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are still quite uneducated, the subject matter of these newspapers, which is the only thing read at all, undoubtedly filters down to the classes below the readers and cannot but in the long run tend to produce serious mischief. Of this the Government of India is well aware, for it has received many warnings on the subject from various quarters; that it abstains from moving in the matter is not because of any doubt as to the action which should be taken, but from the uncertainty felt whether this would be supported by the authorities at home. The remedy would be really of the simplest kind but for what has gone before. The Government of Lord Lytton passed an act to restrain the press, which had then for the first time become markedly seditious in its tone; the Act provided that a paper after being warned would be liable to suspension, and the legal sanction thus obtained for action was found amply sufficient to prevent the necessity for any action being taken—not a single case of proceeding under the Act took place. Nor was any harm done to anyone. These truculent writers do not in the least mean what they say; they have sense enough to know that if the British Government were overthrown, their class would not be gainers; politically they are but as mischievous children, quite unfit to be left without control. And if the matter had been allowed to rest nothing more would have been heard of the matter in India. Unfortunately the Act was repealed, in deference to a party cry raised in this country. The repeal was perfectly unnecessary, even as a means for giving practical effect to the object in view, because under the provisions of the Act it might be suspended by notification of the Government in any part of India; and this suspension might have been extended by degrees to the whole country. Such however being the past history of the case, the Government of India is unable to take any action unless it can first be secure of the sanction of the Government at home.

The remedy therefore must wait for the appearance of a Secretary of State with the courage to act in opposition to the small section of politicians who are unable to see that the platitudes about the inherent right of every people to a free press are not applicable to the case of India, and that the poisonous literature now being circulated without let or hindrance threatens to create a great political danger. The people of India, generally docile and tractable, are credulous to a remarkable degree and liable to unreasoning outbursts of excitement, and if they were brought to believe that their rulers are really what the native press declares them to be, passions might be aroused and a movement set up fraught with tremendous consequences. Not only is repression of this uncontrolled seditious writing necessary for the safety of the country, it would be hailed with satisfaction by all the more respectable and sober-minded classes, many of whom are at present the victims of the systematic terrorism and blackmailing pursued by the vernacular press. For the Indian, the official equally with the private gentleman, is politically timid; he will not assert himself to resist this tyranny; he looks only to the Government for relief from the nuisance, and wonders that this scandalous press should be so long tolerated.

The so-called National Congress, which comes more under notice in this country than the writings of the vernacular press, although also thoroughly disloyal, is less mischievous, because of the absurd character of its proceedings. They always set out indeed with a profession of loyalty to the British Government, but the resolutions they embody are distinctly aimed at rendering that government impossible. The self-elected delegates who make up that body are in great part pleaders in the Law Courts, and ex-students from the Government College in want of employment, a class yearly increasing under our system of free education, the

The  
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class, in fact, which works the native press, with which the Congress is in close alliance. For chairman some foolish politician is chosen, or, when one can be found to come forward, a native of position who has a grievance against the government. The proceedings do not include discussion or debate, but a number of resolutions, prepared beforehand by a self-constituted committee, are passed by acclamation, and are usually carried forward with additions from year to year. Among the most favoured resolutions are those for the repeal of the Arms Act which forbids the carrying of arms without a licence, an amusing one to emanate from a class peaceful and unwarlike beyond the people of any other country, and which has never furnished a soldier to the army under either native or British rule. Of a piece with this resolution is that in favour of a 'widespread system of volunteering such as obtains in Great Britain. No reason is advanced why volunteering, which is unknown to any country in this continent but England and is not allowed in Ireland, should be applied to India a country where the people are votaries of one or other of two great religious faiths, each of which evokes the most passionate prejudices and excitement causing of late dangerous riots, repressed without great bloodshed only because the rioters were unarmed; where the agitation against such an innocent practice as the killing of kine has recently been made the subject of widespread feuds. That in India, of all countries in the world, volunteering should be seriously proposed, sufficiently indicates the political sense of the persons who compose this annual gathering. As for practical politics, the resolutions declare for a great reduction in the salt tax, a doubling of the minimum income exempt from payment of income tax, increased public expenditure on all branches of public education, and reduction of the fees in the schools and colleges. In fact, taxation is to be reduced, public expenditure is to be increased, and legislation general

