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JOURNAL

OF THE

EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION.

Instituted for the independent and disinterested advocacy and promotion, by all legitimate means, of the public interests and welfare of the Inhabitants of India generally.

The Impending Bankruptcy of the Soil of India.

PAPER BY R. H. ELLIOT, ESQ.,

READ AT A MEETING OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION, APRIL 23, 1879.

HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF MANCHESTER, K.P.,

IN THE CHAIR.

A LARGE and influential meeting of the members and friends of the East India Association was held at the Pall Mall Restaurant, Regent Street, Waterloo Place, London, on Wednesday afternoon, April 23, 1879; the subject for consideration being "The Impending Bankruptcy of the Soil of India," introduced in an address by Robert H. Elliot, Esq., a practical Indian agriculturist, and a well-known writer on Indian subjects ("The Experiences of a Planter," "Written on their Foreheads," &c.).

His Grace the Duke of MANCHESTER, K.P., occupied the chair, and amongst those present were the following: Lord Colchester, Hon. E. Drummond, Hon. Mrs. Elliot, Hon. Miss Plunkett, Right Hon. A. S. Ayrton, Sir George H. S. Douglas, Bart., M.P., Sir William Miller, Bart., and Lady Miller, Sir Charles Stirling, Bart., of Glorat, and Lady Stirling, Sir David Wedderburn, Bart., M.P., Sir George Campbell, K.C.S.I., M.P., Mr. Charles C. Clifford, M.P., Captain G. E. Price, R.N., M.P., Sir Henry Ricketts, K.C.S.I., General Sir Arthur Cotton, K.C.S.I., General Orfeur Cavenagh, Lieut.-General and Mrs. Roche, Major-General Brewster, Major-General and Mrs. Fyers, Major-General Jenkins, Major-General T. W. Mercer, Colonel J. Cockburn Hood, Colonel G. M. Payne, Colonel C. A. Purvis, Colonel A. B. Rathborne, Lieut.-Colonel P. T. French, Lieut.-Colonel H. W. Wood, Captain J. C. R. Colomb, R.M.A., Captain and Mrs. Palmer, Captain W. W.

Ross, Dr. Birdwood, C.S.I., Dr. Nash, Dr. George Paton, Dr. J. L. Thudichum, Rajah Rampal Singh, Rev. F. S. Turner, B.A., Mr. A. Arathoon, Mr. C. W. Arathoon, Mr. Aziz Ahmed, Mr. Ahsanuddin Ahmed, Mr. Thomas Allan, Mr. Harcourt S. Anson, Mr. W. R. Arbuthnot, Mr. S. Baildon, Mr. George Bain, Mr. Robert Bain, Mr. John Balfour, Mr. P. F. Bhandara, Mrs. Matthew Bloxam, Mr. H. B. Boswell, Mr. William Bowden, Mr. Thomas Briggs, Mr. Algernon Brown, Mr. G. F. Brown, Mr. S. B. Browning, Mr. Peer Bukhsh, Mr. Dadabhoy Byramjee, Mr. E. Candy, B.C.I., Mr. H. J. Carrekeratne, Mr. J. R. Corbett, Mrs. John Curtis, Mr. D. D. Davar, Mr. K. M. Dutt, Mr. Ussendra Krishna Dutt, Mr. J. T. Edgcome, Mr. Thomas R. B. Elliot, Mr. Claude Erskine, Mr. F. Espinasse, Mr. George Foggo, Mrs. Ford, Mr. John Fortune, Mr. F. W. Fox, Mr. W. M. Fraser, Mr. M. Gasper, Mr. W. C. Ghose, Mr. P. Pirie Gordon, Mr. Grant, Mrs. Colquhoun Grant, Mr. Abdul Halum, Mr. Rowland Hamilton, Mr. Robert Harrison, Mr. H. M. Hyndman, Mr. J. B. N. James, Mr. Abul Hossan Khan, Mr. M. J. Khan, Mrs. Langdale, Mr. Lantour, Mr. C. A. Lawson, Mr. Hartford Lewis, Mr. T. F. Lordan, Mr. R. B. K. Macleod, Miss F. O. Mahoney, Mr. William Maitland, Miss Manning, Mr. and Mrs. Meiklam, Miss Meiklam, Mr. W. H. Mercer, Mr. J. C. Minchin, Mr. R. N. Mitra, Mr. F. D. Mocatta, Mr. H. S. Morison, Mr. Tonman Mosley, Mr. K. Gogendru Marayan, Mr. J. A. Parker, Mr. James Peirson, Mr. R. D. Phorkan, Mr. Charles Pringle, Mr. Edward Pringle, Mr. Edward A. Purvis, Mr. Lutfor Rahman, Mr. Syed Abdur Rahman, Mr. A. Rogers, Mr. N. Roy, Mr. P. L. Roy, Mr. William Sowerby, Mr. Kovor Shivenath Singh, Mr. Bullen Smith, Mr. St. John Stephen, Mrs. Strode, Mr. P. M. Tait, Mr. E. B. Thomas, Mr. William Trant, Mr. Syed Sherif Uuddin, Mr. H. N. Vakeel, Mr. M. J. Wallhouse, Mr. W. Wavell, Mrs. Forster Webster, Mr. C. E. White, Mr. Francis Wyllie, Mr. Frederick Young, &c., &c.

His Grace the CHAIRMAN, in opening the proceedings, formally introduced Mr. Elliot to the meeting, as one well qualified to treat of the topic they were met to consider.

Mr. ROBERT H. ELLIOT then proceeded to read the following paper:—

Before beginning my lecture this afternoon I trust you will allow me to make some remarks on the great difficulty connected with any lecture on Indian Agriculture, and show how it is that we have to encounter obstacles which do not, or only in a very small degree, exist when treating of agriculture in England. For here the farms are of a fixed size, or,

if they do alter, it is in the direction, not of smaller, but of larger holdings; the climate is suitable for natural pasturage and green crops, and the farms are large enough to admit of a proper proportion of land being devoted to raising stock both for profit and the supply of manure. The farmer is a man with capital, which enables him to buy manure from many countries, and he is often aided in his business by the capital and energy of his landlord. In short, conditions for the successful cultivation of the soil, if not so widely diffused as they ought to be, still very largely exist, and all that we have to do is to encourage agriculture by exhibitions, rewards for improved implements, and experiments conducted with the aid of agricultural chemistry. Now let us turn to India, and we shall see at a glance how very different the conditions are. The climate, from long periods of drought and heat, is unfavourable for natural pasture, and the holdings are so miserably small that land could not be spared for growing green crops even if there was no difficulty in doing so. Then, from the Hindu law of inheritance, these holdings are liable to indefinite subdivision. In consequence of the rapid absorption of the pasture lands, less and less stock can be kept in proportion to the area under plough; so that the means of ploughing and manuring the soil are steadily diminishing. The tax on salt is so high that this valuable agricultural agent cannot be used. With the exception of the permanently settled districts, the land tenures are such as to discourage the investment of capital in landed improvements. The usury laws are such as to make the poverty-stricken farmer daily more depressed in mind and body, and he is indeed often reduced to the condition of a mere bond-slave. If there should by some rare chance be occasional years of prosperity, the fruits are sure to be swept away by famine. We have thus, you see, a totally different state of things to deal with in India. The subject, then, must be treated in a totally different way. To speak to you of the best way of teaching agriculture, of the rotation of crops, of the best way of improving breeds of cattle and sheep, of the introduction of fresh varieties of cereals, of the manure that should be used, of the depth to which ploughing should go, and, in short, to traverse ground that would naturally be scanned in the course of a lecture on English agriculture, would be a sheer waste of time. It is useless to talk of manures when there are no means of buying or making them, to talk of improved seeds when from the poverty of the soil they decline in a single generation, of improved breeds when there are no means of feeding them,—useless to talk of growing green crops for stock when no land can be spared for the purpose; to talk of deeper ploughing when, as we shall see, the means of ploughing are steadily lessening; and, finally, it is quite useless to talk

of the results that would arise from a greater outlay where the farmers have no capital, and the tenures are such that none is ever likely to be attracted to landed improvements. The problem before us, then, is, not "How can we introduce an improved method and system of agri-"culture?" but "What can we do to provide conditions which do not "at present exist, but without which improvement in agriculture is "simply impossible?" Having thus endeavoured to show what the nature of the problem before us is, I will now tell you what I am going to attempt this afternoon. In the first place, I am—

I. Going to review rapidly the existing information, in order to show you how matters stand as regards the agricultural condition and prospects of India.

II. In the second place, I hope to be able to show what must be done in order to provide the Indian farmer with better means of doing justice to the soil.

By far the most important contribution on the condition of Indian agriculture is Mr. Robertson's painfully interesting and instructive Report on Coimbatore, a district which lies south and east of the Neilgherry hills, and has an area of 7,432 square miles, with a population of 1,763,274, or 237·3 per square mile.* Towards the close of 1875 he was ordered to inquire into the agricultural condition of the district, and spent three months in it at the beginning of 1876—examining most minutely into everything connected with the circumstances of the people, and conversing with the farmers whenever he had an opportunity of doing so. The result is before us in the shape of a Report of forty-three Blue-book pages, which were printed last April by order of the House of Commons. To show the nature of Mr. Robertson's qualifications, it is only necessary to say that he is an English agriculturist, who is now head of the Agricultural College of Madras, and that he has had upwards of ten years' experience of agriculture in India.

The first point that naturally attracted his attention is the enormous increase of cultivated area which has taken place in recent years. Between 1857 and 1875, no less than 706,750 acres of scrub and coarse grass had been broken up and added to the lands under plough; and this absorption of grazing land is still proceeding, and will probably go on till the whole area of pasture land is absorbed. From a Revenue officer's point of view, this would be most desirable, for the revenue increases as the lands are taken up; but, as Mr. Robertson points out in italics, we must remember that "*the absorption under tillage* "*of the whole of the grazing land will destroy the resources upon*

* *Vide* Appendix A.

"*which the farmer has hitherto depended so greatly;*" and he very naturally observes that, taking into consideration the agricultural system, this reckless breaking up of the grazing and scrub lands is "a cause for serious alarm;" for in consequence of this, within the last forty years, while the tilled area has doubled, the stock to each acre has halved. But (p. 31 of Report) he further points out that, "not "only has the manuring force, as represented by cattle manure, "diminished by one-half, but even of that not more than 50 per cent. "is now available as manure, from the great increase of the use of cattle-"dung for fuel, since the clearing of the jungle." The result is that 75 per cent. of the total lands in the district cannot now be manured at all, and even the remaining 25 per cent., except that manured by river silt, cannot be said to be manured in a satisfactory way. Under these circumstances, the destruction of the fertility of the soil is what might be expected, and we need not be surprised to find Mr. Robertson stating, in another part of his Report, that "a very large proportion of "the arable soils of the Presidency have already sunk so low as to "render the soil not worth cultivation." He saw in Coimbatore vast tracts which the farmers declared, and he could quite believe, did not give more than five bushels of grain per acre in the year. These five bushels would command twelve shillings in the local market, out of which the ryot has to deduct his rent and expenses. Even in prosperous times the cultivators are obliged to limit themselves to two meals of coarse grain a day. The third meal that they would like to eat has to be put aside to pay Government rent. Mr. Robertson was struck by the fact that many farmers raised cotton, though it did not pay as well as grain. He spoke to them as to this. Their answer was, that if they grew nothing but grain, they would have nothing to pay Government rent, as they and their families could and would consume the whole produce of the land; but as they could not eat cotton, it was therefore available with which to raise money for paying their rent. Mr. Robertson then goes into elaborate details which prove beyond doubt that this sad tale must be only too true. The expedient of these poor creatures may seem to us childish, but it has the advantage of removing the almost irresistible temptation to satisfy the cravings of hunger.

When we turn from the people to their stock, we naturally find things in keeping with the rest of the situation. The farmers spoke with pride of the fine breeds of cattle and horses they possessed twenty or thirty years ago, but these have deteriorated because of the breaking up of the grazing land, and from the soil under grass being now so unproductive from insufficient rain-fall. In the Kongiem Talook Mr. Robertson expected to see much of a valuable breed of cattle he had

often heard of, but was disappointed to find that during the last ten or twelve years this breed had been gradually disappearing. The undersized bullock of Southern India (about the weight, he tells us, of a Cotswold sheep) is gradually displacing the Kongiem breed. Mr. Robertson's report on Coimbatore—and we fear that the same must apply to vast tracts of the Presidency—amounts to this: starved is the soil, starved is the tiller of the soil, starved are his cattle; and it is abundantly plain that the causes which produced this general state of starvation are not only in steady operation, but becoming more and more intensified. Nor is this by any means all; for the same causes have also made the climate hotter and drier, because immense areas of land once covered with jungle scrub and coarse grass, but now brought under plough, are bare during two-thirds of the year. The people were unanimous in stating that the rain-fall has been gradually diminishing, and, in some instances, connected this with the denudation of the country. As some measure of the rate at which this is proceeding, Mr. Robertson gives an instance of a town of under 7,000 inhabitants which uses annually the produce of 100 acres of well-grown scrub jungle; and this fact is well worth noting because it has often been asserted that this steady denudation of the country has been arrested. Towards the conclusion of his able and exhaustive Report, Mr. Robertson remarks on the crowning evil of all—the usury laws. The needs of the unhappy farmer compel him to borrow, and when he has done so his freedom is gone. He may be sold up to the uttermost farthing, but he can never become bankrupt and obtain an acquittance. He is subject to indefinite imprisonment for any balance still standing against him, and may be arrested and re-arrested, stripped and re-stripped, as soon as he can gather a few rupees together. I have no wish to underrate the blessings of existence under British rule, but it is of great importance that we should see exactly what these blessings consist of, and those who are desirous of more fully informing themselves on that point cannot do better than carefully read up Mr. Robertson's Report—a report from which I must now reluctantly turn.

Let us next move a little further north, and see how agricultural affairs stand in Mysore. This province, which (with the exception of the north-western portion of it which is bounded by Bombay) is surrounded by Madras territory, had before the last famine a population of about 5,000,000, and is in size about one-eighth less than the area of Ireland. At Bangalore there is an experimental farm, of which Mr. F. E. Harman is Superintendent. In 1877 he published, on the agricultural condition of the province, a pamphlet which, as regards its most important matter, is a repetition of Mr. Robertson's

Report. There is an immense decline in the fertility of the soil, arising from the decrease of the means of ploughing and manuring the soil, owing to the breaking up of pasture and the clearing of woods, and, in Mr. Harman's opinion, this decline has taken place even in the case of lands under irrigation.* A more astonishing and reckless waste of the resources of a country than has taken place in Mysore it would be impossible to conceive. Any one may apply for a bit of the grazing lands, plough it up, exhaust it, and hand it back to the State as bare as the highway, and then take up another piece to be destroyed in a similar way; and this process is going on at such a rate that Mr. Harman calculates that the pasture lands of Mysore will be destroyed in about eighteen years. But even if the newly taken up land was retained in permanent cultivation, the evil would still be great, as the area under plough can only be added to at the expense of the grazing. The total conclusion given by Mr. Harman is, that the people are not living on the interest, but rapidly running out the capital of the soil. And the opening up of the country with roads and railways hastens the work of destruction. His remarks on this head are worth quoting, and will do much to modify the exultation of those who dwell with complacency on the large exports of agricultural produce. "If," says Mr. Harman (p. 39), "any appreciable amount of manurial matter were brought back, or "the wealth obtained as the equivalent of the exported grain devoted "to the maintenance or improvement of the fertility of the land, this "would be a matter for national congratulation. But it is not so. "Does a single load of manure return along the roads to enrich the "land from whence the produce is derived? Is a single farthing, the "result of the surplus sale from a favourable season, devoted to prolong "the causes from which it springs by the classes concerned in the "barter? or does it percolate through these into the great mass of the "cultivating classes, raise them in position, and enable them to work "the land in a more rational manner? If these questions can be "answered in the affirmative, the influence of the facilities for export "on a stationary agriculture need not be cause for apprehension. But "the facts I have brought forward when discussing the various "tables give answers unanimously negative." A better illustration of the utter rottenness of the agricultural situation it would be impossible to give. The very railways which ought to be an advantage are simply helping to complete the bankruptcy of the soil of India.

As regards other parts of India our information is not so complete as it is in the south, but there is enough evidence to show that the

* *Vide* Appendix B.

agricultural evils of Mysore and Coimbatore are widely diffused. In the Punjaub I find that between 1871-72 and 1874-75 no less than 2,000,000 of acres were added to the lands under plough, and I am informed, on good authority, that though in the thinly-peopled tracts no harm has as yet ensued, in other parts the natural deterioration has taken place. In the Central Provinces I find a Settlement officer alluding to this subject as far back as 1865, and saying that, in consequence of the ploughing up of grazing land, the difficulty of pasturage is already pressing in some villages, and "must one day be severely felt;" and yet in these provinces, in 1875-76, there was an *addition* of nearly 531,000 acres to the area under plough. Another officer notices the great decline in the yield of wheat in Nerbuddha, and tells us that the agricultural production can only be kept up by ploughing up fresh land—"a resource," he adds, "which is declining every day." In Bombay the evils arising from the rapid contraction of the grazing area are frequently alluded to in the Report of the Deccan Riots Commission, and they were brought to the notice of the House of Commons in the evidence taken before the East India Finance Committee. There is much to the same purpose in the *Agricultural Gazette of India*, where I find it stated that in the North-west Provinces the cowkeepers are in the habit of feeding cows on horse-dung and other ordure, owing to the scarcity of fodder. Then by some writers in the *Gazette* it is stated that, from the want of manure, the feeding qualities of grain are deteriorating with the exhaustion of the soil. And fresh seed is of no permanent good. It is useless, says one writer, to import improved seed, for it will deteriorate in the second year—useless to try and improve stock until the means of feeding them are improved. It is useless, says Mr. Robertson, to attempt the introduction of improved tobacco in the neighbourhood of Madras, as the soil is too exhausted to grow it. In short, with the exception of the limited areas of land which are manured by rich river water, everything in India that depends on the soil is declining, and the causes of this decline are daily operating in a more intensified form. It may seem superfluous to say anything more, but I cannot conclude this branch of my subject without a passing allusion to Mr. Schrottky's interesting work on Indian Agriculture. His remarks are in strict accordance with what we might expect. Thus runs the table of contents of one of his chapters: "Evidence of the "gradually diminishing out-turn of the Indian soil—The Ayeen Ak-"bary, and its statistics of the average produce of India—Comparison "with the present out-turn—Alarming declension in full accord with "the laws of husbandry." But turn where you will, and you will find the results the same. In addition to a great mass of miscellaneous

information and evidence from all parts of India, I have been through nine large volumes of the *Agricultural Gazette* without being able to find a single dissentient voice, without being able to find evidences of anything but a most harmonious rottenness, which must one day destroy the backbone of Indian Finance. The fertility of the soil has already declined so much that in many instances rent is only paid by the daily starvation of the farmer. We are fast approaching a time when he will be able to pay no rent at all. And as regards this, it would be difficult to find a case where the deductive is so evenly met by the inductive. We know that, from the want of manure, the soil must have become exhausted, and, from an overwhelming mass of evidence, we know that this exhaustion has already taken place to a very alarming extent.

It is now time to turn—I will not say to remedies, for nothing worthy of the name is possible within any date we can reasonably look forward to, but to measures of amelioration. Before doing so, however, I trust I may be allowed to say that, though we, as a people, are distinctly responsible for much of the existing agricultural evils, the officers of Government are no more to blame than a lawyer would be for making mistakes if, without any previous training or knowledge, he was suddenly put in command of an army in the field. For the officials of India were called upon to manage the lands of a continent without having had any agricultural training or experience whatever. They were neither landed proprietors, farmers, nor land agents; they were not aided by any independent representation of the interests of the people; they were not even aided by the press, the writers and correspondents of which knew as little of agriculture as the officers of Government. And in addition to the want of intelligent sources of information, there was the fact that the time and thoughts of the officials were incessantly occupied by pressing administrative work. Under these circumstances, the deplorable result that has been arrived at is easily intelligible, and it will now require all the efforts of the Government and the people to modify the effects of the agricultural conditions which have literally drifted into existence.

From what has hitherto been said, it is evident that the great evil of Indian agriculture lies in this,—namely, that in consequence of the gradual absorption of the grazing lands, the balance that ought to be maintained between the area for feeding stock and that for growing crops for the use of man has been seriously disturbed, and if the existing conditions continue, must one day be utterly destroyed. The first thing to be done, obviously, is to stop all further encroachment on the grazing lands, unless in those cases where it can clearly be shown

that the amount of such lands is in excess of the requirements of the locality. Some might say here, "But what are the increase of the "people to fall back on?" The obvious answer is, that it is better for them to have a smaller quantity of land minutely tilled and well manured than a larger quantity undergoing a steady course of deterioration. The Revenue officer might urge, "What! is the land revenue, then, "to come to a standstill?" The obvious answer here is, that though it might do so, the State would arrest the growth of evils which must eventually bring down the land so low that no revenue at all could be paid. In fact, as we have seen, such a reduction of the soil has already occurred in Coimbatore, where, as Mr. Robertson has pointed out, much of the land is so reduced that if the cultivator did full justice to his stomach, he could pay no rent whatever. And this is probably so over large tracts of India. Mr. C. H. Elliot, a Settlement officer in the North-western Provinces, says: "I do not hesitate to say that half "our agricultural population never know from year's end to year's end "what it is to have their hunger fully satisfied." And he came to this conclusion "after much inquiry." In the Deccan Riots Commission Report it is stated that already in the Deccan "there is a great deal of "land which just repays cultivation," and that "some of this land cannot "afford to pay an economic rent at all." As there is, then, no imaginable objection that cannot be satisfactorily answered, it is evident that the Government must at once adopt the course I have pointed out if it wishes to arrest the growth of evils which, if allowed to run their course, must end in ruin to the people and the State.

The next thing to be done is to make the air more moist, lower the temperature, increase the rain and dew fall, and conserve to the utmost the rain that falls. At the present moment it may seem superfluous to say that India is being steadily converted into a desert by precisely the same causes by which other Oriental tracts have been made sterile and uninhabitable. The denudation of the country by cutting down woods and scrub, and ploughing up pasture, brings the air in contact with large, bare, heated surfaces. Cool surfaces are condensers; hot the reverse. The agricultural importance of these simple facts was pointed out years ago by Sir William Denison, who, when Governor of Madras, in 1864, alludes to it in an interesting letter to Sir Roderick Murchison. Permit me to quote a part of it. "I have been discussing," writes Sir William, "a question relative to the action of forests upon the "rain-fall, with reference to the very dry character of a great part of our "plain country, and have arrived at the conclusion *that the Government* "*ought to take energetic action to remedy a state of things which has a most* "*injurious effect upon our agriculture.* I think I must have mentioned to

"you the curious fact that the south-west monsoon—that is, the rainy "part of it—stops at a specific line in the middle of a plain, which line is "marked by the existence of jungle on the rainy side, while the dry "side is bare of trees. I at first attributed the presence of the trees to "the rain, but I am now disposed to look upon the jungle as the cause of "the rain, not the effect of it; for I have been told that, just in propor-"tion as the belt of jungle is cut away, so does the line of rain retreat. "When one comes to consider this, the reason is plain enough; the "cleared ground is exposed to the action of a vertical sun at the solstice, "and a heated stream of air ascends from it, converting the rain into "vapour, which is carried off by the prevailing winds, and falls into the "Bay of Bengal. The desolation of a great part of the East—Palestine, "Edom, Assyria, &c.—may, I think, be traced to the causes which are "now in operation in India, and which I wish to neutralize."

But these facts are too well established to be any longer a matter of doubt; and Mr. Edward Pringle, in his "Forests *v.* Famine," shows how we may even calculate the increase of rain-fall which woods cause, or at least arrive at an approximation to the increase quite near enough for all practical purposes. The air, as we have seen, holds more moisture in suspension at a high than at a low temperature. Now, supposing, for instance, that by studding Mysore with woods and trees, you reduced the temperature from 80 to 75, you would cause in the six months during which rain falls an increase of precipitation equal to 18 inches a year; and we must remember that even three inches of rain would often make the difference between famine and no famine, and would, for irrigation purposes alone, give enough water for 500,000 acres. Mr. Pringle has also calculated that if each peasant proprietor in the Madras Presidency planted three trees per acre of his holding, you would thus create about 6,250,000 acres of wood. The peasantry, then, should be required to plant extensively, and be aided by the establishment of nurseries at Government expense. The landowners in parts of Spain—the provinces of Valencia and Murcia, for instance—require each tenant to plant annually a small number of trees on every acre, their produce being equally divided between landlord and tenant. There is no reason why the greatest landed proprietor in the world should not order planting too. We need not at all be afraid of being thought arbitrary in a matter of such vital importance. Mr. Robertson, in his Report, says that he told the people of the advantages of planting trees. They assented, simply saying, "If the Govern-"ment orders us to plant them, we will plant them." Plantations, then, should be formed on every suitable site, and the boundaries of all holdings be planted with the many trees that are valuable from their

seeds, fruits, or pods. The railways, too, which have played such a part in denuding the country, might be made to aid in the work of re-wooding, by being compelled to form firewood plantations at intervals along the lines. It may be well to remark here that mere orders to arrest denudation cannot, and should not, be carried out, as they would have the effect of throwing back the entire population on using cattle-dung for fuel. Denudation must, then, proceed till wood is grown to such an extent that the annual consumption can be balanced by the annual growth. Every effort, too, should be made to reclothe with grass the lands that have been ploughed up, exhausted, and abandoned. Mr. Robertson describes many such tracts; and fodder is so scarce that no grass is ever allowed to seed, and so no natural reproduction is possible. Such tracts might again be clothed by growing grass seeds, scattering them, and, of course, keeping stock off the land till the grass should have established itself. One remark more on this important branch of my subject. Most of you have, no doubt, heard of sun spots and their connection with famines—a subject which Mr. Hunter, the well-known author of the "Annals of Rural Bengal," has taken up with his usual zeal and ability. His conclusions are that once about every ten years there will probably be great heat and drought. Now, is it not evident that if the earth will, in all probability, be seriously parched and roasted once in a decade, the more we can shield the land from the fierce rays of the sun the better will it be for everything that man and beast depend on?

The next thing to be done is to supply the farmer with the means of manuring the land. It is here that trees may be made to serve a most important agricultural function, for the great want of India is the dearth of vegetable matter in the soil, and the want of litter to put under cattle. There is no straw for the latter purpose, as it is all required for food for stock. The result is that what manure exists is largely wasted, and the most valuable portion of it—the liquid portion—entirely so. Leaves are largely used in India where they can be obtained, but, from the denudation of the country, this important resource has in all instances lessened, and in many entirely disappeared. It has often been complained that the Natives use manure for fuel; they will soon cease to do so if we supply them with the means of obtaining firewood. Need I add anything further to show that this important subject demands, as Sir William Denison has well said, "the energetic action of the Government"?

On the subject of mineral manures much might be said, but I have only time for one important suggestion on this point. Indian salt is highly valuable as a manure, from the nitrate of potash, lime, and

earthy impurities it contains. Its use for cattle is also well known, and dwelt upon at length in Mr. Robertson's valuable Report. This valuable resource ought long ago to have been placed within the reach of the agriculturist. Nor need the Revenue suffer. The same difficulty has occurred in Prussia in consequence of the salt tax, but it was easily overcome there by the salt being prepared in such a way as to unfit it for domestic use, while its value was not impaired for all agricultural purposes. I need hardly add, that the attention of Government should at once be directed to this very important matter.

In the next place, the land tenures must be altered if we wish to attract capital to landed improvements. About four-fifths of the land in India is held from Government by the occupier on a tenure which is liable to an indefinite revaluation at the close of each lease—a revaluation, be it remembered, not by any independent tribunal, but by the State. This power of revaluation has led to the most frightful abuses. If any one doubts that, he has only to read the Report of the Deccan Riots Commission, which throws a flood of light on the whole effects of our administration on the peace and happiness of the people. The Blue-book in question contains a mass of evidence, and would require a whole lecture to do justice to its contents. I can, therefore, make but one or two extracts from the many passages which illustrate the evils of the power of revaluation being retained by the State. The rates of enhancement given are startling, and in one table of cases given range from 73 to no less than 225 percent. Mr. Carpenter, one of the Commission, tells us (p. 69), that "in Poona and Sholapoor the enhancements ranged from 51 to 77 "per cent. per Taluka, and that in individual cases they were very "large, ranging over 100 per cent., and impossible to foresee. These "enhancements, also, were imposed at one blow, with no progressive "demand to soften the shock. It was found necessary to reduce them in "1874-75, and I have endeavoured to show in a separate note that they "are still generally higher than can be safely imposed. Lastly, the enhance-"ments were unevenly distributed." In the next page we find another of the Commission giving calculations to show how the revision of the settlement in many cases was simply a receipt for at one blow turning a solvent into an insolvent farmer, "liable to all the penalties and hard-"ships which insolvency has been shown elsewhere [in the Report, he "means] to involve by the law of India. He himself will be im-"prisoned or made to work as a slave of the creditor." Finally, we have Mr. Colvin, another member, who tells us that "the revision of "survey (in other words, the enhancement of rents) must have pro-"foundly shaken security, both by the heavy amount enhanced and "by the utter uncertainty as to what the limits of the amount would

"be;" and he also thought that it had acted as "a new element of dis-"turbance, the force of which should at least be taken into account" when estimating the cause of the outbreak in the Bombay districts. But it would be an insult to even the humblest form of human reason to dwell longer on this part of my subject. We know what the results are liable to be from the conditions of the tenure; that the evil results that can occur have occurred, we have seen; and it is evident that as long as the *possibility* of their recurrence remains, land tenure reform must be urgently needed. It is plain, then, that the assessment should be made at a very moderate rate, and fixed at that rate in perpetuity. Great encouragement should also be given to those who dig wells and make irrigation works at their own expense. In such cases the assessment might be largely reduced, or even removed altogether, as wells in especial are the most reliable preventive to famine, and the State in times of dearth would thus be amply recouped for the sacrifice proposed to be made. I may observe, in concluding this branch of my subject, that I am quite aware that the State has, by offering loans to the people for improvements, and saying that it will not charge more rent on their account, offered what it no doubt considered a sufficient attraction to the investment of capital in landed improvement; but it is evident that as long as a general and indefinite power of raising rents every thirty years remains in the hands of the State; no adequate inducements to capitalists can ever exist. To attract capital freely to anything, certainty, or what is believed to be certainty, is needed, and in the Indian land tenures there is not even the semblance of certainty, or a possible belief in certainty.

Another very important matter for consideration is the growth of scourging crops. The State here has neglected its duties to itself, the occupiers, and their heirs, by imposing no restriction on the growth of crops which run out the soil. But, it will be urged, such crops are often grown by the cultivator to enable him to pay his rent. Where this is so the rent must be reduced accordingly. At present we find that the cotton crop is entirely removed from the soil. The Report of the Jute Commission tells us that in Bengal, though jute is a most scourging crop, no manure is used for it in some districts, while in others no manure is needed because the crop is grown on newly-reclaimed lands—in other words, lands newly taken up to be destroyed after the usual method that we see existing in other parts of India. The number of times that a holder should be allowed to grow a scourging crop should be laid down in his tenure. Hitherto we have relied on the self-interest of the cultivator for checking injury to the soil; how little that can be depended on we have learnt from a melancholy experience all over the

world of the recklessness of cultivators in running out the resources of the soil.

The last point I have to allude to is the abominable usury laws we have introduced into India. No one feels their oppressive action more acutely than those who have to undergo the daily pain of administering them. We have, indeed, given India peace in one sense, but we have at the same time spread discord throughout the entire community, and produced a daily unhappiness and worry which is probably at this moment unparalleled throughout the globe. We have merely delivered the people from one set of oppressors to hand them over to others who have ground them down to the condition often of mere bond-slaves. That expression is not mine. Allusions to these unfortunate people as slaves and bond-slaves have been repeatedly made by the officers of Government, and if any one doubts their strict applicability, he has only to read the Report of the Deccan Riots Commission, which, I may remind you, sat to inquire into an outbreak which, in the opinion of the officers employed in the inquiry, was caused, partly from our Government over-assessing lands, and partly by these usury laws. It is surely worth while, if for no other reason, to protect the interests of those who pay the main body of the revenue. Let me tell you how this is done in the Nizam's dominions, and express a hope that our Government may adopt some such measure. I quote from an interesting letter written by a Native officer :—

" By our Nizam's civil laws our ryots are protected, as far as possible, " from money-lenders; for in our courts a mere execution of the bond " on which the claim rests does not make a contending or absent debtor " liable for the amount sued for until the creditor should have proved " to the satisfaction of the Court the consideration for which the bond " is executed. And if, on going over the accounts, it is found that a " usurious rate of interest has been charged, the Court at once reduces " it to a reasonable rate. In the execution of a decree against the " property of a ryot, his house, his agricultural implements, and a supply " of grain sufficient to keep him and his family for six months are " exempted from attachment, and this wise measure saves the cultivator " from beggary and ruin." The writer then naïvely adds: " In these " days of reforms and innovations I earnestly hope and trust that this " wise and beneficent rule will not be meddled with."

