Paul wrote, "All seek their own." While such a spirit is to be condemned, selfish people may yet be of much benefit to a country. Unjust wars have sometimes been the means of conferring great blessings upon the conquered nation. In ordinary life, through the wise arrangement of Providence, men may do the greatest service to the public when they are thinking of nothing but their own interest.

There is often a loud outcry against grain merchants, but it is they who prevent people being starved when there is a famine. "The grain merchant is only thinking of gaining for himself a profit on his capital like any other trader; but the way he takes to secure this profit, which is by buying up grain when it is cheap, and selling it when dear, is exactly the way in which the plentiful crop of one year may supply the defect of another, so that there may not be first waste and then famine."*

A farmer raises grain simply for his own profit, although other people would starve if he did not. A shopkeeper does not commence business for the benefit of the public, and he sells the best articles at the lowest rates he can simply to attract custom. A lawyer studies hard to attain a high rank in his profession merely to secure more clients.

Granting that the English are the "most avaricious and selfish people in the world," that English merchants come here simply "to turn a penny," it is for their own interest that the people of India should be rich and prosperous. The more the people have to sell, the more they are able to buy, the better it will be for the merchants. The capital they introduce is the life's blood of commerce. They have opened up fresh sources of industry; through their competition ryots get higher prices for their produce, and can purchase goods at cheaper rates. No men have done more to increase the wealth of India than the maligned English merchants. It is equally advantageous to the "bureaucracy" that India should be rich. More new "useless offices" with "extravagant salaries" could thus be created to provide for their poor relations. The greater the quantity of blood in the victim, the more there would be for the "immense vampire to drain off"

The truth is that the real interests of the English and Indians are identical. Both are benefiting one another, even when merely seeking their own gain.

An old book says, "The labourer is worthy of his hire." Suppose a skilful superintendent takes charge of a badly managed estate, and in few years increases its productiveness fivefold. In sharing the profits, there may be selfishness on the part of the proprietor as well as in the superintendent.

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* Archbishop Whately.

The struggle for existence is not confined to India. The late Colonel Sykes, for many years resident in this country, says, "Poverty and wretchedness exist in all countries; but this much I can say, that in similar limited areas I never witnessed in India such an amount of squalid misery as it has been my misfortune to witness in my personal inquiries in London and elsewhere, into the condition of the labouring classes."*

The recent "Bitter Cry of Outcast London" shows that the misery still exists.

It will require the most strenuous efforts both of Europeans and Indians to cope with the difficult task of meeting the needs of this country.

Agricultural Reform.

This is by far the most important point connected with the improvement of the material condition of the people. It is the chief way by which the underfed millions can obtain a better supply of food. Manufactures are also of great value; but they are secondary compared with agriculture. They will be noticed in the succeeding chapter.

Need of Improvement.—About 80 per cent of the population depend directly or indirectly upon agriculture for a livelihood. The bulk of the people marry and multiply without any more thought of the future than rabbits in a warren. "They are not like the small landowners of France," says Caird, "who are self-restrained, frugal, industrious, and improving cultivators." In former times the population was kept down by war, pestilence, and famine. The *Pax Britannica* prevents the ravages of the first; vaccination, hospitals, &c., reduce the mortality from the second; roads, railways, &c., with the expenditure of millions, alleviate the third. In spite, however, of severe famines the population increased 12 millions during the last decade: the normal rate is probably much higher.

W. R. Robertson, Esq., Superintendent of the Government Farms, Madras, remarks:—

"A primitive system of husbandry, which sufficed to meet the wants of a scanty population, when there was plenty of good land available, no longer suffices, now that the demand for human food has become so great, and such a large area of poor soil has to be tilled."

Government must interfere. Dr. Hunter justly says,

"The principle of *laissez faire* can, in fact, be safely applied only to self-governing nations. The English in India are now called upon, either to stand by and witness the pitiless overcrowding of masses of hungry human beings, or to aid the people in increasing the food supply to meet their wants." p. 130.

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* Kaye's Administration of the East India Company, p. 716.

Practicability of Improvement.—Sir James Caird, probably the highest agricultural authority in England, says,

"The agricultural system, except in the richer and irrigated lands, is to eat or sell every saleable article the land produces, to use the manure of the cattle for fuel, and to return nothing to the soil in any proportion to that which is taken away.....Crop follows crop without intermission, so that Indian agriculture is becoming simply a process of exhaustion." *Famine Report*, p. 8.

Sir R. Temple says that "eleven bushels of grain per acre are produced in India as compared with thirty in England." This rate in England was obtained only gradually. In the days of Queen Anne it was about 15 bushels; towards the close of last century the yield was about 20 bushels. In England the average yield according to Mark Lane returns is now about 32 bushels; in Scotland it has advanced to 40.*

Dr. Hunter admits that it is not possible at one bound to introduce scientific agriculture; but he thinks sufficient progress might be made to meet the exigencies of the case. According to Sir James Caird, if one bushel an acre could be added to the produce of Indian fields, it would feed 22 millions. Dr. Hunter shows that to meet the increase of population all that is required is to add 1½ per cent a year to the produce.

Means of Improvement.—Only a few can be noticed.

1. *An inquiry into the present condition of ryots and the practicability of ameliorating it by changes in the fiscal arrangements of Government.*

Some information has already been collected; but more is necessary. Dr. Hunter, Director-General of Statistics, says,

"It has been my duty to find out precisely what amount of information exists with regard to the agriculture of India; and to compare that information with the facts which the Governments of Europe and America supply on the same points. I have come to the conclusion that no central Government stands more in need of agricultural knowledge than the Government of India, and that no Government has a smaller stock of such knowledge within its central body."†

Very conflicting opinions are expressed on some of the most important questions. The Madras Delegate made the following statement at Aberdeen :—

"The assessment was very high. Nominally it was said to be one-third of the gross produce, but as a matter of fact it varied in many instances from forty to fifty per cent. of the gross produce—(cries of 'Shame'). And this was not the only thing. Every thirty years the assessment was revised. Of course revision meant enhancement. There was enhancement every time that revision took place."‡

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* *Nineteenth Century*, Nov. 1885. p. 796. † *England's Work in India*, p. 93.
‡ Quoted in *The Hindu*, Dec. 26, 1885.

The Hindu has the following :—

"Our 'beneficent' government, as the learned writer on Revenue Administration in the Madras Presidency in our columns has incontrovertibly proved, takes to itself no less than 47 per cent. of the produce, (and) levies innumerable other contributions." Oct. 13, 1885.

On the other hand, Mr. Justice Cunningham, one of the Famine Commissioners, gives a very different account of the pressure of land taxation :—

"The usual share claimed from the cultivator by Native Governments was three-fifths of the gross produce of the soil, out of which the zemindar was generally allowed a tenth or three-fiftieths of the whole, as a reward for his services in collection. The cultivator was thus left with two-fifths of his crop for his own maintenance and the expenses of cultivation. But the share of the gross produce now claimed as land revenue has sunk under British rule from more than a half to a proportion ranging between three and eight per cent ($\frac{1}{33}$ to $\frac{1}{12}$), and though local cesses add a fraction to this percentage, the proportion at present received by Government is a mere fraction of that which, under Akbar's famous settlements, was claimed as an unquestionable and immemorial due."*

The Land Tax, so far from being increased, has been reduced as a rule at each re-settlement. The following table shows the average rates per acre in the Madras Presidency† :—

	Dry Land.						Irrigated Land.					
	Rs.	A.	P.	£.	s.	d.	Rs.	A.	P.	£.	s.	d.
1852–3	1	3	11	0	2	6	7	0	11	0	14	1½
1875–6	1	0	11	0	2	1½	4	8	11	0	9	1½

The present percentage of the Madras Government demand on the estimated gross value of crops is 6·3 per cent, or $\frac{1}{15}$, instead of 40 or 50 per cent according to Mr. Mudeliyar. His assertion carries absurdity on the face of it. If the government share of 21 millions sterling amounted even to one-third of the whole crop, half the population must long ago have perished.

As the idea is widely prevalent that ryots are "rack-rented" by Government, it is desirable to appoint a *Mixed* Commission of Inquiry, composed of officials and non-official Natives in equal numbers. The latter should be well-known men, commanding general confidence.

The investigation, however, should not be confined to the amount of the government demand. There is a growing feeling that our Revenue system requires modification. Mr. Justice Cunningham, one of the Famine Commissioners, mentions several suggestions under this head.

Mr. Hume says,

"Wherever we turn we find agriculturists burthened with debts running on at enormous rates of interest. In some districts, even provinces,

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* British India and its Rulers, p. 156. † *Ibid*, p. 141.

the evil is all-absorbing—a whole population of paupers, hopelessly meshed in the wiles of usurers."*

Dr. Hunter says,

"It has been my duty to make inquiries in every province of India as to the interest which money yields. I find that for small loans to the cultivators the old native rate of 37½ per cent per annum still prevails."†

Such a rate it has been remarked "would be fatal to successful agricultural enterprise in any country."

Under the present system, the ryot is at the mercy of the money-lender, who not only charges enormous interest, but takes over the crop at his own valuation. The poor ryot has only enough to keep body and soul together.

Mr. E. C. Buck, Secretary to Government in the Revenue and Agricultural Department, says,

"The idea of Government being the money-lender to the agricultural classes is an indigenous one. The money-lender has taken the place of Government."‡

Agricultural Banks have been proposed, but they would require an expensive machinery, and it would be impossible to work them on the requisite scale.

The Famine Commission Report says,

"It should therefore be the policy of the Government to advance money freely and on easy terms on the security of the land, wherever it can be done without serious risk of ultimate loss." p. 56.

A full statement of the case by Mr. A. Harington, C. S., will be found in the *Calcutta Review* for 1883.

No doubt there are difficulties. A Bombay paper says, "We have known cases in which the borrower had to pay so much to the kulkarani and patil and security and witnesses that hardly fifty per cent of the loan remained in his hand." Days are also lost in arranging for the loan.

The Famine Commissioners notice several changes, which would render the system of Government advances more popular.

A correspondent in a Madras paper suggests that even an alteration in the times of collection would be of essential benefit.

Bengal has had so much controversy on the land question that the inquiry might be limited to the Bombay and Madras Presidencies.

2. *The establishment of a well-organised and efficient Agricultural Department.*

Lord Mayo was probably the only Governor-General of India who ever farmed for a livelihood. "Many a day," he used to say, "have I stood the livelong day in the market selling my beasts."

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* Agricultural Reform, p. 62. † *England's Work in India*, p. 42.
‡ Quoted in *Calcutta Review* for 1883, p. 153.

He felt that improved agriculture was the greatest need for the "material" progress of India, and drew up a most comprehensive and well-devised scheme for the agricultural improvement of India, explained in Mr. Hume's *Agricultural Reform in India*. The Secretary of State ruled that *Revenue*, not *Agriculture*, should be the main object of the new Department. Lord Mayo's scheme was so mutilated that the poor rump became an object of derision, and finally received the *coup-de-grace*. This shows the evils of an ignorant interference on the part of a mere English politician.

The Famine Commission again urged upon Government the carrying out of Lord Mayo's plans.

135. "A Director of Agriculture should be appointed for each Province as executive head of the Department, chosen for his knowledge of the condition of the people, and particularly of the agricultural classes. He would directly control the special statistical officers and would be the adviser of the Local Government in all matters relating to agriculture and statistics. In ordinary times he should discharge these duties and superintend all measures designed to improve the agriculture of the country, and in times of famine he would be the officer responsible for warning the government as to the agricultural outlook and for preparing such a forecast as should guide it in issuing instructions and setting on foot measures of relief. A corresponding officer should perform analogous duties under the Government of India, assisting it in its dealings with the Local Governments in the Agricultural Department and in the supervision of the Local Directors of Agriculture. All these officials and a certain proportion of the special officers in each district should have been prepared for their duties by a technical training in scientific and practical agriculture."

Great advantage was desired even from the visit of an agriculturist like Sir James Caird. The Government of India should have a Director-General of Agriculture, of similar calibre, who should be a member of the Imperial Council. Each Presidency should have its Agricultural College for a thorough training. At the recent International Conference on Education, considerable differences of opinion were expressed with regard to agricultural teaching. In the mofussil, there might be "Schools."

Two classes have to be kept in view.

There are a few zemindars interested in agriculture who have sufficient means to avail themselves of modern improvements. There should be superior Model Farms as a guide for such.

For the great body of ryots, Model Farms should be of such a size and furnished with such implements as would be within the average means of the class sought to be benefited.

A very simple Agricultural Text-Book for ryots is required, somewhat in the style of Tanner's *Alphabet of Agriculture*, or Martin Doyle's lessons for Irish peasants.

The rule, "Begin at the bottom and work upwards," requires to be followed. It is nearly useless to point out to poor ryots improvements beyond their means.

Some progress has already been made in the organization of an Agricultural Department, but it is still very imperfect. Lord Mayo's scheme should be fully carried out.

The expense may be considered the great difficulty, but it is proposed to meet the outlay from the "Famine Fund." See remarks under "Ways and Means" at the end of the next chapter.