is to be in the interest of the class which practically contributes no taxation whatever. This, with the proposal that the small body of English public servants should be replaced by natives, embodies the political aspirations of the members of the Congress. And yet there are to be found politicians in this country who not only accept these crude and foolish utterances as the voice of the people of India, but have not made the discovery that they do not represent the aspirations of any considerable portion of the educated classes as a whole, or the upper ranks of native society. For it would be an entire mistake to suppose that while there is this apparent unanimity among the party who run the press and the Congress, and while their schemes are framed entirely in view of their own interests, these make up the whole or even a large portion of the more respectable classes in India. Happily there are plenty of educated native gentlemen, even in Bengal, who regard the proceedings of the Congress with disapproval; but political courage and independence of character are virtues which have not yet taken root in India. In their dread of being singled out for obloquy by the vernacular press, the more respectable classes of the community abstain from any combination or counter agitation. The other section on the other hand have grown bold with impunity, and the class of Bengalis who lead the movement are adepts in the art of agitation. The funds are supplied by one or two rich native gentlemen, the wire-pullers provide all the accessories, down to the telegrams sent from time to time to a certain class of London newspapers to give the movement a factitious strength and importance. At the last meeting held the president in opening the proceedings assured the meeting that 'every one of Ireland's Home Rule members was at their back in the cause of the Indian people.' That the section of Indians whose agitation takes this form should be



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secure of the hearty support of the Irish Nationalist party is only what might be expected; unfortunately this sympathy is shared by other members of the House of Commons who do not necessarily desire to embarrass the Government, or to encourage the growth of difficulties in any part of the British Empire, but whose knowledge of India is of the elementary kind which leads them, as has been said, to take the small party of agitators at their own valuation, and to suppose that they represent, as they profess to do, the wishes and aspirations of the people of India at large.<sup>1</sup> While public opinion is of this ill-instructed sort, there is danger of parliamentary interference in the affairs of that country of a very mischievous kind. The House of Commons as a whole being unprepared, and for the most part indifferent about debates on Indian questions a small section of the House may and does succeed in carrying resolutions, striking at the root of the Indian administrative and financial system. This would not be very mischievous if such resolutions were regarded as the mere expression of opinion on the part of those who support them; but the claim is made that they should be acted upon as if they had the force of law. We have only to compare the effect of such action with the elaborate procedure enforced in regard to English finance, the debates in committee, the formal resolutions which follow in the whole House, and the incorporation of these in a Bill carried through its successive stages before they can take effect, to appreciate the monstrous assumption made in such a claim. Th

<sup>1</sup> In a recent debate, a highly respectable member assured the House of Commons that the rejection by the Government of the Resolution of the House in favour of simultaneous examinations for the Civil Service had disappointed the 'expectations of countless millions of our fellow subjects.' It would be a far less absurd exaggeration to say that the desire of the millions of the working classes in this country was the abolition of the duty on the higher brands of champagne; and yet men who make foolish remarks of this sort claim to be taken as advisers regarding the government of India.

humblest local taxpayer even, would have greater protection than the government of India. An English town council cannot add an additional furlong to its street tramways without a Bill formally carried through both Houses, but yet forsooth the vote of a scratch majority in a thin and tired House of Commons is to be accepted as sufficient authority for tampering with the whole administrative and fiscal system of India, and possibly throwing them into utter confusion.

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And their  
ill effects

For the lamentable results which have ensued, and may yet follow if this contention is to be accepted, the blame rests with successive Governments of both parties, from their weakness in suffering such resolutions to be taken seriously. No doubt in the ordinary course of legislation, when votes are taken from time to time at various stages of debate, the action to follow must be governed by the decision of the majority, whether small or large. In such cases there can be no counting of heads; a vote is a vote, whether carried by a large or a small number. But the time has come for recognising that the Indian administration must not be placed at the mercy of the erratic dictates of a chance majority. There might be occasions when a Resolution of the House of Commons would be the most solemn and unmistakeable expression of the voice of the English nation, but it is the duty of a Government before taking extreme action, to make sure that it really has this high authority. To treat all such utterances as having equal force is either political pedantry or political cowardice. It may be said indeed that although a Resolution of the House of Commons may be foolish and ill considered, still that a Resolution of the House can turn out a Government. No doubt it can, if directed to that end; but on all recent occasions when India has been made the sport and playground of the faddists, there has been no question of making these divisions a test of confidence in the Government. The men who carry one or other

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of these snap votes would be quite powerless to carry a vote of that kind; and if on a late occasion the Government, instead of taking the feeble course of throwing on the Government of India the burden of deciding, against the simultaneous examinations, had at once announced their intention of ignoring the Resolution, sensible men and reasonable politicians on both sides of the House would have rallied to their support in sufficient numbers to bring out the numerical insignificance of those who would make India the vehicle for introducing rash experiments which they would be quite impotent to force upon their fellow countrymen at home.