In short, in the Nizam's dominions a ryot is to a certain extent regarded as a minor, and treated as such. When, however, the poor farmer comes to us to complain of the injustice he has suffered from his ignorance and helplessness, we gravely take up legal maxims and throw

them at his head—*ignorantia juris non excusat*, and so on. But it is time to be bringing my lecture to a close.

I have now pointed out six measures which should be adopted: (1) The prevention of the undue ploughing up of grazing land; (2) the improvement of the climate by planting trees; (3) the improvement of manurial resources by planting, and the removal of duty from salt for agricultural purposes; (4) the introduction of improved landed tenures; (5) a measure for checking the growth of scourging crops; and (6) a measure for the improvement of the usury laws. An enumeration of these proposed measures, I need hardly say, by no means exhausts this truly vast subject; but the discussion of the numerous other ways in which agricultural progress might be aided would be of no practical value, and never can be, until the grand evils lying at the root of the agricultural difficulties of India are first of all remedied.

In conclusion, permit me to express a hope that the attention of members of Parliament may be directed to this important subject. It is the Indian subject of all others that can best be treated here, for whereas England is full of men who are familiar with the treatment of matters requiring agricultural knowledge, there is no such body of men in India. People at home are naturally afraid of Indian subjects, but a study of the list of papers given below* will do much to dispel the idea that Indian agricultural matters cannot be comprehended at Westminster quite as well as at Simla. In no way could members serve their country and constituents better than by studying this question. The overwrought officials of India must be aided and encouraged by the action and the intelligent criticism of Parliament. This duty has been too long neglected. The consequence of such neglect was pointed out

* *Planter's Gazette of India.* India Office Library.
Agricultural Gazette of India. India Office Library.
"East India Finance Committee Reports." House of Commons.
"Report of East India Deccan Riots Commission." (Presented to Parliament by Her Majesty, 1878.)
Robertson's "Report on the Agricultural Condition of Coimbatore." (Printed by order of the House of Commons, 1878.)
Harman's Pamphlet on "The Agricultural Condition of Mysore." Madras: Gantz Brothers, 1877.
Schrottky's "Principles of Rational Agriculture Applied to India." *Times of India* Office, 1876.
E. H. Pringle's "Forests *versus* Famine." Mangalore, 1878.
Morant's Letters on "Trees, Forests, and Rain-fall." Bombay, 1877.
Balfour's "Influence Exercised by Trees on Climate and Productiveness." Printed by India Office for circulation in India, 1878.
Croumbie Brown's "Forests and Moisture." Edin.: Oliver and Boyd, 1877.
"A Madras Civilian's Pamphlet on the Madras Famine." W. Ridgway, 1877.

to the House by Burke, more than ninety years ago, in his celebrated speech on the Nabob of Arcot's debts, when he thus protested against the idea that the House should not interfere with Indian affairs: "But let us do what we please to put India from our thoughts, "we can do nothing to separate it from our public interests and our "national reputation. Our attempts to banish this importunate duty "will only make it return upon us again and again, and every time in a "shape more unpleasant than the former." Hitherto it has merely come back to us in the shape of war, mutiny, or famine. Unless our landed policy is immediately looked to, India must soon come back to us again in the shape of an utter bankruptcy—a bankruptcy not merely of her finances, but of the very soil itself—a bankruptcy so complete that this great possession must either be abandoned, or become a heavy annual burden on the shoulders of the English taxpayer.

My lecture has now come to an end. Throughout its entire course I have not once alluded to my own knowledge and practical experience, and I refrained from doing so because I thought it better to occupy the time by laying before you evidence from all parts of India, so that you might have the most varied and independent means of forming your own conclusions on this important subject. It has, however, since occurred to me that I owe it to you, and perhaps to myself, to mention that I have had unusual opportunities for forming sound conclusions on Indian agricultural affairs. I am a cultivator by profession, and am now cultivating my own land both in Scotland and India. If I live out next year, I shall then have been tilling Indian soil for a quarter of a century. For about ten years I was personally engaged in plantation work, and, from the numerous difficulties I still find in keeping up the fertility of my land, am practically able to judge of the overwhelming difficulties the poverty-stricken farmer of India has to contend with. These difficulties are not to be removed by the agricultural colleges we have set up, nor solved by experiments carried on under the supervision of professors of agricultural chemistry. With all my knowledge and experience, if you were to put me in the place of an Indian farmer, I could, with the means at his disposal, do little, if at all, better than he does. The State, then, must improve the climate, and supply the farmer with the means of doing better than he now can. How this may be done I have, and for many years past, endeavoured to show. Hitherto I have not been able to attract any attention to the subject, and at this moment I should not hope to do so were it not for the fact that the loan of 2,000,000*l.* to India without interest virtually declares the insolvency of our vast dominion in the East. That bankruptcy was announced many years ago by this Association, which has vainly endeavoured to

urge economy in the management of Indian affairs, and attention to the pressing wants of the Indian farmer. It has now the honour to announce with confidence the bankruptcy of the soil of India, unless immediate steps are taken to avert that crowning calamity.

At the conclusion of the paper there was considerable applause, and the noble CHAIRMAN, in intimating that the topic was now open for general discussion, warned intending speakers that they must limit their remarks to ten minutes each.

Mr. WILLIAM SOWERBY said he had listened with very great pleasure and attention to the paper which had been read by Mr. Elliot on this very important subject of Agriculture in India, and the condition of the soil. He had had some five and twenty years' experience in India, and in different parts of it, from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin, and he could completely confirm every word that Mr. Elliot had said. For some ten years he had dwelt in the plains of Guzerat—a part of the country to which his friend Mr. Schrottky had particularly alluded in his book, which was referred to by Mr. Elliot—and in that country the steady progress of the degradation of the land by the growth of cotton was such that in a very short time the produce must be reduced to very small dimensions. Indeed, of late years, he knew of some parts where the land had been abandoned by the cultivators as exhausted and worthless. As regards the denudation of forests and the evil effects of their destruction, he could speak with considerable confidence. In the Upper Himalayas there is a large city called Almora, the chief town in the British district of Kumaon, and there the land has been entirely denuded of trees, and consequently there is little or no rain-fall, and when there is any shortness of the monsoon the whole country is in a state of famine. At a comparatively short distance from Almora is the district called Binsur, and that place being covered with vegetation, a downpour of rain is created and the water is retained. He noticed also, in travelling recently in Spain—in the central and southern parts especially—there were precisely the same conditions, and a denudation of the forests produced the natural consequence of a small rain-fall. Mr. Elliot had alluded to the deterioration of the land from over-growth without manure; but he had not said where the ryot was to obtain the necessary manure. If you have in a country like India a large population continually dependent on the cultivation of the land, you must degrade its fertility unless manure is employed; and it should be remembered that 90 per cent. of the enormous population is engaged in agriculture in India. A contribution to the solution of the problem

may be found in the fact that there are mineral deposits of vast extent in India, but of which we as yet know comparatively nothing. (Hear, hear.) He believed, for example, that the coal formations spread from the Himalayas, where he had seen them, down to the Nizam's territory; and coal has also been traced in Scinde, in the neighbourhood of the Nerbudda, and in Guzerat. And yet—would it be credited?—the Government of India know as little of the mineral resources of India as they do of the planet Mars or the still more distant Jupiter. (Hear, hear.) There has never, for instance, been an attempt to find out in Guzerat what is beneath the surface of the earth, and yet an out-crop of coal has been found in the Punch Mahals by Captain Foljambe. The fact is that the Government of India have never applied themselves to the search for the needed fuel for the people; and if they were to do so, nothing is more certain than that they would find a great deal that would relieve the ryot from the necessity of burning wood and manure, and so starving his land. He had strongly urged this on Sir Seymour Fitzgerald when Governor of Bombay. Mr. Elliot had spoken of other than animal manures, and this was an eminently important point. As an old agriculturist, having been connected with the Royal Agricultural College in England, when he went to India he naturally took a great interest in the agricultural condition of the country, and he had been struck by the neglect of the use of other manures which were easy of access. For instance, in addition to the manures from cattle, there was lime. In his native county of Durham, which is naturally as bad a soil as any that could be readily found in the country, being a cold, stiff and unfertile clay, the extensive use of magnesian limestone produced remarkably satisfactory results. He had not the slightest doubt that if search were made in India, limestone would readily be found, and that its application to the soil would as greatly increase its fertility as it had the soil of the county of Durham. There was a continual talk of the efficiency of extended irrigation to relieve the condition of India. No doubt irrigation is a good thing—no one would deny it,—but a large system of irrigation means a corresponding increase in the numbers of the population engaged in agriculture. In a country where 90 per cent. are already thus engaged, is this desirable? If you extend irrigation all over the country, you extend facilities for agriculture; and is this desirable? His friend on the right (Sir Arthur Cotton) would no doubt reply affirmatively; but if you get an immense increase of the agrarian population and do not provide them with fuel, what must follow? His own opinion was that the extent to which irrigation could wisely be carried on in India was considerably limited. What does the deficient rain-fall by the failure of the monsoon mean? Every inch of rain is equal

to 100 tons an acre, and the average rain-fall being from thirteen to thirty-five inches, it is manifest that no power on earth can supply so enormous a quantity over the vast area of India. There is, consequently, a limit to irrigation. Mr. Elliot had forcibly described the poverty of the country, and truly it is very poor. Mr. Bright has also recently depicted it as poor beyond expression, and he could confirm this from wide experience. But this is due not entirely to the taking away from the land everything that the land produces, but to the taking away from the people the money, the capital, by which they could improve their land. (Hear, hear.) Only consider that 17,000,000*l.* is being expended out of the revenues of India upon the Army—upon unproductive labour! There are 60,000 Europeans in India who do nothing; not that they do not like to do anything—far from that, because they are only too glad to be employed and to escape from idleness. It is this which is draining the land. (Hear, hear.) The action of the Government was in some cases as directly oppressive as any that could be devised. In Guzerat there was a local cess made upon the agriculturists, and this was applied to the improvement of the communications. It continued to be used for this object for a considerable time, but of late years this small one-anna cess has been seized by the Government and applied to the expenses of general public works. (Hear, hear.) The condition of India may be summed up in a very few words. Half its revenues are taken for the purpose of keeping up a costly armed force, and the other half in maintaining highly-paid establishments for collecting this revenue. Mr. Elliot refers to the black spots on the sun, which, Dr. Hunter says, cause periodic droughts and famines, but on careful inquiry the spots will be found much nearer home—namely, the black spots on the administration of its finances. (Hear, hear.)

Rajah RAMPAL SINGH said that although his experience would not admit of his doing justice to the paper as a whole, his experience in one respect would perhaps support some of the views advanced by Mr. Elliot. As a landed proprietor, he could speak with some knowledge of what had occurred in regard to the land which he had to deal with. Mr. Elliot had pointed out six measures that should be adopted. The first was the prevention of the undue ploughing up of grazing land, and this he entirely agreed with. When he entered upon the possession of his estate, people used to advise him not to reduce the acreage of grazing land. He, however, was of the contrary opinion, because he thought such land was useful for grazing during the rainy season only, while cultivated land would provide cattle with straw fodder all the year round. He therefore made a proportionate division of the land.

Another point alluded to was the improvement to be effected in the climate by planting trees. This also he thought quite true, and deserving of every consideration. He had heard that round his fort there were at one time many groves of mango trees which his grandfather had cut down with a view to render the fort inaccessible to the King of Lucknow, and ever since there had been comparatively less rain. The people attributed this to the displeasure of God, for they have a superstitious regard for the mango tree. His (the speaker's) uncle, too, had a large jungle, but owing to this same circumstance—the absence of trees—he could not get persons to take leases who could not afford to sink wells. He had let it several times to different persons, but they had been obliged to leave because there was not enough rain. These circumstances, which had come under his own observation, showed that the cutting down of trees had the effect of keeping away the rain, as described by the lecturer. With regard to the third point, the improvement of manurial resources by planting, and the removal of duty on salt for agricultural purposes, his limited experience would not admit of saying much; but with regard to another suggestion, that as to the introduction of improved land tenures, he was quite in harmony with the lecturer, for he was convinced that it was a matter which was especially open to improvement; and there was no doubt that if the conditions under which land was held were improved, the condition of the land itself would be greatly improved, instead of as now—the tenure preventing the expenditure of money upon land, for fear the Government, on revising the assessments, should claim an increased rental. He knew that with regard to his own estate this same consideration had prevented him from making any important improvements, and what had been the case with him was the case with landed proprietors generally. Another point to which Mr. Elliot had very properly referred was the usury laws. The poverty of the people of India was so well known to most present that he (the speaker) need not dwell upon that. If it could be so arranged that the ryots should have enough capital to render them able to cultivate their land this year out of the product of last year, it would be well; but most of them were unable to save, and could hardly manage to scrape together enough to pay their rent, so that they were obliged to borrow on the security of the produce which is in course of cultivation, and pay to the mortgager a heavy rate of interest. If that could be avoided, it would be a great help to the ryots throughout India. Referring to what the previous speaker had seen as to the practice in the Nizam's dominions, of helping the ryots in this matter, the Rajah expressed a wish that similar help may be given by the Government of India to the cultivators of the land. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. H. M. HYNDMAN said he rose to speak, not that he could give any information about India, of which he knew no more than could be obtained by reading and inquiry, but that he desired to express his thanks to Mr. Elliot for the very interesting paper which he had read, and which contained a large amount of solid information, conveyed, too, in a way which rendered it most agreeable to his hearers. (Hear, hear.) He thought he might avail himself of the present occasion to say, in regard to the East India Association generally, that it had done, and was doing, the greatest public service, by enabling all who chose to do so to get at facts regarding India which otherwise would be almost unknown to any one out of India. (Hear, hear.) As regards the subject of Mr. Elliot's paper, therefore—the State of the Agriculture of India—he could offer no contributions to the discussion. But there was one point incidentally touched by Mr. Sowerby, and previously dealt with by Mr. Elliot, upon which he would like to say a word; and this was—how are the needed improvements to be brought forward and used by the ryots? How are trees to be planted? How are new manures to be applied by people who have no means, no money, no capital? (Hear, hear.) The point to which we are thus brought—the extreme poverty of India—is one that should exercise the mind of every man who feels that as a citizen of a great empire he bears some portion of the burden of responsibility upon his shoulders. The fact to be considered is the poverty of the people, and the certainty that it will increase unless remedial measures are speedily brought into operation. Those remedies which can be applied on the spot Mr. Elliot had ably enumerated, but those which we can apply at home it is for us also to take in hand. The main question which we have to consider is the terrible drain upon the resources of India which is made by this country. (Hear, hear.) If you take away from India a sum which is equivalent to the whole rent of the land, and apply it only in this country, then you take away from India the means by which it can become richer. (Hear, hear.) Unquestionably, the planting of trees will improve the climate; the stoppage of the absorption of grazing land might be of the highest advantage; and all the other measures recommended by Mr. Elliot are excellent in their way. But they are improvements which require time to operate. Trees, for example, take many years to mature; and during that time India is growing rapidly poorer. There is an article in the new number of the *Quarterly Review* upon this very subject—viz., "The Condition of the Soil of India." It is evidently written by a man of experience, and who knows the country well; but, for himself, he had looked through it in vain for any real evidence of the improvement of the people of the country under the rule which has now obtained for

many years. The statement is that the country is much richer. If so, he would like to see the fact brought out by the gentlemen who administer India. At present the evidence was entirely the other way. Of course, he did not desire it to be supposed that he considered the officials in any way blame-worthy for this; they were merely administrators of a system which they did not create. But if, as he believed, the system itself was oppressing and pauperising the people, the sooner they had a change the better. That change must begin here at home, and not in India. (Hear, hear.) Before he sat down he desired to say a few words regarding Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji—a name well known to the members of the East India Association. When he (Mr. Hyndman) first mentioned his name in the articles which he contributed to the *Nineteenth Century*, his testimony was objected to. It was suggested that it would be well not to refer again to the evidence of a Native, because the evidence of an Indian on the affairs of his own country would not be well received by the English public. (Hear, hear.) Why not? He entirely failed to see. If there is one thing in the world of which Englishmen are more proud than another, it is that we have always been able to take advantage of the knowledge of Natives to enable us to govern them better. And if, under our rule, a man, by industry, intelligence, capacity, and continual self-sacrifice, is able to acquire such knowledge as some of the Natives of India have done, and he loyally places his information at our disposal, that should be a subject of satisfaction to us, and the Native should not be discouraged or silenced. (Hear, hear.) We all agree that we intend to retain India. That once admitted, every honest statement becomes of value which does not traverse our premiss. We should set to work, one and all, to elevate and improve the country and the people whose government we have undertaken. Why, then, should it be disagreeable that a loyal and able Native is able to point out facts which he considers are damaging his country, and injuring the empire of which he is a subject? Mr. Hyndman concluded by saying that he had ventured to make these observations because he was strongly impressed with the belief that the first drawback to the revival of India existed here at home; and he was desirous of adding his testimony to the value of the work done by the East India Association, by Mr. Elliot, Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, and many others, in bringing India constantly before the English public, and impressing upon Englishmen the necessity for remedying the serious condition of that portion of the British Empire.

General ORFEUR CAVENAGH stated that, having no practical knowledge of agriculture, on that score he could add nothing

to the information that had already been so ably laid before the meeting. From his experience as a soldier and an administrator, it was, however, in his power to corroborate Mr. Elliot's statement on one or two points. The first to which he would allude was as to the breaking up of grazing lands. Mr. Elliot's experience did not extend to the Upper Provinces, but his (General Cavenagh's) had been gained chiefly in that quarter. As far back as 1845, the cavalry regiment to which he belonged was stationed in Rohilkund, the garden of India, and even then it was found to be a matter of the greatest difficulty to obtain forage for the horses. Subsequently, when Lord Dalhousie was Governor-General, the question of supplying the cavalry with grass became so serious, in a military point of view, that his opinion was requested on the subject. He then advised that, with the view of preventing any trespassing upon the lands held by the farmers, a preserve of grass land, such as existed at Saugor—called a Bhir—should be established in the neighbourhood of every station where cavalry were quartered. This seemed to be the only way of obtaining food for the horses without interfering with the cultivators. The next question to which he would refer was the necessity for improving the climate by planting trees. His experience in this respect entirely supported the views of Mr. Elliot. Some years ago he was Governor of the Straits, where the vegetation is most luxuriant, but even there the cutting down of the forests had affected the rain-fall to such an extent that one of his predecessors had caused a path to be made round the Penang Hill, which is upwards of 2,000 feet in height, and the cutting down of any trees upon that path was prohibited. He himself thought it necessary to adopt further measures with the same object. He ordered a nursery of young trees to be attached to every police station, from which trees should be taken to be planted along the adjacent roads, so that, instead of being mere dry, dusty tracks across the burning plains, they should afford the traveller coolness and shade. He could not say that the Natives appreciated his efforts in their behalf, for whenever a carter required a stick with which to drive his bullocks, he invariably broke down one of the young trees by the wayside; still, the principle seemed a good one, and might generally be adopted with advantage. It was not only that the denudation of the country of trees actually diminished the rain-fall, but, from the want of shade, the ground became so hard and baked that when the rain fell, instead of penetrating into the soil and nourishing vegetation, it simply ran off the surface and flowed away in torrents, increasing the volume of water in the rivers, and often doing more harm than good. Mr. Elliot touched upon the usury laws and the nature of the land tenures. He believed that every administrator would acknowledge that

it is essential to the well-being of the people to give them a thorough interest in the land they hold. The more permanent the tenure the more it will be to the advantage of the people and of the Government. Although the latter may suffer some loss by not obtaining an increase of revenue as the land becomes more valuable, yet eventually it would gain by the general prosperity of the people. As the cultivator increased in wealth he would spend more money, and thus indirectly, by the increase in customs and excise, the Government would be recouped for any sacrifice it might make in the outset. As regards the usury laws, General Cavenagh expressed himself in favour of some amendment. English people, as a rule, considered that laws that would suit them should suit everyone else. This was a mistake. The Oriental, however keen and subtle in intellect, in some respects required to be treated as a child. Hence, in a country where not merely cent. per cent., but even 1,200 per cent. was sometimes charged, it becomes essential for the Government to interpose between the money-lender and the cultivator. The latter, on the occasion of a festival or of any special event occurring in his family, would borrow money on any terms, regardless of the results, and when once he came into the usurer's clutches he would never escape. Hence, in the interests of the people, it was incumbent on the State to interfere. The want of protection from the rapacity of the money-lender led to the ruin of many of the landholders in the Upper Provinces. This result was prejudicial to us during the Mutiny, as many of those who would otherwise have been loyal subjects, and upon whose assistance we might have relied, either stood aloof or actually opposed us.

General Sir ARTHUR COTTON, K.C.S.I., said he would just introduce what he had to say by one remark, and that was that the general result of all the information which has been given of late in the House of Commons, and in the reviews and magazines, regarding India, is absolutely to mislead, and appeared to his mind to totally falsify the real state of things in India. (Hear, hear.) Facts perfectly true are stated, but they have been stated in such a way as to convey a thoroughly false idea of the situation. Suppose a foreigner coming to England to inquire into the condition of the country were taken forthwith to the East-end of London, and nowhere else. He would see the horrible poverty of the population—its crime, its misery, its drunkenness; and having seen nothing of the wealth and luxury of the West-end, and nothing of the behaviour of the large masses of people in other portions of the metropolis, could he furnish a true report of the state of London as a whole? Yet this is exactly what is being done by speakers

and writers on India. (Hear, hear.) The evils which have been mentioned are terrible evils, and they really do exist and call for redress, and obligations were due to Mr. Elliot and others for bringing them under notice; but to state them only, and give nothing else on the other side, was to convey an idea directly contrary to the real case. It was in this way that the people of England were completely misled as to the condition of India as a whole. The truth is, that there has been an enormous increase of wealth in India, an enormous increase of comfort and well-being, and no country ever prospered so rapidly as it has done during the last thirty or forty years. (Hear, hear.) All he wanted was a fair statement of the facts upon the whole, and that the English people should hear the *whole* of the matter. It was a fact that 300,000,000*l.* of gold and silver had been absorbed in India in the last thirty years. Is that no indication of improvement? (Hear, hear.) Is it to be ignored? He asked this not with a view to minimise the statements of Mr. Elliot and others, and not with a view of objecting to a remedy for the undoubted evils which had been described, but simply that the whole truth should be stated when a general proposition regarding the condition of India was laid down. While considering Mr. Robertson's Report on Coimbatore, or Mr. Harman's on Mysore, it is indeed well that we should hear the ryots' own account of themselves. But it is madness to read these reports and nothing else, as if there is no more to be said on the subject. The gentleman in England who, hearing much of the awful condition of the bargemen on the canals, was told by one of them that things could not be worse, put his head into the cabin of his boat and saw spread on the table a breakfast such as he himself had not enjoyed for weeks, might find many like himself in regard to Indian subjects. (Hear, hear.) It was not to be denied that there is great poverty in India, but most certainly there is far greater poverty in England. (Oh!) There is no such poverty in India as there is in England at the present moment. (Hear, hear.) Hold up a hard, dry crust in the East of London, and there are thousands of hungry people who will hasten to clutch it. We must consider the evils which are existing in all countries, and it is not to be supposed that these evils are peculiar to India. Mr. Elliot had deprecated undue ploughing of grazing land, and urged its stoppage as one of his remedies; but how can you possibly prevent the extension of cultivation while the population is increasing? They must have more land, or you must employ more labour on the land now under cultivation. It seems strange, in connection with this part of the subject, that it should not be observed that irrigated land requires twice as many men as unirrigated land. Is not this a remedy for the over-population and other evils? (Hear, hear.)

If we irrigate a million acres of land, we set free another million acres for forest land. As to the improvement of the manurial resources of India, how can this be done more effectually than by putting the enormous forests and coal deposits of India at the disposal of the country? If the ryots are not to burn manure, they must have cheap fuel, and they can get it if you do but provide them with cheap transit. He need not say that this would be afforded by a canal system; and as an illustration of what he meant, he might mention that the North Coast Canal, just opened from Madras to Cocanada (420 miles), had enabled the Government to move a regiment at a cost of a penny per head for twelve miles, without steam or European organization. This is a specimen of really cheap transit. As to the checking of the scourging of the land by certain crops, he confessed he could not see how this could be done by the Government. As to the usury laws, he might say that he had no doubt that one of the most terrible mistakes we have made is the application of English laws to an Oriental people. (Hear, hear.) He was glad to be able to say that an effort was now being made to bring out an extensive and general banking company in connection with the Government, which would place capital at the disposal of the cultivators in India at a reasonable rate of interest, so that the ryot who is honest and faithful may have—what he has not now—a fair chance. (Hear, hear.) The money-lender's object is to get the ryot's head under water, but the object of the bank would be to keep the ryot's head out of the water, and enable him to make remunerative use of the advances. He would crave one word more about the extension of irrigation. What can be the objection to it? How strange it is that in some minds there should be an extreme and violent bias against it in India! Here are thousands of millions of cubic yards of *fertilizing* water flowing into the sea to waste. What can be the objection to bringing it upon the land, where, owing to the want of water and manure, little or no produce can be obtained, or where for the same reason cultivation has become no longer profitable? One word more: India, say some magazine writers and some speakers, is exhausted; her soil is "played out." He would give a direct denial to this, and say that India, so far from being exhausted, has never really been touched, so far as the greater part of it is concerned. Some three inches or less of the surface of parts have been scratched and cultivated over and over again, but they have never been really ploughed, never been properly broken up, to this day. (Hear, hear.) And one of the gentlemen already quoted tells you that simply by deep ploughing he quadrupled his crop. (Hear.) Defects are apparent in the system of Indian agriculture, but, in conclusion, he would say that the crops he saw growing on the lands in the high latitude of Scotland last summer

were such as to shame the more fortunately situated Surrey farmers, who, though they had the land, were not possessed of the skill and science which the Scotch farmer called into play. Defective agriculture, like poverty, is not confined to India. (Hear, hear.) The remedies for India's poverty and famines are, in my opinion: (1) cheap transit for all purposes, but especially to distribute the ample stores of coal and wood which India possesses throughout the country, and thus stop the destruction of manure as fuel; (2) distribution of the unlimited stores of water, and its *fertilizing* deposits in the rivers, by works of irrigation; (3) deep cultivation, bringing into use the virgin soil, which has been yet untouched, and thus at the same time greatly diminish the evil effects of a scanty rain-fall, as has been wonderfully shown in the model farms; (4) general plantations; (5) providing the ryots with capital at moderate interest by means of a bank, with branches in every district, in connection with the Government. The grand objection to the statement of facts only on the side of the poverty and other evils of India, is that it leads us to *directly false conclusions as to our future proceedings.* If we look at the other side—viz., the returns to the community from the public works already executed—we can come to only one conclusion, that what India wants is a most liberal expenditure on public works. The saving of money alone, to say nothing of life, from 7,000 miles of railway, 5,000,000 of acres of irrigation, 4,000 or 5,000 miles of steamboat canals, some 50,000 miles of roads, and many other improvements, *certainly far exceeds the whole amount of taxation;* and if this has been effected in spite of previous mistakes from want of experience, what may not now be effected with the ample data we have obtained, in addition to all the other results of works already executed? Besides which, the expenditure is an immediate relief, which every class feels. Keeping out of sight the results, and speaking only of the past expenditure and remaining evils, we come to the very opposite conclusion—viz., to stop all further improvement. But who can estimate the value of the result of not a life being lost in the three irrigated districts of Madras, while 300,000 or 400,000 were lost in every one of the surrounding districts, in which also several millions more would have perished but for the immense supply of grain that the three districts had to spare beyond their own consumption? An official report reckons that the money value of that one crop, where not an acre would have produced without irrigation, was four times the whole cost of the works.

The noble CHAIRMAN here intimated that the pressure of speakers was so great, and the hour so advanced, that five minutes was all he could allow to each.

Mr. K. M. DUTT said he desired to make one or two observations respecting the paper which had been read, which he considered most valuable, being convinced in his own mind that the remedies suggested, if acted upon, would be found to produce an immense amount of good. He agreed with Mr. Hyndman that it was not possible for the cultivators of land in India to improve their land when so many millions of the people were in a state bordering upon starvation, and whilst millions of money were annually being sent out of the country. Besides this, these home charges injured the cultivators of the soil in another way, which was not yet sufficiently understood by the Anglo-Indian economist —namely, by keeping down the prices of the articles exported from India. India had to send away out of the country so much produce to meet the home charges of the Government. The produce must be sold, a market must be created for it, which meant nothing but selling it at a reduced price. Had that not been the case, the balance of trade, which was always in favour of India, and which was now about 24,000,000*l.* a-year, would have been at least 30,000,000*l.*—*i.e.*, India would have received 6,000,000*l.* more for her exports. If India could have received annually the whole of this balance, there would have been a rise in the price of her produce. This increased price would have given a stimulus to her agriculture and prosperity to her people, who then would have been in a position to cultivate the land upon more scientific principles. But this improvement was also greatly retarded by another consideration, and that was the system of land tenure. Under present conditions no tenant could lay out a large amount of money to improve his land, because he is never sure whether his rent will not be increased. That was one of the reasons why the land was never improved by those who held it. Then, again, because the tenancy was held under uncertain conditions, it was impossible for the tenants to borrow money on reasonable terms. What security had they to offer to the money-lender? Nothing upon which they could reasonably hope to raise money at 5 or 6 per cent. It was not to be expected that people having no property to offer as security could obtain money at a low rate. If they held the land on a longer and more certain tenure, then he thought they would be able to get their money to work with at a lower rate of interest. Another point which Mr. Elliot had dealt with was that as to the planting of trees, and he (Mr. Dutt) desired to say that his experience went entirely in the same direction as the opinion advanced by the opener. Some few years ago he went to the Island of Ascension, where there was scarcely a blade of grass, except on a hill called Green Mountain, which was covered with vegetation. While not a drop of rain falls on the plain, heavy showers of rain fall on that hill.

The only water which the island got was from that hill, and this he attributed to the growth of trees there. It would be easy to give other illustrations. The reason was that clouds could collect over the plains void of vegetation, as the heat which would have been absorbed by the plants was reflected upwards and dispersed them. In conclusion, Mr. Dutt said he wished particularly to refer to the remarks of Sir Arthur Cotton as to the means of the people of India. Of course there were some rich people, but he could safely say that three-fourths of the people of India, or more than that, lived from hand to mouth; and this fact was well known, and could readily be tested by any one who cared to take the trouble of making inquiries.

Mr. A. ROGERS said he rose, in the first place, for the purpose of correcting one or two misapprehensions which might have been caused by the remarks of Mr. Sowerby in particular. That gentleman stated that he had been in Gujerat. Well, he (the speaker) also had been in Gujerat, and at once joined issue with Mr. Sowerby in respect of the statement he had made as to the ground being thrown out of cultivation in consequence of its having been over and over again cultivated with cotton. Mr. Sowerby would lead the meeting to suppose that the continual growth of cotton had deteriorated the soil to such an extent that land had been abandoned from that cause. Now, that was not the case. The real cause of the land being occasionally abandoned was that there were frequently salt springs in Gujerat, and when this salt came to the surface the land became unfit for cultivation, and had to be abandoned. He (Mr. Rogers) did not know of one instance in which the land had been abandoned for the reason given by Mr. Sowerby—the cropping of cotton continually. The same speaker seemed to find fault with Government for not utilizing the resources of the country, and stated that there were minerals there to a large extent, and coal fields also in abundance. Now, he (the speaker) knew Gujerat perhaps as well as Mr. Sowerby, and he also knew the geology of the country, and there was nothing that he had ever discovered to lead him to believe that coal would be found there. To describe the soil, he should explain that the tertiary and recent formations on the surface were directly underlaid by trap, which the Geological Survey had determined to be of post-cretaceous age; consequently, there was no geological reason for saying that coal existed throughout the country. The backbone of the country was trap, of volcanic origin, and if coal had ever existed it was obvious it would have been burnt up by this enormous upheaval of trap. Then another matter upon which Mr. Sowerby was likely to cause misapprehension was as to the disposal of the one-anna cess in Gujerat. In the first

instance it was raised, that gentleman said, for road improvements, and was subsequently seized by Government. To that statement he (Mr. Rogers) gave a flat contradiction. The cess has not been seized. It is administered by local committees in each purgunnah or subdivision of a collectorate, under the superintendence of the collectors. The money is still expended, partly for educational purposes and partly for roads and other public works. As to Government having seized upon it, that certainly was not the case. And now he desired to say a few words in reference to Mr. Elliot's paper. He appeared mainly to insist upon stopping the breaking up of waste land, but he had left out of account one very great consideration—viz., that the matter depended a great deal upon supply and demand—upon the amount of population in the country. Where the population is very sparse there is a large amount of waste land, and, in consequence, an inferior kind of cultivation. Where the people find a quantity of land ready to their hand, they take to it and plough it in a perfunctory, superficial way, and consequently the results are small. For the same cause the cattle are allowed to multiply to any extent, and the breed naturally deteriorates for want of due attention. But where the population is dense, as in certain parts of Gujerat, where 90 per cent. of the total area is under cultivation, the result is careful cultivation; and as to the cattle, instead of their being inferior, they were the most superior beasts to be seen in Gujerat. The reason is that the people not having sufficient grass land to graze them upon, find it the most economical plan to reserve a portion of the land, valuable as it is, for the purpose of feeding their cattle. So far, then, as the ploughing up of waste lands having a deteriorating effect upon the cattle was concerned, this he (Mr. Rogers) submitted in confidence as an instance to the contrary.