3. *An Agricultural Survey.*—The first step to the improvement of Native Agriculture is to understand it thoroughly. Two or three years might well be devoted to its study. During a recent visit to China and Japan, it seemed to the writer that an officer like Mr. Buck might examine with great advantage the systems of agriculture in these countries. The amount of the land revenue and its mode of collection might form another inquiry. Already some valuable Chinese and Japanese plants have been introduced into India, and there may be others which would be suitable.

4. *The enlightenment of the ryots.*—Mr. Robertson, of Madras, rightly regards this as the root of improvement. The Bombay *Dnyanodaya* says,

"Until a moral reformation takes place in the characters and habits of the farmers and borrowers generally, we fear it is impossible for any act or any body to help them much. If hard experience and suffering do not teach the borrowers prudence and economy, special favors will not do this."

The ryot should be taught, among other things, the comparative results from spending Rs. 25 on a feast or a gold ornament and on the purchase of a good plough.

A good tract, to be widely circulated among ryots, is much wanted. It should point out the evil effects of some of their habits, and indicate a more excellent way. Franklin's "Poor Richard's Almanac" would furnish a model. It should abound with native proverbs. Most of the ryots, it is true, cannot read, but education is gradually spreading.

Past Failures.—It may be alleged that these are not a few; but, as a rule, it is only in this way that success has ultimately been achieved. The Department hitherto has been starved, and those connected with it have often been made to know the bitterness of "hope deferred." On the other hand, much valuable information has been acquired, and there are practical results which well compensate for the outlay.

Sources of Information.—The foregoing remarks treat very imperfectly of a great subject. The following works may be consulted:

The *Famine Commission Report* contains a large amount of useful information, the salient points of which are given in Mr. Justice Cunningham's *British India and its Rulers*. Mr. Hume's *Agricultural Reform in India*, Mr. S. M. Hossein's *Our Difficulties and Wants in India*, and various publications by Mr. Robertson of Madras, are also valuable. Mr. Green, the Ceylon Director of Public Instruction, has taken a warm interest in Agriculture, and published an edition of Mr. Robertson's *Agricultural Class Book*, adapted to the Island.

Agricultural Distress in other Countries.—Ignorant native writers try to throw the whole blame of the poverty of the ryots upon the British Government; but it is much the same in most other parts of the world. Mr. Hyndman, author of "Bleeding to Death," says that,

"Recent official reports in France prove beyond the possibility of question that the landholding peasantry are suffering terribly, and that they actually fare worse than our agricultural labourers. Similar truths in respect to small properties have been made manifest by the reports of the Imperial Commissions on the impoverished condition of the small cultivation in Baden-Baden and Alsace-Lorraine."*

Lady Verney thus describes what she saw :—

"But in France and Germany the cultivation of the small plots is only rendered possible by the slavish toil of the women and children—out in every weather, ground down with misery and hard work, mowing and ploughing (we have seen three in one field), making hay by taking it up in their arms and scattering it abroad, spreading dung with wretched little forks, lifting great sacks of potatoes, cutting wood, treading the manure heaps with bare legs every evening, carrying baskets of it on their bare hair.

"The number of maimed, halt and deformed women and children whom we saw—sitting guarding the cow with a string during her breakfast—three or four sheep or a goat; flopping down in the damp grass and the mud, risking the human life which should have been the most valuable of their possessions—was dismal indeed to witness; and we were told repeatedly by doctors that the sickliness and malformation of the children was occasioned by the mothers going out all day, and being unable to attend to them."†

Manufactures and Technical Education.

Four years ago the writer, in a letter to Lord Ripon on "Education in India" gave six pages to this heading. Happily during the interval the subject has attracted so much attention that remarks under it may be briefer than before.

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* *Nineteenth Century*, Nov. 1885, p. 835.
† *Nineteenth Century*, Nov. 1885, p. 797.

Importance.—The Famine Commissioners begin this section of their Report by saying :—

"We have elsewhere expressed our opinion that at the root of much of the poverty of the people of India and of the risks to which they are exposed in seasons of scarcity, lies the unfortunate circumstance that agriculture forms almost the sole occupation of the mass of the population, and that no remedy for present evils can be complete, which does not include the introduction of a diversity of occupations, through which the surplus population may be drawn from agricultural pursuits, and led to find the means of subsistence in manufactures or some such support."

Among the means of developing the manufactures and commerce of India, the following may be mentioned :—

A Special Government Agency.—Next to a Director-General of Agriculture, a Director-General of Commerce is needed. Like him also he should rank as a Member of Council. A man somewhat like Sir Lyon Playfair is required. He should have little office work, but be free to move about the country, inspecting every thing *in situ*, and consulting all on the spot able to afford information. Civilians, officers of the geological survey, merchants, and others, could be turned to valuable account. Most civilised countries in the world have Ministers of Commerce, and nowhere is one more needed than in India.

In addition, trained Provincial Directors are required.

An Industrial Survey.—Few men have done more in drawing attention to Indian Products and Manufactures than Dr. Forbes Watson, formerly of the India Office. He thus shows the need of an Industrial Survey of India being undertaken by Government :—

"The whole of the advanced portion of Europe is, in consequence of the development of commerce, covered by a network of private agency, the express purpose of which it is to indicate to the consumer the best sources of supply, and to offer to the producer the best means of realizing his products. A similar organization exists, of course, in India also, but only in a rudimentary state and restricted to some principal towns, and to a few of the principal staples, although no doubt it would grow in time by its own efforts."

"To shorten, however, in India, the period of preliminary trials, and unavoidable failures, and to hasten the advancement of the country appears to be in the power of the Government, which, although unable to take the place of individual enterprise, may promote inquiries which will facilitate its task. Public, as distinguished from private, action, assumes, therefore, in India much larger proportions than it does here, and it will be acknowledged that this has always been the admitted policy of the Government of India. Much has already been effected with respect to opening up the country by means of information. The trigonometrical, topographical, revenue, and geological surveys, have been undertaken on a scale of perhaps unprecedented magnitude. It remains to complete them by an industrial survey which shall take stock of all the various

productions of the country—agricultural, forestal, pastoral, and mineral—of manufactures, of the localities of production, of the varieties, qualities, and values of produce, its supply, mode of distribution and consumption."

It is satisfactory that steps have already being taken in the above direction, although on a very small scale. The following is quoted from *The Times*:—

"The Indian Famine Commission having expressed its views as to the desirability of encouraging a diversity of occupations and the development of new branches of industry in India, the Government of Madras submitted certain proposals, which embraced the temporary appointment of a Government Reporter on arts and manufactures, and a Government Mineralogist. Looking to the importance of the subject, the Secretary of State has accorded his sanction to the proposal."

Mr. Wardle has just been sent out by the Home Government to see what can be done to restore the silk industries of India, once of great importance. Tusser silk pays well, and it would give employment to thousands of women and children.

Technical Education.—Each Presidency should have a Technical College, under a well-qualified European Principal. Attached to it there should be two or three European workmen, thoroughly acquainted with special industries. Institutions, like the Madras School of Arts, already exist and are doing excellent service, but they require to be strengthened.

Each District should also have an Industrial School, under Native Management, where instruction of a humbler character might be given. The development of agriculture and manufactures will lead to an increased demand for improved implements, &c.

Some efforts are being made to introduce industrial training into Grant-in-Aid Rules.

Co-operation on the part of the People.—Hercules, in the fable, came only to the assistance of the waggoner who was trying to help himself. English and Native manufacturers and merchants have in India exactly the same privileges, and both have their respective advantages. As in England, those who display most judgment and enterprise, are the most successful. If "foreigners" have what is thought an undue proportion, it is because they deserve it. Hindus have no more right to complain of foreigners outstripping them in commerce than the Muhammadans have to complain of Hindus securing more Government offices. It has already been explained that the jealousy of "foreigners" is also short-sighted. As pioneers they may reap the first fruits, but the great harvest ultimately falls to the people of the country.

The Famine Commissioners named the following branches of industry as deserving attention:—

"The manufacture and refining of sugar; the tanning of hides; the manufacture of fabrics of cotton, wool, and silk; the preparation of

fibres of other sorts, and of tobacco; the manufacture of paper, pottery, glass, soap, oil, and candles." p. 176.

The Hon. A. Mackenzie, an English merchant, one of those men who, according to the *Sarabhi*, are "perfect masters of envy, intrigue and malice," gave some excellent advice to the students of Pacheappah's Institution, Madras. He said,

"India pays Europe every year about 50 lakhs for paper alone. Every rupee of that money ought to be kept in this country. Materials for making far more paper than India wants is rotting away in your jungles, your fields, by your roadsides. India should sell paper instead of buying it. There are many other articles of which I could tell you, but there is not time, nor perhaps is this the right occasion to go through a Custom House schedule of imports." *Madras Mail*, April 15th, 1884.

It is satisfactory that progress is being made. There are now in India 90 cotton mills, with a capital of 7½ crores, consuming annually 235 million pounds of cotton, and giving employment to 70,000 operatives. Paper mills are increasing in number. The following is an extract from a recent Poona paper :—

"We have now two paper mills in a fair way towards completion—one near Mundwa, on the railway line, and the other near Karakwasla, both of which, it is expected, will shortly be placed in active working order. Some local soap works have been doing good work in the way of supplying the Commissariat Department, besides disposing of large quantities to both Bombay and Madras dealers. Lastly, it refers to the erection of factories for the production of lead-pencils and matches.

Babu S. P. Chatterjee, of the Victoria Nursery Gardens, Calcutta, is an excellent example of what is required. In the pursuit of his business he has visited all parts of India, the Straits, China, the Philippine Islands, Australia, and last year he visited England. Sir Richard Garth, Chief Justice of Bengal, gave him an introduction to Sir Joseph Hooker, the greatest English botanist, and Sir Ashley Eden gave him an introduction to Lord Hartington. During his stay at Covent Garden he was allowed to assist in preparing the bridal bouquet for the Princess Beatrice. He has returned to India with 40 cases of South American orchids and other plants.

India has already a superabundance of place-hunters and lawyers, the need is of more *producers*—not of *consumers*.

Ways and Means.

How is the proposed expenditure on Agricultural and Technical Education to be met? will probably be the first question that suggests itself to the Finance Minister, already perplexed to make both ends meet. The Famine Commission Reports hints that it might be "fairly chargeable against the Special Famine Surplus." p. 63.

Government has set apart a Famine Insurance Fund of a million and a half sterling a year. The question is, how can it be employed to most advantage?

It is admitted that is it prudent to devote half of it to clearing off Famine Debt or forming a Fund for future demands. The remaining moiety is expended on measures calculated to avert famine.

Improved Agriculture is the right hand to fight against famine, and developed Manufactures the left.

Large sums of money have been spent on supposed Famine Protective Works, some very useful, some nearly useless, some perhaps positively injurious. If there is one recommendation the Famine Commissioners make more than another, it is that careful continued investigation should precede every outlay. There is no better protective work against famine than to establish a well-organised Agricultural Department, as sketched by Lord Mayo, including a good system of Agricultural Instruction. It would be at once the noblest memorial of Lord Mayo, and a boon of the greatest value to the country. To it should be added the similar development of Manufactures.

The Agricultural Department might be roughly estimated to cost £200,000 a year;* the Department of Manufactures and Commerce, £50,000. The combined sum would be one-sixth of the Famine Fund. It would be some years, however, before the full amount could be expended with advantage. Meanwhile the Famine Fund might be accumulating, and works of pressing utility provided to some extent.

The Indian Civil Service.

So far as the Government of India is concerned, few questions are more important than the selection and training of Covenanted Civilians. Nearly every member of the Service, before the end of his course, will, either as a civil administrator or in a judicial capacity, preside over a district as populous as Wales; a considerable number, as Commissioners, will govern as many as the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland; while a few will rule territories as populous as France or Austria. If every single man will have so much influence, how grave a question must be the training of the whole!

Mr. Cotton says in *New India*, "In any case the Indian Civil Service as at present constituted is doomed." (p. 79.)

Mr. Caird, in his Report, recommends that there should not be any privileged Civil Service, but that, except for the legal branch, officers selected from the army should be chosen. Any such change

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* The Famine Commission Report estimates it roughly at £100,000.

would be most disastrous to the interests of India. On the contrary, the circumstances of the case require more than ever a highly-trained special service.

In olden times, Civilians were regarded almost as "mortal gods on earth." Now, Indian B. A.'s and M. A.'s are disposed to measure themselves with the "heaven-born," and sometimes to claim superiority. "Boy Magistrate" has become almost a term of contempt.

Selection.—Sir George Campbell said in 1853, "No principle is more incumbent on us strictly to observe than this, that all appointments which natives are capable of filling should be filled by natives."*

The Queen's Proclamation of 1859 contains the words:—

"And it is our further will that, so far as may be, Our Subjects, of whatever Race or Creed, be freely and impartially admitted to Offices in our Service, the duties of which they may be qualified, by their education, ability, and integrity, duly to discharge."

