits, wines, &c.; and salt. Upon only two of the many articles exported is there a tax, and those are rice and opium. The articles from which Lord Ripon removed duties are numerous enough and interesting enough to be cited at length. They are as follows:—

Apparel.
Building Materials.
Cabinet Ware.
Canes and Rattans.
Caoutchouc, Raw, and Manufactures of
Carriages, Carts, &c.
China and Japan Ware (including Lacquered Ware).
Clocks and Watches.
Coffee.
Corals, Real or Unwrought.
Cordage and Rope of Vegetable Fibre (excluding Jute).
Corks.
Cotton Manufactures:
Twist and Yarn.
Drugs and Medicines (including Chemical products).
Dyes.
Earthen and Porcelain Ware.
Fireworks.
Flax, Manufactures of

condition, my friend Sir Evelyn Baring, whose great and eminent services to India, whose large and sound financial knowledge and great political judgment I am glad to have this public opportunity of acknowledging—Sir Evelyn Baring, who was financial member of my council, brought in, in the year 1882, a most important and comprehensive budget. By that Budget we reduced taxation in India by very nearly three millions a year, and that reduction has been made recently the ground of an attack upon the financial policy of my administration."—*Speech at Bolton*, Aug. 24, 1885.

Fruits and Vegetables.
Glass, Manufactures of:
  Beads and False Pearls.
  Other Sorts.
Gums.
Hardware and Cutlery.
Hemp, Manufactures of
Instruments, Musical.
Ivory and Ivory Ware.
Jewellery.
Leather, Manufactures of.
Matches and Lucifers.
Metals, and Manufactures of:
  Copper, including Brass.
  Iron.
  Lead.
  Quicksilver.
  Spelter or Zinc.
  Steel.
  Tin.
  Unenumerated.
Oils.
Paints and Colours.
Perfumery.
Photographic Materials.
Pitch, Tar and Dammer.
Provisions.
Railway Materials.
Seeds.
Shells and Cowries.
Silk, Raw, and Manufactures of.
Soap.
Spices.
Stationery, other than Paper.
Sugar, and other Saccharine Matter.
Tea.
Tobacco, Manufactured and Unmanufactured.
Toys and Requisites for Games.
Umbrellas.
Woollen Goods.

The anomalies and inconsistences existing in the tariff were almost endless. For example, an accurate description is to be found in the following remarks: The free head of "Chemical Products Preparations" overlapped the dutiable one of "Drugs and Medicines." "Seeds" were, in some cases, also "Spices," "Drugs," or "Provisions," while both "Oils" and "Fruits" overlapped "Provisions," the first named articles in each case being alone exempt. "Oils" became mixed with "Drugs" and "Perfumery." A carriage might be imported duty-free, but all the principal materials for building one in India were dutiable. The glass panels of a sideboard and the plates of a mirror were dutiable as "Glass," but the woodwork of the one and the gilt frame of the other were exempt as "Furniture." Manufactures of leather were free, but a leather portmanteau was dutiable because it was fitted with a metal lock. Spades being classed as "Agricultural Implements" were exempted from duty, but shovels were dutiable. A garden engine was free but a syringe, used for exactly the same purpose, was dutiable. Again, there were many heads still dutiable which seemed to have just as good claims to exemption, whether in respect of yielding little duty, or on their own merits, as those which were exempted in 1878. Stationery, for instance, paid only £5,350 in 1880-81, of which the chief part came from schoolboys' slates. In the same year shells and cowries paid £1,102, corks £1,600, gums £2,237, and paints £8,840. In many cases, too, the raw materials of industry and articles contributing to production were taxed. All the familiar objections to Customs' tariffs were experienced

in an extreme degree. In addition to the numerous and obvious economic and practical objections which exist under all like circumstances, the general import duties caused an amount of friction, scrutiny, and interference with trade quite incommensurate with the net revenue they produced. Lord Ripon may legitimately boast that he has done as much for the Indian trader by removal of Customs' obstacles as Mr. Gladstone has done for the English trader in a similar direction.

Upon the abolition of the duties on Cotton goods much controversy arose in India and among the friends of India in England. That the duties levied were not Protective is clear from the increasing prosperity of Indian mills since the duties were abolished. It was contended by some English Free Traders who, recognising the few taxable objects afforded by the conditions existing in India, were opposed to their abolition, that the dictum of Mr. Gladstone, uttered in the House of Commons in 1879, applied in this case, and that revenual considerations over-rode all others. "The state of the revenue," said Mr. Gladstone, "is an essential element in the consideration of the application even of the best principles of free trade." Be all this, however, as it may, Lord Ripon carried out a Free Trade policy, used the surplus which frugal management had placed at his disposal in a manner which must command the approval of all Liberals and which has, in no little degree, been of advantage to the people of India.

2. *Reduction of the Salt Duty.*—Mr. J. K. Cross, M.P., late Under Secretary of State for India, has remarked:—"I am bound to say that the financier who shall be able to abolish the Salt Tax, or to carry further the reductions of it commenced three years ago, will confer on the people of India almost as great a boon as the repeal of the Corn Laws gave to the people of England." It is one of the common-places of Indian affairs, known even to the least-instructed of Englishmen, that the salt tax is a grievous burden, and inflicts intolerable hardships upon the poor. Lord Ripon was quick to recognise the evil and prompt to remedy it so far as lay in his power. Possessing a surplus in 1882-83, the Viceroy was not content with abolishing cotton and other duties: he remembered how exceedingly desirable it was in the interests of the poorest class to lower the price of a prime necessary of life. His wish was not merely to clothe the

body, but also to fill the stomach. He, therefore, determined to reduce the duty on salt * from 5s. a maund in India generally and 5s. 9d. in Bengal to 4s. a maund everywhere except in the Trans-Indus districts of the Punjab and Burma, where a specially low rate of duty prevailed. This remission involved a loss to the revenue of £1,400,000 per annum. To the people the gain was great. Reduced duties were followed by increased consumption. The details are valuable. One table shows the following results :—

BEFORE REDUCTION OF DUTY.

	Consumption of salt in all India (excluding Burma). Maunds.
March, 1879 to February, 1880	26,382,000
March, 1880 to February 1881	25,672,000
March, 1881 to February, 1882	26,563,000

AFTER REDUCTION OF DUTY.

March, 1882 to February, 1883	28,679,000
March, 1883 to February, 1884	29,339,000

The reduction of duty was followed immediately by the commodity being sold at lower prices. Consumers at once reaped benefit. A comparison of price per maund in the second half of February, 1882, as compared with the second half of July, 1884, shows the following reductions :—Madras, 1s. 2½d.;

* Lord Ripon's object was not merely humane; it was statesmanlike in a marked degree. In his speech at Bolton, on Aug. 24, 1885, he said: "But let us look at the question from a purely fiscal point of view. From this point of view alone, putting out of sight all consideration of the interests of the people, from that point of view alone I hold that by our reduction of the salt tax we greatly strengthened instead of weakening our financial position. I do not want you to take the statement on my authority alone. Sir Evelyn Baring said, when the Budget of 1882 was introduced, that by reducing the salt duty the general financial position would be strengthened. 'It is clear,' he went on to say, 'that should an emergency arise of a nature to diminish other sources of revenue or to increase our expenditure, we shall be in a better position to meet it if the salt duty is two degrees lower than if it were levied at a higher rate.' Therefore you see distinctly that the reduction had the result of strengthening our financial position and rendering it more elastic; and how was this? Because the salt tax is one of those taxes in which a reduction is especially fruitful, because the sum which you lose to-day by a reduction of the taxation you will recover to-morrow by an increased consumption, and so the salt tax has already begun to recoup itself. The Secretary of State for India laid some figures on the table the other day in which he instituted a comparison between the financial condition of 1874-5 and that of 1884-5, and from those figures I find that already £1,400,000 was taken off the salt tax, by which it stands at this moment at £126,000 higher than it did in 1874-5. The consumption has largely increased, prices have been gradually reduced, progress has been steady, and the tax has already begun to recoup itself. But there was another reason why we were anxious to make a reduction in the salt tax. One of the great difficulties of Indian finance is to find out a tax which will serve as a financial reserve. Here in England if you have a war or any sudden emergency you put so many pennies on the income tax. The Treasury can tell in a moment what will be produced by each penny so imposed. But you have no such tax in India. An income tax in India is very difficult to impose and would yield very little, and never could by any possibility be made a financial reserve. But my hon. friend the Finance Minister came to the conclusion that the only tax that could be put in that position, provided it could be kept low in ordinary times, was the salt tax, and it was to strengthen taxation by obtaining something in the way of financial reserve that he began that process of reduction, which I for my part hope in the future will be carried yet further."

Bombay, 6d.; Bengal, 1s. 10½d.; Assam, 2s. 7½d.; North-Western Provinces, 1s. 3½d.; Oudh, 1s. 5½d.; the Punjab, 2s. 10½d.; Central Provinces, 1s. 4¼d.; Hyderabad Assigned Districts, 1s. 6d.; Mysore, 10¼d.; Coorg, 9½d.; Rajputana, 1s. 1d.; and Central Indian Agency, 11¼d. There is not one of the forty millions of homes which constitute Imperial India in which day by day the beneficial financial reforms of Lord Ripon are not bearing fruit—the poorer the home (and thirty millions of the homes are very poor) the greater the benefit derived. There need be little wonder, consequently, that when the ex-Viceroy was leaving India, one feature of the unexampled tribute paid to him should be the presentation of ten bulky volumes containing vernacular addresses from three thousand villages in eighteen districts of the Bombay Presidency, to which 150,000 signatures had been affixed. The remission, wholly or partially, of taxation in a form to be immediately appreciable to the vast mass of the people, is an unusual feature in Indian experience. Lord Ripon deserves all the credit attaching to such an "experiment."

3. *Improvement of the Position of the Subordinate Executive Service.*—Even with the excellent provision already shown the surplus of 1882-83 was not exhausted. Much can be done in India with a comparatively small sum of money, when it is expended on behalf of the native people and not upon Englishmen. This was strikingly exemplified in 1877 and 1878, when in the British Dominions generally £800,000 were subscribed for the famine-stricken inhabitants of Southern and Western India. The following particulars are set forth in the Report prepared while the work of relief was still uncompleted; it shows what was done with that amount:

Object of Relief.	Nos. Relieved.	Amount Expended.	Average to each Recipient. s.	d.
I.—Support of Life (Food, Money, Doles, &c.) . .	1,000,000	£218,183	4	3½
II.—Orphanages	482,273	50,391	2	1
III.—Day Nurseries	750,000	61,870	1	7¾
IV.—Clothing	872,293	92,616	2	1½
V.—Building or Repairing Houses	145,113	44,255	6	1⅕
VI.—To Cultivators for Seed, Bullocks, &c. . . .	496,960	276,662	11	1¼
VII.—Miscellaneous Charity	225,238	43,038	3	10
Totals .	3,971,877	£787,015	Av. 4	5⅗

That is to say, for the sum mentioned, one million of people were kept alive for weeks, in some cases for months who, pro-

bably but for this help, would have died; in Orphanages and Day Nurseries one million children were cared for; nearly one million of naked men, women and children were clothed; nearly one hundred and fifty thousand houses were built or repaired, thus providing accommodation for seven hundred thousand people; half-a-million cultivators were prevented from sinking into a condition of beggary by provision of seed for sowing and the service of bullocks for ploughing the land; while in miscellaneous charity, nearly a quarter of a million other poor creatures were aided. Altogether four millions of people received benefit from the Fund so generously subscribed. The amount of good that was done seems marvellous. Yet it is what, given careful management of the money, the conditions of life in India lead one to expect.

To return, however, to the point immediately under consideration. After abolishing the Customs' Duties and reducing the tax on salt, Lord Ripon had over £300,000 in hand. What should he do with it? The sum was not a large one. Much, however, could be done with £300,000. To his honour be it recorded, Lord Ripon looked around for the most deserving objects upon which to expend this bounty; he found them in the North-Western Provinces and Oudh. Here, again, a tolerably unfamiliar course was adopted. It was seen, upon enquiry, that the economic condition of the people in the North-Western Provinces and Oudh shewed but slight signs of any improvement in the mass of the people during ten years. In fact, the conclusions pointed the other way—the people were worse off. For example, the number of people with incomes of not less than £50 a year, derived from trade and assessed to the license tax in 1880-81, was 1,550 less than the number assessed to the income tax in 1870-71 and 1871-72. Clearly the trade wealth had diminished, and with it means of livelihood had become fewer. Reduced taxation was, therefore, determined upon. The "patwari cess" was remitted in the North-Western Provinces, leaving £241,000 per annum in the hands of the people for home and personal expenditure; in Oudh a similar course was adopted to the extent of £75,000 per annum; and the salaries of subordinate officials were increased by £50,000 a year.

4.—*Dealings with Provincial Governments.*— The administration of Lord Lytton, owing chiefly to the double cause of

large Famine expenditure (much larger than need have been incurred because of the mistaken principles of relief adopted and the late period of the distress at which action was taken), and the needless Afghan War, was at its wit's end for money. The balances at the various Treasuries were reduced, and funds appropriated to which the supreme authorities had no right. The Local Governments who, under the decentralisation scheme brought into being by Lord Mayo, had certain funds for their own disposal, were called upon by Lord Lytton to surrender those funds; this they did, to the extent of £670,000. As is customary with Conservative financiers it was left to Lord Ripon to find means whereby the amount borrowed should be repaid. This his lordship did in the very first budget for which he was wholly responsible. In repayment a condition was imposed; it was that an assurance should be given by each of the Provincial Governments that the amounts refunded would be devoted to Productive Public Works. Not content with thus acting, and recognising obligations which in the ordinary course of Anglo-Indian Government would have been ignored, Lord Ripon went further. The arrangements in respect to decentralization of finance and cognate matters between the Supreme and Local Governments are quinquennially considered. Before Lord Ripon had been a year in office, these arrangements came under review. Modifications were introduced into the contracts. The Provincial Governments were given a direct interest, not only in the provincialised revenue, but also in the most important items of Imperial revenue raised within their own Provinces. Without going into details it may be remarked that the consequence of the changes made was to enlarge the power of, and to increase the funds administered by, the Presidency and Provincial Governments.

5. *Resistance to Unfair Charges on Indian Revenues.*—Some day the story will probably be told of the manner in which, India being the weaker, Indian revenues have been made use of to pay charges which ought, in all equity, to have been paid from the British Treasury. The principle acted upon has been, "Woe to the Weaker!" When such circumstances have arisen it has frequently been India's misfortune that her interests were in the hands of those who, for reasons best known to themselves, hesitated to protect what it was their bounden duty to defend, and who surrendered in respect to claims where they

ought to have risked much in opposition. When the story of all this is told Englishmen will not find in the narrative much occasion for pride and gratification. Some of the materials are to be found in the Evidence and Report of the Select Committee on Indian Finance, 1874, but the whole truth will not be known until a Royal Commission on Indian Government is appointed and has reported. Two instances occurred during Lord Ripon's Viceroyalty to test his Excellency's resolution in respect to resistance of unjust charges. The first had to do with the Indian Contingent in that Egyptian Expedition which ended with the victory of Tel-el-Kebir and the occupation of Cairo. The Home authorities informed the Secretary of State for India that they intended to charge all expenses incurred in connection with the Indian Contingent to Indian revenues. Considering the circumstances under which the Egyptian Expedition became necessary, how it was the direct outcome of European diplomacy, the offspring of distinctly European complications, the proposal on the face of it seems monstrous. The Treasury officials, however, were not without a reason for their demand,—such reason as it was. They argued that Indian interests in the Suez Canal justified the charge of a portion of the cost of the operations in Egypt to India. But there are other interests in the Suez Canal besides those of India; Australia and the far East British Colonies are likewise interested in the Suez Canal: no demand was made upon Ceylon, the Straits Settlements, Hong Kong, New South Wales, and the other Australian countries to provide a portion of the cost of the operations in Egypt. So far as the Australian Governments are concerned there is no occasion to seek for a reason why such a demand was not made. In ordinary course in India the demand would have been uncomplainingly met. Lord Ripon and his colleagues, however, stoutly resisted the proposal and remonstrated strongly. They were, they said, prepared to follow the course adopted in the Abyssinian Expedition: India to bear the cost of the ordinary pay of the Indian troops employed, and all extraordinary expenditure to be borne by England. Finally, after much consideration, the Home Authorities agreed to pay a lump sum of £500,000 towards the whole charges incurred. This left India £700,000 to provide,—a much larger sum than would have fallen to her to pay had an impartial arbitrator been called in, or had principles of strictly fair dealing been followed.

Two years later, in spite of great resistance on the part of the Government of India, another surrender of Indian interests was compelled. The India Office, whose heart in regard to English claims on Indian revenues should be as hard as the nether millstone, is, in all such cases, as clay in the hands of the potter. The English War Office and Treasury get their own way in all financial differences with India, let the watch-dogs in Calcutta be never so vigilant. On account of non-effective Army charges Lord Ripon had, in 1883-84, to remit to England £1,000,000 in excess of what had been provided in the Budget. This arose out of a claim for the payment of over £2,000,000, being arrears due on account of India's share in pensions paid to soldiers who had served a portion of their time in India. The claim was peremptory, and to it was added the statement that it was proposed to charge simple interest at 4 per cent. on the arrears to 31st March, 1883, and compound interest after that date. It will be a matter of surprise and doubtless dissatisfaction to the reader, to learn that the charge for interest was pressed,—surprise and dissatisfaction because when India had to wait six years for a settlement from England on account of the Perak Expedition, and twelve years on account of the Abyssinian Expedition, it had not charged interest on the money due.* Lord Ripon and his colleagues did all they could to get the charge reduced but without effect, and the two millions were paid it would seem, according to the papers presented to Parliament in this way,—

In 1883-84	£1,000,000
In 1884-85	828,000
	£1,828,000

Leaving the balance to be provided for in the estimates of 1885-86. Had the House of Commons, or any responsible body in India, been cognizant of all the circumstances connected with this transaction the issue would not have been so advantageous pecuniarily to England as it proved to be.

6. MISCELLANEOUS.—(1) *The Famine Insurance Fund:* Lord Lytton, by imposing special taxation for famine relief

* It is stated, I believe correctly, that the advances made by the Indian Government on account of the Abyssinian Expedition were borrowed for that purpose and interest was paid thereon during all the years that the British Government failed to adjust the account.

virtually established the fact which had become apparent to experienced observers, that famines in India can no longer be treated as exceptional calamities, but must be dealt with as a feature of ordinary Indian administration. This is a most humiliating confession. It means that while, under purely Indian rule, famines were exceptional calamities, under Anglo-Indian Government they have become chronic. There must be a reason for such a charge. This, however, is not the place in which to investigate the causes which have led to this sad state of things. To return to Lord Lytton's Famine Finance. For the purpose of insurance against famine a sum of £1,500,000, in the shape of a license tax, was imposed, and solemn assurances were given that the money thus raised should be devoted to famine purposes alone: the Afghan war furnished a pretext for sweeping the money into the general treasury. The manner in which Lord Ripon and his colleagues determined that the Fund should be annually appropriated was—Relief of distress to be a first charge; Protective Railways, second; Protective Irrigation works, third; Reduction of Debt, fourth. With this proviso, however, that three-quarters of a million should be assigned to reduction of debt each year, save and except when relief required that the whole amount (and maybe, more) should be expended. From 1881-82 to 1884-85 (the last an estimate) the Fund was thus appropriated :—

Form of Expenditure.	Actuals 1881-82 £	Actuals 1882-83 £	Revis'd estimate 1883-84 £	Budget estimate 1884-85 £	Total. £
Famine Relief	34,849	22,103	10,000	——	66,952
Protective Works, Railway ..	614,551	—129,101	625,900	888,600	1,999,950
Protective Works, Irrigation ..	135,449	263,443	291,000	310,100	999,992
Reduction of Debt	715,151	1,343,555	573,100	301,300	2,933,106
Total..	1,500,000	1,758,202	1,500,000	1,500,000	6,000,000

(2) *Stock Notes.*—It being believed that in the country districts (mofussil) capital was waiting investment, and the Government of Lord Ripon being desirous that the great Protective Public Works should be carried out by moneys raised in India itself, a new security called "Stock Notes" was created. The Notes were of four values, viz., 25/-, 50/-, £5 and £10 each, to bear interest at 4 % per annum. In two years less than £200,000 worth were applied for, and this good-intentioned scheme failed, owing probably to the fact that, beyond the needs of agriculture, there is literally no capital for investment in the vast agricul-

tural districts of the Empire. (3) *The Opium Trade.*—Whatever opinion may be held as to the morality of the Opium trade,—the present writer holds the trade to be immoral,—the administration of Lord Ripon deserves the credit of endeavour-to conduct the trade with profit. The sale of Malwa opium was falling off seriously; a reduction of £5 per cent. duty was resolved upon with a satisfactory result. (4) *Reduction in Rates for Carriage of Wheat.*—The exportation of wheat was aided by a reduction in carriage on the Bombay, Baroda and Central Indian Railway of 18·5 per cent. on previous rates, representing a reduction in price of slightly over 1s. 6d. per quarter of wheat on the London market. (5) *Post Office Reform* occupied a great deal of Lord Ripon's attention;—with results of the most gratifying character. Those results included the reduction of registration fee for letters from 6d to 3d; reduction of postage on newspapers by one-half; in 1882 Savings Banks were opened in connection with Post Offices,—on July 31, 1884, nearly one million sterling was found to be deposited: a scheme for granting life assurances and annuities to *employés* of the Post Office was introduced; and a value-payable parcel system is in active working order.

The chief features of Lord Ripon's financial administration are:—

1. He remitted taxation amounting to £3,000,000 per annum;
2. He imposed no fresh taxes of any kind;
3. He re-applied the Famine Insurance Fund to the purposes announced on its imposition;
4. He maintained the Decentralisation Scheme and improved it.
5. He secured equilibrium between revenue and expenditure, and this, too, in spite of untoward events of great magnitude; and
6. He so carefully financed the debt that the burden of interest charge, exclusive of that upon Debt incurred for Productive Public Works, was reduced from £4,959,066 in 1878-79 to £4,162,200 in 1884-85, being a reduction of £796,866.

In a sentence, Lord Ripon's financial work was of a sterling character and entirely in harmony with all the best traditions of the past forty years of Liberal Home finance.

A change has come over the fair condition of Indian Finance. The Famine Insurance Fund of £1,500,000 has been "swallowed up;" balances are to be reduced by £2,625,000; a deficit of £4,963,000 has to be provided for. A permanent increase of £2,000,000 per annum on military account is anticipated. A large part of the deficit is carried forward to next year's budget—to be then met, if the Liberals are in office; to be greatly increased if the Conservatives are established in power. Alike in England and in India within the past few months the Conservatives have had to devise means for meeting heavy financial charges: in each case they have adopted the same plan,—they have shirked their duty and have drawn a bill upon the future, most likely upon their opponents.

II.—TRADE AND COMMERCE.

"PROGRESS [in India during Lord Ripon's Viceroyalty] has been thrown back almost for a generation." Thus the assertion of Lord Randolph Churchill. "The coin is spurious; nail it down." Regard the facts. If a country's progress be hindered, trade and commerce immediately show the effect. The men of business are the first to feel retrogression, they are the last to recover from it. Three lines will show the absolute untruth of Lord Randolph Churchill's remark.