Still more important is it to recognise that India should not and must not be subjected to treatment which the House of Commons would not venture to adopt towards the smallest self governing colony, and that while that country is not and will not for an indefinite time be fit for representative institutions, it must nevertheless be governed in accordance with the wishes of its people so far as they can be ascertained, and are compatible with the maintenance of British rule. If this principle had been kept in view we should not have had Opium Commissions forced on India to ascertain at great expense to that country what all those whose judgment is worth considering knew already, that the objects which the faddists were aiming at would not only result in throwing the Indian finances into confusion, but would involve an unwarrantable and tyrannical interference with the habits and customs of the people of that country, especially of the class which forms its most powerful bulwark of defence, and which, if it were alienated from our rule, would soon render that rule impossible. Nor should we have seen the Indian tariff played fast and loose with in the interests of certain classes in this country; the discreditable episode of the cotton duties would not have occurred—an episode which by causing a widespread belief that Indian policy

is dictated in the interests of political party rather than in the interests of the people of India, has inflicted a grievous blow on our character for good faith.

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Another point lately brought into prominence is the difficult and anomalous position which, under recent action taken in this country, the Indian Government is coming to occupy. In the view of the people of India, that Government appears vested with the highest power and authority in its executive capacity, and all the other attributes of a great government; while for legislative purposes it presides over a body in which the people of India are now largely represented. This is the outward appearance of things, actually of course the condition is quite different. According to the law the Government of India is merely a delegated agency for carrying out the policy and instructions of the Government at home, and the legislation entered upon by the former is subjected to the full control of the same authority. So far the law has made no change in either respect from the state of things always in force. The legal position of the Government of India still remains what it was in 1784, and although a numerous council has taken the place of the single English lawyer who from 1833 to 1854 represented the legislative element in that Government, its legislative proceedings equally with its executive action remain, as they have always been, subject to the control and approval of the Government at home. This is of course a necessary condition of the case. The Home Government and the British Parliament have the same full rights over every portion of the Queen's dominions; but wherever representative institutions have been granted, these authorities abstain from exercising almost all of the rights they by law or precedent possess. Their powers and rights remain dormant. But in India, where no such institutions exist, the ultimate power must reside somewhere, available for exercise in an active form. And unfortunately, while

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everywhere else their exercise of authority by the imperial government has greatly lessened, if it has not altogether ceased to be employed, in regard to India the control has become more stringent and minute. The change which has come about is not in the form of law, but in the strain put upon the application of the law. Until quite recently the initiation of all legislative measures has rested with the Government of India, although it has had to submit its proposals for legislation to Her Majesty's Government as represented first by the Board of Control and afterwards by the Secretary of State. These proposals sometimes met with opposition and may not always have been accepted, but it is only now that the Home Government has for the first time begun to employ the power given it by the letter of the law, not only to initiate legislative action itself, but, in deference to the outcry of a small fanatical, ill-instructed section of its supporters, to force on the Government of India the obligation to carry out legislation to which the latter is distinctly opposed.<sup>1</sup>

False position occupied by that government in consequence

This change in the policy so long wisely pursued, a policy by which alone India can be safely governed, has placed the Government of India in a false position. Not only must that government carry out measures to which it is opposed, it must in loyalty to Her Majesty's Government profess to approve of those measures. It has not even practically the means of recording a protest in the form of resignation. The members of the government at any time are all serving under different tenures; some may be just entering upon their term of office, others on the point of closing it, so that the sacrifice involved in resignation would be very unequal. Moreover, there is no analogy between the conditions of Indian and English political life. Here, if a party or individual minister resign, they pass over

<sup>1</sup> We may refer especially to the proceedings taken in connection with the Indian Cantonments Act.

to the other side of the House, but still exercise a potent influence over the course of affairs, to the direct management of which they will in all probability eventually return. Members of the Indian Government, if they resign, would retire into obscurity and uselessness. Occasions indeed might arise when it would be their duty to refuse to obey orders from home, accepting their recall if ordered. It is impossible to lay down a precise line at which disobedience to improper orders, given at the dictates of a rash and unscrupulous political party at home, might become a duty to India; but generally they will best consult the interest of the people of India by remaining at their posts, and putting a drag in the last resort on such unwise and high-handed proceedings.