The Proclamation is conditional, though many are inclined to overlook the last clause. In some things Indians excel; in some things Europeans. The former are especially fitted for the Judicial Department. Warm testimony has been borne to their merits even as Judges of the High Court. In putting down an *emeute*, Europeans have an undoubted superiority. They have also a more independent position as being neither Hindus nor Muhammadans. Indians are not exempt from the supposed European weakness of providing for their "poor relations," and under the circumstances, they have much greater facilities for doing so in the exercise of patronage.

At the beginning of 1882, says Sir Evelyn Baring:—

"The Covenanted Service consisted almost entirely of Europeans. The Uncovenanted Service consisted of about two-thirds natives. Under existing rules the Covenanted Service will, in course of time, consist of at most five-sixths Europeans, and at least one-sixth of natives, whilst the number of natives in the Uncovenanted Service will considerably increase. Under the rules framed by Lord Lytton's Government in 1879, natives of India alone are generally to be appointed in the Uncovenanted Service. I do not think it would, for some years to come at all events, be wise to reduce the European staff in India to a greater extent than it will be reduced under the operation of the existing rules."†

Lord Lytton's proposals with regard to the appointment of Civilians in India were well intended—to bring into the service men belonging to the higher grades of Native society. The experiment however has not proved successful. The classes sought to be reached have not qualified themselves for the duties required. It is generally agreed that a change is necessary.

India as it may be, p. 228. † *Nineteenth Century*, Oct, 1883, pp. 575, 576.

The Bombay Congress passed the following Resolution :—

"That in the opinion of this Congress the examinations now held in England, if it be resolved to maintain them for various branches of the civil section of the public service, should henceforth, in accordance with the views of the India Office Committee of 1860, 'be held simultaneously, one in England and one in India,' both being as far as practicable identical in their nature, and those who compete in both countries being finally classified in one list according to merit, that the successful candidates of India should be sent to England for further study, and subjected there to such further examinations as may seem needful. Further, that the rest of the appointments should be filled by competitive examinations held in India calculated to secure such physical, intellectual and moral qualifications as may be decided by Government to be necessary. Lastly the maximum age of the candidates for entrance into the Civil Service be raised to not less than 23."

It is not desirable that Indian candidates should take up Latin or Greek. Provided the examinations are made *practically* of equal difficulty, and that the number of successful candidates be limited as mentioned by Sir Evelyn Baring, the above proposals are reasonable, *so far as the regular service is concerned.*

The age in England ought also to be raised to 22.

If the competition in India were thrown open to all, the number of candidates would be very great, leading to many disappointments and much discontent. It should be limited to graduates of the different universities, and satisfactory certificates should be required as to their physical fitness and moral character.

All things considered, it seems best to put an end to what is called the *Statutory Civil Service.* To transfer men from the Uncovenanted to the Covenanted Service gives rise to a suspicion of jobbery and creates discontent among the whole body of the latter. Another reason still more important is that such officers will not have had the home training which is desirable. Let there be definite prizes reserved for distinguished Uncovenanted men, without interfering with those belonging to the other Service.

Training of Civilians.—The present race of Civilians are considered good office men. The chief fault found with them is that, with some noble exceptions, they do not take the same interest in the country as their predecessors of the old *regime.* Caird says, "Everywhere the most common complaint is that they hold too much aloof from the people." Two or three reasons partly account for this.

When communication with England was tedious and uncertain, Civilians felt, to a large extent, that India was their home. The ties that bind them to their native land are now strengthened by daily telegrams and weekly mails, exciting the feeling,

"Better fifty years of Europe than a cycle of Cathay."

Another cause of lack of interest is the increase of routine work. In former days Civilians were not kept so much at the desk, and were more free to mix with the people.

Mr. Cotton, in *New India*, draws a melancholy picture of the sad lot of Indian Civilians. The "Enthusiasm of Humanity" seems greatly needed in their case.

There will always be some selfish men upon whom no course of training will have much effect. Their one object in India will be to scrape together as much as will enable them to retire and say, "Soul, thou hast much goods laid up for many years." It seems possible, however, by judicious preparation to improve the service as a whole.

One means of leading Civilians to take more interest in India is to increase their knowledge of the country. Mr. S. Laing, an admirable Finance Minister, thus explains why some dislike India, and describes his own experience :—

"An interest in India is the *sine qua non* of success in an Indian career. Without it, life is a dreary banishment, burdensome to its owner, and only too often mischievous to those around. In the public service the Queen's hard bargains are those who are too dull or frivolous to feel any real interest in the glorious work before them, and who, instead of cultivating the natural history, the geography, the geology, or even the field-sports of the country, and studying the languages, the character, the history, and antiquities of its people, like the many Anglo-Indian heroes who have immortalized the service, can find no better mode of passing their leisure time than in drinking bitter beer, and grumbling at India.

"Even in the line of private enterprise, I suspect it will be found that the man who succeeds best is generally the man who likes the country, and who understands and sympathizes with the natives. Now I think a knowledge, however slight, of such facts as I have endeavoured to give the merest outline of to-day, can hardly fail to increase the interest of every Englishman in India. I know that it has increased my own interest in it immensely, and that a smattering of Indian history, ethnology, and philosophy, picked up long before I had the remotest idea of ever visiting India, have often been of the greatest service to me."

Besides imparting knowledge of the above nature, it is very desirable that the successful candidates should be together in a College like Haileybury. Sir George Campbell thus points out its advantages :—

"Far from dispensing with the system of special education, I would carry it much farther, and I think that the future efficiency of the profession very much depends on it. I likewise consider it anything but undesirable that the men who are in future to carry on the same duties in all the different parts of India should be brought together in, and started from, the same professional workshop; should drink of the same well of knowledge; should imbibe a certain *esprit de corps*; should form some personal acquaintance with one another; and should in future be

united by some common souvenirs. Haileybury is even now the only point of union of a widely-dispersed service, and, imperfect as it is, I believe that there results from it a beneficial common feeling and good understanding, which would be wanting in men picked up from different quarters and sent to India without any intercourse or acquaintance with one another."*

There is a third reason for a revived Haileybury. The proportion of Indian candidates will gradually increase. It is most undesirable that such young men should be scattered over a place like London, free from all home restraints. It would also be beneficial to successful English candidates to form their first acquaintance with them in a College where all would meet on equal footing. Race antagonism threatens to be one of the greatest political dangers in India, and it is doubly important that men belonging to the same Service should be free from it as much as possible. Friendships might be formed at College between Englishmen and Indians which would last more or less through life.

Sir George Campbell suggests Cambridge for a new Haileybury. Oxford has taken the lead by its Indian Institute. The suburbs of London have also their advantages.

Departments of Service.—At Amoy a modest Chinaman has up the sign-board, "Every mortal thing can do." The Government of India seems to have the same estimate of the capabilities of the members of its Covenanted Service. Sometimes they are appointed to offices of whose duties they are very ignorant, and that too over the heads of men who have made them their life-work, and to whom they justly belong. While in certain cases the results may be better, the general effect is injurious.

The separation of Revenue from Magisterial functions is a reform which has long been urged. The Memorial to the Madras Government shows that as early as 1802 the need was felt. It was advocated by Sir George Campbell in 1853. One obstacle doubtless has been the supposed additional cost. The Madras Memorial rightly tries to show how this may be met in Southern India.

A separation in some other departments may also be advisable, with the special training necessary.

Salaries.—Indian salaries are sometimes compared with those of Civil Servants in Ceylon, but there is an important difference. Ceylon, with a population of 2¾ millions, has more than 80 civilians, or about 35,000 persons to each. Madras, with 31 millions, has 155, or 200,000 to each. The responsibilities are greater, and the salaries ought to be higher. The Ceylon Civil Servants are also underpaid. Sir Evelyn Baring says :—

"I am strongly of opinion that it would be false economy to reduce

* *India as it may be*, pp. 270, 271.

the pay of European members of the Covenanted Civil Service. If Europeans are necessary, it is of the highest importance that they should be competent men, that is to say, that they should have good constitutions, that they should be honest, and at least of good average ability. These qualities cannot be obtained unless the Government chooses to pay for them. An Indian career possesses less attraction than is often supposed. The work of administration in India is so difficult that it requires the cream of our schools and colleges to carry it on efficiently."*

Practically, through the depreciation of silver, Indian salaries have been considerably reduced during the last few years. Civilians who have children to educate at home find the difference very serious. The recent income tax is a further deduction.

Native Civilians should receive the same salaries as Europeans. They are not too high for competent men. The cost of the Covenanted Civil Service to the people of India is only about two pies (¼*d.*) a month per head. Any reduction here would be dearly purchased by a less efficient administration.

"Covenanted" says in the *Calcutta Review* :—

"The Indian service is said to be the purest administration in the world as regards its European members. But even here is there not something wanting? Are there not instances familiarly known to the members of the administrative services of men among them: (I speak of men of English birth) who are generally known to be untrustworthy, who are commonly suspected of being corrupt? Such things are not a secret, yet they seem very imperfectly known to the highest authorities; if they are known, the case becomes worse."

The same writer directs attention also to the following :—

"A smaller point quite worth passing notice, on which improvement is still required, is the practice of receiving 'dalis,' or small presents, on occasions of visits from natives. Many of us have, I fancy, abjured such things entirely, and experience shows that the refusal, far from exciting resentment, may be accepted as evidencing a desire to see the visitor for his own sake. But in many parts, especially, perhaps, in outlying districts, the objectionable practice still prevails; a thrifty housewife has been heard to express her satisfaction at getting sugar and oranges enough in Christmas 'dalis' to make marmalade for *all* the year; a trivial matter truly to us, but one of real consequence often to the donors, who may be subordinate officials on small salaries. The thing is an anomaly, and an anachronism, and should be wholly brushed away like an obnoxious cobweb." *April*, 1885, p. 357.

The reception of the smallest presents by an official or any member of his family, should be strictly forbidden. They are simply bribes to gain "master's favour." If presented to the lady, the donor is quite aware of the advantage of having a "friend at court."

* *Nineteenth Century*, Oct. 1883, p. 576.

Royal Commission.—The growing difficulty of governing India is agreed upon all hands. A higher and higher grade of Indian officials is required. The present state of things is not at all satisfactory.

A Royal Commission, composed of the three noblemen already mentioned, the Earl of Iddesleigh, the Marquis of Ripon, and the Earl of Northbrook, would do admirably. Among the witnesses examined should be the Civil Service Commission; the heads of Colleges; "Old Indians," like Sir William Muir, Sir Robert Montgomery, and Sir Richard Temple; oriental scholars like Professors Max Müller, Monier Williams, and Cowell; lawyers like Lord Selborne and Sir Henry Maine; scientific men like Professor Huxley, Sir Lyon Playfair, Sir Joseph Hooker; men able to advise with regard to the development of Indian resources, as Sir James Caird, Sir George Birdwood, and others. Indian opinion could be obtained to a series of questions.

The Report of such a Commission would show how far improvement was practicable, and satisfy the Indian public.

The distribution of the loaves and fishes will form an increasing difficulty. The Indians may certainly be expected to follow the example of Oliver Twist. While this is reasonable within certain limits, justice to the people also demands that they should be qualified for the higher offices of Government by some such training as that proposed.

SELF-GOVERNMENT.

Village Autonomy.

Any well-digested plan for the restoration of this will meet with cordial sympathy on the part of Europeans. The difficulty will be to reconcile the ancient system with modern civilization.

An experiment is now being made by the Ceylon Government to settle trifling disputes by what are called "Village Councils." The writer has not sufficient knowledge to describe the working of the measure; but it is deserving of investigation as calculated to throw some light on the Indian problem.

Municipalities.

The three Presidency cities have always been under Municipal regulations of their own. The oldest Municipalities, in other cases, date only from 1850. Local Boards were commenced in 1871 under Lord Mayo. Self-government was largely developed under Lord Ripon's administration. In 1882-3 there were 761 Municipalities in India, with a population of 14,295,205, and an income of Rs. 30,849,130—an average per head of about Rs. 2-2 (4*s*. 3*d*.)

Municipal Commissioners have the useful work of attending to roads, water supply, and other sanitary measures. The support of primary education also devolves upon them.

There is one point to which attention should likewise be directed —the multiplication of liquor shops. In the Madras Presidency,

"Taluk vendors will be at liberty to establish, as a general rule, as many shops as they may consider required for the adequate supply of the locality, subject to the sanction of the Collectors, which will ordinarily be granted in the absence of objections on police grounds."

The increase of liquor shops is one of the surest ways of promoting drunkenness. Their multiplication made Sweden twenty years ago "probably a more drunken country than Scotland."*

In reply to a memorial from the Madras Missionary Conference, the admission was made by Government that "the sanction of Collectors (to the opening of liquor shops) has, save in the most exceptional cases, always been granted in the absence of objections on police grounds."†

The recent Bengal Excise Commission recommended that "Much care should be exercised in the selection of sites for retail shops both in cities and other Municipal towns, and the wishes of Municipal Commissioners on the subject should invariably receive full consideration."

One of the worst effects of English rule has been the increase of drunkenness. Measures to guard against it should receive watchful attention. Where necessary, representations on the subject should be addressed to the Local, and if need be, to the Supreme Government.