TOTAL TRADE OF INDIA.

	Value.
1879 (last year but one of Lord Lytton's administration)	£109,780,000
1883 (last year but one of Lord Ripon's administration)	154,596,093
Difference, being Increase	£44,816,093

That is to say, in five years trade has increased by fifty per cent. under Lord Ripon's fostering rule, and Lord Randolph Churchill has the hardihood to declare that the effect of the late Viceroy's rule has been to throw progress back almost a generation! One forbears criticism. Such a statement is beyond criticism. Denunciation alone is appropriate, and the matters to be discussed here are of too great importance to allow one to turn aside for the purpose of denouncing Lord Randolph Churchill. Besides, the facts in themselves are sufficiently powerful for every need — alike for defence and discomfiture.

The details of Indian trade for the six years embraced in the periods under review, (changing the rupees into £s sterling at the conventional rate of 2s.) are as follow:—

Year.	Value.
1878-9	£109,780,000
1879-80	120,499.547
1880-1	135,237,733
1881-2	141,314,211
1882-3	147,837,921
1883-4	154,596,093

The expansion has been steady and is due in no small degree to Lord Ripon's wise government, his remission of Customs'

dues and general financial arrangements as described in the preceding section, including that policy of Productive Public Works which, in common with all else done between 1880-85, Lord Randolph Churchill praised so highly on his return from India in April last, and now condemns even more strongly and altogether inaccurately.

It is in no single article in imports, and in only two, viz., wheat and rice in exports, that the progress recorded has occurred. There has been advance all along the line.

IMPORTS.

The trade in cotton goods (twist and piece goods), represents nearly half of the whole trade. The goods have increased in value from £1,966,000 in 1879-80 to £2,510,000 in 1883-84. All this time, too, a rapid development in the spinning and weaving of cotton in India has been noted. There are now 74 mills, with 1,870,284 spindles and 16,300 looms at work, and new mills are opened every year, while additional looms and spindles are placed in those already in operation. In 1879-80 there were imported 33,212,952 lbs. of twist; in 1883-84 the quantity was 45,378,956 lbs. The quantity of cotton piece goods imported in 1879-80 amounted to 1,333·6 million yards; in 1880-81, to 1,774 million yards; and in 1883-84 to 1,722 million yards.

Metals have risen in value from £3,845,000 in 1879-80 to £5,990,000 in 1883-84. The imports of silk, both raw and manufactured, have increased in value in the same period from £1,520,000 to £9,170,000. Machinery and millwork represented a value of nearly 179 lakhs in 1884, compared with a little over £615,000 in 1879-80. This trade has been increasing year by year, as the progress of the country in manufacturing industry has increased. Cotton mills, jute mills, paper mills, rice mills, iron foundries, tea gardens, oil mills, factories of all kinds, are being added to and extended each year, and each year sees an increased importation of steam engines, machinery and millwork. The imports of woollen goods have risen in value from £927,500 to nearly £1,220,000; apparel from £574,100 to £973,800; glass and glassware from £330,000 to £560,000; corals and earthenware and porcelain have doubled in value. One thing at least may be absolutely depended upon, and that is if Lord Randolph Churchill intends increasing the annual

taxation of India at the beginning of a famine cycle, as he evidently does, in the years immediately to come the volume of trade will shrink, deficits will become large, debt will be increased with fearful frequency. It is safe to predict that, owing to a variety of causes only partially under his own control, Lord Dufferin at the end of his Viceroyalty will be unable to show a record in any degree comparable with that of which Lord Ripon may very properly boast.

EXPORTS.

The increased shipments to Europe (mainly to England; six-sevenths of the import trade is with British houses, the Suez Canal having effected less change in this respect than was anticipated) are partly explained by the necessity arising for large annual payments on account of the Government of India and of private persons in England. Upon the economic effect of such a course there is no need to enter here; in this review of a Viceroyalty note is being taken of the effect of that particular period of rule. The appeal has been to Cæsar; to Cæsar then be it made.

Among the more notable increases have been the following:

Articles.	1879-80.	1883-84.
Raw Cotton	£11,145,000	£14,380,000
Cotton Twist and Piece Goods	1,621,700	2,853,100
Grain and Pulse	9,860,000	17,604,800
Oil Seeds	4,685,800	10,083,700
Tea	3,051,000	4,083,800
Hides and Skins	3,738,000	4,663,700
Indigo	2,947,200	4,640,000
Jute	4,370,000	4,592,600
Jute Goods	1,195,300	1,334,100

In some articles of export there was a falling off, notably in the case of Coffee. The fungus, *Hemileia Vastatrix*, has worked serious havoc in the plantation of Southern India and of Ceylon. Probably, in a few years, this industry will become extinct, partly as the result of disease and partly through the only-partially diseased trees being displaced for other growths of a remunerative character. Again, with good harvests in this country and in Europe generally, the export of wheat from India will necessarily decrease.

The coasting trade too, has, shared in the general increase during the years under consideration, not so much

proportionately, it would appear, as the foreign trade. The figures for value are :—

1879-80	£54,660,000
1883-84	61,240,000

In the first-named period, however, many vessels were still engaged in carrying grain from the Burmese and Bengal ports to Madras and other regions not then fully recovered from the serious crop-losses of the famine years of 1876, 1877, and 1878.

The numbers and tonnage of vessels engaged in foreign trade in the respective years were :—

Years.	No.	Tonnage.
1879-80 ..	12,160 ..	5,703,057
1883-84 ..	11,662 ..	7,250,603

There were thus 498 fewer vessels, but an increased tonnage of 1,547,516. The larger amount of tonnage was more fully employed than was the smaller amount of four years previously.

III.—FOREIGN POLICY AND MILITARY ADMINISTRATION.

"No frontier railways were commenced; no roads were begun; no preparations of any sort or kind were made. . . . In all these matters Lord Ripon slept, lulled by the languor of the land of the lotus. . . . . Lord Ripon and his counsellors slumbered and slept, never dreaming that any foreign danger could by any possibility come nigh those dominions which had been entrusted to their watchful care, taking no thought for to-morrow, heedless and ignorant of the future which was shaping itself out with the utmost clearness."—*Lord Randolph Churchill*, Aug. 6, 1885. "The coin is spurious; nail it down."

The details of Foreign Office administration in India are known to no outsider. For nearly every feature of Lord Ripon's administration public documents furnish particulars useful for such an occasion as the present, In regard to diplomacy as conducted through the Foreign office of Calcutta and Simla this is not the case. For a description of Lord Ripon's Central Asia policy the speech which he delivered at Bolton in the last week in August, 1885, is opportune; indeed, it is the only source available. The Riponian diplomacy, in its main feature, that connected with Central Asia, is thus described:—"I went out to India," said Lord Ripon, "fully sharing the feeling which had been unmistakably expressed at the general election of 1880—that the war in Afghanistan should be brought as speedily as was consistent with safety and with honour to a termination, and that friendly relations should be re-established with the ruler and the people of that country, and therefore I issued the orders which had been previously given to withdraw from Eastern Afghanistan. But I was most earnestly desirous that before our forces were taken away from that country we should have been able to see established there a stable Government, which would save the Afghan people from all the tremendous evils of anarchy. I therefore continued the negotiations which had been begun by my predecessor, Lord Lytton, with

the present Ameer, Sirdar Abdurrahman Khan, and I brought these negotiations to a satisfactory conclusion. I entered with that remarkable man into friendly and cordial relations which have ever since, I am rejoiced to think, been maintained. It was always a part of the policy which I advocated to withdraw as speedily as possible from Kandahar. I observe that Mr. Stanhope the other day in the House of Commons gave me credit for having been opposed to a withdrawal from Kandahar. I cannot take any such credit to myself, for I always was in favour of a withdrawal from Kandahar. I always believed it to be the right thing to do; but we had certain engagements at that time with the chief whom Lord Lytton had established in that part of the country, and I was bound to inquire carefully what was the nature of those engagements, and what was the hold which this chief had upon the people over which he had been set to rule. Events soon proved that he was merely a puppet in our hands; and that he had no hold upon the people at all, and I was then able to induce him to give up the vain attempt to govern a people who did not want him, and I had the satisfaction of restoring Kandahar to the Ameer of Afghanistan. I am quite certain that that was the only true policy to pursue. If we had retained Kandahar in our hands, we never should have secured the friendship of Afghanistan. If we adhered to the policy of a divided Afghanistan, which had been provided by the Government of Lord Beaconsfield, that would, in present circumstances, when Russia is upon the frontier of that country, have been a source of utter weakness and ceaseless intrigue. But in order that you may fully understand the policy I desired, I must tell you I was always in favour of retaining possession of the country called Pishin, and holding the passes of the mountain range upon Quetta and Kandahar. I know that many whose opinions I greatly respect differ from me on that point, and think it would have been better to retire from Pishin and from Quetta, but I will give you shortly the reasons for my opinion. Desiring as I did to maintain close friendship with the Ameer, and finding that he and his people did not care in the least to possess the country of Pishin—for he never spoke or wrote about it or made the smallest objection, knowing very well that being there and holding those passes we were in a position, if he were attacked, to come speedily to his assistance—in a position equally effective for that purpose and really much

more secure than if we had occupied Kandahar itself—holding this view, that we should retain Pishin, I was also in favour of a measure which had been much discussed of late, the completion of the railway to Quetta and the Passes, and opposed to its abandonment in 1880. My friend Mr. Cross most generously acknowledged that fact in the House of Commons, although it might be taken at this moment as somewhat against the course which was pursued by the Government of which he was a member, for they were opposed to the completion of this railway. Such was the course I pursued upon my first arrival in India in reference to the Afghan question. The object of my policy was to reunite Afghanistan under one strong ruler, to maintain friendly relations with him, to hold Pishin that we might be ready to aid him, and holding Pishin to complete the railway to Quetta, and to the foot of the Passes. I adopted that policy in prevision of the events which have since occurred, and all those events have only tended to confirm me in my belief that that policy was sound."*

Lord Ripon, in the speech from which the above passage is extracted, vouchsafed no particulars of that important department of Indian Foreign Office action,—the relations between the Supreme Government and the Native States. It is notorious, however, that the relations between the Paramount Power and the Feudatories were, between 1880 and 1884 as cordial as, in preceding years, they were the reverse. So cordial indeed were they, so unmarked were they by acts of arbitrary despotism which marked the preceding *régime*, that to the non-official mind it is marvellous certain acts of long-deferred justice were not done;—*ex. gr.*, the restoration of the Berars to H. H. the Nizam, the handing over of the Fort at Gwalior to Scindia, and the public recognition of Holkar's services during the Mutiny accompanied by reparation for the suspicions under which he has long unjustly suffered.

Upon no matter, it would appear from a Blue Book presented to the House of Commons early in this year, did Lord Ripon devote so much and such close attention immediately after his arrival in India as upon that of Army Reform. The work was lying ready for him to take up. One of the good things effected by Lord Lytton was the appointment in 1879, of a Commission of Enquiry into the system under which the

* I quote from *The Times'* Report. See *The Times*, Aug 25th, 1885.

Indian army is organized and administered, the chief object in view being to effect a reduction in army expenditure. The Evidence taken, the Report thereon, the Recommendations made, and the Views of Lord Lytton's Government, were all placed on record and forwarded to the India Office. But, as the departing Viceroy's views were hurriedly recorded, the Liberal Secretary of State desired the whole matter should be carefully reconsidered and after re-consideration submitted for decision.

As will be shewn almost immediately where organization is concerned, the Indian armies, in spite of themselves, cry aloud for reform. In respect to costliness as compared with the income of the country still more loudly cries for reform. So far as appears in the bulky Blue Book of nearly one thousand closely-printed folio pages, no portion of the Enquiry was devoted to the cost of the army in the connection just stated. It is well known that the British army is by far the costliest in Europe. Compared with the cost of the Indian army in relation to the wealth of the respective communities it is a very trifling burden. Here are the facts:—

Army.	Annual Charge in Peace Time.	Total Annual Income of Country.	Proportion per head.	Cost of Army in proportion to National Income.
	£	£	£	
English Army	18,000,000*	1,247,000,000	35 0 0	1·5 per cent.
Indian Army	18,000,000†	250,000,000	1 10 0	7 per cent.

That is to say, in proportion to the means of the people taken (1) in gross, the Indian army is four times as costly as the English army, and (2) in detail, that is, in proportion to the means of the individual Indian as compared with the individual Englishman, it is twenty-nine times as burdensome. Lord Randolph Churchill may talk lightly of adding two millions sterling per annum to Indian military expenditure, but, before the increase is sanctioned, the reformed House of Commons will want to know more as to the necessity for the proposed increase than is at present apparent. Furthermore, disagreeable but eminently proper questions will be asked as

* The average for the past ten years has been nearly £18,000,000.

† Including £2,000,000 addition, announced by Lord Randolph Churchill on Aug. 6, 1885. The average for the past five years has been £18,142,500; this, however, includes one year of the Afghan war expenditure. Probably my estimate of £18,000,000, if Lord Randolph Churchill and the soldiers are allowed to do as they please, will be found an under estimate. I prefer, however, to let it stand, as I am particularly anxious to avoid exaggeration in any respect.

to the distribution of military charges between England and India. Especially, it may be hoped, will the question be asked, and an answer pressed for until it be given, why the Horse Guards were permitted to burke a reform in Indian army affairs upon which two administrations had concentrated their best attention, respecting which two Viceroys differing so much from each other as Lord Ripon and Lord Lytton had agreed, showing vastly increased efficiency and an annual saving in the one case of one million and a quarter, in the other of over half-a-million? Was it, or was it not, objected to the reforms proposed that they would not suit the requirements of the military authorities in England, and, therefore, they could not be approved? It was admitted at the War Office in Pall Mall, or at least it was not denied, that India keeps up its European garrison in an administratively inconvenient and highly expensive form. Yet, because it was desired to reduce the European force by one regiment of cavalry and four regiments of infantry, increasing the strength of the remaining regiments so that the numerical force would not be lessened, the reform was blocked on the ground that the corresponding number of regiments would have to be struck off the British Army altogether. A writer in the *Edinburgh Review*, (April, 1884), commenting on the Report of the Army Commission, and taking note of this objection, very pertinently remarks, "Even if this were to be the necessary consequence, the justice might be questioned of requiring India to pay for keeping up a number of skeleton battalions on an altogether inefficient footing in order to suit the convenience of England." As a matter of fact the consequences feared would not have ensued. All the same the reform was checked and the immense labour, typified by one of the largest Blue Books issued by the Parliament of 1880-85, was thrown away. The India Office proved itself, once more in its history, the willing accomplice of the War Office in subordinating Indian to English interests.

Objection was taken by the Secretary of State that the opinions expressed by the Viceroy and his colleagues were not absolutely unanimous in favour of the new organization. The reply of Lord Ripon and his colleagues was very much to the point. "This," they say, "must be the condition under which all reforms are effected. There are always to be found persons who will predict that dangers and inconveniences will arise

from reforms, and it is impossible to prove beforehand that their predictions will not be verified." The correspondence, a not unfriendly critic has remarked, presented the extraordinary spectacle of a Liberal Government succeeding to the discussion of a great administrative reform started by their predecessors, blocking its course, and able to find no better argument for such obstructive action than platitudes and petty criticisms. "The truth we take to be," continues the writer, "that at the time when this discussion was going on, Lord Hartington was unfortunately too fully occupied with the general business of the Government to give the time sufficient to master so novel and extensive a subject; and Lord Kimberley, succeeding him in office when these proposals of the Government of India had already been many months on the Council table, may have felt himself bound to give a speedy decision, which involved practically adopting the opinions submitted to him by his advisers, and allowing himself to become in a measure the mouthpiece of the conservative sentiments of the India Office." It is a matter of deepest regret to many supporters of Lord Kimberley that not once or twice but often during his tenure of office as Secretary of State for India he allowed himself "to become . . . . the mouthpiece of the Conservative sentiments of the India Office." Where resolute resistance was looked for it was looked for in vain; mild acquiescence in reactionary policy took its place—to India's serious detriment.

Circumlocution reigns supreme in India. Its climax is reached in Army administration. We have one Empire and four Armies, viz.: the Armies of Bengal, Madras, and Bombay, and the Punjab Frontier Force. All, under certain circumstances, are under the command of one chief, yet each is distinct and separately managed as though it stood alone in the Empire. The Madras Army is administered on the principle that it has no more connection with the forces under the respective control of the Commanders-in-Chief of the Bengal and Bombay Armies than have the Armies controlled by Marshal von Moltke with the Armies of Austria or Russia. The one point upon which both the Lytton and Ripon Governments completely agreed was the abolition of the Presidency commands, the severance of the Bengal Army into two parts, and the reconstitution of the Army of India into five divisions, each commanded by a

Lieutenant-General who should communicate directly with the Commander-in-Chief and the Government of India. The reform, rightly remarks a competent authority,* may be postponed, but it cannot be much longer delayed. "The maintenance of the present monstrous organisation of the Indian armies is absolutely indefensible. As was pithily put in a paper, which is not contained in the Blue Book, but which we lately read, in order to appreciate fully what the Presidential system means, we might suppose the English Army to be divided into an English establishment, an Irish establishment, and a Scotch establishment; and further, that these three establishments furnished garrisons, not only for the portions of the United Kingdom to which they belonged, but also for the various foreign stations; that the troops at Gibraltar, for example, were drawn from the Irish establishment, those at Malta from the Scotch establishment, and those at the Cape from the English establishment. If we further assume etiquette to require that the Horse Guards should communicate with the troops at Gibraltar only through the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and the troops at Malta through some high civil official in Scotland; if we suppose such an arrangement to have arisen out of a state of things under which there were at one time three separate armies—English, Irish, and Scotch—paid for separately from the revenues of those three kingdoms respectively; and if we suppose this nominal division of the army in three establishments to have been kept up long after the separate local independent governments had been abolished, and that separate estimates were still prepared in respect of the English, Irish and Scotch establishments, and that the accounts and audit followed the course of the estimates; and if we suppose that on a regiment being moved from Gibraltar to Malta it would also be transferred from the Irish to the Scotch establishment; and if, while all this circumlocution was punctiliously pursued, the whole expense of the three establishments were defrayed by the British Treasury, to which the Audit Department in the three kingdoms was entirely subordinate; that all orders relating to the three establishments emanated in the first instance from the War Office in London, and that the whole proceedings connected with the three establishments were purely formal and

* *Edinburgh Review*, April 1885, p. 411.

unreal. Make all these suppositions, and we may form some idea of the present Presidential military system of India."

If the India Office had accepted Lord Ripon's proposals, not only would the Indian Army have been in a more efficient condition than it is at the present time, but a large portion of the means would have been available for that increase now alleged—in the opinion of the present writer falsely alleged,—by Lord Randolph Churchill, to be called for by the peril of the existing situation and prospective needs.

"In 1882-83 the Indian Army was reduced by five cavalry regiments and sixteen infantry regiments."—*Lord Randolph Churchill,* 6th Aug. Again: "The coin is spurious; nail it down." What really happened was a reduction of certain regiments fully compensated for by an increase to the strength of the remainder, so that the aggregate strength of the native Army remained the same. Such a mis-statement as that made by Lord Randolph Churchill belongs to the very worst order of mis-statement: there is a general semblance without a shadow of the reality of truth.

Military operations of no very great importance, save in regard to the first incident to be named, occurred during Lord Ripon's tenure of office, and all were carried through successfully. Immediately upon the ex-Viceroy taking up the duties of administration in 1880 the Home Government gave orders for the immediate withdrawal of the British Forces from Northern Afghanistan. The evacuation was completed by the 7th of September. In the meantime, however, the disaster at Maiwand had occurred (July 27), Kandahar was invested by Ayoub Khan, Sir Frederick Roberts made his splendid march from Kabul to Kandahar covering the distance (318 miles) in twenty-three days, including two halts, completely routed Ayoub Khan's army and relieved Kandahar.

The Home Authorities determined that Southern Afghanistan should be evacuated and Kandahar given up to the Ameer. In adopting this course Mr. Gladstone and his colleagues were acting in harmony with their predecessors who had declared that the retention of Kandahar was no part of their policy,—a "scientific frontier," which had been gained, being the soul of their Afghan statesmanship. Lord Ripon was in hearty

sympathy with the orders he received. He, too, was opposed to the retention of Kandahar, as also to the abandonment of the Quetta railway which he would fain have seen carried to the foot of the Kojah Pass. In carrying out the policy of evacuation it was determined that a force sufficient for the permanent security of the country should be left in Quetta and Pishin. The force consisted of two batteries of Artillery, one regiment of Native Cavalry, one company of Sappers and Miners, one battalion of British Infantry, and three regiments of Native Infantry. The evacuation was completed by the end of May, 1881.

Seven minor expeditions, the chief of which was the despatch of the Indian Contingent for service in Egypt in 1882, was successfully carried out. The Mahsud Wazin Expedition was organized to inflict punishment for a daring and unprovoked raid on the plains of Tank, in which the town was sacked and burned and plunder to the value of Rs. 60,000 taken. Two columns, under the commands of Brigadier-General Gordon, C.B., and Brigadier-General Kennedy respectively, numbering—the one, 3,662, and the other, 4,097, fighting men were organised. The objects of the expedition were fully attained, as likewise were they in the expeditions subsequently undertaken, namely, the Akha and Zhob expeditions, and the suppression of disturbances in the Sonthal country and a rising of Bhils in the Udaipur territory. The Contingent for Egypt, which was under the command of Major-General Sir H. T. Macpherson, K.C.B., consisted of 2,000 British troops, 3,900 Native troops, and 6,400 Native followers. Two regiments of Madras Infantry were posted to Aden as a reserve. It is matter of British history that the Indian Contingent bore its part in the Campaign bravely and well.

With the means at his disposal, £1,000,000 per annum, the ex-Viceroy carried out great military works. Three important military roads were in course of construction, viz., 1, The Bolan high level road, now completed; 2, The Golaghat-Nichuguand road, also completed; and 3, the Cherut road. The Balar Hissar at Peshawur, was put into a state of efficient defence, as likewise were Fort William (Calcutta), and the forts and defences generally at Allahabad, Agra, Delhi, Rawul-Pindi, Ahmedabad, Bangalore, Madras, Nagpore, and Fortress

Gwalior. Efficient defence works were put in hand for Fatehgarb, Ferozepore, Mhow, Lucknow and Mooltan, while the forts at the following places have been fitted as places of refuge :—Lahore, Amritsar, Ludiana, Phillour, Saugor Neemuch, Taragarb, Asirgarb, Ahmednagar, Belgaum, Purandhar, Satara, Surat, Bhuj, and Hyderabad (Sind.)

The Marine Service, which had long been in a moribund condition, was reorganised. A Director of Marine was appointed, two new troopships were purchased, and the authorities were, by the possession of three good troopships, rendered capable of moving over two thousand troops by sea at a few hours' notice. In a number of minor ways changes were made resulting in the greatly increased efficiency of the service.