MIRZA PEER BUKHSH said he rose to make a few remarks only, as the time was limited. The paper with which the lecturer had favoured them was excellent, and well deserved consideration. Some gentlemen had spoken for and against it, but he entirely disagreed with a gentleman who had previously spoken, and who asserted that India is now a rich country. He admitted that there was a time when India was rich. It was so at the time of the Mogul Emperors, when the revenue was Rs.950,000,000, or 95,000,000*l.*, and then all the money was spent in the country, which is not the case now. All this was before the days of the East India Company, and before the other European traders entered the country. The reputation of India for wealth attracted European nations; and he remembered having read in a French work published at the time in which the French East India

Company was forming, that there was a country in the East so rich that people only ate once off their plates and then threw them out of the window, and that the streets were paved with gold and silver, while rubies and diamonds were scattered in the streets to be picked up by any one that cared to have them. At that time the English East India Company started with a capital of 30,000*l.*, and was clever enough to become in time the master of India; but the Company never showed an income of more than 23,000,000*l.*, and under the Imperial paternal government the revenue is about 60,000,000*l.*, and on this sum the home charges make a frightful raid, as the Government draws from 250,000*l.* to 400,000*l.* per week, say about 18,000,000*l.* a year at the rate of exchange, ranging from 1s. 7¼d. to 1s. 6¾d.—a loss of from 19 to 21 per cent., or about 4,000,000*l.*; to which must be added the pay of the officers, civil and military; making all round about 30,000,000*l.* per annum, or half the income of the country, which comes home to England. Trade is disturbed by the state of exchange; the merchants do not know what to do, for every week the exchange varies from 1 to 2 per cent., and, consequently, goods bought one week may be 2 per cent. dearer or cheaper than the next. Whatever other advantages the English rule may have brought to India, it has done much to destroy Native industry, and send back the people to the soil; and even then they are taxed to a fearful extent, say from 50 to 55 per cent.; and under these circumstances the prospect seems hopeless. If the Government does not take care of the land, and if the picture drawn by the lecturer be true, then what becomes of the population, which is nearly one quarter of the population of the entire world? If such be the state of things, how can it be said that the Indians are rich? Far from this, they are getting poorer day by day.

Mr. WILLIAM TRANT said he had not intended to take part in the discussion on the excellent and interesting paper which had been read, but he wished to make one remark on what had fallen from Sir Arthur Cotton, as he thought that gentleman had made a statement which might seriously mislead those who did not know India from personal experience. Sir Arthur said that there was a great deal of poverty in the East-end of London and a great deal of luxury at the West-end, and that a foreigner visiting only the eastern quarter would get a very erroneous notion of the condition of the metropolis as a whole. That was true enough, but the parallel which was sought to be set up between London and India was quite wrong. (Hear, hear.) Those who knew India well, and had visited every part, had come to the conclusion that it was all "East-end" with it. (Hear, hear.) Statements of the poverty of a country were not to be supported by

individual instances of misery, nor controverted by the citation of individual instances of wealth. The basis of judgment must be a broad and general one; and figures which could not be denied proved that the state of the people of India, as a whole, was serious and deplorable. (Hear, hear.) The average production of India is only 40s. per head per annum, from which at least 1s. 10d. was deducted by taxation. Now, the average cost of the keep of criminals in the Indian gaols was 44s. per head per annum, so that the total produce of the whole of India did not afford an average sustenance for the people out of gaol equal to the cost of the criminals in the gaols. (Hear, hear.) This fact alone showed how poor, how very poor, were the people of India. (Hear, hear.) Whether the soil of India be exhausted, as he had always been given to understand, or whether it had been "merely scratched," as Sir Arthur Cotton said, he (the speaker) was not in a position to say, as he was not an agriculturist; but it needed no technical knowledge to teach one that when goodness was taken out of a soil, goodness must be put back into it if its fertilizing power were to be retained. In India, the goodness had been continually taken out and never replaced, and he was glad, therefore, to see that the lecturer considered the oppressive duty on salt was a great deterrent to the proper and profitable cultivation of the land, and ought to be at once removed. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. JAMES INNES MINCHIN said he had some grave doubts about rising to take part in the discussion, but as he had been thirty or more years of his life an officer in the Madras Presidency, he might presume to have some practical knowledge of the subject which they had met to discuss. He was moreover emboldened to speak, as, from what he had already heard, it might be pretty safely asserted that it would be perfectly impossible to find any gentleman present whom his neighbours would not believe to be utterly and totally wrong. (Laughter.) During a long experience in the affairs of India he had always found those affairs had been subjected to a treatment which, under ordinary circumstances, would be more likely to be correctly described by the term "quackery." Every kind of "*path*-ism" had been prescribed. There was the *homœopathic*, the *hydropathic*, and numerous other methods, and in the course of that debate he should have been surprised indeed if the celebrated advocate of hydropathy had not brought forward his well-known hobby. ("Hear, hear," and laughter.) He (the speaker) had been for many years acquainted with the Madras Presidency as collector of a district in which one million of money had been spent on an irrigation scheme proposed by Sir Arthur Cotton, and carried out by his brother. That scheme had never, and would never pay one penny

of interest to those who found the money for its execution, and interest had been paid yearly out of the revenues of India. Yet they were still gravely told that nothing but irrigation is required to cure all the evils, all the poverty, which India unquestionably labours under. Of the various matters spoken of by Mr. Elliot in his interesting paper, there were some which had constantly received attention from the Government of India. That as to trees and forests especially was one which the Government of Madras, throughout the whole time he (the speaker) had served there, had never neglected, and the Government there was as fully alive to the importance of it as Mr. Elliot could possibly be. With regard to the remedies which Mr. Elliot brought forward for what he is pleased to term "the bankruptcy" of the soil (and which Mr. Minchin denied *in toto*), he desired to say a word or two. One was the suggestion that the breaking up and cultivation of land should be arrested, because, as Mr. Elliot urged, it destroyed the pasture grounds of the country. That appeared to him (Mr. Minchin) to be a plea for going back to the very worst forms of cultivation. The highest form of cultivation, as practised in England, consisted in the stall-feeding of cattle. Where there was the richest soil in the Madras Presidency there cattle were fed on this principle; and he contended that this was a better and a higher principle than that of keeping wild grass, which, after all, only produced ample pasture for them for a few months in the year, and for the greater portion of the year was dry and barren. In concluding his remarks, Mr. Minchin expressed his belief that perfect fixity of tenure would have most beneficial results as regarded the produce of the soil.

Mr. WILLIAM MAITLAND said he had listened with very great interest to the lecture given by Mr. Elliot, and it had been followed by a valuable discussion; but he must take exception to the remark at the conclusion of the lecture, that "the loan of 2,000,000*l.* to India without "interest virtually declares the insolvency of our vast dominion in the "East. That bankruptcy was announced many years ago by this "Association, which has vainly endeavoured to urge economy in the "management of Indian affairs, and attention to the pressing wants of "the Indian farmer. It has now the honour to announce with con-"fidence the bankruptcy of the soil of India, unless immediate steps are "taken to avert that crowning calamity." He had not intended to address the meeting, but the saying that "silence gives consent" influenced him to rise to express his dissent from this statement. (Hear, hear.) Mr. Hyndman, in the *Nineteenth Century*, and other writers, had made similar assertions; but he wished to declare his

emphatic disbelief in the accuracy of the statement, or that the loan of 2,000,000*l.* without interest involves bankruptcy, or that India was bankrupt. He had known India for many years, and he did not believe that anything of the kind was likely to take place in India at all; and feeling that very strongly, he felt bound to speak. (Hear, hear.) With reference to Mr. Elliot's paper generally, he would add that he had listened with interest to his various suggestions, most of which appeared well worthy of consideration. As to the effect of the usury laws, he could form his opinion from his knowledge as a merchant and banker in India. All who knew India knew the injurious effect too often of the usury laws—(hear, hear)—and all must sympathize with Mr. Elliot in his desire that a speedy change should be brought about. It seemed to him that the letter which Mr. Elliot quoted as from a Native officer in the Nizam's dominions contained a great deal of common sense, and that the practice there described was worth the attention of the British Government. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. KRISHNA NATH MITRA, in the course of a brief speech, said he could confirm most of Mr. Elliot's remarks as to the state of the soil and people of India. He expressed his surprise to hear the drainage of 300,000,000*l.* from India in the course of the last thirty or forty years quoted as a proof of the prosperity of the country.

Mr. A. S. AYRTON said that the speaker was in serious error. What Sir Arthur Cotton said was that 300,000,000*l.* had been absorbed by India.

Mr. KRISHNA NATH MITRA said that he was sorry to have misunderstood Sir Arthur Cotton, and he would be most happy to admit his error if the fact was *really* so. However, the example he had cited would hold good also in the present instance; for if a chest is filled with gold coins, and constrnt drainage is made into it without replenishing it any more, would any one there present hold that after a time even a farthing is to be found there? No, not even a farthing is to be found there. In the shape of home charges everything would be drawn out again. On the subject of the usury system which is now prevalent in India, he would say that the sooner it was abolished the better it would be for India; and it was a very good suggestion that a law should be current all over India stopping the exaction of the exorbitant rates of interest which are now imposed by the money-lenders. From the suppression of this, if a law were at once passed by the Government, a great benefit to the peasantry would certainly result. In conclusion, the

speaker urged that both Englishmen and Indians should heartily unite in endeavouring to recover the prosperity of India.

Mr. ROBERT H. ELLIOT, in reply, said he wished briefly to allude to one or two remarks that had fallen from Rajah Rampal Singh, who, as a landed proprietor, was worthy of special attention. What he said was to him (the speaker) most interesting, and showed him that he had gone a little too far in urging that no more grass land should be ploughed. At least, he understood the Rajah to say he would approve of taking up some grass land as long as it was for growing crops for feeding cattle, and not used solely for growing crops for the food of man.

Rajah RAMPAL SINGH explained that what he intended to convey was that it was a good plan to leave a plot of land for the cattle, and at the same time to provide for them when there was no grass.

Mr. ELLIOT, resuming, addressed himself to one of the remarks of Mr. Hyndman, to the effect that one of his suggested remedies would not be at once available, as trees took some time to grow before they could have any effect. In reply to that, he desired to say that in India that was not so, and, indeed, even in this country it would not require a very long time to grow trees to a sufficient size to act as coolers of the atmosphere and retainers of moisture. With regard to the remarks of Sir Arthur Cotton, without entering fully into them, he desired to allude to one extraordinary assertion of Sir Arthur's—viz., that the whole soil of India was practically virgin soil, and had not yet been touched, owing to the shallowness of the ploughing. Supposing Sir Arthur Cotton to be right in saying that the surface of the ground is only scratched, he must admit that the roots of trees and plants go down into the soil and extract the nutriment from it. Independently of that, the shallowness of the ploughing in India had been much exaggerated. In Mysore he had observed the practice followed, and found that good cultivators plough the land as often as seven times in a season, each time getting deeper into the soil. Sir Arthur Cotton, therefore, went too far in assuming that the soil is only scratched upon the surface. Another speaker had said that the Madras Government were perfectly alive to the necessity of increasing the forests in India. He (Mr. Elliot) was quite aware of that. The old Directors of the East India Company were also alive to it, but they did nothing. [Mr. MINCHIN: I must deny that.] We have it on Government records

(continued Mr. Elliot) that the country is being denuded of its trees and forests. The Government has conserved certain forests, and so far good has been done; but, apart from that, denudation is going on. There is certainly not enough wood grown to replace the annual consumption; but the Government of India, by asserting and re-asserting that they are taking steps to plant the country, are endeavouring to create the impression that they are doing all that need be done. That he denied, and, without depending upon his own observation, he was ready to prove his position by the Government officer's reports. Thanking the meeting for the attention paid to him, Mr. Elliot resumed his seat.

The Duke of MANCHESTER, in bringing the meeting to a close, said that although he could lay claim to no special qualifications for the position of chairman of such a meeting, he felt complimented in having been asked to preside over it; and he had to admit that he had listened with great interest to the discussion upon the most valuable paper read by Mr. Elliot, who, as a cultivator at home and in India, was well fitted to deal with the subject which had given rise to such a good debate.

Mr. ROBERT H. ELLIOT, in proposing a vote of thanks to his Grace the Duke of Manchester for presiding, said his Grace had not given himself the credit to which he was fairly entitled, for, as a fact, he was peculiarly fitted for presiding at such a gathering. A nobleman so well known to be acquainted with the rules and practice of agriculture in England as his Grace, was eminently qualified to occupy the chair at a meeting assembled to consider the question of the Agriculture of India, for the rules and principles of agriculture were equally applicable to both countries. (Hear, hear.)

MIRZA PEER BUKSH seconded the vote of thanks, which was cordially adopted.

The meeting then separated.

APPENDIX A, page 4.

The area of tilled land under ryotwary tenure (in other words, a tenure under which the occupier holds the land directly from the State by a thirty years' lease, the land being subject to revaluation at the close of each lease, just as it would be under a landlord in England) is 2,200,000 acres. The average of each holding is about 12 acres. Only about 4 per cent. of this area, or 88,622 acres, is irrigated by rivers and tanks, while in 1871-72 it was calculated that there were about 150,000 acres irrigated by wells; the balance of the occupied land, which is stated in the Report at upwards of 2,000,000 acres, is altogether unaided by irrigation. Upwards of thirteen pages of the Report are filled with interesting remarks and suggestions on the farming of the irrigated lands, but I have only time to recommend their careful perusal to those interested in the subject, and must therefore pass on at once to that part of the Report which deals with the lands not under irrigation—in other words, the lands which affect the great mass of the inhabitants of the district. These consist of 2,000,000 acres, on which rent is paid, and which are devoted to crops for the use of man. Intermingled with these lands under plough there are 1,725,760 acres of Government land which are unoccupied and pay no rent, and which consist of coarse grass and scrub. These are the grazing lands for feeding the stock on which the tilling and manuring of the cultivated area depend. Nearly thirteen pages of the Report treat of the farming of the unirrigated land.

APPENDIX B, page 7.

The fact of the land under irrigation also falling off in fertility requires a word of explanation, because it has generally been supposed that lands under irrigation require no manure beyond the silt which is deposited on the soil. But this is only true where the water contains naturally much fertilizing matter, and where it is applied to the land direct. Where the water is first of all stored in tanks, or conducted to the land through canals, much of the manurial matter is necessarily deposited before the water reaches the fields, and where that is the case manure is required. When in Egypt, some years ago, a landed proprietor (an Armenian gentleman, Yacoub Artin Bey) told me that where the Nile water was led to the lands by the canals, such a deposit took place on the way that the soil so watered required manure. And if that is the case with the rich Nile water, it can be readily understood how the lands under irrigation in Mysore are declining in fertility, as the irrigation there almost entirely depends on tanks, the water flowing into which contains comparatively little fertilizing matter. It may be added here that another evil of the undue extension of the area under plough is that a greater quantity of silt is deposited in the tanks, and so diminishes their storage capacity.

JOURNAL

OF THE

EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION.

Instituted for the independent and disinterested advocacy and promotion, by all legitimate means, of the public interests and welfare of the Inhabitants of India generally.

Modern Imperialism in India.

PAPER BY SIR DAVID WEDDERBURN, BART., M.P.

READ AT A MEETING OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION, JUNE 26, 1879.

THOMAS B. POTTER, ESQ., M.P., IN THE CHAIR.

A LARGE and influential meeting of the members and friends of the East India Association was held at the "Pall Mall" Restaurant, Regent Street, Waterloo Place, London, on Thursday, June 26th, 1879; the subject for consideration being "Modern Imperialism in India," introduced in an address by Sir David Wedderburn, Bart., M.P.

THOMAS B. POTTER, Esq., M.P., occupied the chair; and amongst those present were the following: Right Hon. Lord Stanley of Alderley, Sir Roland K. Wilson, Bart., Sir C. W. Dilke, Bart., M.P., Sir Thomas Maclure, Bart., M.P., Mr. Campbell Bannerman, M.P., Mr. Charles Dalrymple, M.P., Mr. A. Grant, M.P., Mr. W. H. James, M.P., Mr. W. E. Price, M.P., Mr. T. E. Price, M.P., Sir George Arney, Sir T. Gore-Browne, K.C.M.G., Sir Edward W. Stafford, K.C.M.G., Major-General Sir F. Goldsmith, C.B., K.C.S.I., Major-General G. Burn, Colonel Mortimer, Colonel A. B. Rathborne, Colonel A. Y. Shortt, Major Evans Bell, Captain G. W. Cockburn, Captain W. C. Palmer, Rajah Rampal Singh, Rev. J. Long, Dr. Vincent Ambler, Surgeon-General Balfour, Dr. M. D. Makuna, Mr. Ahsanuddin Ahmed, Mr. Archibald Anderson, Mrs. and the Misses Andrew, Mr. A. Arathoon, Mr. C. W. Arathoon, Mr. Robert Bain, Mr. H. B. Beames, Mr. Pestonjee Framjee Bhandara, Mr. G. Bradford, Mirza Peer Bukhsh, Mr. Dadabhoy Byramjee, Mr. Case, Mr. Walter Cassels, Mr. F. S. Chapman, Mr. Dinsha D. Davar, Mr. Divett, Mr. K. M. Dutt, Mr. M.

Earpe, Mr. Robert H. Elliot, Mr. and Mrs. Erskine, Mr. F. Espinasse, Mr. and Mrs. Finlay, Mr. Alexander Fowler, Mr. H. W. Freeland, Mr. Malcolm Gasper, Mr. M. P. Gasper, Mr. Lalmohun Ghose, Mr. Gore-Browne, Mr. Rowland Hamilton, Mr. John B. N. James, Mr. John Jardine, Bo. C.S., Mr. C. A. Lawson, Mr. McClelland, Mr. Morison, Mr. F. Percival, Mr. Price, Mr. and Mrs. Robertson, Miss Robertson, Mr. Stewart E. Rolland, Mrs. Russell, Mr. F. Saunders, Mr. Syed Sharfuddin, Mr. William Sowerby, Mr. R. B. Swinton, late M.C.S., Mr. P. M. Tait, Mr. James T. Wood, &c.

In opening the proceedings, the CHAIRMAN said he felt he owed an apology to the ladies and gentlemen present for occupying the position he filled on this occasion, as he had not the honour to be a member of the East India Association; but, as he had been informed that this would be no bar to his taking the chair, it had given him very sincere pleasure to accede to the invitation of his friend, Sir David Wedderburn. He had pleasure in calling upon Sir David to deliver his lecture.

Sir DAVID WEDDERBURN said:—

More than two years have elapsed since the Queen of the United Kingdom was proclaimed Empress of India, and it is already clear that the Imperial Proclamation of 1877 has inaugurated a new *régime*, almost as completely as did the Royal Proclamation of 1858, whereby Her Majesty first assumed the direct administration of India. The change of name from Queen to Empress implied something more than a simple recognition of the supremacy of the British Sovereign over all other princes and potentates in India; and the instinct which caused the Liberal party to oppose the Imperial Title Bill appears, after all, to have been a sound one, although at the time many Liberals were disposed to regard it as "much ado about nothing." In fact, the change of title seems to have been prompted by genuine "Imperialist" ideas, and has inaugurated a policy bearing many ominous analogies to that of the Second Empire in France. Even in England certain symptoms of a reaction towards personal government may be discerned; but these are of comparatively little importance, and it is in India alone, where the new Imperial title is legalized, that the new Imperialist policy can find a congenial field.

Of this policy the Delhi Imperial Assemblage was typical: a parade of pomp and extravagance, for the glorification of one central figure, at the cost of unwilling feudatories and famine-stricken provinces. The government of India has, indeed, always been despotic, but it has hitherto

been a despotism modified and tempered by the influence of a free press and an independent judiciary, the local powers of subordinate governors and of Native princes, and public opinion both in India and at home. The present Viceroy and his immediate advisers have struck repeated blows at every one of these institutions that is within their reach, and seem likely to emancipate themselves from all control except that of British public opinion, which acquires daily greater force, and to which the press and the people of India are more and more disposed to appeal in time of need.

The dangers and advantages of parliamentary and popular (English) interference in the government of India have been fully discussed before this Association, in a paper by Mr. James Routledge, read upon the 20th of February, 1878. Both the dangers and the advantages are doubtless real enough, but the latter greatly preponderate over the former, especially when such interference tends to counteract the existing tendency to substitute personal government for the reign of law —a tendency exemplified alike in matters small and great. In the celebrated "Fuller" Minute the Viceroy took upon himself, as supreme executive officer in India, to rebuke the highest judicial authorities for taking a different view from himself of a judicial case brought before them for revision. He superseded the authority of the Bombay Government in their own provinces by the appointment of a famine delegate from Calcutta, and he drove the local officers almost to despair by self-contradictory instructions as to relief expenditure. He humiliated the chief among Native statesmen, Sir Salar Jung, by compelling him to dismiss his English private secretary; reviving for that purpose an obsolete regulation of the days when the French still disputed with us ascendency in India, and when no European could remain in the country without the Governor-General's express permission.

But these and other arbitrary acts of interference on the Viceroy's part would have comparatively little significance were it not for his attack upon the Native press, which has now enjoyed for more than forty years a liberty as complete as does the press of any constitutional country, and which can hardly be said to have materially altered its character within the last few months.

On the 15th of March, 1878, a Bill was passed through the Legislative Council of the Government of India for the better regulation of the vernacular press. This Bill was hurried through all its stages at one sitting, amidst a chorus of approval from honourable members; the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal being unable even to conceive that two opinions could exist upon the subject. The Viceroy himself stated that while all his associations and convictions were on the side of free utter-

ance of thought, his deliberate judgment was that the measure was imperatively called for by the supreme law of safety of the State. The question, in fact, was not debated, partly from lack of time, but chiefly from the lack of independent representative members; all were practically of one mind within the Council, and seem to have entertained no doubt that they were expressing the views of every reasonable man outside. Of course every one disclaimed any wish to interfere with true liberty of the press, and objected only to "intolerable licence." It was also distinctly stated that the better portion of the vernacular press required no repressive measures any more than the English, and that the Act was directed merely against seditious publications written by "imperfectly educated persons, who appeal to the disloyal sentiments of "persons still more ignorant than themselves, and seek to excite hatred "and distrust of the Government." It was emphatically denied that the Government objected to fair hostile criticism, but it was alleged that seditious and libellous writing had recently increased, and that the existing law was inadequate to repress it. Finally, it was declared that *prevention* of the evil, and not *punishment*, was the object of the measure and the duty of the Government. In this last sentence seems to be disclosed the true nature of the so-called "Gagging" Act. It was not intended to facilitate the punishment of such publications as an independent law court would consider libellous or seditious. Under the existing law such publications were liable to prosecution, and if, as alleged, the law was not adequate to punish them, it might properly have been made more stringent without any injury to true freedom of the press, which must, like other institutions, be subject to the law of the land. The mischief of the "Gagging" Act is that it subjects the vernacular press of India to the arbitrary control of the Executive, and that it is conceived in the spirit of French Imperialism, introducing a system of warnings and confiscation utterly alien to English legislation. It is entitled "An Act for the Better Control of Publications in Oriental Languages," and sets forth in the preamble that it is necessary for the maintenance of the public tranquillity, and for the security of Her Majesty's subjects and others, to confer on the Executive Government power to control the printing and circulation of such publications. The reasons assigned for this necessity are that "certain publications in "Oriental languages, printed or circulated in British India, have of late "contained matter likely to excite disaffection to the government esta-"blished by law in British India, or antipathy between persons of different "races, castes, religions, or sects in British India, or have been used as means "of intimidation or extortion; and whereas such publications are read "by and disseminated amongst large numbers of ignorant and unintelli-

" gent persons, and are thus likely to have an influence which they " otherwise would not possess." These assertions may be true as regards India, or, indeed, any other country where a free press exists, but surely they do not furnish grounds for abolishing the liberty of the press. Certain publications have broken the law, therefore all publications shall be outlawed; certain persons are ignorant and unintelligent enough to read inferior newspapers, therefore they shall have nothing at all to read. Such appears to have been the reasoning of the Indian Government, and they managed to persuade themselves that public tranquillity and security could not otherwise be maintained.

It has been truly said of India that she is dumb before her rulers, as a sheep before her shearers is dumb; but even a sheep will bleat feebly at times beneath the shears when these bite deep into the flesh, and any attempt to silence such bleatings would be a wanton piece of cruelty. Animals that bear cruelty in silence are liable to greater ill-usage than those which give tongue, partly because much of cruelty results from the lack of imagination, partly because howling causes a public scandal. The complaints and criticisms of the vernacular press in India have frequently directed the attention of Government to grievances which were not suspected to exist, and we have the high authority of Sir James Stephen for the statement that in numerous instances inquiry and legislation have resulted.* On various occasions the Native press has supported the policy of the Government against the prejudices of "ignorant and unintelligent persons," notably upon the question of taking a census of the population—a proceeding to which Orientals entertain the strongest objections. Of course, if discontent exists among the people, it must be expected that the press will give expression to that discontent, and will make remarks distasteful to the authorities whose action is under criticism. Should these remarks be seditious or libellous, inciting to a breach of the peace, or tending to injure a public servant in the discharge of his duty, they are, and ought to be, punishable, although it is not for those who are criticized to decide upon the matter. But this is precisely what is provided for under the new Act: "Any magistrate of a district or commissioner of " police in a presidency town, within the local limits of whose jurisdic- " tion any newspaper is printed or published, may, with the previous " sanction of the local Government, call upon the printer and publisher

* For example, the "reporters" in some of the minor Native States (a remnant of espionage) were done away with, on the complaint of the vernacular press; also the deficiency of accommodation for third-class Native passengers on railways was brought to the notice of the authorities, and remedied, through correspondence in the Native newspapers.

"of such newspaper to enter into a joint and several bond, binding "themselves in such sum as the local Governments think fit, not to "print or publish in such newspaper any words, signs, or visible "representations likely to excite disaffection to the Government esta-"blished by law in British India, or antipathy between any persons "of different races, castes, religions, or sects in British India; or use, "or attempt to use, such newspaper for the purpose of putting any "person in fear, or causing annoyance to him, and thereby inducing "him to deliver to any person any property or valuable security, or "anything signed or sealed which may be converted into a valuable "security, or to give any gratification to any person, or for the purpose "of holding out any threat of injury to a public servant, or to any "person in whom they or he believe or believes that public servant "to be interested, and thereby inducing that public servant to do any "act, or to forbear or delay to do any act, connected with the exercise "of his public functions."

When a bond has been executed under the above conditions, the obligors may be required to deposit the amount thereof in money or in Government securities; but no bond or deposit shall be required if the publisher gives an annual undertaking in writing that nothing shall appear in his paper which has not been previously submitted to and sanctioned by an officer appointed by the local Government in this behalf. The local Government has only to give one notice or warning to any newspaper which has incurred its displeasure, and on a second offence may proceed at once to confiscate "all printing presses, engines, "machinery, types, lithographic stones, paper, and other implements, "utensils, plant, and materials used or employed . . . . and all copies "of such newspaper wherever found, and any money or securities which "the printer or publisher may have deposited."

These powers of forfeiture are to be put in force entirely at the discretion of the local Government, whenever it appears to them that the property in question is liable to be forfeited under the Act. An appeal lies to the Governor-General in Council, but the jurisdiction of the civil or criminal courts is expressly barred as to all proceedings purporting to be taken under the Act; and thus the Executive is left absolutely despotic and irresponsible in all matters connected with the vernacular press. It is enacted that the order passed by the Governor-General in Council upon any such appeal "shall be final "and conclusive," but it need not be supposed that the Legislative Council had the will, any more than the power, to curtail thereby the authority of the Secretary of State. All the above provisions as to forfeiture apply to "any book, placard, broadsheet, or other document

"printed wholly or partially in any Oriental language in British India." Thus it appears that the Act is by no means limited in its operation to ordinary vernacular newspapers, but applies to any document whatever printed even partially in an Oriental language, under which description might be included not only such journals as the *Indu-Prakash* (printed partly in English, partly in vernacular), but also any English publication containing extracts or quotations in an Oriental language. Although the principal portion of the Act applies only to those parts of British India to which they may from time to time be extended by the Governor-General in Council by a notification in the *Gazette of India*, Sections 11 to 16 inclusive apply to the whole of British India. Under these sections all copies of "any newspaper printed elsewhere than in "British India" are rendered liable to be forfeited "wherever found," and the Governor-General in Council is empowered to exclude from British India newspapers, books, pamphlets, &c., printed elsewhere, and to direct their seizure by the postal authorities. Persons introducing, distributing, or selling publications duly prohibited by Government are liable to fine and imprisonment for a term of six months. In the interpretation clause "newspaper" is defined as meaning "any periodi-"cal work containing public news, or comments on public news,"—a sufficiently wide definition to include the reports of this Association, but for the subsequent qualification, "printed wholly or partially in any "Oriental language," which qualification is also extended to the books, pamphlets, and other documents mentioned in the body of the Act. By an "Oriental" language is meant, no doubt, any language (except English) spoken or understood in any part of our Oriental Empire. Such are the provisions of the Vernacular Press Act, which has been extended by formal notification to the greater portion of British India, excluding the Madras Presidency, although the local Governments have been instructed that they are not to put it in force without previous sanction from head-quarters, and that no retrospective action is to be taken at all.*

* Early in April the Act was put in force against a Bengal newspaper, *Sahachar*. The Commissioner of Police, without reason given, called on the publisher to give security for Rs.500. The reply was dictated by a feeling of dignity apparently general among high-class vernacular journals; and it is a singular coincidence that the name of the officer addressed should be so intimately associated with the creation of a free press in India:—

To C. T. METCALFE, Esq., Commissioner of Police, Calcutta.

SIR,—I beg leave to acknowledge receipt of your letter, No. 1,039, dated 8th inst., calling upon me to enter into a bail bond for Rs.500 by Thursday, the 11th inst., and, in reply, to state that I respectfully decline to enter into the required bond, and that the *Sahachar* will be discontinued from Monday next, the day for its next issue.—I have the honour to be, Sir, your most obedient servant,

BAHARI LALL CHACKERBUTTY, Printer and Publisher, *Sahachar* Newspaper.

The promulgation of this Imperial edict seems to have fallen upon the Native press like a thunderbolt out of a clear sky, and the prevailing feeling has been one of bewilderment and perplexity as to what they can have done to bring down such a stroke upon their heads. Criticisms, and even censures, of those in authority, of course, appeared in the Native newspapers from time to time; the European situation was freely discussed, and comments were made on the relative power and policy of the British and Russian Empires. Some of these were said to be very disloyal and seditious, and specimens were published in the *Times* of what honourable members of Council regard as "intolerable licence." The passages quoted were by no means very alarming, but probably they were not the worst specimens that might have been selected, and no one can doubt that objectionable matter does appear occasionally in Native prints, and might very properly be dealt with by prosecution before the legal tribunals, even if it were necessary to make the law more stringent by special enactment, for which no sufficient cause has been shown as yet. It is altogether different when the irritating and abusive remarks of a few "ignorant and unintelligent persons" are made the pretext for depriving the entire Native press of the liberty which it has enjoyed so long, and has so rarely abused, that Lord Lytton himself, at the Delhi Imperial Assemblage, spoke of it in terms of high commendation.

At a public meeting in Poona, on the 2nd of May, a memorial against the Vernacular Press Act was adopted, under the auspices of the Native Association known as the Sarvajanik Sabhá. It is addressed to the House of Commons, and it would not be easy to improve upon its language in describing the most objectionable provisions of the Act:—

The worst feature of the law is that it takes away from the jurisdiction of regularly constituted judicial courts the cognizance of those acts which fall properly within their province, and commits the same to the uncontrolled discretion of the Executive officers. This tendency is more or less observable in all laws that have been recently enacted in British India, and has several times been protested against both in and outside the Legislative Councils without any effect. How greatly this encroachment of the Executive upon the authority of the regular courts militates against the accepted principles of British Indian polity need scarcely be dwelt upon here. In this particular case the evil likely to result from this encroachment is intensified in a very high degree by the fact that the law does not define what is or is not to be regarded as *seditious or likely to cause disaffection.* From the extracts which to the Government of India have proved the necessity of this harmful measure, it will be seen that the chief complaint against the editors of Native newspapers relates mainly to the supposed harshness with which the acts of individual officers are criticised. If in the very making of the law such an objectionable tendency to condemn all criticism upon the acts of individual officers has been shown by the authorities, it may easily be imagined how, when armed by the absolute power given by this Act, the officers of Government will not care to draw fine distinctions between honest criticism and the seditious invectives against Government. The greatest danger to civil liberty lies in the provisions

which confer the powers of initiation, final judgment, and punishment on the very officers who think themselves injured. The powers entrusted to the executive or police officers are, besides, so very arbitrary and irresponsible, and the guarantees for their discreet exercise are so few, that no editor or printer can henceforth afford to express difference of opinion with any strength on a measured approved by the officers of Government. These fears are not all fictitious. The Act is hardly two months old, and already several papers have been stopped or put under extremely galling restraint without any care being taken on the part of the officials even to point out to the editors the objectionable articles or passages on account of which this punishment was meted out to them. Several first-class newspapers have chosen, at great pecuniary sacrifice, to extinguish themselves rather than submit to the ignoble slavery imposed by the law.