Municipalities have not been an unqualified success in the West. The *Edinburgh Review* says, "Our own popular Municipalities..... have created a debt of 150 millions sterling in the last few years, and by their prodigality they have raised the local rates to the level of imperial taxation." (July, 1885, p. 298). India has got beyond them. The Municipal taxation per head averages *Rs.* 2-2-0, against Rs. 2 imperial.

The Madras house taxes amount to 15 per cent on the rental, besides License Taxes from Rs. 500 downwards. The enumeration of the different taxes, with their provisions, occupies 7 octavo pages of small type in the Madras Almanac.

The working of Municipalities in India is much more difficult than at home. Sir George Clerk, in 1860, in a Minute on the Municipal Institutions in the Bombay Presidency, said, "When left to themselves the native members do nothing at all except,

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* Committee of Madras Government, appointed 18th March 1884.
† 6th May, 1885, No. 536, Revenue.

perhaps, providing for some of their needy relatives." Cases have been known in which incapable men have thus been appointed, while the influence of the Commissioners has been exerted to shield them from dismissal. *The Englishman* mentions a recent instance of a Native Chairman of a Municipality straining his powers to have a road opened up to his own house across valuable land.

Native papers themselves point out three dangers to which Municipal Commissioners are liable:

One of them is thus mentioned by the *Indian Spectator*:—

"Wanton opposition to the official *regime*. We have observed this tendency in some of our best Native Commissioners. To these friends we have to remark that the consciousness of having acquired new power must never breed insolence if you wish to have the power rightly exerted and still further extended in future. Power is inseparable from responsibility, and this latter must teach moderation and self-denial to temper the aggressive force of authority." *Feb.* 18, 1885.

The Liberal notices a second danger:—

"It will be suicidal to ourselves, if we use our power or our influence to assert our own fancied superiority or to provide for our needy relatives and friends at the public expense. How each man can be most useful to the local community without the remotest prospect of the slightest personal gain, direct or indirect, should be the chief, as it is the only honorable form in which the members of local bodies can worthily manifest a spirit of rivalry. Public spirit which looks forward to titles or to lucrative contracts or offices for relations is exactly of the same stamp as that patriotism which Dr. Johnson cynically, because generally, though rightly as regards individual cases, described 'as the last refuge of scoundrels.'" *August* 17, 1884.

The *Indian Spectator* cautions against a third abuse:—

"The real danger to be averted is from want of unity amongst natives themselves. So long as Hindus and Muhammadans make it a point of honour to oppose one another on the Municipal Boards, so long will they postpone the realisation of the national object." *February* 15, 1885.

The same fear was expressed by *The Times*:—"Lest the heterogeneous population of India, in the name of political education, should be permitted to seize upon local administration and gratify its inextinguishable antipathies."

The state of things in the Calcutta Municipality is thus described: "Not even the purely European wards were allowed the privilege of being represented by resident Europeans. In the suburbs the 96,000 Mahomedans were not allowed a single representative." "Nor is this all." Mr. Harrison, Chairman of the Municipality, says of the Bengalis,

"Not content with monopolizing the whole of the elective posts, these Commissioners have formed themselves into a caucus or club to prevent the unrepresented minority having any sort of voice in the municipal administration through the nominated Commissioners."

Calcutta is an extreme case, and there are Municipalities where all the Commissioners work heartily together. Still, it shows the need of watchfulness and caution.

Representation in Legislative Councils.

Mr. R. Mudaliyar, the Madras Delegate, said at a public meeting at home, reported in *The Hindu*, December 8th :—

"They had no such thing as a Parliament in India, and absolutely no voice in the government of the country. Taxes were levied and the money spent without their being consulted ('shame')."

How far this statement was correct will now be shown.

The Indian Councils Act of 1861, as regards the Governor-General's Council for making Laws, provided that the strength of its numbers might rise to twenty, of whom eight were to be virtually official and six at least non-official, while the character of the remaining six was to be determined as the Viceroy pleased.

Dr. Hunter, writing in 1880, says,

"The legislative councils of the Imperial and Local Governments have each a Native element in their composition, which although nominated, is fairly chosen so as to represent the various leading classes of the people. Thus of the ten members of the Bengal Council, three are covenanted civilians, one is a crown lawyer, two are non-official Europeans, and four natives. Of the natives the first is the editor of the *Hindu Patriot*, the chief Native paper in India; the second is the head of the Muhammadan community in Calcutta; the other two represent the landed and important rural interests."

The Native non-official members were at first selected from the men whose position and wealth seemed to give them the best claim. They were naturally too conservative for young reformers, and considerable dissatisfaction was expressed. Latterly, popular opinion has been more consulted, and the selections have been generally approved.

Sir James Fergusson, late Governor of Bombay, was held up by a clique as hostile to the welfare of the people of India, and therefore unworthy of election as a member of Parliament. *The Hindu*, however, is obliged to make the following acknowledgment :—

"The Governor of Bombay has an exceptionally able council to advise him on matters of legislation. Messrs. Mehta, Telang, Tayabjee, Naoroji and Ranade are among the ablest and the best informed Indian gentlemen. Their general attainments are as high as their knowledge of their country is extensive and accurate. It is much to the credit of Sir James Fergusson that he initiated this new departure in the principle of making nominations to the Legislative Council." *Dec.* 26, 1885.

The Hindu, as usual, praises in one quarter to depreciate in another. Bombay is exalted to lower Madras. But the Madras

non-official members are equally well selected. The Muhammadan member is an excellent representative of his co-religionists; the European member is Vice Chairman of the Madras Chamber of Commerce. The Maharaja of Vizianagram is the largest and most public-spirited landholder in the Presidency. The other two Native members are probably as good exponents of "Young India" as could be chosen.

Exclusive of the Governor, the Madras Legislative Council has seven official and four non-official members.

The Imperial Legislature has four Native members, and three non-official Europeans.

A "National Congress" was held at Bombay on the 28th, 29th and 30th December, 1885. *The Hindu* gives the names of 69 members. Lawyers seem to have numbered 37, Editors 9, Municipal Commissioners 7, Merchants 4, Landholders 3, Teachers 3, Doctors 2, Miscellaneous or undefined 4. Some members were both lawyers and municipal officers; but they are classed according to their professions.

The Madras Presidency sent 21 members; Bombay 17; Poona 9; Surat 6; Calcutta 3; Ahmedabad, Karachi, Agra, Lucknow, and Lahore 2 each; Viramgam, Benares, and Allahabad 1 each.

The *Bombay Gazette* says, "The spectacle which presented itself of men representing the various races and communities, castes and sub-divisions of castes, religions and sub-divisions of religions, met together in one place to form themselves, if possible into one political whole, was most unique and interesting."

The following Resolution was passed unanimously:—

"That this Congress desires to record its opinion in favour of the expansion of the Supreme Legislative Council and the Legislative Councils for the Provinces when they already exist, as well as in the N. W. Provinces and the Punjaub, by the admission of a considerable proportion of elected members—the necessary reference to such Councils of all the financial questions and the extension to their members of the right to interpellate the executive in regard to all branches of the administration; also the constitution in England of a Standing Committee of the House of Commons to consider any representations sent up by overruled members of such Councils against the action of the executive."

The Resolution only says that a "considerable proportion" of the members should be elected. Mr. Cotton thinks it

"Reasonable that the Government should still be allowed to nominate a proportion—say one-third—of the members of the Council. If the number of the members of a Legislative Council were fixed at thirty, there would then be twenty members left to be chosen by the people from among themselves."*

New India, pp. 85, 86.

Apart, however, from defining the exact number of members, it must be confessed that a good many sweeping changes are proposed in a single Resolution. The driving of "Young India" is "like the driving of Jehu, the son of Nimshi, for he driveth furiously." His best friends recommend him to moderate his pace.

Some years ago the late Hon. J. B. Norton reminded "Young Madras" that "events do not succeed each other in the history of a nation with the same rapidity as they crowd into the life of an individual." Not long ago this was re-iterated in the same city by Dr. Miller, C. I. E. :—

"The seed of English freedom had not been planted but yesterday; it had grown through the storm of ages and had required centuries to develop it. It was the oak which grows slowly that was able to battle with the storms of a thousand years, and it was the gourd which grew up in a night that died in a night also. He wished that the political and social development of the people of this country would be like that of the oak."

Principal Wordsworth at the opening of the Fergusson College last year at Poona said :—

"It was impossible to disguise from themselves that the educated classes were by the light which they received separated to a very great extent in feeling and ideas from the people of the country which gave them birth and were...exposed to the temptation of indulging in a critical and revolutionary spirit. If they looked at the history of those European countries which had passed out of the stage of spiritual and temporal despotism, into something like comparative freedom, they would see the great injury and great misfortune which resulted from the levity, the ignorance, the want of political experience of the classes which had received illumination, light and knowledge. And although he admitted that there were excuses which might be put forward by the people in some parts of the country, he would be wanting in candour if he failed to say that amongst a portion of the native public of India, especially in Bengal, making an allowance for whatever provocation they had received, they had an illustration that where an adherence to exaggerated ideas and pretensions, such as he had alluded to, get possession of men's minds, it was fraught with great danger to society."

Sir Henry Maine's recent volume on Popular Government notices the harm done by "rapidly framing and confidently uttering general propositions on political subjects." "This habit of mind threatens little short of ruin to the awakening intellect of India, where political abstractions, founded exclusively upon English facts, are applied by the educated minority and by their newspapers, to a society which through nine-tenths of its structure belongs to the thirteenth century of the West."

The *Pioneer*, after quoting the above says :—

"Undoubtedly the tendency of our Native politicians, whose aims and wishes are sensible enough in themselves, is to be in too great a hurry to

swallow formulas undigested, to exaggerate the defects and shortcomings of the existing political system, and entirely to underestimate, through their inexperience, the immense difficulty and risk of any rapid and radical changes."

Tennyson refers to England as :—

"A land of settled government
A land of just and old renown,
Where freedom broadens slowly down
From precedent to precedent."

Thus should it be in India.

Some of "Young India's" warmest friends advise him for the present to endeavour to make Lord Ripon's measures a success before undertaking fresh political responsibilities. Such advice, however, does not suit fiery reformers.

A few remarks may be offered with regard to proposed changes in the Legislative Councils.

Imperial Legislature.—This has the determination of questions of finance and legislation connected with the whole country. It had better remain as it is for the present.

The following suggestions refer only to the Legislative Councils of Bengal, Madras, and Bombay.

Number of Members.—The British House of Commons has not proved itself, in the capacity of a legislative machine, as the "perfection of human wisdom." Good acts are best drawn up by a few competent men. It is well, however, that they should have a wide expression of opinion before them. Draft bills might be officially sent for criticism to the Chambers of Commerce, to such bodies as the British Indian Association, and to the principal Municipalities.

The press is also becoming more and more an exponent of "Native Public Opinion."

Exclusive of the Governor or Lieutenant-Governor, each Council might consist of 16 members—eight official and eight non-official. The suggestion of Mr. Cotton with regard to the number is strongly condemned. It would be very liable to lead to a repetition of the scenes in the Calcutta Municipality.

Mr. Justice Cunningham says, "The additional members of council are necessarily in almost every instance officials or commercial gentlemen without the special knowledge and training necessary to enable them to render really useful aid in the technical details of legislation." He suggest therefore the re-introduction of the judicial element. Either the Chief Justice or the Native High Court Judge might be appointed as an additional official member.

Selection of non-official Members.—The leaders of "Native Public Opinion" have not shown political sagacity in singling out Sir

Richard Temple and Sir James Fergusson as the enemies of the Indian people, while Messrs. Blunt and Keay are to be regarded as their friends. *The Interpreter* justly says :—

"It saddens the hearts of men who are outside the regions of these quarrels when they reflect that every question of right and wrong should be decided from the exclusive standpoint of class interest. For instance, a particular official is retiring from the country. His public life will be valued, not from the general tenor of his character and administration, but whether he voted for or against the Ilbert Bill." *Dec.* 1885.

The Hindus are accustomed to caste combinations, and can easily adopt the American "caucus" system. A recent work, *Kings without Crowns*, describing the American Presidents, says :—

"If there were a large class of cultured men, with leisure and wealth enough to allow them to devote themselves to political management, the caucus might not be a disadvantageous institution; but as, in fact, the strings of party are largely drawn by men who have neither character nor ability enough to make their mark in any other profession, it is in most cases an evil." p. 127.

Still, on the whole, it seems best to concede the right of election in India.

Of the proposed eight unofficial members, two might be selected by Government from the most important and intelligent Zemindars, to represent the landed interests. Eventually they could be chosen by the Zemindars themselves.

The other six members might be elected by the following bodies:—

1. The Presidency Municipality.
2. The Presidency Chamber of Commerce.
3. The University Graduates.
4. The Muhammadan Association.
5. The Members of Municipalities and Local Boards, North.*
6. The Members of Municipalities and Local Boards, South.*

Finance, &c.—The Imperial Legislature, which contains four Native Members, has some control over the general finance. The budget is annually placed before the Ceylon Legislative Council. This might be conceded to the Indian Provincial Councils. The statesmanship of some of the elected members may consist of "petty economies," or they may wish to pose as "tribunes of the people." But, on the whole, the advantages predominate. So with "Interpellation." As in Parliament, Government may decline to answer any question when publicity is inexpedient.

