ESSAYS.

HES, ADDRESSES AND WRITINGS,

(ON INDIAN POLITICS,)

OF THE

ON'BLE DADABHAI NAOROJI,

OF THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS OF 1886 (CALCUTTA),
ONAL MEMBER OF THE BOMBAY LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL,
EX-DIWAN OF THE BARODA STATE,
&c. &c. &c.

(WITH LIFE AND PORTRAIT,)

EDITED BY

TUNILAL LALLUBHAI PAREKH,
EX-PRESIDENT, ARYA DNYAN VARDHAK SABHA.

I venerate the man whose heart is warm,
Whose hands are pure, whose doctrine and whose life,
Co-incident, exhibit lucid proof
That he is honest in the sacred cause.
To such I render more than mere respect,
Whose actions say that they respect themselves.

Cowper

Bombay:
PRINTED AT THE
CAXTON PRINTING WORKS.
1887.

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TO

WILLIAM WEDDERBURN, BART.,

LATE OF THE BOMBAY CIVIL SERVICE,

THE PEOPLE AMONG WHOM HE LIVED FOR 27 YEARS

Who, loving them, worked for them,

ways endeavouring to promote their welfare,

BEG RESPECTFULLY TO DEDICATE

(With his kind permission)

HIS COLLECTION OF THE ESSAYS, SPEECHES,

ADDRESSES AND WRITINGS

OF

NDIA'S MOST DISTINGUISHED AND POPULAR PATRIOTS.

C. L PAREKH.

MR. DADABHAI'S SERVICES TO HIS COU

"No man living has done more service to his country tha Naoroji of Bombay."

"He has sacrificed years of labour and all his private means hardest work, to the service of India."—*Justice.*

"Not only Bombay, but the whole of India, should be proud like Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji."—*Hindu Patriot.*

"As an authority on Indian economical questions there is no in all India He has devoted over a quarter century of his life Indian subjects, and by pressing his views upon the Secreta upon influential Englishmen in England, he has turned his kn best account possible Old as he is, Mr Dadabhai is a man of ren and his genuine patriotism has won for him the confidence of of the Hindus and Mohamedans, as well as Parsees in every part —*Hindu*

"Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji is one of the ablest of our countrymie an amount of practical knowledge of the condition of our count believe, unrivalled Even the British India Association will not of such testimony as he may give"—*Indian Nation.*

"Our respect for Mr Dadabhai is profound. He is a patriot t He is also a man of great abilities, experience and intelligen versed in economic subjects. If he succeeds in entering Parliar of invaluable service to us. He is one of the few men in India worthy of the highest honour that this country or England can He is a man of sterling worth and bears an unblemished cha *Mirror*

"The highest authority on economical questions, a genuine an and a man of indomitable energy, Mr Dadabhai Naoroji is held esteem by his countrymen."—*Behar Herald*

"The honourable patriot has worked throughout his life for justice to European and Native candidates for the Civil Service."—

"Mr Dadabhai is one of our few genuine leaders who are ever fice personal interest for the welfare of the dumb millions of *Native Opinion.*

"Our men must follow such a good example of patriotism and —*Dnyan Prakash.*

"The well-being of India is dependent on the exertions of such gentlemen. . ."—*Koh-i-hur.*

Mr Dadabhai Naoroji is the person who, whether as school-mast merchant or agent, *diwan* or administrator of a State—in all stages of his life—has worked with untiring industry and strict h only aim of his life—viz., to do good to the people, at the sacrifi personal interests He is the person who has endured poverty for ment of others; who has sacrificed his interests for founding large e violent purposes, who has lived in comparative poverty and humi sake of enriching large institutions, and who has sacrificed his ow and incomes for the benefit and advancement of others.—*East Gufta*

Bombay has recognized Mr Dadabhai as one in a million these past.—*The Gujratti*

"Undoubtedly Mr. Dadabhai is a leading representative of India

MR. DADABHAI'S CANDIDATURE IN THE PARLIAMENTARY ELECTION (1886).

. . . But he has far higher qualifications, whether for an Irish or an English seat. He is by far the ablest, the most high-principled, and the most accomplished native of India who has ever visited this country. He knows England, and English politics, and the English language, like an Englishman. And as a political official and administrator he has occupied some of the highest posts in his own country. His *forte* is finance—the rock on which the English rule of India may go to pieces some day or other. For the sake of India—which I know pretty well—and for the sake of English Imperialism, I should rejoice to see able natives of the stamp of the Hon. Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji in the English House of Commons.—*Weekly Times and Echo, London, May 30th*, 1886.

Mr. Naoroji is another native of India whose presence in the House of Commons would be of great advantage both to Englishmen and to our Indian fellow-subjects. During forty years he has been to the front in every good movement in Bombay, where he is regarded by the natives with something like the same enthusiasm which Mr. Gladstone's name inspires here. But more than half the time he has passed in England, moving to and fro, so that he is as familiar as any Englishman can be with our home politics, and in all respects he possesses rare intelligence and remarkable capacity for independent judgment and honest action. The Holborn Liberals will do as much honour to themselves as to Mr. Naoroji by doing their utmost to secure his election.—*Weekly Dispatch, 20th June*, 1886.

He has always taken a leading interest in the affairs of India and this country.—*Times, June 25th*, 1886.

Like Ireland, India had grievances to be redressed, and it was right that her representatives should have an opportunity of bringing those grievances before the people of England. Apart from the special knowledge which he would bring to bear upon the Indian question, Mr. Naoroji, by 20 years' residence in England had made himself fully acquainted with English political questions, and by returning him to the House of Commons, Holborn would prove itself one of the grandest constituencies in Great Britain. (Cheers.)—*Times, 26th June* 1886.

His candidature is exciting great interest among the natives of India in the Metropolis, by whom he is regarded with the deepest respect and admiration.—*York Herald, June 25th*, 1886.

Although in the estimation of his countrymen he is a great authority on all questions affecting the interests of India, he is also intimately acquainted with the politics of this country, having resided here at one period of his life for many years, and taken an active part in public matters.—*Rochdale Observer, 29th June*, 1886.

. . . And ruled with great distinction for some time over two millions of people (cheers). In fact, his administration was so beneficent that it called forth from the British Governors in India the warmest testimony of admiration. Well, he contended that a gentleman who had struggled so long for the rights of his own country, and who had shown such distinguished capacity as a statesman, ought to prove himself a worthy representative of Holborn.—*Freeman's Journal, Dublin, 26th June*, 1886.

. . . electors of the . . . portunity of returning a sound Radical . . . of Col- . . . member, and at the same time of . . . feature of the demo-

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

OF THE

HON'BLE DADABHAI NAOROJI.

"Mr *Dadabhai Naoroji* is one in a million—we might almost say one in a hundred and fifty millions."—*Oriental*, 1873 (England).

It is usual in publishing the writings and speeches of a man that has made his mark as a sound thinker and able writer, to give an account of his life Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji's life may be described as the life of a man from which the younger generation of the natives of India may derive many profitable lessons. Those lessons may be summed up in the language used by Mr N. G Chandavarkar in the article on "New life in Bombay,' which appeared in the *Indu Prakash* over the signature of A Political Rishi. Writing of Mr. Dadabhai, Mr Chandavarkar truly said —" All agree in saying that if there is one man more than another who now fills the gap between the old and the new, it is he—this venerable gentleman who can work under any disadvantages and has the wonderful knack of bringing together conflicting forces so as to make them operate towards one end—and that is, the public good No one can come across him without feeling the charm of his presence, and drawing some inspiration from his example. To see him is to see Carlyle's picture of 'the holiness and sanctity of work' personified He labours and others feel ashamed not to go and do the same. And such is his quiet influence that without him Bombay would be like the sheep that had no shepherd ' Mr. Dadabhai s has been a life of unostentatious, honest, and yet active work, done with no higher aim than that of promoting the welfare of his country and making the connection between England and India a source of mutual advantage and glory to both. He has never cared for the smiles of office or the applause of the multitude, and where they have come to him, they have come unsolicited and unsought. His private life has been as pure and unblemished as his public career has been distinguished and useful. Simple in his habits, punctual in his engagements, true to his word, and industrious in his work, he has afforded to all those who have known him and come in contact with him, a fair illustration of what the poet Wordsworth calls "plain living and high thinking '

A short but interesting biographical sketch of Mr. Dadabhai, who is now sixty-two years of age, having been born in Bombay in September 1825, appeared in the columns of the *Bombay Gazette* in September 1885, on his nomination by Lord Reay to be an Additional Member of the Bombay Legislative Council. The facts of Mr Dadabhai's career were succinctly told by the writer of that sketch, and I need make no apology for reproducing them here in the writer's language.

"From his early years Mr Dadabhai showed himself to be a bright boy He was generally the Exhibition boy, both in the vernacular and the English schools. On one occasion, in the Government English school, another boy of his class carried off the prize in mental arithmetic by preparing most of the ready-reckoner by heart, but at the public exhibition for the distribution of prizes, the prize-boy broke down, when the little 'Dady' stepped to the front, regained his first place, and there and then won his prize from one of the spectators. It is of this incident, we believe, that Mrs. Poston, in her 'Western India,' speaks regarding the little Parsee lad 'with an overhanging forehead, and small sparkl· eyes, peculiarly attracting our attention. The moment a question was pr to the class, he quickly took a step before the rest, contracted his brow· and anxious thought, and with parted lips and finger eagerly upl· the master, silently but rapidly worked his problem in a man· himself, and blurted out the solution with a startling haste '

ludicrous. The little fellow seemed wholly animated with the desire of excelling, and his mental capabilities promised him a rich reward' In 1845 Sir Erskine Perry, Chief Justice of Bombay and President of the Board of Education, with his general desire to promote education among the natives, proposed to send Mr. Dadabhai to England to study for the Bar, offering to contribute half the expenses himself, and asking Sir Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy, the first Baronet, and other shetts, to give the other half. The proposal was at first accepted, but was subsequently declined, and the general report of the reason was that somebody had frightened Sir Jamsetjee that young Dadabhai might be tempted to become a Christian in England, as a few years previously there had been much excitement among the Parsees on account of some conversions to Christianity Soon afterwards Mr Dadabhai was appointed head native assistant master, and, on the occasion of the annual exhibition for the distribution of prizes, was declared by Principal Harkness to be entitled to the gold medal of the year His subsequent career as assistant Professor and Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy in the Elphinstone College, in succession to Professor Patton, was successful and satisfactory. The distinction of assistant professor was conferred upon him in consideration of his great usefulness as well as of his very high character. Every successive professor had borne testimony to the extent of his acquirements, as well as to his zeal and energy, and the Board of Education testified to the repeated opportunities of observing his 'devotion to the cause of native education' Mr Dadabhai was the first native professor, not only in Bombay, but in all India, and the Board of Education, in their report for 1854 55 referred to his appointment in these terms—'To complete the arrangements we gladly availed ourselves of the opportunity of confirming Mr Dadabhai Naoroji as Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy, the duties of which he had been performing to our entire satisfaction for nearly two years We feel sure that the distinction he has thus won by a long and laborious devotion to mathematical studies, and by an able discharge of his duties in the institution will stimulate him to still greater exertions It is now twenty eight years since the subject of the Elphinstone professorships first came under consideration with the view of commemorating the high sense entertained by the natives of Western India of the public and private character of the Hon Mountstuart Elphinstone on his retirement from the government of this Presidency At a public meeting held in the library of the Native Education Society in August 1827, a resolution was unanimously passed that the most appropriate and durable plan for accomplishing this object would be to found professorships for teaching the English language, and the arts, the sciences, and the literature of Europe In the resolution which was thus adopted a hope was expressed that the happy period would arrive when natives of this country would be found qualified for holding those professorships It was therefore with no ordinary feeling of satisfaction that we felt ourselves justified in nominating Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji to the chair of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy—a measure so entirely in accordance with both the letter and spirit of the resolution.' On another occasion, Dr. M Stovell, secretary of the Board of Education, wrote to Mr Dadabhai a letter of congratulation and advice, telling him to 'go on in the same steady, straightforward course, and with the same singleminded views; and you may prove in time a great blessing to your countrymen.'

"During his educational career, and before his visits to England, Mr. Dadabhai did not confine his energies to his own regular work, but was either one of the originators of, or an active labourer in, most of the public movements of the time. The Students' Literary and Scientific Society, the Dnyan Prasarak Society, the Bombay Association, the Rahnoomae Mazdisna Society (for religious reforms among the Parsees), the Framjee Cowasjee Institute, the Irance Fund, the Parsee Gymnasium, the Widow Remarriage movement among the Hindoos, the Victoria and Albert Museum, and the first girls' school of the Students' Literary and Scientific Society were indebted to him as an originator or active labourer for success and advancement. In the cause of female education he threw his heart and soul; and he was spoken of by those who had watched and anxious work as 'the father of the girls' schools.' In the infancy of a few volunteer teachers from the members of the Students' Society ed the schools at their own houses, and were teaching during

leisure hours in the morning. In all his work Mr. Dadabhai esteemed and respected his fellow-workers, and they in turn worked under his lead with pleasure and unanimity. Much of the success of the Parsee Law Association in England in persuading the Law Commissioners and the Secretary of State for India to grant the special legislation asked for was due to the joint exertions of Mr. Dadabhai and Mr. Nowrozjee Furdoonjee. Mr. Dadabhai was the president of the 'Native Literary Society,' which was incorporated with the Students' Literary and Scientific Society in the year 1848. He was vice-president and treasurer of the latter society, and one of the volunteer teachers and superintendents of the Society's female schools. He was president of the Gujeratee Dnyan Prasarak Society for four or five years; secretary of the Rahnoomae Mazdiasna Society for two or three years; one of the promoters and a member of the committee of the Bombay Association; and one of the promoters and on the committee of the Framjee Cowasjee Institute. He took an active part in the success of the Iranee Fund, raised for ameliorating the condition of the Zoroastrians resident in Persia; and in the settlement of the trust of the Fort Charitable Dispensary. He took an active interest in the success of the Parsee Gymnasium, and drafted a set of rules for its management, which were adopted. He projected the Canning Fellowship, which, unfortunately, owing to the commercial crisis, was allowed to fall through. Mr. Dadabhai was among the first of those to propose a statue to Sir Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy, the first Baronet, and was largely instrumental in carrying through the proposal for a statue of the Hon. Jugannath Sunkersett. Mr. Dadabhai's connection with journalism dates as far back as 1851, when he contributed to the *Samachar Durpan*, a daily Gûjeratee newspaper, a series of articles with the title 'Dialogue between Socrates and Diogenes.' In order to help the various public movements in which he took a share and to introduce a higher style and tone of journalism among the Parsees, Mr. Dadabhai in the year 1851 started the *Rast Goftar* newspaper, which he edited for two years without any remuneration, and paid others for editing it when he could not write for want of time. The amount of literary work he went through was highly creditable to his industry. He contributed to the Dnyan Prasarak *Magazine* some eighteen lectures on Natural Philosophy and Astronomy, which had been delivered at meetings of the Society of that name, as well as papers on different social subjects. Before the Students' Literary and Scientific Society he read several papers and delivered lectures. In the Sir Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy Philosophic Institute he delivered a lecture on Astronomy. As secretary of the Rahnoomae Society, he worked with the president, Mr. Nowrozjee Furdoonjee, in editing its periodical publications, and wrote one or two papers himself. While a discussion was going on on the subject of introducing native ladies at dinners and social gatherings, Mr. Dadabhai wrote an account of the condition of women in different countries in past times, which was subsequently published in a local newspaper. With these and other burdens upon him he could yet find time to learn several languages; for he has a knowledge, besides English, of French, Persian, Hindustani, Gujeratee, and Marathi.