The concluding words of this memorial are, however, the most important, as they sum-up the case against the Imperialist *régime*, and indicate a practical remedy for its worst evils in representative reform of the Legislative Councils:—

Lastly, your memorialists beg to submit that the new Act is not to be regarded by itself, but that it forms part of a long series of acts fraught with some evil tendencies and invidious distinctions, and arbitrary exaltation of executive officers over the authority of the judicial courts, which have characterized all recent legislative action, and which threaten to weaken the confidence which has been undeservedly placed in the Government of India by Her Majesty's subjects. The enhancement of the salt duty immediately after the famine; the licence tax, pressing hardly upon the poor, lightly touching the rich and altogether exempting the officials; the abolition of the import duties, necessitating additional taxation in India; the Revenue Jurisdiction and Forest Acts; the proposed enhancement of stamp duty, to the great discouragement of private arbitration; the Amended Civil and Criminal Procedure Codes, giving unusual powers of interference to the executive officers of Government; the proposed Master and Servants' Act, unsettling well established domestic relations; the Indian Arms Act, indicating udeserved mistrust in the loyalty of Her Majesty's Indian subjects; the reluctance to give effect to the Civil Service Act; the discountenance shown to the cause of higher education by shutting up several colleges; the determination to enhance land revenue assessment throughout India; the protests of local Governments; and lastly, the Indian Press Act;—all these legislative and Executive Acts taken together inspire your memorialists with an apprehension that a change of spirit has come upon the minds of the authorities in India which is fraught with great danger to the welfare of this country. Your honourable House is the only authority to whom Her Majesty's subjects can appeal for redress, and your memorialists pray that your honourable House will not only condemn the measure which forms the subject of the present appeal, but will also insure the progressive freedom of Her Majesty's Indian subjects by enlarging the representative element in the Legislative Councils of India, and by directing the adoption of such other measures as to your honourable House may seem fit.

Without such a reform as is here petitioned for, it is to be feared that the decentralization schemes, from which so much benefit financially and otherwise has been expected, will merely establish throughout

India a system of Imperial prefectures, and strengthen the local executive of the one central authority.

Such of the Native newspapers as are printed partly in English are doubtless favourable specimens of their class, and can hardly be regarded as those most likely to offend, but, having frequently perused them, I may venture to say that there are among them journals of so high a class that any Government might well value their support and dread their censure. These journals, which would be creditable to any civilized community, are the growth of a full generation of liberty, and could only have been developed in a free atmosphere. It is not even alleged against them that they have abused their liberty, but they lose it along with the rest, and may justly complain, as they do, that they have been condemned without even the formality of a hearing. To the editors of these newspapers a sort of Russian "ukaze" has been addressed, enjoining them not to admit into their papers any objectionable matter, such as may induce Government to bring the Vernacular Press Act into actual operation. The terrors of the Act are, therefore, held over the whole of the Native press, at least in the Presidencies of Bengal and Bombay. A meeting of eminent citizens was held in Bombay on the 30th of March, in connection with the obnoxious Act; but it was resolved that, owing to the European crisis, no move should be made at present in the matter, as it might tend to embarrass the action of Government, and could obtain no patient hearing. Such prudent moderation ought certainly to secure a patient hearing from Parliament and the British nation, when peaceable and rational counsels once more prevail in England. After all, the Vernacular Press Act is an extreme case; but its passing can hardly excite surprise, when it is borne in mind that in India legislative and executive functions are united in the same hands, the Legislative Councils being composed of Government officials, together with a few nominated members (European and Native), and until a genuine representative element is introduced into these Councils, most unpopular measures will continue to pass, not only without serious opposition, but even without amendment or debate.

It is true that the non-official European members may be regarded to a certain extent as representing the European community, and that they are by no means unable to protect the interests of those whom they represent. But the English press is not affected by the "Gagging" Act, and the new licence tax does not touch Europeans any more than the increase in the salt duty. No one can pretend that two or three Native dignitaries nominated by Government represent in any sense the dumb millions of India; and although it may be hopeless at

present to demand parliamentary members or delegates for India, it is at least reasonable in Natives to petition, as they constantly do, for a consultative voice in the Councils, that make the Indian laws and regulations.

Even in the British Parliament measures of great emergency are occasionally, in times of war or public tumult, hurried through all their stages with short debate, and without amendments. But India was in a state of profound peace when the Vernacular Press Bill was introduced, as the result of exhaustive consideration by the Government, acting under a deep sense of responsibility. It was passed at one sitting, without opposition indeed, but not without amendment, although a few minutes only were available for discussion and consideration as to whether it should be amended or not. It is true that public opinion in this country has been so strongly expressed against the "Gagging" Act, as to place it almost in abeyance; but even if it were repealed to-morrow, the mischievous effects of such crude and ill-considered legislation would remain in a general sense of insecurity as to the best established rights and privileges of the Natives. Like other extreme cases of abuse, it may, however, produce ultimate benefit, by bringing about a reform in the legislative machinery of India. It is gratifying to find that the English press in India, although exempted from the provisions of the new Act, and therefore established in a monopoly of freedom, has not deserted its weaker brother, and has recognized the fact that it is not merely the Native press, but the right of public criticism, that has been attacked.* The dislike of the present Viceroy and his advisers to printing is somewhat special, if we are to judge by the code of regulations promulgated in October, 1876, when it was laid down that "no officer in the employment of Government shall "submit a printed memorial," under pain of incurring the "serious "displeasure of Government." It is true that a fresh code has since been published, which says that "memorials may be transmitted either in "manuscript or in print," but the code of October, 1876, is omitted from the list of regulations superseded by the new rules, and is, therefore, still in force. This may be due to inadvertence, but the result is that officers in civil employ, sending in printed memorials, are liable to incur the serious displeasure of their employers, besides the penalty that "any "memorial contravening the rules will not be taken into consideration "by the authority to which it is submitted."

* The *Times of India* justly remarks that "the secret dissemination of seditious papers would be far more serious, as being far less easily detected, than the present form of publication; and, as Milton observed, 'one who would seek to suppress opinion by censorship; is like the man who tried to keep out the crows by closing his park gates.'"

Mr. John Stuart Mill has condemned the proposal that India should be governed in India, and that the Viceroy in Council should be allowed despotic powers, as "the very ideal of badness." Now this is precisely what the present Government of India appear to be aiming at, by crushing all independence in the Services, in the subordinate Governments, and in the Native States, by extinguishing the liberty of the Native press, and by endeavouring to repress the discussion of Indian affairs in Parliament.

India has never yet been made an arena for English party contests, and her people have found good friends in the Conservative as well as in the Liberal ranks. It may be reasonably hoped that the Imperialist policy does not find favour with all the supporters of the present Ministry, although the initiation of that policy may be due less to Lord Lytton or to the Marquis of Salisbury than to the ruling spirit of Lord Beaconsfield himself.

The Native newspapers have not failed to contrast the fussy and vexatious policy of those now in power with the attitude and conduct of Lord Canning: "With what calmness and patience he steered his "way at an hour of great peril, while the flames of mutiny and rebellion "were blazing with fury! Nothing ruffled him. He stood firm, like the "immovable Himalaya, and did his work quietly, with fortitude and "patience, protecting the people with parental care. . . . . Did he not, "at that critical juncture, keep the press under control? But did he "enact any special law, or exact security bonds from the editors of "newspapers?" These are the last utterances of the *Shomeprokash*, a Bengal journal, which has fallen a victim to the new Act.

Dislike to unpalatable truths has not been hitherto a marked characteristic of Englishmen in high places. Lord Palmerston is said to have prided himself greatly upon the fact that his diplomatic agents were accustomed to report to him what they believed to be true, rather than what they thought would be agreeable to the views of the Government whom they served. Napoleon III., the chief apostle of modern Cæsarism, was assured by his War Minister on the eve of the battle of Wœrth that all was prepared for invading Germany, even to the last button of the soldiers' gaiters, and he listened to Marshal Lebœuf, rather than to Baron Stoffel, who told unpalatable truths.

There are numberless indications that our present rulers, from the Premier downwards, take Napoleon, not Palmerston, for their model in this respect, and that subordinates seeking advancement are expected to prophesy smooth things.

Free discussion is naturally distasteful to all modern Imperialists; and in India, Germany, or Russia their sovereign remedy for popular

discontent is to silence the popular voice by gagging the press and by prohibiting public meetings. The measures which find favour with German Imperialists may be tyrannical and unjust, but they are likely to prove effectual—not, indeed, in allaying discontent, but in repressing its overt manifestation. The Indian Imperialist policy is, perhaps, equally tyrannical in spirit, but is far feebler in action; "willing to "wound, and yet afraid to strike," it has hitherto merely alarmed and irritated, neither silencing nor crushing opposition. For example, the citizens of Bombay desire to protest publicly against an obnoxious tax, and make application for the use of the Town-hall, which Sir Richard Temple refuses to them. He cannot, however, prevent them from assembling in the great tent of an American circus, and by his discourtesy merely furnishes them with one additional grievance to discuss. The Native inhabitants of Calcutta, Bombay, and other important cities, fully appreciate the right of holding public meetings for the discussion of public affairs (including such matters as contracts for the postal service between Europe and India), and they can count upon the hearty support of the non-official European community and press in resisting all attempts to deprive them of this right. Such attempts, if persevered in, can result only in lowering the dignity of the British Government.

On the 5th of April, 1878, H.H. the Thákur of Bháunagar was formally invested with the full powers enjoyed by his ancestors, having attained his majority; and thus once more a convincing proof was given to Native Princes that temporary administration does not necessarily involve permanent annexation. Upon the occasion of the Thákur's installation, the Political Agent for Káthiawár delivered an address containing most admirable advice to a ruler assuming an authority which is really absolute and irresponsible, except so far as the Paramount Power is concerned. It is to be regretted that no one of corresponding dignity can address the Viceroy in similar terms: "Impulse will often tell you that those who stand up against "you for their rights are unreasonable, factious, and insolent. Do "not believe it. If you invade the independence of your judges by "one hint or one frown, you debase the pure and noble form of justice "to a false and crooked sham." The warnings addressed to the young Chief, and the principles laid down for his guidance, would be equally applicable to his great over-lord. Unfortunately, this last sentence does not so apply: "Of financial matters I need say little. "You have no debts, and your treasury is full." When such words can be justly used in speaking of Native States under British protection (and there are several in various parts of India to which they

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are applicable), it is not surprising to hear from a local resident that, in his opinion, a plébiscite of the Bháunagar people would confirm, by a great majority, the definitive restoration of Native rule. Times are changed considerably since Sir Henry Lawrence condemned, as a device for insuring maladministration, the system of a Native ruler and minister both relying on British protection; although even now we are told that his condemnation applies to Bikanir, and perhaps to other States also.

In a case which caused much sensation throughout India, Lord Lytton, acting apparently upon a generous impulse, overstepped his legitimate authority by interference with judges of the Allahabad High Court in the discharge of their duty. A syce (Native groom), having been struck by his master, ran away, and in so doing, fell and injured himself fatally. The master, Mr. Fuller, was fined for the assault, but neither the magistrate nor the High Court, to whom the case was referred, held that he could be made responsible for the death of the syce. The Viceroy, however, deemed the punishment inflicted to have been quite inadequate to the offence, and published a minute censuring the High Court, while the magistrate who tried the case was superseded. In thus acting, Lord Lytton seems to have been animated by a praiseworthy desire to stamp with his disapproval the leniency of Anglo-Indian public opinion towards those Europeans who are in the habit of striking Native servants and others. Upon this point Anglo-Indians are exceedingly sensitive, and apt to resent the comments of visitors from Europe. Long custom may perhaps render even an English gentleman unconscious of the fact that the manners of many Europeans in India towards the Natives are overbearing and petulant, sometimes even violent; but the fact is only too apparent to an unprejudiced stranger, who contrasts these manners with those of the French in Algeria, of the Dutch in Java, and of the British themselves in Ceylon and in the Colonies. For this the law is not to blame, and it is, to a great extent, the fault of the Natives themselves, who will not take their own part, and who almost seem to like being trampled upon,—those classes at least, from whom domestic servants are taken, and with whom Europeans are most frequently brought into contact. Even a short Indian residence may convince any man that the climate and surroundings produce a deteriorating effect upon his urbanity towards social inferiors, and a readiness to adopt a language which ignores such phrases as "thank you" and "if you please."

The Act lately passed for restricting the sale of arms in British India ought perhaps to be regarded rather as a sort of game law than as a measure of precaution against any danger of revolt. It

does not extend to the Native States, where alone arms are found in the hands of the people generally; whereas in our own provinces the people have been disarmed ever since the great Mutiny, and a special permit is necessary to entitle a Native to carry any sort of weapon. The effect of farther restrictions upon the importation and sale of fire-arms will probably be to render it more difficult for the Natives to protect their cattle and crops against wild animals; but the interests of the British sportsman will be promoted. After the general disarmament, twenty years ago, game of all sorts increased considerably throughout India, but now complaints are frequent among sportsmen that the authorities are too lax in granting licences to carry fire-arms and that in some districts the beasts of chase are consequently becoming very scarce. Native Shikaris will watch night after night at a water-hole where wild animals come to drink during the hot season; and although they may allow a tiger or panther to depart unmolested, bison, elk, deer, and pig are certain to receive a bullet at close quarters. These Shikaris are mere poachers in the eyes of sportsmen; they usually belong to the aboriginal tribes, who are to be found all over India, wherever a hill or a jungle exists, and who do not share the Hindu prejudice against the slaughter of animals, wild or domestic.

Before the passing of the new Act, the mere possession of weapons by a Native without licence was not illegal, but it was necessary to obtain a magistrate's permission to wear or carry them, even on festive occasions such as weddings, for which temporary permissions were often granted, specifying the exact number of swords and guns to be employed. The additional restrictions will doubtless bring about the confiscation of some weapons and the concealment of others; but they are of a piece with too much of recent Indian legislation,—meddling and vexatious, furnishing the police with new instruments of exaction, harassing the orderly and peaceable, while failing to reach the dangerous classes, against whom they are ostensibly directed.

The changes recently effected in the administration of the North-west Frontier were described at the time by the Secretary of State for India as "measures of defence and security, not of aggression. They will "operate as a guarantee for the maintenance of existing territorial "limits." These satisfactory assurances were addressed to the Viceroy; but the words of Lord Lytton himself were less reassuring to those who deprecated farther annexation beyond the limits of India proper on the north-west. "To support and enforce tribal responsibility to the "utmost," and at the same time "to reduce tribal cohesion to a mini-"mum," according to the special circumstances of each case, may not be so self-contradictory a policy as it appears at first sight, but it could

hardly prove to be a pacific policy. A separate Frontier government for the Trans-Indus districts of the Punjab and Sind was created by the appointment of a Chief Commissioner, corresponding directly with the Viceroy upon all matters concerning those who are not subjects of Her Majesty, and having the frontier forces under his immediate orders, but being subordinate to the Governor of the Punjab in respect to internal affairs. The new "Governor-General's Agent and Frontier Commissioner" and his subordinates are expected to visit, and make themselves personally acquainted with, their troublesome neighbours—a course of proceeding certain to be regarded with the utmost suspicion by the independent frontier tribes; and experience in all parts of the world has shown that the independence of frontier tribes does not long survive a close acquaintance with neighbouring British authorities. The process of extending our protectorate over Afghanistan and Beloochistan cannot be cheaply or peaceably carried out, although the new Frontier Government is bound to justify its own existence by the activity of its operations beyond the boundaries of India, and the usual results have already followed in war and territorial encroachment.

The famine policy of the present Government of India has been characterized throughout by vacillation, and by the issue of conflicting instructions. Madras and Bombay were told to guard against the extravagance which had been displayed in Bengal during the late famine there, and the same high official, Sir Richard Temple, who was mainly responsible for the Bengal expenditure, was sent to inculcate economy in the other Presidencies. One despatch came out declaring that not a single human life was to be lost if all the resources at the disposal of Government could prevent it, soon to be followed by another entirely repudiating the obligation to save life at all costs and hazards. The estimated cost of the famine in Bombay and Madras was wofully below the reality. In March, 1877, when I was in India, the nett cost of the famine estimated for 1876-77 was 3,100,000*l.*, and this estimate, which related to the past, appears only to have been exceeded by 350,000*l.*; but for 1877-78 the nett cost was then estimated at 2,150,000*l.*, and it has since been estimated at more than thrice that amount—viz., 6,500,000*l.* The cause of this immense increase of cost was the unexpected failure of rains, and, consequently, of crops, in certain districts still suffering from the effects of the famine. A loss of 1,300,000*l.* in the land revenue was included in the 6,500,000*l.* sterling, although in some of the famine districts large arrears of revenue have been collected, which, in many cases, the cultivators, with blighted and scanty crops, could very ill afford to pay. Lavish expenditure upon relief works of less than doubtful utility was followed by the exaction

of the uttermost anna from those ráiyats who contrived to escape actual pauperism and did not receive State maintenance.

Events have already proved the delusive nature of the proposal to create an insurance fund against the recurrence of famines in India, and to raise for that purpose an annual surplus of 1,500,000*l.* by means of extra taxation in ordinary years. It need not excite surprise that the new taxes imposed in order to raise this insurance fund should have found no favour among a people already taxed almost up to the limits of endurance, and that a cry should go up for providing the money by retrenchment rather than by additional taxation. As for the particular imposts in question, it must be admitted that it is well-nigh impossible to devise any new taxes which will not be oppressive to the people of India, and the duty devolving upon the Finance Minister in such a case is most trying. Sir John Strachey's three proposals—a trades' licence tax, an agricultural cess for Bengal and Upper India, and an increase of the salt duty in Madras and Bombay—are all more or less open to the objection that they bear heavily upon the poor, but how that is to be avoided except by retrenchment or an income tax no one can suggest. Modes of retrenching, on the other hand, are freely suggested, and although it is admitted that considerable reductions have been made of late, it is contended by the Natives that these affect the lower branches only of the public service, and that the pay of messengers and copying clerks has been curtailed, and their numbers have been diminished, while the salaries of high officials remain untouched. Not Natives only, but even European officials of wide experience, concur in the opinion that great retrenchments, without loss of efficiency, might be carried out in the highest ranks of the public service, where every salary abolished is large enough to afford a sensible relief to the finances.

The existence of separate Commanders-in-Chief for Madras and Bombay, each with a costly staff and a large salary as an official member of Council, ought certainly not to survive the thorough inquiry into Indian military expenditure which has just been promised by the Home Government. The "additional members" of the Governor-General's Legislative Council, who are sent to Calcutta or Simla from each of the Presidencies and Administrations, are all first-class officials, withdrawn from their regular appointments at a heavy cost to the Indian Treasury —a cost which might be spared with some benefit to public interests if their places were supplied by elected representative members without pay.

The number of members of the Indian Council at home might safely be reduced, as well as that of other highly-paid officials in the India House. The multiplication of new departments, and the frequent

nomination of inquiry commissions upon all manner of subjects, important and trifling, have caused the appointment of many special commissioners, whose pay is out of all proportion to the value of the work performed by them; and here again there might be a large curtailment of expense. While some departments might be thus pruned as to their higher branches, others, such as the ecclesiastical, might fairly be eradicated altogether, and Hindu taxpayers might be relieved of the burden of supporting Anglican bishops.

None of these retrenchments have been attempted; additional taxation has been imposed to provide the famine insurance fund—a fund which has since been made to figure as a surplus of general revenue over expenditure, and has been ultimately swallowed up in the growing deficit of Indian finance, notwithstanding the pledges on the part of Government that it would be regarded as a "sacred trust," to be applied to a special purpose only.

There is one article in the Indian Imperialist programme which does not, in my opinion, deserve unqualified censure—viz., the employment of Native troops for Imperial purposes beyond the limits of Asia. Since the Mutiny of 1857, the British garrison in India has been largely increased, and the artillery is kept exclusively in the hands of European gunners, while the Native Army has been reduced in numbers and efficiency, is deprived of its proper complement of European officers, and is armed with inferior weapons. The present organization of a Native Infantry regiment, with half a dozen English officers, all mounted, and a body of Native officers, most of them superior to their men in length of service only, and quite unfit for a higher command than that of a colour-sergeant, has been described by competent authorities as being "utterly rotten." If a regiment so officered were to go into action against any troops armed with breech-loading weapons of precision, it would probably find itself in a few minutes under the command of the subadár-major (senior Native officer), and might be expected soon afterwards to execute a hurried strategic movement to the rear. The position of the Native Army, between a powerful British garrison and a numerous *quasi* military police, is altogether anomalous; and it may be fairly said, either make the Native Infantry regiments thoroughly fit to take their places in line of battle alongside their British comrades, or else, if distrust and economy prevent this being done, convert them at once into armed police, for the maintenance of internal order only. The Native Cavalry must be regarded from a different point of view, and to them these remarks do not apply. Now that Native troops have been ordered to Malta, and the notion of confronting them with Russian soldiers has been fairly entertained, the re-

organization of the Native Army cannot longer be neglected. The classes from which we recruit the rank and file are excellent in quality and inexhaustible in numbers; courageous, docile, and temperate, eager to enlist, and to serve upon slender pay. The martial races of India constitute as fine a nursery for soldiers as any in the world. India is already bowed down beneath her military burdens, and is unable to pay for a great Native army, requiring a corresponding British force to watch it; but if Africa, or any other portion of the Empire, needs soldiers, and if Imperial funds are provided to pay for them, they can be furnished by India to any amount, without serious difficulty or danger. One danger, perhaps, there may be—that of developing the aggressive spirit of the "Imperial Englishman," and of encouraging annexation in such countries as New Guinea and Central Africa, if Indian soldiers, paid with British money, can always be counted upon for service. In the case immediately before us, however, it is to be hoped that the dispatch of Indian troops to Europe may have a pacific effect, and may even facilitate military reductions, as tending to dispel the wild idea, characterized as "absurd" by the Czar himself, that India may be invaded from Europe across the mountains and deserts of Central Asia. It is clear that the British Ministry, no less than the Russian Czar, regard such an idea as absurd, and do not hesitate to transport troops from India to Europe, in view of a possible conflict with Russia. If a maritime rival should arise, capable of interrupting our communications with India by sea, then our Empire would indeed be menaced, and for such an emergency we ought to reserve the strength which many in India, as well as in England, wish to expend in fighting where our national interests are not involved. England and India united are strong enough to defy all attack, and to wait in conscious strength until they are attacked, of which there is at present no chance whatever. But if England must have soldiers for Imperial purposes, it is surely better to draw them from the population of her own Empire than to attempt, as on former occasions, to recruit the riff-raff of Europe and America, involving herself thereby in difficulty with the Governments of neutral nations.

Is India a source of power and profit to the British Empire, or have we no motive for retaining the country except that we hold it in trust for the benefit of its inhabitants, and cannot in honour repudiate the trust? This question is often asked and discussed in England with a gravity which, to all except Englishmen, must appear sufficiently ludicrous, more especially to the people of India themselves. As regards profit, it is needless here to enter into details of the large sum which India pays annually to England, under the name of civil and military

home charges, or as interest on her public debt and guaranteed railways; but there is one very significant item, which speaks for itself. In the Budget estimates of India for 1878-79, the sum of 3,000,000*l.* sterling is set down for "loss by exchange," equal to the largest amount of "favourable balance" ever paid in one year by Java to Holland. Such is the effect of the constant *compulsory* remittance of funds from India to England; and although no corresponding sum for "gain by exchange" figures in the Estimates of the United Kingdom, it is clear that in this matter India's loss is England's gain. It is noteworthy, with respect to military home charges, that these have increased nearly cent. per cent. during eleven years of peace—viz., from 2,130,205*l.* in 1866-67 to 4,160,600*l.* in 1877-78; and here again, what is paid by India is saved by England. As regards India being a source of power, it is certain that upon many occasions, seven times within the last thirty-five years, England has borrowed troops from India for Imperial exigencies, and so long as these are paid for out of Imperial funds (which has not been the invariable rule in practice, although provided for by law), such a proceeding confers strength on the Empire, and is a relief rather than injury to India. If England could resolve to adopt a truly Imperial policy, and to support India financially, by controlling her expenditure and guaranteeing her debt, she might draw from India an amount of military strength which would render the British Empire as formidable on land as it is already on the seas. The policy of utilizing Indian troops for Imperial objects has been compared to that of Rome in her decadence, but it seems more truly to resemble that of conquering and aggressive Rome, extending her empire over new provinces by the swords of allies and provincials, as well as by those of her own citizens.

Unfortunately, the same policy which seem to have added a new element to our military strength has saddled us with obligations and burdens which may tax even the combined strength of Great Britain and India. The best friends of India cannot help feeling apprehensive that our new position in Cyprus and Asiatic Turkey will entail fresh burdens upon India, and that the resources which might have rendered our existing Eastern Empire impregnable may be squandered in the attempt to create a new one. We cannot tell as yet what our liabilities in Asiatic Turkey really amount to, but that country may prove to us an exaggerated Algeria, and it is hard to see how territorial acquisitions there can fail to weaken our military and financial position in India.

New vistas of promotion and emolument are, however, opened before the eyes of all ambitious and energetic Anglo-Indians, to whom a policy of annexation cannot at any time be distasteful, and who are ever sighing

for fresh provinces to administer. Everywhere throughout India, except perhaps in Madras, we find the Imperialist spirit in high places, and the desire for reactionary measures openly expressed. Thus the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal (the Hon. Sir Ashley Eden) condemns the introduction of elective administration into the municipality of Calcutta, and maintains that elective government is by no means representative, while admitting that having once introduced the elective system, it is now very difficult to go back. The vernacular press, on the other hand, speaks favourably of the working of the Calcutta Municipal Corporation, as giving satisfaction to the Native public. It is remarkable that in Bombay the elective system, so far as it has been adopted in municipal affairs, has given satisfaction alike to the public and to the late Governor (Sir Philip Wodehouse), one of the old school, who congratulated, at his departure, the city of Bombay on the success of the elective institutions, which he himself deserves the credit of introducing. The present Governor (Sir R. Temple) belongs to the new Imperialist school, and is one of its most energetic supporters; but Bombay can boast of an independent and ably-conducted press, both English and Native, whose protest against Imperialism is unanimous.

"England and India are indissolubly united, and must for good or "for evil considerably influence each other. There is already a close "connection between them, and in course of time that connection must "become closer. If Imperialism, then, grows strong in this country, "we may well expect it to make itself felt in England in more ways "than one. Parliament, therefore, cannot afford to let Indian affairs "alone if it is to remain an Imperial and not dwindle down into a local "representative body. Its attention has recently been roused to its "danger by the way in which the Ministry has dealt with Indian "troops. It has also testified to its dislike of Imperialism by the "manner in which it has been disturbed by the Vernacular Press Act. "We hope this interest of Parliament in Indian affairs will continue "to increase, and that it will from time to time exercise its wholesome "check on that Imperial policy which now seems to be the order of the "day in India, and which, we with all deference submit, is calculated "to destroy that mutual good understanding which has, upon the whole, "hitherto existed between the rulers and the ruled." These are the views expressed in the *Indu-Prakash*, a leading vernacular journal of Bombay, and they cannot fail to commend themselves to the minds of independent Englishmen, whether in or out of Parliament, whether Liberal or Conservative.

Major-General Sir G. LE GRAND JACOB, C.B., K.C.S.I., sent the following letter on Sir David Wedderburn's paper :—

"I am exceedingly sorry to be unable to attend the East India Association meeting to-morrow, being still confined to my room. I should have been glad of the opportunity of making some remarks on Sir David Wedderburn's 'Modern Imperialism in India,' for a copy of which I have to thank you. The best part of my life has been passed in that country, and I retain the deepest interest in its people, and an earnest desire for their welfare.

"Sir David traces to what he styles Imperialism acts that appear to me in no way depending on it. The most objectionable of all recently occurring was the removal of the import duty on cotton manufactures, in the face of a strong majority of the Council against it, at a time when the exigencies of the Government compelled the imposition of extra taxes affecting even the poorest. But the motive-power was not the Crown, but the House of Commons. As far as Ministers will listen to advice, the Crown has no such personal interests to mislead it.

"The Press Act, which Sir David considers so evil a law, I regard, under its modifications imposed from home, as a wise precautionary measure, having nothing to do with Imperialism, though despotically enforced. The Court of Directors were strongly opposed to the wide freedom of the press granted by Lord Metcalf; though, having once been allowed, they hesitated to repeal the Act, awaiting its fruit. The majority of the Indian Council now, I believe, supported Lord Cranbrook; and it is probable that were the old Court still in power, the present measure would have met their approval. Sir David is unjust to the Indian Government in putting in their mouths the argument that those who were too ignorant to appreciate writings free from sedition 'should have nothing at all to read.' The Government have openly proclaimed their desire that all their acts should be criticised, and have objected only to seditious publications; in point of fact, the press of India is at this moment freer than in the greater part of Europe. In this country we care nothing at all for treasonable spoutings and writings; the state of public opinion, general enlightenment, and a free Legislature are sufficient safeguard. But can we say the same of India: 250,000,000 ruled by a few foreigners; the masses profoundly superstitious, ignorant, and easily misled?

"Sir David says, 'Sufficient remedy for seditious publications existed in bringing the authors before the Law Courts.' This would, in many instances, be shutting the stable-door after the steed is stolen. The object is to prevent, not to punish.

"I regard our system of Law Courts to be suited only to communi-

" ties like the Presidency and other large towns, where there is sufficient
" enlightenment to prevent their being turned into engines of oppression.
" My strength is exhausted; and that this may reach you in time, I
" must refrain from further comment. Perhaps there will be no objec-
" tion to your reading this note as part of what I should say if present."

The CHAIRMAN having intimated that it was now open for any gentleman to address the meeting on the subject of the lecture, only keeping in view the rule of the Association limiting each speaker to ten minutes,

Rajah RAMPAL SINGH said that to save time he would rise first, although he begged the meeting to excuse him for not giving them an elaborate and eloquent speech. His familiarity with the language was not sufficient to allow him to make any attempts in this direction, but being an Indian question, he thought he might venture to make a humble contribution to the discussion on the subject by saying what he thought as well as he was able. (Hear, hear.) In the first place, he must express his great gratification at seeing in the meeting some influential members of Parliament, because attendance at the conferences of the East India Association would give them a more impartial and accurate idea of Indian affairs. And as regards the lecture itself, he was deeply gratified. It was the first time he had heard so elaborate and able a presentation of the Indian case before an audience in England; and his conviction was that if there were more of these mixings of Englishmen and Indians in free and equal controversy and friendly discussion, many sources of misunderstanding would be removed, a friendly feeling would speedily grow up, and both would be not only fellow-subjects of the same Empire and Queen, but brothers and co-mates in thought and feeling. (Hear, hear.) The tone and ability of the lecturer had awakened such feelings of gratitude in his mind that he fervently hoped it would be shared by the other Indian gentlemen present, and that they would acknowledge and reciprocate it, and rival the generosity of Sir David's sentiments. (Hear, hear.) The history of the world shows that no nation, however low, remains permanently in a degraded state. The barbaric or savage state promotes energy, and energy brings prosperity and power, and these bring civilization and luxury. In governments, nations advance from tyranny to freedom, and from despotism to a free constitution. This had been the course of English history, as of all other nations. And similarly India, as it advances in education and intelligence, is fated to assume a more independent position; and the time is surely coming when not only will

the affairs of India be debated in the Imperial Parliament as fully as those of the other portions of the British Empire, but by her own representatives, while her internal affairs will be administered by Native Government servants. Her Majesty, in assuming the title of Empress of India, ensured to the Natives of that vast country the free exercise of rights as fellow-subjects, with Englishmen, of the Queen; and much hope and anticipation for India had arisen from that act. He regretted, however, that hitherto those hopes and anticipations had been wofully disappointed; and what the Government had done, instead of being in the direction of freedom and confidence, was in a directly contrary direction. The gagging of the Native press—an unnecessary and unjustifiable act—was destructive to the fame and reputation of the Indian Government, and fatal to the hopes of the Indian people. The latter have shown by their petitions how deep is the dissatisfaction they feel at the abridgment of their privileges; and the Act is the more impolitic because it deprives the Government of a useful means of making itself acquainted with the feelings and wishes of the people, and of any local injustices which may be perpetrated. A still more evil provision of the Act is that its exercise is put entirely into the hands of the civil officers and magistrates, whose very harshness had been the principal subject of the Native newspapers' complaint. (Hear, hear.) It was a remarkable fact that Europe was distinctly moving in the direction of freedom to the people, and it was still more remarkable that England, which had been in the forefront of the struggle for liberty all over the world, which had spent blood and money again and again for freedom's sake, and to which all nations seeking emancipation had been accustomed to look for sympathy and succour, was moving backwards in her greatest dependency, and was engaged in the withdrawal of privileges rather than extending them. It was a matter of deep regret that the Indian Government had been permitted to blot the fair fame of England by the enactment of a bad and repressive law like the Vernacular Press Act. The Natives of India have given no adequate cause for it, but on a miserable pretence their tongue has been cut, and if they would discuss their wrongs, they must do so by stealth and in secret. The Government have themselves destroyed the means of tracing dissatisfaction, and their remedy is infinitely worse than the disease. A direct incentive to secret meetings and publications has been given, and, as universal history shows, the result must be evil to all concerned. On every ground he earnestly hoped the English Parliament and people would demand a repeal of the Vernacular Press Act, and so do much to encourage a better feeling between the Indian Government and the people. (Hear, hear.)