The Volunteer Corps nearly doubled in strength during Lord Ripon's Viceroyalty. Seventeen new corps have been formed. In December, 1880, the enrolled strength of the various corps was, 6,950; on the 1st of August, 1884, the strength was 12,727, being an increase of 5,777 men in less than four years. The corps consist of Europeans and Eurasians only: the question of admitting Native Indians into the Volunteer ranks had not arisen when Lord Ripon left India. The strong desire evinced by Indian gentlemen of all races to voluntary bear arms and place themselves under military discipline is one of those matters the whole credit of which attaches to Lord Ripon. He evoked a new spirit in our Indian fellow-subjects: the wish to take up arms in defence of the Empire was one of the first as it was one of the finest proofs of the sound wisdom of the ex-Viceroy's policy. It is claimed that our power in India rests on the sword. Let, for argument's sake, the statement be accepted, though there are many who will strenuously deny it. Then, even on the ground of a conquering race maintaining its supremacy the considerate and pro-native policy which so characterised all Lord Ripon did is more than justified by the event as it called forth military aid to the conqueror from the conquered.

IV.—LEGISLATION.

INDIA—unfortunately for its best interests—has no Parliament, either Imperial or Provincial. Nothing that can in any way even suggest Representative Institutions exists. It is true the Viceroy's Legislative Council and the three Legislative Councils of Bengal, Madras, and Bombay have, among their members, certain Native-Indian noblemen and gentlemen, but they are not there in any representative character. Nevertheless, that has happened in India during Lord Ripon's Viceroyalty which has happened in England during the same period: upon the Legislative Assemblies of both countries have all eyes fixed; an Act of legislation has been introduced and passed in each which makes a new era in the history of both countries. The India of to-day stands in a very different position to the India which existed prior to the Ilbert Bill. What was once possible in the way of paternal government in our Eastern Empire is no longer possible. In 1882 India was an agglomeration of atoms, each occupied only with its own objects and interests. In 1884 India became a nation. For the first time in its history men of all its various races stood in line and marched with precision. Parsee and Bengali, Rajput and Madrassee, joined hands. The Indian people awoke and found themselves strong. They have yet to put forth their strength on a worthy object. Given the opportunity they will use it. A great and solemn responsibility rests upon the English people as to the manner in which the giant strength which has been developed shall be used.

To Lord Ripon primarily, to the bitter, envenomed, frenzied agitation of Calcutta Anglo-Indians secondarily, belongs the honour of accomplishing this great object. Highly deserving as were Lord Ripon's actions as Viceroy of India, they would not have so greatly succeeded in this particular direction had not the opposition to them been so bitter, alike in England and in India. In India, the virulence of certain Anglo-Indians exercised the

effect which British gales exercise upon British oaks: instead of uprooting the tree the equinoctial winds serve but to drive its roots more firmly into the soil,—the tree is stronger for the contest it has with the wind. In like manner the tempest of passion and race-hatred which swept over India,—the cyclone forming in Calcutta and passing over the land,—served but to deepen and strengthen Indian feeling and to stiffen into a stone wall what had hitherto been yielding fluidity. To the opponents of the Ilbert Bill, Indian patriots and the friends of India in England largely owe the existing gratifying condition of national feeling throughout the Empire. The agitation against the Ilbert Bill lifted a nation upon its feet. Indians now stand erect. At present they are walking but feebly, as is natural. They have not yet fully learnt their marching power. They have shown they can resist a whirlwind of race-hatred and passion, standing "four-square to all" such "winds that blow." Soon they will cease to be content with "marking time." They will find, as others have found before them, that

"Standing still is childish folly,
Going backwards is a crime."

And they will move forward. What will follow?

Collision, bloodshed, anarchy?

Or,

Welcome, throwing open the gates of the Constitution, binding Indian and Englishmen in one indissoluble bond of union, strengthening the connection between the Western and Eastern nations and promoting the prosperity of both?

In a greater degree than can possibly be realised the one answer or the other depends upon the interest taken in, and the zeal for, reform in Indian affairs shown by those for whom this communication is prepared,—The Electors of the United Kingdom and Ireland.

Lord Ripon's legislative policy, summed up in a single phrase, was to secure India for the Indians while preserving the Empire to England. The double policy is possible; indeed, by its adoption only can the future be regarded with tolerable equanimity. To those acquainted with the course of Indian administration it may seem surprising that Lord Ripon's legislation should have occasioned what was perilously near to a

"white mutiny." As will be shown almost immediately, both in respect to the Local Government Reforms and the principle of the Ilbert Bill, the Viceroy was acting in harmony with a policy which his most distinguished predecessors had placed on record. Lord Ripon's great merit was that where some would have been content with the utterance of kind words accompanied by no appropriate action, he was determined not only to speak kindly but also to act wisely and firmly. The changes proposed, if anything like faith was to be kept with the people of India, were inevitable. They came forth in due time. Measures mated years before, during Lord Ripon's *régime* brought forth after their kind. Only by a "massacre of innocents" and a gross breach of faith could Lord Ripon have failed to take the action which he did take.

Alike in India and in England, Lord Ripon was violently assailed. In both countries, too, was he strenuously supported. If he had his enemies he likewise had his friends. The people of India and a "remnant" of the Anglo-Indians stood honourably and courageously by him. If, on the one hand, opposition by Lord Ripon's countrymen in India was carried so far that (after the worst Irish fashion) threatening letters were sent to leading members of the Government, if the Viceroy was treated with studied disrespect on public occasions, the Volunteers implored (1) to resign *en masse* if the Bill were not withdrawn, and (2) after it became law, begged to refrain from doing the Queen's Representative honour, and if in England the Conservative Party, aided by *The Times* newspaper, and strengthened by the obstruction of the India Office, made common cause with the angry and prejudiced malcontents in India, on the other hand the Liberal Party rallied to the support of the distinguished statesman who was placed in such sore straits, and rendered him support. An organisation, called the British India Committee, came into existence solely to render all the aid to Lord Ripon which educated Liberal opinion could give. Through the medium of public meetings and the dissemination of literature much good work was done. One of the publications of the Committee may be usefully quoted here. Not merely for its statement of the principles underlying Lord Ripon's Liberal measures, but also for its collection of testimony borne by the most honoured of Anglo-Indian administrators to the capacity of the Indian British people the *brochure* deserves to be pressed upon the

notice of Electors in every possible way. It was written by Mr. Alfred H. Haggard, formerly of the Bengal Civil Service. It is as follows :—

WHY SHOULD LORD RIPON'S POLICY BE SUPPORTED.

An appeal is made to the people of England to support the just, honourable, enlightened policy of the Marquis of Ripon in India. That policy is one which is intended to improve the Government of India, to develop its political life, and to increase the stability of the connection with the United Kingdom.

Lord Ripon's policy is two-fold in its objects.

First of all he desires, by the Bill known as Mr. Ilbert's Bill, to facilitate the admission of duly qualified Natives to the highest official ranks, and to render administration more effective through the removal of a disqualification which places Natives at a disadvantage as compared with their European colleagues.

Secondly, he desires, by his Local Self-Government Scheme, to improve local administration; leaving to the people themselves the management of their own local affairs, to be administered in local boards and municipalities under due central control.

Both of these portions of Lord Ripon's policy have been violently assailed. It is therefore desirable to observe how far they are in conformity with the principles on which India ought to be governed; to what extent they obtain the support of the opinions of the best Indian Statesmen; and whether or not they are startling innovations.

MR. ILBERT'S BILL.

The first principle on which Indian administration ought to be conducted by England is that the government of India should be for the benefit of India itself. At the present moment the good of India is identified with the continuance of British rule. But India suffers, and British rule is accordingly endangered, when nearly every post in the administration of the least honour or emolument is filled by Europeans to the exclusion of Natives. Administration by Europeans is extremely costly; it is fraught with much absence of sympathy with the people of the country; it is irritating to the people themselves. It is, moreover, at once a flagrant injustice and injury to them, whilst it is a source of weakness to British rule, impairing its efficiency and vigour, that all the wealth, all the persons of influence should stand outside the circle of administrative power.

The admission of Natives to posts in the administration has been advocated since an early period in our rule. Sir Thomas Munro wrote in 1854—

> "Unless we suppose that they are inferior to us in natural ability—which there is no reason to believe—it is much more likely that they will be duly qualified for their employment than Europeans for theirs, because the field of selection is so much greater."

"Even if we could suppose that it were practicable without the aid of a single native to conduct the affairs of the country, both in the higher and in all subordinate offices, by means of Europeans, it ought not to be done, because it will be both politically and morally wrong."

"Our books will do little or nothing. Dry simple literature will never improve the character of a nation; to produce this effect it must open the road to wealth and honour and public employment."

"If we pursue steadily the proper measures we shall in time so far improve the character of our Indian subjects as to enable them to govern and protect themselves."

Mountstuart Elphinstone said to the House of Commons in 1833:—

"The first object is to break down the separation between the classes, and raise the Natives by education and public trust to a level with their rulers."

"It seems desirable gradually to indroduce them into offices of higher rank and emolument, and afterwards of higher trust."

Mr. Charles Grant, President of the Board of Trade, said in 1833:—

"It should be laid down as an inflexible rule that no European should enter into that country unless on the condition of being placed under the same laws and tribunals as the Natives."

Such being the opinions of Indian Statesmen as well as of the House of Commons, the Charter Act of 1833 declared as follows:—

"NO NATIVE OF THE SAID TERRITORIES, NOR ANY NATURAL BORN SUBJECT OF HIS MAJESTY RESIDENT THEREIN, SHALL, BY REASON ONLY OF HIS RELIGION, PLACE OF BIRTH, DESCENT, COLOUR, OR ANY OF THEM, BE DISABLED FROM HOLDING ANY PLACE, OFFICE, OR EMPLOYMENT, UNDER THE SAID COMPANY."

The provisions of the Act were, however, only applied to the subordinate appointments in the public service.

In 1858 a change in the Government came, consequent upon the Mutiny, and on her assuming the Government of India, Her Majesty's gracious proclamation ran 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 OFFICE IN OUR SERVICE, THE DUTIES OF WHICH THEY MAY BE QUALIFIED BY THEIR EDUCATION, ABILITY, AND INTEGRITY TO DISCHARGE.

It was about this time that Sir Frederick Halliday said:—"I believe that our mission in India is to qualify the Natives to govern themselves."

The system of admission to the service of Natives and Europeans by Competitive Examination was instituted at that time, but owing to the Examinations being held in England very few Natives have entered the Civil Service.

In 1870 an Act was passed which provided that the Government of India might appoint, without examination, Natives to posts in the Civil Service hitherto secured by law by Civilians.

A few Natives have now been appointed to these posts, and those who had passed the Competitive Examination have now reached a stage in their career when they are entitled to become District Magistrates and District Judges.

An important part of the duties of a District Judge or Magistrate is the exercise of jurisdiction over Europeans. Before 1872 no court had jurisdiction over Europeans save the High Courts of Calcutta, Bombay, Madras, Allahabad and Lahore. Practically, in remote districts, a European could brave the law with impunity. In 1872, accordingly, Europeans were subjected to the jurisdiction of European Officials. There were then no Natives in high employ.

Now, however, that there are Natives duly qualified, and that there soon will be more, as in course of time one-sixth part of the service will consist of Natives, *it is essential, unless Europeans are to revert to their old and dangerous immunity*, that such duly qualified Native Officers should have jurisdiction over Europeans in criminal, as they have already in civil, cases. There is no surer way of lowering the position of Native Officers of Government, and of imparing their efficiency, than by allowing Europeans to claim, by mere virtue of their race, independent and peculiar immunities.

Thus the Bill known as Mr. Ilbert's Bill is a further step towards providing for the equality of Europeans and Natives before the law, and of Europeans and Natives on the judicial Bench, under the supervision of an impartial British Government.

The main arguments against the Bill are:—

1. The alleged corruption and partiality of Native Magistrates.

Answer. This is a pure assumption. Native Judges in Civil Cases have not been found to be unfair to Europeans. If Native Magistrates were of this character they would be unfit to have jurisdiction over their own countrymen even. But they perform their duties to their own countrymen in a satisfactory manner. Sir John Malcolm once wrote, "I have seen and heard much of our boasted advantages over the Natives, but cannot think that if all the ranks of the different communities of Europe and India are comparatively viewed, there is just reason for any very arrogant feeling on the part of the inhabitants of the former."

2. It is alleged that inequalities are so usual in India, that an inequality such as exists in favour of Europeans might well be permitted to continue.

Answer. With the exception of the privileges of Europeans there are no inequalities before the law in India. The continuance of the exclusive privileges of Europeans are unnecessary as a protection, form an administrative difficulty, and are a great political evil.

3. It is argued that special tribunals exist for the trial of Europeans in Turkey, China, Egypt and Japan, then why not in India.

Answer. Because the Governments of the countries named are foreign, and the administration of justice is not certain. India is under an English Government, which can easily control the conduct of its officers.

4. It is urged that the Bill is only the prelude to further demands, which we could not concede.

Answer. It is no doubt but a small further instalment of concessions to the

Natives which we are bound to grant, no less by distinct pledge than by every reason based on economy, good sense, and justice.

It is worth while remembering that every similiar advance has been met by similar resentment on the part of the Anglo-Indian Community, and yet no evil results whatever have ensued.

THE LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT SCHEME.

The Local Self-Government Scheme is of far wider scope than Mr. Ilbert's Bill, but is much less bitterly opposed. Although its object is to throw more influence into the hands of the Natives, it does not affect the Anglo-Indian Community, except so far as it relieves some of the high officials of a portion of their active duties, which it will make over to local representative bodies, leaving the supervision of those bodies to the Officers of Government.

The great principles upon which it is based are that Government should be by the people and for the people, and that the people best know how to manage their own affairs.

The initiation of the Local Self-Governmeut Scheme may be attributed to Lord Lawrence in 1864. The Government order concerning it runs as follows :—"The people of this country are perfectly capable of administering their own local affairs. The municipal feeling is deeply rooted in them. Holding the position we do in India, every view of duty and policy should induce us to leave as much as possible of the business of the country to be done by the people, by means of funds raised by themselves: and to confine ourselves to doing those things which must be done by the Government; and to influencing and directing, in a general way, all the movements of the social machine."

In 1870 Lord Mayo writes:—"Local interest, supervision and care, are necessary to success in the management of funds devoted to education, sanitation, medical charity, and local public works. The operation of this resolution in its full meaning and integrity will afford opportunities for the developement of self-government, for strengthening municipal institutions, and for the association of Natives and Europeans to a greater extent in the administration of affairs."

As a consequence of the opinions above expressed, in addition to the system of financial decentralization, municipalities have been created throughout India and, on the initiative of Sir George Campbell, election of municipal representatives was introduced into Bengal by Lord Northbrook.

The object of the present Viceroy, the Marquis of Ripon, is, "while maintaining and extending the plan of municipal Government in the towns, to maintain and extend throughout the country, in every district where intelligent non-official agency can be found, *a network of local boards*, to be charged with definite duties and entrusted with definite funds."

Lord Ripon says of his scheme:—"It is not primarily with a view to improvement in administration that this measure is put forward and supported: it is chiefly desirable as an instrument of political and popular education."

He adds :—"As education advances there is rapidly growing up all over the country an intelligent class of public-spirited men, whom it is not only bad policy, but sheer waste of power to fail to utilize. The task of administration is yearly becoming more onerous, as the country progresses in civilization and material prosperity. The annual reports of every Government tell of an ever increasing burden laid upon the shoulders of the local officers. The cry is everywhere for increased establishments. The universal complaint in all departments is that of over-work. Under these circumstances, it becomes imperatively necessary to look around for some means of relief; and the Govenor General in Council has no hesitation in stating his conviction that the only reasonable plan open to the Government is to induce the people themselves to undertake, as far as may be, the management of their own affairs, and to develope, or create if need be, a capacity for self-help in respect of all matters that have not, for Imperial reasons, to be retained in the hands of the representatives of the Government."

It will thus be seen that both Mr. Ilbert's Bill and the Local Self-Government Scheme are cautious developments of principles already laid down, having for their object the political elevation of India and increased administrative efficiency, with the desired result of the improvement of India and the increased stability of British rule.

Finally, let any one who can imagine what a terrible thing it must be to endure a foreign yoke, such as even ours is in India, and yet which must be continued, partly for the benefit of India and partly on account of our own pledges and responsibilities, let such an one say whether England has not laid on it a solemn duty to lighten, as opportunity arises, the burden of despotism, and whether the cause of Lord Ripon's policy in that direction does not deserve the support of every true and free Englishman?

The painful incidents of the Ilbert Bill and Local Government legislation need be only slightly farther dwelt upon. Dealing with the matter in July 1883, on occasion arising, the present writer remarked :—"The agitation is a deliberate attempt to thwart the well-considered and repeatedly-affirmed policy of the British Parliament. The English Legislature has again and again affirmed that special means shall be taken to give duly-qualified Indians a share in the government of their own country. To this policy both Parties in the State have committed themselves. Lord Ripon, on the initiative of an experienced Indian official (Sir Ashley Eden, K.C.S.I., late Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal), and with the sanction of the Secretary of State, prepared a moderate and cautious measure to give effect to his policy. As one consequence of the Bill becoming law would be to elevate our fellow-subjects in India, in some things, to an equality with ourselves, all the privileged classes have joined to

denounce the measure, and have uttered predictions of the great woe which will follow. These predictions are of the class with which in Great Britain we are familiar when we are told of each Reform as it is introduced that it will overthrow the basis of the Constitution and bring about the ruin of the country. As a matter of fact our Constitution is strengthened; our country progresses in a marvellous degree. Strength to British rule and not weakness will follow from the passing of the Ilbert Bill. If it be possible for Anglo-Indians to check the will of Parliament in respect to criminal jurisdiction there is no reason why the will of the same power in the State should not be thwarted in respect to cotton duties and the taxes which have been repealed be re-imposed to the detriment of our commerce and to the hurt of the Indian people." These remarks have been more than justified. The Ilbert Bill, with some slight modifications, has become law: Local Government Reform is in full working order. India is stronger and more loyal to the British control than during any previous period in its history. More than that: the violence of the Anglo-Indian community, contrasted as it was with the calmness and (save in a very few instances) the good temper of native-Indian speakers and journalists, served to show how admirably fitted the Indian people are for the exercise of political rights and privileges. Respecting the modifications which were made in the Ilbert Bill before it passed through the Legislative Council, they may best be described in the words of the Viceroy himself. His Excellency stated:—

"The question which the Government had to consider last December was whether it was better to admit the further change in the Bill involved in the proposed extension of jury trial, and thereby put an end to a mischievous agitation, or to refuse all modifications beyond those announced by the Viceroy on his arrival at Calcutta. There was much to be said for the adoption of the latter course, but the grave evils of a prolonged agitation, carried on after the Bill was passed, and making every European case tried before a Native Judge or Magistrate the occasion of an outburst of race antagonism, induced the majority of the Members of the Executive Council to think that, provided the principle of the Bill was firmly maintained and Native and European Sessions Judges and District Magistrates were placed on a footing of perfect equality, the immediate concession to Europeans of a jury trial in certain cases in districts in which the jury-system has not yet been generally established was a security which might fairly be granted to persons who have been accustomed to enjoy it at home, and who have been brought up to set the highest value upon it.'

In respect to Local Self-Government, the subject is of such great importance that a few further words may be suffered. When Lord Ripon reached India there were several hundred so-called Municipalities in existence. Very few, indeed, were elective, the vast majority were Committees nominated by the chief executive officer of the district and presided over by him. Lord Ripon set the life-blood of popular election and control flowing through the veins of existing bodies.

In Bengal in 1881 the elective system was in force in three Municipalites out of 185. It has now been established in 170 towns. The elections took place in December, 1884, and were remarkably successful. In 1881 the chief executive officer of the District was always Chairman of the Municipality; under the new law 159 Municipalities out of the total of 185 have the right to elect their own Chairmen.

In the North-Western Provinces and Oudh under the old system election was in force in 72 Municipalities out of 107; it has been established in 97 out of 108. Of these 97, 91 elect their own Chairmen. Under the old system the ratio of elected to appointed members was 47 to 53, it is now 83 to 17. The elections passed off satisfactorily.

In the Punjab in 1881 only three Municipalities were in possession of the elective system; it has now been extended to 122. Each Committee elects its own Chairman. The Lieutenant-Governor has written as follows with respect to these elections:—"On the whole, the municipal elections have succeeded admirably, better than those for the Local Boards. There is every reason to hope that the quality of the members is as good as the various localities which they represent could afford. The old non-official members have been freely returned, and no undesirable discontinuity in municipal business is anticipated." Elections for Local and District Boards have taken place in 14 Districts.

In Madras in 1881 the elective system was in operation in only four out of 47 Municipalities. It has now been extended to 24. The Act of 1884 provides that, unless the Governor in Council appoints one of the Municipal Councillors to be Chairman, the Members of the Council may appoint their Chairman by election from among their own number. Thirty-three towns elect their Vice-President.

In Bombay in 1881 the elective system was not in force in a single Municipality except in the city of Bombay itself. It is now in force in 24 towns. In the case of Municipalities the Governor may specially exempt from the provisions of the Act of 1884. Lord Reay, the new Governor of Bombay, has taken an important step in the direction of extending elective privileges wherever possible, by conceding an increased number of elective members and the right to choose their own Chairman to the Poona Municipality.

Election has been in force in the Municipalities of the Central Provinces for many years with marked success; the people are accustomed to it, and it is obviously thoroughly congenial to their feelings. In 1881 the system of election had been established in 60 out of 61 Municipalities; it was therefore practically incapable of extension, but it is now in operation in every municipal town. In 50 of these Municipalities the election of the Chairman is in the hands of the Members of the Committee. The Chief Commissioner, Mr. C. H. T. Crosthwaite, in a letter to Lord Ripon, remarks:—"Your Lordship is aware, from our annual municipal reports, that our Committees work exceedingly well. Nearly all these Committees have now been constituted elective, and I can answer from my own knowledge for the interest which the people are beginning to take in the elections, and for the general efficient character of the work done. Personally I regard, and have long regarded, the establishment of municipal government and the wonderful (to one who has seen its progress) improvement worked in our cities and towns through its means as one of the greatest benefits we have conferred on the country, notwithstanding failure here and there." The District Councils and Local Boards established under the Central Provinces Local Self-Government Act, 1883, are now in existence and at work. This Act was the first to become law of all the new Local Self-Government Acts relating to rural districts, and it has consequently come into operation earlier than the others. There are now 15 District Councils, 1 Independent Board, and 48 Local Boards in full opperation in the Central Provinces. At least two-thirds of each Council and Board are chosen by election by the carefully organised constituency provided by the Act. The mode of proceeding is thus described by Mr. Crosthwaite:—"The Boards have been constituted in the following manner:—The

Mukaddams of each circle have been convened and asked to choose a representative for the circle. A body of electors has been enrolled to represent the mercantile and professional classes of the area under each Board's jurisdiction, and this body has chosen representatives to sit on the Board. Then the Chief Commissioner has, under the advice of the local officers, chosen the persons to be nominated to the Board. The Board has then chosen its office bearers, and has proceed to elect its representative members for the District Council. Another electoral body has been formed by the Deputy Commissioner from the mercantile and professional classes, bringing in the leading bankers, tradesmen, and pleaders who as residing generally within municipal areas are excluded from the Local Boards. This body has chosen its representatives for the District Council. The Chief Commissioner has then added his nominees, and the Council thus formed has proceeded to elect its own office-bearers."