Native Papers, instead of indulging in vague declamation about "useless offices with extravagant salaries," should specify them, and show their worthlessness.

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* In Bengal, East and West.

Time and Place of Meeting.—Legislation should not be spread over the year. The Session might be during the four months of the cold season, when the seat of Government is at the capital. Drafts of proposed bills might be circulated at the close of each session, and during the recess of eight months there would be time for criticising them. If meetings are necessary at other seasons, the official members should come to the capital. Legislative duties, under any circumstances, are a heavy tax upon the time of unofficial members, and to ask them to go to some sanitarium, hundreds of miles distant, is unfair.

Term of Service.—The Madras memorialists suggest that members should hold their seats for a period of two years as at present, and be eligible for re-election. Members of parliament are elected for seven years, although the actual average is shorter. Frequent elections are undesirable. Members would gain more experience and be more independent if the term in India were extended to five years.

Legislative Councils for the North West Provinces & the Punjab.—From the progress education is making in these Provinces, at no distant period Councils may be established in them with advantage.

The Spirit in which Reform is to be Sought.

Many educated Hindus think that the "bureaucracy" watch with envious eyes gatherings like that which lately took place at Bombay. While such may be the feelings of some, its most distinguished members view them with pleasure, and only wish that they may be wisely directed. They are what was aimed at from the commencement.

Sir Richard Temple says :—

"While developing her own national life, England will find that the educated sections of Native Society are moved by aspirations for self-government and for political representation. Such ideas have been vaguely and tentatively promulgated in former times, but have never before been so fully defined, nor so openly declared, as they are at present.

"Thoughtful Englishmen may remember that self-government among the Natives is one of the goals to which many of the administrative arrangements of India are tending."

Dr. Hunter remarks :—

"I do not believe that a people numbering one-sixth of the whole inhabitants of the globe, and whose aspirations have been nourished from their earliest youth on the strong food of English liberty, can be permanently denied a voice in the government of their country. I do not believe that races, among whom we raise a taxation of 35 millions sterling, and into whom we have instilled the maxim of, 'No taxation

without representation,' as a fundamental right of a people, can be permanently excluded from a share in the management of their finances." p. 135.

At Delhi, Lord Dufferin said to the Municipal Commissioners :—

"Without giving any pledge on the subject as to times and seasons, I can assure them that no one will be more personally gratified than myself at the arrival of the day when a still fuller measure of independence may be granted them."

Lord R. Churchill's notions of Indian ethnology are rather hazy, but it is his hope that the millions of India will be welded "in process of time into one great united people."

A few remarks may now be offered on the spirit which will be most successful in securing what is sought.

1. *Reform is not to be gained by disloyalty.*—There is an "Underground India" as well as "Underground Russia," though happily on a much smaller scale. Cities might be named in which cliques meet and talk sedition, which also finds vent at times in the native press. *The Hindu* says, "If by some indiscretion on our part the cry that the educated natives are hostile to the supremacy of the British nation catches the English public, then the bubble will burst, and we will open our eyes to exclaim what a dream we have been dreaming." (Feb. 11th 1885). It would be suicidal policy on the part of any Government to give power to men who were at heart traitors to it.

2. *Reform is not to be promoted by exciting Race Hatred.*—No good is done by asserting that "the English are the most avaricious and selfish people in the world;" that English merchants are "perfect masters of envy, intrigue and malice;" that the "bureaucracy" create "useless offices with the most extravagant scale of salaries to provide for themselves and their relations;" that "like an immense vampire they have sat brooding over India and draining her almost to her heart's blood during the last century and more."*

3. *"Moderation is better than exaggeration."*—These words form part of the wise counsel to the delegates by the Hon. B. Tyabjee. The *Dnyanodaya* a Bombay, journal, edited by an American Missionary, gives the same advice:

"To have power, a Reformer should manifest a love of truth by exactness and accuracy in his statements and representations. Exaggerations have never been helpful in reform; they have retarded, but have

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* References have been given to the above quotations. The *Madras Mail* gives the following from the *Som Prakash*, the leading Bangali newspaper: The English of to-day "are the bitter enemies of the natives. Their rage and pride know no bounds. They are Neros in oppression and Chandals (the lowest outcastes) in custom." Dec. 13, 1885.

never advanced a cause. Exaggerations give room for an enemy to oppose with effect. Exact unexaggerated truth is the best weapon for reform, for the very reason that it is nothing but the truth.

"Obtain exact statistics and information. Keep that information before the people. Prevent stagnation of thought. Welcome every sign of progress however small."

4. "*Persuasion is better than declamation or abuse.*" This is also quoted from the Hon. B. Tyabjee. The commentary of the *Dnyanodaya* may be given in this case likewise:—

"Criticism of government method is the right and prerogative of the subject, but criticism has greater weight when accompanied with appreciation of the underlying motive of Government, and does not confound accidental irregularities and mistakes, with the true purpose of the ruling Power....The surest and quickest way for India to obtain redress of wrongs and greater privileges, is to appreciate in English rule what is worthy of appreciation, and criticise from the position of a friend and not from the position of an enemy."

Quarters from which Reform may be expected.

Some of these may be noticed.

The House of Commons.—One proposal of the Bombay Congress was,

"The constitution in England of a Standing Committee of the House of Commons to consider any representations sent up by overruled members of such Councils against the action of the Executive."

It is not surprising that even Mr. Chamberlain gave no pledge to support such a scheme.

Little is to be gained by an appeal to the House of Commons itself. Years ago Macaulay said that an inquiry into a row at Covent Garden would excite far more attention among its members than the most important question connected with India. Though the Government has now passed directly into the hands of the Crown, these supposed custodians of India's interests are, as a rule, still conspicuous by their absence when her affairs are discussed. Even although they were present, it must be confessed that it would not much avail. Macaulay, referring to the trial of Warren Hastings by the Peers, says, "They are all politicians. There is hardly one among them whose vote on an impeachment may not be confidently predicted before a witness has been examined." Much more does this apply to the House of Commons. Mr. Harrison says, "In practice nine out of ten parliamentary speakers do not mean to convince, and nine out of ten of parliamentary voters do not mean to be convinced, and are incapable of being convinced, and mean to vote, convinced or not."*

Nineteenth Century, Sept. 1881.

As already mentioned, there never perhaps was a time when Indian appeals would meet with less attention from Parliament. There are vital questions connected with the Home Islands which will absorb all parties.

The aim ought rather to be to make India self-governing. If the advocates of any reform in England are defeated, they simply try to make out their case more clearly, and to influence public opinion on the subject. So should it be in India.

A Royal Commission.—The first Resolution of the Bombay Congress was the following :—

"That this Congress earnestly recommends a Royal Commission to be appointed to inquire into the working of the Indian administration here and in England, the people of India being adequately represented thereon, and all available evidence taken in India and in England."

Some years ago *Punch* was represented, in a cartoon, as seated in his editorial chair "interpellating" Lord John Russell, his question being, "What is your opinion of things in general?" "The working of the Indian administration here and in England," is a subject nearly as extensive. To do it thoroughly would occupy years, and require several Commissions. It is doubtful whether Government would appoint a Commission for an inquiry so vague. It seems desirable therefore to specify points on which investigation is needed. Two are suggested in the foregoing pages—the India Council and the Civil Service. Whether any Royal Commission will be appointed will depend chiefly upon the view taken by the Government of India.

Little reliance can be placed upon the casual remark of Lord R. Churchill to propose a Parliamentary Inquiry. In any case a Royal Commission is preferable.

Lord Dufferin has promised a Financial Commission. A Mixed Commission has been suggested to examine into the Land Revenue systems of the Madras and Bombay Presidencies.

Lord Dufferin.—Indian reformers will find in this nobleman their best friend and wisest counsellor. He belongs to the same political school as Lord Ripon, although perhaps he would put less steam on "the rushing and screaming locomotive that typifies progress."

Already Lord Dufferin has been largely instrumental in saving India and England from the terrible calamity of a war with Russia. It has been staved off for the present, and the measures taken may help to avert it in the future. For this alone India owes him a debt of gratitude. The past year was one of severe mental pressure.

It may be well to give some explanation of Lord Dufferin's policy with regard to Upper Burma, which has been severely criticised by the Native Press.

It is alleged that Government ought not to have interfered, although the Bombay Trading Company was unjustly treated.

Perhaps the greatest service which the Romans rendered to the world was by their *Law*, which forms the basis of most modern legislation. Two thousand years ago it acknowledged the principle that a state was bound to protect its subjects from *injustice* wherever they might be. This limitation must be kept in view. It did not shield a criminal from due punishment. With this exception, a Roman anywhere could say *Civis Romanus sum*, "I am a Roman citizen," and demand his rights. This principle is recognised by all the civilized nations of Europe, and it applies to this country. Any native of India, a British subject, may claim the protection of Government, wherever he is, against injustice. The King of Burma was at perfect liberty to forbid the Bombay Trading Company from coming into his dominions, but having voluntarily entered into engagements with it, he had no right to ask an advance of 22 lakhs, and then impose a fine of 23 lakhs on a false charge because it was not granted. When the British Government remonstrated, a contemptuous reply was given, refusing to recognise its right to defend its subjects from gross oppression, and declining to withdraw the claim.

But the great cause of the war with Burma was the treaty which the King had made with France. It would be most injurious to India for the French to have a Protectorate over Upper Burma. Their ships of war would require to sail up the Irawadi through British territory. The approach of Russia on the West has entailed an additional expenditure of two crores a year; it would require as much more to protect the Eastern frontier, if France got a footing in Upper Burma.

The ultimatum sent to Theebaw was that he should receive a British Resident, and that England should have the control of foreign affairs. This was rejected, and Theebaw issued a proclamation that he would himself, at the head of his army, march against the *Kullahs* (barbarians) and annex their country. One of his generals on leaving Mandalay promised to bring back the heads of General Prendergast and Colonel Sladen in a fortnight. The very different result is well-known.

The course has been followed which was best for the interests both of India and the people of Upper Burma.

Lord Dufferin has had wide political experience. The position of Canada, of which he was Governor-General for several years, is the goal to which Indian reformers should tend, though years must elapse before it is fully reached.

Most will be gained by a temperate Memorial to Lord Dufferin on extending the electoral principle to the Legislative Councils as

far as it can be done with safety at present. But it is not to be expected that he will draft a new constitution as quickly as an Abbé Sieyes. He will wish to gain a better knowledge of India, and to watch the working of the changes introduced by Lord Ripon. Reformers may, however, be certain that if such a measure is not introduced before he lays down the reins of Government, it is because he thought the time for it had not yet come.

Even in that case, after his retirement, should God spare his life, he will take a warm interest in India, and he may aid one of his successors in carrying out a measure the honour of which he would have coveted for himself, had it been compatible with the true interests of India at the time. So far as the Government is concerned, the advice which "Young India" most needs is that which Count Cavour gave to some ardent Italian patriots, "*Have Patience!*"

The Enlightenment of the People.—An American writer says,

"The form of government must naturally vary according to the intelligence and virtue of the people. If, then, any citizens would influence the government, if they would render it more mild and liberal, they must seek to enlighten and reform the great body of the people. The state, adapting its government to the qualifications of the people, will be constrained to give them liberty according as they are prepared to receive it."

Here, instead of Cavour's maxim, the watchword should be "full speed ahead!" Carlyle, with grim humour, recommends every reformer to begin with himself, and then he will be sure that there is one rascal less in the world. Let the reader endeavour to gain as much correct knowledge as he can, and then let him seek to diffuse it among his countrymen.

SOCIAL AND MORAL REFORM.

The Women of India.

The women of India have some excellent qualities; but from their present state of ignorance, they are one of the greatest obstacles to reform in every respect. The late Professor Chuckerbutty, in the first Introductory Lecture ever delivered at the Calcutta Medical College by a Native, said of the elevation of the women of India,

"Of all the great social problems to be solved in this country, this is undoubtedly the greatest. It is useless to hide from ourselves the fact that the degraded condition of the women of India is the foundation of numerous social evils."

The injurious influences of ignorant mothers are not confined to their children. Even educated husbands are held in subjection by

them. A native newspaper has the following remarks on this subject :—

"The educated native is nowhere so miserable and crest-fallen as in his home, and by none is he so much embarrassed as by his female relations. His private life may be said to be at antipodes with his public career. A Demosthenes at Debating Societies, whose words tell as peals of thunder, a Luther in his public protestations against prevailing corruptions, a thorough-going Cockney in ideas and tastes, he is but a timid crouching Hindu in his home, yielding unquestioning submission to the requisitions of a superstitious family."...Between husband and wife, "there can be no rational conversation, no hearty exchange of thoughts and sympathies, no co-operation in really useful undertakings, and even no companionship beyond the pale of the Zenana. The only way of patching up a temporary and nominal reconciliation is for the husband to forget his scholarship, and lay down his crotchets of reform, and assume the attitude of complete orthodoxy and foolish ignorance. Surely an educated husband and an illiterate wife cannot possibly agree, and so long as the latter governs the household according to her orthodox prejudices, the nation cannot make any real advancement."