"When the project of starting the first native mercantile firm in England was taken up by the Camas, Mr. Dadabhai was offered a share in the firm, though he never had the least experience as a merchant. He accepted the offer solely because he was desirous to promote a more intimate and personal connection between England and India, and more especially to make a home for young natives to go to England for education and competition for the Indian Civil and Medical Services, which were then recently thrown open. 'India for the Indians' was then, as now, his aim. But for this he would not have exchanged mathematics for merchandise. He first went to England in 1855, and has spent well-nigh twenty years there, returning to Bombay from time to time as the exigencies of his own and public business required. While in England he imposed upon himself the anxious and arduous task of making Englishmen take an active interest in Indian questions, and to read papers on Indian subjects. was this silent work to which he had for a time to devote much persev energy, tact, and some money. He persuaded many friends in Bor elsewhere to send their sons to England, and took upon h guardianship. He has now the satisfaction of seeing num

visiting England for education, business, profession, or travelling. Many a native who has visited England will remember his ever-ready help, advice, and kindness. As a merchant, Mr Dadabhai has always been respected for his straightforwardness and honesty in all his dealings and business relations, and so far was he then respected and esteemed that when, in trying to extricate a mercantile friend from his embarrassments, he lost three lakhs of rupees, and owing to large failures in Bombay his own firm failed his creditors deeply sympathised with him, and not only released him within a few weeks, but helped him by engaging his services in the liquidation; while some friends at once gave him new loans to set him up in business again. Much public sympathy was expressed for him at the time. Mr Sorabjee Shapurjee Bengalee C I E, refers in his lately published book, to an incident illustrative of the high commercial character Messrs. Dadabhai Naoroji and Co enjoyed in England. One or two Indian banks having attempted to hold back documents, the drafts of which Messrs Dadabhai Naoroji & Co were ready to pay, Mr Dadabhai at once stoutly resisted the attempt by raising a controversy in the *Times*, and the Governor of the Bank of England saw Mr Dadabhai at his office and complimented him on his spirited resistance and the justness of his contest. While in England Mr Dadabhai was connected with several public bodies, and was a member of the Liverpool Literary and Philosophic Society, of the Philomathic Society and of the Council of the Liverpool Athenæum, a member of the Cotton Supply Association of Manchester, of the Royal Institution of London of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, of the Ethnological and Anthropological Societies, of the Society of Arts, and the National Indian Association. He was also president of the London Indian Society, and honorary secretary of the East India Association. *He was appointed Professor of Gujerátee in the London University College and a* member of its Senate, and was a director of the Queen Insurance Company, and a guarantor of the Exhibition of 1862. He was as highly respected as a Mason as he was as a man and a merchant. He was secretary and one of the founders of the Lodge named 'Marquis of Dalhousie,' and is one of its past masters. He made a speech at the Mansion House on the occasion of a subscription fund raised for India. In 1859 he corresponded with Lord Stanley, then Secretary of State for India, on the subject of the Civil Service rules, which ended in an assurance given to Mr Dadabhai that no further changes in the regulations would at any time be made without early publicity being given to them. In 1860 he spoke at a public meeting at Manchester on the cotton supply, and his address was highly spoken of by the English papers at the time. In 1861 he read papers before public meetings on the Manners and Customs of the Parsees and on the Parsee Religion. In the same year Mr Dadabhai and other Parsees resident in London worked hard in the matter of Dr Munchorjee Byramjee Colah, who was shut out from the competition for the Indian Medical Service. Dr. Muncherjee now occupies a high position in the service. In 1865 Mr Dadabhai addressed the London Indian Society on the subject of the rules for the Civil Service examinations, and the discussion at and the representations made by the Society to the then Secretary of State for India succeeded in getting the marks for Sanskrit and Arabic restored to the former figures from which they had been reduced. In 1866 Mr Dadabhai read a paper before the Ethnological Society on 'The European and Asiatic Races,' with a view to vindicate the character of the latter from the attack and aspersions made by Mr Crawford, the president of the Society. The rest of Mr. Dadabhai's disinterested labours were confined mostly to the papers he read before the East India Association, and to the part he took in the discussion of papers read before the Association by other gentlemen. The papers he read in the year 1867 were on—England's Duties to India, Mysore, Memorial and Address for the admission of natives into the Indian Civil Service, and the expenses of the Abyssinian War. The papers read in 1868 were—Memorial of the natives of the Bombay Presidency resident in England, and correspondence with Sir Stafford Northcote for the establishment of Female Normal Schools as proposed by Miss Carpenter; Admission of educated Natives into the Indian Civil Service, Reply to Sir Stafford Northcote's speech in Parliament on the subject, Correspondence with Sir Stafford Northcote on the Indian Civil Service clause in the Indian Council General of India Bill, Reply to Lord William Hay on Mysore, Duties of Indian Associations; and Irrigation Works in India. We need scarcely

say that since 1866 Mr. Dadabhai is better known for his work in connection with the East India Association and the championship of the rights of the Indian people. On his return to Bombay in 1869 for a time, the native community of Bombay voted him an address,* a purse, and a portrait. Out of this purse, he has, according to general report, spent the greater portion in works of public

* "To Dadabhai Naoroji, Esquire.

"We, your friends and admirers, feel it our duty on the eve of your departure to England to express our feeling of heartfelt gratitude and sincere thankfulness for the valuable services you have rendered to our country. Wherever you have been, at home or abroad, you have always evinced the warmest interest in the promotion of the social, political, and moral welfare of India and its inhabitants.

"Pre-eminently you are one of those self-made men, who rise by the force of their individual merits and conduct; all the greater therefore is our respect and esteem for you.

"Your distinguished career as a scholar at the Elphinstone Institution, your native taste and talent for Mathematics and Natural Sciences, and your sterling qualities as a teacher were not long in bringing you to the notice of the late Board of Education and the Government of Bombay, by whom you were nominated to the Chair of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy in the Elphinstone College on the death of the late lamented Professor Patton, and in your nomination the whole native community felt itself highly honoured, for you were the first native after the late lamented Professor Bal Gungadhur Shastri, on whom this honourable post was conferred; and it has afforded us extreme pleasure to find that during your tenure of office you conducted your duties with credit to yourself and advantage to those entrusted to your care.

"From early life you have always taken an active part in every movement which had for its object the improvement of the moral, social, and political condition of our countrymen, and in particular, you have evinced great interest in the cause of popular education, and the diffusion of useful knowledge. The records of the Students' Literary and Scientific Society, the Guzerati Dnyan Prasarak Sabha, the Native General Library, the Framjee Cowasji Institute, the Parsi Girl School Association, and the Bombay Association, bear ample testimony to your indefatigable energy and zeal for the public cause.

"For the spread of vernacular literature, and the creation of a taste for reading in the Guzerati speaking population of this Presidency, we are in a great measure indebted to you. In starting the Guzerati Dnyan Prasarak Sabha, the first of its kind in Bombay, and the magazine bearing the same name, you took a prominent part, and besides delivering public lectures in the vernacular, and contributing instructive and interesting essays to the magazine, you materially assisted its funds, so as to cheapen its price and bring it within the reach of the poorer classes of the community.

"In respect of Female Education your services are not less marked. You were one of those few who took an important part in establishing the first Native Girls' School under the auspices and superintendence of the Students' Literary and Scientific Society, and assisted in overcoming by their personal influence and labours as voluntary teachers the prejudices of the people against female education. With the valuable aid of several leading members of the Parsee community, you contributed not a little to put the Parsi Schools on a permanent footing.

"Such were your labours in the cause of native progress and enlightenment, when, fifteen years ago, you proceeded to England as partner in the first native firm established in that country with the important object of naturalizing native commercial enterprise therein.

"By directing your attention during your stay in England towards the study of politics, you have proved yourself of immense service to India, being able thereby to represent our cause honestly and faithfully before the English public.

usefulness. By far his most important and earnest labour has for some years past been directed to an exposition of the *poverty of India* and its remedy, and anybody who carefully reads his papers on the subject, read before the Bombay Branch of the East India Association, will see how thoroughly and earnestly he has discussed the subject. Latterly he has carried on some direct correspondence on the subject with the India Office, with some good effect, and has succeeded in awakening an intelligent and sympathising interest in England in connection with this matter. With respect to Mr Dadabhai's public labours since 1868, we may say that in 1869 he delivered three Gujerates and one English lecture for the East India Association, and an address at the formation and inauguration of the Bombay Branch. About the same time he delivered a lecture in Gujerates on 'The Condition of India,' at a meeting called by the Thakore Saheb of Gondal; wrote another paper on the Civil Service clause in the Governor-General of India Bill, which was sent from Bombay to the East India Association, and one on the Bombay Cotton Act of 1869, which, with the discussions on the subject, resulted in the Act being vetoed by the Secretary of State In 1870 he wrote a paper on the Wants and Means of India, and in 1871 on the Commerce of India and on the *Financial Administration of India* In 1872, while in Bombay, he took an active part in the agitation for municipal reform In 1873 Mr Dadabhai gave evidence before the Parliamentary Select Committee In 1874 he entered on the duties of the Dewanship of Baroda at the earnest solicitation of the Gaekwar, being the first Parsee Dewan in an important Native State at a time when the administration of its affairs was beset with serious and harassing difficulties. His views, theoretical and practical, of governing were truth and straightforwardness, that governments and princes were made for the people, and not the people for them, and that the true welfare of a State was identified with the welfare and progress of the people The space at our command precludes us from referring to the crowding incidents of that year, and we must refer our readers to Mr Dadabhai's reply to the Baroda Blue books It may be remarked that the struggle, in which a Resident was removed by a Viceroy like Lord Northbrook, must have been one of no ordinary character The removal of a Resident for the sake of a native Dewan is an event of rare occurrence Sir Bartle Frere, writing to Mr Dadabhai in February 1874 said— I have received with the utmost interest all the information you have sent home regarding your doings at Baroda You must not be discouraged by anything that happens You have undertaken, as I warned you, a terribly difficult work, but I feel sure you have undertaken it in the right spirit and from none but the purest motives' Again in the following year Sir Bartle Frere wrote to Mr Dadabhai It has been a matter of regret to both of us [himself and Sir Erskine Perry] that you were not allowed an opportunity of

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"Your disinterested labours in the establishment and conduct of the London Indian Society and the East India Association, and in the formation of a branch of the latter at Bombay, your valuable services in the discussion of important Imperial questions affecting the rights and interests of the natives of India, are too recent and well known to require lengthy acknowledgments.

"Such are your services, and when to your high character for integrity and probity, dear Sir, we add your readiness disinterestedly to devote your time, talents, and energy towards the advancement and welfare of India, with such urbanity of manners and width of sympathy as to place your valuable advice within the reach of every countryman who might need it, we cannot refrain from publicly acknowledging them, and as a small token of our esteem and affection we request your kind acceptance of a purse which we have subscribed.

"We also solicit the favour of your kindly consenting to have your life-size portrait placed in the Hall of the Framjee Cowasjee Institute.

"In conclusion we beg heartily to wish you a happy voyage to England, and we pray Almighty God to grant you long life and prosperity, and that we may have the happiness of once more seeing that benign and cheerful countenance among us. We remain, dear Sir, your sincere friends and admirers."

carrying out the reforms you desired, and thus making one of the most interesting experiments possible in a Native State. But you have the consolation of having done your best. I do not see that any human being could have done more under the circumstances.' In 1875, during his stay in Bombay, Mr. Dadabhai was elected a member of the Corporation and of the Town Council, and worked in those offices for a little over a year. His treatment of some of the more troublesome questions of several years' standing elicited from the Corporation a special vote of thanks for his 'zeal and ability,' and an expression of regret at his resignation in September 1876. In addition to the routine work, his principal work during the year was showing that Government were demanding from the Municipality fifty lakhs of rupees more than they were entitled to on the Vehar Loan, and that the delivery of water by the Vehar system was only about fourteen gallons a head per day, and not seventeen gallons; and suggestions for loans for improvements and for amendments in the Municipal Act. In 1876 Mr. Dadabhai wrote his two papers on 'The Poverty of India,' which were read before the Bombay branch of the East India Association; and his reply to the discussion on the poverty of India. From 1876 to 1879 he carried on a private correspondence with Sir Erskine Perry on the higher and larger employment of natives, and with Sir David Wedderburn about getting returns of the salaries, pensions, &c., given to European employes in all departments of the State. In 1880 he wrote letters to the Secretary of State on the Productions and Wants of the Punjaub and India; a letter to the same high authority on 'The Moral Poverty of India and Native Thoughts on the present British Indian Policy,' and 'A few statements in the Report of the Finance Commission of 1880.' From 1878 to 1881 Mr. Dadabhai carried on a private correspondence with Mr. Hyndman on Indian subjects.

"Mr. Dadabhai was appointed a member of the Grand Jury in 1855; was nominated a Fellow of the Bombay University in 1864, and a Justice of the Peace in 1883, in which year he again joined the Corporation. Since his return to Bombay he has started the *Voice of India*. He submitted a note on Education to the Education Commission when they held their sittings in Bombay... He made praiseworthy exertions for the success of the Ripon Memorial."

In August 1885, Lord Reay appointed Mr. Dadabhai an Additional Member the Bombay Legislative Council. His appointment was hailed with univ satisfaction, though it was felt by all that very tardy justice was done to hi Government. Mr. Dadabhai took a leading part at the meetings of the Indian National Congress which sat in Bombay on the 27th, 28th and December 1885. A few months after he left for England with a view t his chance at the General Elections and secure a seat in Parliament. The of several English friends of India enabled him to find a constit willing to accept him as a candidate. At a meeting of the Executive mittee of the Holborn Liberal Association, held on Friday, the 18th o 1886, it was unanimously resolved to commend him to the Electors of Hol 'a fit and proper person to represent the Liberals and Radicals of the Bo Parliament." Mr. Dadabhai accepted the candidature and issued his ad the Electors of the Holborn Division of Finsbury on the 19th of June 18 issue at the General Elections of June 1886 turned upon the question Rule for Ireland, and the English public were so much divided in opin question, and, besides, so strongly Conservative was the borough s Mr. Dadabhai, that from the first the chances of his election seem Most things were against him in the contest, but nevertheless he th into it with great courage and resolution. He addressed a large nur ings and was at all of them received most enthusiastically. Many o papers noticed his candidature and spoke favorably of the impres days succeeded in making on the mind of his audiences. M ated at the elections, he securing 1,950 votes while his Cons ed 3,651. Mr. Dadabhai's defeat was, under the circum n he accepted the candidature, it was feared that he wo urs 300 vo es. The constituency was known to be st

and Mr Dadabhai's opponent, Col Duncan, had almost everything on his side—wealth, local influence, and the English antipathy to Mr. Gladstone's Home Rule policy for Ireland. That fighting against such odds, Mr Dadabhai should have been able to secure so many as 1,950 votes, surprised all who had feared that he might not be able to secure even half that number While in England he wrote to the *Times* and *Daily News* several letters on Exchange and Bi-Metallism, then the most pressing of Indian economical questions Mr Dadabhai returned to India in November with a view to join the second Indian National Congress which was to assemble in Calcutta in the closing days of December He was elected President of the Congress, and the address he delivered at the opening of it in the large hall of the Calcutta Town Hall is notable for the moderation of its tone and the spirit of loyalty and reform which breathed through it."

During the deliberations of the Congress he felt most anxious about the Indian Civil Service question of which he had made a life long study He guided the Congress Civil Service sub committee as its chairman t wards the important resolution on the subject arrived at by the Congress and in th end of 1888 he published a paper on the Indian Services and early in 1887 prepared his well-known Replies to the questions of the Public Service Commissi n supplementing these by oral evidence before the Commission during its sittings in Bombay in April. After receiving the thanks of the public of Bombay for himself and his brother candidate Mr L M Ghose who were both very warmly welcomed at a most crowded meeting in the Framji Cawasji Institute and after a complimentary dinner from the Ripon Club Mr Dadabhai again left for England. While in England Mr Dadabhai has contributed two Essays to the *Contemporary Review* by way of reply to Sir M E Grant Duff's crude observations in India and its educated classes The Essays have elicited praise even from the Anglo-Indian journals and have been universally applauded by the native press of India It is the dearest wish of India universally expressed that early seats may be obtained by him and Mr L M Ghose in Parliament and THIS GRAND OLD MAN of ours may continue to serve the interests of the country in an unselfish and independent way as he has done for many years is India's humble and sincere prayer to God

LET OTHER "PATRIOTS' TAKE A LEAF OUT OF HIS BOOK

The writer who had the honour of attending the Congress as a delegate of the Dnyan Vardhak Sahha, was an eye witness of this, and he cannot here quoting the following from the introductory article to the printed Report of cond Congress, which does full justice to his address —

throughout the speech was interrupted, at the close of almost every period, most enthusiastic cheers, showing how thoroughly the speaker's words ome home to the hearts, not only of his brother delegates, but of the vast f educated listeners that thronged every portion of the great hall."

ESSAYS.

CHAPTER I.

I.

THE EUROPEAN AND ASIATIC RACES.

(Read before the Ethnological Society, London, March 27th, 1866, Observations on the Paper read by John Crawfurd, Esq., F.R.S.)

I FEEL very thankful to Mr. Crawfurd and the Council for allowing me to make a few observations upon Mr. Crawfurd's paper, "on the European and Asiatic Races."

Mr. Crawfurd tells us, in illustration of the mental inferiority of the Asiatics, that in the seminaries at eighteen the native is left far behind by the European, and never after recovers his lost ground. What are the facts? Only a few mails ago, *The Friend of India* tells us, that at the Calcutta University there were then above 1,200 candidates for entrance; that 447 underwent the first examination, and that 120 had applied to compete for the B.A. degree. The *Friend* remarks, "These examinations are assuming a Chinese magnitude, and present a spectacle at once curious and gratifying." The result of my own experience as a teacher and professor for ten years in the Elphinstone Institution, and of my observations for ten years more, is entirely contrary to Mr. Crawfurd's statement. Gambier, Perry, Lewin, Sims, Warden, and others, have given similar opinions in their evidence before Parliament. The mistake made by Mr. Crawfurd is one of those which foreign travellers and writers are very apt to fall into from superficial observation and imperfect information.

When English seminaries were first opened in India, boys were principally sent there with the object of acquiring a sufficient knowledge of the English language to enable them to get a situation in government offices, or to talk and write English. The consequence was, that for some time these seminaries did not produce any scholars, the pupils generally leaving on attaining their main object. With the imperfect

education with which they usually left school, and falling again in the society of their own equally or more ignorant countrymen, they were not able to continue their studies Those Englishmen, however, who watched their progress, but did not understand the cause, wondered at such a result, and concluded that the native youth was incapable of progress after eighteen There is another circumstance which unfortunately aggravated the mischief, the custom of early betrothal and marriage among the natives The pupils, therefore, were often fathers before they were eighteen or twenty, and the necessity of supporting a family soon drove them from school to service

For those who take a real interest in the natives of India, I cannot do better than refer them to that mass of interesting evidence given before Parliamentary Committees by interested and disinterested persons, and I have no doubt that any impartial and candid inquirer will find that the natives of India are not below the average of the head and heart of any other nation in the world.