Colonel A. B. RATHBORNE said that he felt much indebted to Sir David Wedderburn for his able paper, although he was free to confess that he did not concur with all the views expressed therein. In all the censures the lecturer had passed upon the "Gagging" Act, and other points of that description, he thought all might agree, but on one point in particular he (Colonel Rathborne) differed very materially from the lecturer, and that was in respect to the allusion to the Imperial policy of France, and the comparison with it of the Imperial policy of England in India. The cases were entirely different. Napoleon the Third rose to power by perjury, retained it by wholesale murder, and those who opposed him were either slain in the streets or deported to Cayenne. Perhaps, as far as the results on the nation at large were concerned, the reign was a good one, but still there was the fact that the manner in which power was obtained left a stain upon the character of the Emperor. To say that the Imperial policy in India was like that of Napoleon in France, because of the assumption of the title of Empress by the Queen, was, in his (Colonel Rathborne's) opinion, an assertion that was quite untenable. There had been gagging of the press in India long before the Queen became Empress—in fact, it existed before she was born; and this Association had for very many years pressed the subject of removing the acts of officials from the jurisdiction of the Civil Courts upon the attention of the Government of India. As to the objections raised on these points, there was nothing new in them, and it would be seen, therefore, that the matters complained of did not arise from the acts of the Empress, nor were they in any sense the corollary to, or consequence of, the assumption of the Imperial title, although it might be said that the present Government of India had carried these matters further than was the custom of their predecessors. Another matter struck him in connection with the charge of recent Imperialism, and that was that the policy of Lord Dalhousie was far more open to the charge of Imperialism than was that of Lord Lytton. Lord Dalhousie used to treat the several Native states and sovereign powers in India with the greatest contempt, and regarded neither their feelings nor their interests, so long as the policy of his Government was carried out. This being so, he thought that those who regarded Lord Lytton's policy as tending to Imperialism would do well to remember that of Lord Dalhousie. Again, Colonel Rathborne repeated his feeling that it was not fair to Lord Lytton, nor to the Government, nor to India itself, to bring that country into comparison with France under the late Emperor, or to assume that every alteration of the laws since the assumption of the title of Empress by the Queen had been made with the object of thrusting Imperialism upon India.

Mr. LALMOHUN GHOSE said that, having been deputed to this country by a large number of his fellow-countrymen in India in order to bring some of the grievances of which they have to complain under the notice of the Parliament and people of England, he was unable to resist the temptation of availing himself of this opportunity of informing the meeting what are the views of the people of India in regard to the points raised by Sir David Wedderburn in his excellent lecture. In one word, he might say they were in perfect accord with the opinions expressed by the honourable Baronet. The loyalty of the Indian people is as firm and unshaken to-day as it has ever been since the foundation of the Empire in India. (Hear, hear.) The people of India are profoundly convinced that the existence of the British Government is necessary to their well-being and safety; nor is it doubted that if England were now voluntarily to sever her connection with India it would be an unmitigated calamity to their country. (Hear, hear.) It would mean the substitution of anarchy and confusion for peace and order. (Hear, hear.) These are first principles in the minds of all intelligent Natives of India. But when we come to discuss the particular measures of Government, or the particular policy of the present administration, it is quite another thing. (Hear, hear.) You have introduced Western ideas and Western education into India, and you have taught us to judge of your conduct by a higher standard than has hitherto prevailed in the East. Judging by the standard that England herself has given them, the Natives of India find much in the present mode of administration and in the present policy of which they cannot approve, and much that seems to them entirely opposed to the first principles of justice and of wisdom. (Hear, hear.) The promulgation of the new Imperial *régime*, while it gave rise to warm and animated controversy in England, was hailed by the imaginative people of India as the symbol of the inauguration of a more generous policy towards them, and the opening of a happier era. But these illusions have been rudely dispelled, and the Imperial *régime* has been only found to be synonymous with harsher legislation and heavier taxation. (Hear, hear.) Vast sums of money were, to begin with, expended in a magnificent series of durbars and ceremonies which might have been much more fitly spent in relieving the suffering masses and in saving the lives of starving men. National rejoicings were ordered at a time of national tribulation. The first-fruits of the new *régime* were additional taxation of a peculiarly severe kind; fresh burdens were laid upon the shoulders of the poorest of the people—upon those who are the first to suffer from the effects of famine. A new Licence Tax has been imposed upon the trading classes of the people throughout

the country, whereby incomes as low as four shillings a-week are taxed; while at the same time the official classes, in whose hands the power of taxation is lodged, have taken good care that they themselves should be entirely exempted from the scope and operation of the tax. (Hear, hear.) The plea put forward by the Government for these obnoxious additions to the burdens of the people was the necessity for saving the people from starvation by the creation and reservation of a Famine Insurance Fund. But we now know that the whole of this fund has been appropriated to other than its legitimate purpose. (Hear, hear.) Anglo-Indian officials are never tired of preaching the necessity of preserving the prestige of England in the East; but while they are only too ready to enter upon needless wars of aggression and of questionable justice across the frontier, at the risk of seriously disorganizing the finances of the country, it does seem strange that they are quite incapable of discerning that the policy recently pursued by them, and their breach of solemn engagements, must greatly lower the character of the British Government in the eyes of the people, and reduce its prestige. (Hear, hear.) Further, at a time of great financial embarrassment the Government of India have not scrupled to remit the import duties on cotton goods, and have thus sacrificed the true interests of India to minister to the exigencies of party politics at home. (Hear, hear.) Then, as regards legislation, the Government of India have inaugurated a policy of Imperialism and repression. They have done their best to alienate the sympathies of the people by such enactments as the Vernacular Press Act and the Arms Act. The Government have entered upon a policy of jealousy, distrust, and suspicion, which is as unwise as it is ungenerous. If you suspect the loyalty of the people without cause, and persistently manifest your distrust of them, you may ultimately induce them to give you real cause for your suspicion. (Hear, hear.) As regards the growing aspirations of the people of India to be admitted to a fair share in the administration of their own country, the promises of the Government, though oft repeated, remain unfulfilled. The Covenanted Civil Service is theoretically open to the Natives, but the regulations and conditions are such as to shut them out practically. It is said that the competitive system is not suited to the people of India; but this assertion is directly opposed to the evidence of facts. Of the few Natives of India who have entered the Service through the door of the competitive examination in London, several have been especially thanked by the Indian Government for their zeal and ability and judgment in difficult situations. (Hear, hear.) Surely facts like these go a long way to controvert the opinion that is from time to time authoritatively expressed as regards

the fitness of the Natives of India for the higher offices in the public service. The educated classes in India are now rapidly increasing in numbers, and they take a deep interest in the welfare of the country. It is not only just, but wise and prudent, that their aspirations and hopes should no longer be suffered to remain ungratified, so far as they are legitimate and reasonable. Whether they are to be loyal or disaffected must depend upon the treatment they may receive at the hands of their rulers, upon the social position accorded to them, and upon the means given for their enjoying an adequate share in the government of the country. The question is, therefore, one which eminently deserves the attention of English statesmen; and the Government of India, instead of indulging in the luxury of needless and expensive wars beyond the frontiers and in a tawdry and Brummagem Imperialism in India, should concentrate its energies to improve the condition of the millions entrusted to its care, and should adopt a policy of generous confidence towards the people, which would redound alike to the glory of England and the benefit of India. (Hear, hear.)

MIRZA PEER BUKHSH begged attention for a brief space. He said the lecture had been to him a matter of delight, and therefore he desired to thank the lecturer, and to say that, in his opinion, he had fully comprehended the position and the difficulties under which the people of India lie. It was but necessary to look at the facts to see that there would be difficulty and injustice, for the reason that there were in India 250,000,000 of a population, ruled by a mere handful of Englishmen, who knew nothing, or nearly nothing, about the people or their requirements, but just went about making a report here and a report there; and the evil of it all was that the Government always accepts the views of these English gentlemen, and will not listen to those of the Indian people. He (the speaker) had long been a resident in Europe, and should remain there, for he was convinced that was the best place, especially when he saw how the Anglo-Indians treated princes or anyone holding different views to them in India. If he (the speaker) was there, he could not even say what he was then saying without danger of interference from the Government. As to Colonel Rathborne's indignation at the rule of England being compared with that of the Emperor Napoleon, he wished to ask that gentleman if England had done in India what Napoleon had done in France? If Napoleon was the author of the *coup d'état*, he was also the ruler who had submitted to a *plébiscite*, and thus taken the voice of the people. Had the English Government ever taken the voice of the people of India? No. On the contrary, if anyone was to incite people to ask for such a thing, his

mouth would be closed, and his property confiscated. In such matters he (the speaker) considered that the rule of the Emperor Napoleon had an advantage over English rule in India; for what with the control over the newspapers and the interference with personal liberty, liberty was impossible in India; and he (the speaker) liked his liberty too well to go there and give the officers of the Government the chance of putting him in prison. In England he was happy, and no one here would dare to take him by the throat. He was also glad to find that many other Indian gentlemen were coming to England to finish their education and take their degrees, and that thus they would learn to know better about the English people than they would from mixing with them in India. It was said that the Indian people were revolutionary in their tendencies, but this he denied, and asked, if it were so, how could the comparatively small number of 40,000 or 50,000 Englishmen rule India with her 240,000,000? The fact was that the people were quiet and easy to govern, and if the English Government would only do the things that had been promised, India would soon be perfectly satisfied and happy. He acknowledged with satisfaction that the English nation, and some of its leading men, like Professor Fawcett, were manifesting greater interest in Indian questions, and the result was that English people were coming to know that out of the 60,000,000*l.* of revenue of India England received 30,000,000*l.* (A murmur.) He could prove it. And then, again, as to the value of the rupee, that was another disadvantage to India, which ought to be removed, as there was great loss in the exchange. Taking all things into consideration, he argued that India was really ruled by the inclination of her people to the English rule, rather than by the few thousand Englishmen holding official positions there.

Mr. A. ARATHOON said the subject of the admirable lecture given by Sir David Wedderburn might conveniently be considered in two parts—namely, the acts which have tended to increase Imperial government, and the acts which have had an influence upon the prosperity or the material wealth of India. Recent events have forced upon the English people the real financial condition of India. By the Berlin Treaty England has extended and increased her influence and responsibilities in the East; and the Afghan War further showed that one great European Power at least regards India as a vulnerable point through which the power of England may be attacked. The present Governor-General began his rule under circumstances exceptionally favourable. His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales had just visited India, and this visit was a subject of great gratification to the people. The Queen next proclaimed herself Empress of India, and

this act was looked upon as a symbol and a declaration of good fellowship between England and India, and the inauguration of an improved system of government for the people. (Hear, hear.) But within two years the Government, so far from progressing in the confidence and affection of the people, has been obliged to pass two of the most retrograde and repressive Acts—the Vernacular Act and the Arms Act—which have been placed on the Indian Statute-book for a considerable period. It seemed to him, therefore, that in discussing the Imperial policy, the Government's acts carry with them their own condemnation. It was not necessary in such an assembly as a meeting of the East India Association to defend the freedom of the press, for all knew that it was the greatest security for liberty that any country could possess, while a repressive policy in regard to it was nearly always productive of the most evil results. But there was especial danger in repressing it in India on the supposed ground that some half-educated persons have published sedition and libels, because you give an importance to their obscure sentiments which they would otherwise never possess, and you place at a disadvantage the writers in the respectable and far more influential Native journals. Of course, at a time when a war was in progress in which Russia and Turkey were combatants, there was a natural feeling of irritation among the Mussulmans of India; but neither then nor later was there anything to indicate that the real substantial feeling of the country had undergone any great change. There was, indeed, great disappointment that a Government which had begun so well should have turned out so unfavourably. A further source of grievance and dissatisfaction was afforded in the conduct of the Afghan War. He could not understand how the Afghan War was other than an Imperial war. It appeared to him that any questions that affected the *connection* between England and her dependencies was an Imperial question; and yet India was to bear the whole cost of this war. In stating this he did not desire it to be supposed that he wished that the entire expense of the Afghan War should be paid by England; so far from that, he thought that, fairly considered, it should be regarded partly as an Imperial war and partly as an Indian war, and, therefore, that each should have paid a share of the cost. The remission of the cotton duties formed another great and legitimate grievance. Every man of sense appreciated the blessings of free trade. But Mr. Gladstone had truly said that free trade must necessarily be made subservient to the conditions of the revenue of a country; and Lord Salisbury himself told a deputation that, while wishing the duties to be remitted, they must wait until India could bear it. And yet, at a juncture when the financial condition of India was worse than ever

before, and when a large deficit was certain, the Government yielded to the pressure of party influence in Lancashire, and secured votes in Parliament by sacrificing the best interests of India. In considering such a grievance as this, surely it was better that the Government should be able to find it discussed in Native newspapers, rather than by the furtive circulation of occasional broadsheets printed secretly. There was not the slightest doubt but that India, if consulted, would say with one voice that she would sooner far be governed by England than by any other European people, despite present faults; and least of all would India choose Russia for her master. And yet it appeared to him very probable that the Vernacular Press Act would never have been passed but for the fear of Russia and the few criticisms on the military strength of England as compared with Russia; and yet the Indian Government, by its interference with freedom of expression, took a leaf out of the worst part of the record of its Northern rival. Indeed, even now, if Russia were to exert such powers as are possessed in the Vernacular Press Act, there would be a great outcry among the lovers of freedom; although the Russian Government, facing internal disorder of a serious character, would have a far better excuse than any the Indian Government ever possessed. But the real evils of our government of India were apart from Lord Lytton's government and from all party questions at home. The problem of government in India was made very complex by the serious financial difficulties which had arisen, and which would increase unless serious measures were taken. The rate of exchange was supposed to be the real cause of the difficulty, and that was supposed to be brought about by the depreciation of silver. Much attention had been bestowed on the subject, and there were beyond doubt external causes for the fall in silver, such as the demonetization of silver in Germany, the action of Scandinavia and of Holland, the suspension of free mintage in France, and the production of the silver mines in Nevada. But the real cause of the mischief lies in the fact that the absorbing power of India has decreased. (Hear, hear.) This means that the purchasing power of India has decreased, and that India, instead of progressing in prosperity, is retrograding to poverty. British rule has conferred, no doubt, enormous advantages upon India; and no one could be found to complain of it as such; but there was the one deplorable fact, that England is draining the resources of India, and that the gravest financial difficulties are resulting. The limit of taxation having been reached, the only way to restore order and prosperity is to retrench. But Government must not merely retrench in the manner promised; the economies must be large and far-reaching. Even with the diminution

of expenditure on public works, the reduction was not nearly sufficient, especially when it is considered that so large a proportion of the revenue comes from opium, and that it cannot be depended upon as a permanent source of revenue; and also when it is remembered that Indian revenue is liable to drains peculiar to it, such as famines, exchange, cyclones, and other visitations. Lord Northbrook calls for reform of the Civil Service, and advises beginning at the top of the tree; but, for himself, he inclined to support Colonel Chesney's proposal in the *Fortnightly Review*, as likely to be a good deal more successful. He did not think the Natives of India, as a body, were qualified to take up the administration of the country in its highest branches, although it was doubtless true that individuals might be found competent to legislate in any country, and certainly one Judge had left an undying name behind him. Meantime, however, it would not be prudent to entrust Natives with the highest offices; but a time would come, and come soon, when they must be far more largely engaged in conducting the government of the country, and the best way to train them to this duty was to give them the minor offices in the Service, in the manner Colonel Chesney recommends. Another great field for economy would be found in the military charges; and no one could help seeing the need for reform, when it was admitted that one-third of the officers for whom India was compelled to pay were resident at home. Time would not allow him to dilate upon measures which might be taken to nurture and encourage the manufactures of India as a means of inducing her restoration to prosperity, but he would merely say that wise measures of this kind would be the best scientific frontier that the Indian Government could construct, for it would be a frontier built in the hearts and affections of the Indian people, which would make attack from outside difficult, and conquest utterly impossible. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. K. M. DUTT desired to remark upon some of the points raised in the lecture. First of all, he would allude to the Imperial title of Empress of India. When the thing was done the people of England thought that the title was not designed for home, but only for foreign use. The people of India, as Mr. Ghose had said, thought it meant something very grand, and that a new policy was to be inaugurated in regard to India; but they soon found out that it was all a sham, for when thousands and thousands of people were dying in Madras for want of food, 50,000*l.* or 60,000*l.*, which would have been spent better in providing food, was spent in tom-foolery at Delhi. That was not all. Imperialism consisted not in passing an Act; there were other things. One chief object, no

doubt, was to checkmate and outrival Russia; but, he urged, it was impossible to rival Russia by imitating her. Yet this title was an imitation of the Imperialism of Russia. Then the Vernacular Press Act was another act of Imperialism, and still another was the action of the Government in regard to Afghanistan. He would pass over the war against Afghanistan, and, without asking whether it was right or wrong, would put a question as to the declaration of war without the Viceroy asking his own Councillors. Was that right? No; but that was the way Imperialism was growing since the adoption of the Imperial title by the Queen. The Viceroy sent instructions without consulting his own advisers, which he (Mr. Dutt) contended that the Viceroy should have done under the terms of the Indian Government Act. Various suggestions had been made by which the expenditure of India ought to be and might be reduced, and this he held to be the most important of all the matters connected with India. The Government admitted that there should be some retrenchment, but it was not to be in the Army. Now, that was where he (the speaker) thought there was great room for retrenchment. First, there was the short-service system, which was a very costly matter to India. However beneficial it might be in England, it did not apply to India, and Government should exempt India from the operation of that Act. (Hear, hear.) Then there was the Currency question—a very complicated one, too, and one which it was impossible to discuss briefly with any advantage. But the great thing that India wanted was a reduction of the home charges, which weighed so heavily on Indian finance and Indian commerce. (Hear, hear.)

The Rev. JAMES LONG desired to say, as bearing upon the discussion, that in 1857 Lord Canning—who, it was known, took a warm interest in the Natives of India—sent for him (Mr. Long) and asked his views as to the best means of getting at Native public opinion. At that period Lord Canning felt that the Mutiny had burst upon him and the Government quite unexpectedly. They had possessed few means of ascertaining Native opinion, though it was subsequently discovered that at the very period that the Mutiny burst upon the Government it was known and stated in the Delhi vernacular press what was intended, and that the Government would have been apprised had they had anybody to look through such publications. He (Mr. Long) at that point took the opportunity of speaking to Lord Canning upon the subject, saying that in every country the press is to a certain extent the exponent of opinion, and more especially was this so in India. Lord Canning then asked as to the best way to get at this opinion. He (Mr. Long) said

there were three modes: One was by establishing, as in France, official papers, and printing them in the vernacular, at the same time inviting Natives to co-operate, and through that medium elicit their feelings; another method was by supplying expressions of Government opinion to the Native press, and thus calling out an expression of their opinion; a third means, he suggested, would be the appointment of a Government reporter in every Presidency to furnish weekly a return or digest of the opinions of the current Native opinion as expressed in the Vernacular press. He (Mr. Long) could recall the action of Lord Canning upon the last suggestions. His lordship took his pencil out of his pocket, and said, "I'll adopt that plan," the last named. The course suggested was followed from that time down till recently, and he had evidence that by it a great deal of information was obtained which otherwise would have been lost sight of. Two years ago, however, the action of the Government in this respect was to limit the reports to the secretaries of the Government, and the result was that, these secretaries having little time to spare, the reports were not perused as they ought to be, and Government did not get the information that would be useful to it. He (the speaker) had written to Lord Lytton a year ago in reference to the proposed repressive measures of the press on the subject, mentioning the views of Lord Canning, and suggesting that the difficulty in connection with having a single European agent of Government to control the press was this—that European officials are apt to be thin-skinned, and Natives sometimes make sharp, cutting remarks, with which they do not agree, and hence a European's personal views influence his official communications. To avert difficulties consequent upon this, he (Mr. Long) suggested to Lord Lytton the formation of a panchâyat, or committee of Natives and Europeans, in each Presidency, and that no action should be taken against any paper until the charge had been examined by this panchâyat. If this were adopted, he was convinced it would be of great advantage to the Government and to the press, and would prevent action being taken against any journal as the result of personal or class feeling.

Mr. R. B. SWINTON said that the meeting had heard a very full, suggestive, and indeed aggressive paper, but there were only two passages in it in which he could concur. The first was where the lecturer said, "Not Natives only, but even European officials of wide "experience, concur in the opinion that great retrenchments might be "carried out in the highest ranks of the public service;" and the second was where, speaking of the Army, the lecturer said, "The position of "the Native Army between a powerful British garrison and a numerous

"*quasi* military police, is altogether anomalous." As to the restrictions upon the Native press, it did not occur to him that they were so objectionable, as it was evident that only those papers which transgressed the law were in danger; but at the same time the Government had not explained how this necessity had recently arisen. There were three restrictions mentioned in the paper as provided for under the new Act: first, against exciting disaffection against the Government; against exciting antipathy between people of different castes, &c.; and to prevent extortion. Perhaps, in the two latter cases, people might have been left to their own remedy. Under the Indian Penal Code the law was —"Whoever by words, either spoken or intended to be read, &c., excites, "or attempts to excite, feelings of disaffection to the Government, shall "be punished with transportation for life;" the important explanation, however, being that such a disapprobation of the measures of the Government as is compatible with a disposition to render obedience to the lawful authority of Government "is not disaffection." With reference to giving security, even in England the proprietor of a newspaper has to give security in the sum of 400*l.* that he will not publish seditious, blasphemous, or personal libels. Having had the advantage of perusing the paper before it was delivered, he had looked at what the eminent statesman, Sir Charles Metcalfe, had written in 1835, which is to be found at page 149, vol. ii., new edition, of his "Life:" "If the "argument be that the spread of knowledge may eventually be fatal to "our rule in India, I close with them on that point, and maintain that "whatever may be the consequence, it is our duty to communicate the "benefits of knowledge. If India could only be preserved as a part of "the British Empire by keeping its inhabitants in a state of ignorance, "our domination would be a curse to the country, and ought to cease." There was an immense change between the India of the present time and 1835, but no change between 1835 and 1822. And, on the other hand, Sir Thomas Munro, a very liberal statesman, more acquainted with a part of the country and people than Sir Charles Metcalfe, wrote in 1822 a long minute, in which he said, "There are two important points which "should always be kept in view in our administration of affairs here. "The first is that our sovereignty should be prolonged to the remotest "possible period; the second is, that whenever we are obliged to "resign it, we should leave the Natives so far improved from their "connection with us as to be capable of maintaining a free, or at least "regular, government among themselves." The difference of opinion between the two was curious. There was no mention of the Native press in Sir Charles Metcalfe's time; it did not exist.

Mr. M. P. GASPAR made a few remarks.

The CHAIRMAN having intimated that this must close the discussion,

Sir DAVID WEDDERBURN said that as the hour was late, he would not detain the meeting further than to say how flattered he felt at the kindly tone of the speakers with reference to what he had said, and to add that it always gave him great satisfaction to attend the meetings of the East India Association, and especially to hear the freely expressed views of the intelligent Natives of the country. (Hear, hear.)

The CHAIRMAN said: I consider myself very fortunate to have been present at such a meeting. I have been deeply interested in all that has been said, and particularly with what has fallen from the several Native Indian speakers. I am sure that the free expression of opinion by Natives, such as we have heard to-day, must be productive of great good; and all I can say is that they should never hesitate to speak out, for I believe that there is the sincerest inclination on the part of the British public to do justice to the people of India under their rule. England seriously wishes to do right towards India. (Hear, hear.) We cannot but regret many things in our past history connected with India, and for those deeds it may be that retribution will befall us, and it may be that we shall deserve it. But the more the English people can hear of the opinions of Native gentlemen, particularly those who visit England and express their opinions so happily and forcibly as we have heard them to-day, the more good will arise, and the less misunderstanding will there be. No doubt there is great force in what has been so ably advanced by Sir David Wedderburn in regard to the financial difficulties of India, and there is great force in his suggestions for reform; but there is one point which I think neither Sir David Wedderburn nor succeeding speakers have sufficiently dealt with, and that is the means of raising the revenue less vexatiously. For myself, I confess that I entertain a strong belief that an Income-tax bearing fairly and equally upon the rich and well-to-do, and not extending too low down among the poor, would be a just and proper source of revenue in India. Such a tax, bearing upon all who enjoy large incomes in India, whether European or Native, official or otherwise, would, I think, be a great relief. But no increase of taxation can obviate the necessity for a very considerable reduction of expenditure, and the main reduction must be in the military charges. (Hear, hear.) Of course we all know that India is the fattening ground of the English military service, and I can never understand why a soldier serving in Ceylon should only get half what he gets if serving in Madras. Why should his pay be doubled, or nearly so,

in India? (Hear, hear.) Then, I fail to understand why there should be three Commanders-in-Chief. The fact is that if we go to work with determination—and we shall have to do so—I am confident that very great reductions can be secured in the expenditure of the Indian Government. (Hear, hear.) As regards Imperialism, I believe there is great danger in England as well as in India. I believe the fault originates at home. (Hear, hear.) There is an inclination in certain quarters in this country to support Imperialism, and a sort of admiration of militarism, which I cannot help deeply deploring. I hope the day will not be long in coming when we may fall back upon the policy of men like Sir Robert Peel and Cobden, and that we shall resume our custom of taking a common sense view, and show a disposition to conciliate rather than to threaten, and, above all things, have a policy of peace which will restore us to prosperity, and enable us to reduce taxation everywhere. With that policy of peace, the mania of Imperialism and militarism will soon subside. On the question of representation in India, we have heard enough to-day to satisfy us that there are Natives eminently qualified for it. No doubt some system of representation must ere long be adopted; and I am convinced that the love of justice on the part of the people of England will ultimately secure the prosperity of India, and the content and happiness of its people. In conclusion, the Chairman said he had very great pleasure in moving a vote of thanks to Sir David Wedderburn for his valuable lecture.

Mr. DADABHOY BYRAMJEE briefly seconded this, and it was adopted by acclamation. A similar compliment to the Chairman closed the proceedings.

The Native Army in India.

PAPER BY GENERAL ORFEUR CAVENAGH,

Late Governor of the Straits Settlements.

READ AT A MEETING OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION, JULY 17TH, 1879.

THE RIGHT HON. LORD STANLEY OF ALDERLEY IN THE CHAIR.

A LARGE and influential meeting of the members and friends of the East India Association was held at the "Pall Mall" Restaurant, 14, Regent Street, Waterloo Place, London, on Thursday afternoon, July 17th, 1879; the subject for consideration being "The Native Army in India," introduced in an address by General Orfeur Cavenagh, late Governor of the Straits Settlements.

The Right Hon. LORD STANLEY of ALDERLEY occupied the chair; and amongst those present were the following: General Lord Mark Kerr, C.B., Sir David Wedderburn, Bart., M.P., the Honourable Arthur Dillon, General Sir William Wyllie, G.C.B., Major-General Sir Vincent Eyre, C.B., K.C.S.I., Colonel Sir William Merewether, C.B., K.C.S.I., General W. A. McCleverty, General W. C. McLeod, Lieut.-General C. Cureton, C.B., Lieut.-General W. F. Nuthall, Lieut.-General W. Olpherts, C.B., V.C., Major-General Crawford Cooke, Major-General J. W. Cox, C.B., Major-General R. W. Lowry, Major-General W. C. R. Macdonald, C.B., Major-General H. Man, Major-General W. Richardson, C.B., Major-General E. W. S. Scott, Major-General F. H. Scott, Colonel Grant Allan, Colonel M. S. Green, C.B., Colonel G. B. Malleson, C.S.I., Colonel Mardell, Colonel A. B. Rathborne, Colonel G. M. Payne, Lieut.-Colonel Bonnamy, Lieut.-Col. H. L. Evans, Lieut.-Colonel P. T. French, Lieut.-Colonel George Newmarch, Major Durrant, Major Vanderjee, Captain G. W. Cockburn, Captain Lassall, Captain W. C. Palmer, Rev. James Long, Rev. James Smith, Rev. R. Winter, Mrs. Winter, Mr. J. R. Bullen-Smith, C.S.I., Surgeon-General Balfour, Dr. Macpherson, Dr. M. D. Makuna, Dr. George Paton, Mr. J. Kellie, Rajah Rampal Singh, Mr. Ahsanuddin Ahmed, Mr. Aziz Ahmed, Mr. Sayyid Kazim Ali, Mr. S. Waris Ali, Mr. C. W. Arathoon, Mr. Robert Bain, Mr. B. A. Boulger, Mr. D. C. Boulger, Mirza Peer Bukhsh, Mr. Dadabhoy Byramjee, Mr. H. J. Canekeratne, Mr. George F. Collins, Mr. William C. Cox, Mr. John Da Costa, Mr. B. de

Korti, Mr. George Elliott, Mr. Thomas Finlayson, Mr. Nanda Lal Ghosh, Mr. Hastings Hicks, Mr. H. M. Hyndman, Mr. J. V. Irwin, Mr. John Jones, Mr. M. J. Khan, Mr. J. Mackillar, Mr. C. Mackinnon, Mr. S. V. Morgan, Mr. L. S. Newmarch, Mr. William C. Niblett, Mr. J. C. Parry, Mr. Abul Faze Abdur Rahman, Mr. Lutfor Rahman, Mr. Syed Abdur Rahman, Mr. Shore Smith, Mr. William Sowerby, Mr. R. B. Swinton (late M.C.S.), Mr. P. M. Tait, Mr. Thomas Taylor, Mr. E. C. Thwaytes, Mr. H. J. Thwaytes, Mr. William Trant, Mr. W. Warren, Mr. Wason, &c.

In opening the proceedings, the noble CHAIRMAN briefly called upon General Cavenagh to deliver his address, and invited the attention of the meeting to him as one well qualified to speak upon the subject announced.

General ORFEUR CAVENAGH said that, as a preface to the remarks which he was about to offer for the consideration of the meeting, he would observe that he had acceded to the repeated request of the Council of the East India Association to prepare a paper on the organization of the Native Army of India because he could not but agree with the Council in considering that the time was opportune for discussing this important question. (Hear, hear.) We have recently passed through a crisis in our Indian history; success has attended our arms, and we may fairly look forward to some years of peace and repose, in which we may enjoy the opportunity of remedying any defects that may exist in our military system. That that system is susceptible of improvement was sufficiently proved by the fact of the Government having ordered a Commission to report upon the subject. In suggesting a scheme for reorganization in the paper he was about to read, he had confined himself to giving its general outline; he had refrained from entering into details—such, for instance, as localising a certain number of Irregular regiments for the purpose of affiliating them to the battalions of the Line, to act as their feeders—because he was of opinion that as, in rearing any important architectural structure, it is first necessary to secure a solid and stable foundation, so equally, in building up the fabric of an army, it is essential that you should in the first instance determine upon a firm and sound groundwork; for so long as the basis fails to be firm, and is as unsubstantial as that upon which the Native Indian Army is at present resting, it would be futile to attempt to obtain either real efficiency or economy. (Hear, hear.) General Cavenagh then proceeded to read his paper as follows:—

Although the ordinary field of operations of that important armed

body of which I purpose giving a brief sketch is so remote that few people in England have any idea of the magnitude of the wars upon which it has been engaged, and simply remember that a great number of battles, with unpronounceable names, have been fought in our Eastern possessions, yet not only the prestige, but the actual greatness of our native country is so intimately connected with the maintenance of our Indian Empire, whilst so many of us have friends and relatives serving in that quarter of Her Majesty's dominions, that I am induced to believe that a short account of the rise and progress of the military force now composing Her Majesty's Indian Army may not be deemed altogether devoid of interest.

2. I would premise by observing that the Indian Army consists of three distinct forces—the Army of Bengal, the Army of Madras, and the Army of Bombay, each with its separate Commander-in-Chief and head-quarters staff; but all being at the same time subordinate to the Commander-in-Chief in India, whose special charge is that of the Army of the senior Presidency, though it does not include that of the Punjaub Frontier Force, consisting of six Cavalry and twelve Infantry regiments, with five batteries of Artillery, which is still under the immediate control of the Civil Government.