Some of the means to be employed to raise the condition of women will be briefly noticed.

Female Education.—This should be promoted by intelligent men to the utmost of their power. It is to be expected that the strongest opposition will arise from ignorant old women. Full of superstitious prejudices, blindly guided by custom, untaught themselves, they cannot see the advantages of female education. But man—not woman—is constituted head of the family. It would be despicable for educated men to yield to such resistance.

In some cases, however, the indifference of the male members of the family is the obstacle. A woman has said, "What is the use of my learning to read or to write? I am only laughed at. My husband does not encourage me. No one seems to approve." Let there be no ground for such objections.

Day schools are best for the young. At home there are many interruptions, and from the small number taught, there is not the sympathy and intellectual life awakened by contact with others. Some of the most influential Hindus in Bombay send their own daughters to school. In parts of the country where the higher classes are not yet sufficiently enlightened to permit this, children should be taught at home.

The system of early marriages is a great drawback to female education. In some cases, however, it may be turned to good account. The husband may insist upon his wife's education. A young man in Bombay brought his child-wife to school, saying that he wished her to learn all she could.

It is not an easy task for a grown-up woman to acquire the art of reading. She has many temptations to overcome. Her husband

should give her every encouragement. He should be willing to teach her himself.

The advantages of female education, is one of the most common subjects for essays in India. But *deeds* are wanted, not mere *words*. Livingstone says, "It is not by grand meetings, fine speeches, and much excitement that anything great is done. No, it is by hard work, working in quiet, working under a sense of God's presence everywhere."

Every educated husband should teach his wife to read if she has not already that ability, and he should take care that his daughters are properly taught. Mr. Chentsal Rao said at Madras :—

"Primarily I hold our educated natives responsible for the ignorance of our women. How many families are there not in which the men are highly educated and the women left ignorant even of the alphabet!"

"Native Public Opinion" is happily farther advanced on the subject of female education than it is with regard to widow marriage. All may therefore unite in pushing it. It will also be one of the best means of promoting the latter. Educated women will claim "woman's rights."

Education Needed.—The Hon. T. Muthusami Iyer, of Madras, justly remarked,

"The curriculum which is designed for girls should not be framed too much on the pattern of the curriculum prescribed for boys. It should be specially adapted to the wants of women in life. It is not enough that they learn to read and write and keep accounts, but it is also necessary that they should be enabled to lay in a stock of knowledge which will be of service to them in managing the house, in nursing relations through illness, in bringing up and training children, in enforcing attention to cleanliness and to the laws of health, in rendering the home neat and tidy, and in imparting to the home life a tone of cheerful contentment, and in sustaining and raising that energy of female character which creates a lovely and happy home out of bare competence, and in acquitting themselves well and honorably as wives, daughters and mothers, amidst all the vicissitudes of life."

Different standards and different text books are recommended for girls. Both have been greatly neglected. Hundreds of English and American ladies have been engaged in female education during the last half century or more, but, so far as known to the writer, their total contribution to *school literature specially for women and girls** consists of a "Zenana Reader," prepared eight years ago by A. L. O. E. at his request. A good series of books of this description is one of the greatest educational wants of India. The secular "Readers" for boys which are sometimes used even in Zenana

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* Some of them have translated or written religious books. *School Books specially for girls' schools* are meant.

teaching, are most unsuitable for female education. Here, above all, religious teaching is desirable.

For the great majority of women, a purely Vernacular education is all that is necessary. For the higher classes, English, on several accounts, is greatly to be preferred to Sanskrit.

Early Marriage and **Widow Re-marriage**.—These reforms are in excellent Native hands. Under this head the writer need only say to them, "Keep pegging away."

Extravagant Expenditure at Marriages.—This will be noticed under "Self-created Causes of Indian Poverty."

Women in Society.—There is a very great difference between the position in society of European and Hindu ladies. The former mix freely with their friends, and often attend public meetings. The latter, in most parts of India, are kept closely secluded,—even near male relations not being permitted to see their faces.

In ancient times in India, the customs with regard to women more resembled those in Europe. The Ramayana and Mahabharata contain many allusions to women appearing in public. In the Raghuvansa, a king, Dilipa, travels with his queen, Sudakshina, in an open carriage, both of them asking questions of the people they met about road-side plants. In the Mahavira Charita princes and princesses, entire strangers to each other, are openly introduced in the same company.

The conquest of India by the Muhammadans tended powerfully to degrade the position of women. The Koran permits polygamy and divorce. Marriage can be dissolved at any time at the simple will and fancy of the husband. A traveller met an Arab, not an old man, who had been married fifty times. According to Muhammadan law, a man can look upon any married woman (near relatives excepted) as within his reach by marriage, the present husband consenting. Every married woman can become the lawful wife of any man she may captivate, if she can persuade her husband to pronounce a divorce. Muhammadans are, therefore, compelled to keep their wives closely confined, or the foundations of society would be broken up.

The Mussulman rulers of India took into their zenanas beautiful Hindu women, even although married. To avoid such outrages, women were kept within doors or carefully veiled. In course of time the Hindus, in the seclusion of women, acted like Muhammadans.

Women in this country should again be allowed the liberty they had in ancient times.

As in the case of female education, some of the strongest opponents of the change will be the women themselves. Like

prisoners immured all their lives, they have no idea of the sweets of liberty. But intelligent Hindu ladies will gladly avail themselves of the privilege.

The objection may be raised that, considering the state of morals in India, the introduction of women into society would lead to great evil. The idea is entertained by many that society must be reformed before such a course can be taken with safety. It is granted that the prevailing moral tone requires to be elevated; but female influence is one of the most powerful agencies which can be employed for this purpose. This has been abundantly shown by experience. The presence of women at social gatherings puts a stop to coarse jests and all improper behaviour. When fathers and mothers bring their families together, they dare not give way to anything indecent.

It is not proposed to copy European example in all respects. English ladies often squander large sums of money on dress, the fashion of which is constantly changing. The Indian costume is much more graceful and becoming. Native balls, with dancing, are by no means recommended.

Nor are sudden great changes advocated. The first step is to have more intercourse between members of the same family. Father and mother, brothers and sisters, should mix with each other, instead of living apart as they often do at present. Taking meals together is a matter of great importance.

Next, let relatives, male and female, visit each other. Instead of calling separately, or the men talking with men and the women going into the female apartments, let all meet together and converse. The same course should be followed at entertainments. Friends, who are not relatives, may gradually be treated in a similar manner. Ladies should not, however, be introduced to persons who are immoral. The company of such should be shunned by all.

Hindu women ought to be taken to museums and other sights, which will expand their minds and give them fresh ideas.

The great objection will be, "What will people say?" To this *The Indian Reformer* replies:—

"They may say anything they choose; they may point the finger of ridicule towards you; they may crack many a merry joke at your expense;—but all that, to use the language of a Bengali proverb, will not raise a blister on your body. When a person is honestly convinced of the utility of a social innovation, let him dare practise it himself; and, if he be not an absolute cipher in society, he is sure to be followed by others. No man has yet become a reformer, whether social, moral, political or religious, without moral courage."

The reader, if married, can, at all events, begin with his own wife. Let him eat with her, instead of being waited upon by her like a servant.

Tennyson says,

"The woman's cause is man's: they rise or sink
Together, dwarf'd or godlike, bond or free."

In seeking the elevation of the women of India, men are also taking one of the best means to raise themselves.

CASTE.

It is a good sign of the times that the defence of this system is now left to European Positivists, with a "screw loose" somewhere. The *Indian Messenger*, referring to Mr. Cotton's recent attempt of this kind says, "We who were born to it, and have lived in it, and can now mark all its evil consequences, think otherwise."

The English word *caste* comes from the Portuguese word *casta*, a race. The true Sanskrit name for caste is *varna*, colour. The Aryan invaders of India were white compared with the Aborigines, whom they called a "black-sprung host." In Vedic times there were but two castes—the fair and dark races. By degrees, the present system was developed.

Caste distinctions, in course of time, were endlessly multiplied. The Brahmans now form ten tribes, with no fewer than 1,886 subdivisions. Many of these subdivisions will no more eat, drink, and intermarry with one another than they will with the other castes. The Kshatriyas reckon 590 separate tribes. Different employments led to new classes among the Vaisyas and Sudras. Men having the same occupation imposed certain rules, and put out of caste any by whom they were broken. Even the Pariahs have numerous subdivisions, and are as tenacious of their caste as the highest Brahmans. Some of the fiercest caste disputes take place between those near the bottom of the scale.

"Caste surrounds the Indian from the day of his birth to that of his death, and is thus indissolubly bound up with his social life; it is as much a necessity to him as the food he eats, the raiment he wears, or the house he lives in. Indeed, as Mr. Sherring remarks, 'he can dispense with raiment, and during most of the year prefers the court outside his house to the hot rooms within; but he can never free himself from caste, can never escape from its influence. By day and by night, at home or abroad, in waking, sleeping, eating, drinking, in all the customs of the society in which he moves, and in the events governing his entire life, he is always under its pervading and overmastering influence. Hindus are tied hand and foot and are willing slaves of the most intolerant and exacting taskmaster that ever placed a yoke on the neck of man.'" The *Indian Nation*, a Native paper, in noticing Mr. Cotton's apology for caste says, "No code of jail discipline could be more comprehensive or severe than the Hindu religion on its practical side."

Caste carries out its own childish rules and laws with Draconian severity, while it disregards the greatest crimes. A man may be guilty of dakoity and murder; this does not affect his caste; but let him take a glass of water from a European, and it is immediately destroyed. "Other religions," it has been remarked, "may be seated in the mind and soul,—but the stronghold of Hinduism is the stomach." The most important distinctions between right and wrong are obliterated by caste.

Max. Müller says,

"There is no authority whatever in the hymns of the Veda for the complicated system of castes. There is no law to prohibit the different classes of the people from living together, from eating and drinking together; no law to prohibit the marriage of people belonging to different castes; no law to brand the offspring of such marriages with an indelible stigma. There is no law to sanction the blasphemous pretensions of a priesthood to divine honours, or the degradation of any human being to a state below the animal."

Shakespeare says, "Hath not a Jew eyes? hath not a Jew hands, organs, dimensions, senses, affections, passions?" Similar sentiments are found in the Mahabharata: "Desire, anger, fear, cupidity, grief, apprehension, hunger, fatigue, prevail over all; by what, then, is caste discriminated?"

Another passage in the Mahabharata is thus rendered:—

"Small souls inquire 'Belongs this man
To our own race, or class, or clan?'
But larger-hearted men embrace
As brothers all the human race."

There is a growing desire to be freed from this bondage. A writer in the *Indu Prakash* says,

"The tyranny of caste extends from the most trifling to the most important affairs of Hindu life. It cripples the independent action of individuals; sows the seed of bitter discord between the different sections of society; encourages the most abominable practices; and dries up the springs of that social, moral, and intellectual freedom, which alone can secure greatness, whether to individuals or nations.

"O God, have mercy on our fallen countrymen! Give them true knowledge of Thy Fatherhood and their brotherhood, that our countless millions may be bound by one social tie; and, joining hand with hand and heart with heart, move onward in the path of freedom and righteousness, knowledge and glory, and national regeneration."

One of the greatest obstacles to the overthrow of caste is that, as a rule, the most enlightened leaders of native society, however much they may disapprove of its absurd and unjust rules, meekly bend their necks to its yoke. Did they act with firmness, it would soon become a thing of the past.

Educated Hindus "acutely feel and justly resent any assumption of superiority grounded on pride of race, when exhibited by unmannerly Europeans." The remark has been made that "no Englishman treats the natives of this country with the contempt, and insolence which high-caste Hindus habitually display towards their low caste brethren."

Christianity especially teaches the "Fatherhood of God" and the "Brotherhood of Man." "God hath made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth."

Southey says,

"Children we are all
Of one Great Father, in whatever clime
His providence hath cast the seed of life;
All tongues, all colours."

Astrology and Omens.

The bondage in which the Hindus are kept by belief in astrology and omens is second only to that of caste. It is the occasion of never-ending expenses and the fruitful source of unceasing anxieties to all classes.

"Nothing," says *The Harvest Field*, "of any importance in any position or relation of life is done without the permission of the astrologer. When a woman becomes pregnant, the astrologer is sent for to say, whether it will be a male or a female child; when it will be born; whether it will live or die; and what sort of child it will be. And he, with all the assurance of a true prophet, describes these things in detail, and a certain class even write the horoscope before the child is born. When a child is born, the presence of the astrologer is again necessary, to find out the birth star, to write the horoscope, to describe his character, to foretell the events in his life, and to fix the period of its duration. When a man wishes to have his son or daughter married, the astrologer is the only true counsellor and guide. He must examine the nativities; decide the proper conjunctions of the 27 principal stars of the constellations of the Zodiac necessary to produce a happy union; fix the fortunate days for the great ceremony; and arrange all the details of the marriage. Does a merchant wish to speculate in a quantity of goods? Is a man about to undertake a journey? Does a rich man desire to dig a well or build a tank for merit? The astrologer must fix the lucky day and hour. The proper days for celebrating feasts, the auspicious days for shaving the head, the best time for putting on the sacred thread, and a thousand other important events and periods are all fixed by the astrologer."