Mr. Crosthwaite gives his opinion as to the probable success of these rural Councils and Boards in the following terms :—"The extension of the same principles to rural tracts of course offers more difficulties" (than in towns), "but it is no new policy, and it has been advocated, as your Lordship knows, and partially introduced by some of our best Indian Administrators. I believe firmly in its ultimate success."

These views are fully shared by Mr. Jones, for whom Mr. Crosthwaite was acting as Chief Commissioner, and by his predecessor, Sir J. H. Morris, who in March, 1883, just before he resigned his appointment, expressed himself thus :—"The Chief Commissioner has during the last two months had an opportunity of discussing the provisions of the Act and of the rules framed under it with many officials and non-officials. He has found with great pleasure that a very great and intelligent interest is being taken in this important measure, and that its principles and objects are very generally understood. It has been a special gratification to him to find how real and intelligent an interest is displayed by the more enlightened and respectable native gentlemen: this interest augurs well for the success of the scheme."

In Assam in 1881 the system of election had never been tried, and the backward character of the population made it advisable to proceed with caution. The Bengal Municipal

Act of 1876 was, however, in force in the Province, so that the system of election could be introduced in Municipalities, if asked for by at least one-third of the ratepayers. All the first and second class Municipalities, five in number, did so petition for its introduction, and it has also been adopted at the request of the inhabitants in the two stations of Silchar and Sibsagar. All the elections have been well attended. In most cases the majority of the old members who presented themselves for re-election were elected, and the Chief Commissioner states that "all the members of the present Committees are reported to be intelligent and suitable for the post." The Municipal Committees elect their own Chairmen, and in two instances non-officials have been chosen. The organization of District Committees has been revised, and Local Boards drawn from smaller areas have been established. In two Districts the system of election has been introduced, and "the result," to use Mr. Elliott's words, "has been encouraging."

In British Burma in 1881 there were seven Municipalities, but the elective system had not been introduced anywhere. There are now eight Municipalities, and in six of them the majority of the members are chosen by election. Besides this, twenty-four Town Committees have been established. These bodies enjoy powers almost identical with those conferred on Committees constituted under the Municipal Act, but their members are appointed by the Chief Commissioner on the nomination of the Commissioners of Divisions. The general result of municipal administration in the Province for the year 1883-4 is thus summed up by the Chief Commissioner, Mr. Bernard, in his last Report :—"On the whole the record of the administration of local affairs by Municipal and Town Committees during the past year is one of steady progress on well laid lines. The Committees have for the most part displayed an interest in their duties and a sense of the responsibilities of their position. The thanks of the Chief Commissioner are due to the gentlemen to whose care the welfare of the several towns has been entrusted, and who have justified the confidence with which the trust has been committed to them."

More than one analogy between legislation and administration in England and in India during the years 1880 to 1885 has

been remarked upon in these pages. Not the least striking has yet to be mentioned. The Imperial Parliament had its Irish Land Bill; the Viceroy of India had his Bengal Rent Bill. Both were introduced in the interests of the tenants as against exaction by landlords. A Fair Rent and Protection in Occupancy were leading features in both. For several years the matter had been under consideration, one of the Provincial Governments first moving in the matter. Historically, the position of affairs was this: the ryots of Bengal, from time immemorial, had substantial rights in the soil they cultivated; they were not merely "tenants at will." "Indeterminate though these rights were, it was held that they at least included the right-of-occupancy conditional upon the payment of the established rate of rent and the privilege of having that rate fixed by public authority. Under the Mogul Government the land tax was collected by farmers or contractors or rajas, sometimes mere nominees of the ruler of the day, sometimes possessing pre-existent rights of various kinds. The British Government converted this intermediate class into the zemindars of the Permanent Settlement and changed the land tax of the Moguls into the rents of the zemindari estates. But the zemindars, though termed 'actual proprietors' of the land, were not absolute proprietors as against ryots. 'The latter possessed substantial rights which, at the time of the Permanent Settlement, though not then ascertained and defined, were saved in express terms: and the Government of 1793 reserved to itself the power (of which indeed nothing could deprive the legislature) to ascertain and settle those rights at any future time when it might deem it expedient so to do." An Act passed in 1859 intended to guarantee these rights, endeavoured to do so by constituting a continuous tenancy of twelve years as the sole test of occupancy rights. This and other enactments did not work satisfactorily: an amendment of the law was found to be necessary. On behalf of the ryots it was urged that they were not sufficiently protected. No trustworthy records were kept, while, it was alleged, frauds were practised upon the tenants in respect to the rents they paid.

It would be wearisome to indicate the course even of controversy, so voluminous did the despatches become and so many were the parties drawn into the struggle. The purpose in view will be sufficiently realised by a statement of the chief provisions

of the measure as introduced into the Legislative Council. They were :—

1. The acquisition of the status of occupancy ryot depended on the holding of any ryotti land (whether the same parcel of land or not) in the same village or estate for a period of twelve years whether before or after the passing of the Act, and notwithstanding any contract to the contrary.
2. The incidents of the occupancy right were carefully defined, the ryot's right (*a.*) to sub-let his land, (*b.*) to transfer it subject to certain reservations in favour of the landlord, and (*c.*) to transmit it to his heirs being affirmed.
3. Protection was given to "ordinary ryots," by means of compensation for disturbance, and to the class of under-ryots by providing that the rent recoverable from an under-ryot should not exceed five-sixteenths of the gross produce.
4. As regards (*a.*) the occupancy ryot's rent and (*b.*) the landlord's power of enhancement, the Bill provided separately for the settlement of rents by private agreement and through the intervention of the courts. In the former case the Bill provided that no agreement for a higher rent should be registered if the rent expressed was more than one-fifth of the estimated annual value of the gross produce. In the latter case the Bill specified with minuteness the grounds (such as a rise in prices, increase in the productive powers of the land, or lowness of rent compared with the prevailing rate) on which the courts could entertain a suit for enhancement, and prescribed the procedure to be adoptod. The broad rule was here also laid down that the new rent should in no case exceed one-fifth of the gross produce.
5. The Bill provided for the preparation from time to time of authoritative tables-of-rates by the Executive Government through its Revenue officers. When such a table had been prepared the courts were to follow it in deciding suits for enhancement. But as doubts had arisen as to the

possibility of framing tables-of-rates, the Bill prescribed rules of procedure for the courts in case a table-of-rates had not been prepared. As a third expedient for adjusting rents the Bill enabled the Government in cases of special importance to settle rents throughout a tract by means of a Settlement Officer.

Numerous and complicated provisions dealt with distraint, tenants' improvements, intermediate tenure-holders, land measurements, zemindari accounts and other less important matters. The Bill extended over 230 sections, many of them being of great length, and the Statement of Objects and Reasons explanatory of the measure was the size of a bulky pamphlet. The contest over the measure was waged most fiercely, the zemindars and a number of the ryots strongly opposing it. A Committee was formed in England and most strenuous efforts were made to stop the course of legislation. All opposition was in vain so far as overthrowing the measure was concerned. The objections urged, however, were most carefully considered. There was no legislating in a panic; deliberation of the most calm and reasonable character marked, on the Government side, the progress of the Bill. Lord Dufferin acquiesced in the necessity for the measure, it was passed by his Council, and referred to the Secretary of State; one of the final acts of Lord Kimberley, before vacating office, was to signify his approval of the Bill.

The Central Provinces also had their Land Act. This Act likewise showed consideration for the tenants. Its chief provisions were:—

1. Protection against capricious eviction;
2. Secure possession so long as a fair rent is paid;
3. Parties, in various ways, chiefly by the pressure of self-interest, are compelled to ascertain what is a fair rent;
4. Compensation for improvements secured to tenants;
5. Neither landlord nor tenant can prevent the other making an improvement which he himself is unable or unwilling to make;
6. Right is given to an "ordinary tenant" to purchase a higher status by the payment of a fixed sum equal to $2\frac{1}{2}$ years' rent;

7. Distraint virtually abolished, rent being made a first charge on the produce of the land;
8. The suspension or remission of arrears of rent in cases of drought or calamity;
9. Forfeiture of the holding for the breach of a lease; and
10. Security of rights by an ejected tenant is respect of crops on the ground or of land prepared for sowing.

One other legislative Act deserves mention. That is the Act Repealing the Vernacular Press Act of 1878. Scarcely any proceeding on the part of Lord Ripon's predecessor caused so much irritation and anger as the passing, at one and the same sitting of the Legislative Council without any notice whatsoever having been given, of the Act "for the better control of publications in Oriental Languages." Lord Lytton was charged with gagging the native-Indian press, with attempting to check the free expression of opinion. That was an offence for which no forgiveness could be found among men of Liberal opinions either in India or in England. Lord Lytton's name, for his action in this respect, will long be held in disrepute, and very deservedly too. The provisions of Lord Lytton's Act were described by the Hon. Mr. Gibbs, in moving for leave to introduce the repealing measure, as unprecedented and exceptionally severe. Lord Ripon's Government were content to trust to the ordinary laws of the country, and the Press Gagging Act was removed from the Statute Book.

The other Bills passed are too numerous even for mention in the limited space at disposal. Suffice it to say that they covered almost every branch of administration and dealt impartially with all races and communities. It is with regret the writer proceeds with his task without being able to tell the story of the Jhansi Encumbered Estates' Bill, how it was the landowners became encumbered, and the action of the State (originally responsible for the encumbrance) in removing it. The side lights thrown upon Indian administration and the facts of Indian existence by the incidents connected with the Jhansi encumbrances are both valuable and interesting.

OUDH, A WORSE IRELAND, LEFT TO "SIMMER IN ITS OWN JUICE."

By way of further emphasizing the statement already made that the core of Indian questions,—especially in relation to land, which is a bigger problem in India than in England,—has much in common with the kernel of matters occupying English thought, attention may be drawn to the energetic efforts made by Lord Ripon to procure amelioration of the condition of tenants in the Province of Oudh. Oudh is almost entirely an agricultural country; the population depends upon the soil; there is naught else from which a living can be obtained. In area it is two-thirds the size of Ireland; in population it numbers 12,000,000 as compared with 5,159,839 in Ireland, being an average rate of 469 inhabitants to the square mile in the Eastern country against 162 in the Western Island. The soil of Oudh is not held by the Government; through recognition by the supreme authority within the past generation the taluqdars of the Province are landowners, but landowners whose power is, by express stipulation, to be exercised in such a manner as to save the rights and safeguard the interests of the peasant farmers. Owing to a mis-appreciation of the facts, Lord Lawrence, in 1869, failed to give security, as he supposed he had done, to a considerable proportion of the agricultural population: he believed he was protecting twenty per cent. of the cultivators,—as a matter of fact he benefited only one in two hundred. The consequence is that the tenant has become a creature wholly at the mercy of his landlord. Evictions take place by hosts, in presence of which the worst periods of Irish landlord tyranny become insignificant. In 1882 91,242 notices of ejectment were served; in 1883 the notices fell to 50,547, owing to action on the part of the Local Government in reference to the exactions of one taluqdar* calculated to discourage

* This taluqdar, Muhammed Nazim Khan, was proved to have acted illegally, harshly, and oppressively,—illegally, in levying a tax he had no right to levy; harshly, in that rents already high were increased 27 per cent. in ten years, while prices of agricultural produce were nearly stationary; and oppressively, because *all* tenants' improvements were made an excuse for increasing rent,...indeed, rent was raised if a tenant manured his field and thereby obtained additional crop, however small.

capricious eviction, but that action being over-ruled and nothing being done in place thereof to protect the tenant, the numbers of evictions for 1884 ran up to 85,749. Eighty per cent. of all the cultivators in Oudh are cottier tenants-at-will, subject to eviction and enhancement at the pleasure of their landlords through the action of the Courts, and having their rents fixed by keen competition. These tenants-at-will number one and a half million; including non-workers seven millions of persons are therefore directly interested in Land Reform in Oudh. The need for a change in the law is very great. Poverty is deepening. With the first touch of distress, with the first failure of crops—(and, be it borne in mind, a new cycle of crop-failure is now beginning)—the suffering will be intense, and starvation will become general. Some proof of general decadence in Oudh will be found in the description on page 21, where, it is shown, that Lord Ripon was induced to devote a portion of his surplus revenue of 1883 in undertaking from imperial revenues the payment of a class of public servants who had hitherto been paid from local cesses, because the condition of the people had gone from bad to worse.

Lord Ripon was sensitive to the suffering of the Oudh peasant and uneasy at the oppression to which he was subjected. When he took up the matter in 1883 he found that, in seven years, there had been 351,900 evictions; the evil was growing apace: in 1876 the evictions numbered 23,600, in 1882 91,242. After careful enquiry, and in consultation with the Local Government, a measure was framed, which, with amendments, the Viceroy approved as calculated to lessen the evil. It fell short, however, of what the Viceroy considered necessary to adequately cope with the evil. The chief provisions of that measure were:

1. Sitting tenant to be secured in his holding for seven years;
2. The enhancement of rent permissible to be limited, at the expiration of the seven years' lease, to $6\frac{1}{4}$ per cent;
3. The Local Government to have power to vary the limit of enhancement;
4. Provision of "compensation for disturbance" if, at end of lease, eviction takes place, or, if the tenant declines to renew lease, compensation to be paid for improvements;

5. Right of renewal to be given to heirs of a tenant; and
6. The Local Government, upon sufficient reason being shown, to appoint an officer for a revision of the rents and their authoritative settlement for a period not exceeding ten years.

These moderate proposals, useful in the interests of the landlords, no less than beneficial to the tenants, would have been accepted by the landlords and hailed with hearty gratitude by the tenants. The Secretary of State *in Council*—(the reader will please mark the italicised words)—refused to sanction the proposed legislation, chiefly it would seem because there have been few agrarian outrages in Oudh; no landlords have yet been killed, and the cultivators are not dying from absolute want at a more rapid rate than, at this moment of writing, are the Spanish people in certain cholera-infected towns. When outrages do occur, and when untold and untellable suffering has been endured, then, perhaps, the irresponsible autocrats of the Indian Council will, out of their graciousness, permit reform to be undertaken. It will, however, then be found that the moderate measure which would now suffice will be insufficient, and such changes will have to be made as will probably necessitate a transfer of property for the benefit of the tenant which otherwise would have accrued to the landlord. The worst traditions of unthinking English Conservatism characterize the Indian Council when it acts, as it is continually acting, as an enemy of reform in early stages of necessity. The worst deeds of Mr. Warton, in blocking legislation in the House of Commons, are more than paralleled by the action of the Indian Council. Should all the papers connected with the Oudh Tenancy Question be called for in Parliament next year, the British public will have an opportunity of understanding how it is that Indian affairs are allowed so frequently to get into a crucial stage involving heroic methods of relief.

V.—PUBLIC WORKS.

"These are imperial works, and worthy kings."

It has been indicated in earlier pages of this pamphlet that, as owners of the soil of India the Government of the Empire were really in the position of the administrators of a great estate, bound by every consideration of self-interest to develop that estate to the utmost capacity. The measure of a successful Indian Viceroyalty, regarded from this standpoint, may be taken from the extent of Public Works undertaken and brought to completion during the Viceroyalty. How does Lord Ripon stand in this respect? It has been shown that he wisely conserved finance and reduced taxation; that trade and commerce flourished under his tax-repealing hands; that military administration was never so efficiently carried out, while reforms were projected and were only denied execution by a conservative India Office and selfish considerations at the English War Office; and that in legislation he has written his name in large and enduring characters alike in the statute book and on the hearts of the people. Has Lord Ripon achieved similar success in respect to public works? A complete and satisfactory answer is afforded by Lord Randolph Churchill, who has declared that Lord Ripon was too active and too successful in this respect. He has developed the great Indian estate, of which the British nation is trustee and of which his Lordship was steward for four and a half years, only too completely. This is a charge which doubtless will lie lightly on Lord Ripon's mind. It will be his gratification to remember that the charge is true in so far as it bears testimony to his earnestness in development and altogether untrue in alleging that he developed India "not wisely but too well."

Lord Ripon and his colleagues had to deal with the recommendations of the Famine Commission respecting improved and more numerous public works as protectors against Famine. Most loyally and energetically did they perform this duty. It may be that to some minds (the present writer's among them) the best preventative of Famine lies in quite another direction

than that indicated by the Famine Commission. That, however, was a doctrine unheard of in 1880. Even now it is pooh-poohed and scorned. What, however, is here darkly alluded to as the only real preventative of Famine is probably destined to attract not a little attention ere long, and it may possibly happen that the way to safety will be found to lie in a direction now described as fanatical. In the evidence placed before him Lord Ripon had facts, and confirmation of those facts apparently "strong as Holy writ." He accepted them; he acted upon them; and this is the grand record of material advancement during his period of Indian rule:—

1. *Railways.*—The progress made in railway construction in the years 1880 to 1884 is thus shown:—

		1st January, 1880.	1st December, 1884.	Increase.
Lines opened for traffic ..	Miles	9,325	11,559	2,234
Lines under construction ..	,,	812	2,897	2,084
Lines surveyed or under survey	,,	2,207	3,941	1,734

The additional lines opened averaged 450 miles per annum. Advocates of railway extension in India (their name is Legion) should each add a leaf to the Ripon laurel crown; they are not likely to find a better average than this in the years which will follow.

If there was extension of lines there was also economy in working them. In 1880 the net profits were Rs. 6,38,54,758; in 1884 Rs. 8,40,15,580, an increase of two million (nominal) £'s sterling. The gross earnings per mile per week were: in 1880, Rs. 282; in 1884, Rs. 301. The percentage of working expenses decreased very nearly two per cent, the figures being: 1880, 50.36; 1884, 48.39. Yet much more work was done on the lower rate of expenditure. The traffic work of the two years stand thus:—

Year.	Passengers. No.	Goods. Tons.
1880	2,388,000	1,812,000
1884	3,012,000	2,971,000

carried one mile. Sixty-five million passengers used the railways in 1883 against forty-nine millions in 1880; seventeen millions of goods were carried in the first-named year against ten and a quarter millions in the first; to convey this traffic 30,000,000 train miles were run in 1880 as compared with 40,000,000 train miles in 1883.

2. *Docks and Harbours.*—Among the projects considered and in some respects undertaken, were:—Docks for Calcutta; re-construction of the Harbour Works at Madras; Extension of the Prince's Dock at Bombay; the dredging of Kurrachee Harbour and construction of new Wharfs; improving the inner Harbour at Aden; and the possibility of constructing Harbours at Vizagapatam on the Coromandel coast and Cochin on the Malabar coast.

3. *Roads, Buildings, Waterworks, &c.*—In each branch of these comprehensive classes of works much progress was made. The details, however, do not appear so far to be forthcoming in any of the publications issued by the India Office.

4. *Irrigation.*—Many persons interested in Indian progress think that in widely-extended Irrigation works is to be found the real panacea for famine and even for general distress among the inhabitants of India. Something, indeed, remains to be done in this respect, but not much. It is often overlooked that the natives of India are, and have been for many centuries, expert in the art of constructing irrigation works beyond anything that Europeans have even imagined. Some of the most successful works of this class of which we make boast in India are merely restorations of ancient projects of immense size and grandeur,—as, for example, on the Godavery and Cauvery rivers in Southern India. Only portions of India are suited for irrigational cultivation, and these are nearly all protected by sufficient works—*if only those works were maintained in good order and fit for use.* An examination of the irrigation map accompanying Part II. of the Report of the Famine Commission shows that two spots in Madras; five in Bombay; two in Bengal; four (one a very wide tract of country) in the North-Western Provinces; and two large tracts in the Punjab only are capable of being protected by projected irrigation works. It is true certain additional works not yet "projected" might be undertaken; but Indian regenerators must not consider that irrigation works can be provided everywhere and that in demanding an extension of such works they have fulfilled their duty in respect to India's regeneration. Still, as has been said, there is much in this direction yet to be done, and it is to Lord Ripon's credit, that, as he said at Bolton, on August 24th, during his Viceroyalty about one thousand miles of main and branch canals and twelve hundred miles of distributaries were opened for the purposes of irrigation. This

means that fields aggregating one million acres were irrigated in 1884 which in 1880 were incapable of being irrigated. All the Presidencies and Provinces have shared in the benefit derivable from so large an area of land being brought under cultivation.

5. *Coal Mines and Iron Works.*—Great efforts were made to develop these industries and not without success. India, however, must be made more wealthy than she is at present before profitable manufacture of iron and steel is possible.

6. *Telegraphs.*—In four years, ending June 30, 1884, the State telegraph system was increased by 4,003 miles of line and 16,939 miles of wire. Indian telegraphs comprise 24,511 miles of posts, 70,645 miles of wire, and 135 miles of cable. The tariff for inland messages was reduced and the representative of India at the Berlin Conference—(the Conference is commencing its sittings at the time these pages are passing through the press)—was instructed to propose a reduction in the international tariff from 5 francs 60 cents per word to five francs. Post Offices have been utilized in India as in England for telegraphic purposes with the consequence that "the wire" has been profitably extended to remote districts and brought to the very doors of the people at a comparatively small cost. Within twelve months of the inauguration of this scheme more than two hundred offices were opened, and the whole of the staff needed was trained in the *interim*.

VI.—MISCELLANEOUS.

ONLY a bird's eye glance is possible in such a review as this of five years' administration of a great Empire. Typical features only of work done or attempted can be noted. The mere recital even of matters to which Lord Ripon was compelled to give his attention and upon which he concentrated thought and care is not possible. In five different sections branches of work have been glanced at and their main features noted. The particulars given serve at least this purpose: they indicate the characteristics of a period of rule which was fruitful of good to India and they will enable Englishmen who care to give a little thought to the matter to grasp some of the incidents of Indian existence, and, it is hoped, place them in accord with their oriental fellow subjects in the political and material desires which the latter cherish. Before, however, the curtain is dropped on Lord Ripon's administration, two or three other matters are deserving of attention, particularly as they deal with subjects to which the newspapers of this country have recently devoted some consideration.