This evidence was given in 1853 and 1858, but since that time the progress in education and several other matters has been so marked, though not very great, that even this evidence has become obsolete in some particulars. No careful observer will now make the statement that the Hindu is not capable of keeping up his studies after leaving college, much less that he falls back at eighteen and never regains his lost ground 'The very fact that the Hindus were even capable of producing a vast and varied literature in all departments of human knowledge, shows beyond all doubt that the capacity to study all life is not wanting. The fertile soil is there, but neglected Let it have its proper cultivation, and it will again show the same fruit

Lastly, as Sir C Trevelyan very justly remarks, what is said about the natives takes place in some degree in all countries, even in England, and as a remedy, he says,—"The main thing required is to open to them a proper field of mental and moral activity in after life . . . and we should encourage a wholesome mental activity in the pursuits of literature, science, and the fine arts . all the avenues of employment in the service of the state should be opened to them.* They have very considerable administrative qualities, great patience, great industry, and great acuteness and intelligence."†

I do not know whether the remarks made by Mr. Crawfurd on Asiatic literature and the dearth of great names are based upon his own personal

* Lords' Committee, 1853, ques. 6644. † Ib. 6605.

knowledge of all these literatures or on the authority of others who possess such knowledge, or on the assumption that, because Mr. Crawfurd does not know them, therefore they do not exist. Mr Crawfurd himself admits that there have been some conquerors, lawgivers, and founders of religious sects. I suppose such names as Christ, Mahomed, Zoroaster, Manu, Confucius, Cyrus, Akbar, Fardoosi, Hafiz, Sady, Calidas, Panini, Abool Fazil, and a host of others, are such as any nation may be proud of The Royal Asiatic Society has a descriptive catalogue of 163 manuscripts in their library of 100 distinct Persian and Arabic works on the single subject of history Sir W Jones thinks* Persia has produced more writers of every kind, and chiefly poets, than all Europe put together He mentions a manuscript at Oxford of the lives of 135 of the finest Persian poets †

Mr Crawfurd speaks disparagingly of the *Shanameh*, as consisting "of a series of wild romances of imaginary heroes, and of such slender merit that no orientalist has ever ventured on presenting it in a European translation" I hope Mr Crawfurd has read it, or has authority for what he says In my humble opinion, from what little I know of it, it is a work of great poetic merit ‡ Sir W Jones, after giving the palm of superiority to Homer, asserts a very great resemblance between the works of these extraordinary men, and admits that both drew their images from nature herself, and both possessed, in an eminent degree, that rich and creative invention which is the very soul of poetry ‖

He considers the characters in it as various and striking, the figures bold and animated, and the diction everywhere sonorous, yet noble; polished, yet full of fire § Sir J Malcolm thinks that the most fastidious European reader will meet with numerous passages of exquisite beauty in the noble epic poem of Firdoosi, that some of the finest scenes are described with simplicity and elegance of diction, and that to those whose taste is offended with hyperbole, the tender part of his work will have most beauty ¶ Sir W Jones considers that the Persian language is rich, melodious, and elegant, that numbers of admirable works have been written in it, by historians, philosophers, and poets, who found it capable of expressing, with equal advantage, the most beautiful

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* Vol. x., p 349

† I have given the opinions of others as closely as possible in their own words.

‡ Dr. Julius Mohl informs me that he has already published four volumes of the text and translation; the fifth is nearly ready for publication, and the sixth is printing.

‖ Vol. x., p. 355. § Ibid. 354. ¶ Vol. ii., p. 329.

and the most elevated sentiments.* With reference to the ridiculous bombast of the Persian style, he remarks, that though there are bad writers, as in every country, the authors who are esteemed in Persia are neither slavish in their sentiments, nor ridiculous in their expressions.

Upon Mr Crawford's remarks as to the absence of any literature or history among the Persians before the Arabian conquest, let us see what Sir John Malcolm says. He says, the Arabs, in their irritation at the obstinate resistance of the Persians for their independent religion, destroyed their cities, temples, etc etc And the books, in which were written whatever the learned of the nation knew, either of general science, or of their own history and religion, were, with their possessions, devoted to destruction He refers, as a parallel, to the fate of Greek and Roman manuscripts, to show how few of the works of a cultivated and despised nation like Persia, would be saved amid the wreck in which that kingdom was doomed

He further says—"We know from sacred history, that the deeds of the kings of Persia were written in a book styled the chronicles of that kingdom, and we are told by a Grecian author, who was at the court of Artaxerxes Mnemon, that he had access to volumes which were preserved in the royal archives."†

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* now, p. 165

† Mr Ed. B. Eastwick, in reply to my inquiries as to his opinion upon the extracts I have given from Sir W Jones and Sir John Malcolm on Persian Literature, &c., says—

"I thoroughly agree in the opinions expressed of Firdausi, and of the Persian poets, by Sir W. Jones and Sir J Malcolm The narratives of events in the *Shanaméh* are not so unnatural, hyperbolic, or absurd as those in the *Iliad*, and, the 'curiosa felicitas verborum' of the Persian poet is little if at all, inferior to that of Homer. Mr C cannot be aware that M Mohl has translated the *Shanaméh* into French and that Atkinson has rendered some portions into English If Arabic and Persian were taught in our schools as Greek and Latin are, we should have as many and as careful translations of the *Shanaméh* as of the *Iliad* It is not the slender merit of the poet, but our ignorance of Persian, that has made the dearth of translations As yet we have only dipped into Persian poetry No European can pretend to have explored that ocean of literature."

I am sorry that my very slight knowledge of French prevents me from studying, for the present, the annual reports of Dr Julius Mohl, but I give below, an extract from his letter to me, which I think gives the Eastern literature its proper place in the history of man

"Oriental literature can only take its place in the universal literature of mankind, when intelligent historians show its value for history in its largest sense—history of the development of the human race, its ideas, its manners, etc.; and show, too, how large has been the part of the East, and how great in some respects its influence. This is gradually being done, in proportion as translations and researches on special subjects put the materials in the hands of thinking people. It is, above all, the history of religion, of legislation, of philosophy, and of poetry, which will show the importance of Oriental literature: but it is slow

I need not take up your time with more extracts on the merits of other poets. Mr. Fraser, after naming Nizami, Omar Keyormi, Oorfi, and Rudki, says he might cite a hundred others as high examples of genius. Lastly, we must bear in mind, that a large amount of Asiatic and European literature may have been lost in that deplorable act of destruction of the Alexandrian Library by Omar.

In Arabic literature, to the *Arabian Nights*, at least, I hope Mr. Crawfurd accords some merit; for according to his test of merit the work is translated in European languages, and extensively read, too. Chrickton's *History of Arabia* gives an account of a varied and vast Arabian literature. He thinks Europe indebted to the Arabs for some of her most valuable lessons in science and arts. He also gives the names of more than half-a-dozen female poetesses and philosophers.

Professor Max Müller thinks that the achievements of the Brahmins in grammatical analysis, which date from six centuries before Christ, are still unsurpassed by any nation.* Colebrook thinks that among the infinity of volumes on Nyaya, there are compositions of very celebrated schoolmen,† and that the Hindu writings abound in every branch of science. Sir W. Jones strongly recommends to Europeans the study of Indian medical works. He says there are many works on music, in prose and verse, with specimens of Hindu airs in a very elegant notation, that the Sanscrit prosody is easy and beautiful, that there are numerous astronomical works, and that wherever we direct our attention to Hindu literature, the notion of *infinity* presents itself, from which we may gather the fruits of science without loading ourselves with the leaves.

No doubt there may be much leaves and branches, or much trash, in this vast forest of literature, but we know also what amount of trash is daily poured upon us in the present day.

Sir W. Jones ventures to affirm that the whole of Newton's *Theology*, and part of his *Philosophy*, may be found in the *Vedas*, which also abound with allusions to a force of universal attraction.‡ With regard to the Sanscrit language, he says, whatever be its antiquity, it is of

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work, and cannot be otherwise, by the nature of the case. Greek and Latin literature will always prevail in Europe; our minds have been moulded upon these, and they are nearest to us; but this does not extinguish the claim of the East to take its place. I have said this over and over, in my annual reports to the Asiatic Society."

* Science of Language, p. 80. † Religion and Philosophy of the Hindus, p. 167
‡ Vol. iii., p. 249

wonderful structure, more perfect than the Greek, more copious than the Latin, and more exquisitely refined than either.* With all the above opinions of Sir W. Jones Dr. T. Goldstucker concurs.

Horace Wilson thinks it probable that in fiction much of the invention displayed on the revival of letters in Europe was referable to an Indian origin ;† that enough has been ascertained to determine the actual existence in Sanscrit or in vernacular translations from it of a very extensive literature of fiction, in which many of our European acquaintances are at once to be recognised,‡ and that the Hindus occupy an early and prominent place in the history of fiction ;§ that in speculations upon the nature of the superior being and man, the Hindus traverse the very same ground that was familiarly trodden by the philosophers of Greece and Rome.‖ He also remarks :—"That in medicine, as well as in astronomy and metaphysics, the Hindus once kept pace with the most enlightened nations of the world ; and that they attained as thorough a proficiency in medicine and surgery as any people whose acquisitions are recorded, and as indeed was practicable, before anatomy was made known to us by the discoveries of modern inquirers. That surgery (as well as other departments of medical science) was once extensively cultivated and highly esteemed by the Hindus."

Lastly, I appeal to Professor Goldstucker, whether Sanscrit literature was not important enough to warrant the formation of the Sanscrit Text Society, headed by his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales.

Further development was checked by the frequent invasions of India by, and the subsequent continuous rule of, foreigners of entirely different character and genius, who, not having any sympathy with the indigenous literature—on the contrary, having much fanatical antipathy to the religion of the Hindus—prevented its further growth. Priesthood, first for power and afterwards from ignorance, completed the mischief, as has happened in all other countries.

Mr. Crawfurd tells us that the Asiatics are untruthful, very inferior in morals, and have no fidelity to engagements.¶ Beginning with the

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* Vol. iii., p. 34. † Vol. iii., p. 156. ‡ Vol. v., p. 108.
§ Vol. iii., p. 159. ‖ Vol. ii., p. 115.

¶ Mr. Crawfurd says, "In morals there has ever existed a wide difference between Europeans and Asiatics. Truth, the basis of all morality, has never distinguished the races of India. In Europe fidelity to engagements has been in esteem even in rude times, and increased with the advance of civilization. Not so in Asia, for it may safely be asserted that there the most civilized nations are found to be the least truthful, among whom may be named the Persians, the Hindus,

ancient Persians, Zoroaster, hundreds of years before Christ, taught, "I understand truth-telling exalted; all the days of the holy man are with thoughts of truth, words of truth, and deeds of truth. Those that tell untruths and do wicked actions shall not receive the reward of life from Hormuzd. To speak true words is true excellence; in the treasures of religion exalt truth above all. What is the high religion?—That which promotes my holiness and truth, with good thought, word, and deed. In this house may . . . prevail words of truth over words of lie.—Punish the breakers of promise, and those that induce others to break their promise."* Coming down in the course of time to the third century of the Christian era, Ardai Viraf, a high priest, holds out the punishment of hell, among others, to the following :—

"The man who used false weights and measures, took full weight and returned false, who adulterated his goods by mixing water with milk, to men who were liars and talebearers. The crime of lying being the most displeasing in the sight of God; even the most trivial and innocent falsity being a heinous sin. The man who was a bearer of *false witness; who was fraudulent and deceitful; who, though he kept* his word and rigorously performed his agreement with those of his own sect and faith, yet held it no sin to break his faith with those of a different persuasion; this, in the eye of Omnipotence, being a heinous sin, and the keeping of a promise even with an enemy being a duty inculcated."

Mr. Pope, the translator of Ardai Viraf, concludes with the following remark, "that the philosophers will rejoice to find them (the modern Parsees) neither deficient in virtue or morality." Mr. Rawlinson says, "that in their (Zoroastrian) system, truth, purity, piety, and industry were the virtues chiefly valued and inculcated."

Coming down to the latest times, the Parsee children are taught as a religious lesson to speak the truth, and not to tell untruths nor to commit treachery.

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and the Chinese. Integrity is most prevalent among the educated classes in Europe; but with the more civilized, the want of it pervades all classes in Asia. The European maxim that 'honesty is the best policy' is not recognised by the more civilized people of Asia; on the contrary, finesse is substituted. It is only among Asiatic nations of the second order of civilization (Mr. C. knows only them, it appears), such as Burmese, Malays, &c., that we find an adherence to truth, and even they become demoralised in the attainment of power. The difference in morals between Europeans and Asiatics seems to have belonged to all ages."

* My paper on the Parsee religion read before the Liverpool Literary and Philosophical Society.

The above is the testimony of the religious literature of the Persians. Let us see what the foreigners have said of them. Greek testimony about Persians is to be taken with care and caution. When we see that in the nineteenth century, gentlemen of learning and authority, with every means of obtaining correct information available, commit such mistakes as the one I have pointed out before, about the educational capacity of the natives of India, and make statements contrary to well known facts, how much more necessary is it to sift carefully the testimony of a hostile people given at a time when intercommunication was rare and difficult, and the character and manners of the two people very different. Even good Greek testimony, however, is in the favour of the Persians. Herodotus says, "Their sons are carefully instructed .... to speak the truth." He also says, "They hold it unlawful to talk of anything which is unlawful to do; the most disgraceful thing in the world they think is to tell a lie, the next worse to owe a debt, because, among other reasons, the debtor is obliged to tell lies."*

Next, there is the testimony of the inscriptions in which lying is taken as the representative of all evil. Darius's successors are exhorted not to cherish but to cast into utter perdition the man who may be a liar, or who may be an evil doer.† The modern Parsees are admitted by Mr. Crawfurd himself, as well as others, as a trustworthy and truthful race.

Of the modern Mahommedan Persians of Persia I do not know much. But I may say this much, that if they be truthful, Mr. Crawfurd's statement, then, is incorrect; if untruthful, Mr. Crawfurd's conclusion of his paper is so far upset. For, the present untruthful Persians, being the descendants of an old truth-speaking race, the difference in the character is no proof of difference of race, and that external circumstances have great influence in modifying a nation's character.

About the Hindus I can speak, both from personal knowledge and from other testimony, that Mr. Crawfurd's charge against them is unfounded. This mistake also arises from causes I have alluded to before—superficial observation and hasty conclusions. Fortunately there are many who have studied the native character more carefully. Not to take up much of your time, I refer you to the evidence given before Parliament, 1853 and 1858, and I think that a careful and candid examination of that evidence will satisfy anybody, that the general character of the natives of India is as good as that of any other people.

* Rawlinson's Herodotus, vol. ii., p. 222. † Ib. note 7.

I shall very briefly refer to some of this testimony here. Beginning with the early writers, Strabo testifies to the truthfulness and virtue of the Hindus.* Arrian also describes the Hindus as truthful, saying, "and indeed none of the Indians were ever accused of that crime (falsehood)."† Coming down to later times, Abool Fazil, the celebrated Mahommedan minister of Akbar, describes the Hindus in the sixteenth century as lovers of justice, admirers of truth, grateful, and of unbounded fidelity.‡ Coming down still later to the present time, Sir G. Clerk thinks the morality among the higher classes of Hindus of a high standard, and of the middle and lower classes remarkably so. He thinks there is less immorality than in many countries of Europe.§ Sir E. Perry tells us, that offences against property and crimes generally are less frequent in the island of Bombay than in any similar community in Europe, and that it is the opinion of the Hindus that native morality suffers by coming into close contact with the English—the pristine simplicity and truthfulness of the native village disappears in drunkenness, intrigue, and a litigious spirit supervening,‖ and that their commercial integrity has always been famous.¶

This commercial integrity is mentioned by Strabo also, who says that "they make their deposits, and confide in one another."** It is a fact at the present day, that transactions of great value take place between natives, for which there is no further evidence than the entry in the books of the seller. I do not suppose there is any parallel to this in Europe.

Colonel D. Sims considers the natives not inferior to the people of other countries in point of honesty, and even veracity, and says that people are apt to judge of the natives of India by those whom they find about the precincts of the different courts of justice, where, temptations to mendacity being many, the atmosphere is unfavourable to truthfulness, as is probably the case in any other countries under the same circumstances.†† When Mr. Fowler, a planter, gained the confidence of his labourers by his fair dealings with them, everything went on

* Vol. iii., p. 106. † Vol. ii., c. xii., p. 206.
‡ J. Crawfurd's Researches, vol. ii., p. 139.
§ Report of Select Committee, 1853, Ques. 2278.
‖ Bird's-eye View of India, p. 77.
¶ Report of Select Committee, 1853, Ques. 2582.
** Vol. iii., p. 105. †† Report of Select Committee, 1853, Ques. 3513-9.

smoothly, and he was never in any part of the world where he had less trouble with his labourers.

Horace Wilson tells us not to imagine that the Hindus are ignorant of the foundations of all morality, or that they do not value truth, justice, integrity, benevolence, charity, to all that lives, and even the requital of evil with good; that these duties are all repeatedly enjoined, and Hindu authorities commend as earnestly as those of any other language.†

The complaint often made about untruthfulness of natives, has, I think, this cause. There are several professional experts about the courts who sell their evidence. The judge is very often not sufficiently familiar with the vernacular; some of the subordinates in the court being most wretchedly paid, yield to the temptation of bribery, and these three causes combined together make the task of the judge sometimes difficult, and every instance of successful perjury naturally encourages it more. The obvious remedy, one would think, would be that if proper severe examples were made of the perjurers, instead of merely raising up the cry of untruthfulness against the whole nation, their number, if at all unusual, would soon be reduced.