3. These three armies recruit from different sources, and consequently vary greatly as regards their physical material; but although there may be some slight differences as regards dress and minor points of discipline (for instance, in Bengal and Bombay, soldiers, when on duty, are not permitted to wear the distinctive marks of caste, certain signs depicted on the forehead, whilst in Madras there is no objection to their doing so), yet the whole force may be said to be moulded in one uniform pattern, and governed by one general code of regulations.

4. For several years after the first appearance of the British in the East, the military establishment of the East India Company was confined to a few hundred troops recruited from the different nationalities of Europe, and from the descendants of the Portuguese who had settled in India; the Natives attached being entirely undisciplined and imperfectly armed, and consequently of little value as soldiers. The distinguished French Governor, Dupleix, was the first to discover the advantages to be derived from the aid of a well-disciplined Native force, led by European officers. The example he set was, however, speedily followed, and the course thus pursued was attended with the greatest success.

5. When British discipline was first introduced amongst Native troops, a captain commandant, two subalterns, an adjutant, and four sergeants were appointed to each corps. The next change increased the

number of subalterns and reduced that of the sergeants. But there have never been less than eight European leaders for every Native battalion; and these were always present, as any casualty was at once filled up from the Company's European regiments, on whose rolls a large staff of European officers were borne for this purpose. Although a further increase of subalterns was sanctioned, the want of European officers was still much felt. Two battalions were next formed into one regiment, with a fair complement of field officers and captains. This arrangement had its advantages, as in the event of both battalions not being simultaneously employed upon active service, it enabled the one in cantonments to supply officers to the other in the field; but there was still an increasing demand for European officers. Describing the action of Corygaum, of which the Bombay Army may well be proud, Thornton states that "nearly all the officers were killed or disabled. The "medical officers aided their brother officers in leading on the Sepoys; "one of them was killed. In such a struggle the example of even one "European was of almost incalculable importance." About the same time the fate of the action at Nagpore (Seetabuldee) was decided by a brilliant charge of a detachment of the 6th Bengal Cavalry, led, however, by three European officers. Eventually, in 1824, the battalions were re-formed into separate regiments, and the number of officers gradually increased, until the strength allowed for each regiment was three field officers, seven captains, and fifteen subalterns. Of these, however, a large number were generally absent on furlough or staff employ; but, upon an average, about twelve were ordinarily present; so that, in addition to the four mounted officers, there were eight company leaders; whilst, in case of emergency, every officer on the staff could at once be directed to rejoin; and, as his own honour as a soldier was bound up with that of his regiment, he was always ready to share its dangers. Indeed, at the time of the first advance upon Caubul, so anxious were staff officers to accompany their regiments, that an order was issued prohibiting their submitting applications to that effect, and reminding them that the Government was the best judge as to the post where their services were most needed.

6. In the first instance, the Indian Artillery was composed almost entirely of sailors drafted from the Company's vessels, and officers and men retained their naval designations—such as master gunners, gunners' mates, &c. In 1748, however, the Court of Directors determined upon placing this branch of their service upon a proper military footing, and directed a company of Artillery to be formed at each Presidency upon the model of the Royal regiment. After their formation, exclusive of one Royal regiment of Infantry, the 39th, and a small detail of

Artillery, the military power available for the protection of our Indian settlements consisted of three regiments of Infantry—the present 101st, 102nd, and 103rd—and some 10,000 or 12,000 Native troops, which, although supplied with arms and ammunition from the public stores, were clothed in the Native fashion, and still commanded by Native officers. This small body formed the modest nucleus of an Army which, independent of upwards of 20,000 Royal troops, in about one hundred years mustered in its ranks five brigades of Horse Artillery, eighteen battalions of Foot Artillery, chiefly European, three regiments of Sappers and Miners, nine regiments of European Infantry, 155 battalions of Native Regular Infantry, twenty-one regiments of Cavalry, and about seventy Irregular corps; amounting in all to nearly 300,000 men, always embodied and maintained in a state of preparation for actual service.

7. The Army of Bengal was composed entirely of men selected from amongst the races to be found in the Upper Provinces, recruiting from Bengal proper being strictly prohibited, the Natives of that province not being endowed with soldierlike qualities. Indeed, the only arms with which they are accustomed to vanquish their enemies are chicanery and deceit. The up-country man, on the contrary, whether Mahomedan, Hindu, or Seikh, is, as a general rule, a fine specimen of humanity. Although quite prepared to maintain his rights, and far from being obsequious, yet, treat him with kindness and courtesy, and you will almost always find him very obliging, and ready to do you a service.

8. The Bengal Sepoy was always a man of good caste or respectability; the Cavalry were generally, though not exclusively, Mahomedans; whilst in the Infantry the Hindus preponderated. The Seikhs were to be found chiefly in Irregular regiments, both of Cavalry and Infantry. These have only entered our service since the annexation of the Punjaub. In the first instance the experiment was tried of attaching a certain number to each company in the Regular battalions; but this experiment proved a failure. It is always preferable to form national regiments, by which a thorough *esprit de corps* is generated, than to have men of different nationalities mixed up in the same corps. The same reasoning applies in the British Army to the formation of county regiments. Naturally, every man will feel that the honour of his own county is dependent upon the good behaviour of its own representative corps, and, in action, would feel ashamed to disgrace himself in the presence of comrades who have been brought up with him from boyhood; whilst the knowledge that his exploits will be sure to be related to those who are nearest and dearest to him in the little village

at home will often serve as a stimulus to deeds of daring. It has been truly said that an army should be a mere machine, to be worked by the master-hand of the general. Still, it is a living machine, and the true general is always ready to act upon those feelings and sympathies which serve as a mainspring to set the machinery in full motion. Lord Gough, when he defended the breach at Tarifa, at the head of the 87th Royal Irish Fusiliers, struck the right chord when he called upon the band to strike up "Garry Owen;" and you may be certain that when Colin Campbell told the 93rd to stand firm at Balaclava, he did not forget to style them Highlanders. But, to return to the Seikhs, I would mention that, during the Mutiny, several of them, who were serving under my orders, begged me to get them removed from the different Native regiments with which they were doing duty, where they said, in the case of a rising, they would be overpowered in detail, and their services be thus lost to the State. They asserted that, in the event of their being incorporated in a Seikh regiment, or attached to a European corps, they would be faithful and true to their allegiance; indeed, as a climax, they even assured me that they would be quite prepared to drink rum, eat chickens, and go across the sea—all acts against doing which it was supposed that they had a decided prejudice. I could not but feel that there was justice and good sense in their remarks, and accordingly represented the matter to higher authority; and my friends, much to their satisfaction, were embodied in a distinct regiment, and aided in holding their former comrades in check. There is another race, of which there are a few regiments in the Bengal Army, and of which I have not made mention—viz., the Goorkhas. These are the inhabitants of the lower ranges of the Himalayas. They are small men, but of indomitable courage, and have done the British right good service. They become very much attached to their European officers. It happened that, during the Sutlej Campaign, after I had been myself severely wounded in the arm, I was requested, owing to the want of officers, to assume charge of the Native sick and wounded in the field hospital at Loodianah; amongst them were several Goorkhas who had been badly wounded at Aliwal, and when the news came of the battle of Sobraon, and the death of their Commanding Officer, Captain Fisher, the tears rolled down their cheeks as they told me—and told me, I am sure, truly—that they would have cared little for their own sufferings if their officer's life had only been spared. As a specimen of their gallantry, I may refer to an incident of the Nepaul War, when the Goorkhas were opposed to us. A British officer, armed, as was then the case, with a long regulation spit, ran his sword through a Goorkha; notwithstanding his agony, the

wounded man literally forced his way up to the weapon's hilt, until he could close with his adversary, cutting him down with his *kookri* (Nepaul knife) and falling dead beside him.

9. In Madras the Native troopers are generally Mahomedans, and the Native Infantry Mahomedans and Hindus of the higher castes. Recruits are taken entirely from amongst the inhabitants of the southern districts of India. They are, as a rule, smaller in stature and physically inferior to the Bengal Sepoys, but they are active and capable of enduring a great deal of fatigue with little food, and suffer great hardships without a murmur; hence they are well fitted for expeditions across the sea, bearing patiently all the miseries attendant upon the close packing on board ship to which troops on such occasions are often exposed. The Madras Sepoy is much attached to his family: often all the members, for two or three generations, live with him and accompany him from one station to another. Thus a regiment, when on the march, is followed by a long line of carts, for the conveyance of the women and children; and to this crowd of camp followers may perhaps be attributed the ravages from outbreaks of cholera to which Madras regiments seem to be more susceptible than those of the other Presidencies. When a corps is ordered on foreign service, the wives and families are, of course, left behind; and, unless carefully watched, the Sepoy will often endeavour to sell the rations which are then issued to him, and half starve himself, for the purpose of remitting money for their support. In the Madras Sappers, a corps that has always borne a high reputation, a large number of Native Christians, as well as men of low caste, are enlisted.

10. The Bombay Army recruits indiscriminately from all classes—Mahomedans, Hindus, Jews, and Christians. The prevailing discipline used to be stricter and more in accordance with European rules than at Bengal and Madras. Moreover, in making selections for promotion, seniority was not allowed to have the same weight; whilst men were much sooner transferred to the invalid establishment. Hence Native commissioned and non-commissioned officers were generally smarter and more intelligent; but, owing to the heavy pension list, the Bombay troops were more costly than those of the other Presidencies. Although men are to be found in the ranks from the North-west Provinces, recruiting is generally carried on in the Bombay districts. Some of the corps are composed chiefly of Mahrattas—men small in stature, but active and wiry, and possessing many good military qualities. There are also two regiments of Beloochees—fine powerful fellows, from the high country in the neighbourhood of the banks of the Indus.

11. At all three Presidencies the Native soldier receives merely a

fixed rate of pay, with an extra allowance when marching, to meet the expense of carriage. Rations are only allowed to troops on board ship or on service beyond the sea, but compensation to cover the difference is given whenever the articles which compose the Sepoy's diet rise beyond a certain established tariff. Each man, as a rule, cooks for himself; and in time of peace cooking operations take up a good deal of time, and often interfere with the proper performance of duty. In time of war, and in cases of emergency, however, the Native is often contented with a few grains of parched rice, which he carries in his havresack. At Singapore there were a great many Native guards, and most of them at a considerable distance from the regimental lines. As there was no accommodation for cooking at the different guard-rooms, as soon as the arms were lodged, one-third of the men were permitted to leave for the purpose of returning to the lines to cook. The consequence was, that not only were the guards weakened, but the Sepoys were subjected to a considerable amount of fatigue and discomfort, as every man had first to walk nearly two miles in the heat of the day, then set to work to cook his dinner, bolt it, and immediately trudge back again—a process not likely to improve digestion. There was a good deal of sickness amongst the Native troops, which I could not but, in some degree, connect with this unsatisfactory arrangement. Upon pointing out to the Commanding Officer the expediency of introducing a better system, he at once observed that he thought, with a little management, he could divide his regiment into pairs, and so arrange that one man should be off and another on duty, and as they would both be of the same caste, the man off duty would cook for both, and bring his comrade's dinner to the guard-room. This plan was adopted, and the sickness greatly diminished.

12. Except at a very few stations, Native troops, instead of being quartered in barracks, are permitted to live in native huts, each company having its distinct row. The arms are deposited in masonry buildings, styled bells of arms, situated between these rows and the parade ground. The huts are kept in order by the men, who, however, under certain conditions, receive an allowance, called hutting money, to meet the cost of repairs. When on the march, tents are supplied by the State.

13. In former days the Army of India was divided into two branches, the Regular and Irregular. The Regular regiments, as already pointed out, since 1824, had a full complement of European officers of all ranks attached. An officer, on entering the Service, was duly posted to a regiment, and was borne on its rolls until removed by death, retirement, or promotion to the rank of lieutenant-colonel. Hence a thorough

feeling of *esprit de corps* was created; and an officer, even although he might have been for years on staff employ, and separated from his regiment, took a pride in its good name, and supported all regimental institutions, such as mess, band, &c. He was always considered available for duty with his corps in the event of its being ordered on active service, and, on rejoining, as he must have performed a certain number of years' regimental duty and consequently, become known to both officers and men, he was welcomed as an old friend and comrade. Although there were two Native officers to each troop or company, ordinarily they were old men, promoted by seniority, and exercised but little influence over the Sepoys, but many of them had been gallant soldiers, and were entitled to every respect. In the early days of our rule in India, they held a status superior to that of any other of our Native employés, and the Native officer, when he retired upon his pension, was looked upon as the great man in his village. But, as the position of the Natives employed upon civil duties was improved, a change took place in this respect, and the old subadars and jemadars could not help contrasting their rates of pay with those received by Native judges and magistrates, often Bengalees—a race that they despised; and thus a spirit of discontent, not perhaps very violent, but not the less dangerous, was engendered amongst the seniors in the Native Regular regiments. This did not, however, extend to the Native officers in the Irregular Cavalry, who were fairly paid, and who had, moreover, consequent on the great additions that were made to that branch of the Service, been favoured with rapid promotion.

14. In the Irregular regiments there were only three European officers—a commandant, second in command, and adjutant—all selected from corps of the Line, and returned as on staff employ. Most of the Cavalry commandants were only regimental captains; so that, as compared with the commandants of Regular regiments, they were young men. At one time the majority of them were under thirty years of age, and were consequently full of dash and energy.

15. The Infantry regiments were all localized, and, with the exception of the Seikhs and Goorkhas, were rarely employed upon active service, further than in quelling petty emeutes in their own districts. In appearance they differed but little from corps of the Line. The companies on parade were commanded by Native officers, whilst all matters of detail connected with their interior economy were conducted by the regimental commander.

16. The Irregular Cavalry, on the contrary, as a rule, never remained long at any one station, and there is not a campaign in the glories and dangers of which they have not taken a fair share. The men found

their own horses, arms, accoutrements, and clothing, which were, of course, in accordance with a fixed regimental pattern; indeed, the cloth for the uniform was frequently procured direct from England, and then made up at regimental head-quarters, so as to ensure a good fit. It was cut in the native style—a species of loose tunic, with pantaloons and Jack-boots—a good serviceable dress. The trooper, out of his pay, was required to maintain his horse as well as himself; but when the price of gram—a species of pulse upon which horses in India are fed—exceeded a certain sum, the difference was paid by the State. If a horse became unfit for work, owing to any neglect on the part of the rider, the latter was liable to be put upon dismounted pay. This arrangement had a good effect in reducing the number of sore backs, &c. The soldiers furnished their own camp equipage, which, on the march, was carried chiefly by the grass-cutters' ponies, one pony being ordinarily kept for every two horses; so that a corps was always ready to march at an hour's notice.

17. The Service was very popular amongst the Native gentry and yeomanry; and, as promotion was made in a great measure by selection and not by mere seniority, many of the Native officers were superior men, perfectly capable of commanding troops and squadrons, and thoroughly acquainted with their drill, whilst in appearance they were particularly fine, soldierlike fellows. Several of them were small landed proprietors, and independent of the Service. I had, on one occasion, an orderly whose uncle was a Nawab, and allowed him 30*l.* a-year; yet, when I was wounded, this man, for some days, was my only attendant, and lay on the ground beside my cot, ready at any moment to render me whatever assistance might be necessary. After the Mutiny he wrote to me to mention that his *nasib* (fortune) had been great, as he had not mutinied, and had become a Native officer. It was a man of the same regiment who, before Delhi, when Sir Hope Grant's horse was killed, offered to give up his own, though at the probable sacrifice of his own life, to enable him to escape out of the *melée*. Sir Hope, however, refused the offer, but seized hold of the horse's tail, and desired the rider to cut his way through the enemy, which he did, dragging Sir Hope after him.

18. For all the duties of Light Cavalry, such as outpost work, reconnoitring, and foraging, from their intelligence and activity, they were particularly well fitted; and they were capital skirmishers. It was usual on parade, after going through the manœuvres laid down in the drill-book, to draw up the regiment in wings, fronting one another, and give the order for native skirmishing, when troopers would gallop out singly from one wing and challenge men from the other to meet them. It was wonderful to see some of the feats of skill in handling their weapons

and in horsemanship then displayed. One feat commonly performed was that of hitting a bottle with a matchlock ball, the horse being at full speed; another was that of which a spirited illustration has lately been published—carrying off a tent peg, driven well into the ground, on the point of a spear; which is far from easy, for, if the peg is not struck fair and at a particular angle, so as to draw it out of its position, the horseman, instead of galloping on, flourishing the trophy of his skill, finds his career suddenly cut short and himself, perhaps, hurled to the ground over his horse's tail, much to his own disgust and to the amusement of his comrades. These exercises gave the men great confidence in their own skill, and made them self-reliant and cool in danger, so that they did not easily lose their presence of mind. As an example of this, I would mention that, during the first war in Afghanistan, a troop of the 4th Regiment I.C., whilst escorting stores through one of the passes in Beloochistan, was attacked by a large body of the enemy. As the latter were on foot, and crowned the heights, from which they poured down a heavy fire, there being no infantry with the convoy, the Native officer in command immediately dismounted half his troop, and, putting himself at their head, sword in hand, ascended the hill, himself singling out the Belooch leader, who, nothing loath, engaged with him in single combat. Both were good swordsmen, but the Belooch chief, a powerful man, had the advantage of being on the upper ground; the Native officer, after some time, found himself overmatched, when he suddenly called out, as if to someone behind his opponent, "Kill the rascal!" The *ruse* succeeded. The Belooch, naturally thinking that one of the troopers had got in his rear, turned his head for a moment to ascertain the position of his new enemy. That movement was fatal. By a sweep from the Native officer's sabre, his head was separated from his body, and the Beloochees, seeing their leader fall, retired.

19. During the Sutlej Campaign, after the battle of Ferozeshah, the performance of the whole of the outpost duty along the left bank of the river fell upon two corps of Irregular Cavalry. With my corps, I had charge of the Intelligence Department, and I had no difficulty in finding men quite ready to run the risk of entering the enemy's camp for the purpose of obtaining information. To aid their memory, they used to take with them a handful of parched peas, and when they came to a battery, they took out a number of peas corresponding to the number of guns, and tied them up in a separate knot in their waistband; so that when a man returned to give his report, his waistband contained a number of knots, which were gradually untied and the contents counted in the course of his narrative.

20. When I first joined the Indian Army, in addition to the great

bond—viz., regularity in the issue of his pay, and the receipt of a pension when no longer capable of performing his duty—that secured his allegiance to the State, there was another tie, that of personal attachment to his European officer, that had great weight with the Sepoy. Latterly, however, this tie had become materially weakened, mainly owing to the introduction of a system of centralization, under which officers became mere cyphers at the head of troops or companies. This was a grave error. The officer ceased to take an interest in his men, and satisfied himself with receiving the daily reports and performing his duties with a listless, indifferent spirit, not calculated to inspire those under him with affection or respect; whilst the Sepoy ceased to look upon him as his natural friend and protector, and only approached him when compelled to do so in the execution of his duty. As an illustration of this system, I would quote the following facts:—

"My first commander was Colonel Stacey—the veteran who, to use Lord "Gough's phrase, took the rough edge off the Seikhs at Sobraon. Under his orders, "whilst you felt that he commanded the regiment, you equally felt that you "commanded your company, and were held strictly responsible for its efficiency. "In accordance with Army Standing Orders, every officer was required to have, once "a week, a private inspection of his company, and to report the result for the "Colonel's information. The inspection was minute, and if the Captain were not "satisfied, he would have the company paraded a second time. After the inspec-"tion was over, the company was sometimes put through a few movements to test "its steadiness, and when the men were broken off, the opportunity was taken of "entering into conversation with the Native officers and senior non-commissioned "officers on topics in which they might take an interest. Thus a kindly feeling "was induced, which, in many respects, was productive of good results. In 1840, "I was posted as interpreter to another corps, and, falling into the command of a "company, with the view of making myself acquainted with my men, I directed it "to parade for my inspection. In the course of the day, however, I received a "letter from the Adjutant, desiring me to countermand the parade, and informing "me that when the Colonel wished the companies to be inspected, the necessary "regimental order would be issued. In fact, the Colonel and the Adjutant com-"manded the companies as well as the regiment; and on one occasion a young "Sepoy, a favourite of the latter, was appointed pay havildar to a company with-"out the officer commanding having ever been consulted on the subject, although "the appointment was one for which his nomination was alone necessary. In "1845, I was temporarily in command of the 4th Regiment Irregular Cavalry. A "trooper was convicted before a regimental court-martial of gross insubordina-"tion and insolence to the Brigade Major of the station, and sentenced to be "discharged. There was nothing in the man's favour; he was a thoroughly bad "character, and I confirmed the sentence. Some time after, the man returned to "the lines, and stated that the sentence was to be annulled. The next day I "received a letter from Army Head-quarters, implying a censure upon my conduct "for having sanctioned his dismissal, and directing his reinstatement. I could not "but consider that, in the interests of discipline, it was my duty to appeal "against this decision; I therefore submitted a full representation of all the

"circumstances of the case, expressing my regret that I should have been thought "to have acted harshly, and, as I felt convinced that the order had been issued "under some misconception, my hope that I might be pardoned delaying to "carry it into effect until the receipt of further instructions. The trooper did "not rejoin the 4th Regiment Irregular Cavalry, and consequently my authority "in the corps was not weakened, as it certainly would have been had the just "sentence of the court been set aside."

21. There can be little doubt that, after the annexation of the Punjaub and Burmah, the increase to the numerous openings offered to officers for obtaining civil and other staff employ had an injurious effect upon the Army. In time of peace it was natural that an officer endowed with talent and possessed with ambition should seek a field where that talent could obtain scope for development, and that ambition be gratified. This was to be found either in the ranks of an Irregular corps, where, whilst still a young man, he might rise to command, with all its concomitant advantages; or, if of a less soldierly spirit, in one of the civil commissions, where, as an administrator, he might acquire greater fame than he was likely to obtain in his own profession. At the same time, it cannot be denied that the fact of there having been so wide a field in India in which officers enjoyed an opportunity of exhibiting their various talents, tended to improve the tone of the Service, and to instil into the minds of those entering it a healthy spirit of emulation. But this spirit was carried to too great an extent; and when it so far passed its legitimate bounds as to render regimental duty wearying and irksome, it should have been curbed and restricted to its proper limits. This might, perhaps, have been effected by strictly limiting the number of absentees per regiment, adhering rigidly to the five years' rule as regards all ordinary military appointments, and introducing some system of seconding in the case of officers whose services, being deemed specially valuable, the Government might be desirous of retaining on the staff beyond that period, so that those remaining with their regiments would not have felt that their hopes of promotion were barred by the retention on the rolls of officers who all their lives were enjoying the advantages of civil or *quasi* civil employ.

22. The practice of promoting almost entirely by seniority certainly failed in the Regular regiments to provide efficient Native officers; but, without depriving seniority of its due weight, that defect might have been remedied by requiring every candidate for promotion to pass an examination with respect to his knowledge of the duties of the rank to which he aspired, of the standing orders of the branch of the Service to which he belonged, and of the movements of a troop or regiment, company or battalion, as laid down in the different books of Field Exercises for the Army. This would have ensured a fair standard of efficiency, whilst it

would not have created a feeling of discontent either by unjust supercession or by raising men too rapidly to positions beyond which there was little prospect of advancement.

23. Having described the nature of the organization of the old Indian Army, I will now say a few words as to the present force.

24. When the Army of India was taken into the direct service of the Crown, it became necessary to reduce the strength of the Native portion, which, owing to the demand upon our European force to meet the emergencies of the Crimea, had previously been allowed to far exceed its due proportion, and was, consequent on the increase during the Mutiny to the number of European regiments, no longer needed.

25. Instead of simply reducing the number of Native Regular corps and absorbing the officers, many of whom would gladly have left had liberal pensions been offered, the Government was persuaded to upset the Regular system altogether, and to place the whole Army upon the Irregular footing, to be officered from three bodies styled respectively the Bengal, Madras, and Bombay Staff Corps. The principal argument advanced by the advocates of this arrangement was to the effect that, so many Irregular regiments having behaved well under only three European leaders, it was clear that more officers were unnecessary, and, consequently, that a great saving of expense might be effected; these gentlemen, able as many of them were, quite forgetting that the corps to which they referred were the *élite* of the Irregular force, and although there were only three officers attached to each regiment, yet these were always selected for the duty, whilst there were scores ready to take their places in the event of casualties. In my own corps, on the Sutlej, I was dangerously wounded, and the adjutant killed, but our posts were immediately filled by selections from the Regular regiments. Moreover, owing to their being called upon to take all the harassing duties that devolve upon light cavalry in the field, for which they were well adapted, when brought into action, regiments were generally very weak, and some of the most dashing exploits performed by Irregulars were achieved by small bodies under daring European leaders. Of the Infantry regiments, only those composed of Seikhs and Goorkhas, the finest races in India, have been distinguished. Yet, during the Mutiny and the campaign in China, a large body of European officers was attached to each of the corps actively employed; and I believe I am right in asserting that in one corps alone nine or ten officers were killed or wounded in the course of a few months. During the Bhootan Campaign regiments became notoriously unfit for service, owing to the officers

having been rendered *hors de combat* by sickness, whilst in the course of the operations at Umbeylah officers had to be dispatched from the provinces to fill up the casualties in the European commissioned ranks. Officers were fortunately available; but even then some had to be taken from other regiments, which were thus imprudently weakened. A similar failure might hereafter imperil the safety of our Eastern Empire, for we cannot afford to maintain in India a sufficient European force to admit of our dispensing with the aid of Native troops.

26. Although John Bull, in time of war, and with a hope that the pull upon his purse-strings may be speedily relaxed, is frequently lavish in his honours and rewards to his soldiers, and often flings away large sums unnecessarily in suddenly improvising establishments which ought to be properly organized in time of peace, with a view to expansion when the occasion arises, but which, in reality, only attain efficiency about the time that they are no longer needed, yet, as soon as the crisis is over, he becomes extremely parsimonious and even niggardly. Hence, failing to remember that efficiency is always the truest economy, the authorities, with perhaps some want of foresight as to the probable result of the arrangement even in a financial point of view, jumped at the idea of effecting a saving by denuding regiments of officers; and immediately the edict was issued for making the whole of the Native portion of the Indian Army Irregulars. In the first instance, five officers, a commandant, two wing commanders, an adjutant, and a quartermaster were sanctioned for each regiment; subsequently two more officers, now styled wing officers, were added.

27. Wing commanders have charge of the wings; for which, as regards their interior economy, repairs of arms and accoutrements, &c., they are responsible. They are assisted by the wing officers; but these latter have no specific charge and no specific duties. Every officer is mounted on parade; but the companies are led by the Native officers, over whom the European leaders simply exercise a general supervision. Neither their respective positions nor their duties on parade have ever been defined. If it is intended that they should merely act as field officers, there are too many; if, on the contrary, they are, in action, to lead on the companies, there are too few. Moreover, from the fact of their being mounted, they would serve as admirable targets for the enemy's marksmen, and would probably be soon all disabled, and the regiment thus rendered inefficient. On this point, apparently, misgivings have been entertained; for at the time of the war in Abyssinia, and when the Indian Contingent embarked for Malta, extra officers were attached to regiments. Fortunately perhaps, in neither case was it

found necessary to subject the efficiency of the present organization to any severe test. During the recent operations in Afghanistan, although our losses have been comparatively trifling, and the troops have never been exposed to a heavy cannonade, which is the great trial of their steadiness (I have myself seen one of the old Native regiments advance without a check, losing 180 men, killed and wounded), it is rumoured that in some instances the paucity of officers has been felt, and in one action the command of a regiment devolved upon a young subaltern who had only lately joined.

28. Officers no longer belong to any particular regiment, but are moved from one corps to another, to suit the interests of the Service, or, possibly, often their own. Thus an officer, in the course of a short time, may serve with two or three different regiments, and may be suddenly called upon to lead into action a corps with the officers and men of which he has had no previous acquaintance; and, with every wish, as far as practicable, to retain officers with the regiments to which they may be originally attached, it is out of the power of a commander-in-chief to remedy this defect, as, with but one promotion roll for the whole body of officers, it would be manifestly unjust to allow perhaps a young captain or subaltern to succeed to the command of a regiment, whilst his senior, a field officer in the same Staff Corps, remained simply a wing officer, or even unemployed. When the rank and position of officers depended entirely upon regimental promotion, supercession, though unpleasant, could not be looked upon as a hardship; it was simply the chance of the Service. Another difficulty which has arisen has been in the great increase of field officers, their number being now far in excess to that required to meet the demand for their services, and far beyond its proper proportion to that of captains and subalterns. Hence there must either be a superfluity of lieutenant-colonels and majors with every regiment, or a large number must necessarily remain unemployed, or, as it is styled, in the performance of general duty—an arrangement that entails a very heavy financial burden upon the State, and places the officers themselves in a false position, most irksome and galling to anyone imbued with a proper soldierlike spirit and a love of his profession, and calculated to impress him with a thorough dislike to the Service; a feeling which is not advantageous to the Government, and which certainly did not animate the officers of the old Indian Army.

29. Notwithstanding that for some years past most liberal offers have been made to induce the seniors to retire, excluding the general officers, the strength of the three Indian Staff Corps during the last two years may be estimated as follows:—

	1878.	1879.
Lieutenant-colonels	620 ...	607
Majors	491 ...	582
Captains	475 ...	349
Lieutenants	215 ...	345
Total	1,801 ...	1,883*

And although, doubtless, eventually some changes will be effected in the relative proportion of field officers to captains and subalterns, yet that change will be but slight, for so long as assured increased rank and pay depend merely upon length of service, there is every inducement for an officer to remain, and there will be but few retirements.

30. Under the present system, we have certainly, as recommended by me in a paper submitted to the Governor-General before the Mutiny, increased the powers of commanding officers; and whatever changes may take place, these powers should not be diminished, for, in dealing with Orientals, it is essential that the authority to reward and punish should be vested in the immediate superior, and not weakened by reference to higher authority. Officers who are not qualified to exercise such powers are not fit to be at the head of any armed body. But, whilst properly increasing the power of officers commanding regiments, by removing the connecting link of company commander, we have also increased the influence of the Native officer. At the same time, his position in other respects has remained almost completely unaltered; and we rigidly check the natural result of the exercise of such influence —a desire for increased rank and pay. It could hardly be otherwise, as, under the existing organization, it would be difficult to offer openings for the advancement of Natives in the military service, and it would be most unwise to encourage hopes which could not be realized.

31. Having pointed out what appear to be the defects in the prevailing organization of the Indian Army, it becomes my duty to offer for your consideration some suggestions for effecting their removal. I firmly believe that the Staff Corps, as at present constituted, has proved a failure; and its originators must acknowledge that the happy results they anticipated from its formation have not been attained. It might be possible to retain regiments on an Irregular or *quasi* Irregular footing; the officers being, in the first instance, drafted, as at present, from corps of the Line, the number of each rank being fixed,† and all officers not doing regi-

* This does not include the following officers of Her Majesty's Indian Forces: Lieutenant-colonels, 150; majors, 76; captains, 236.

† CAVALRY.—One lieutenant-colonel, one major, three captains commanding squadrons, one lieutenant (adjutant).

INFANTRY.—One lieutenant-colonel, one major, four captains commanding divisions, one lieutenant (adjutant), one lieutenant (quartermaster).

mental duty to be seconded, though their names would continue to be borne on the regimental rolls. Such an arrangement would lead to a considerable reduction in the number of field officers; every captain would have a distinct command, and every officer an appointed duty. But although this would be a decided improvement upon the present system, I am induced to believe that a complete return to the Regular organization would be preferable, and would advocate the adoption of such a course on the following grounds.

32. First, on the score of efficiency. Although with the system under which the Indian Army is now officered, it may be possible to secure a high state of apparent efficiency in time of peace, this efficiency is not real, and is incapable of bearing the strain to which it must be subjected in time of war. An officer is not permanently posted to any regiment, and his connection with the one to which he may be attached is liable at any moment to be severed by his transfer either to a staff appointment or to some other corps. Hence he no longer takes the same interest as formerly in the regimental institutions, and is naturally inclined to think more of his own advancement than the welfare of his corps; whilst the old bond that existed between the European leader and his Asiatic followers, the feeling of mutual confidence and attachment—a bond most essential to the well-being of a Native regiment, and its mainstay in the hour of danger—has been materially weakened, if not, in some cases, utterly destroyed. On parade all the officers are mounted, but up to the present no regulations have been framed for utilizing their services, and only four have specific duties to perform; as far as any actual advantage is to be derived from their attendance, the remaining three might just as well be in their quarters. But in action the soldier must be led; and if the duty of leading their men is again to devolve upon the European officers, the greater number would be required to dismount, and to exercise, for the first time perhaps, under a heavy fire, a command the duties of which they have never practised on parade. Moreover, if three or four are rendered *hors de combat* by wounds or sickness, they cannot be replaced, for there are no longer young officers ready to succeed their fallen seniors. Nor is there a reserve of officers who, although on staff employ, are identified with the regiment and known to the Sepoys, upon which, on the commencement of a campaign, an indent could be made to meet anticipated casualties. Hence, deprived of its leaders, a regiment would rapidly become unfit to meet the exigencies of active service, and, in a protracted war, might prove a source of weakness instead of strength.