1. *Employment of Native Indians in India.*—This is, of all questions, most important to the people of India. Some startling statistics will be given a little later on showing how the Indian people are deliberately and successfully crowded out of the public service of their own country. Lord Ripon, throughout his period of rule, sympathised most fully with the aspirations of those he ruled. He gave proof of the sincerity of his desire to deal justly towards Indians by appointing Mr. Justice Mitter to act as Chief Justice of Bengal (the highest legal post in India) during the absence on leave of the incumbent of that office. Further, in respect to the Uncovenanted Service, the Forest Department, the Public Works Department, and the Education Department, it is on record that the ex-Viceroy exerted himself strenuously and in a large measure successfully to secure employment for Native Indians. There is, however, one matter in respect to which English friends of Indian advancement have felt no small measure of disappointment at Lord Ripon's apparent inaction. That is with respect to the

reduction in age for competitions at the examinations in London for candidates for the Covenanted Civil Service, whereby Indians of capacity are practically excluded from entering the Civil Service of their own country through the door of competition. It was known that Lord Ripon sympathised with those who would restore the maximum age from nineteen to twenty-two. Not a little satisfaction will, therefore, be felt by Indian Reformers at the statement that Lord Ripon did give considerable attention to this matter during his Viceroyalty, and that he placed on record a Minute containing his views. This Minute has been called for by a Member of the House of Commons. Lord Salisbury, as a public man, has done many arbitrary acts on indefensible grounds, but he never did anything more arbitrary and less defensible, never acted so completely in defiance of fact and reason * as he did in 1876 when, as Secretary of State for India, by a stroke of the pen he reduced the maximum age from twenty-two to nineteen, and procured for the Indian Government the services of growing boys instead of experienced men, besides shutting the door of competition to native Indians. So great is the desire of Indians of respectability and position to take part in the administration of the affairs of their own land, that they are prepared to face the expense and all the risks of a visit to England and a stay there for some years, to compete with foreigners in their own tongue, and to take the chance of displaying superior merit alone for success. At least such was the position of things prior to 1876 when the maximum of age was twenty-two. Now, as Indians rightly argue, the age being reduced the Indian candidate is hopelessly handicapped. The Indian, they rightly point out, has to leave his home, travel some thousands of miles by sea and live in a strange land before he can appear at the open competition; he can scarcely be expected or trusted by his guardians to do all this at seventeen or eighteen, when his experience, his self-reliance, and his strength of will have

* Lord Salisbury placed on record three reasons for making the change: 1. The change was "recommended by the Universities." *Answer*: Only one University, Oxford, was in favour of the change; Cambridge opposed it. 2. That a University education could not be secured by any other course. *Answer*: Experience has shown that members of the Universities are almost entirely excluded from the competition. 3. Maintaining the age at twenty-two "diminished the field of competition." *Answer*: Under the old arrangement 203 candidates competed for thirty-four appointments; under Lord Salisbury's arrangements, in 1882, 140 competed for thirty-nine appointments. Unfortunately, it is characteristic for Lord Salisbury to thus act, in national affairs, in defiance of fact and reason.

not been matured, and his plans of life formed. The conditions are very unjust. To take up service in his own country no Indian should be expected to visit England for purposes of competition. The wrong is a flagrant one, and, it may be hoped, will be taken in hand by a Reformed Parliament, and completely removed. Indians would the more highly appreciate the removal of the injustice if Lord Ripon's were the hand to secure its removal. It is permissible to trust that the ex-Viceroy will take the requisite action in the House of Lords next session and that he will not want support in the House of Commons.

2. *Education.*—Lord Ripon proceeded to India pledged to give the question of primary education his early attention. Reports were called for from all the subordinate Governments and the result was the appointment of a most representative and powerful Commission on which the most experienced Educationalists in the Empire found seats. A most careful enquiry followed. Even with the gratifying progress which has been made during the past forty years, seeing that still out of every thousand males only one hundred and four are able to write or are under instruction, the room for extension of educational facilities is great. A comparision between the time when Viscount Halifax penned his well-known Report on Education and the latest census year shows great progress :—

Year.	Institutions.	No. of Pupils.
1855	50,998	923,780
1881-82	114,109	2,643,978

The Census Commissioner has remarked : — " Burma is the only Indian country where the majority of the males are instructed. There five hundred and thirty-two of every one thousand males (over five) are able to read and write or are at school. In Madras we find the next highest proportion. But the drop from the Burma figure is very great, the Madras figure being one hundred and fifty-eight in every thousand. Of the large Provinces, Bombay comes next, with one hundred and twenty-seven ; then Bengal, with one hundred and two. The North-West proportion is extremely low, sixty-six, and the Punjab little better, seventy-two. In Bengal, which has one million and ninety-nine thousand seven hundred and sixty-seven pupils in its schools and colleges, the census returns show that in every thousand males above five years of age

thirty-four are learning, sixty-seven can read and write, and eight hundred and ninety-eight are ignorant; while in every one hundred boys of school-going age twenty only are under instruction. The per centage of persons instructed or under instruction is better in some Provinces and worse in others, but is extremely small in each." The outcome of the work of the Commission may be best judged by what the various Local Governments purpose doing as the consequence of their attention having been drawn to the matter. The Bengal Government estimates that fourteen lakhs of rupees of additional charge are required to enable it to do all it desires for primary and aided education. It hopes that one and a quarter lakhs of this burden will be taken up by the municipalities of the Province, and for the rest it proposes to increase its own allotments as its resources permit, hoping in nine years' time to work up to the maximum. Bengal is a province where private liberality has already come forward to some extent, and where the fees paid for education are substantial. The Madras Government pledges itself in future to contribute for education five per cent. of its Provincial income. The payments from local funds and town funds are also expected to grow, and altogether it is anticipated that twenty-one lakhs of rupees per annum will be forthcoming in the immediate future as against fourteen lakhs estimated by the Commission for 1881-82. The Bombay Government also promises to increase its allotment as its funds permit. The Punjab Government is unable to increase its payments. In the Central Provinces five per cent. of the Provincial income is to be set apart for education. The tax contribution is rising; towns are expected to contribute more largely, and considerable donations from private liberality have been received for the establishment of colleges at Jubbulpoor and Nagpoor. In Assam, taking provincial and local revenue together, about five and a quarter per cent. is given to education. The allotments have steadily increased. In Coorg and Hyderabad all the funds necessary are forthcoming.

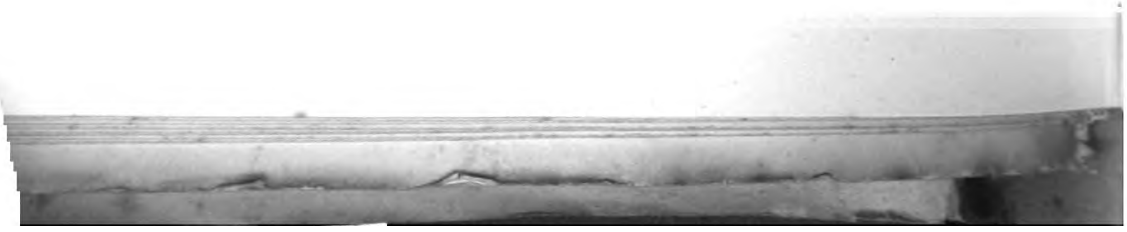
3. *Creation of an Agricultural Department.* — One of the great wants of India, as revealed by the enquiries of the Famine Commission, is a trustworthy Agricultural Department, charged with the frequent and prompt collection of

statistics relating to crops and the like. Lord Ripon gave attention to this matter, with the result that a Department of Agriculture, on high rates of pay, has been established in each of the following Presidencies and Provinces:—Madras, Bombay, Bengal, the North-Western Provinces and Oudh, the Punjab, the Central Provinces, British Burma and Assam. It may be hoped, this provision having been made, so accurate an idea of the real condition of the country may be formed that never again will it be possible for an official body to say, as was said by the Famine Commission of the disasters in 1876-78:—"In many places where it [famine distress] was not thought to be severe the death ratio has opened the eyes of Government officers to the extent of the actual pressure."

Lord Ripon, as will have been seen even from the imperfect narrative given in these pages, left India better than he found it. While this is true of material prosperity it is even more true of that which really constitutes a State,—the loyalty, character, and aspirations of the inhabitants of the State. Loud and dismal were the forebodings of opponents in India and in England of Lord Ripon's policy and of the terrible consequences to British stability which would follow if ever stress occurred. More speedily than could have been anticipated the strain and stress came. Lord Ripon was splendidly avenged of his adversaries. It was found that, with strands of "triple brass" he had bound the people of India to British authority and called forth their devoted efforts in defence of their Fatherland. Had Russia, in consequence of Afghan difficulties, precipitated a conflict with India, an united nation would have rallied to the call of the Viceroy, impelled less (if at all) by considerations of self-interest than by a desire to stand by an over-ruling Power which, in the person of the lately-retired Governor-General, had shown itself righteous in its dealings with, and sympathetic in its feelings towards, the people it governed. No great Consul of the British Empire has ever done greater service to British power than Lord Ripon did in India. He found India discontented, irritated, divided, weak; he left India contented, loyal, united, strong. A greater testimony to the success of his rule than is contained in this expression of a simple fact is not possible.

We must not, however, stop here. To admire Lord Ripon's work is a duty; to rest content with what he has done would be a crime. No one would urge—Lord Ripon it may be supposed least of all—that with what he accomplished all is done for the well-being of India that need be done. The contrary is the case. Because Lord Ripon did so well other duties are—not merely possible, they are imperatively called for by the necessities of the situation. We cannot stop where we now stand. We may not even if we would: the pressure of

events is too strong. It is the highest possible praise of Lord Ripon's devoted and excellent labours in India to say that they have called a new set of circumstances into existence: to make those labours bear full fruit, the development is required of new issues and the carrying of these issues into action. Lord Ripon's rule, it would seem, is destined to be to India what the great Reform Act of 1832 was to England. It did not belittle the achievements of the early Reformers to assert that when their Bill was passed thenceforward there would be no more sea of agitation or trouble. Far from it. They were honoured, when it appeared that, as offspring, the Reform Act of 1832 was to bring to birth such noble children as Municipal Corporation Reform, abolition of the Navigation Laws, Repeal of the Bread Taxes, a beginning of Free Trade. The same remark holds good of those who agitated for and carried the Franchise Reform of 1867: National Education, Irish Church Disestablishment, the Ballot, Irish Land Reform, the Enfranchisement of County Householders,—all these, so far from reflecting on the want of forethought of those who brought us Borough Household Suffrage, rather testify to the wisdom which made reform possible by bringing into the ranks of the Constitution thousands of worthy citizens till then outside. In like manner has Lord Ripon, by his powerful, sturdy, and wise administration rendered possible and needful a further and more complete consideration of Indian affairs from the native Indian's point of view.



SOME RESULTS OF BRITISH RULE IN INDIA.

FAVOURABLE.

1. Peace preserved among the rival nations; harassing military raids stopped and general disquiet removed. Everyone made secure and able to sit under his own vine and fig tree, no foreign foe daring to make him afraid.

[This, and with much propriety, for the blessings of peace cannot be over-rated, is insisted upon with great vehemence by all apologists for British rule in India.* It is always to the front, ever in the first place. But, does it necessarily seem so aboundingly good to the Indian people as it does to us? In protecting them from an occasional raid and a war once or twice in a generation—while we have not lightened taxation, the recollection of the occasional raid has become dim, or even is unknown,—we have not necessarily earned the gratitude of the people. So much the worse for them, it may be said. "They say they are better off with you than with the Barons before, and therefore they love you. But, men in business, Tribune, poor men with families, must look to their bellies. Only one man in ten goes to law, only one man in twenty is butchered by a Baron's brigand; but every man eats and drinks, and feels a tax." So urged Cocco du Vecchio to Rienzi, the last of the Roman Tribunes. And, so urges many an Indian now-a-days, as he finds the iron grip of the tax-gatherer never relaxed, sees that famine in which millions perish is now chronic,

* *The Times*, with its accustomed over-strained eulogy of all things Anglo-Indian, in its issue of Sept. 4, says:—"The main facts embodied in this Report [Decennial Report on the Moral and Material Progress of India] are, fortunately, not to be obscured by any casuistry, and they are gratifying in themselves with regard to the past, as well as encouraging for the future. In the East the acme of human happiness has not yet reached a higher point than the ability to live. It is a question of sustenance. The Indian people have to gain their livelihood under hard conditions. In the past they have had to cope with exceptional difficulties, with the tyranny and incapacity of their rulers, as well as with the always uncertain and sometimes unfavourable condition of their soil and climate. The remedy of their misfortunes in those days was that the heavy hand of calamity brought its own cure. The population declined in the face of invasion, famine, and oppression. But now it is different. The hard conditions remain, although they have been mitigated. There is no longer invasion or oppression; very soon we shall be able to say without rash confidence that there will be no famine but the people multiply, and the benefit of our efforts becomes susceptible of being minimized in critical minds. It is, after all, no more than the happiness of the greater number, but that it exists in fact and not in imagination may be proved by abundant statistics and palpable results which are beyond the possibility of refutation."

and knows that there is no chance of distinguishing himself and rising to honour and emolument in his own land. He has, too, only to remark what is passing in the native-Indian States, where a career is possible, to become daily more doubtful as to the "blessings" of British rule being so very real.]

2. Suttee, infanticide, the offering of human sacrifices to idols completely abolished.

3. Sanitary arrangements carried out in all the large towns, reducing the average death-rate and contributing to the general comfort of the community.

4. Education fostered, so that on March 31, 1883, there were 2,790,061 boys and girls under instruction.

5. Establishment of a Free Press, and the encouragement of a free expression of opinion.

6. Personal liberty secured, and the equality of all men in the eye of the law ensured.

7. Establishment of Local Self-Government Councils and Boards, chiefly on an elective basis.

8. Construction of Roads and Railways; of the latter, in 1884, there were 10,832 miles in working order. Speaking in respect to Roads, Lord Ripon has recently remarked:—"I venture to say that there is no purpose for which money can be spent in India more profitable or more useful for the public than for roads. Great advocate as I am for expenditure on railways, I cannot help feeling that that which is more valuable to the poor man in his country home is the improvement of his roads. You have not a notion what Indian roads are. The worst road in Lancashire is a perfect road compared with the country roads of India, and there is no object to which you can devote money more usefully than you can to the construction of good wagonable roads."

9. Repairing of ancient Irrigation Works, constructing new Works and building of Canals to serve the double purpose of irrigation and providing a water-way.

UNFAVOURABLE.

1. The burden of Government has been made so heavy, that, as gold may sometimes be purchased too dear, so it is more than arguable, it is almost apparent on the face of things, that the blessings secured to India have cost more than they are worth.

2. When we assumed the rule of India it had no national debt; now it has a debt of £159,270,000. Against this debt, it is true, may be placed certain assets, but, when the utmost allowance has been made, the facts remain of a heavy annual charge for interest and the principal remaining unpaid.

3. In times passed India possessed large manufactories and a reputation throughout the world for particular classes of goods which were largely exported. Now, India exports no manufactured goods and her internal trade of products from hand-looms is destroyed, her village system overthrown. A few Cotton Factories have, within the past few years, been erected in the Presidency towns, and are very successful, but their influence is hardly felt in the country at large; they certainly do not compensate for the industries we have destroyed.

4. We abolished the Village Communities and Tribunals (*Panchayats*) erecting in their place a system of law courts whereby, in many cases, justice is practically denied to the poor villager or rendered so costly that he is ruined in trying to get it.

5. We have put so high a price on stamps for legal proceedings that, after paying enormous salaries to our Judges, a large surplus remains.

6. We broke up a system of local self-government suited to the needs, and sanctified by the experience, of the people, and only within the past few years have tardily provided similar institutions.

7. Under the mistaken idea that India was a rich country and the people more than fairly well-to-do we have established a system of administration which is by very far, estimated according to the wealth of the people, the costliest in the world. A few statistics may help us to realise (1) the comparative, as well as the actual, poverty of the Indian people, and (2) the excessive cost of administration. British India, so far as popu-

lation is concerned, is almost equal to the United Kingdom, France, Russia, Austria, and Spain. The details referred to respecting these countries are as follows:—

Country.	Population.	Total Annual Income. £	Average per inhabitant. £ s. d.
India	200,000,000	300,000,000	1 10 0
England	35,000,000	1,247,000,000	35 0 0
France	37,400,000	965,000,000	26 0 0
Russia	84,400,000	760,000,000	9 0 0
Austria	37,830,000	602,000,000	16 0 0
Spain	16,290.000	188,000,000	12 0 0
Totals ..	210,920,060	£3,752,000,000	Avrge. 19 16 0

The average for the whole of Europe, the United States, Canada, and Australia, is about £19 12s. od. per head. India against this average has but £1 10s. od., and has to bear the expenses of an administration far beyond its power.

8. Owing to various circumstances, notably the vastness of the country, our comparative want of knowledge, and the impossibility (being foreigners) of our ever getting a real acquaintance with what is going on from day to day in the various districts, we (1) either fail to realise the exact state of affairs or (2) we misread the facts we possess. (1) The Famine Commissioners assert it was only after the sufferers had died that, "in many districts," the officials knew there was any serious pressure upon the people. (2) The Select Committee of the House of Commons and the India Office between them actually produced a Report urging Railway construction because, they said, such works were "likely to protect the country against famine." That Railways answer this end has nowhere been proved. Careful search through the Blue Book, of 920 pages, giving report, evidence, appendix, nowhere shows that Railways were proved to be works which "protect the country against famine." No questions were asked, no information vouchsafed, throughout the whole enquiry, indicating that Railways had proved themselves Famine Protectors. The fact, from beginning to end, was *assumed*. And, *assumed* under circumstances far from creditable to the India Office, seeing that that Office all the time had evidence in its possession proving that Railways had failed to "protect" the country against famine. Sir George Campbell and Mr. Slagg, with one or two other members of

the Committee, once or twice, in questions which they asked, came near to the matter. But they merely touched with their finger-tips what was really the crux of the enquiry.

A Blue Book, issued at the end of February, 1885, shows that, taking this century, and giving from 1800 to 1860 as a Pre-Railway era (though railways were begun in 1848), there were 13 famines in those years, and a probable loss of life of 4,000,000 to 5,000,000. Wars during that era had a large share in causing the distress which culminated in famine. During the Railway era, beginning with 1861 and going on to 1878, there were in seventeen years sixteen famines, with a life loss of 11,821,420. It was further shown that, *in districts in which there are Railways*, a fourth of the population died from famine and famine-occasioned disease in two years, and the cultivated area decreased by one quarter.

The Blue Book referred to is "Report of the Indian Famine Commission, Part III, Famine Histories [C. 3086]." The following statement is abstracted from the information contained its pages:—

PRE-RAILWAY ERA.

Page.	Year.	Territory affected.	Mortality.
9	1802-3	Bombay - - -	Deaths exceedingly many.*
15	1803-4	North-Western Provinces and Rajputana -	Terrible in Rajputana, estimate of life-loss not made; in N.W. Prov. not very severe.†
4	1805-7	Madras - - -	Estimate of deaths "very large;" in Madras City 12,000 over average.
5	1811-14	Madras - - -	No serious distress.
10	———	Bombay - - -	Severe: but "not much mention of mortality."
18	1812-13	Rajputana - -	Exceedingly terrible: mortality, probably 1½ to 2 millions.
6	1823-24	Madras - - -	"Deaths of frequent occurrence."
11	1824-25	Bombay - - -	Scarcity "nowhere amounting to famine."
19	1825	North-West Provinces	Do. do. do.
7	1833-34	Madras - - -	Mortality very great; in districts affected more than 10 per cent of the people died.
11	1833	Bombay - - -	Scarcity, but no famine.
19	1837-38	Upper India - -	800,000 (probably 1,000,000).
26	1854	Madras - - -	"Considerable check to the growth of population."
52 years		13 Famines -	Probable loss of life 5,000,000.

* This Famine was chiefly owing to war, and was mitigated by the plentiful supply of water and grazing for cattle.

† Here, again, war complicated the situation

RAILWAY ERA.

Page.	Year.	Territory affected.	Mortality.
37	1860-61	N.-Wn. Provinces and Punjab	Estimates vary; certainly not less than 500,000
45	1865-66	Orissa	In six districts alone 1,300,000
70	———	Behar & North Bengal	Returns not very accurate, but stated at 135,000
74	———	Madras	450,000
78	1868 69	Rajputana	*1,250,600
88	———	N.-Wn. Provinces	600,000
99	———	Punjab	600,000
99	———	Central Provinces	250,000
103	———	Bombay	Loss of life not stated; immigration very extensive.
104	1873-74	Bengal and Behar	No mortality.
149	———	N.-Wn. Provinces and Oudh	Do. do.
161	1876-77	Bombay	†800,000
186	———	Hyderabad	70,000
203	1877-78	N.-Wn. Provinces and Oudh	1,266,420
211	1876-78	Madras	3,500,000
	———	Mysore	1,100,000
16 Famines: Total Famine Mortality in Eighteen years			11,821,420

The above statements, however, only convey part of the truth. Under-statement rather than over-statement marks the figures given; they may, however, be accepted as true so far as they go. But recourse must be had to the Statistical Abstract of British India, and an analysis of some of its contents made, before the full measure of the unsoundness of the contention, that Railways check famines, can be understood. During the 1876-78 famine in Madras nine districts were directly affected. Seven of these had a first-class railway, on either the broad or narrow gauge, running through them; some were served by two such railways. It has been thought well, in view of the Report of the Select Committee, to compare the decrease of the population, through famine, in certain Bombay and Madras

* Report by Col. C. Brooks, Political Agent.

† My own estimate, based on the latest issue of the Statistical Abstract for British India, puts the mortality at 1,100,000, or 300,000 higher than the above.

districts served by railways and in other districts not served by railways. This is how it works out:—

DISTRICTS TRAVERSED BY RAILWAYS.

District.	Decrease: 1881 compared with 1872, and allowing for increase of 1 per cent. per annum. *	Percentage of Decrease.
Bellary	481,430	26½
Coimbatore	364,275	19
Cuddapah	351,764	24
North Arcot	378,839	17
Sholapore	201,632	27
		113½

Average 22⅔ per cent.

DISTRICTS NOT TRAVERSED BY RAILWAYS.

District.	Decrease: 1881 compared with 1872, and allowing for increase of 1 per cent. per annum. *	Percentage o Decrease.
Kurnool	336,800	32
Kaladgi	251,245	29½
Belgaum	166,020	16½
Dharwar	195,835	18
Sattara	95,392	8¼
		104¼

Average 20⅘ per cent.

On the ten districts selected the average indicates a difference of 2 per cent. against railways, *i.e.*, the population decreased more rapidly where the districts were served by railways than where there were no railways. This is a protection against famine entirely in the wrong direction. The particular gain from railways is, however, seen by comparing Kurnool with Bellary; but if Kaladgi be put by the side of Sholapore the gain to the latter, through the railway, is 2½ per cent only. The Bombay districts mentioned are those selected by the Government of Bombay for a test census, while the Madras district (Kurnool) cited in the first-quoted table was by far the worse-

* The Government of India (p. 567 Report of Select Committee on East India Railway Communication) puts the normal increase at 1½ per cent. per annum. Had I used the same figures the case against Railways as Protectors from Famine would have been of a stronger character than I have stated. I could not, however, use 1½ per cent. as a standard of increase; the Indian Census Returns do not appear to me to justify it.

affected of the two affected districts not served by railways. It will therefore be seen that the facts, as the India Office Blue Books furnish them, have been fairly dealt with. North Arcot is a Madras district traversed by *two broad gauge Railways*, yet, according to Dr. Hunter, in the Gazetteer of India, the utmost efforts of Government had to be put forth to prevent the district being depopulated in 1877-78.

The pointed query follows naturally, "RAILWAYS HAVING, BY OFFICIAL STATEMENT, FAILED TO PROTECT THE COUNTRY AGAINST FAMINE IN THE PAST, WHAT REASON IS THERE TO SUPPOSE THEY WILL DO DIFFERENTLY IN THE FUTURE?" The efficacy of railways *during famine* all must admit. As the result of observations in Southern India and Mysore in 1877-79, the present writer is of opinion that while, with railways, we lost five millions of lives, without them we should have lost ten millions.