The other cause of the Hindus being sometimes denounced as untruthful, is the following clauses in the *Institutes* of Menu:—

Chap. iv., 138. "Let him say what is true, but let him say what is pleasing; let him speak no disagreeable truth, nor let him speak agreeable falsehood. This is a primeval rule."

139. "Let him say 'well and good,' or let him say 'well' only; but let him not maintain fruitless enmity and altercation with any man."

Chap. viii., 103. "In some cases, a giver of false evidence from a pious motive, even though he know the truth, shall not lose his seat in heaven: such evidence wise men call the speech of the gods."

104. "Whenever the death of a man, *who had not been a grievous offender*, either of the servile, the commercial, the military, or the sacerdotal class, would be occasioned by true evidence, *from the known rigour of the king, even though the fault arose from inadvertence or error*, falsehood may be spoken: it is even preferable to truth." (The italics in all extracts from Menu are from the commentators on Menu.)

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* Colonization Committee, Ques. 5742-4.—In Mr. Justice Phear's opinion, "the character of the average oral testimony in the Guildhall of London, and that of the same in the townhall of Calcutta, were on a par." And the Hon. Mr. Campbell fully admits that it was the courts which were to blame for the character of native testimony. (*Native Opinion*, Bombay, 25th March, 1866.)

† Vol. ii., p. 109.

It must be remembered that these are laws for a state of society entirely different from your present one, the will or wisdom of the sovereign is the practical law of the land I do not propose here to read a dissertation on truth, but I may simply, as parallel to the above extracts from the works of a Hindu legislator, refer to what is said by some of the European thinkers of modern times. Bentham allows, 1, falsehoods to avoid mischief, the case of misdirecting a murderer; 2, falsehoods of humanity, the case of physicians, 3, falsehoods of urbanity, an exaggerated compliment. In these cases, or at least in the first two, he says, "falsehood is a duty, in other cases it may be allowable, as in all those in which the person addressed has no right to know the truth This would embrace most of the cases discussed by Grotius and Puffendorf" Instead of making any further quotations, I refer you to an article in the *Saturday Review* of July 2nd, 1864, on "Lying," from which the above extract is taken

I give in a note below extracts from the *Institutes of Menu* to show how highly truth and virtue are valued among the Hindus * Dr Goldstucker kindly writes to me to say, that in Rigveda and Jagurved "the necessity of speaking truth and avoiding untruth is emphasised in the most beautiful language, but unfortunately there are as yet no translations of these texts"

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* Chap iv, par 175 Let a man continually take pleasure in truth, in justice in laudable practices and in purity let him chastise those whom he may chastise, in a legal mode let him keep in subjection his speech, his arm, and his appetite

Par 237 By falsehood the sacrifice becomes vain

Par 256 All things have their sense ascertained by speech, in speech they have their bases and from speech they proceed, consequently, a falsifier of speech falsifies everything

This is somewhat similar to Bentham's description of truth, in his *Theory of Legislation* (p 260) "Every instant of our lives we are obliged to form judgments and to regulate our conduct according to facts and it is only a small number of these facts which we can ascertain from our own observation Then results an absolute necessity of trusting to the reports of others If there is in these reports a mixture of falsehood, so far our judgments are erroneous, our motives wrong, our expectations misplaced We live in restless distrust, and we do not know upon what to put dependence In one word, falsehood includes the principle of every evil, because in its progress it brings on at last the dissolution of human society

Par 255. For he, who describes himself to worthy men, in a manner contrary to truth, is the most sinful wretch in this world he is the worst of thieves, a stealer of minds

Chap. vi., par 92 Content returning good for evil, resistance to sensual appetites, abstinence from illicit gain, purification, coercion of the organs, knowledge of Scripture, knowledge of the Supreme Spirit, veracity, and freedom from wrath, form their tenfold system of duties

Chap. vii, 26. Holy sages consider as a fit dispenser of criminal justice, that king who unfailingly speaks truth, who duly considers all cases, who understands the sacred books, who knows the distinction of virtue, pleasure, and riches.

Mr Crawford admits the commercial integrity among native merchants. Dealings in money, however, produce the greatest temptations to dishonesty, and when the commercial portion of a nation can stand this ordeal well, one would think it must tell much in favour of the general character of a people

Mr Crawfurd denies integrity even to the educated classes. I do not hesitate to give a direct contradiction to this statement. From my actual acquaintance and experience of the educated natives in the

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Chap viii, par 79 The witnesses being assembled in the middle of the court-room in the presence of the plaintiff and the defendant, let the judge examine them after having addressed them altogether in the following manner —

Par 80 What ye know to have been transacted in the matter before us between the parties reciprocally declare at large and with truth, for your evidence in this cause is required

Par 81 A witness who gives evidence with truth shall attain exalted seats of beatitude above and the highest fame here below such testimony is revered by Brahma himself

Par 82 The witness who speaks falsely shall be fast bound *under water*, in the *snaky* cords of Varuna and be wholly deprived of power to *escape torment* during a hundred transmigrations let mankind, therefore give no false testimony

Par 83 By truth is a witness cleared from sin by truth is justice advanced truth must, therefore, be spoken by witnesses of every class

Par 84 The soul itself is its own witness the soul itself is its own refuge, offend not thy conscious soul the supreme internal witness of men!

Par 85 The sinful have said in their hearts None sees us Yes the gods distinctly see them and so does the spirit within their breasts

Par 89 Whatever places of torture have been prepared for the slayer of a priest, for the murderer of a woman or of a child, for the injurer of a friend, and for an ungrateful man those places are ordained for a witness who gives false evidence

Par 90 The fruit of every virtuous act which thou hast done O good man, since thy birth, shall depart from thee to dogs if thou deviate in speech from the truth

Par 91 O friend of virtue that supreme spirit which thou believest one and the same with thyself, resides in thy bosom perpetually and is an all-knowing inspector of thy goodness or of thy wickedness

Par 92 If thou deest not at variance by speaking falsely, with Yama, or the subduer of all, with Vaivaswata, or the punisher, with that great divinity who dwells in thy breast, go not on a pilgrimage to the river Ganga, nor to the plains of Curu, for thou hast no need of expiation

Par 93 Naked and shorn, tormented with hunger and thirst and deprived of sight shall the man, who gives false evidence, go with a potsherd to beg food at the door of an enemy

Par 94 Headlong in utter darkness, shall the impious wretch tumble into hell, who being interrogated in a judicial inquiry, answers one question falsely.

Par 95 He who in a court of justice gives an imperfect account of any transaction, or asserts a fact of which he was no eye witness, shall receive pain *instead of pleasure*, and resemble a man who eats fish *with eagerness*, and swallows the sharp bones

Par 96 The gods are acquainted with no better mortal in this world, than the man of whom the intelligent spirit which pervades his body, has no distrust, when he prepares to give evidence

Bombay Presidency, I can with confidence assert, in Mr. Crawfurd's own words, that integrity is most prevalent among them as among the educated in Europe. This mistake about the integrity of the educated is also like that about the capacity for education. There are many youths who know how to speak and write English without being educated, and Englishmen often confound them with the educated.

Polygamy.—The Parsees are strictly monogamists. The old and young, the most bigoted orthodox and the most liberal, all agree in their abhorrence of bigamy. They prevailed with government to make bigamy criminal among them. I am not able to refer to the books, but I have a strong impression that there is nothing in the religious literature of the Old Persians indicative of the prevalence or sanction of polygamy among them. It is the most universal belief among the modern Parsees that they have always been monogamists, and they consider concubinage, also, a sin. Greek testimony, however, is against the Persians in this matter. But at the same time, the Greek best authority lays the blame upon the Greeks themselves, for Herodotus

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Par. 97. Hear, honest man, from a just enumeration in order, how many kinsmen in evidence of different sorts, a false witness kills, or incurs the guilt of killing.

Par. 193. That man who, by false pretences, gets into his hands the goods of another, shall, together with his accomplices, be punished by various degrees of whipping or mutilation, or even by death.

Par. 257. Veracious witnesses, who give evidence as the law requires, are absolved from their sins; but such as give it unjustly, shall each be fined two hundred panas.

Chap. x., par. 93. Avoiding all injury to animated beings, veracity, abstaining from theft, and from unjust seizure of property, cleanliness, and command over the bodily organs, form the compendious system of duty which Menu has ordained for the four classes.

Chap. iv. par. 170. Even here below an unjust man attains no felicity, nor he whose wealth proceeds from giving false evidence, nor he who constantly takes delight in mischief.

Chap. v., par. 109. Bodies are cleansed by water, *the mind is purified by truth*, the vital spirit, by theology and devotion, the understanding, by clear knowledge.

Chap. ii., par. 97. To a man contaminated with sensuality, neither the Vedas, nor liberality, nor sacrifices, nor strict observances, nor pious austerities, ever procure felicity.

Chap. vii., par. 13. Let the king prepare a just compensation for the good, and a just punishment for the bad; the rule of strict justice let him never transgress.

Chap. viii., par. 111. Let no man of sense take an oath in vain, that is, not in a court of justice, on a trifling occasion, for the man who takes an oath in vain, shall be punished in this life and in the next.

Par. 86. The guardian deities of the firmament, of the earth, of the waters, of the human heart, of the moon, of the sun, and of fire, of punishment after death, of the winds, of night, of both twilights, and of justice, perfectly know the state of all spirits clothed with bodies.

tells us, "as soon as they (Persians) hear of any luxury they instantly make it their own, and hence, among other novelties, they have learnt unnatural lust from the Greeks Each of them has several wives and a still larger number of concubines." It appears, then, that we have to thank our good friends, the European Greeks, for this unnatural lust. The magi of the Medes are charged with worse institutions than polygamy by some Greek authorities, but Mr Rawlinson says, "whether it had any real foundation in fact is very uncertain"*

The *Desatir*, which in some parts is, according to some, of great antiquity, and according to others only a work about three hundred years old, but, withal, the work of an Asiatic, says, "Marry only one woman and do not look with a wicked eye on or cohabit with any other woman" This fact deserves much consideration Had the Persians been originally polygamists, it is strange that, during their residence in India for 1,200 years in the midst of the Hindus and Mohammedans, who are more or less polygamists, they should have so strictly preserved their monogamic character

I asked Professor Spiegel to point out any texts in the religious literature of the Parsees for or against polygamy

He replied, "As far as my knowledge goes, there is no instance of polygamy in the religious literature of the Parsees It is said that Zerdusht had three wives, but he had them successively I share with you the conviction that the majority of the Parsees were at all times monogamists, although, perhaps, indulgences have been granted to kings and other individuals of high station' In another reply to further inquiry from me, about these indulgences, he repeats that there is not a single text of the *Avesta* or the later *Parsis*, which alluded to polygamy, and that the indulgences he referred to were upon Greek and Latin authority

Moreover, Sir J Malcolm thinks, "There is every reason to believe that the manners of the ancient inhabitants of Persia were softened, and in some degree refined, by a spirit of chivalry which pervaded throughout that country from the commencement till the end of the Kayanian dynasty. The great respect in which the female sex was held was no doubt the principal cause of the progress they had made in civilization, these were at once the cause of generous enterprise and

* Vol iii., p 131

its reward. It would appear that in former days the women of Persia had an assigned and an honourable place in society, and we must conclude that an equal rank with the male creation, which is secured to them by the ordinance of Zoroaster, existed long before the time of that reformer." I can say, in confirmation of this, that even among the old and most orthodox in the present Parsee society, the above remarks on the respect to the female sex are true, and to the best of my recollection, I can confirm the remark of the equality of rank of the female and male creation by the ordinance of Zoroaster.

Mr. Rawlinson also thinks the Aryan races seem in old times to have treated women with a certain chivalry, which allowed the development of their physical powers, and rendered them specially attractive alike to their own husbands and to the men of other nations.

The existence of polygamy among the Hindus cannot be denied, but on reading the *Institutes* of Menu, I think that any one will be satisfied that, short of a perfect equality with man, and strict monogamy, woman has high consideration shown her. Menu says, "When females are honoured then the deities are pleased; but when they are dishonoured, then religious acts become fruitless" (cha. iii. 56). The duties enjoined to husbands and wives are as good as those of any other people. They are summed up in the following words:—"Let mutual fidelity continue to death (chap. ix. 101); this, in few words, may be considered as the supreme law between husband and wife." I give below a few more extracts.*

Strabo says of the Hindus, "and the wives prostitute themselves unless chastity is enforced by compulsion." This bears evident mark of a hasty conclusion from some partial observation. Domestic matters are always most difficult to be ascertained by a foreigner. Certainly the people who not only considered chastity a high virtue, as I have already shown, but even a power, and represented it so in the drama, cannot be charged with such degradation.

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* Par. 58. On whatever houses the women of a family, not being duly honoured, pronounce an imprecation, those houses, with all that belong to them, utterly perish, as if destroyed by a sacrifice for the death of an enemy.

Par. 60. In whatever family the husband is contented with his wife, and the wife with her husband, in that house will fortune be assuredly permanent.

Par. 28. From the wife alone proceed offspring, good household management, solicitous attention, most exquisite caresses, and that heavenly beatitude which she obtains for the manes of her ancestors, and for the husband himself.

Par. 165. While she who slights not her lord, but keeps her mind, speech, and body devoted to him, attains his heavenly mansion, and by good men is called sádhwí, or virtuous.

Damayante, on being insulted by a hunter in the forest, uttered loud her curse of wrath :—

> "As my pure and constant spirit swerves not from Nishadha's Lord,
> Instant so may this base hunter lifeless fall upon the earth!
> Scarce that single word was uttered suddenly that hunter bold
> Down upon the earth fell lifeless, like a lightning-blasted tree."*

On the subject of chivalry among the Hindus, Sir Bartle Frere, in a speech at the distribution of prizes to the girls' schools of the Students' Literary and Scientific Society of Bombay, says to the natives around him, after alluding to the spirit of chivalry and its effects in Europe, "There is no doubt that our ancestors regarded the female portion of the community as the great, almost the chief instruments in bringing back civilisation to Europe I wish all my native friends to recollect, that this spirit, although if manifested chiefly there, was not confined to Europe If they read any history of Rajpootana, they will see that this spirit was a desire to make them as far as possible equal to this. This spirit is essentially the spirit of the old Hindu races—a spirit which subdued India and drove out the barbarous tribes of those days, and formed such communities that they are now, after the duration of many centuries, still vigorous and still able to oppose to us a vital power, which in spite of this government and its forces, can command the respect of all who go among them"†

Lastly, I beg to draw Mr Crawfurd's attention to the phenomenon of Mormonism among European races of the nineteenth century.

It is a matter much to be regretted that gentlemen, like Mr Crawfurd, make sweeping denunciations against the character of the Asiatics. They naturally provoke recriminations like the following, with all their mischievous consequences

A Parsee gentleman, during his residence in this country for nearly eight years, disgusted with these sweeping charges, used to say.—'Look at all the mass of untruths in the daily advertisements and puffs; in the daily language of shop keepers; how much swindling is there in the concoction of companies for the benefit of the promoters only; see what the book on facts, failures, and frauds discloses; what extremely watchful care one is obliged to have in his dealings in the city, where every kind of scoundrelism is so rife, how many manufacturers always

* Story of Nala, p. 35

† Stud. Lit. and Scientific Society's Report, 1864-5.

give you the best article only, at any price; now cleverly flaws are found in contracts; how artizans always require more time for wage-work than for job; how often you get goods different from patterns and samples; and he asked what grounds are there for Europeans to boast of higher commercial morality than that of the natives of India?' He asked;—'Look at the number of immoral haunts in London, read the account of *Life in Liverpool*, see the social evil and street immorality, cases of unfaithfulness in domestic life, great immorality wherever numbers of the two sexes work together, the amount and character of crime disclosed by police and law reports, and election corruption, and all this among a highly civilised people? Is there not more reason for humiliation than boasting on the part of Europeans as to their morality? See the constant changes of views in the papers about Indian matters as it suits the purpose of the writer at the moment; the mode in which India has been acquired:—

"War, disguised as Commerce, came;
Won an empire, lost a name."

'When it suits their purpose the Hindus are described as most loyal obedient, civilised, etc.; at other times they are cowardly wretches, disloyal, ungrateful, barbarous. They first give a bad name, and then cry out to hang them. They draw millions every year from India, and in return abuse its people, caring not so much for it as for a rotten English borough. They yield with the greatest reluctance and difficulty any of the just rights and privileges demanded by the natives. Look at that iniquitous annexation policy in spite of treaties; see how the cost of the Afghan war is clapped on the shoulders of India; their whole aim being how to get most money from India.' Reasoning in this way he concluded, 'the only God the English worshipped was gold; they would do anything to get it,' and he illustrated this by saying, 'that if it were discovered that gold existed in human blood, they would manage, and with good reasons to boot, to extract it from thence.'

He said 'the English boast of fair play, etc., and yet see with what different measures they deal it out sometimes to the European and native; with what flagrant injustice was Dr. Colah treated; how bullying they are towards the weak, and very polite and reasonable with the strong. Coercion alone, it seems, makes them do what is right.' He said that as long as an Englishman wanted anything he was the very embodiment of politeness, but the object gained, he was no more the same person, and pointing to the treatment of India generally, he thought gratitude was not a very prominent trait in the English character.