The following return shows the losses in officers sustained by some of the Native corps on the Sutlej and in the Punjaub:—

Sutlej Campaign.

2nd Regiment	2 killed ...	4 wounded.
16th ,, ...	1 ,, ...	3 ,,
42nd ,, ...	2 ,, ...	5 ,,
47th ,, ...	1 ,, ...	5 ,,
48th ,, ...	0 ,, ...	6 ,,

Ferozeshah.

26th Regiment	2 killed ...	2 wounded.
12th ,, ...	0 ,, ...	4 ,,
14th ,, ...	0 ,, ...	5 ,,

Sobraon.

41st Regiment	1 killed ...	7 wounded.

Chillianwallah.

30th Regiment	2 killed ...	9 wounded.
36th ,, ...	1 ,, ...	5 ,,
45th ,, ...	0 ,, ...	4 ,,
56th ,, ...	3 ,, ...	5 ,,

In a report upon the subject of the organization of the Native Army, the necessity for any further increase to the number of European officers has been denied, on the ground that the casualties in recent campaigns only averaged one or one and a-half per regiment. The able compiler of the report evidently failed to take into consideration the fact that an army, like a chain, is only as strong as its weakest link; so that the repulse of one regiment at a critical moment might lead to a general disaster; whilst it is impossible for a general to transfer officers from one corps to another in the heat of action.

33. It has often been asserted that, in our earlier wars in India, a large number of European leaders were not required with Native troops. Our adversaries were then comparatively undisciplined and ill-equipped; thousands were often put to flight by a well-directed charge of a small body of Regular troops. In the present day, if India is to add to the power of the Empire, her armies should be prepared to throw their weight into the scale in campaigns in which they may come into collision with some of the best troops of civilized Europe. Moreover, the assertion itself is in a certain degree, as I have already shown, erroneous; the smallest number of Europeans ever attached to a Regular Native battalion having been eight, which number was always kept complete by transfer from the European regiments.

34. Secondly, as a matter of economy. By the table exhibited in a previous paragraph it will be observed that the proportion, or rather

disproportion, of the strength of field officers to that of captains and subalterns in the Staff Corps is 1,189 to 694. This certainly is excessive; and although some reductions may be effected in the former, yet, from the very nature of their organization, the rolls of the Staff Corps will always be burthened with a long list of lieutenant-colonels and majors for whom no suitable employment can be provided; whilst the fact that all officers actually employed, although in the performance of regimental duties, are in the receipt of staff pay, entails additional expense, and more than counterbalances the saving effected by the reduction in the rates of Indian pay of their regimental grades.

35. In the event of the Army being reorganized, the Regular Infantry being reduced to seventy-eight battalions (thirty-seven Bengal, twenty-six Madras, and fifteen Bombay), to be designated Her Majesty's East Indian Regiments, and to form an integral part of the British Army under the same head, exclusive of the general officers, the number of officers required would be as follows:—

Lieutenant-colonels	78*
Majors	78
Captains	624
Lieutenants	1,092
Total	1,872

Allowing fourteen officers, including those on furlough, for each regiment, these battalions would absorb 1,092 officers, of which the majority would be subalterns, merely receiving their regimental pay; and their cost would therefore hardly exceed that of the 546 officers now required for the same number of Irregular corps, whilst a large number would still remain available; so that, subject to appropriate rules, such as I have already shadowed out, for seconding in cases where the services of officers might be retained on the staff for a longer period than five years, and supplemented by those temporarily withdrawn from the British regiments, who, under suitable restrictions, would be equally eligible for staff employ, there would be sufficient to provide officers to fill the different staff appointments, civil and military, for which their services might be required, as well as for employment with the Irregular regiments. These corps might then be placed more upon their original footing, with, for Cavalry, six, and, for Infantry, four European officers, selected for their known efficiency and knowledge of the Native

* ESTABLISHMENT PER REGIMENT.—One lieutenant-colonel, one major, eight captains, and fourteen lieutenants. The number of lieutenants to be liable to be reduced in the event of any reduction taking place in the number of Irregular regiments for which European officers would be needed.

language and character; whilst the Native officers, who should be carefully chosen, and who in many instances, especially in the Cavalry, would be Native gentlemen, would command the troops and companies.

36. Independent of the saving effected by the change in the establishment of European officers, a reduction of expenditure would also follow the abolition of a distinct staff for each of the minor Presidencies; and although the present Madras and Bombay regiments would still continue to recruit from the races in their own provinces, the officers would belong to one Service, and have one chief; and as they would be all eligible for employment in any part of India, local prejudices and local jealousies would disappear. Youngsters entering the Service would gain their commissions by competition, and be posted to regiments according to their position at Sandhurst. And it would be well to require every subaltern, before embarking for India, to be attached for at least two months to a corps at home, to pass his drill, and to acquire some knowledge as to the routine of duty with a European regiment. A slight alteration in the present retiring regulations for the Indian Army, coupled with a suitable prescribed qualifying standard for promotion in every grade, would, in all probability, ensure a steady flow of promotion, without entailing any unnecessarily heavy outlay on the State.

37. Third, as a question of good policy. It can hardly be denied that the time has arrived for opening to the Native military servants of the Crown offices higher than those to which they have hitherto attained; and, equally, it cannot be denied that it is essential that the majority of the leaders of our Native troops should be European, and that it would be extremely impolitic to train in military knowledge and to habits of command a large body of Natives, whose allegiance may at any moment be assailed and shaken, and for the gratification of whose honourable aspirations we offer no suitable field.

38. Were the Army, again, divided into two distinct bodies—"Regular" and "Irregular"—independent of the advantage gained by the maintenance of the slight feeling of jealousy that generally prevails between them, the difficulty of offering the requisite incentive to Natives of good family without, at the same time, running the risk of weakening our military supremacy, might easily be overcome. The Regular battalions would have their full complement of European leaders, and the Native officers attached would consequently retain their present subordinate position, but, in the Irregular regiments, would be presented the openings for advancement which it is now essential to accord to our Asiatic fellow-subjects. In the first instance, local commissions, as captains and lieutenants, might, by degrees, be conferred upon the senior ressaldars

and subadars, and eventually, in special cases, higher rank bestowed as the reward for long and meritorious service, or for distinguished conduct in the field. Thus a great safety-valve would be provided, and the legitimate ambition of the representatives of the small landed gentry and yeomanry, of whom there are several in our Army, and who are excellent soldiers, would have some prospect of being gratified. They would no longer feel, as at present, that whilst the highest offices are being opened to their brethren in civil employ, they are debarred from ever rising to posts of honour and emolument; and thus the tie that binds them to the State would be materially strengthened, and their loyalty secured.

39. In conclusion, I would observe that I am in no way biassed in favour of my own ideas, and that I would gladly welcome any other scheme that would equally remove present defects in our Indian military system, and combine efficiency and economy with a wise policy. We have had of late many Commissions on military matters, and the result has sometimes been schemes so complicated as to require to be read with a commentary, productive of expense to the State and disappointment to its officers. It has been stated that an inquiry is to be made into the state of the Native Army. I would earnestly ask those to whom the duty of making this inquiry may be entrusted to ponder well upon the words of the great man whose loss the nation has long deplored—I mean the Prince Consort—who concluded his memorandum on this important subject with the following weighty sentence: "The "great principles on which the efficiency of the military force in any "country and under any circumstances must depend, are simplicity, "unity, and steadiness of system and unity of command."

At the conclusion of the lecture (which was warmly applauded), the noble CHAIRMAN said he was sure they all felt indebted to General Cavenagh for his valuable address. It was now open for any gentleman present to address the meeting on the subject, the time for each speech being limited to ten minutes.

Rajah RAMPAL SINGH said he had been very much interested in listening to the lecture which had just been delivered by an officer of great experience, and amply qualified to express an opinion relative to the organization of the Native Army; and he confessed himself especially pleased with his references to the bravery and intrepidity of the Native soldiers. These were instances, and there were great numbers of others, which proved the soldierlike spirit of the Native troops; and their self-sacrifice was shown in the simple fact that

the Madras Sepoy had to be sharply watched, lest he should starve himself in order to feed his family. Qualities like these should surely be recognized by making the achievement of a higher rank possible to the Native soldier; and hence he was much pleased to hear General Cavenagh advocate the giving of commissions to Natives—a proposal which he sincerely hoped would receive the consideration of the governing authorities. To make the Indian people loyal, you must treat them loyally. While, it may be, reserving the very highest positions in the Army to Europeans, the subsidiary posts should be thrown open to the Indian candidate; and thousands of young men would eagerly avail themselves of this career and prove devoted soldiers of the Empire. In Russia foreigners and conquered races contribute many colonels to the Army of the Czar, and some of the best generals of that empire in recent times have been Armenians, Germans, Circassians, or Tartars. What a despotic Power like Russia has found it wise and useful to do may surely be done by the free Government of England. Such an act, he was confident, would go very far to secure the loyalty and confidence of the Indian people.

Lieut.-General OLPHERTS, C.B., V.C., said: My Lord, Ladies, and Gentlemen,—I fully agree with much that has been said by the gallant lecturer, who, as an officer, served with the greatest distinction in the Native Army of India, and who entered that service somewhat before the date when I entered it myself; and I hope I may not be held to be presuming too much in addressing you, having always entertained a deep regard for the honour and welfare of the Indian Army, which I entered in my youth; and although I now belong to the Royal Regiment of Artillery, I am not the less proud to say that I learned the duties of my profession and my work in the service of the old East India Company, with Native troops as well as Europeans; and, indeed, I think it very desirable that, in order to form a good estimate of the one force, you should have had some experience of the other; in fact, the more armies an officer has served in the better will he be able to form a correct estimate of soldiers generally. So much by way of preliminary; and as I am limited to time, I must now proceed to the main question—viz., whether the present organization of the Native Indian Army is the best that we can have, and if not, what we can substitute for it. It is with very great deference to General Cavenagh that I must express my opinion that we have not been furnished with sufficient reason for departing at present from the organization in which circumstances have placed us. Recollecting, as I do perfectly well, how the old Indian Army was constituted, I must say—in common, I know,

with many other officers—that I could not help observing that latterly a considerable portion of it was, as General John Jacob said, "in a "state of normal mutiny." I have known the gravest disrespect shown to me personally as an officer by Native soldiers, and when I appealed to their regimental superiors, it was the men, and not I, whom the latter supported. I attribute this largely to the old regimental system, which was not a sound one, and one not qualified to bring out the loyalty, gallantry, and chivalry which the Native soldiers possess in a strong degree. Some of the old regiments did splendid service for us, it is true; but that did not affect the main principle when the Native Army grew to a great size. The Irregular regiments also did equally brilliant service, and in some respects they could be relied on more than the others. I have commanded brigades and divisions in India, and my conviction is that the present organization is the best we can attain to under existing circumstances; and that if we go back to the old system, or anything like it, there is very great danger of a revival of the old abuses, and you will have cliques, as of old, in your regiments, and not the same sort of soldierly spirit which you have now. "The proof of "the pudding is in the eating;" and we have seen the proof of the efficiency of the present system in the successful conduct of the war in Afghanistan, where nothing could have been better done than was done by our officers and men of all branches of the Service, European and Native. (Hear, hear.) The old system was, in certain respects, a very pernicious one, and I seriously warn you against any proposal to revert to it. As for its being necessary to find an opening for young Native gentlemen and for brave and enthusiastic Native soldiers, I think it can be done just as well now as under the old system, or its proposed revival, by having some regiments with fewer or no European officers except the commandant and adjutant—or none at all, if you like; and the argument based upon said requirement altogether fails to convince me of the necessity for reorganizing the Native armies, and increasing the number of permanent subordinate officers. The placing of a large number of European officers in an insignificant and obscure position is not only disagreeable to them, but it is impolitic. The ruling class in India should never be placed in insignificant positions, and only while you hold up your heads in India will the Natives look up to you. If you come down to their level, then the Natives will deem themselves our equals, and as good as we are. (A Voice: "So they are.") I do not say they are not, abstractly, but we happen to be in the position of conquerors and governors of India, and we are bound to make the best of our position, not only for our own sakes, but for the upholding of the Empire. (A Voice: "But you must work *for* the

people.") Certainly, work for the people; but the two things are quite compatible; and I have lived too long amongst the Indian people to feel it necessary to disclaim any intention of injustice or unfairness to them; on the contrary, I yield to no one in my regard for and kindly feelings towards the Natives of India. (Hear, hear.)

General Lord MARK KERR, C.B., rose next, and said he would not detain the meeting two minutes, as he desired to offer but one or two remarks. While agreeing entirely with the lecturer, he would observe, with regard to what his Indian fellow-subject had just spoken so eloquently, that there was but one principle recognized by England in relation to India, and that was British supremacy; and if officers, civil and military, would always act with kindness and comradeship, that supremacy would be best maintained; for, under such circumstances, Natives in general would be content and happy, and the soldiers, be they from Bengal, Madras, or Bombay, would fight and be victorious through the world, whether in India or in Europe. He would have the meeting call to mind that it was under British leading that the most brilliant results had been achieved, and deeds had been done by the Native soldiers against amazing odds of their fellow-countrymen, disciplined and sometimes led by officers of other European nations,—deeds that would vie with, and possibly eclipse, some of the bravest things ever recorded in the history of war, ancient or modern. These things had been done by—what? By the influence of British leading, and its invariable companions, discipline and, above all, kindness and comradeship.

Mr. LUTFUR RAHMAN complimented General Cavenagh upon the able paper which he had given, and added that he wished to make a remark with reference to Natives being qualified for the positions of officers in the Army. It was a matter of great regret to numbers that a larger amount of encouragement was not given them to qualify themselves for holding important positions in the Army. No doubt it would be urged that Indians are not sufficiently well trained or educated to hold good positions in the Army, but he desired to say that if there was a prospect placed before them in the shape of a promise on the part of the Government, and if the military schools in England would admit Indian students for military education, he was confident that large numbers would very readily take the necessary steps to qualify themselves, and thousands upon thousands would come over to England to receive their education. As a proof of this, he pointed to the increasing number of Indians who were now coming to England to prepare them-

selves for the Civil Service, the Medical Service, the Law, and other professions. As was well known, the Government had thrown open several offices to the Natives, and they were not slow to do what was necessary to qualify themselves for filling them. Many gentlemen were at that moment in London acquiring education and information, and if the area of the Civil Service examinations and the positions be opened to Natives, and if the age of the candidates for the Indian Civil Service be increased from nineteen to twenty-one years, he was confident that much good would result. He was reminded, however, that the question before the meeting had relation to the Army; and in reference to this, he desired to repeat what he had often heard expressed even among the common soldiers. This was that it was a great pity that Indians should not occupy higher places in the Army than are open to them under existing arrangements. If, therefore, Her Majesty's Government should make an alteration in this direction by opening up a line of advancement for Natives in the Army, he was confident it would tend to promote loyalty and gratitude amongst the people of India.

Colonel G. B. MALLESON, C.S.I., said: My Lord, Ladies, and Gentlemen,—I rise with very great diffidence to address the meeting upon this occasion. I should not have done so but for the remarks of my gallant friend on my right (Lieut.-General Olpherts), with whom it is my misfortune entirely to disagree. I agree with every word that has fallen from the lips of the gallant lecturer, and I think the exhaustive address which he has read to us this afternoon must commend itself to all those—or, at least, to the great majority of those—who have had personal experience of the Native Indian Army, and have given time and attention to the subject. My gallant friend (Lieut.-General Olpherts) remarked that he preferred the present system, and saw no occasion to depart from it; and he added that he had met with certain circumstances in the old Native Indian Army which caused him to think that the old system was fraught with serious want of discipline. I can only say that I have served in India nearly as long as my gallant friend, and entirely with Native regiments, and I do not remember that under the old system I ever heard any complaints of want of discipline whatever. (Hear, hear.) I perfectly agree with the gallant lecturer that the old military system was greatly impaired by the introduction of what is called "the Horse Guards system"—the centralization in the hands of the Commander-in-Chief of power which formerly reposed in the hands of the regimental officers. I believe that the absorption of these powers by the Commander-in-Chief largely reduced the influence of those regimental officers in whose hands the power properly

belonged; and I quite agree with General Cavenagh in his remark that if that power had not been so absorbed, there would have been no room for those allegations of want of discipline to which General Olpherts alluded. There is another point to which my gallant friend in his speech did not refer, but upon which General Cavenagh laid very great stress, and that is the very large disproportion which exists between field officers and subalterns. The lecturer showed that this great evil might be done away with by reverting to the old system. I agree with him, for I confess I do not see how it can be remedied under the present system. My gallant friend on my right remarked that the war in Afghanistan has proved the efficiency of the present Army system, but I would humbly contend that the army in Afghanistan, though it showed in the brightest colours the gallantry and high spirit of both officers and men, was not long enough engaged to test its efficiency or non-efficiency. (Hear, hear.) I recollect that after a three months' campaign before Delhi in 1857 there were some Irregular regiments, the officers of which had to be replaced four or five times; and in that campaign also one even of the East India Company's European regiments, with its large normal complement of European officers, was more than once taken into the field under the command of an officer of the Native Army, owing to the expenditure of its own officers. (Hear, hear.) I quite fail to see, therefore, how it can be contended that a small number of officers can be deemed sufficient for a regiment, as under the present system, especially when there is no reserve to sustain a long and exhausting war. General Cavenagh laid great stress upon the fact that although there were only three officers present with the Irregular regiment, its efficiency was always fully maintained, because there was always an enormous reserve to be obtained from the Regular regiments of the Native Army; and it was that reserve which enabled the Irregular system to maintain itself in time of war. (Hear, hear.) The history of the old Native Indian Army is a very noble one; it will bear comparison, as the noble lord who preceded me remarked, with the record of almost any other army in the world; and although I am very willing to admit that in the recent short campaigns and with the new system of officering, the Native regiments have done their duty remarkably well, yet they have not had the opportunity of being tested in the same way as the regiments of the old Native Army, when they served, for instance, under Lake and Wellesley for months, and even years, against the Mahrattas. I contend, therefore, that if the blot to which General Cavenagh alluded were removed, if centralization, as a principle, were entirely abandoned, and the army were restored to the basis on which it existed before the Mutiny, the evils now com-

plained of would disappear, and the Native Indian Army would be born again to a new roll of fame in the time to come. (Hear, hear.)

Lieutenant-General OLPHERTS, with reference to what his gallant friend, Colonel Malleson, had just stated, begged permission to say that he inadvertently omitted when he was speaking to notice the inconvenience of the Staff Corps system by reason of the number of officers of the higher grades. But he saw no difficulty whatever in obviating this. It simply requires that there shall be a certain proportion of each grade, limited and rigidly adhered to. (Hear, hear.) Giving a man rank exactly in accordance with the number of years he served, and giving him colonel's allowances on the same principle, was a mischievous and expensive plan, and it could not be denied that it was doing great injury to the spirit of the officers. To make a man believe that he will grow to be a general simply by the force of his years and length of service, was, he feared, destroying the emulative spirit, and making the Service a mere vehicle to certain rank and emoluments. But this evil may easily be removed from the administration of the Native Army by the means he had pointed out. He would repeat that he was no blind advocate of the Staff Corps system, but he certainly did contend that it is much better to adhere to it until it has shown signs of failing and inherent weakness, which it has not done yet; and, as he had said, the disproportion of higher officers could be arranged by a law of limitation in the several grades. As to the want of discipline under the old Native Army system, in referring to it he was aware that he did so at the risk of perhaps offending some of his old comrades; but Colonel Malleson, while denying it in words, admitted it in fact inferentially, for he said laxness of discipline was due to centralization and the destruction of regimental authority.

Colonel A. B. RATHBORNE said that the history of the Staff Corps in India had been a very curious one. When Sir John Malcolm was Governor of Bombay he was the originator, at least so far as his (Colonel Rathborne's) knowledge went, of the idea of always maintaining the number of officers in each regiment at the full strength. At that time a Native regiment had a lieutenant-colonel, a major, six captains, eight lieutenants, and four ensigns, making twenty in all; while the number of officers taken away for staff employment varied from three to five, it being settled that not more than five were to be taken from any regiment. In addition to these, there would be some sick or away on leave; and Sir John Malcolm—who, it should be remembered, was not only a civil administrator, but an able and gallant

soldier—always contended that, with these reductions, there was not a sufficient body of officers left for the efficient carrying on of warlike operations if war should be at any time undertaken. For this reason he proposed that the number of officers fixed for each regiment should be kept up to its full strength, and that the places of the gentlemen taken away from their regiments for staff employment should be filled by other officers. Government would not listen to him; but the idea was not discarded. It still remained, and eventually took possession of other minds; and amongst those who most actively maintained it was Sir Charles Napier, who expressed the opinion that there could not be too many European officers with a regiment when it went on service, and that when it was necessary to take officers for staff employment their places should be at once filled up, and the regimental strength thus invariably maintained. Well, Sir Charles Napier, like Sir John Malcolm, was unsuccessful in his endeavours to effect this reform, but still the idea remained and gained ground, and at length the Staff Corps was formed, with the object of filling up vacancies and having officers to take the place of those who were taken away or were absent for any reason from their regiments. But about the same time it occurred to somebody—he thought it was General John Jacob—that to have twenty officers to a regiment was an entire mistake, that three or four would be quite sufficient, and that all above that number might be relegated to any employment Government might choose for them. Government did not go quite so far as this, but added two to the number suggested, making six officers in all performing regimental duty, leaving the other fourteen disengaged, and highly paid by the State for doing nothing,—a state of things that could not tend to the efficiency of the Army of India.

MIRZA PEER BUKHSH, after thanking the gallant lecturer for the valuable paper he had contributed, in which he had presented the Indian soldier in his true character, went on to contend that the Indian people as a body were loyal and brave; and especially did he claim the possession of these qualities for the Mahomedans generally, and the Rajpoots and the Seikhs, who, he said, had always made fine soldiers and done good service when properly led. He felt, however, that they did not get that amount of advancement that they should have had, and that positions in the Army were too generally reserved for men of English race, who went to India as to a golden field where they might reap a good harvest. He contended that the English should have more considered the desires and aspirations of the Natives, and should have done more for them, if they desired to keep them loyal. But no; they carried matters with a high hand, and bore off the honours and the money

which would have been better spent if distributed amongst the people, as what was taken by one or two officers, say 1,200*l.* a-year, would satisfy a large number of Natives; for, as an Indian can live on one halfpenny a day, this sum would suffice for 576,000 people for one day, or 1,630 for one year; and this surely would tend to promote a greater love for English rule. It was all very well to talk about superiority of race; but it was evident to most people that, with all this superiority of race, India was not to be ruled by force. By this time the character of the Indian people ought to be well known. They were loyal, and they were brave; and if the English would only give them what was their due, it would be of more permanent benefit to England herself than the addition of 10,000 troops to the Indian Army. Every other country gave opportunties which England would not give; and, as an instance, the speaker referred to Algeria, where, he said, the French gave the people opportunities of rising, which England might with advantage imitate in ruling India. The military positions open to the Natives of India were of little value. What, for instance, was a subadar-major? He was nobody; a sub-lieutenant was above him. Why not, instead of having 607 colonels, 582 majors, 349 captains, 345 lieutenants—in all, 1,883 (this does not include the following officers of Her Majesty's Indian forces: lieutenant-colonels, 150; majors, 76; captains, 236—the superior officers are quite out of proportion)—why not have a larger number of lieutenants, and give the Natives opportunities of holding such positions? He asked that some alteration should be made in this respect, so that the Natives of India should share to a greater extent in the money belonging to them, which was used for military purposes, as he was convinced, from his acquaintance with Native opinion, that the present exclusion of Natives from the positions which they coveted in the Army was a source of irritation which it would be to the advantage of England to remove.

The noble CHAIRMAN, in closing the discussion, said: My remarks will principally be an apology for taking the chair upon a discussion of a military subject. My explanation for doing so is simply this: I have been a friend of General Cavenagh for more than thirty years, and when he desired me to preside, I could not do otherwise than accede—(hear, hear)—although at the same time I could not but feel that his lecture and the meeting would suffer by not having a military man to preside; and, indeed, I told my gallant friend that unless he was going to propose some astounding reforms upon which a military Chairman would throw cold water, I did not see what I could do upon the occasion. Nevertheless, some military friends gave me a large

number of official documents to read, and told me that if I did that, I should know all about it. (A laugh.) Well, I did so, but I confess I did not know much more about it than before I began. (Laughter.) But one suggestion struck me in these official papers as being a wise proposal, and one with which I thoroughly agree, and I have the more confidence in doing so because it does not demand military experience to appreciate its merit. This was a recommendation that, in future, the Native commissioned officers in India travelling on duty should travel by first-class carriages on the railways, just as the European officers do; and not by second-class, as heretofore. (Hear, hear.) I do not know whether this recommendation has been carried into effect, and I do not feel at liberty to mention the author of it, because I observed that some of these papers are marked "Confidential," and I am not sure but that the one I am mentioning is one of them. (Laughter.) But the suggestion reminds me of an anecdote which I had years ago from a friend and colleague in the Russian diplomatic service—the only Russian friend, by the way, I ever had. (Laughter.) It illustrates the fact that if you wish men to have authority, and to bring men of position into the Service, you must yourself show them respect, and that this is more fully recognized in other military services than our own. My friend's story was that in a certain military district in Russia there was a general in command who was a Mussulman. There was also under him a Russian captain, and he had a dog to whom he had given the name of the Prophet. This was, of course, a most reprehensible proceeding, and the more so considering who his superior officer was; and the offence being open, the general was compelled to take notice of it. The captain was accordingly put under arrest, but that officer strongly disclaimed any intentional offence to his chief. The general thereupon said he was pleased to give personal and unreserved acceptance to the captain's disavowal of offence, and that he personally forgave him entirely, but that, nevertheless, he must remain under arrest, for the sake of an example to others. The incident gives us a glimpse of the policy of the Russian Government, which is more favourable to aliens in its service than perhaps we are. As to the lecture we have been hearing, I concur with those who have acknowledged its interest. General Cavenagh has made a most important suggestion for doing away with the separate Commanders-in-Chief of Bombay and Madras, and for making the Indian Native levies into one army. I have heard no objection offered to that. Before sitting down I may make one other suggestion. General Cavenagh has spoken of a reduction of expenditure which would follow the execution of his scheme; but I do not think the economy would be very great. The great expense comes

from the great number of English troops constantly being moved backwards and forwards—a process in which not only a great deal of time is lost, but a great deal of money. The Council of the East India Association would do well to induce some military man of rank and reputation to write a paper upon the re-establishment of a European army for India. (Hear, hear.) A separate European army for India would not only be a great saving of expense, but both men and officers would become acclimatized by the longer term of service, and the latter would devote themselves more to learning the languages of the country, and would again look to India as their home, and not merely as a resting-place, where they may pass as little time as possible. (Hear, hear.) Another suggestion is—and I make it with great diffidence, not that I have a doubt of its advisability, but because I doubt how it will be received in an assembly of British officers and experts—that a certain proportion of young Native subaltern officers should be admitted into the Queen's European regiments in India, to pass a certain time for training before being transferred as officers of the Queen's Native Infantry regiments. This, I think, would be advantageous, and would create a good feeling, which would help to make the Army really one. It only remains for me to ask you to thank General Cavenagh for his able lecture, and I have pleasure in proposing this.

MIRZA PEER BUKHSH seconded the motion, which was cordially adopted.

General CAVENAGH, in replying to the several speakers and responding to the vote of thanks, observed that he felt complimented by the attention accorded to him, and by the observations that had fallen from the various speakers. There was only one amongst them who dissented from his views, and whose remarks, therefore, called for special comment, and that was General Olpherts. As, however, he had told the audience that the present system had completely destroyed all the charm of military life, and done away with the military feeling of comradeship which had been the great spirit that had often enabled the British arms to successfully contend against the countless odds opposed to them—as he had also told the meeting that the system enabling a man to enter the Service and attain with certainty a generalship and a pension in a certain number of years, was ruining the Indian Army and lowering the military status,—General Olpherts had completely answered himself, and it seemed unnecessary for him (the lecturer) to dwell further upon this point. (Hear, hear.) He might assert with respect to another matter, that no one had recognized more fully than himself the need for stricter discipline in the old Native

Army before the Mutiny. He had been in communication with the Board of Control and the Court of Directors upon this subject, and had also addressed a paper to the Governor-General of India, pointing out the want of discipline, and also what he believed to be the causes of this serious defect. Those causes mainly arose from officers having become mere cyphers at the heads of companies. When it was remembered that the British are an alien race—a mere handful ruling over millions—it would be seen that it was absolutely necessary that an officer should be in a position to enforce prompt obedience to his commands, and should have power to punish and to reward; whilst, if he has to refer every single question to a higher authority, it would be impossible for an army constituted as the Indian Army was to attain to anything like thorough discipline. (Hear, hear.) In the old Army originally the officer was everything to the Sepoy; he was "his mother and father," and the men looked up to nobody else. And thus with that old Army perfect discipline was maintained, and, at the same time, the Sepoy thoroughly loved his officer. In those days when, speaking comparatively, he (the speaker) was but a mere boy, he could remember, when out with detachments, if leaving camp on shooting expeditions, he always found some of his men ready waiting to carry him over a river, a *mullah*, or any other obstacle he might meet with, and by these same men his slightest order was regarded as law, and was readily obeyed. He (General Cavenagh) certainly never considered it derogatory to his position as an English officer to command a company of Native troops; and whatever General Olpherts might say, he did not see why, in the present day, an officer should feel it derogatory to hold such a command in a Native regiment. (Hear, hear.)

A vote of thanks to the noble Chairman, proposed by General Sir WILLIAM WILLIE, G.C.B., and seconded by Captain PALMER, terminated the sitting.

With reference to the concluding remarks of General Cavenagh to the effect that Lieutenant-General Olpherts had answered himself as to the Staff Corps system by asserting that, owing to rank being granted merely for length of service, the spirit of the officers is injuriously affected, Lieut.-General Olpherts requests the opportunity to explain that while it was true that he pointed out this defect, at the same time he proposed a remedy; and with that amendment he would, for the present, allow the Native Army to remain as it is, in preference to going back to the old system, at the same time carefully noting and correcting from time to time any evils and abuses in it, and, above all things, being particular in selecting commanding officers, and not allowing adjutants undue influence.

Annual Meeting : August 6th, 1879.

THE Annual Meeting of the East India Association was held on the 6th of August, at the Rooms of the Association, 20, Great George Street, Westminster, under the presidency of General ORFEUR CAVENAGH, late Governor of the Straits Settlements.

After the usual preliminaries, Captain W. C. PALMER, Hon. Secretary of the Association, read the following letter, addressed to him by Major-General Sir G. Le Grand Jacob, K.C.S.I., C.B.:—

"August 5th, 1879.

"My dear Sir,—Will you express to our colleagues to-morrow my "regret at being debarred from attending the Annual Meeting of the "Association? The unusual continuous cold, wet, or damp weather "increased my chronic ailments, and the late imperfect change has not "yet restored my usual poor modicum of health; I therefore fear that "I must give up hope of ever again taking part in your meetings.

"I hope that every effort will be made to free them from the appear-"ance of party gatherings; any pronounced view by one essayist "should be met by another, if not directly opposed, at least showing "both sides of any given question affecting the policy or the interests "of India. I do not think the Association will otherwise long survive.

"Let us, for instance, take Mr. Elliot's pessimist views of Indian "agriculture. They do not seem borne out by Mr. Caird's notes, now "being published in the *Nineteenth Century*, and a higher authority on "such a subject it would be hard to find. Could not the Council "secure a gathering that might tempt Mr. Caird to expound his views, "and so enlighten the public by mouth as well as ear?

"Very truly yours,

"G. LE GRAND JACOB.

"To Captain Palmer, East India Association."

Mr. WILLIAM TAYLER (late Commissioner of Patna) observed that this was a valuable suggestion, which might well receive the consideration of the Council in the next session; and there was no doubt that the subject of Agriculture in India was a coming topic which must largely engage attention.

The CHAIRMAN quite coincided with this, and moved that a letter be addressed to General Sir Le Grand Jacob, thanking him for his letter and expressing regret that the state of his health prevented him from giving the meeting the advantage of his presence.

Mr. WILLIAM TAYLER seconded this, and it was agreed to.

The CHAIRMAN then called upon Captain W. C. Palmer, the Hon. Secretary, to submit the Annual Report of the Council of the Association.

Captain W. C. PALMER accordingly submitted the Report, which will be found on the following page.

The CHAIRMAN, in proposing the adoption of the Report, said it called for little remark, as it was a clear and plain statement of the proceedings of the Association during the past year. Perhaps they had not been able to arrange for so many papers and discussions as in some previous sessions, but he believed that those which had been given had attracted considerable public attention and elicited valuable discussion. He regretted that the revenue of the Association from subscriptions was not so large as could be wished, and he hoped that better progress would be reported in that respect in the future.