Railways, in themselves, do not actually promote famines, but they are one outward and visible sign of a system of administration which is the Sole and Direct Cause of Famine. Suppose a loan of ten millions is raised for railway extension, India would not necessarily get large advantage. The first to benefit would be English iron-workers and railway coach and engine builders. Three and one-third millions out of the ten would be disposed of in this direction. Then, if the expenditure in India were followed step by step it would be seen that out of the ten millions for which the Indian tax-payer becomes responsible, only a very small portion would be found to be expended among the Indian people, and, when spent, distributed simply among the wuddahs ("navvies") and brick-layers and masons. After the lines are constructed and in working order, England receives a very large portion of the revenue. Four years' figures are instructive:—

Expenditure on Productive Public Works (Revenue Account) in India and in England.

	1880.	1881.	1882.	1883.
Expenditure in India ..	£4,165,614	£6,099,973	£6,190,513	£6,841,977
„ „ England..	4,786,985	4,641,780	4,907,287	4,899,770

At first sight it may appear a hard saying to remark that it is owing to *our* mode of administration in India famines are now so frequent and so deadly. The Government of India, with Lord Lytton as Viceroy, announced this fact, in effect, though

it was not put in that way, by introducing a new feature in Indian finance,—viz., a Famine Insurance Fund, because, as they stated, Famines must henceforth be looked upon as a regular feature in Indian affairs. It will, therefore, be seen that the Government of India, and not an irresponsible critic, declare famines to be chronic. The remark may be added that it can be put beyond reasonable doubt that Famines, under fair and righteous government, would occur in India as frequently as they do in England,—in other words, they would not occur at all. There is terrible poverty in our Eastern Empire,—a poverty aforetime *not* terrible, though occasionally severe, in the sense in which it is now terrible. This is brought about, partly through our ruling a poor country by a system so costly that if our rich country were like expensively administered the burden would hardly be borne; in India it is not borne: it yearly crushes hundreds of thousands to the earth. The effect of our system is to bring ten millions of people within the scope of Famine and by our Railways to save five. The mischief lies in the circumstance that the ten millions need not be famine-stricken at all.

10. A comparison between Native-Indian and British administration of Famine is most unflattering to our pride. The condition of the average Indian under his own countrymen as rulers is better than under British administration. Men still in office are (unwilling and unwitting) witnesses. It is notorious that the management of Famine affairs in the Nizam's Dominions in 1876-77, as compared with the Bombay and Madras management, was very good. Exactly fifty years ago it was the same. Writing in 1833 Colonel Stewart said;—"During the scarcity which prevailed last year in this country, and in the Company's neighbouring districts, it was the subject of remark by every traveller coming here from Madras or Masulipatam. that the moment they entered the Nizam's dominions all the worst appearances of famine in a great measure ceased. They no longer saw the villages filled with the dead and the dying, as they did in the Company's country, although the price of grain continued to be as dear, and in some cases actually dearer than it was in the Company's country." The cause why famines are more frequent and deadly now than they were, not in native times merely, but in our own times, not fifty years ago, is that the people, in

millions, live, not from hand to mouth, but even more painfully than that; consequently, when the rainfall lessens and crops wither, instead of scarcity and pinching, famine stares the masses in the face and they die by hundreds of thousands.

11. It would not be difficult to show that, regarded from the point of view of the people of India, our administration of their country has not proved a success. The Men sent out to India are not in fault; we take special pains to find the best men we can for service in India: they desire to do well and are animated by the best intentions. But the conditions of the case are such that success is impossible; the present system of administering the country can only be continued at a frightful cost in impoverishment, in suffering, in life-loss, to an extent and intensity almost too dreadful to contemplate. In a Return ordered by the House of Commons, on the 12th March, 1885, to be printed, and which was distributed to hon. members the day after the House rose for the Easter Recess, appears a communication from the Indian Finance Minister. In that communication he protests against the provision of a sinking fund to extinguish in a number of years the borrowings for further railway extension. He adds, "Should a famine cycle be approaching us we should very shortly have to suspend our so-called sinking fund." The "famine cycle" is already upon India. Certain districts in the Bombay and Madras Presidencies and the British-impoverished State of Mysore are even now experiencing its first effects. So also are certain districts in Bengal. The cycle will probably last until 1889-90. During that period according to Return 113 (House of Commons) it is proposed to spend 1378 lakhs of rupees—in conventional sterling, £13,780,000. While that money is being spent, if experience be any guide, ten or more millions of people will die from want and want-induced diseases and much money will be expended in keeping other millions alive. These are certainties of the near future. The present policy in no way prevents such calamitous events; on the contrary, by a variety of causes not apparent on the face of things, that policy is largely responsible for them.

12. When any disparaging remark is made respecting the effect of our rule in India and our administration is condemned, we are asked to regard the large increase which has taken place in the trade of the Empire. That increase has been

great. Compare the years 1840 and 1883 (the gross total of 1884 only, not the details, has yet been published). They are :—

Year.	Imports.	Exports.	Totals.*
1840	£7,780,000	£13,170,000	£20,950,000
1883	65,540,000	84,320,000	150,040,000

During the whole period the totals were :—

Value of Exports	£1,789,520,000
„ „ Imports	1,045,140,000
Balance against India	£741,170,000

That is, nearly £17,500,000 per annum balance during all those years against India, the major portion of which has been spent in England. Mr. J. E. O'Conor, in his Statement of the British Trade of India for 1882-3, writing of what he calls "the excessive preponderance of imports," shows that for the five years, 1879 to 1883, taking Rs. in conventional sterling, the amounts were :—

Year.	Value.
1879	£21,166,212
1880	17,704,425
1881	16,643,636
1882	24,684,481
1883	20,925,526
Total	£101,925,526

Average for each year £20,205,856. Upon these facts, Mr. O'Conor appropriately remarks :—"Some people still talk of this excess as showing that the 'balance of trade' is in favour of India, implying of course that the excess represents a sum for which payment must be made to India, which therefore is richer by that amount. This idea has recently been developed in a leading newspaper of India where one would hardly expect to find such crude notions on economic subjects. The true state of the case is that the imports are paid for by the exports, and that when exports are in excess of imports, the fact is that, after paying for the imports which the country requires, further payments to the amount of the excess have to be made in liquidation of debts owing to other countries. In our case the excess means that we pay a debt to England annually, sometimes called a tribute, to the amount stated above; it is the payment of interest on foreign capital invested in this country, of allowances

* Including Treasure imported and exported. During the 43 years £419,110,000 worth of Treasure was imported and £60,330,000 exported.

and pensions drawn out of the country, home charges for the army and for civil establishments. These are the principal items which are paid for by the excess of our exports over imports; that excess represents no 'balance of trade' to be adjusted now or hereafter in favour of India by payment to her in one shape of either goods or specie."

Accepting this reasoning as accurate, as it assuredly is, a comparison of the trade of India with the trade of other countries will be useful.

Country.	Year.	Imports. £	Year.	Exports. £	Balances. £
India	1882	49,110,000	1882	83,000,000	33,890,000
United Kingdon ..	1882	348,000,000	1880	241,000,000	107,000,000
France	1882	199,000,000	1880	144,000,000	55,000.000
Germany	1882	148,000,000	1880	149,000,000	1,000,000
United States	1882	151,000,000	1880	153,000,000	2,000,000
Canada	1882	25,000,000	1880	21,000,000	4,000,000
Australia	1882	63,000,000	1880	50,000,000	13,000,000

It will be seen that the really prosperous countries import more than they export, with the exception of the United States, where, however, unique circumstances exist and the States become almost a law unto themselves.

Another point to be considered in this connection is that the trade is not really and truly *India's* trade,—that is, a trade carried on by Indians as British trade is carried on by Britons, or the trade of France by Frenchmen. Roughly summarised, the export trade of India in 1882 was as follows:—

a. Exports in the production and distribution of which British Capital, British Management, British Railways, British Ships, &c., &c., are engaged, leaving simply wage-earnings (coolies at 9d. a day and clerks at 10/- a week, and a few "Managers" at fairly high salaries or "Commissions") to the Indian people £18,650,922

b. Exports produced by Indians, carried on railways owned by the British, passing through British Shippers' hands, and carried almost exclusively in British Vessels £53,321,322

c. Export, a monoply in the hands of the Government of India, yielding that Government a net revenue of over £7,000,000 per annum valued at £11,481,379

TOTAL £83,453,623

The profits of this trade (only a very small proportion of which are spent in India) go to a foreigner, whose mercantile establishments at Calcutta, Bombay, Madras and elsewhere, are on a princely scale, while his "establishments" in Britain are more than comfortable. The bare bones only are left for native-Indian picking. A searching examination of the economic facts connected with the export trade of India would result in one—and one only—of the causes of Indian impoverishment being discerned. If, however, such searching examination is proposed, the proposal, according to Sir Louis Mallet, Under-Secretary of State for India, whose long experience entitles him to speak with authority, encounters the "vehement opposition" of the India Office.

13. The deductions drawn from the facts set forth are vehemently denied by some parties, who declare that if the deductions were correct India would be in a semi-ruined condition and its inhabitants in great poverty. As a matter of fact India is semi-ruined and its people are in direst poverty. Visitors to India, as a rule, keep along the line of railways, they see the large cities which are great emporia of trade,—of the "country" strictly so-called, the mofussil as it is termed by Indians and Anglo-Indians, they know nothing. Two official statements may be cited :—

> "I do not hesitate to say," writes Mr. C. A. ELLIOTT, C.S.I., Chief Commissioner of Assam, "that *half our agricultural population never know, from year's end to year's end, what it is to have their hunger fully satisfied.*"
>
> "The remaining fifth, or forty millions, go through life on insufficient food."—W. W. HUNTER, C.I.E., LL.D., *Bengal Civil Service.*

These statements are supported by those who know the people in their homes. The writer has never yet met an Indian missionary, who has had experience in the mofussil, who was not prepared to testify, of his own motion, that the one striking fact which impressed itself upon him was that the people had not enough to eat.

14. India has never been rich, as Europeans count riches. But the people have been so frugal in living and so compassionate and charitable one towards another that pauperism, in the sense in which that term is understood in Europe, namely, State funds set aside year by year for the regular relief

of the poor, and the provision of Poor-Houses, as in England, have been unknown. The poor have not been a charge upon the State. Nor, even in India's present condition, are they such a charge. Only in time of widespread famine are the taxes employed to feed the people.. A comparative statement will bring out India's praiseworthy position more clearly than any description :—

Country.	Population.	Amount spent annually by Government for Poor Relief.	Numbers receiving relief.
United Kingdom ..	35,000,000 ..	£10,052,000 ..	1,017,000
France	37,430,000 ..	2,720,000 ..	1,251,000
Prussia	27,279,000 ..	4,730,000 ..	1,310,000
Austria	37,530,000 ..	3,700,000 ..	1,220,000
Italy	25,910,000 ..	2,700,000 ..	1,365,000
Spain and Portugal ..	20,640,000 ..	1,100,000 ..	600,000
Scandinavia ..	6,560,000 ..	950,000 ..	300,000
INDIA	200,000,000 ..	NOTHING ..	NONE

There must be some reason for India being now so poverty-stricken as it admittedly is and for Famines being frequent beyond all precedent.

15. The general condition of the inhabitants of the Native-Indian States is vastly superior to that of the dwellers in British Provinces. In Appendix I. to the Report of the Famine Commission appears, in the shape of a "Note on the Economic Condition of the Agricultural Population of India," a searching analysis of the evidence taken by the Commission. Mr. J. B. Peile, of the Bombay Civil Service, who was himself a Commissioner, undertook the analysis and wrote the Note mentioned. To give some idea of the scale of an ordinary agriculturist's transactions during an ordinary year the following particulars are set forth :—

	Area of Farm.	No. of Family.	Gross Receipts.	Expenses. Cost of Hired Labour, and other outlay.	Rent or Revenue	Domestic Expenses.	Total Expenses.	Balance. Credit.
NORTH-WESTERN PROVINCES.								
	Acres.		Rs. A.	Rs. A.	Rs. A.	Rs. A.	Rs. A.	Rs. A.
Landower	52	3	315 0	28 0	87 0	162 0	277 0	41 0
Occupancy Tenant	22	5	298 0	40 0	71 0	127 0	238 0	60 0
CENTRAL PROVINCES.								
Occupancy Tenant	44	7	345 0	20 0	51 0	215 0	286 0	59 0
Do.	55½	6	178 0	9 12	26 0	129 6	165 2	12 14
HYDERABAD (Deccan.)								
Occupancy Tenant	50	5	552 8	96 0	50 0	180 8	326 0	226 0

In Hyderabad, as compared with the North-Western Provinces, it would appear that a farm of fifty acres produces two-fifths more of crop; the tenant in the Indian State expends three times and a half as much on hired labour and other outlay, the tax on his land is thirty-seven per cent. less, on domestic expenses he spends nearly twenty rupees more, and, at the end of the year, has Rs. 226 in hand against Rs. 41, that is, five hundred and fifty per cent more!

16. In our relations with the native-Indian States we are guilty of most unfair procedure. *Ex. gr.* the Berars, the richest Provinces in the Nizam's Dominions, were taken away, in 1853, from the Nizam, under circumstances of a most discreditable character,* —that is, discreditable personally to Lord Dalhousie, the then Viceroy. Although the conditions imposed when the Provinces were "conveyed" to the British Authorities have been fulfilled the Provinces have not been restored. There is no powerful public opinion in India to compel the Supreme Government to perform this act of restitution.

17. The population is not increasing so largely as, if "the Roman peace" we have established be worth anything, it ought to have increased. Here are the particulars as given in one of the India Office Blue Books—

Year.	Area in square miles.	Population in year specified.	Increase.	Decrease.
1855	832,000	184,310,000	——	——
1861	856,000	196,000,000	11,680,000	——
1871	860,000	195,840,000	——	160,000
1881	868,256	198,790,000	2,650,000	——

These figures show that though, in a period of 26 years, the area of British India has been extended by 36,256 square miles the population has only increased by 14,000,000. The population of the United Kingdom, during the same period (without any addition in area) has increased by half that number, and the relative populations in 1855 were—India, 184,000,000, Eng-

* "In 1853 the Nizam came into our power by a process which has been often and successfully repeated in our Indian annals. There is a curious phenomenon in the insect world where an egg is deposited in the body of a living creature, which nourishes itself upon the substance of its unwilling nurse, gradually taking up all the fat, flesh, and tissues of the victim, till it dies, or drags on a futile existence. Our Government in India has frequently laid such an egg, in the shape of "a contingent," within the confines of friendly States. Oudh, Gwalior, and the territories of Scindia, were thus treated, and by no other means were the dominions of the Nizam brought within the grasp of Lord Dalhousie."—*Lord Dalhousie's Administration of India, by Edwin Arnold' C.S.I.*

land, 27,000,000. Perhaps some explanation may be found in the following particulars for the nine years, 1872 to 1881 :—

Province or State.	Population 1872.	Population 1881.	Population as it should be if rate in Bengal prevailed.	Decrease
Madras	31,281,177	30,868,504	34,096,483	3,227,979
Bombay	15,308,343	16,489,274	17,776,094	1,286,820
N. W. Province of Oudh	52,002,897	44,107,869	45,783,158	1,675,289
Mysore	5,005,412	4,186,188	5,455,899	1,269,711
Total Decrease				7,459,799

18. Promises made to employ Native-Indians in the Government of their own country have not been kept. Lord Ripon did something to keep faith with the people; he did all that, perhaps, under the circumstances, could be done. Of over fourteen millions sterling paid for salaries, pensions, and the like, every year, only a small proportion is received by Indians. These payments are on account of the Civil Departments and Miscellaneous Civil Charges; no account is taken of salaries and wages paid to railway *employés* and military men. In one way and another, nearly the whole of the land revenue is paid for salaries and wages. The greater part goes to Europeans and Eurasians. To what extent this is the case may be gathered from the following facts :—

Department.	Salaries per month. Rs.	Europeans. No.	Native-Indians. No.
Forest.....	8,350	15	None
Customs.....	3,720	4	None
Preventive Services and Salt Department, stopping at Rs. 100 per month	30,300	109	None
Opium.....	35,150	72	None
Police (Indians at Rs. 400 and 41 at Rs. 200 per month)	68,600	114*	51

The foregoing particulars refer to Bengal: what is true of Bengal is true of every other Province. Take, for example, the Telegraph Department in Madras: Rs. 11,175 are paid monthly in salaries ranging from Rs. 3,000 to Rs. 375, all to Europeans. The statements given are but samples out of a large mass of material. †

* Four of these draw Rs. 2500 per month.

† Russia, our rival in Asia, acts in a different spirit. The *St. James's Gazette* (Aug. 19, 1885) reviewing Mr. Vambery's new book, "The Coming Struggle for India," says:—"There is good reason for believing that Russia's Armenian subjects are quite content with their position in the

19. Mr. Bright, several years ago, moved for and, after very great trouble, obtained in manuscript (it has never been printed) a return of salaries paid in India and a statement of the nationality of those to whom they are paid. Here are some of the facts revealed :—

Salaries nominal £'s			Europeans.	Eurasians.	Indians.
£		£			
100	to	249	1,887	1,201	5,954
250	,,	499	1,366	535	1,286
500	,,	999	2,036	139	303
1,000	,,	1,999	1,052	18	58
2,000	,,	2,999	360	2	
3,000	,,	3,999	135		
4,000	,,	4,999	47		
5,000	,,	5,999	24		
6,000	,,	7,999	8		
8,000 and up			12		

Thus 6,927 Europeans drew £7,336,799 a year in salary as against 7,571 Indians drawing £2,482,929. The Indian element varies inversely as the amount of salary increases. The same Return gives the following proportion of military salaries :—

Salaries: nominal £'s			Europeans.	Eurasians.	Indians.
£		£			
100	to	249	1,122	173	1,365
250	,,	499	1,824	62	211
500	,,	969	1,731	17	10
1,000	,,	1,999	1,167	1	
2,000	,,	2,999	107	1	
3,000	,,	3,999	23		
4,000	,,	4,999	6		
5,000	,,	7,999	8		
8,000 and up			1		

empire. The most vigorous spirits among the Armenians of Russia find employment and promotion in the army; nor does Mr. Vambéry fail to point out the benefit that Russia derives from her practice of rewarding the conquered when they have once ceased to be disobedient. The Russian army is a highly composite body, and it is used not only as an instrument of destruction but also as a means of conciliation. Its honours and emoluments are open to Orientals as well as to Europeans. Mr. Vambéry mentions in particular the cases of Dondukoff Korsakoff, whose family name before being Russianized was Donduk Korsak; and Alikhanoff, who until quite lately was known as Ali Khan of Merv. Count Loris Melikoff, again, is an Armenian, and Russia has had at least two high-born Afghans in her army; the Ameer Abdur Rahman, who was (possibly is even now) a Russian General, with eight or ten times a Russian General's pay; and Iskandir Khan, nephew of the late Shere Ali, who was not only entered on the lists of the Russian army, but served for several years as lieutenant-colonel in the Hussars of the Guard. . . . . The fact that Russia opens her service to the inhabitants of the Eastern countries which she from time to time annexes, has, all the same, become widely known in the East; and we may be sure that the Russians make the most of it."

It is in the lowest grade that there is anything like equality between the races. The facts insisted upon are more glaringly shown by taking the whole of the persons employed at all salaries, as shown for the Revenue Department, 1870, in the East India Financial Committee's Report—1,099 Europeans, average salary £839; 29,282 Indians, average salary £33 (partly estimated). Or, one European to about 26 Indians, and his salary about equal to the aggregate of theirs. As to pensions: 7,660 non-resident gentlemen draw annually from the revenues of India £3,069,565, or over £400 a head.

On the question of salaries Lord Ripon has recently remarked with broad good sense, as follows:—"Before you permanently reduce profitable expenditure, I say you ought to go through your whole expenditure in all its branches. Reduce those parts of your military expenditure which do not concern the power of your army; look to your salaries, see whether you cannot by diminishing the number of the covenanted services, and increasing the number of your uncovenanted services, by employing more natives, especially in the judicial branch, see if you cannot bring about a reduction of expenditure before you turn and cut down your expenditure on public works."

20. *Ecclesiastical.*—The sum of £170,000 per annum is paid to English Episcopalian and Scotch Presbyterian clergymen to provide spiritual ministrations for the highly-paid Civil servants and British soldiery. (This payment, it may be surmised, has been continued solely because Free Churchmen in England have not protested against it with sufficient vehemence. Like payments in Ceylon have, within the past few years, been abolished as the result of persistent and well-directed agitation).

Such facts as are here set out demand the attention and careful thought of those who are, through their Representatives in Parliament, the real rulers of India. Every consideration must be given to all that tells in our favour. This, it has been shown, is large. Equal consideration, however, must be paid to what is said on the other side. Each Briton should, under any circumstances, nay, ought to, weigh the statements on both sides for himself, and, if he be satisfied that there is occasion for serious searching into our rule of India, take care that he will not register his vote in November next for any man who is not

prepared, from his place in Parliament, to support a demand for

A Royal Commission of Enquiry into the whole Administration of India.

To make enquiry is not to take a step towards dissolving the connection between England and India. On the contrary, to investigate acknowledged grievances and to take steps to remedy them is the surest possible way of cementing that connection. Lord Ripon's administration is trumpet-tongued on this point. Let the spirit he manifested during his residence in India animate our dealings with our fellow-subjects, let us give them more and more power in their own land, enlisting their knowledge, their experience, and their ardour in the exceedingly difficult task which we have assumed in undertaking to govern India. Then will the material condition of the people be improved and the loyalty to the British connection of all the varied Races and Peoples be ensured, to the lasting good alike of India and of England.

FOOD TAXES IN CEYLON.

THIRTY-TWO years ago, when the Anti-Corn Law League agitation culminated in the splendid apostacy of Sir Robert Peel, and the sweeping away of unjust food-taxes in Britain, the island of Ceylon responded to the great movement, and intimated its desire to participate in what Mr. Cobden finely described in the House of Commons, when he said Great Britain was setting "the example of making industry free," and thereby carrying out to the fullest extent the Christian duty of "doing to all men as ye would they should do to you." Public meetings were held in Colombo and in Kandy, in September, 1846, and assuredly it was a strange sign of the times that in the capital of the Kandyan Kings a free trade meeting should be held, and the surrounding hills echo the cheers which greeted the peroration of the speech of Dr. Elliott, a Colombo newspaper-editor, when he committed the meeting to the fullest principles of free-trade. Exactly a generation has passed away, as generations are counted in Europe—three generations according to the practice of Ceylon-English residence, where ten years on an average suffices to see the European population entirely changed—and the evils then earnestly fulminated against still exist in full vigour and force. The need for reform in the matter of freeing the staple food of a people was great in England: it was greater in Ceylon, and to it in the colony was added the infamous system of farming the food-revenue; for corruption and demoralization the system has been powerful for ill. Food-tax and farming of revenue flourish in 1876 in Ceylon as they did in 1846, and no one amongst her highly-paid officials has lifted his hand to change the procedure and initiate a better order of things. It is to the lasting disgrace of the Colonial Office in London, whose archives contain many exposures of the evil, that no attempt at change has been made. No revenual considerations forbidding a remission of this particular tax and the introduction of an improved system of taxation exist. Three months' rule of a practical European State-financier as Colonial Secretary of Ceylon

would suffice to remodel the taxation of the island, impose on all classes their fair share of the cost of Government, and cast aside the present cumbersome old-world practice. It is even worse than the Dutch Colonial style of collecting revenue, for the Dutch did not farm the tax on the food of the people. The pages of this paper, it is to be hoped will show how simple is the path by which a change, great in its effect upon the people, may be carried out.