They pay native officials most wretchedly, and yet claim from them as efficient and honest service as they get from the highly-paid English officials, forgetting how rife corruption was among themselves in the days of small pay and much service They complain of the untrustworthiness of native servants, but in their innocence they do not know how cleverly English landladies and servants manage to have their pickings and discounts

Studying the English character in this manner, the gentleman formed his opinion that the English were the most hypocritical, the most selfish and unprincipled people, and had no right to boast of higher morality and integrity Now, if such evidence as Mr Crawfurd relies upon be conclusive as to the character of the natives of India, I do not see how this Parsee gentleman's conclusions cannot be also admitted as proved Strange to say, the principal argument that was flung at our face against our attempt some sixteen years ago to establish female schools, was the state of English society, which the objectors, from superficial observations, urged was not highly moral, as female education afforded opportunities of secret intrigue and correspondence. I trust it is not such kind of evidence that will be considered sufficient by any thinking man to traduce whole nations.

When we left India in 1855 to come over here to open the first Parsee firm, the principal advice given by our European friends was to be exceedingly careful in our business in the city against the many rogues we should meet with there "In India,' said some one, "we keep one eye open , in England, you must keep both eyes wide open."

In the cause of truth and science I do not in the least object to the proclamation of truth regardless of consequences, but I appeal to Mr Crawfurd himself, and to Englishmen, whether, in the instance of the natives of India, the case at the worst is but doubtful, such wholesale abuse of the whole nation from persons of position and authority in science is not much to be deplored, it creates ill feeling and distrust, excites recrimination, and engenders a war of races

India, gentlemen, is in your power and at your mercy, you may either give it a helping hand and raise it to your political and enlightened condition, to your eternal glory, or keep it down with the foot of the tyrant upon its neck, to your eternal shame! The choice is in your power, and, as I am happy to believe that, true to English nature, the first course is chosen, though not yet very energetically

pursued, is it not very necessary, for men of weight or influence, not to say or do anything to mar this great and good work?

Abuse from persons like Mr. Landon of Broach, or Mr. Jeffries of the East Indian Association, natives care not for. The natives know the men and their motives; but disinterested gentlemen of weight and authority ought to ponder well upon their responsibilities. I do not mean to say that you should not point out to the natives of India their real faults and shortcomings—in fact, you cannot do a better act of friendship; but pointing out real faults is different from traducing indiscriminately. I may demand, in the words of Horace Wilson, "Let whatever they urge be urged in charity."

In my remarks about the general moral character of the Parsees and Hindus, I do not mean to be understood that they are models of perfection; they have no doubt their fair share of black sheep also, and their faults arising from centuries of foreign rule and more or less oppression; but, judging from the experience of some past years, there is every hope of these faults being corrected by education.

The intercourse between the Europeans and natives is not, except in few instances, of that frankness and confidence which alone can enable them to judge of each other rightly. Coupled with this, they very often misunderstand each other; and the Englishman, generally being an educated man, judges of every native by the high standard of his own enlightenment and civilization. The result is often anything but a right conclusion, and hasty generalisation. Every wrong act of the native is at once condemned as innate in the native; similar acts of Europeans are of course only individual delinquencies, or capable of explanation!

There is *nothing strange in the natives feeling* shy and misunderstanding the rulers. The other day the Welsh farmers did not fill up government returns about cattle, after deliberation, on the ground that government wanted to tax cattle.

There is no doubt that owing to a colder and more bracing climate, the enjoyment of free institutions for centuries, the advantages of high educational establishments and high moral culture, free public opinion, and the advancement in material prosperity and mode of life by the discoveries of physical science and mineral resources, the modern Englishman is, in his physical and mental development, in his pluck and public spirit, in literature, science and arts, superior to the modern

Hindu ground down and depressed as he is by centuries of foreign rule and oppression, and possessing less advantages of climate and food for personal vigour. But the very fact that the Hindu has under all such unfortunate circumstances preserved his character for morality and virtue, for high commercial integrity, for his bravery and military aptitude, and that he has at one time produced his vast ancient lore, shows that there is no want of capacity, and that, under the influence of British rule rightly administered, and re-invigorated by modern western civilization, he may once more regain his former high position among mankind.

At present he has not yet fully recovered from the staggering blow of the most extraordinary revolution by which a small nation in the far West has become a ruler of his vast country. He does not yet quite understand his new rulers. He is only just beginning to see dimly that after all he has perhaps some reason to congratulate himself for the change. The higher classes, the rulers now displaced or still remaining, are in a bewildering state of mind. They lying prostrate, with all their energies fled, and smarting at their fallen condition, cannot be naturally expected to reconcile themselves suddenly to the loss of their power, and to find themselves, once rulers of millions, now of less importance than an ordinary English official, and sometimes treated with injustice or indifference. The revolution in all its aspects, military, political, social, or intellectual, is so extraordinary and unparalleled in the history of mankind, that it cannot but be a work of time before a people, numbering two hundred millions, though now a fallen, but once a highly civilised nation, can be reconciled and assimilated to the new order of things. Under these circumstances, coupled with some unfortunate social barriers between the rulers and the ruled, the ignorance of each other's language, and the little interest shown by Englishmen, the Englishman and the native of India are still at a wide distance from each other, and know therefore little of each other's true merits and faults. The time, however, I hope will come, when, as some who have taken a real interest in the people have already done, the English people will with better knowledge think well of the natives of India. It will be the fault of the rulers themselves if they do not find the Hindus a loyal and a grateful people, and capable of the highest degree of civilisation. Even Abool Fazul, the minister of the greatest Mohammedan ruler of India, has borne high testimony for them. Unfortunately, the mischief of distance between the Englishman and natives is aggravated by the conduct of a class of Englishmen in India, who, either from interested

motives or from pride of superiority, always run down the natives, and keep up an ill feeling between the races. Sometimes some English gentlemen claim ten or twenty years' experience who have hardly been on intimate terms, or have familiarly conversed, with as many natives, or have hardly learnt to speak as many sentences in the language of the natives as the number of years they claim experience for; and such gentlemen constitute themselves the infallible judges of the character of the people Perhaps a parallel to this to some extent is to be found in the accounts about Englishmen themselves given by European foreigners. When Englishmen are incorrectly described by these foreigners, they of course open their whole artillery of ridicule upon such ignorance, and yet it does not always occur to them that in their judgment on natives of India, with less mutual acquaintance, they may be as much, if not more, egregiously mistaken

There are several peculiar difficulties in India in the way of rapid progress. Education permeates the mass very slowly on account of many different languages, the efforts of the educated to improve their countrymen remain confined within small limits, while in this country an idea in the *Times* is known over the whole length and breadth of the land within twenty four hours, and the whole nation can act as a man

The natives are sometimes charged with want of moral courage . We have only to look at the difference of treatment by the Bombay Government between a native and an English judge—I mean Mr Manockjee Cursetjee and Mr Anstey—and one may ask what result can be expected from such circumstances

However, though such unfortunate circumstances do now and then occur, the educated are beginning to learn that the rights of intellect and justice are the same for all, and that, though often snubbed and discouraged, they may rely upon the ultimate triumph of truth and justice.

Lastly, I think Mr. Crawfurd's treatment of this important subject is one-sided, and not judicial and scientific. The paper professes to draw a conclusion from certain facts, but to me it seems the facts are selected for, and adapted to, a foregone conclusion All explanatory causes of difference are made light of and thrown into the background, and all tending to prove the conclusion brought most forcibly into the foreground. The whole reasoning is that, because there is a diversity in the intellectual, moral, and physical character of various nations,

they must therefore have separate origins, but the premises do not warrant the conclusion; moreover, there are several assumptions which are not correct.

In one place a comparison is made between different countries, and it is assumed that the greater the natural resources the greater must be the development; while a most important feature in human nature, —"necessity the mother of invention,"—*greater* difficulties compelling greater exertions, and calling forth the exercise of higher powers, and the bracing effects of colder climates, are ignored. In one place the Phœnicians, Jews, and Mamelukes are taken over to the European side as they seem to disturb the argument.

Mr. Crawfurd alludes to the bad governments in Asia as their own creation, as if bad governments had never existed in Europe, and no European kingdoms or empires had to thank bad governments and degeneracy for their fall.*

One principal objection to Mr. Crawfurd's paper is an unfair comparison between the old Asiatic civilisation and the modern European civilisation, with all the impetus given to its material advancement by the discoveries of physical science, both in the arts of war and peace. The ancient civilisation of both continents may be a legitimate subject of comparison. The Asiatics, after their fall from the first civilisation, had not new blood and vigour brought to them. The Goths and other wild tribes, mainly derived from Asiatic races, permanently settled in and brought new vigour to Europe, and created a new civilisation in it with the advantages of a ground-work of the old civilisation. It would be interesting to make a fair comparison between the old civilisations of the two continents and between the modern condition of the people among whose ancestors the old civilisations prevailed. But to compare a hand armed with an Armstrong gun with an unarmed one, and thence to draw the conclusion of superior strength and warlike spirit of the former, may be complacent, but does not appear to me to be fair.

Differences in the conditions of nations and their various peculiarities, arising from differences of political, physical, and social circumstances, and these circumstances reacting upon each other, require careful study and due allowance before attributing any share to innate difference.

* In the nineteenth century, and in the very heart of Europe, a king claims "divine right," and a minister sets all law and justice at defiance. Poland and the Duchies are a strange commentary upon the political justice of Europe. Has not Italy till very lately groaned under bad governments?.

I do not mean to undertake here the solution of the most difficult problem of the unity or plurality of races, or of maintaining or denying what may legitimately follow from Mr. Crawfurd's conclusions, that there are as many distinct races with distinct origins as there are countries or even provinces with peculiarities of their own. I leave to ethnologists to say whether the present philological and physical researches which Mr. Crawfurd has altogether ignored, and other ethnological inquiries, lead to the conclusion of the unity or plurality of races, or whether more light is still necessary upon the subject.

I shall only make a few remarks suggested by the paper. The races of Europe present a large variety in their size, from the Highlanders to the Laps. The Asiatic races have their Afghans, of the large size, and other races of different sizes. Herodotus writes :* "For in boldness and warlike spirit the Persians were not a whit inferior to the Greeks;" in another place he says :† "And in the mid battle, when the Persians themselves and the Sacæ had place, the barbarians were victorious, and broke and pursued the Greeks in the inner country." In the comparison between the Greeks and Persians, Herodotus accounts for the inferiority of the latter in deficiency of discipline and arms only.

Rawlinson, in his *Five Monarchies*, judges from the sculptures that the ancient Aryan race is a noble variety of the human species—tall, graceful, and stately; physiognomy handsome and somewhat resembling the Greek; and that on the authority of Xenophon and Plutarch the Median and Tromen Persians were remarkable for their stature and beauty. Palgrave calls the Arabs of inhabited lands and organised governments one of the noblest races of earth.‡ A large portion of the Sikhs and Afghans, and large numbers of Bramans in Central India, have fair complexions and fine features.

We must not also forget, in comparisons of nations, the part which accident, or commonly called luck, plays. We know what part storms played in the defeat of the navy of Xerxes and of the armada of the Spaniards.§ The European lives in a colder and bracing climate. I do not suppose the innate physical character of any European race will enable it to preserve its vigour and strength intact on the plains of India for

* Vol. iv., p. 354. † Vol. iii., p. 405. ‡ Vol. i., p. 24.

§ Now a single law sometimes fixes the character of a nation for a time for good or evil. What extraordinary changes have been wrought since the recognition of free trade by this nation! I do not suppose Mr. Crawfurd means the English of the past generation were a different race, because they were protectionists, less tolerant, and in several other respects different from the present generation.

a long time. The European, says Mr. Crawfurd, enjoys walking, the Asiatic prefers sitting. The Asiatic, when here, enjoys walking as much as any European can do, for he must walk in this climate to preserve his health. The European in India, after the fatigue and heat of the day, often prefers sitting in a cool breeze. With the European dress, and in this climate, sitting with his legs tucked up under him, becomes irksome to the Asiatic also. The rigidity of the muscle of the European is much modified in India. I suppose it is a well known fact to ethnologists that animals are capable of acquiring a large variety of physical characters in different climates, though originally of the same stock. Mr. Crawfurd's statement, that the Jews of Asia are substantially Persian among Persians, Arab among Arabs, and difficult to distinguish from Hindus among Hindus, and that their social advancement in Europe is with the people of the community among which they dwell, tends rather against his theory, showing that external circumstances have modified the character of a people within historic times.

In estimating the character of a people, we must not forget that sometimes single events have given a peculiar direction to their character and history. Had it not been for taxed tea, we do not know whether there would have been a United States now. Had the confederates been victorious, what would have been the future history of the United States and of Slavery? Had Britain been connected with the continent of Europe, it is probable that it might have had a different history, either a large European empire, or a province of some other. What change was wrought in the character of the Britons when they complained, "The Picts drive us to the sea, and the sea drives us to the Picts?" Was that change in character, the result of external influence of the Roman civilisation and Government, or not?

The one-sided and partial treatment of the subject by Mr. Crawfurd is best illustrated by the comparison made between Greece and the Island of Java. The wide difference between the climate and products of the two countries is admitted, but the legitimate conclusion of its effects in stimulating or checking exertion are ignored; the rest of the comparison might as well not have been made.

The Guzerati-speaking Hindus are eminently commercial, and carry on the most extensive foreign commerce, while just on the other side of the Ghauts and in Concan the Maratha-speaking Hindus are quite uncommercial, except so far as some inland trade is concerned. Whether these may be considered as two distinct races by Mr. Crawfurd or not I

cannot say, but there is this marked difference in their character, arising, to a great extent, from local and historical circumstances, the Guzerat people having commercial connections with Arabia and the West from ancient times.

Again, in Western India there is even now a marked difference in the educational, and therefore intellectual condition of the Mahommedans and Hindus of Concan ; though they have the same physiognomy, speak the same language, and, in fact, are originally the same people, there are not half a dozen of these Mahommedans attending the English seminaries, while the Hindus swarm in numbers. Should this state of things continue for some length of time, the difference in the characters of these two portions will be so great that, according to Mr. Crawfurd's theory, I suppose they will have to be put down as two distinct races.

I wish I had more time to examine more fully the several points I have touched upon, and also to examine a few more statements of Mr. Crawfurd's paper, especially about Hindu astronomy, music, and architecture, and Chinese literature and character. The ethnologist should study man in all his bearings, and make due allowances for every cause of disturbance. Mr. Crawfurd's conclusion may be right or wrong, but, with every deference to him, all I wish to submit to the Society is that the evidence produced is not only not sufficient but defective in itself, inasmuch as it is superficial, and several statements are not quite correct.

I have not made these remarks for the pleasure of objecting, or simply for the sake of defending the Asiatics; truth cannot be gainsaid, and I hope I shall be the last person to deny it wherever it is proved to exist, no matter in howsoever unpleasant a form. The sole business of science, as I understand it, is to seek the truth and to hail it wherever it is found, and not to bend and adapt facts to a foregone conclusion.

II.

ENGLAND'S DUTIES TO INDIA.

(Read before a Meeting of the East India Association, London, May 2nd, 1867.)

Gentlemen,—I propose to discuss the following three questions—Is the British rule in India a benefit to India and England? If so, what are the best means to make it endure the longest time possible? Are such means adopted?

The political condition of India before the consolidation of the British rule was the usual Oriental despotism, with all its regular attendants of disorder, want of law, want of security of property and life, and general ignorance. True it is that now and then monarchs appeared who made the welfare of the country their anxiety and duty. Well may India rejoice in some great names. But it cannot be denied that India was for a long time politically a degraded nation. The intrigues and murders in the families of the many rulers in the different parts of India, their imbecility and their utter incompetence to understand their duties towards their subjects, left the people of India without that powerful political aid which is so vital to the growth and welfare of any nation; added to this, the constant internal wars between the different rulers completed the obstacles to healthy development. War, oppression, and exaction may be said to have been the normal political condition of India.

In their moral condition the natives of India have been equally unfortunate during centuries by the influence of an ignorant priesthood, superstition, and some unfortunate institutions, such as suttee, lifelong widowhood, female infanticide, &c. Materially, India was at a standstill. The agriculturist tilled the soil, reaped the crop, lived upon it and died, just as his forefathers did thousands of years ago. The artizan worked on in the same ancestral way and line. There was utter stagnation and gradual retrogression. All desire to progress and improve to develop the resources of the country, had completely died out; on the contrary, the wisest course was that of our "ancestors." The division into castes and distinct professions checked any growth of genius and talent, and prevention from foreign travelling checked any expansion of ideas and general knowledge. On its intellect all the above baneful causes had their full effect. The literature of thousands of years ago is the literature of which the modern Hindu is proud. He can only point

to his Kalidas and his Panini, his Ramayan and his Mahabharata, his Veds and his Menu's Institutes.

Contrast with this the results of British rule. Law and order are its first blessings. Security of life and property is a recognized right of the people, and is more or less attained according to the means available, or the sense of duty of the officials to whom the sacred duty is entrusted. The native now learns and enjoys what justice between man and man means, and that law instead of the despot's will is above all. To the enlightenment of the country the results of the univerities and educational establishments bear witness. In place of the old general darkness and ignorance thousands of natives have derived, and millions will derive hereafter, the benefit of the highest degree of enlightenment which man has attained. In material progress it can be easily seen what impulse will be given to the development of the natural resources of the country by railways, canals, public roads, &c., and, above all, by the introduction of English enterprise generally. The social elevation of the people, their rescue from some of the most horrible rites ever known to mankind, and the better sense of domestic, social, and religious duties awakened in them, are boons of the highest importance to a nation sunk for centuries in a debasing superstition. The last but not the least of the benefits which India is deriving at the hands of the British is the new political life they are being inspired with. They are learning the most important lesson of the highest political condition that a nation can aspire to. The freedom of speech which the natives are now learning the necessity of, and are enjoying, and with which the natives can now talk to their rulers face to face for what they want, is another invaluable blessing.