Colonel A. B. RATHBORNE seconded the motion for the adoption of the Report, which was agreed to *nem. con.*

The CHAIRMAN moved the second resolution: "That the Right "Hon. Sir Laurence Peel be re-elected President for the ensuing year." He observed that he did this with much pleasure, and everybody who knew Sir Laurence Peel, and knew the opinion entertained of his character for many years in Calcutta, would cordially support the resolution. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. WILLIAM TAYLER seconded the resolution, which was adopted unanimously.

Mr. C. W. ARATHOON moved the third resolution: "That the "following gentlemen be re-elected members of the Council: Major "Evans Bell, Major-General Sir Vincent Eyre, C.B., K.C.S.I., Lieut.-"Colonel P. J. French, J. J. Gazdar, Esq., Colonel A. B. Rathborne, "Captain W. C. Palmer, P. M. Tait, Esq., William Tayler, Esq."

Mr. DADABHOY BYRAMJEE seconded the resolution, which was carried unanimously.

Mr. C. W. ARATHOON moved a vote of thanks to the Chairman, and took occasion to say that General Cavenagh was a gentleman to whom the Association were indebted for a valuable paper on the Native Army of India in the session just closed, and that it and the subsequent discussion must have greatly advanced the reputation of the Association. (Hear, hear.)

MIRZA PEER BUKHSH said he had great pleasure in seconding the motion, which was then cordially adopted.

The CHAIRMAN, in responding, said he was much obliged to the meeting, and he could only say that anything he had done or could do to aid the Association in any way was with him a labour of love in the interests of India. (Hear, hear.)

This closed the business of the meeting.

ANNUAL REPORT, 1878-9.

YOUR Council beg to submit their Report for the past year, 1878-9, from which it will be seen that they have continued to carry out the objects for which the Association was formed—viz., the independent and disinterested advocacy and promotion of the public interests and welfare of the inhabitants of India.

In the last Report it was stated that the Council had addressed a Memorial to the Secretary of State for India on the subject of "Conciliation a Remedy for Agrarian Disorders in India," which had been ably advocated by Mr. W. Wedderburn, of the Bombay Civil Service, in a paper read before the Association.

The Council are glad to find that the principles then advocated by them have been recognized by the Government of India, and that provision has been made in the Bill lately introduced into the Supreme Council of India for the appointment of Conciliators, and that it is proposed therein that the Civil Courts are to entertain no suits against a ryot until an attempt to settle the dispute privately before the Conciliators has been tried and failed.

The papers on the "Poverty of India," written by Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, and inserted in the Journal of the Association, have done good by drawing attention to the subject and creating discussion in the Press both in England and India; and the views contended for by the Association have so far been recognized that high authorities now allow that India is not so rich a country as many supposed, and are of opinion that further taxation would be impolitic and unjust; and effect has been given thereto by the recent orders issued by the Government of India, directing retrenchment and economy in every branch of the public service.

THE IMPENDING BANKRUPTCY OF THE SOIL OF INDIA.

One of the best-attended meetings of the Association was held at the "Pall Mall," on the 23rd April, 1879, under the presidency of the Duke of

Manchester, when Mr. Robert Elliot read an interesting paper on "The Impending Bankruptcy of the Soil of India." In the course of his paper he spoke of the difficulty connected with the treatment of the subject arising from the great difference between the conditions of farming in India and in England. The problem before them was, not how they could introduce into India an improved system of agriculture, but what they could do to provide conditions which did not at present exist, and without which improvement in agriculture was simply impossible. He then proceeded to review rapidly the existing information in order, as he said, to show the audience how matters stood as regarded the agricultural conditions and prospects of India, and to indicate what should be done to provide the Indian farmer with the means of doing justice to the soil. In the course of his review he observed that the fertility of the soil had already declined so much that in many instances rent was only paid by the daily starvation of the farmer, who was fast approaching a time when he would not be able to pay rent. The result of an elaborate survey and examination was summed up by the lecturer in the recommendation of six measures for adoption :—

(1.) The prevention of the undue ploughing up of grazing land.

(2.) The improvement of the climate by planting trees.

(3.) The improvement of manurial resources by planting, and the removal of duty from salt for agricultural purposes.

(4.) The introduction of improved landed tenures.

(5.) A measure for checking the growth of scourging crops; and

(6.) A measure for the improvement of the usury laws.

In conclusion, the lecturer expressed a hope that the attention of members of Parliament might be directed to that important subject. The Indian subject, he said, of all others, could best be treated at home; for, whereas England was full of men who were familiar with the treatment of matters requiring agricultural knowledge, there was no such body of men in India. With all his knowledge and experience, if they were to put him in the place of an Indian farmer, he could, with the means at his disposal, do little, if at all, better than he did. The State, then, must improve the climate and supply the farmer with the means of doing better than he now could.

MODERN IMPERIALISM IN INDIA.

A largely attended meeting of the Association was held at the "Pall Mall," Regent Street, on June 26, 1879, under the presidency of Mr. T. B. Potter, M.P., when Sir David Wedderburn, Bart., M.P., who had lately returned from a lengthened period of travel in India and the East, read an important paper on "Modern Imperialism in India."

Reviewing the progress of events since Her Majesty was proclaimed Empress of India, Sir David Wedderburn argued that the change of title was typical of a policy which has since been consistently carried out, that the government of India had always been a despotism, but it had been modified and tempered by the influence of a free press and an independent judiciary, the local powers of subordinate governors and Native princes, and public opinion; but the present Government have struck repeated blows at every one of these that was within their reach, and seemed likely to emancipate themselves from all control except that of British public opinion, which acquires daily greater force in India. Among the modes of retrenchment and reform in the Indian finances and government which Sir David Wedderburn suggested were a free introduction of the representative element in the Legislative Councils, the reduction or abolition of many high and superfluous offices in the public services, the extinction of the separate military commands in Madras and Bombay, a diminution of the number of members in the Indian Council at home, as well as of other highly-paid officials in the India Office, and a discouragement of the multiplication of new departments and inquiry commissions.

INDIAN ARMY REFORM.

Under the presidency of Lord Stanley of Alderley, a meeting of the Association was held, on July 17, 1879, at the "Pall Mall," and there was a considerable attendance of officers and gentlemen interested in the administration of the British Empire in the East, the object being the consideration of the state of the Native Army in India, and the means of securing its greater efficiency and economy. The topic was introduced in an elaborate and interesting address by General Cavenagh, late Governor of the Straits Settlements, in which he traced the rise and progress of the military forces comprising Her Majesty's Indian Army, and enlarged upon the well-known evils of the present system of administration and officering by means of Staff Corps. A material disadvantage of the new system is that the tie of the attachment of the Sepoy to his European officer—a bond most essential to the well-being of a Native regiment, and its mainstay in the hour of danger—has been materially weakened, if not utterly destroyed, mainly owing to the introduction of a system of centralisation, under which officers become mere cyphers at the head of troops or companies. Officers no longer belong to any particular regiment, but are moved from one corps to another to suit the interests of the Service, or possibly even their own. In fact, the Staff Corps, as at present constituted, has proved a failure. General Cavenagh advocated a return practically to the old organization, subject to certain modifica-

tions, as the only way to secure efficiency and economy. Independent of the saving effected by the change in the over-manned establishment of European officers, a reduction of expenditure would follow the abolition of a distinct staff for each of the minor Presidencies. The division of the Army, again, into two distinct bodies, Regular and Irregular, would also overcome the difficulty of the offering the requisite incentive to Natives of good family without, at the same time, running the risk of weakening our military supremacy. A great safety-valve would thus be provided, and the legitimate ambition of the representatives of the small landed gentry and yeomanry would have some prospect of being gratified. They would no longer feel, as at present, that whilst the highest offices are being opened to their brethren in Civil employ, they are debarred from ever rising to posts of honour and emolument, and thus the tie that binds them to the State would be materially strengthened and their loyalty secured.

VERNACULAR PRESS ACT.

The Bombay Branch of the Association presented an address to Mr. Gladstone, expressive of their deep sense of the great obligations under which he has laid all the people of India by his spontaneous and disinterested advocacy in the House of Commons of their case regarding the Vernacular Press Act. The Branch further state that they feel so strongly that the British Government in India have, by passing that measure, committed a grave political blunder, that they consider everything that will tend to induce that Government to withdraw the Act to be of the utmost value. The Act not only does injustice to India, but also makes the task of good government more difficult. Hence Mr. Gladstone's conduct with reference to the measure not only indicates his readiness to do justice to the people of India, but will also, as they believe, conduce to the true strength of the British Empire. They hope that Mr. Gladstone may find time and occasion to apply the great energies of his intellect and the wide sympathies of his heart to the study of other questions connected with India, and that his example may induce a greater interest in Indian affairs in the House of Commons and among the people of England generally; for a lively and intelligent interest amongst Englishmen at home will afford the best guarantee for good government in India, and the consequent prosperity and contentment of its vast population.

The Poona Sarvajanik Sábha printed "a Critical Examination of "the Extracts from the Newspapers in the Bombay Presidency pub-"lished by the Government of India in justification of the Native

"Press Gagging Act," and forwarded copies to this Association, and they were circulated to members of Parliament and others interested in the subject.

PAPERS IN THE JOURNAL.

The Council have published the following Papers in the Journal:—

"The Impending Bankruptcy of the Soil of India." A Paper read by ROBERT H. ELLIOT, Esq. With Discussion.

"Modern Imperialism in India." A Paper read by Sir DAVID WEDDERBURN, Bart., M.P. With Discussion.

"The Native Army in India." A Paper read by General ORFEUR CAVENAGH. With Discussion.

LOSSES BY DEATH.

It is with great regret the Council record the death of one of the Vice-Presidents of the Association—Sir Frederick M. Williams, Bart., M.P.—and of two members of the Council—Sir Mootoo Coomara Swamy and W. S. Fitzwilliam, Esq., formerly Member of the Legislative Council of India.

ELECTION OF MEMBERS.

The following gentlemen have been elected members of the Association since the last annual meeting: General Lord Mark Kerr, C.B.; Sir Roland Knyvet Wilson, Bart.; H.H. Rajah Sukaram Row, of Tanjore; Rev. Harman C. Ogle; Ahsan Udin Ahmed, Esq.; Syad Ali, Esq.; Vincent Ambler, Esq.; Arathoon Arathoon, Esq.; Henry Bruce Boswell, Esq.; Thomas Briggs, Esq.; St. John Buchan, Esq.; James Richard Bullen-Smith, Esq., C.S.I.; William Pirie Duff, Esq.; Alexander Fowler, Esq.; Willie Grant, Esq.; H. M. Hyndman, Esq.; T. Lewis Ingram, Esq.; Syed Sherif Uuddin, Esq.

The following members of the Council retire by rotation, and the Council recommend their re-election: Major Evans Bell; Major-General Sir Vincent Eyre, C.B., K.C.S.I.; Lieut.-Col. P. T. French; J. J. Gazdar, Esq.; Colonel A. B. Rathborne; Captain W. C. Palmer; P. M. Tait, Esq.; William Tayler, Esq.

PUBLICATIONS.

The Council tender their best thanks to the Proprietors of the following Papers, who present copies for the use of the Reading-room, where they may be daily read by members of the Association:—

The Aligurh Institute Gazette ..... Aligurh.

The Bombay Review and Indian Advertiser	Bombay.
„ *Native Opinion*	„
„ *Times of India*	„
„ *Anglo-Indian Guardian*	Calcutta.
„ *Bengalee*	„
„ *Friend of India and Statesman*	„
„ *Hindu Patriot*	„
„ *Indian Daily News*	„
„ *East*	Dacca.
„ *Madras Native Opinion*	Madras.
„ *British Empire*	London.
„ *Journal of the Society of Arts*	„
„ *Journal of the Royal United Service Institution*	„
„ *Journal of the Statistical Society*	„
„ *Journal of the National Indian Association*	„
„ *Proceedings of the Royal Colonial Institute*	„
„ *Proceedings of the Literary and Philosophical Society*	Liverpool.
„ *Proceedings of the Literary and Philosophical Society*	Manchester.

ACCOUNTS.

The Accounts for the year have been audited, and will be found in the Appendix.

GENERAL ABSTRACT OF ACCOUNTS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION.

CASH ACCOUNT, from 1st May, 1878, to 30th April, 1879.

DR. — *RECEIPTS.*

1878.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
May 1.—To BALANCE at Bankers	47 15 3	
" in hand	2 3 10	49 19 1
To Subscriptions received in London		131 0 0
To Advertisements in the Journal and Sundry Receipts		9 9 10
To Interest on Investments in London		35 10 4
" " " in India		374 5 9
		£600 5 0

CR. — *EXPENDITURE.*

1879.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
April 30.—By Rent	150 0 0	
Housekeeper, Coal, and Gas	38 3 1	
Salaries	222 0 0	
Printing	63 1 6	
Reporting and Paragraphing	14 14 0	
Hire of Rooms	5 5 0	
Newspapers and Books	12 1 9	
Bookbinding	2 18 6	
Stationery	4 9 4	
Postage	10 19 8	
Advertising	7 11 0	
Freight on Publications to India	2 15 6	533 19 4
BALANCE at Bankers	64 5 10	
" in hand	1 19 10	66 5 8
		£600 5 0

BALANCE SHEET, April 30, 1879.

ASSETS.

	£ s. d.
Investments in England: Rs. 10,900 in 4 per Cent. Loan of 1875	1,044 4 5
Furniture and Fixtures, London	197 4 0
Library	106 7 0
Balance of Bank and Cash Account	66 5 8
	£1,414 1 1

LIABILITIES.

	£ s. d.
General Fund Balance carried forward	£1,414 1 1

Examined with Ledger and Vouchers, and found correct.
(Signed) A. B. RATHBORNE.
" WILLIAM TAYLER.

July 16, 1879.

W. C. PALMER, *Hon. Sec.*

ALPHABETICAL LIST OF SUBSCRIBERS

Who have Paid their Subscriptions from May 1, 1878, *to April* 30, 1879.

	For		£	s.	d.
Ahsanuddin Ahmed, Esq.	1878-79	.....	2	10	0
Syed Ali, Esq.	1879	.....	1	5	0
Vincent Ambler, Esq., M.D.	"	.....	1	5	0
George Appleton, Esq.	"	.....	1	5	0
A. Arathoon, Esq.	"	.....	1	5	0
C. W. Arathoon, Esq.	"	.....	1	5	0
General Sir George Balfour, K.C.B., M.P.	"	.....	1	5	0
S. C. Bayley, Esq.	"	.....	1	5	0
Major Evans Bell	1878-79	.....	2	10	0
H. M. Blair, Esq.	"	.....	2	10	0
Thomas Briggs, Esq.	1879	.....	1	5	0
Major-General George Burn	"	.....	1	5	0
H. A. M. Butler-Johnstone, Esq.	"	.....	1	5	0
J. Scarlett Campbell, Esq.	"	.....	1	5	0
General Orfeur Cavenagh	"	.....	1	5	0
Sir T. E. Colebrooke, Bart., M.P.	"	.....	1	1	0
John Corbett, Esq., M.P.	"	.....	1	5	0
General Sir Arthur Cotton, K.C.S.I.	"	.....	1	5	0
H. S. Cunningham, Esq.	1877-78	.....	2	10	0
Juland Danvers, Esq.	1879	.....	1	5	0
Emerson Dawson, Esq.	"	.....	1	5	0
The Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Durham	Life	.....	14	0	0
Robert H. Elliot, Esq.	1879	.....	1	5	0
Colonel W. E. Evans	"	.....	1	5	0
Major-General Sir Vincent Eyre, C.B., K.C.S.I.	"	.....	1	5	0
H. W. Freeland, Esq.	"	.....	1	5	0
Lieut.-Colonel P. T. French	"	.....	1	5	0
Major-General W. A. Fyers, C.B.	"	.....	1	5	0
W. Grant, Esq.	"	.....	1	5	0
Right Hon. Lord R. de A. Grosvenor, M.P.	"	.....	1	5	0
Sir Robert Hamilton, Bart., K.C.B.	"	.....	1	5	0
T. F. Henley, Esq.	"	.....	1	5	0
Alfred J. Holiday, Esq.	"	.....	1	5	0
James F. Hore, Esq.	"	.....	1	5	0
A. R. Hutchins, Esq.	"	.....	1	5	0
T. Lewis Ingram, Esq.	"	.....	1	5	0
Major-General Sir G. Le Grand Jacob, C.B., K.C.S.I.	"	.....	1	5	0
Charles Jay, Esq.	"	.....	1	5	0
Lieut.-Gen. Sir Arnold Kemball, K.C.B., K.C.S.I.	"	.....	1	5	0
Henry Kimber, Esq.	"	.....	1	5	0
General Sir John Low, K.C.B., G.C.S.I.	"	.....	1	0	0
S. P. Low, Esq.	"	.....	1	5	0

	For		£	s.	d.
Hon. C. J. Lyttelton	1879	.....	1	5	0
General C. Mackenzie, C.B.	"	.....	1	5	0
Dr. M. D. Makuna	"	.....	1	5	0
General Sir George Malcolm, K.C.B.	"	.....	1	5	0
Hon. William Markby	"	.....	1	5	0
Lieut.-General W. F. Marriott, C.S.I.	"	.....	1	5	0
Francis Mathew, Esq.	1877-78	.....	2	10	0
James Matthews, Esq.	1879	.....	1	5	0
S. V. Morgan, Esq.	"	.....	1	5	0
George Palmer, Esq.	"	.....	1	5	0
Major-General J. G. Palmer	"	.....	1	5	0
T. G. A. Palmer, Esq.	"	.....	1	5	0
Captain W. C. Palmer	"	.....	1	5	0
J. C. Parry, Esq.	1877-78	.....	2	10	0
John Pender, Esq., M.P.	1879	.....	1	5	0
Lieut.-Colonel A. Phelps	"	.....	1	5	0
His Excellency Ragoonath Row	Life	.....	14	0	0
Colonel A. B. Rathborne	1879	.....	1	5	0
Major-General W. Richardson, C.B.	"	.....	1	5	0
James Routledge, Esq.	"	.....	1	5	0
The Most Hon. the Marquis of Salisbury, K.G.	"	.....	1	0	0
R. D. Sassoon, Esq.	"	.....	1	5	0
Major-General E. W. S. Scott	"	.....	1	5	0
D. H. Small, Esq.	1877-78	.....	2	0	0
Field-Marshal Right Hon. Lord Strathnairn	1879	.....	1	5	0
David Sutherland, Esq.	1878-79	.....	2	10	0
Gannendro M. Tagore, Esq.	1879	.....	1	5	0
Thomas Taylor, Esq.	"	.....	1	5	0
Thattunial Radhakishm Esq., for Journals		.....	0	9	0
Sir Charles Trevelyan, Bart., K.C.B.	1879	.....	1	5	0
Lieut.-Colonel Frederick Tyrrell	"	.....	1	5	0
Hormusjee Nusserwanjee Vakeel, Esq.	1878-79	.....	2	10	0
Sir David Wedderburn, Bart., M.P.	1879	.....	1	5	0
Sir Roland K. Wilson, Bart.	"	.....	1	5	0
James T. Wood, Esq.	"	.....	1	5	0
			£131	0	0

LIST OF LIFE MEMBERS.

His Excellency Ragoonath Row (1878).
Maneckjee Aderjee, Esq. (1869).
Veheridas Adjubhai, Esq.
W. P. Andrew, Esq. (1868).
Maharajah S. C. R. Bahadoor
Sorabjee Shapoorjee Bangalee.
Limjee Jamsetjee Batleeboye (1873).
H.H. Shree Bawajee.
Mirza Abbas Bey, Esq. (1873).
Laxuman Dajie Bevelkar, Esq. (1869).
H.H. the Tahore of Bhownuggur.
Ruttonjee Bomanjee, Esq.
Alexander Brown, Esq. (1870).
Nanabhoy Burjonjee (1868).
Dadabhoy Byramjee, Esq. (1874).
D. F. Cama, Esq.
D. H. Cama, Esq.
D. P. Cama, Esq. (1867).
K. R. Cama, Esq.
P. H. Cama, Esq.
P. R. Cama, Esq. (1870).
A. H. Campbell, Esq. (1866).
Dr. Ananta Chandroba.
John Cleary, Esq.
P. R. Cola, Esq. (1866).
J. G. Coleman, Esq. (1867).
Dhaejee Cosinathjee, Esq.
George Crawshay, Esq. (1870).
Manackjee Cursetjee, Esq.
Anundross Custoorchund, Esq.
M. C. Damanvala, Esq.
Dhunjeebhoy J. Dashay, Esq.
Mathra Dass, Esq.
Krishnaroo Gopol Deshmutsh, Esq. (1869).
Narayan Dharadhar, Esq.
Amratras Dufley, Esq.
Captain F. Duncan (1868).
The Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Durham (1877).
Muricherjia A. Dustoor, Esq.
E. B. Eastwick, Esq., C.B. (1867).
B. K. Erance, Esq. (1868).
Sir James Ferguson (1866).
Robert Fischer, Esq.
John Fleming, Esq. (1867).
Hormusjee J. Gariallee, Esq.
Misserwanjee K. Ghandy, Esq. (1869).
Baboo Kali Churu Ghoshal (1868).
Dr. P. F. Gomes.
Jahangir Goostadjee, Esq.
P. P. Gordon, Esq. (1866).
Captain W. G. Grove (1867).
Baboo Gungapershad.
Right Hon. Lord John Hay (1867).
Narsingparsad Hariparsand.
Jandar Hindi, Esq.
Damoder Hurjee, Esq.
Rajah Iykishendoss (1867).
Aspondiarjee Jamsetjee, Esq.
S. Jamshedjee, Esq.
Sorabjee Jamshedjee Jeejeebhoy, Esq.
Vaumalee Jeeva, Esq.
Dossabhoy Karaka, Esq.
Baboo Prasauna Kari, Esq.
Colonel J. P. Kennedy (1867).
Lakhmidus Khinijee, Esq.
Hormusjee S. Kotharee, Esq.
G. Deshmukh Krishnarad, Esq.
Putvardhun Kurundwadkur, Esq. (1869).
H.H. the Rao of Kutch (1867).
Jeejeebhoy J. Lama, Esq.
J. Logan, Esq. (1868).
Mathuradas Lowjee, Esq.
Chubildas Lullabhoy, Esq.
Kursundas Madhavadas, Esq.
Rao Saheb Mandlik, Esq.
Jalackchund Maneckchund, Esq. (1869).
Dadabhoy Maneckjee, Esq.
Jamsetjee Maneckjee, Esq.
Nanabhoy Maneckjee, Esq.
William Manford, Esq. (1867).
R. M'Ilwraith, Esq. (1867).
Bryce McMaster, Esq., C.E. (1875).
Ranchordas Megjee, Esq.
Rustonjee V. Mehrjee, Esq.
Merwanjee H. Mehta, Esq.
P. A. Mehta, Esq. (1868).
Jahangir Merwanjee, Esq.
D. Mockerjee, Esq. (1869).
Ardaseer Framjee Moos, Esq.

Kharsandas Muljee, Esq.
B. Muya, Esq.
Dadabhai Naoroji, Esq. (1866).
Rayhunath Narayan, Esq.
Hon. Mungaldas Nathoobhoy.
Hon. Framjee Nusserwanjee.
W. T. S. Oakes, Esq. (1867).
Rev. Harman C. Ogle (1879)
Dr. Atmaram Pandoorung.
Luxamouras Madhavras Patavurdhim, Esq. (1869).
Dhinyeebhoy F. N. Patell, Esq.
Jairajbhoy Peerbhoy, Esq.
Lulla Gunga Persad, Esq. (1868).
Dhunjeebhoy Pestonjee, Esq.
Dhuramsie Poonjabhoy, Esq.
Raja Pramatha nath Raja Bahadur (1875).
V. Purshotamdas, Esq.
Shrunant G. Putwardhau, Esq.
Shrunant M. Putwardhau, Esq.
Shrinamt Chimnaji Ragunath, Esq. (1869).
Narayan Ramchandra, Esq. (1869).
H.H. Shree Rawajee.
S. E. Rolland, Esq. (1868).
Byramjie Roostinijie, Esq.
Merwanjie Rooshunjie, Esq.
D. Ruttonjee, Esq. (1868).
Shrunant C. R. Pant Sachive, Esq.
H.H. Ramchandra Rao Saheb.
Baboo P. Sarcar.
Baboo P. K. Survadhikari.
H.H. the Chief of Sauglee.
F. Schiller, Esq. (1868).
Kazi Shahabudin (1867).
Dhinshan Shapoorjee, Esq.
Sorabjee Shapoorjee, Esq.
Major-General R. J. Shaw (1867).
Rev. Narayen Sheshadre (1874).
Callionji Shewji, Esq.
Cuthandass Shioji, Esq.
V. J. Simmersett, Esq.
Eduljee R. Soonawala, Esq.
Rustonjee Sorabjee, Esq.
J. W. Sutherland, Esq. (1867).
Gokuljee Tabata, Esq.
Damodardas Tapeedas, Esq.
Molljee Thakersey, Esq.
Javirilal Umiashankar, Esq.
Haridas Veridas, Esq.
Pandit J. C. S. Vidyasagur, Esq.
H.H. Ramah Vurmah (1867).
Major-General Sir Robert Wallace, K.C.S.I. (1866).
Walter Wren, Esq. (1873).
Khan Bahadoor Yusif Ali (1873).

LIFE MEMBERS IN KATTYAWAR AND KUTCH.

H.H. Mohbatkhanjee, Nawab of Joonagudh, Joonagudh.
H.H. Bahadoorkhanjee, Heir-Apparent to the Nawab of Joonagudh, Joonagudh.
The Thacore of Chitore, Chitore.
Bhanjee Kessowjee, Karbhari of Chitore, Chitore.
Khachar Alla Chella Khachar, Chief of Jusdan, Jusdan.
Utamram Nurbheram, Rajkote.
Nagindass Brijbhookhundass, Rajkote.
Bai Kumribai of Bilkha, Rajkote.
Anundlal Hurridass, Karbhari of Bilkha, Rajkote.
Cooverjee Coyajee, Rajkote.
Dhunjeeshaw Hormusjee Karaka, Rajkote.
Rao Saheb Gopaljee Soorbhoy, Rajkote.
Jagannath Itcharam, Rajkote.
Desai Chagan Bhaichund, Bhownuggur.
Chaganlal Suntokeram, Bhownuggur.
Bhaichund Shamjee, Bhownuggur.
Jaeyatilal Venilal, Bhownuggur.
Jeevunbhoy Nanabhoy, Bhownuggur.
Purbhashankar Gowrishunkar, Bhownuggur.
Vajyashankar Gowrishunkar, Bhownuggur.
Vithaldass Samuldass, Bhownuggur.
Walla Sooraj Gunga, Shareholder of Judpore, Judpore.
Walla Wallera Jussa, ditto, Judpore.
Walla Gorkha Meraim, ditto, Judpore.
Walla Jiva Gunga, ditto, Judpore.
Kessowlal Bhugvanlal, Karbhari, Walla, Judpore.
Narayen Dallubhji, Chief Karbhari of Wudvan, Wudvan.
Nursingprasad Hurryprasad, Joonagudh.
Nyalchund Roopshunker, Joonagudh.

Dewanjee Saheb Luscmishankar Bhai, Joonagudh.
Nanamya Saheb of Ahmedabad, Joonagudh.
Kohelina Mahaji Saheb, Joonagudh.
Bowdeen Meeya, Joonagudh.
Dewan Goculjee Sumputram Jahala, Joonagudh.
Jamadar Sale Hindee, Joonagudh.
Ruttonjee Kessowjee Kothari, Bhooj.
Rajgar Lalji Ladhaji, Bhooj.
Dr. Dorabjee Hormusjee, G.G.M.C., Bhooj.
Mehta Rowjee Herachund, Bhooj.
Thaker Govindjee Dhurumsey, Bhooj.
Rustomjee Mervanjee and Sons, Bhooj.
Peer Lutfulla Rahimdeen, Bhooj.
Ishvurlal Ochowram, Officiating Dewan, Bhooj.
Jala Jalamsing, Bhooj.
Mehta Valabhjee Ladha, Bhooj.
Nurbheram Hurjeevun, Bhooj.
Nazir Mirza Meeya, Bhooj.
Goorjee Jeraj, Bhooj.
Savai Gooroojee, Bhooj.
Anundjee Vishram, Bhooj.
Thaker Karsandass Naranjee, Anjar, Bhooj.
Veerbhadra Poonjaji of Kunthkote, Anjar, Bhooj.
Jeram Shivjee, Moondra, Bhooj.
Thaker Kalianjee Pitamber, Bhooj.

LIFE MEMBERS IN BOMBAY.

Dr. Anunta Chandropa, Bombay.
Cursetjee Jehangheer Tarachund, Bombay.
Edaljee Rustomjee Soonawalla, Bombay.
Kashinath Trimbak Telang, Bombay.
The Hon. Justice Nanabhoy Hurridass, Bombay.
The Hon. Rao Saheb Vishvanath Narayan Mandlik, Bombay.
Pestonjee Byrawjee Kotewal, Kurrachee.

RULES.

I.—Objects of the Association.

Article 1. The East India Association is instituted for the independent and disinterested advocacy and promotion, by all legitimate means, of the public interests and welfare of the Inhabitants of India generally.

II.—Members.

Article 2. The Association shall consist of Resident and Non-Resident Ordinary and Honorary Members.

Article 3. Honorary Members shall have the same rights and privileges as Ordinary Members.

Article 4. Honorary Members shall be nominated by the Council at any Ordinary Meeting, and shall consist of persons who have distinguished themselves in promoting the good of India.

Article 5. Ordinary Members shall be nominated in writing by two Members of the Association, and elected after ten days' notice of such nomination, at the next General Meeting of the Council, if approved by a majority of two-thirds present thereat.

Article 6. The Election of every Member, both Ordinary and Honorary, shall be recorded on the minutes of the Council; and the Secretary shall forthwith notify, by letter, his election to the Member, and request such Member to furnish a standing order on his Banker for his Annual Subscription.

Article 7. Ordinary Members shall pay an Annual Subscription of 1*l.*, or 10 Rs., on the 1st January in every year; or may compound for the same by payment of 100 Rs., or 10*l.*, which shall constitute a Life Member.

Note—Total Annual Subscription, including Journal (delivered free of postage)				£1	5	0
Life Subscription	ditto	ditto		14	0	0
Annual Subscription (including Journal), in India.....			13 Rupees 8 Annas.			
Life Subscription	ditto	ditto.....	150 ,,			

III.—Mode of Management.

Article 8. The Management of the Association shall be vested in a Council, consisting of a Chairman, Vice-Chairman, and Thirty-three Ordinary Members; Five to form a Quorum; and Eight to retire annually by Rotation, but eligible for re-election at the Annual Meeting.

Article 9. A President of the Association shall be appointed at the Annual Meeting; and the Council may, from time to time, nominate distinguished Indian Statesmen, or others, as Vice-Presidents, subject to the confirmation of the next Annual Meeting of the Association.

Article 10. The Council shall appoint a Secretary, and such other Employés as may be necessary, and fix their Salaries and Emoluments.

Article 11. The Council may fill up Vacancies in their own body, until the next Annual Meeting of the Association.

Article 12. The Council shall meet on the First Wednesday in the

month; but the Chairman, Vice-Chairman, or any three Members of the Council may at any time convene a Meeting by giving three days' notice.

Article 13. The Council may appoint Special Sub-Committees of not less than Five Members of the Association, three of whom shall form a Quorum.

Article 14. At the desire of Five Members of the Council, or on the written requisition of Ten Members of the Association, the Secretary shall convene a Special Meeting of the Association.

Functions of the Officers.

Article 15. The President, or, in his absence, any Vice-President, or in the absence thereof, any Member, shall preside at the Annual or Ordinary Meetings of the Association.

Article 16. The Chairman or Vice-Chairman of the Council, or, in their absence, any Member thereof nominated by those present, shall preside at the Meetings of the Council.

Annual Meeting.

Article 17. The Annual Meeting of the Association shall be held in the month of May in every year.

Article 18. General Ordinary Meetings of the Association for promoting the interests thereof, and for the discussion of subjects connected with India, shall be held at such times and places as the Council may appoint.

Article 19. A statement of the Accounts of the Association shall be prepared, audited by one of the Members of the Council and one Member taken from the general body of the Members of the Society, and circulated with the Report of the Council to each Resident Member, ten days before the Annual Meeting.

Local Committees.

Article 20. Local Committees shall be appointed in India by Local Subscribers, subject to the approval of the Council; and the co-operation of independent Local Associations in India is invited by the "East India Association."

Bye-Laws.

Article 21. The Council shall have power to make and alter any Bye-laws for the Management of the Association.

Alteration of Rules.

Article 22. No addition to or alteration in these Rules shall be made, except at the Annual Meeting of the Association, previous notice being given in the Circular convening the Meeting.

Journal of the Association.

Article 23. The Council may, in their discretion, publish, quarterly or otherwise, a Journal, containing a Report of the several General and other Meetings of the Association. Papers submitted for discussion shall be published *in extenso*, or not, as the Council may decide.

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