First, however, to state the evil: Rice is the staple food of the people of Ceylon. In centuries gone by it is alleged, on good data, the island not only grew food enough for its own inhabitants but also exported large quantities. Now half the quantity consumed, between three and four millions of bags, is imported from India. Rice is more completely the food of an Eastern people than bread is of the English labourer or artisan. It is the one thing the Ceylonese partake of at every meal: ordinarily it is flavoured with curries, and the deficiencies in the constituent elements of the cereal are supplied by small quantities of salt-fish. But there are classes of the people who are confined to boiled rice as their one kind of food year in and year out. A tax of ten per cent. upon such an article as this to the low-waged labourer of the tropics, must therefore be a burden not easily to be borne. Indeed, the cooly in Colombo or other towns, who earns tenpence or less a day, pays annually on an average for himself alone nearly six shillings as tax on his food, while if he has a wife and others dependent upon him, that sum must at least be doubled. In addition he pays a direct money sum for up-keep of roads, representing six days' labour. Leaving municipal and other taxes out of consideration, a common cooly in Colombo has to contribute annually nearly a twelfth of his income to the State, which is as if a highly-paid official like the Chief Justice or Colonial Secretary contributed nearly £300 per year as direct taxation.

Upon the rice imported into Ceylon a tax of 7d. per bushel is imposed, yielding annually, on an average of ten years, a sum of Rs. 1,300,000. All paddy-lands are taxed, and they form the only cultivated area in the island upon which an impost is levied. Coffee and cinnamon estates, many-fold more valuable, contribute nothing in the shape of direct taxation, while much of their profits goes to support absentee landlords. Paddy-fields, the property of private parties, are taxed at the rate of

one tenth of the produce. Crown lands, which may not be cultivated without previous permission having been obtained, have to give up one-half of the yield of the whole crop reaped. There are two harvests in one year, the yalla in September and the maha (or great) in April. The same lands, unless exceptionally fertile, are not cultivated for both harvests. The tax is collected by that most pernicious of all systems ever adopted in raising revenue, viz., by farmers of revenue, or "renters" as they are termed in Ceylon. Under this system, for the practice has become thoroughly systematized in Ceylon, the grossest evils prevail, and individuals suffer in the manner described by Adam Smith, when he says: "Those subject to such a tax are put more or less in the power of the tax-gatherer, who can either aggravate the tax upon any obnoxious contributor, or extort by the terror of such aggravation some present or perquisite to himself. The uncertainty of taxation encourages the insolence and favours the corruption of an order of men who are naturally unpopular even when they are neither insolent nor corrupt." As, however, it is in the nature of corruption of this kind to make the food it feeds upon, evils of the greatest magnitude and demoralization result.* . . . . . .

A thoroughly trustworthy survey of the island has not yet been completed. The local authorities, hampered by the Colonial Office, have never once taken up the work in earnest. Sufficient, however, is known of the acreage of the colony to enable a land-tax to be levied with comparative fairness, subject to subsequent correction when the long-talked-of cadastral survey is completed. Indeed, thirty years ago, Sir Emerson Tennent considered that fairly good data were available to allow of a change in the system of taxation taking place. The extent of land in the island is over 12,000,000 acres, of which only about one-sixth is under cultivation, estimated as follows, (in the case of coffee and kindred articles, the figures being almost

* At the last moment, when correcting the proofs of this article, a letter has reached me from Ceylon, in which the following fact is incidentally mentioned. "I had before me yesterday," says the writer, "a case which shows the facilities given by the ordinance to Government renters for the purpose of oppressing cultivators. A renter was entitled to only one-tenth of a dry grain crop on a paraven of land: he claimed one-half, contending that the land was a crown tenure. The cultivators refused to give him more than one-tenth; he prosecuted them for breach of the ordinance. The ignorant cultivators were afraid to remove any portion of the crop from the field pending the decision of the case, and the crop has been rotting in the field for the last five months The cultivators were not only robbed of all the fruits of their labour, but they were subjected to the wrong and expense of defending themselves in a criminal case, simply because they resisted the extortionate demands of the renter."

absolutely exact, whilst there is doubt as to some of the others):—

	Acres.
Rice (paddy-cultivation)	700,000
Other grain (Kurakkan, Indian Corn, &c.)..	100,000
Coffee (European and Native)	300,000
Tea	1,080
Cinchona	3,000
Cotton	500
Tobacco	17,000
Cocoa-Nut	250,000
Arekanuts, Palmyra and Edible roots ..	70,000
Cinnamon	28,000
Cacao, Cardamoms and Edible roots ..	2,000
Other Fruit-bearing trees	80,000
Pasturages, &c.	600,000
TOTAL	2,151,580

As has been already remarked, of the more than two million acres of cultivated land described above, only the seven hundred thousand under rice pay a direct tax to the Government. All the others are absolutely and entirely free of direct contribution to the revenue. In regard to the rice-lands, some slight element of doubt exists respecting a Government claim of ownership, inasmuch as it has never been sold out-and-out, as coffee-lands, for instance, have been. Private ownership, however, is recognized in rice-fields, as is evidenced in the varying proportions of produce claimed by Government, viz., one-tenth in some cases (private lands) one-half in others (Government property). At the most this is but a matter of detail, which is susceptible of easy arrangement by the island officials whose duty it is to consider and arrange these matters. Bearing this point of mixed and doubtful ownership in mind, the Colonial Office committee in 1847 said: "In bringing forward this proposition, the Colonial Secretary has described with great clearness, and we have no doubt with perfect truth, the oppression and extortion committed under the system of farming out the annual assessment of rice and paddy-lands, the discouragement which it causes to the cultivation of that description of produce, and the demoralization which tyranny and avarice on the one side, and cunning and deception on the other, necessarily create among all who are connected with it. It would be superflous in us to repeat those objections, but we may state that we agree with him in thinking that the tax

on rice and paddy-lands, so far as the tax depends on an annual assessment of the growing crops, is most objectionable in principle and ought to be abolished as soon as it may be possible, and substitute for it a general land-tax, based on a mixed calculation of the amount now paid for paddy and rice-lands, and the amount to be paid for other lands in the colony."

The loss to the revenue, based on the average of the past five years, by the abolition of the share of produce of rice-fields and of the tax on imported rice is

	Rupees.*
Tax on Paddy (inland growth) average ..	8,00,000
,, Rice imported	13,00,000
TOTAL	2,151,580

To meet this deficiency the following scale of taxation is suggested :

Cultivation.	Acres.		Rate. Rs.	Total. Rs.
Rice (Paddy cultivation)	700,000	@	1·25 —	875,000
Other grain (Kurakkan, Indian Corn, &c.) ..	100,000	,,	1·00 —	100,000
Coffee (European and Native)	300,000	,,	2·00 —	600,000
Tea	1,080	,,	2·00 —	2,160
Cinchona	3,000	,,	2·00 —	6,000
Cotton	500	,,	1·50 —	750
Tobacco	17,000	,,	1·25 —	21,250
Cocoanuts (European and Native)	250,000	,,	·50 —	125,000
Arekanuts, Palmyra and Kitul Palms	70,000	,,	·50 —	35,000
Cinnamon	28,000	,,	2·00 —	56,000
Cacao, Cardamoms and Edible roots	2,000	,,	·50 —	1,000
Other fruit-bearing trees	80,000	,,	·25 —	20,000
Pasturage, &c.	600,000	,,	·50 —	300,000
	2,151,580			Rs.2,142,160

It will thus be seen that the change in form of taxation would leave no deficit, whilst it could not fail to be attended with great blessings. For instance, the monstrously evil system of farming taxes, which Mr. George Wall, in 1867, said would utterly break down after half-an-hour's debate in the House of Commons, would be altogether done away with, and the food of the people would be lightened of a great and pressing burden. In the case of a cooly, such as has been cited in an early part of the paper, it would reduce his direct contribution to the revenue annually from nearly a month's to one week's wages. The rice-cultivator

* A Rupee is locally valued at two shillings, and is divided into one hundred cents which gives 50 cents to represent one shilling; 25 sixpence, and so on.

would find vexatious imposts at an end; it would be possible to cultivate his fields and reap his produce without any extortion; he would thereby be stimulated to increase the productive power of his land by deep ploughing and employing good seed. A stimulus would most certainly be given to cultivation. At first sight it would seem as if an entirely new burden, to the extent of Rs. 600,000, were to be laid upon coffee-estates, which stand on a slightly different footing from other lands, having been purchased outright from the Crown. Even if this were the case, it is submitted that such a tax would in any sense be only just. Undoubtedly, European coffee-cultivation has done great things in providing the people of the island with employment and by bringing Ceylon into prominent notice. But Englishmen have reaped vast advantages therefrom, and there has been, and is, a steady drain of the wealth of the Colony to England, where a large number of absentee landlords live in comfort, some in wealth. The riches thus drawn from the island are in no way made to contribute to the revenue, there being no export tax, and it has frequently been a subject of consideration among Ceylon publicists whether some means could not be devised to reach the income of the absentees. That, however, is a matter for future consideration. The proposal of this paper does not in any way deal with it. Under the change proposed the coffee-planter would actually be in a better position than he is now. This will appear when it is explained that coffee-estate proprietors lay in stocks of rice from which they serve out weekly to their coolies a certain quantity at a uniform price, irrespective of the fluctuations of prices in the local markets. In times of scarcity, this leads very often to serious loss on the part of the proprietor. Upon him, rather than upon the estate cooly, does the import of 7d. per bushel on imported rice bear most heavily.

There are nearly 250,000 coolies employed on the estates, say, 230,000. The average supply of rice is three-quarters of a bushel per month. This gives as a result:—

230,000 Coolies: ¾ bushel of Rice each per month for 12 months =	2,070,000
The tax of 30 cents. per bushel upon the above would amount to	Rs.621,000
Tax of Rs. 2 per acre as given above, yields	Rs.600,000
Balance in favour of Land Tax over Tax on Rice.. ..	Rs.21,000

Coffee-planters, therefore, could have no objection to the proposed change.

The foregoing was written between nine and ten years ago and was published in the *Calcutta Review* early in 1871, forming part of a long article on the subject. In the meantime action had been taken. Prompted by outside influences, and by questions asked in the House of Commons by Mr. T. B. Potter, M.P., Hon. Secretary of the Cobden Club, the subjects of revenue farming and food taxes were brought forward in the Ceylon Legislative Council in the sessions of 1876-77. The Ceylonese members, the Hon. Sir Coomara Swamy (Tamil) and the Hon. James Alwis (Singhalese)—both have since died,—bestirred themselves briskly, and a most interesting debate was the consequence. In the course of debate, the Queen's Advocate (the Hon. R. Cayley) made the significant remark that the food taxes were doomed. Government promised a commission of enquiry. The Commission sat and took evidence in 1878; the Commission reported most adversely against the continuance of the revenue farming system, and it has been abolished: the question of food-taxes was avoided, and a passing condemnatory reference made to a land-tax. The food-taxes, in spite of Mr. Cayley's remark that they were doomed, still exist and exert their baneful influence. How long they will stand the scrutiny of a Reformed House of Commons, supposing the opportunity be found for bringing them under consideration, remains to be seen. The point, however, is one in respect to which prophecy might be ventured without much fear as to the prophet being discredited by the event.

"S.,"—it is not betokening undue curiosity to endeavour to identify in "S." Mr. Justice Scott, of the High Court, Bombay,—in a communication to the *Times of India* published in June, 1885, describing a visit to Ceylon, remarks:—"But all is not *couleur de rose* in the administration of Ceylon, and the praise I have given may fairly be balanced by a little hostile criticism. The system of taxation is directly contrary to the first principles of political economy. It is bad enough to make Adam Smith turn in his grave. The most important tax is a duty on all food imports, especially rice, which, though essentially the food of the poor, is taxed to 50 per cent. of its value. Next to this charge comes a tax on all grain-producing lands in the country,

and what is inconceivable is that all the tea and coffee, cinchona and cacao, plantations, practically all the land cultivated by Europeans, is exempt. The country is sadly in need of a local John Bright to head a crusade in favour of a Free Breakfast Table. Of course any general scheme of a land tax for the whole colony would be met with a howl of indignation from every plantation in the island, and the Government would be charged with injustice and breach of contract, as all Crown lands have been sold in fee simple. But every reform must injure some vested interest."

Of interest in this connection, and as showing the need which exists for a thorough reform in Crown Colonial procedure, the following passages from a letter written by Mr. George Wall, a veteran Reformer in Ceylon, dated September 8, 1885, to the present writer, may be published. Mr. Wall says:—

"Before leaving Ceylon I endeavoured to revive a movement for the reform of our Legislature. I was encouraged to hope for general sympathy and support in the island by recent events of a very unpopular character, which show how very little the true interests of the island and the most urgent wants of the people are regarded by our government, and how impotent for any useful purpose is our local Legislature. The fact that Colonial affairs had been attracting a little public attention in this country where they are generally ignored, gave me some reason to hope that our case, fairly represented, might also meet with some attention here. I introduced the subject at the Planters' Association, and had to give the usual formal notice of my motion, ten days before the meeting. . . . . .

"I have long been convinced that there is no hope whatever, by any appeal to the Colonial Office, for effective reform of our Council, nor is it possible, I believe, to interest the home public in Colonial affairs, so long as these are under the control of an individual Minister without the salutary check of public opinion. I am firmly convinced that until Colonial affairs are publicly discussed in a House of Colonial Representatives in this country, the Colonies will never form an integral part of the Empire; the British people will continue in total ignorance of Colonial matters, and the importance of the Colonies to the industry and commerce of the mother country will never be fully recognised. Seeing that the Premier and his Cabinet have to submit to the House of Commons the measures they devise for the government of the nation, I cannot conceive why the Secretary for the Colonies should not in like manner submit *his* measures to public discussion and

determination. I infer that Sir Hercules Robinson must hold some similar opinion as expressed in the following words, quoted from a recent speech of his:—'There must ere long be an Imperial Parliament for the control of the Colonies, each of which should possess a full measure of Home Rule.' I am not aware that he has defined the exact functions and constitution of the Parliament he proposes, but it is clear that it would be a separate House from either Lords or Commons. There might be some technical difficulties in establishing so new an element in our system, but I do not apprehend that these would be insurmountable. The House of Commons is so completely engrossed with the affairs of the nation that it would be quite impossible to add Colonial affairs to its present duties, even if Representatives of the Colonies were seated there. The present House has neither time nor inclination to deal with Colonial government.

"It is manifestly inconsistent that the outer limbs of the Empire should be governed on principles totally different from and repugnant to those of the parent State. And, it would be easy to show that the results are both anomalous and mischievous. Referring, for instance, to Ceylon. During my experience of that country, the action of Downing Street might be cited in regard to Sir Henry Ward's Surplus Funds Ordinances; the subsequent hoarding of the surplus revenues by Sir Charles Macarthy; the consequent insupportable exaction in the name of military expenditure; the irrigation policy, and the decaying condition of the native population in the remote parts of the island; the recent railway policy and a host of other minor matters of vital importance to the welfare of the Colony, not one of which could possibly have survived public discussion and exposure in a House composed of British subjects of ordinary intelligence. The island has been subjected to this enormous weight of depressing and retrogressive legislation, solely by means of the irresponsible individual action of the Secretary of State, whose edicts, issued from his desk in Downing Street, have been clothed with the semblance of legislative enactments by the forced votes of the official majority in a local legislature. There is no hope for the Crown Colonies under such a system, and it is manifestly hopeless to attempt any reform through the system itself. So long as our ultimate Court of Appeal continues to be as it now is, in the very Office itself which is the centre of the abuse, what *chance* have we of reform? Our only hope is in public opinion. Hence my object is, if possible, to interest my fellow-countrymen in the matter of Colonial government, and through their influence to bring the administration of Colonial affairs into harmony with the principles of home government.

"I am not well acquainted with the new Federation Scheme, and am not aware therefore, whether, or to what extent, it might be applicable to Colonies in general, but I think that a comprehensive system of Federation which should embrace all parts of the Empire proper, that is excluding India which is altogether *per se*, is essential to the unification and permanent stability of the whole fabric.

"Though I have no sympathy whatever with the Republican form of government for the British Empire, I think that so far as regards the mere confederation itself the United States of America furnish us an admirable model. There we see a full measure of Home Rule, to use Sir Hercules Robinson's words, combined with a supreme central government by which the whole of the heterogeneous elements are bound together in solid compact. The *Ceylon Observer*, commenting upon its view of my proposal, sneeringly asks what sympathy could possibly exist between elements so diverse as Canada and Ceylon, Jamaica and Hong Kong? The reply is obvious; as parts of one Empire they ought to sympathise whether they do so or not; under the existing system they should be brought into mutual sympathy by a better system, such as that which brings together and unites such elements as Florida and California, Maine and Texas, than which no communities could be more diverse. The same master in the art of sneering, asks how any man could possibly represent a Colony like Ceylon in a Colonial House, considering the widely different opinion and classes existing there. My answer is, that he would represent Ceylon exactly in the same manner as the Member for an English borough represents people of all shades of opinion and of every class and degree."

NOTE.—On page 95 will be found an estimate of the total taxation paid by an average Ceylonese cooly. Mr. C. S. Salmon, in a Cobden Club publication issued on Sept. 11, 1885, reviewing taxation in Ceylon, makes the position much worse than I have stated it. He says:—"The taxes a Cingalese adult has to pay represent two months' labour of twenty-six days each to the working man a year who has a wife and three children) at the Ceylon rate of wages." Mr. Salmon's book is a powerful and just indictment of Crown Colony rule.

THE TIMES AND INDIAN PROGRESS.

In its issue of September 4, 1885, *The Times* reviews at great length the Decennial Report on the Moral and Material Progress of India, 1873-1883. In so doing it makes a presentation of facts for the information and guidance of the British public which is misleading and inaccurate in the highest degree. It takes up two positions—one of hostility towards Indian Reform and Indian Reformers, and the other of unmitigated adulation of British rule involving, by the excessive praise given, injustice to many. Its respective positions are,—

1. Hostility towards Reform and Reformers.

a. "Our rule in India is too often obscured with extraneous considerations of theoretical justice and impossible humanitarian equality." That is to say, (1) English administration of India and justice have nothing in common, and (2) humanitarian (not political, even, but humanitarian) equality is "impossible." Whatever the negro slave may have become, so far as *The Times* is concerned the Indian subject of the Queen shall never be "a man and a brother" to the English subject of Victoria. Coarser cynicism was never expressed.

b. "We govern India . . . solely with regard to our own conscience, *which on the matter of India is too tender*"! Comment, in view of the facts already narrated in that part of this pamphlet which shows the unfavourable side of British rule in India, would be an insult to the reader.

2. Unmitigated Adulation of British Rule.

a. "They" [the facts recorded in the Blue Book] "constitute, rightly regarded, a feat of administration of which we feel justly proud, and which can only be perpetuated by the honourable pride and self-confidence of a people convinced that it has the power as well as the opportunity to confer practical benefits on races who, if left to their own discretion,

would at once become embroiled in domestic strife and civil contention."

b. "Very soon we shall be able to say without rash confidence that there will be no more famine."

c. "There are not so many countries which can show a revenue that has trebled within the past forty years,"

d. "Or [the revenue] increased by 25 per cent. within the last ten years, that we should hesitate to make a boast of this fact;"

e. "Nor can it be considered as otherwise than phenomenal that the land revenue has in the same period increased by more than 65 per cent."

Upon each of the statements of fact alluded to a few further remarks may be made, remarks not calculated to encourage the self-complacency so strongly and so pharisaically expressed. "Very soon we shall be able to say without rash confidence that there will be no more famine." No doubt the statement may be made; there is not the slightest doubt *The Times* will make it again and again: but it will not be true. The contrary, indeed, will be the case. Famines will be more frequent and more deadly. Exactly what *The Times* now says might have been said, probably was said many times, in 1865; the famines in Orissa (life-loss 1,300,000), in Behar and North Bengal (135,000), in Madras (450,000), in Rajputana (1,250,000), in the North Western Provinces (600,000), in the Punjab (600,000), in the Central Provinces (250,000), and in Bombay, occurred in less than five years from 1865, with a total mortality of 4,585,000, to prove the falsity of the prophecy. It is probable *The Times*, or some other apologist, with "rash confidence" said in 1875 what has been said in 1885. Awful events happened to prove the fallacy of the forecast. Famines occurred in Bombay (mortality 1,100,000), in Hyderabad (70,000), in the North Western Provinces and Oude (1,266,420), in Madras (3,500,000) and in Mysore (1,100,000), the combined totals being 6,736,420. To recapitulate:

	No.	Mortality.
Famines in Decade 1865-1874	8	4,585,000
,, ,, 1875-1884	5	6,736,420
Totals	13	11,321,420

Sir Auckland Colvin, and all unprejudiced observers agree

with him, supposes we are now at the beginning of a fresh famine-cycle. So far from there being ground for the assertion that soon there will be "no more famine" the chances are there will be many and the mortality as much greater in the decade before us and in succeeding decades as the mortality in 1875-1884 was greater than the mortality of 1865-1874. The harsh and unfeeling conduct of Sir Rivers Thompson, Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, and his subordinates, in the Burdwan division of Bengal in the months of April-August, 1885, prove that the spirit of British officials (in spite of Famine Commissions and Famine Codes) has not altered for the better, and that famine (due to causes over which the British have large control) is still resented as misconduct on the part of the people, not to be recognised, no, not for a single hour! *The Times* will, no doubt, welcome the publication of these statistics from the India Office, overlooked by itself, seeing that it desires that "more facts [*i.e.*, facts relating to Indian administration] be brought in the clearest and most intelligent manner before the readers in England who necessarily do not know the whole truth and who admittedly stand in need of enlightenment."

c. "There are not so many countries which can show a revenue that has trebled within the last forty years." There may not be "so many" countries perhaps (whatever the expression may mean), but there have been a good many countries the revenues of which have increased in the periods named and even in shorter periods, so greatly as to put India's increase in the shade. For example: In twenty years, from 1860 to 1880, the revenue of Australia increased by 233 per cent.; of Canada by 158; of South Africa by 310; of West Africa by 360; of Ceylon by 80; of the West Indies by 105; and of India by 70 only. Take, however. the forty-year period of *The Times*. During that time, the revenue of Italy and of Turkey (nearly), of Germany and of Spain were (wholly) trebled; of Canada was quintupled; in the United States the increase was twelve-fold, while in Australia it was fifteen-fold. But, there is no need to leave the broad oceans which lave the shores of India itself to find even better results than those of which *The Times* is so proud. The argument of the newspaper is that only British officials could possibly accomplish such grand results as are recorded, for, we are told that "while we have

striven to acquire the most copious and accurate knowledge of the peoples of India," * the people of India "have shown very little corresponding desire to become acquainted with us and our higher conceptions of the duty of government." If this be true then how meritorious was the conduct of Sir Salar Jung and his coadjutors in the Nizam's Dominions! What, if, without "our higher conceptions," more marvellous ends than our own have been achieved? *The Times* has gloried in boasting of Anglo-Indian Administration. What words are left wherewith to praise the achievement recorded in the succeeding lines of one who is alleged to be deficient in all those qualities in which we are pre-eminent?