Such, gentlemen, is the picture the Englishman presents to the natives of India, and asks whether the British rule is not a benefit and a blessing to their nation. Unfortunately, this question is sometimes asked in the manner in which the artist in 'Punch' asked the candid opinion of his friend, by first giving the friend a hint that whoever found fault with his picture should deserve to be knocked down. The answer naturally in such a case can be easily conceived. But there are Englishmen, both here and in India, who ask this question in all sincerity of purpose, who in a spirit of true patriotism on the one hand, and true philanthropy on the other, desire a candid reply as much for England's as for India's sake, and the candid answer is sometimes given. Various are the replies, according to the feelings, the interests, and the knowledge of the answerers, and the points of view from which they look upon the matter.

To those who are overthrown and who have lost their power, the question strikes as an impertinence. They are not in a mood to understand all this benefit and blessing, but, smarting under their fall, reply with a bleeding heart, "Blessing, indeed! Rulers of millions, we are now either beggars or rebels,"—a reply given unfortunately in lines of blood in some of the deplorable events of 1857.

Those who still retain more or less power and state, either real or nominal, and who have now commenced to understand the effects of English rule so far as they are concerned, say:—"It is true that Englishmen always proclaim their justice, honesty, and fair play, but what guarantee is there that their acts will always accord with their words?" The cases of several annexations and of Mysore are a strange commentary upon these professions. These princes naturally wish to be satisfied that the English are really just, that they would always subordinate might to right, and that in their dealings with them honesty and not "empire" would be their guiding principle.

The mass of the people, even up to the present time, understand but little the "benefits." To them the existing Government has always been the sircar; whether it was Mahommedan, Hindu, or British, has not mattered much. They can hardly be expected to understand and appreciate the various benefits in all their different aspects. They see them yet but dimly: in fact, they are often hopelessly puzzled if an attempt is made to edify them by a lecture on the benefits of the British rule. The poor labourer has hitherto had his simple criterion. If he is able to earn and enjoy his little without disturbance, and has his creed tolerated and his feelings not hurt, all is right with him, and his ideal of a happy political condition is realized, no matter who rules over him. If, on the contrary, any causes bring starvation to him, or outrage his religion or his feelings, all is wrong with him, and he curses his Raj, be it English, Mahommedan, or Hindu. But the fusion which railroads are now gradually effecting, and the various questions with reference to labour and the ryots now coming under public discussion, are, however, now teaching this hitherto apathetic and ignorant mass some new political lessons, and creating a new national life: with what result in the future will depend upon the character and conduct of their present British teachers. At present their ideas of benefits, or otherwise, of the British rule are confined to the conduct of the officials of their district. These officials are all sircar, all "Mabap." They can make the British Raj beloved or hated as they like.

But the reply which most concerns the rulers as well as the future of India, is that of the educated and the thinking portion of the natives. They admit fully the force of the question. They acknowledge the benefits to their fullest extent, and express gratitude. But they say all this is true, but it is not the whole truth. The picture has another side also. Security of life and property we have better in these times, no doubt, but the destruction of a million and a half lives in one famine is a strange illustration of the worth of the life and property thus secured. In the shape of "home charges" alone there has been a transfer of about 100 millions of pounds sterling, exclusive of interest on public debt, from the wealth of India to that of England since 1829, during the last thirty-six years only. The total territorial charges in India since 1829 have been about 820 millions. Supposing that out of the latter sum only one-eighth represents the sum remitted to England by Europeans in Government service for maintenance of relatives and families, for the education of children, for savings made at the time of retiring, the sums expended by them for purchase of English articles for their own consumption, and also the sums paid in India for Government stores of English produce and manufactures—there is then another 100 millions added to the wealth of England. In principal alone, therefore, there is 200 millions, which at the ordinary interest of 5 per cent. will now make up above 450 millions, not to say anything of the far better account to which an energetic people like the English have turned this tide of wealth. This addition to the wealth of England of 450 millions is only that of the last thirty-seven years.* Now with regard to the long period of British connection before 1829, the total of territorial charges in India from 1787 to 1829 amounts to about 600 millions. Taking only one-tenth of this for remittance for purposes mentioned above, there is about 60 millions in principal, which with interest to the present day, added to the acquisitions previous to 1787, may fairly be put down for 1150 millions.† Thus there are some 1600 millions, if not more, added to the wealth of England from the Indian territorial source; but, to avoid any possibility of over-estimate at all, say 500 millions, an amount not far short of all investments for railways in this country. From commercial returns also it can be shown that during the last fifty years only, England has made no commercial return to India and China for above 300 millions of imports independent of interest, or, in other words, kept this amount as the price of her

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* Appendix A. † Appendix B.

rule in India.* England thus derives at present the benefit, in the shape of interest alone (not to say anything of commercial and manufacturing profits) of the above 500 millions, some 25 millions a year. In addition to this, the tribute in its hundred shapes continues to flow, and brings to England some 10 millions a-year more, or say 8 millions; England, therefore, is benefiting from its Indian connection to something like 33 millions a year, at an exceedingly low estimate. Besides this extraordinary accession to the wealth of England, India finds at present provision and career, to the exclusion of her own children in both respects, for about 12,000 from the middle and higher ranks of the people of this country, and above 60,000 from the lower ranks, affording much relief to the professions and industries of this country.† Then, there is the political debt of nearly 100 millions as the result of the British rule.

It is easy to speak of the elasticity and irrepressibility of the English revenue, and the honesty of the English taxpayer, and to contrast these favourably with those of India; but it is not borne in mind that out of the revenues raised in India, nearly one-fourth goes clean out of the country, and is added to the resources of England. Were it not for the opium revenue, so fortunate for India, though one cannot be sure of its morality, the condition of India would have been by this time not a very enviable one.

With regard to the expansion of the commerce of India under British rule, the question is whether India has profited by it. The British rulers may claim credit if it can be shown that India has derived some commercial profit from its commerce after paying the price for the British rule.

The foreign invaders of former times had their plunder once for all. They returned to their country laden with spoils, and there was an end of the evil. India by her industry perhaps soon made up the gap in her national wealth. When all other foreign invaders retained possession of the country, and became its rulers, they at least became *of* the country. If they plundered the rich and screwed the ryot, the wealth was still *in* the country. If individuals were plundered or oppressed, the country remained as rich as ever. But entirely different has been the case with the foreign rule of the British. In former times the country received blows and bruises here and there, but her vital blood was not lost. The natural action of her constitution sooner or later cured the wounds.

* Appendix C. † Appendix D.

But now, as the country is being continually bled, its vitality and vigour must get low, unless permanent improvements already made, or future development of her material resources, shall restore it to its former health. In point of security of life also, can it be said that there has been less loss of it during the British connection than for the same period previously?

There is again the almost total exclusion of the natives from a share and voice in the administration of their own country. Under former rulers there was every career open for the talented. For the voice of a few small boroughs Parliament has been wrangling for years, while the Indian budget of over 40 millions is voted before scarcely a dozen honourable members, and without a single voice to represent the millions who pay the taxes. Why should not 200 millions of your fellow-subjects who contribute so largely to your wealth and prosperity, and who form an integral part of the British empire, have a few representatives in the Imperial Parliament to give their voice on imperial questions?

Such is the reply of the educated and thinking. They admit all the benefits, but urge that if India is now deriving the benefit of law and order, England has also had the benefit of India having enormously contributed to her wealth, and of having rendered her one of the mighty powers of the earth. As the reply and feelings of the educated and thinking are of the greatest importance to the rulers, I think it necessary here to show that the opinions I have expressed above are not simple creations of my imagination. I shall cite hereafter a few instances out of many of the expression of these views from the native papers.

There is no doubt that the influence and enlightenment of the educated being not only entirely the creation of the English rule, but even of the English type, the educated class is grateful for the boon and thoroughly loyal. True it is that historical acts of patriotism, the staunch and deep-rooted patriotism of Englishmen—how they would fight to the last man before allowing an inch of their soil to be conquered by a foreigner, how as it were by the mere wave of the magic wand, to the call of patriotism, 200,000 volunteers suddenly sprang from the ground for the defence of their country—perplex the educated in India, and their patriotism is put to a severe trial. But notwithstanding this perplexity, the educated or thoughtful patriot of India believes that his best patriotism consists in wishing the continuance of the British rule,

as he hopes from the high sense of honour and duty of the Briton the future true welfare and regeneration of his country. For instance, while entertaining the views about the drawbacks arising from the present rulers belonging to another country, 'The Native Opinion,' an English paper conducted by educated natives, gladly avows that under English rule educated natives hope their country will doubtless progress, though slowly.* 'The Rastgoftar,' a vernacular paper, asks—"What better means than education can be shown for not only the good and the prosperity of the people, but love and loyalty towards the Raj?† Contrasting the European and native rule, the same paper says, "The rule with which the subjects are distressed and dissatisfied, cannot last long. The chief reason why most of the natives like English rule better is, that the Government always strive and desire to promote the happiness of the people."‡ 'The Bombay Samachar,' a vernacular paper, in the course of an article recommending strongly this Association to the support of the natives, remarks, "that it is not at all wise to fight the present sircar and to raise the flag of independence."§ 'The Hindoo Patriot,' an English paper conducted by natives, says, "No educated native will prefer any other rule to British rule. England has done to India an amount of good which no other conquering nation has been able to do. So long as this fact is remembered, no feelings of disloyalty can exist in the mind of the Indian."‖ Besides the inference from the above extracts, I can venture to assert, from my own knowledge, that the loyalty of the educated is undoubted, and it is the more necessary that their views should be known and attended to by the rulers. I give you now the few extracts promised above, to show that the reply I have sketched before to the question of the benefits to India from the British rule, is not merely my own creation. Referring to "the state of India, the taxes collected in which are partly spent elsewhere," the 'Native Opinion' says:—"Native art and trade languish day by day, money becomes more and more scarce, and a general feeling is generated of despondency and despair of all future prosperity for the country and the race. . . . . But our would-be economists 'about town' would not let the people of India into the dangerous knowledge that their country has to pay a 'tribute'; nor would they like to lead England out of the unpleasant delusion that India is to her an unmitigated source of weakness and loss. It is true England gives a Government which we could secure at the hands of few other nations (though it may be a form

* 2-12-66 † 7-1-67 ‡ 27-1-67 § 15-1-67 ‖ 18-12-65

of mere hyperbole to say that India 'is indebted for all the prosperity and wealth it possesses to its annexation to the British Empire,' for before that connection was formed, classic Ind was not the poorest country in the world, and it was her riches, and *not* poverty, which has tempted one and all of her conquerors, and the company of traders especially, hitherward); but that is no reason why the price of the boon should be pitched so high, or why nothing should be done which fairly could be to lighten the drawback."* The 'Rastgoftar,' in alluding to the home charges, says:—"Though the subject is an old one, yet it is of extreme importance. Up to this day, by England's dragging away the wealth of this country, Hindustan is crushed down." † The 'Suriodaya,' a vernacular paper, has several articles on the duties and shortcomings of the British rule, in the course of which, in giving its opinion as to the undesirability of any other foreign power displacing the British rule, it says, in illustration:—"A fox having got entangled among some creepers, a swarm of flies pounced upon him to suck his blood. A crow asked the fox whether he might drive away the flies. 'No,' replied the fox, 'these flies are now satisfied, and if you drive them away another hungry swarm would take their place.'"‡ The paper further expresses a hope that England may now be satisfied with what it has acquired, and not covet more, and let the natives have a fair share in the government. The 'Bombay Samachar' thinks "the ryots are not so well off now as they once were."§ More than twenty years ago, to my knowledge, a small band of Hindu students and thoughtful gentlemen used to meet secretly to discuss the effects of British rule upon India. The home charges, and the transfer of capital from India to England in various shapes, and the exclusion of the children of the country from any share or voice in the administration of their own country, formed the chief burden of complaint. These gentlemen were otherwise very well disposed. They were no would-be agitators. They were, and have been, peaceful and good citizens and subjects, and have since been either efficient Government servants, or have followed successfully some independent profession. They were discussing the matter, I think, more to mourn over the event than for any active purposes. At least, they were brooding over it gloomily. The 'Hindu Patriot,' comparing Algeria with India, says:—"He (Napoleon) has proclaimed the eligibility of the Arabs for all military offices of the empire, and all civil offices in Algeria. The policy of the British Government in India has been rather illiberal in this respect.

* 30-12-66 . † 23-12-66 ‡ 9 9-66 § 'Native Opinion,' 27-1-67.

Until a few years since the civil service of India was a close monopoly; and even now, when apparently all invidious distinctions have been swept away, the monopoly exists in practice. . . . Indeed, the Mahommedan government, which was admittedly a tyrannical government, was in this respect a more liberal one than that under which we now live. Some of the Hindus filled, during the reign of the Mussulman kings, the highest civil and military offices in the empire."* The 'Indu Prakash,' a Marathi and English paper, in complaining about the examination for the civil service being confined to England, says :—"In fact, if an honest experiment is to be made whether the natives are capable of the highest qualifications for government, there is no way but to open the civil service examination in India. . . . This is the only way of trying the experiment. And if England really governs India as a sacred trust, and is really to be an exception to the general historical truth that even the best government of a foreign people is a curse to the subject race, she cannot but adopt it."† Alluding to the establishment of a Parliament in Egypt, the 'Native Opinion' says :—"India under Britain must not be left behind the country of the Pharos under Ibrahim Patcha."‡ If necessary, I think I can give a volume of extracts from various vernacular and English papers conducted by natives, corroborative of my statements that the educated are thoroughly loyal, and that they feel strongly the loss of wealth to the country, the great necessity for developing its resources, and the exclusion of natives from a reasonable participation and voice in the affairs of their own country. I hope the short, imperfect sketch I have given above will give some idea of the present thoughts and feelings of different classes of natives. I have endeavoured to give as faithful an account as I possibly could from my own personal knowledge, as well as my reading on the first question.

Now arises, therefore, the important second question I have given at the outset: What are the best means to secure to India the benefits of the British rule for the longest time possible, with the greatest benefit to India as well as to England, and with satisfaction to the people of India? The question has been treated in various ways. First, it is urged by some that India is conquered by the sword, and must be retained by the sword. This I may call the policy of the sword. Second, some advise to treat the natives kindly, but never to give them any share in the administration: or, the policy of kind despotism.

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* 2-65 † 27-3-67 ‡ 3-2-67

Third, equality among all her Majesty's subjects and honesty with the princes of India: or, the policy of justice and honesty.

The first policy simply amounts to this—that England may keep India as long as it can by a strong grasp, and India may drive out England as quickly as it can. No prophet is required to foretell the ultimate result of a struggle between a discontented two hundred millions, and a hundred thousand foreign bayonets. A drop of water is insignificant, but an avalanche may sometimes carry everything before it. The race is not always to the swift. A disaffected nation may fail a hundred times, and may rise again, but one or two reverses to a foreigner cannot but be fatal. Every failure of the natives, adding more burdens, will make them the more impatient to throw off the foreign yoke. Besides, there are some other European nations who, I suppose, would be but too glad to see the British rule in India in such plight. Suppose that England is able to hold by the sword for ever, But is it the infamy of perpetual tyranny and inglorious avarice that is the highest aspiration of the British nation, or the regeneration of a nation and the progress and happiness of mankind? But I shall not do the British people an injustice by discussing seriously this narrow-minded and short-sighted policy. It is utterly contrary and repugnant to the genius and character of the English nation that it could or would, be a tyrant. It could, or would, no more inflict a despotism over others than it would submit to it itself. It is this circumstance, in fact, which is the principal, if not the only consolation to the natives of India against all the drawbacks of the foreign rule.

The second policy scarcely deserves better treatment than the policy of the sword. It is not possible in human nature that two hundred millions of people—a people who have known power, wealth, and civilization, government, laws, literature, and art, long before they were dreamt of in these islands; whose genius has given the world the most intellectual play yet discovered, and who are still unsurpassed in the application of art to manufactures—would quietly remain contented as merely something better than helots, and would be dead to all high aspirations and noble ambition. The expounders of this, as well as the first policy, forget that it is the thought that under British rule lies the hope of a political and mental regeneration, that so well conciliates and reconciles the thinking portion of the native community, and turns their patriotism towards loyalty to the British rule. I appeal to the common-sense of Englishmen, whether a nation is more likely to be

long reconciled and grateful to benefactors or despots, even though kind. Declarations of policies like these, though futile, create unnecessary dissatisfaction and distrust in the minds of the natives. The short-sighted persons who make them little know the amount of mischief they do, and the obstacles they throw in the way of peaceful and rational submission to government, and in promoting the sentiments of loyalty which at present is naturally a delicate plant, requiring the utmost care of the rulers to foster and strengthen it. If such policy were actually pursued, India must continue to sink lower in degradation in a worse degree than under former rules or invasions, and the boast of benefits of British rule would only become a mere hypocrisy and delusion, and the rule itself a curse. Each such utterance creates the necessity of thousands of English bayonets. I must however pause, and not do the British people an injustice by discussing this policy any more than the first. Fortunately both for England and India these and such other policies do not find an echo in the British people. They have been and shall be idle words, with the only result of doing now and then some unnecessary mischief.