Sir Madava Rao thus shows the evil effects of astrology in the case of marriages:—

"The difficulties attendant upon the choice of suitable husbands for the girls of a Hindu family are generally many and great, and I am bound to say that these difficulties are enormously aggravated by Hindu *Astrology*.

The anxious parents and relatives of a girl, after much inquiry and research, make a choice, good in many respects,—in respect of age, health, appearance, education and circumstances.

The horoscopes of the boy and girl are placed in the hands of the astrologer, and he is asked for his opinion as to the proposed match.

After much inspection, study and calculation—or rather the appearance of the same—the astrologer perhaps says,

(1) The two horoscopes are not in accord ; as they ought to be.

(2) The horoscope of the boy shows that he will be short-lived ; and this means that the girl married to him will before long become a widow !

(3) The horoscope of the boy shows that he is destined to lose his first wife and to marry a second ; and this means that the girl married to him will die ere long !

(4) The horoscope of the girl shows that she will not have a father-in-law or mother-in-law ; and this means that, not long after marriage, the parents of the boy will die !

Such predictions cause alarm to the parents of the girl and also to the parents of the boy ; and the proposed alliance is abandoned.

The parents of the girl begin again their inquiries and researches for a husband for her. It having become known that her horoscope has been declared objectionable in the way above stated, nobody will accept her in marriage.

Similarly the parents of the boy renew their inquiries and researches for a wife for him. It having become known that his horoscope has been declared objectionable in the way above stated, nobody is willing to offer him a girl in marriage.

Such embarrassments, and the unhappiness thereby caused, afflict Hindu society in many and various forms.

It is lamentable what a deal of mischief the astrologer does.

The astrologer may be a real believer in the science which he professes to know. The mischief he does is not the less on that account.

He may be utterly ignorant of that science. The mischief is all the same.

It is consolatory to think that very often he is a downright humbug, who desires to extort money from either side. In this case it is a consolation that the fellow might be bribed to refrain from mischief !

But the fact of his being open to bribery soon becomes known, and he is rejected as a referee in favour of the more honest and, therefore, the less tractable mischief-maker !

The fact is, the root of the evil lies in the general or prevailing belief in astrology—the belief prevailing among men, and especially among women, who take a large part in arranging marriages.

Show this belief to be quite unfounded, and you will apply the axe to the root of the evil.

Here then is a large and virgin field presented for the labours of social reformers.

I feel it a duty to avail myself of this opportunity to declare my own profound conviction that Hindu astrology, as is now employed in connection with proposed marriages, is utterly false and purely mischievous

I trust that the educated portion of my countrymen will accept this conviction to some extent at least. If they are not prepared to do so, I would entreat them to at least make the necessary inquiries in view to ascertain the truth. The necessary inquiries may be made by individuals or by associations. Some of the many existing associations might well divert a portion of their time and attention from barren politics to such social reforms as the one under advertence.

If educated natives are unable to discover new physical truths and extend the boundaries of science, ought they not to do the important service of at least discovering and exposing the falsehoods and shams which infest native social life and curtail or destroy human happiness?"

A gentleman in Mysore gives the following illustrations of which he had personal knowledge. A rich Brahman in the Fort wanted a wife for one of his sons; but he had to write letters without end; and to search for *five* years in about a *hundred* families before he could find a girl whose natal star would fulfil the required conditions. Another respectable man in Mysore had three daughters. For one daughter he searched for a husband about two years in 22 families; for the next he made inquiries three years; and for the last one he has been writing, looking and seeking in vain for the last four years. A Brahman, 32 years of age, wandered about for more than two years with Rs. 500 in his hand looking for a wife; and he has now only succeeded in obtaining a girl of four years old by giving a dowry of Rs. 700.*

Omens are another kind of fortune-telling as foolish and false as astrology.

Some are taken from birds. Crows are favourite prophets.

The lizard also bears a high reputation. An Indian treatise on divination says that if a lizard fall on the head, it prognosticates death; if on the right ear, good; on the left ear, evil; on the nose, disease; on the neck, joy, &c. Its chirp is also a certain sign. There is, however, a Tamil proverb, "The lizard which was the oracle of the whole village has fallen into the broth pot."

The ass likewise appropriately holds a place. If an ass bray in the east, success will be delayed; in the south-east, it forebodes death; in the south, it denotes gain of money; in the south-west, good news; in the west, disturbance, &c.

Sneezing, the howling of dogs, &c., are considered to forebode vil tidings.

Another false kind of fortune-telling is by looking at the hand.

Even after marriages have been arranged with great trouble, they are sometimes broken off on account of supposed bad omens. The parents on starting upon a marriage expedition carefully watch the omens for about half a mile, as if they were infalliable indi-

cations of the future. If the omens are bad, they return; and if they are bad a second and third time, the match is entirely abandoned as one that would be ruinous.

In early times the planets were supposed to be the abodes of powerful gods who regulated human affairs. We now know that the earth on which we live is a planet, and that the other planets are bodies somewhat like it.

Astrology can easily be proved to be false. People sometimes ask for fortunate hours to commence a lawsuit. If both parties consult an astrologer at the same time, they will receive the same answer, although one of them must lose and the other gain. If a queen and a sweeper woman each give birth to a child at the same moment, both will be born under the same planets. Their horoscopes should be the same, but how different will be their future lots!

Some things written in horoscopes come to pass. It may be said of every one born in this world, that if he live he will have sickness at some time or other, and that if he recover, he will not then die; that he will have seasons of prosperity and adversity; that he will have friends and enemies. These things may be safely written in every horoscope. But when astrologers pretend to tell how long a person will live or such things, they are merely right in a few cases by chance.

The Hindus themselves on urgent occasion do not consult astrologers. They do not wait for an auspicious hour in cholera or when a man is bitten by a snake. Success in business often depends upon doing things at the right time. A little water will quench a fire at the beginning; but if allowed to go on, all efforts to put it out may be useless. It is somewhat the same with the work of a farmer, merchant, and every other employment. God has given to each one reason to guide him; but, if instead of using that, he consult an ignorant astrologer, it is not surprising that he should fail.

Compare the different nations—those that are guided by astrologers and those that are guided by reason. Look at a Hindu almanac. It is filled with directions about lucky and unlucky days and hours. Look, on the other hand, at an English almanac. From beginning to end, there is not a single word about lucky or unlucky times.

Long ago, the English, like the Hindus, believed in astrology. They were then comparatively poor, and had not attained the vast wealth and power they now possess. Wise men found out by careful examination that horoscopes written by the best astrologers were only right now and then by chance; the true nature of the planets came by degrees to be understood.

Astrology and fortune-telling are so well known to be a cheat, that in England any persons taking money in this way are regarded

as "rogues and vagabonds," and may be sentenced by a magistrate to imprisonment for three months with hard labour.

The great evil of astrology is, that it is a sin against God. It is placing inanimate planets in the room of their Creator.

The one true God is King. He is Lord of heaven above, and of the earth beneath. Agriculture, commerce, government, &c., are all dependent upon His control. Mercury, Mars, Venus, Jupiter, Saturn, the Sun and Moon, are all His servants. They have no authority, not even over the most insignificant things. They are but lifeless bodies, and faith in them is not of the slightest advantage. Let us worship Him alone, who is their and our Creator.

God never changes, never ceases to reign. No one can usurp His authority. No time is more lucky or unlucky than another. Any time is proper for what ought to be done; but anything wrong is equally forbidden at all times, and the guilty must suffer the consequence.

"Self-created" Causes of Indian Poverty.

This subject rather belongs to "material" progress, but it is so largely connected with social customs, that it is better treated under another head.

Poverty may arise from deficient rainfall and other causes over which we have no control. Such are excluded from the present remarks, which refer only to those which are "*self-inflicted* or *self-created*."

1. **Defective Agriculture.**—The average produce per acre, as already mentioned, is only about one-third of the English rate. The plough of the ryot is little better than a crooked stick. Some of his manure he burns as fuel, but the richest part of it, which a Chinaman carefully collects, is left to poison the air or to be washed by the rain into the tank from which he drinks.

2. **False Ideas with regard to Labour.**—Handicraft is despised. The object of ambition, to use Gladstone's words, is to "escape" from it into the supposed paradise of pen and ink." While the employment of some persons in public offices is useful to the whole community, their number ought not to be in excess of what is wanted. So far as food, clothing, and shelter are concerned, they are *consumers*, not *producers*. It is to be regretted that English education is swelling the number of discontented idlers. A nation does not become wealthy through mere quill-driving. England owes her prosperity largely to the attention paid to manufactures, agriculture, and commerce; their neglect by the educated classes in India is one of the chief reasons why the circumstances of the people are so depressed.

3. **Early Marriages.**—The custom of child marriage is almost peculiar to India. The rule in other parts of the world is that

marriages should not be contracted till both parties attain adult age. Intelligent, thoughtful persons do not marry till there is a prospect of their being able to support a family. Foresight in this respect conduces to the happiness of a nation, while recklessness must lead to misery.

Professor Runganatha Mudaliyar, of Madras, says,

"I may feel that the best thing I can do for my stupid son is to keep him single, until such time at least as he is able to shift for himself and earns enough to maintain a wife and children with; but such is the tyranny of custom that he must be married as soon as he arrives at man's estate, even though I have the burden of supporting, it may be to the last day of my life, my worthless son and his wife and all the creatures that they may bring into existence."

4. **Extravagant Expenditure at Marriages.**—This is one great cause of poverty and indebtedness in India. The *Oudh Akhbar* draws the following picture of marriage and funeral customs amongst the Muhammadans:

"The luckless man who has to celebrate a marriage has to issue his invitations on powdered and tinselled paper a month before the day: if he leaves out an enemy, he runs the risk of being vilified in a vernacular newspaper. Nor can he calculate the probable number of his guests by the number of invitations he has sent. An invited guest will be sure to bring his brothers and his nephews, and not improbably a friend or two to whom he owes a kindness. Meantime the feelings of the giver of the feast are of a very mixed nature. He cannot quite avoid the thought that for a few brief hours of popularity he has wasted his substance and irretrievably beggared himself and his children. Still the sight of so many hungry friends and the evident thankfulness of the diners buoys him up. He runs into his wife and tells her what a name he has won in the town. She is proud of her husband, and tells him that a good name outweighs mortgaged lands and heaps of bills. At last the great day is over, the account has to be met, and the dinner-giver finds himself a ruined man. He is turned out of house and home, and his wife is received with black looks and blows by the neighbours from whom she begs a crust."

The Pioneer says,

"The difficulty of being economical in ceremonial matters is fully recognised. The prudent head of a family, who spends little on his father's funeral or his son's marriage, has to endure much from his friends. He hears himself styled a miser, craven-hearted, irreligious—a man whose name brings ill luck if uttered in the morning. He goes about the *mohulla* with a hang-dog look, and begins to wish he had done the right thing and run into debt like his impecunious neighbours. 'Expense,' says Bacon, 'ought to be limited by a man's estate;' but according to Indian notions it ought not to stop short of one's credit with the money-lender."

It is the same among Hindus. From their joint family system "there is always somebody to be married or buried; and the

scale of expense does not depend upon the share of the individual, as it would in the case of a separation, but upon the magnitude of the joint family fortune."

The Rev. W. Stevenson, late of Madras, describes as follows a common marriage case :—

"A father is about to get his daughter married ; his income is Rs. 50 a month, and he has saved nothing, but it is the custom for one in his position to spend Rs. 500. He knows he hasn't got the means ; he must borrow at exorbitant interest, he must put a load of debt on his shoulders, which may grind him down for long years ; but what does he do ? Does he say honestly—Well, I hav'nt got the money, it is wrong and foolish to burden myself with debt ; I'll only spend what I can properly afford, and mind nothing else ? No, he says, 'What can I do, Sir ? Its our custom, and if I don't spend all this money, my neighbours will put shame on me.' So he foolishly and cowardly puts his neck under the yoke, rather than face a breath of popular opinion."

The above is thus corroborated by Professor Ranganatha Mudaliyar of the same city :—

"It may seem to me to be a profligate waste of money to spend hundreds and thousand of rupees in connection with a marriage or gifts to the well-to-do, on food to the pampered, on dancers and songstresses on processions and illuminations, and on the various shows and festivities that are imagined to be an integral part of marriage ; but I must do as others do, or I shall be taunted as a miser, and suspected even by my friends as a possible renegade."

In order to raise grain, it is necessary to have a certain quantity as seed. Somewhat in like manner, money-making is facilitated by having capital to start with. If a father, instead of squandering a large sum on the marriage of his son, invested it in some profitable way for his benefit, it would add greatly to the future comfort of the young married pair. Not only is the money expended thrown away, but this advantage is lost.

Sensible men are aware of the unhappy consequences of the present system. One lover of this country gave up a good official position that he might devote his time to the reform of this abuse. The great difficulty is, that the intelligent, who see its evils, are as much guided by the rabble as the ignorant.

It is quite right to rejoice at marriages. Within due limits, the entertainment of relations and friends is becoming. But let the educated discountenance by every means in their power the foolish and immoral expenditure which now prevails.