This objectionable departure from the policy hitherto maintained, has been especially inopportune at the present moment, just when the expansion has taken place of the Indian Legislative Councils. The false position into which the Indian Government has thus been thrown in being called upon to carry a measure through the enlarged council to which they are obviously opposed, might under a persistence in such a course soon make their position untenable. Nor must the fact be lost sight of, that the Secretary of State has lately taken the unusual course of over-riding the unanimous opinions and advice of his own council, a course which the spirit of the law only justifies in cases of imperial importance. That India should be kept altogether outside party politics is perhaps a counsel of perfection, but it is the obvious duty of ministers to minimise, so far as possible, the effect of party government, and when they quote parliamentary authority for interference in the ordinary course of Indian administration, to be sure that it is the real voice of Parliament which they are obeying. They must, in fact, exercise more political courage; there must be no repetition of

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Interference especially inopportune at present time.

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such scandals as that of a minister forcing legislation on India, against the wishes of the local government, at the bidding of a small section of political faddists, or of his prohibiting the introduction of fiscal measures desired by all the people of India who are capable of forming an opinion on the matter, on the plea that these are opposed to sound economic principles—fishing for parliamentary votes on the hypocritical profession of inculcating sound economics. India is held by the right of conquest, and the form of its government is absolute; but these conditions should at least not be offensively obtruded.

Summary  
of case.

To recall what has been said, the present condition of India politically is, that the fullest measure of personal liberty has already been given, and so far as can be foreseen, the grant of political power will follow as fast as it can be safely conceded. The administration is mainly Indian already, and is rapidly becoming still more completely so. Hitherto the expansion of native agency has proceeded most largely in the judicial line; the employment of Indians in high executive posts is only just beginning, and is still in the experimental stage, but the experiment must be pursued *pari passu* on both lines, if the great change is to be safely carried out. With an executive staff consisting of British officials, a purely native judiciary, if animated by the spirit shown by the vernacular press, might bring Indian administration to a deadlock. Indian native officials are politically timid, and peculiarly susceptible to the influence of press criticism and if not actually siding with the party of sedition might yet be a feeble instrument with which to make head against it.

Material  
prosperity  
of India.

In material respects, India, as compared with any previous state, is now extraordinarily prosperous. Weighed by every practicable test, internal and external trade, the increased production and consumption of commodities, the accumulation of the precious metals,

above everything the growing railway traffic, the India of the present day, although still according to English standards a very poor country, is by comparison vastly more wealthy than it has ever been before. But two elements of danger and difficulty in the social condition of the country are coming into prominence, to qualify the satisfaction with which the situation might otherwise be viewed. As the ruthless wars which were the chronic condition of India in past times have been succeeded by the present era of internal peace, while famine no longer sweeps away the population over widespread tracts of country, and while simultaneously the elements of sanitation have been introduced, almost everywhere the population tends to increase faster than the increase of cultivation and the improvement of the soil, and to press with growing force upon the means of subsistence. It is easier to point out the evil than to apply a remedy. The religious customs of the country favour early marriages, and emigration on a scale sufficient to be effective is practically out of the question; but the case has to be stated to show that even a peaceful and beneficent rule is not without its concomitant drawbacks.

Next, apart from the pressure of population on the means of subsistence, in many parts of the country a social revolution is taking place, not the less momentous because in silent operation, arising out of the increasing indebtedness of the agriculturist, and involving the transfer of the land from the simple peasantry which have held it from time immemorial to the professional money lender, in redemption of loans borrowed at exorbitant interest. The process is favoured by the procedure of our law courts, which with their rigid enforcement of bonds entered into, even by those ignorant of their purport, the highly technical system of pleading allowed and the facilities afforded for costly appeals from the one court to another, are utterly

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Qualifica-  
tions to be  
made.

Excessive  
growth of  
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Cultiva-  
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unsuited to the understanding and circumstances of the agricultural classes.

Remedial  
action  
required.

It is a curious inconsistency in our policy that while in Ireland so much attention and labour should have been directed towards attaching the cultivator to the soil and creating unalienable tenant right, and while philanthropists and economists should be aiming to introduce the same conditions for the agricultural classes of Great Britain, we should have admitted, indeed encouraged, this social revolution to set in silently on India and work the havoc which it has already created. Some special remedial legislation has been applied, as for example, the Dekhan Raiyat Act, to check this evil. But a larger and more general process seems necessary, nothing less in fact than complete abolition of the sale of land for debt. It would be also a great advantage to the unfortunate peasantry affected, if in all suits arising out of loans made on their land or crops, the agency of professional pleaders were disallowed, and the parties to the suit alone were heard in person. The importance of dealing with this great matter in a thorough and comprehensive way cannot be too strongly insisted on; the class concerned make up the great mass of the people of India, and apart from the claims of justice, the foundations of our rule rest upon their contentment.