The third policy, the policy inaugurated by the great and good statesman Lord Stanley, and proclaimed to the people and princes of India in the name of our gracious Sovereign, is the hope of India and anchor of England. You can scarcely conceive the enthusiasm and heartiness with which this proclamation was welcomed by those who understood it. A new day dawned to them, full of brightness and hope. It is, gentlemen, fortunate and congratulatory that at the present stage of the British rule the policy to be pursued by England towards India is not a vexed question, at least so far as the actual rulers are concerned. The Sovereign and the ministers have finally decided that all-important point, to their great glory and to the satisfaction of the people of India. It is gratifying and hopeful to find that the statesmen who rule and the thinkers who guide the policy of this country have distinctly seen and clearly enunciated that India should be ruled for India's sake; that the true and only tower of strength to the English rule is not a hundred thousand English soldiers, but the willing consent and grateful loyalty of the people themselves; and that when the time comes for a separation, and which I trust is far distant, the world may rejoice in a glorious chapter added to its history, of the regeneration of an old, but long unfortunate race, and India may for ever remember gratefully the benefactors who restored her to more than her ancient splendour and civilization. There is no doubt in my mind that since

the "Stanley policy" has been proclaimed, every true patriot of India wishes a long continuance of the present rule. For he knows well that it is by this means only that law and order, political elevation, intellectual development, and material prosperity shall be attained; that the greatest misfortune that can befall India, and plunge it again into anarchy after having already paid such heavy price for the benefit of the British rule, would be the withdrawal of the British sovereignty. She will have suffered all the evils of a foreign rule without deriving any of its benefits, which are yet but in the seed, and require time to grow and fructify. They hopefully look to a bright future.

The only right policy having been thus decided and proclaimed in the name of the sovereign, the third question arises, whether the best means are being adopted to fulfil it, to win the loyalty and attachment of the Indian subjects and princes. I am afraid as much is not done hitherto as is desirable and practicable towards the accomplishment of this great object. The difficulties thrown in the way of according to the natives such reasonable share and voice in the administration of the country as they are able to take, are creating some uneasiness and distrust. The universities are sending out hundreds and will soon begin to send out thousands of educated natives. This body naturally increases in influence. The native papers are mostly in their hands. Their loyalty is as yet undoubted. The native press is beginning to exercise a large influence on the mass of the people. The educated class are becoming their natural leaders. The education, as I said before, is thoroughly English, and therefore highly favourable to the English rule. The isolation of thousands of years is now being broken through. Calcutta, Bombay, Madras, and other places of importance, now freely and fully exchange ideas. A common language among the educated is forging strong bonds of nationality. The railways are producing a similar effect on the mass of the population. They see and know more of each other, and so at least politically their sympathies are growing stronger towards each other. In short, whatever may be the effect in other matters, the nation is now gradually becoming assimilated for political purposes, either for good or for evil, as the rulers may choose. The time is come when the rulers should seriously consider the question. As you now sow, so will you reap hereafter. It is high time that some decisive steps should be taken to turn the strong current of the gratitude and loyalty in the rising generations to the support of the British rule, and to give a greater vitality and force to the opinion now more or less prevailing,

that the true patriotism of the native consists in his desire for a long English rule. Once this is achieved, once the leaders of the mass are with you, what shall there be to fear, or what will require the 80,000 or 100,000 bayonets? The loyal heart is a stronger weapon than any that the hand of the tyrant will ever forge. It is therefore necessary that some reasonable scope should be now given to their just and legitimate aspirations. Such timely concessions given with grace and without asking, will carry with them a force of gratitude, which cannot be attained by yielding to pressure and with a bad grace. All unnecessary obstacles should be removed. Something needs be done, by which those natives who have talents and attainments may be able to enter the various services, with only as much trouble as Englishmen are put to. The problem is clear, and there is no use shirking it. Either the educated natives should have proper fields for their talents and education opened to them in the various departments of the administration of the country, or the rulers must make up their minds, and candidly avow it, to rule the country with a rod of iron. The question has been however, to everybody's satisfaction, and to the great honour of the rulers, answered, by opening the competition for the civil, judicial, and other services to all her Majesty's subjects. The examinations being conducted, however, in this country is a virtual exclusion of the natives. By all means, these youths say, make your standards as high as you think proper, but let us have fair play. Let the disregard of creed or colour be not a mockery and delusion, putting us to unnecessary and improper disadvantages. They ask that the examinations for a portion, however small at first, of the appointments for the services should be held in India. If it be considered that a native would be better for a visit to England before entering the services, they would be, I think, quite willing to submit to that necessity after their nomination. In the case of the civil service, the selected candidates can be required to complete their studies and undergo their "further examination" in this country.

Whether a suitable military career should also be opened to the natives or not is a very important question, but I shall at present content myself with quoting the views of 'The Hindoo Patriot,' which I think deserve consideration. In the same article, "Algeria and India," which I have quoted from before, 'The Patriot' says,—"In India the higher ranks of the civil service are to some extent open to the natives, but as regards the military service, the natives can only enlist themselves as privates. The aristocracy of Northern and Western India

are born warriors, and they thirst for a military career, but the rules of the military service are such that their wishes cannot be gratified, and consequently they are condemned to a life of inglorious idleness, and discontent if not disaffection prevails in many parts of the empire. The British Government professes to rule us with justice and liberality, but their professions have been only partially made good. It is said that the British Government fear to throw open the higher ranks of the military service to the native aristocracy, lest they should turn their strength against the ruling power. If there be such a fear it is an idle fear. No educated native will prefer any other rule to British rule. England has done to India an immount of good which no other conquering nation has been able to do, and so long as this fact is remembered, no feelings of disloyalty can exist in the mind of the Indian. England has held and she is capable of holding, India at the point of the bayonet, but certainly no one will desire that she should continue in this attitude."

The question of the native army is a matter requiring careful consideration. I shall, however, remark that in my humble opinion, considering the exigencies of the vast interests of the British empire, and of the political relations in Europe and America, and the desire of some of the Powers to possess India, Britain can hardly do without confiding in a native army, and depending to a great extent upon the loyalty and gratitude of the leaders of native opinion. The English have come to India as merchants, and not as conquerors. The native army has been chiefly instrumental in the creation of the British Indian empire, and I feel that, with proper treatment of India, the same native army will maintain the empire they have contributed to create.

For the gradual improvement of the people at large, and to prevent the utter starvation that now and then overtakes millions of human beings, the least that the British people can do is to lend back to India the wealth derived therefrom, in order to develop its resources. The English people are bound by duty as well as interest to do all they can for India. Every penny invested in the development of that vast and naturally rich portion of the British empire will be repaid a hundredfold in a hundred different ways. The greater the prosperity of India, the greater will be the benefits of the commercial and political relations of the two countries. If strenuous and great efforts are not made to develop the resources of the country and thereby ameliorate the material condition of the mass of the population, one of two results will naturally

follow—either, under incessant depletion, the patient may die of sheer exhaustion, or may rebel. If there is a nation on earth—and there is one—on which India has a claim for charity in the time of distress, or of assistance, with capital for the development of its material resources by means of railways, roads, works of irrigation, &c., it is England. But the great misfortune of India, is that the British public know very little of their duties towards India, and care less. Efforts are often made to keep them under the delusion that India is a source of weakness. Surely this is a very great joke. Thirty-three or more millions pounds a year, and provisions found for sixty thousand Englishmen as soldiers, and above ten thousand as civilians and officers, is a source of weakness indeed! How many European nations, or what other nation on earth, would not but be too glad to be subjected to such a source of weakness? During my pretty long residence in this country, I have observed that the English public as a body are very ignorant, and even to some extent misled, on Indian matters; but that whenever any subject is fairly and fully put before them, their decision is certain to be on the side of fair play, justice, and honour. It is painful to observe the utter indifference of the British public towards Indian matters, and the delusion of the natives when they think that an article in an overland paper is an expression of the public opinion of England. Fond are the hopes they cherish, and how grateful and satisfied do they feel, when they read a few words of kindness and of a just policy in these papers. But what is the actual state of affairs? The destinies of two hundred millions is not a subject of sufficient importance to attract and keep to their places a dozen members of Parliament, and the Secretary of State felt it necessary to make an apology last year to the few members who were present for entering into some details. Here is his apology. He said, "I am quite conscious of the reluctance with which the House listens to details so little affecting their own constituents: still, as it has imposed on the Indian Minister the task of making the statement, I think it my duty to make it tolerably complete." Of course, as the thirty-three millions or more a year are not directly handed over the counter to these constituents, these details do not affect them! One gentleman, high in office, asked me last year whether the educated natives of India took any interest in Indian politics! I hope the day is not distant when the Parliament, press and people of this country will do their duty towards India, when they will fully understand and recognize the benefits derived by the British nation from their Indian connection and the responsibility arising therefrom. I must confess,

with feelings of great pleasure and satisfaction, that the commencement is already made. The formation of this very Association, the names on its lists, and the more frequent appearance than heretofore of Indian topics in the leading journals of this country, though unfortunately sometimes misleading, are hopeful signs. If this Association will make the British nation familiar with the single fact, that India has contributed not a little to its prosperity, and that they owe and incur serious responsibility as its present rulers, it will have conferred a lasting benefit on India and earned its deepest gratitude. I repeat here, that the rulers ought to study more sincerely and earnestly the condition of the mass of the population. The rulers, as well as the whole British people must strain every nerve to save them from destruction which always stares them in the face. Vast public works of productive character ought to be undertaken with the assistance of loans from this country and this country, under proper precautions for the safety of their investments, should regard India, both for the interests of Britain as well as those of India, as the best field for investment and enterprise. I need not trouble you with statistics here, but you ought to know, or at least those that care to know do so well enough, how important India is as a commercial connection, and how vastly the present commerce may be enlarged and developed to the benefit of both sides by a proper development of its material resources. We are thankful for the sixty millions you have already lent us, and the twenty millions more you are to lend for the railways already projected. Of this eighty millions, however, you have already derived the benefit of above twenty millions having been spent already in this country. We trust you will continue to give your utmost aid to India, and you will find that you will have both the pleasure of having performed a duty and the profits of a goop investment.

There is another means which ought, I think, not to be neglected, of binding closer the ties of good feeling between the English and the Indians. Whenever there is any call of distress from India, Englishmen should respond to it generously and with sympathy. Each such instance will produce lasting good. I am sorry to see that the course adopted in England with reference to the Orissa famine has reasonably produced an unfavourable effect in India. The ground urged here for not doing anything was and is, that the Indian Government ought to do all that was necessary. Now this simply means that England, the mismanagement of whose officers is the cause of the disaster, should stand with hands folded, and that the relief must be provided from the taxes paid

by the natives of India, and that additional burdens should be laid upon them for the purpose. I do not at all mean to absolve the Indian Government from the blame of that defect in her administration by which they have not adopted means to prevent such disasters, by providing the necessary works of irrigation and by taking proper precautions to mitigate the horrors of a famine when expected to occur; but the worst of the matter is that the administrators are Englishmen selected by England, and the failure in the due performance of their duty is visited on the poor Indians, first by allowing famine to overtake them, and then taxing them to relieve it, and to make up deficits of revenue; and all this is done as if for the purpose of making the Indian Government do their duty. Certainly, if by making the Indian Government do their duty it was meant that the bungling English officials in the administration were made to pay from their own pockets for the relief, the reason urged by Englishmen here would mean something. As it is it simply means, we won't help you, you must help yourselves. I am sure the people here have not thus intentionally withheld their help, but they have acted under a misapprehension, which I also had at first thoughts shared; and unfortunately a very unfavourable impression has been produced in India. Of all the benefits that you can confer on the poor mass of India, help in their distress comes most home to them. Such benefits are remembered for ever, and such sentiments of gratitude are worth hundreds of legions to the British rule. I sincerely hope that England will always be ready to hold out a helping hand to India in distress, and thereby create a community of feeling and good-will towards each other to their mutual benefit.

I have before alluded to the necessity of turning the current of the present loyalty of the educated natives to account, and retaining and strengthening it by giving them some share in the administration of their country. Besides such exclusion, what these natives feel most is their exclusion from any representative voice in the government of the country. They are taught how their fellow-subjects in England fare, and they feel and smart under the contrast of their position. This is a subject requiring much discussion and consideration, which I cannot embrace in this paper. I may in short say here that, though I do not think the lower classes of the population even understand and much less care for a representative government, and that there are not as yet the necessary elements and qualifications for the introduction in its integrity of the representative system for the whole country; still I think some reasonable concessions should be made. I know with what feelings of

lively satisfaction was welcomed the admission of natives to the legislative councils as the earnest of better things to come, and how Sir Charles Wood's name was spoken of with gratitude. Some arrangements might be made to have a few representatives from India to the Imperial Parliament, and for local legislation at least those members of the legislative councils who are supposed to represent the presidency towns, might be elected by those towns instead of being selected by Government. These towns can now furnish very respectable constituencies. Such steps taken in time will go far to consolidate the British rule, and increase the loyalty of the people.

The subject of education is of great importance. I am glad to see that Government is fully alive to its value as the best means of elevating the nation and of securing to the British rule sincere gratitude and loyalty. The impulse, however, is given; the higher classes of natives are gradually perceiving the value and necessity of education; and before long I hope to see good results. For the education of the mass of the people, however, there is much room for more strenuous and greater efforts.

The last thing, though I think it is not the least, I have to say about the policy towards the "people" of India is kind treatment of and ordinary courtesy towards them. The natives have had enough of abuse and reviling. It is time that this thoughtless course should cease, especially on the part of those who are men of influence, position, and authority. The natives are as much human beings as others. They feel as others feel. It is not possible that you should call them liars and rascals, and yet expect that they should love you any more than you would in similar circumstances. Some of the horrors of the mutiny had some cause in the kind of conduct for which a lady, the author of the "Gup," in the Temple Bar Magazine, "felt the keenest sympathy." The 'Bombay Samachar' characterizes this "Gup" as real gup (falsehood). The natives, gentlemen, have their shortcomings, no doubt, but they deserve your pity and assistance, and not your abuse and your kicks. The servants and other people about Englishmen in India form their own opinions, and are influenced by such opinions in times of emergency. The meanest worm when trodden upon dashes its head against your foot. Of all dangers, those that arise from the outraging the feelings of a nation are the most to be dreaded, and the most disastrous in their results. Nowadays a large number of Englishmen from the lower classes, as mechanics, &c., go to India, and sometimes present not a favourable picture of English morals and manners, and

furnish the natives with materials for retaliation of any abuse directed against them. This circumstance also renders it highly necessary for Government not to fail in maintaining its high character for honesty and sincerity, and preserve that spell of higher morality and superior intelligence which has hitherto so deservedly commanded the admiration and confidence of the natives.

The princes of India, I think, are not quite in a satisfied state of of mind. The various annexations, and till very lately the special pleadings about and the uncertain fate of Mysore, have produced a feeling of distrust in the honesty of the British, and it will require some efforts to restore confidence. The late decision of Lord Cranbourne not to annex Mysore, and his lordship's views expressed in the last year's budget speech on English policy in India, will go far to restore this confidence, and his lordship's name will be remembered by the natives with respect and admiration, notwithstanding his decision about Mysore being based on policy instead of justice, and notwithstanding his few unfortunate remarks in the budget speech unnecessarily irritating and painful to the natives, which Lord W. Hay appropriately replied to. It is of no use now my discussing the justice or otherwise of former annexations,—that we can leave to the verdict of history,—but it is very necessary to satisfy the present princes that, whatever doubt they may reasonably or unreasonably have of the past conduct of Britain, hereafter the policy of honesty towards them will be strictly carried out. Towards these princes there is another duty to perform. The British Government should take all possible care, by good advice, influence, and rewards, to encourage them to introduce improved systems of government into their territories, and more particularly to bring up their successors in a way to fit them for their onerous and responsible duties.

These are the various duties before the British nation. The task is as good as it is great. Let them, true to their nature and genius, apply themselves courageously and honestly to it, and conjointly, with no little benefit to themselves, let them add to their name the glory of the benefactors of a great nation and of mankind.

The business of this Association will be to assist in the accomplishment of this great work. Those Englishmen who have retired from India owe as much filial duty to India as to England, to the mother who has provided for them as to the mother who gave them birth, and right well I hope will they perform that duty by assisting in the labours of this Association.

Before concluding, I wish to address a few words to my countrymen. Great as are the duties of England and the work before this Association, greater still are the duties and work to be performed on their part. They must show the same earnestness, perseverance, patriotism, and self-sacrifice, the same respect for law and order as the English do, if they deserve and desire to attain the same political condition as Englishmen, and a reasonable share and voice in the government of their country. They must show the same enterprise and forethought in the development of the resources of their country as Englishmen do, if they desire and deserve to be as prosperous as Englishmen. They should also readily support English gentlemen of rank and influence who have now come forward to advocate their cause through this Association, and in the exercise of their constitutional right, in a constitutional way, persevere in their representations to the Imperial Parliament till their reasonable demands are accorded. I have no reason to doubt that my countrymen will show themselves possessed of these qualifications. The existence and conduct of the British Indian Association, the warm interest which educated and thinking natives are now evincing in the welfare of their country, and the growing native enterprise, are sufficient to inspire hope and confidence. If they should, however, contrary to all expectations, show themselves to be blind to their own interests, they should at least not do hereafter the injustice to complain that Englishmen in this country do not at all care for them. No one will be to blame or sorry if they do not get what they do not struggle for and show themselves to deserve.

Lastly, if aught in this paper appear to be as appealing to the fears of the British rulers, I at once disclaim any such intention on my part. I have simply tried to give as faithful a representation as I could of the views and sentiments of the natives as far as I know, and am desirous that the important question of the practicability of the long continuance of the British rule with satisfaction to the natives of India may be fully and dispassionately discussed in all its bearings. If I am shown to be wrong in any statements, nobody will be more happy than myself to correct it.