5. **The Habit of Borrowing.**—The late Dr. Carey came out to Bengal about the close of last century, and for several years he was an indigo planter. Warmly interested in the condition of the ryots, he urged the establishment of an Agricultural Society for Bengal. In 1821 he wrote thus in the *Quarterly Friend of India* :—

"There may exist circumstances in the habits of a people sufficiently powerful to defeat the most benevolent views of its rulers, and to entail misery where there is every preparation for the enjoyment of happiness.

"Among the numerous causes which contribute to exclude happiness from the natives of India is the *universal tendency to borrow* which pervades the country....It is scarcely possible to assume a greater contrast than between the honest, upright, English peasant, and the Hindu, dragging out an inglorious existence between debt and disgrace, borrowing in one quarter to pay in another, and reluctant to pay in all cases, making no provision for old age, and sitting content beneath the burden of an endless prospect of embarrassment to the last hour of life.

"This disposition to borrow is not confined to one province, to one town, or to one class of individuals. It pervades the whole country with all the inveteracy of a second nature.

"The country is separated into two classes, the borrower and the usurer; the industrious though exhausted poor, and the fat and flourishing money-lender."

Sixty-four years have passed away since the above remarks were written, but it is still the same. The *Dnyanodaya*, in its issue of Dec. 31, 1885, says,

"We know a village in the Konkan (the coast district of the Bombay Presidency) where not a foot of land nor a single house is owned by the inhabitants. They have lost all by mortgaging their little property for the sake of money to spend on marriages. One would think this would teach them a lesson, but when their all is gone, rather than fail to spend a 100 or 200 rupees on the further marriages of their children, cases are known of their selling themselves to their Kote for a period of years, or a life-time."

The tendency to run into debt is not confined to uneducated ryots. The *Indian Mirror* says,

"The Indian ryot is notoriously improvident. But he is not alone in this. It is well known that common sense and prudence leave the Native, whether educated or uneducated, when he has any social ceremonies to perform. On such occasions he is sure to go beyond his means and involve himself."

6. **The Encouragement given to Idlers.**—Though well-directed charity is highly commendable, indiscriminate almsgiving, so common in India, does more harm than good. If a shopkeeper fed every day a strong beggar, supporting him in idleness, would this be true charity? Much of the almsgiving in this country is similarly injurious in its effects. Lazy men are encouraged to depend upon the industrious, instead of supporting themselves. Wealth is thus diminished. Much more grain would be raised if able-bodied beggars worked in the fields.

Many idle vagabonds are entirely supported by the caste feasts and gifts so frequent in this country. They go from place to place

to be present on such occasions. No respectable persons attend, so the whole is spent on the unworthy. If there were no such customs, lazy men would be compelled to work for their living, to their own great benefit. In 1881, the number of vagrants in the Madras Presidency was 153,525.

Professor Runganatha Mudaliyar says,

"Are there not in the town of Madras people of all castes and classes who have chosen to subsist by begging from door to door, and that as a hereditary profession and not as a necessity forced on them by adverse circumstances? And while these beggars by choice deem it no disgrace to beg, do they not consider it a great dishonor and a great hardship to do honest work for daily wages? The thousand and one ways in which a wealthy native is called upon to contribute towards the support of worthless relations and able-bodied beggars are known to every one of my Hindu hearers."

There are still more serious evils connected with indiscriminate almsgiving. Industry is a safeguard against temptation. When a man is busy, he has no time to think of sinful pleasures, while the idle often give way to vice. Some of the worst men in India are the professed devotees of Siva, who wander about the country as beggars. They stupefy themselves with bhang, and are so dissolute that they dare not remain long in one place. They frequently extort alms from ignorant people, who foolishly dread their curses, though these only harm their utterers.

It will readily be admitted, that if alms were given to thieves, enabling them to spend their whole time in robbery, no merit would accrue to the donor. To support men in idleness and vice, is an act much of the same character.

Many, however, give mainly from ostentation. Their object is to get a name for liberality. Jesus Christ says, "Take heed that ye do not your alms before men to be seen of them; otherwise ye have no reward of your Father which is in heaven."

The Hindu family system, while it has some advantages, fosters idleness. "There is a scarcely a married man in the country who has not some of his own or his wife's kindred dependent on his bounty. These he cannot shake off, and they will seldom drop off themselves, but will continue to draw nourishment from his labour while a single meal of rice remains in the house."

If such drones, instead of preying upon the industrious, had to work for their living, there would be much less poverty.

7. Locking up Money in Jewels.—A love of finery is characteristic of children and people in a low state of civilization. An American savage smears himself with different colours, sticks feathers in his head, and struts about like a peacock. Except on a few state occasions, the Queen of England dresses like an ordinary lady. In India, women are sometimes loaded with jewels. In no

other country in the world is there so much gold and silver locked up uselessly in this way. The number of goldsmiths in India exceeds four lakhs.

Hindus have no idea how much they lose by this custom.

It has been shown that the interest on 200 crores, the value of the jewels, would, at 12 per cent, pay the entire land revenue of British India.

Nor is the loss of interest the only drawback. Many robberies are committed for the sake of jewels; numbers of women and children are murdered every year on account of them.

In former times there were no Banks, which was the chief reason why savings were invested in jewels. At present, one use of them is to give them in pledge to money-lenders, for which high interest has to be paid.

There are now Post Office Savings Banks scattered over India, where money can be kept safely and withdrawn at any time, while interest is allowed at the rate of 3¾ per cent. Dr. Johnson, writing to a friend, says, "Whatever you have, spend less." If people would save a little at ordinary times, they would have enough laid past to withdraw from the Bank what was needed on an emergency, and avoid the heavy interest they would otherwise require to pay to the money-lender. They would also not run the risk of robbery for the sake of their money.

8. **Expenditure on Spirits, Opium, &c.**—Several crores are squandered every year on what are fruitful causes of poverty, misery and crime. Brandy works sad havoc among the educated classes; arrack among the lower orders; opium and ganja are equally injurious. Unless checked, the evil will go on increasing, doing more and more mischief.

9. **A Dislike to Emigrate.**—The surplus population of Britain is absorbed by removal to America, Australia, &c. In this way both those who go and those who remain are benefited. The Brahmans sought to keep the Hindus in subjection to their authority by threatening with expulsion from caste all who left India. Partly on this account, partly from ignorant fear and want of energy, the great bulk of the people will not leave their own province. Dr. Hunter refers to the "despairing grip with which millions cling to their half-acre of earth a-piece, under a burden of rack-rent or usury."

He adds:—

"The poverty of certain parts of India is the direct and inevitable result of the over-population of those parts of India. The mass of the husbandmen are living in defiance of economic laws. A people of small cultivators cannot be prosperous if they marry irrespective of the means of subsistence, and allow their numbers to outstrip the food-producing powers of the soil. Natives must also equalize the pressure on the soil

by distributing themselves more equally over the country. There is plenty of fertile land in India still awaiting the plough. The Indian husbandman must learn to mobilize himself, and to migrate from the overcrowded provinces to the underpeopled ones." pp. 135, 136.

Upper Burma, recently annexed, presents an excellent field for emigrants. Although as large as Bengal, it has only about 4 millions of inhabitants, while Bengal has 63 millions. Large tracts of fertile land remain unoccupied.

It is true that Indian coolies go at present to different English Colonies, but emigration is required on a much larger scale. Government aid is also necessary.

10. **Love of Litigation.**—Much money is spent and ill feeling awakened by disputes which might easily be settled by the arbitration of friends. The great increase in the number of lawyers will intensify this evil.

Sickness might also be mentioned as a cause of poverty. Even this, is largely "self-created." More than half the sickness in the world arises from disregard of the laws of health. The reader is cautioned against the quack medicines so largely advertised in Native papers. Money is thus wasted on what, as a rule, does more harm than good.

Such are some of the "self-created or self-inflicted" causes of Indian Poverty.

The most effectual way to promote even the material well-being of a nation, is to seek its elevation morally and religiously. At the same time, every injurious custom ought to be abandoned.

There is so much truth in the remark of Dr. Hunter that it is again quoted:—

"The permanent remedies for the poverty of India rest with the people themselves."

Purity.

The revelations connected with a recent trial in London, showed the vice which still lurks in Christian England, though the shock which was given to the public conscience also proved the prevailing moral tone. When some native papers made this an occasion for damaging reflections on the English nation in general, the *Indian Messenger* generously remarked, "Is not vice far more widely prevalent in Indian society? What have we done to repress it? Let not the sieve point to the hole of the needle."

The attention of Indian reformers is directed to a few points where their efforts are specially necessary.

1. **Vice in the name of Religion.**—The abominations of Paphos and Corinth still exist in India in connection with Hinduism. In the Bombay Presidency, "great numbers of girls are, in infancy, married to the god Khundoba, and are brought up for a life of sanctified

prostitution in connection with the temples of that god." "The victims, after undergoing a ceremonial 'purification,' are branded upon their persons with a heated stamp, and are thus set apart for their filthy work. When hired out to persons wishing to use them as concubines, they pay a monthly tax to the temple, and a considerable revenue is gathered from this source."* In Western India, rich merchants of the Vallabha sect offer their wives and daughters to gratify the lust of their spiritual guides!

The following extract from Dubois refers to the temples of Southern India :—

"Next to the sacrificers, the most important persons about the temples are the dancing girls, who call themselves *deva-dasi, servants or slaves of the gods.* Their profession requires of them to be open to the embraces of persons of all castes.

"They are bred to this profligate life from their infancy. They are taken from any caste, and are frequently of respectable birth. It is nothing uncommon to hear of pregnant women, in the belief that it will tend to their happy delivery, making a vow, with the consent of their husbands, to devote the child then in the womb, if it should turn out a girl, to the service of the Pagoda. And, in doing so, they imagine they are performing a meritorious duty. The infamous life to which the daughter is destined brings no disgrace on the family.†"

According to the Madras Census of 1881, the number of female "dancers" in the Presidency was 11,573.‡ Such a number is most lamentable.

The indignant words of Bishop Lightfoot, applied to ancient Greece, refer equally to India :—

"Imagine, if you can, this licensed shamelessness, this consecrated profligacy, carried on under the sanctions of religion and in the full blaze of publicity, while statesmen and patriots, philosophers and men of letters, looked on unconcerned, not uttering one word and not raising one finger to put it down."§

The infamous rites of the Vamacharis of Bengal cannot be described.

At the Holi festival, it is said, "obscenity becomes the measure of piety."

The *Pioneer,* referring to the Mohurrum and Holi, says, "Our only hope of escape is a Committee of respectable Natives combining to memorialise the authorities to suppress the orgies of the mob." The *Indian Mirror,* quoting this, adds :—

"This is our idea too, and we sincerely trust our educated countrymen will at once take the hint and act on it. So far as the Holi festival is

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* *The Indian Purity Trumpet.* No. I.
† Manners and Customs of People of India, pp. 294, 295.
‡ Imperial Census, vol. II. p. 448. § White Cross Tracts, No. 1.

concerned, we wonder that no attempt has hitherto been made to put a stop to the abominably obscene songs and filthy proceedings which accompany it. The co-operation of Government is no doubt essential to the effectual suppression of practices so universal and deep-rooted; but we are sure the authorities would interpose on behalf of public morals if an influential body of our countrymen only took the initiative in the matter." April 23, 1872.

2. **Public Women as Actresses.**—"Young Bengal" makes politics his serious business, and amuses himself at theatres. There is quite a rage for theatre-going among certain classes in Calcutta. Formerly the female characters in plays were taken by young men; now women go on the stage, and use it as an opportunity for advertising their charms. On the other hand, Calcutta contains some of the most earnest reformers in India, and it is hoped that through their efforts the "Babu of the Period" may be induced to mend his ways.

The theatre-mania has also spread among the Parsis. The taste does not bode any good to India.

There are brothels in Calcutta near some of the Colleges, corrupting the students. A few successful efforts have been made for their removal.

3. **Nautch Parties.**—Europeans should never countenance by their presence any such exhibitions. It is satisfactory that some young Hindu reformers in Oudh have taken a stand against them. A paper by a "Kashmiri Pandit," which appeared in the *Journal of the National Indian Association*, contains the following:—

"*Natch* parties. These are the shame of Indian society. Natch girls, who are always of recognised bad character, are allowed to dance before our social gatherings, sometimes even before our ladies in the Zenanas. The influence of these Natch girls upon our art and our morals has been disastrous."

The *Indian Messenger* says that "In the Punjab there is a class of public women who carry on this infamous trade, with the consent of their parents and brothers, the latter living lives of idleness upon their earnings." Probably this "infamous trade" is not confined to the Punjab.

4. **Filthy Speech.**—The use of language inexpressibly vile is almost universal. It is worst, of course, among the lower classes. Women among them, when enraged, make the whole neighbourhood ring with their virulent and obscene language. It is so common that when a policeman in Calcutta was asked to check some people for its use, he said, "They always speak so." But the fact is that most of the native policemen enjoy such language, and are as great offenders as any others.

From north to south it is the same. Madras *Native Public Opinion* says:—