It is notable that the vernacular press are generally silent upon this social revolution. The agitators, the money lenders and the pleaders whom they employ, are closely allied; they belong to the 'white-clothed' class whose interests, in many respects, are directly antagonistic to those of the people of India<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The Congress does indeed pass an annual resolution, 'that fully fifty millions of the population, a number yearly increasing, are dragging out a miserable existence on the verge of starvation, and that in every decade several millions actually perish by starvation; and humbly urge once more that immediate steps be taken to remedy this calamitous state of affairs.' This resolution—dovetailed among others proposing the establishment of volunteers, the creation of a medical profession, the abolition of taxes, and increased expenditure on education and other things—does

The complaint is often made that our foreign domination drains India of its wealth. The wealth at any rate is the creation of our rule; we found India poverty stricken as it always had been before, and as doubtless it would still be if we had not appeared on the scene. The drain of wealth which consists in the large payments which have to be made to England, is of course a fact, but we must distinguish between the two sources of this drain. By far the larger part consists in the payment of interest on the English capital invested in India. In this respect India is in the same position as almost every other country in the world, and has all the advantages derived from a borrower under such circumstances. Borrowed money is the source of her wealth. The greater part of this capital has gone to make the railways which have enriched India more than anything else, and brought about her present prosperous condition; among other things the great tea and jute industries in particular have been established entirely by British capital. The interest India pays on this represents but a very small portion of the benefit which she derives from it. There is, however, a drain of another kind, but smaller in amount, for the pensions paid to English officials, the savings taken away by Europeans of all classes, and that part of the cost of the army which is defrayed in this country. This last item is obviously a necessary condition of the maintenance of a stable government of any sort in India; the most truculent of the agitators who are for replacing the English civil service straightway by natives, have not yet advanced to the point of suggesting that the British army should be withdrawn. The other items

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Assumed  
drain of  
wealth  
from  
India.

touch the matter, but can hardly be said to deal with it in a very practical or useful way. A town council would not be held to gain credit for good sense or philanthropic spirit by placing a minute on its proceedings to the effect that a large number of the English people were suffering from poverty, which Her Majesty's Government should take immediate steps for putting an end to.

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are no doubt a drain in the actual sense of the words, but that this should be cause of complaint involves the absurd assumption that without English rule exercised by English officials, India would have attained of itself to a state of internal peace and prosperity. Those people must have a very slender acquaintance with Indian history or with the Indian people who can suppose that there is the smallest foundation for such a belief; or that if the *pax Britannica* had not been established in India, that country would not either still be the prey of intestine feuds, such as desolated it before our rule, or have again become the spoil of some warlike invader from the north. All that can be said is that a good government by foreigners is more costly than would be an equally good government by the people of the country. So it would be cheaper for a man to cure himself when sick, if he knew how to do so, than to call in a physician. And the fact needs to be plainly stated that the capacity of the Indians to govern themselves has yet to be established. We must not mistake what may be merely a facility for adaptation, and imitation, and proficiency as agents working under supervision, for original capacity. The assumption that all the races of the earth possess the same natural power, and that the backward ones may by training and propinquity be readily brought up to the level of a higher civilisation, has yet to be established.

Political  
instability  
of India if  
left to  
itself.

Even now the internal conditions of the country present no elements of political stability. India is still a congeries of nations which although mixed up together in a bewildering degree, and undergoing a rapid fusion in their superficial aspects under British rule, are yet so widely different from each other that generalisations are apt to be delusive and misleading. The difference between the various peoples, between, for example, the martial frontier races and the Bengalis or the people of Madras, is far greater than that which

is found between any two races or classes of Europe. But this at least is clear, that the ascendancy of the class, now so disloyal and so noisy, which is claiming to succeed us, and which puts forward the impudent claim that every English official constitutes a wrong done to themselves by keeping one of their class out of office: that the ascendancy of this class would be utterly abhorrent to the greater part of the people of India, and that as they are simply the artificial creation of British rule, so they would be the first to disappear from the surface if that rule were withdrawn.

That this rule should be popular is hardly to be expected, nor probably are the English themselves individually popular; but if the people of India do not like us, it is impossible to help liking them. They differ, as has been said, from each other so widely, that generalisations are apt to be delusive and misleading; yet there are some characteristics which the English in India will recognise as common to all, especially their good temper, sobriety, industry, patience, and power of self-denial, their kindness to children, their loyalty to family ties. We must all too admire the gallantry of the warlike races, and few can leave the country without carrying away memories of disinterested gratitude shown for good offices done, ties formed of mutual affection with those who have nothing more to look for from our friendship; feeling a degree of interest in India and its people which only long acquaintance with it and them could give; and hopeful that if wisely governed a prosperous future is before them.

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English  
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popular.  
Attractive  
character  
of Indian  
people.

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