TOTAL REVENUES OF HYDERABAD AND INDIA COMPARED.

The Nizam's Dominions.		*The British-Indian Empire.*	
	Rs.		£
Revenue in 1853 ..	68,01,130	Revenue in 1853 ..	28,610,000
„ in 1881 ..	3,11,40,538	„ in 1881 ..	68,370,000
Increase	Rs. 2,43,38,908	Increase	£39,760,000
Percentage of increase nearly 357.84 per cent.		Percentage of increase 230 per cent.	

In 1853 Sir Salar Jung had to face a deficit of thirty-one lakhs, besides many other debts. These he paid and, at the beginning of the year mentioned, had a balance of Rs. 65,36,239. On the above showing the advantage would appear to lie with the Nizam's Minister: it does so to a greater extent than is indicated. For, during this period, while Sir Salar Jung had no deficit worth speaking of and had incurred no debt save for a railway forced upon his State by the British authorities, the English administration had encountered—

	£
Deficits	60,230,000
Surpluses	12,120,000
Deficits over Surpluses ..	£48,110,000

Besides a debt of £130,000,000. The ground may not be shifted and the remark made, "Yes, we will admit Sir Salar

* As a matter of fact we have done nothing of the kind. Sir Louis Mallet is a better authority on such a matter than an anonymous writer in *The Times*, and Sir Louis has stated that he found a "strong repugnance" at the India Office "to the adoption of any adequate measures for the collection of a comprehensive and well digested set of facts." I have already quoted his opinion; it will, however, bear repetition.

Jung did whatever you claim on his behalf, but we made it possible for him to do so by keeping the peace and by setting him an example." Granted; no one denies that Great Britain has had and still has a mission in India, but the contention of all who are like-minded with the present writer is that if we would confine ourselves to over-lordship and leave every part of India to be administered by native-Indians, now (if that point be pressed) that the example has been set, the result would be as much better than it now is as 357·84 per cent. increase is better than 230 per cent. A close examination of the figures published by the India Office, too, would show that the Government of India are credited with receipts on various articles of trade, on railway construction, and on public works,—which in other countries enrich individuals and contribute only a small quota to the State. Instead of the Indian revenual increase in forty years giving occasion for boasting it provides good reason for shame that, under the circumstances, we did not do far better.

d. "The revenue has increased by 25 per cent. within the past ten years." True; but in what items have there been increase? In Land Revenue, half-a-million, chiefly through "raising rents": in taxes (1882) 20 per cent.: in Public Works receipts nearly 300 per cent. (the expenditure meanwhile on this account increased 420 per cent.); Tributes and other receipts (1882) over 60 per cent. Within the same period expenditure has increased from £54,000,000 to £69,000,000, and the Debt has risen from £105,470,000 to £159,270,000, being an addition of £53,800,000 in ten years, or an average of £5,380,000 per year. This is the kind of administration of which *The Times* boasts;—in ten years to have five famines and lose nearly seven millions of people and to increase debt by five millions and a quarter per annum! Surely such a result as this could be attained by beings less superior than those so highly praised week after week, year after year, by *The Times*.

e. "Nor can it be considered as otherwise than phenomenal that the land revenue has in the same period increased by more than 65 per cent." It is not clear from the context whether "the same period" means "within the last forty years"

or "within the last ten years." Evidently the former is meant, the figures being:—

	£
In 1843	13,560,000
„ 1883	21,870,000

Is this increase really phenomenal? During the period named the territory of British India has been enlarged by more than one-third, namely from 626,000 square miles to 868,256 square miles. If an increase of 65 per cent. in land revenue in forty-three years is "phenomenal" what adjective must be used to describe an increase of 260 per cent. in twenty-eight years in territory which was not enlarged but, on the contrary, wrongfully circumscribed? Yet this is what was done by certain among the much-contemned natives of India, the facts being as follows:—

GROSS LAND REVENUE COLLECTED.

The Nizam's Dominions.	Rs.	*The British Indian Empire.*	£
Collected in 1853 ..	64,85,098	Collected in 1853 ..	16,190,000
„ 1881 ..	1,83,40,861	„ 1881 ..	21,860,000
Increase	Rs. 1,25,14,098	Increase ..	£5,650,000
Per centage of increase 260 per cent.		Per centage of increase, less than 25 per cent.	

The ability of the Minister who could achieve such a result, who could abolish the farming of revenue, resume grants of land, increase taxation, and yet leave the people better off than they were before, and more prosperous than corresponding classes in British territory, is beyond all praise. Of the total demand made for land revenue in the Nizam's Dominions nearly the whole is collected, the exact per centage being 98·55. A comparison may be instituted:—

The Nizam's Dominions.		*Presidency of Bombay.*	
Per centage of Collection on Demand	98·55	Per centage of Collection on Demand ..	97·52

A great mass of similar facts is available; want of space compels their being passed over. It may, however, be remarked that much of the "phenomenal" increase boasted of by *The Times* is due to excessive harshness on the part of the State landlord in unduly raising rents. One example must

suffice. The revision of Indapoor taluk enhanced rates by 53 per cent., of Sholapoor by 77, of Madeh 77, of Bhimthuree 69, of Punderpoor 67, of Barsee 66, of Heveli 66, of Pabul 48, of Soopa 36, and of Tharmal 32 per cent. These enhancements of rates were considered moderate at the time they were announced. As, however, they were made at a time when the reaction in prices had set in in full force, Government was compelled, in sheer justice to the complaints of the peasantry, though against the inclination of survey officers, to offer a concession of rates in a resolution dated the 29th October, 1874, in which it was laid down that in no case was the increase of revenue by the re-assessment of a taluk or a group of villages to exceed 33 per cent.: that in case of an individual village the enhancement was not to go beyond 66 per cent.; and in case of a single holding beyond 100 per cent. Even this resolution, in the opinion of the Deccan Riots Commission, has not solved the difficulty. In fact Mr. Pedder considers that Government might with advantage lay down a general rule that the enhancement on a revision of settlement in any taluk should not exceed 25 or 30 per cent.*

With the foregoing examples reference to *The Times*' misleading statements must end, only, however, because the writer's limits are reached. They will serve to show that, in matters relating to India the leading journal is to the British people "a blind leader of the blind." It is slight blame to the former that their Indian knowledge is small and incomplete; it is heavy blame to the latter that it puts forth a partial statement of a case as the whole and creates an impression which is in complete disaccord with the facts.

* *Times of India*, April 12, 1879. One need not, however, turn to a Bombay journal of six years ago for proof of this statement. *The Times* itself, on Aug. 23, published a letter in which it was remarked:—"As a rule in India, rents, on estates where the Government is or represents the landlord, are not moderate but the reverse. When the Durbhunga estates were under Government management, some 5,000 ryots, unable to pay the increased rents demanded of them, abandoned their farms and homesteads and fled into Nepaul. In Madras, where the bulk of the land belongs to the State, evictions and sales in realizing the Government demand on land have been increasing in an alarming ratio since 1865. In Bombay, Sir Auckland Colvin's Minute, embodied in the report of the Deccan Riots Commission, states that the excessive enhancements made, in the Government demand on the land held by the cultivators, were among the special causes of the distress and serious disturbances of 1874-75. Many other instances of a similar nature might be cited, the most recent being the cases of the Midnapore ryots, which came up last year on appeal before the High Court of Bengal, and from which it appeared that 75,000 ryots complained of excessive and illegal enhancements having been made in their rents—a complaint which the Court found to be well-grounded in the case selected for trial."

INDEX.

LONDON:
TALBOT BROTHERS, 81, CARTER LANE, E.C.
1885.

"Mr. Digby may be congratulated on his attempt to set before the English constituencies some of the great problems they must deal with in the near future. The work evidences marked ability, a wide grasp of a difficult subject, and the widest enthusiasm for the cause of the peoples of India."—*Literary World.*

"Unlike most Anglo-Indian literature, this book is not a weary waste of verbiage . . . The facts of the case are presented in a comprehensible and attractive manner, and a subject is made interesting and luminous which is too often smothered in words."—*Dundee Advertiser.*

"Mr. Digby's comparison of Indian and English rulers, of Native and English governed States, is against us; his comparison in all directions and in every detail is against us, owing, he thinks, not to the incapacity of England to govern, nor to her desire to oppress, but to the improper and inapplicable and over-exclusive system we have permitted. Mr. Digby, whose carefully prepared and powerfully written volume has given us so much pleasure, may well consider the desirability of giving its main outlines in cheap pamphlet form for circulation amongst the millions whose interest in this subject may be increased and informed."—*Western Daily Mercury.*

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THE DEFENCE OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE IN INDIA.

FROM THE POINT OF VIEW OF A NATIVE OF INDIA.

I THINK I may safely say that the terrible calamity of an Anglo-Russian war has been averted. Thanks to the patience and skilful guidance of Mr. Gladstone, the cloud which threatened to drown the whole civilised world in a deluge of blood has dispersed. Nothing is more calculated to do serious harm to the interests of civilisation than a war between two such great powers as England and Russia. Whatever may be the difference of opinion on this point in England, we are pretty nearly agreed about it in India. The imperialistic instincts of a section of the population of this country may not be satisfied by a peaceful settlement of the difficulty; but, with all due deference to the generous impulses of these people, I am afraid I must say that it satisfies the populations of India. "But," it will be said, "this is very strange. It is almost self-contradictory. The princes and people of India have come forward in a most enthusiastic and loyal manner, with offers of help in men and money. You mean to say they are insincere?" No; I do not mean to say any such thing. The feeling which has called forth these offers of assistance from the natives of India is not rightly understood here. "Is it

not the fear of a foreign invasion which has made the Indians rally round England in her present difficulties?" Yes; most assuredly so. But the fear of a foreign invasion is something radically different from a love of aggressive warfare. The natives of India do not want England to fight if she can help it; but if war is inevitable, then they have resolved with one mind to stand by her.

But I am afraid we look upon this Afghan business with a sort of suspicion. We are not quite sure what it is, and what it is for. We see that it is the defence of British possessions in India that is puzzling the statesmen of England—Conservative and Liberal alike. This comes from ignorance, more or less profound, of the actual condition of England's Empire in the East. It is bold to say so, but it is true nevertheless. It is my firm conviction that the defence of India does not lie outside the country itself. The true theory of the defence of India is that which advocates the organisation, in a systematic form, of the resources of self-defence, which at present are allowed to waste in that country.

We regard this quarrel between England and Russia about the deserts of Central Asia as the result of a series of mistakes committed by both the political parties in England. The root of all these mistakes is the supposition, to a certain extent founded on facts, that Russia has an eye on India. There are grounds for a contrary supposition too. But it is wise to prepare for the worst and hope for the best. So far, there is, I believe, a complete accord of opinions. But this cannot be said of the means taken, or proposed to be taken, from time to time about the defence of India. Then, perhaps, the greatest danger is in the want of a steady policy. At one time it is the "forwards" who are in power, and they follow the policy of "mischievous activity." At another time it is the party of "scuttle" that is in the ascendant, and the policy of "masterly inactivity" comes into favour. The oscillations from the one

policy to the other are sudden and violent. Statesmen do not seem to have hit upon a third and a steady policy. I think you ought neither to rashly advance nor to timidly retire; but you ought to maintain an attitude of defensive vigilance. If Russia is capable of beneficial expansion in the valleys of the Murghab and the Heri-rud, do not put impediments in her way. I see no danger in the expansion of Russia. The principle of Russian conquests in Central Asia is essentially different from that of the conquests of England in India. In the case of the latter, conquest follows trade; in that of the former, conquest is supposed to open trade. The latter process is much more distasteful than the former, though both agree in destroying the political independence of the Asiatic communities with which they come in contact. Then, Russia poses herself as the great humanising power in Central Asia. This is a commonplace flung in the face of England, and no more value attaches to it than to any of the other conventional cant phrases under which the diplomatist takes shelter. The Russians are possibly more civilised than the nomadic Turkomans, and may be able to do useful work with them. If she succeed in the long run in reducing that veritable *nation de voleurs,* the Turkomans, into orderly citizens, Russia will have indeed deserved the thanks of all civilisation. But I do not believe in any such thing; I do not believe that Russia has the least thought of civilising Turkomania. I even doubt if she has the capacity to do so. The approach of such a power to the frontiers of India could be no real danger. It will be a menace, but nothing more. I do not believe that Russia will dare to touch India.

But Russia, whether you wish it or no, is now your next-door neighbour. England is no longer an insular country. It is no longer the island kingdom of Queen Elizabeth's days. Besides having to maintain her supremacy on the sea, she must now have a large military force on land. She is

reduced to the unpleasant position of some of the Continental powers. Rumours of Russian designs on India will henceforth always disturb the sleep of English statesmen. The contingency cannot be avoided. Afghanistan cannot be a "buffer state." It is not fitted to perform that function. In fact it is not a state in the only and proper acceptation of the word. It is not a nation having an organised government. They praise Abdurrahman to the skies; but so they did Shir Ali. I had no more faith in the one than I can have in the other. Then there is this against Abdurrahman—that he owed kindnesses to the Russian government in his days of adversity, and the proverb, "A friend in need is a friend indeed," applies in this case, as in any other, unless he is unscrupulously ungrateful, in which case, again, there could be no depending on him. And as it is impossible to count with the Afghans, you must try to shift without them. I do not wish to question the advisability of giving due consideration to the recommendations of competent military authorities; but I have strong doubts as to the wisdom of pushing the frontiers of India as far as Herat. I think the best—best in every respect—line of defences for India is that which corresponds with the natural boundaries of the Punjaub and of Peshwar. The work of fortification must commence along this line; a strong frontier force established; railways constructed, so as to enable a rapid mobilisation of troops; and the intelligence department strengthened and improved. I may even invite an open understanding with Russia, with a view to the acceptance by that power of British consuls in Central Asia. These arrangements would, I think, create a Chinese wall for India. But this does not complete the work of Indian defences. An Indian navy should be organised. India has a vast seaboard, and it is now practically undefended. Two squadrons—one in the Bay of Bengal and another in the Arabian Sea—ought to suffice to defend British trade with India against any enemy. As

it is, India is quite exposed from the sea. It always struck me as a strange example of official view of security that Bombay, which is only second to London in population in the British Empire, and the first in India in point of trade, should have no harbour defences.

Thus India being surrounded with defensive works on all sides, so to say, the work of internal reform should go on uninterrupted. Internal peace, which must always follow from a regard to the contentment and progressive happiness of the native populations, is the chief element in the consideration of any plan for the defence of India. The situation has now changed. Hitherto the question was only as to the keeping of peace within India. It was safe externally. It was foreseen that as soon as the boundaries of Russia and England met in Asia the question of British administration in India will assume a new phase. It is time, therefore, that the principles of that administration be considered *de novo*. All fine phrases and virtuous professions notwithstanding, the one principle which guides British policy in India is the suspicion of the native. There is no confidence in his loyalty. The Sepoy Mutiny of 1857 strengthened this suspicion. But while the horrors of 1857 are remembered in England with exaggerated feelings, the origin and character of the mutiny are forgotten. It was a purely military revolt, the consequence of bad discipline in the East India Company's service. The mass of the people did not join it. This has been acknowledged officially. In the Queen's Speech in Parliament, December 3rd, 1857, occurs the following words:—

"It is satisfactory to know that the general mass of the population of India has taken no part in the rebellion, while the most considerable of the Native Princes have acted in the most friendly manner, and have rendered important services."

But this loyal attitude of the natives towards the British Government, at a time when it would be excusable for any

people to be carried away with wrong notions of revenge and freedom, made no difference—hardly any worth speaking of—in the treatment they received. The whole Continent of India, with the exception of the Native States, was disarmed and continues to be so; and within less than a generation more the people who fought like tigers will have lost the capacity to fight from sheer disuse. Disabilities are attached to the condition of a native. He is debarred from holding certain offices of trust and emolument. He is told to confine his ambition to certain subordinate offices. This must cramp ability. I will not repeat here the long list of native grievances; but I call attention to the fact that the treatment accorded to him is not in all respects such as he deserves.

Henceforth, therefore, the policy should be to minimise this feeling of estrangement and, I am sure, it will lead to very satisfactory results. If the natives have now stood by England as the better of two conquerors, they will look upon her hereafter as their friend. It must never be forgotten that the strength of the British Empire in India consists in the goodwill of the natives.

THE ASPIRATIONS OF THE NATIVES OF INDIA.

It often amuses me to hear that the English are in India purely on a philanthropic mission. "The mission of England in the East is the amelioration of the condition of her inhabitants." Such language may sound well in the mouth of a missionary, but is hardly suitable to thoughtful politicians. And the worst of it is that we do not believe it. We must be simple-minded indeed if we believed it. Perhaps it is not intended that we should believe in these posings. If so, we do our part well. But this does not prevent us from believing that while England has some vital interests to be satisfied by the possession of India, she may yet do us incalculable good in some respects. The reasonable interests of both parties need not necessarily clash. The people of India are mainly industrious; and they can only thrive under a peaceful and tolerant rule. In fact, it was the products of her industries which attracted the nations of Europe to the shores of India. But this peace, so necessary to her prosperity, was for a long time denied to her, owing to foreign conquests. India is now, under British rule, breathing the healthy air of peace. This is the grand achievement of England in India, and the natives appreciate it in a spirit of gratitude. So long as the conditions of native society continue to be what they are, the presence of a strong power, to keep the peace, will always be necessary. England may, therefore, count

on a long lease, so far as the Indians are concerned, for native society is not changing fast enough to render the presence of England in India superfluous. But this work of keeping the peace brings with it other responsibilities. No foreign government could be successful if it relied only upon its own staff of officials. The natives of India are not Hottentots. Under favourable circumstances they have acquitted themselves very well. They have produced soldiers worthy of any nation in the world, and they have produced statesmen not unworthy of comparison with those of Europe. No foreign rule could be beneficial to the natives unless it utilised their intelligence in the work of government. The Augustan rule of Akbar owed its success to the co-operation of native soldiers, native statesmen, native scholars, who were all respected at his court; and it ought not to touch the pride of Englishmen to acknowledge that in some respects the advice of natives is valuable. If British rule in India, therefore, is to be a success, the co-operation of intelligent natives in the work of government must not only be encouraged, but sought. They must be actively interested in it. They must be given an efficient and important voice in their legislature, and a due share must be granted to them of the executive service. Two reforms in this direction are imperative. Their necessity is urgent. It is true that the principle of accepting the services of the natives has been approved by responsible public men in England and in India. But their application has been slow—very slow indeed. The natives of India must be led to regard the British Government in India as their own. This it is impossible for them to feel until a larger share of the responsibilities of the actual work of government is allowed to them than they enjoy at the present day. The highest aspirations of the educated natives do not go beyond this in the near future. Their patriotism is tempered with a sort of cosmopolitan feeling. This is not surprising, inasmuch as India has for centuries

been a continent in which tribes and races differing from each other in language, religion and traditions have dwelt together in a spirit of tolerance not known elsewhere. They have learnt to endure foreigners, and know how to love the interests of their country without being fanatical.

The two reforms, therefore, which the natives of India are agitating for are (1) the reform of the executive, and (2) the reform of the legislature. I press the consideration of these subjects upon the attention of English public men. I do so because they are bound to watch over the welfare of the natives of India. They imposed this duty upon themselves more distinctly than before when they transferred the government of India from the East India Company to the Crown. The Queen has acknowledged her responsibilities to Parliament in respect of the government of India in these words :—

"In this hope Her Majesty has given her willing assent to the Act which you have passed for transferring to her direct authority the government of her Indian dominions; and Her Majesty hopes to be enabled so to discharge the high functions which she has assumed as, by a just and impartial administration of the law, to secure its advantages alike to her subjects of every race and creed, and, by promoting their welfare, to establish and strengthen her empire in India."

The duty which the Parliament of England owes to the people of India is to see that these words of Her Majesty are translated into deeds. The people of India rely upon the plighted word; but it would not be wise to tire their patience. Hasten slowly. But do hasten. They are not violent in their demands. They are crying aloud, but they are not vociferous.

I will try to state briefly the nature of the two reforms above referred to. First, as to the executive. The administration of India is carried on mainly by Englishmen. Not to speak of the governors of presidencies, the lieu-

tenant-governors, the commissioners, and the political residents at the courts of the native princes, even the collector-magistrates, the judges of districts and their important assistants, are all Englishmen. The subordinate service alone is open to the natives. Most of the important offices are reserved for what are called the Indian civilians. By law there is nothing to prevent natives of talent and ability from rising to some of these places; but the intentions of the law are frustrated by what are known in official phraseology as prudential considerations, that is to say, the jealousy of race. Now, no native ever dreams of asking Government to be appointed to a lieutenant-governor's place, or even that of the commissioner of provinces. What is, however, regarded as unjust is that a native of proved ability and honourable character should not be entrusted with the office of a collector-magistrate or district judge. But the law—the self-made law of the India Office—shuts out most natives from these places by making it impossible for them to be members of the charmed circle of the Indian Civil Service. This must be rectified, in the interests of justice. The natives of India have every right to be admitted to the Civil Service. Hitherto they have been practically denied admission, owing to the harsh and inequitable conditions under which the examinations for that service have been held in London. Until the rules are revised in a spirit of justice to the natives of India, they cannot expect to be elevated to more lucrative and honourable positions under the British Government—in which case all the benevolent professions of the people of England towards their Indian fellow-subjects would amount to giving away a thing with one hand and taking it with the other; or, in other words, the Secretary of State for India takes away from the natives what Parliament has given to them. This is a subject for serious consideration. It may appear that it is only a question between the Government and a few place-hunters. It is not so. Native society is so constituted that it derives

its tone, in some important respects, from those of its members who are in the employ of the Government. It is, therefore, as much a matter which concerns the society as the individual members who look up to these appointments. It is easy to understand that when a society is encouraged to send some of its best members to take part in Government it feels confident about the intentions of the Government about its happiness, material and moral.

The reform in the constitution of the legislature is equally or perhaps more important than that of the executive. At present laws are made *for* the Indian people, not *by* them. Some of these are made in Parliament, some more in the council of the Governor-General of India, and others in those of the governors and lieutenant-governors. The natives of India ask for an effective representation in the councils of the Governor-General and in those of the governors and lieutenant-governors. This is "the one reform above all others" called for. These councils do contain a certain number of native gentlemen, and they are allowed to speak out their opinions on questions submitted to them. But their number is small, and they are not unfrequently men who are ill-fitted to be the representatives of the native communities. The people are thoroughly dissatisfied with the way the laws are enacted in India. In fact, they have no representation in their own legislature. The native gentlemen who are elevated to the councils find their seats there by the very unsatisfactory mode of selection by nomination. It is time the Government should ask the people to return men chosen by themselves to these councils. Thanks to the benevolent administration of Lord Ripon, municipal self-government has now received such an impetus that it may be trusted to do its work well. The people of Bombay, in their address to Lord Reay, have pressed this request for favourable consideration. "What the altered conditions of the times require is a council so constituted as to inspire

greater public confidence, to reflect public opinion more faithfully, and to be otherwise able to exercise powers and responsibilities calculated to confer lasting benefits on the people at large." This is a most harmless request, so far as the interests of Government are concerned. It meddles with no considerations of patronage, it interferes with no financial arrangements, while the granting of it will satisfy one of the most legitimate cravings of the people.

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