APPENDIX A

Year.	Charges in India.	Charges in England.*	
	£	£	
1829-30	13,536,000	1,715,000	
1830-31	12,947,000	1,446,000	
1831-32	12,935,000	1,476,000	
1832-33	12,896,000	1,227,000	
1833-34	12,245,000	1,293,000	
1834-35	12,706,000	2,162,000	
1835-36	13,000,000	2,109,000	* From Parliamentary returns of Indian accounts.
1836-37	11,806,000	2,210,000	
1837-38	11,987,000	2,304,000	
1838-39	13,030,000	2,615,000	† The charges in India from 1829 to 1851-52 are exclusive of charges for collecting stamp duties, land, sayer and abakaree revenues and customs, and costs and charges of salt, opium, &c.
1839-40	14,103,000	2,578,000	
1840-41	14,261,000	2,625,000	
1841-42	14,719,000	2,834,000	
1842-43	15,307,000	2,458,000	
1843-44	15,688,000	2,944,000	
1844-45	15,551,000	2,485,000	
1845-46	16,263,000	3,044,000	‡ One-eighth of charges in India as representing—1st. Remittances to England by European employes for support of families, relatives, &c.; for education of children; for savings; and for purchase of goods for their own consumption. 2nd. Purchases by them, in India, of articles of British manufacture and produce for their consumption in India. 3rd. Purchases in England and India of articles of British manufacture and produce for Government stores not included in Home charges.
1846-47	16,557,000	3,065,000	
1847-48	16,472,000	3,016,000	
1848-49	16,687,000	3,012,000	
1849-50	17,170,000	2,750,000	
1850-51	17,117,000	2,717,000	
1851-52†	17,366,000	2,506,000	
1852-53	23,816,000	2,697,000	
1853-54	25,292,000	3,262,000	
1854-55	26,007,000	3,011,000	
1855-56	26,599,000	3,264,000	
1856-57	26,316,000	3,529,000	
1857-58	35,078,000	4,492,000	
1858-59	43,590,000	6,051,000	
1859-60	44,622,000	5,042,000	
1860-61	40,408,000	5,394,000	
1861-62	37,245,000	5,209,000	
1862-63	36,800,000	4,943,000	
1863-64	38,087,000	4,777,000	
1864-65	39,452,000	4,802,000	
1865-66	40,615,000	4,982,000	
Total...	£818,276,000	£116,047,000	
Add		102,284,000‡	
		218,331,000	In Principal.
Add Interest at 5 per cent., about		270,000,000	
Total... ...		£488,331,000	Rough estimate of the wealth derived by England during the last thirty-six years.

APPENDIX B.

Years.	Charges of India.*	
	£	
1787-88	5,275,000	This Table, as well as those in Appendix A, includes interest on public debt. Should it be considered that such interest must be treated as for money actually paid by English capitalists, an allowance made from the total result of this Table to the extent of £200,000,000 will be more than sufficient. Taking the booty and various other unascertainable sources, the total result may fully amount to above £1,500,000,000. Appendix C confirms this result from commercial returns.
1788-89	5,599,000	
1789-90	5,898,000	
1790-91	5,678,000	
1791-92	5,845,000	
1792-93	6,317,000	
1793-94	6,639,000	
1794-95	6,503,000	
1795-96	7,012,000	
1796-97	7,641,000	
1797-98	8,254,000	
1798-99	9,786,000	
1799-1800	10,111,000	
1800-1	11,653,000	
1801-2	12,547,000	
1802-3	12,594,000	
1803-4	15,052,000	
I have not been able to get these returns. 1804-5	15,000,000	Nearly.
1805-6	15,000,000	
1806-7	15,000,000	
1807-8	15,000,000	
1808-9	15,000,000	
1809-10	15,000,000	
1810-11	15,000,000	
1811-12	15,000,000	
1812-13	15,333,000	
1813-14	15,340,000	
1814-15	15,887,000	
1815-16	16,858,000	
1816-17	17,025,000	
1817-18	17,763,000	
1818-19	19,404,000	
1819-20	19,183,000	
1820-21	19,590,000	
1821-22	19,648,000	
1822-23	20,055,000	
1823-24	21,046,000	
1824-25	22,086,000	
1825-26	24,057,000	
1826-27	23,323,000	
1827-28	23,932,000	
1828-29	21,594,000	
Total ...	£596,528,000	
	59,652,000	One-tenth, for purposes mentioned at * in Appendix A.
Add, say ...	800,000,000	Interest till 1866.
Add, say ...	300,000,000	For acquirements by England before 1788, say £10,000,000 in principal, which, with interest to 1866, will be above £300,000,000.
Add	488,331,000	Total of Appendix A.
	1647,983,000	Rough estimate of the amount of benefit derived by England from India as the result of English rule.

* From Parliamentary returns of Indian accounts.

APPENDIX C.

The following Tables, from 1814 to 1858, are taken from the Parliamentary Returns of 1859, No. 38, Sess. 2. From 1859-65 from No. 15409 of 1866 :—

Years.	Importations into United Kingdom from India, Singapore, and China.	Exports from United Kingdom to India, Singapore, and China.	Exports from United Kingdom of Bullion to India and China.
	Official Value.	Declared * and Official Value.	
	£	£	
1814	6,298,386	2,251,282	
1815	8,038,736	3,166,961	
1816	8,310,697	3,203,518	
1817	7,687,278	3,679,973	
1818	7,337,689	3,852,308	
1819	7,537,563	2780,516	
1820	7,562,647	3,632,062	
1821	6,233,571	4,596,652	
1822	5,108,041	3,889,294	
1823	6,918,540	3,822,161	
1824	7,312,355	3,738,987	
1825	6,282,659	3,549,207	
1826	7,410,536	4,400,786	
1827	7,751,355	4,896,311	
1828	8,247,171	4,809,261	
1829	7,744,286	4,213,981	
1830	7,555,633	4,344,704	
1831	7,814,114	3,798,240	
1832	8,154,338	3,882,771	
1833	7,812,604	3,867,211	
1834	8,590,293	3,838,114	
1835	9,559,662	4,841,233	
1836	12,449,165	6,297,695	
1837	11,617,994	4,748,943	
1838	10,454,812	5,495,152	
1839	10,919,795	6,209,571	
1840	10,472,522	7,656,313	Real Value.
1841	13,447,832	7,347,032	
1842	13,543,625	6,710,890	£
1843	13,707,026	8,910,354	319,252
1844	16,348,284	11,005,868	88,841
1845	16,938,403	9,831,388	47,346
1846	16,271,702	9,095,707	16,495
1847	18,314,579	7,824,383	7,844
1848	17,011,194	7,393,731	8,185
1849	18,594,973	9,460,171	16,006
1850	20,007,928	10,423,621	240,125
1851	22,941,166	10,703,121	1,666,265
1852	21,360,626	10,445,270	3,227,734
1853	25,088,096	10,524,103	5,107,949

Bullion exports before 1843 seem to be small amounts, and cannot be found in any returns I have seen.

The exports to and imports from India (including Ceylon), Singapore, and China, are taken together in these Tables, because the remittances to this country are not only made from India direct, but through other places also. The actual commercial balance between China and the United Kingdom should be considered as squared except so far as the amounts disbursed for Government purposes in China, which are not charged to India; but these amounts will be too small to affect the general conclusion that the balance, as shown in this Appendix, represents the amount retained by England as her territorial benefit from India.

Note for next page.

(a) Balance of imports over exports, or the amount in principal retained by England during the last fifty years on account of the British rule in India, and for which Britain has made no commercial return to India. If, however, all the further deductions suggested in note† (*next page*) could be made, this balance may fairly go much above £250,000,000. There is, moreover, another error which, if it could be properly corrected, would increase the balance still a great deal more. It will be seen in the Table that there are some figures given as "official values." Now, from the instance given

Carried forward

* Exports of British goods are "declared values," and exports of foreign and colonial goods are "official values."

Years.	Importations into United Kingdom from India, Singapore, and China.	Exports from United Kingdom to India, Singapore, and China.	Exports from United Kingdom of Bullion to India and China.	
	Real Value.	Real and Declared Value	Real Value.	below, table (*a*)*, it will be seen that in these "official values," somehow or other, the imports are greatly undervalued, and the exports overvalued. So it is evident that could those "official values" be converted into real values, the balance of imports over exports during the last fifty years will be far above £300,000,000, perhaps £400,000,000, say £350,000,000. These £350,000,000, with interest, will be above £1,000,000,000, while all before 1814, with interest, still remains to be added. My adoption of £500,000,000 may not be one-third of the actual benefit already derived by England.
	£	£	£	
1854	22,098,653	11,601,748	3,272,920	
1855	23,505,311	12,624,667	5,650,557	
1856	28,795,172	14,613,929	10,984,141	
1857	32,542,940	16,167,916	18,296,600	
1858	24,450,274	21,910,244	5,088,850	
1859	27,021,805	27,523,610	16,003,267	
1860	27,759,150	25,566,407	8,124,236	
1861	35,203,641	23,558,608	7,279,839	
1862	51,150,767	20,284,141	10,710,209	
1863	68,150,997	27,572,803	8,817,656	
1864	73,213,187	27,857,799	7,555,442	
1865	54,719,071	27,000,000	3,808,260	
	923,368,844	491,420,718	116,338,019	
			7,842,381	Deduct Bullion exported by Government in the years 1857-62.
			108,495,638	
			7,594,624	Add 7 per cent. for charges and profits.
			£116,090,262	
		19,075,312		Deduct stores exported for Government purposes as far as they can be made up from returns of "Charges in England" from 1829 to 1865.
		472,345,406		
		17,622,172		Deduct railway stores exported, which are paid from the loan. Return No. 7066 of 1865.
		454,723,234		† Balance of commercial exports.
		113,680,808		Add 25 per cent. for charges for transit to the place of destination and profits to the exporter.‡
		116,090,262		Add bullion exported as per above Table.
Deduct	684,494,304			Total commercial exports, including transit, charges, and profits to India and China.
	£238,874,540(*a*)			(*See preceding page*).

* Table (*a*) from Appendix (A) of Second Customs Report of 1857 :—

Years.	Official Value.		Real Value.	
	Imports into the United Kingdom.	Exports from the United Kingdom.	Imports into the United Kingdom.	Exports from the United Kingdom.
	£	£	£	£
1854	124,136,018	243,879,892	152,389,053	115,821,092
1855	117,284,881	258,414,653	143,542,850	116,691,300
1856	131,937,763	291,929,377	172,544,154	139,220,353
1857	136,215,849	286,194,531	187,646,335	145,419,872

† From this the following unascertainable items also require to be deducted to ascertain the exact *commercial* exports as between two independent countries :—

1st. Goods of British exports purchased from merchants in India, Singapore, and China, for Government consumption.

2nd. Goods of British exports consumed by European employés of Government in these countries.

3rd. Exports of stores by Home Government to China and Singapore.

4th. Railway stores of British manufactures purchased in India.

‡ The imports into the United Kingdom include transit charges and profits. In making a fair comparison with exports it is necessary, in order to square the commercial accounts of two countries, that addition should be made to exports also for transit, charges and profits ; 25 per cent., I think, will be a very fair average allowance for the purpose.

APPENDIX D.

The present yearly benefit to England from the annual Indian revenues may be roughly estimated in the following manner :—

Parliamentary Return.*	European Employés. Description.	No.	Salaries paid in India, about £	
No. 116 of 1860 ...	Covenanted Civil Servants. †	1,775	2,250,000	Exclusive of furloughs in England.
No. 201—VI. of 1858	Uncovenanted Civil Servants, including Indo-Britons, are 3082, of whom say Europeans are	500	250,000	Taking an average of £500 a-year.
No. 201—IX. of 1858	Indian Navy .	305	70,000	
No. 251—1. part H, Grant, No. 3 of 1866.	Officers . . .	8,231	5,000,000	Exclusive of furloughs
	Army	67,121	1,150,000	
	Total . . .	...	£8,720,000	

Half of the salaries may represent transfer to England for support of families, relations, &c., for education of children, for savings, and for purchase in India and England of British goods for consumption in India	£4,360,000
Add Home charges, about	5,000,000
Total	£9,360,000

If to this total be added purchases in India of Government stores of British manufactures, the amount of annual transfer to England may be fairly taken above £10,000,000 ; but, to make allowances that may be necessary, such as for interest paid in England for public debt, and to avoid any over-estimate, I have put down only £8,000,000 in the paper.

* I cannot obtain any later returns.

† This includes Governors, Judges, Bishops, and Chaplains.

III.

EXPENSES OF THE ABYSSINIAN WAR.

(Read before an Afternoon Meeting of the East India Association, London, Friday, November 29th, 1867. Lord William Hay, M.P., in the chair.)

My Lord and Gentlemen,—In our views on Indian matters we shall sometimes agree and sometimes differ with the Indian Government. When we agree, we shall be only too glad to express our views accordingly. When we differ, either from looking at the subject from a different point of view, or from more or less information, we shall respectfully lay before the Government our views. In doing so, it cannot be supposed that our object is to set up an opposition party. On the contrary, our object is co-operation, as the aims both of the Government and of ourselves are the same, viz. the good government and welfare of India. I believe that Government would rather be glad than otherwise to know our independent views, provided we always confine ourselves to a dispassionate and careful examination of their acts, and lay our reasons of difference before them in a becoming manner, especially making "measures, not men—arguments, not abuse," our rule of conduct. I hope, therefore, I shall not be misunderstood for laying before you my views, and you for expressing yours on the subject of this paper.

I beg to submit for your consideration that the decision of the Cabinet not to pay the ordinary pay of the Indian troops employed in the Abyssinian expedition is an injustice to India, and an injury to the prestige of England; that the decision is not only unfair in principle, but contrary to the reasonable practice of former days. I first examine whether there are any past events or precedents which can guide us to a just decision.

When the English Government was only one of many independent Indian Powers, and when temporary assistance like the present was needed from each other, on what principles was such assistance given and taken? I find that in these cases the English had acted on the fair and equitable principle that the party receiving assistance should pay the *whole* charge of the troops during the period of assistance. I shall not take up your time with many extracts, I shall give only three or four short ones. In the treaty with Hyder Alli, 1769, it is provided (Article 2)—

"That in case either of the contracting parties shall be attacked, they shall, from their respective countries, mutually assist each other to drive

the enemy out. The pay of such assistance of troops from one party to another to be after the following rates, viz. to every soldier and horseman fifteen rupees per month, and every sepoy seven and a half rupees per month. The pay of the sirdars and commandants to be as it shall be agreed on at the time."*

The treaty of 1770 contains similar stipulations, which are again confirmed in the treaty of 1792.

In the treaty of alliance with Bazalut Jung, 1779, it is provided (Article 4)—

"If the Nawab Shujah-ool-Moolk's territories be invaded by an enemy, we shall, besides the troops that are stationed with him, send such a sufficient force as we can spare to his assistance. The ordinary and extraordinary expenses of such troops, whatever they may amount to, shall be paid agreeably to the Company's established customs by the Nawab, who will sign the accounts." †

Again, in the treaty with the Nizam, 1790 (Article 4)—

"If the Right Honourable the Governor-General should require a body of cavalry to join the English forces, the Nawab Asuph Jah and Pundit Prudhan shall furnish to the number of 10,000, to march in one month, &c. . . . . The pay of the said cavalry to be defrayed monthly by the Hon. Company at the rate and on conditions hereafter to be settled."‡

In the "Articles explanatory of the 3rd Article of the Treaty of Mysore, concluded in 1799," Article 3 provides—

"If it should at any time be found expedient to augment the cavalry of Mysore beyond the number of (4,000) four thousand, on intimation to that effect from the British Government, His Highness the Rajah shall use his utmost endeavours for that purpose; but the *whole* expense of such augmentation, and of the maintenance of the additional numbers at the rate of (8) eight star pagodas for each effective man and horse while within the territory of Mysore, and of an additional sum or batta at the rate of (4) four star pagodas a month after the expiration of one month from the period of their passing the frontier of Mysore, as described in the 2nd article, shall be defrayed by the Hon. Company."§

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* Aitchison's Treaties, vol. v., p. 128.
† Aitchison's Treaties, vol. v., p. 36. ‡ Ibid., p. 44. § Ibid., p. 168.

Now I ask why this reasonable and just practice should have been subsequently departed from. I hope the standard of fair play of the Crown is not to be inferior to that of the Company. Next, I ask a few questions. Suppose the tables were turned, and England sent some troops for India's assistance, will the English tax-payer and Parliament allow the assistance without charging India with the *whole* expense?—or rather, has the British Government ever given any assistance to the British Indian Government, or the British Indian Government to any native Power, of the sort without making the receiver of the assistance pay *fully*? Suppose some subjects of the Nizam were held in captivity by some Arab chief, and the Nizam, to liberate his subjects and to maintain his honour, deciding to send an expedition to Arabia, requested his allies, the British, to assist him temporarily with troops; would such assistance be given without charging the Nizam with the pay of the troops, as well as any extra expenses? If not, then on what grounds of equity or fair play should England now get the Indian troops without being charged for their pay? Why, instead of the British Government having ever given any assistance of the kind, it has a few accounts to settle with its conscience for having made India pay even more than what could be fairly due from it.

It is said that India will lose nothing. What is it that the troops are kept in India for? Whatever that is, that India loses. If it is nothing, then the army should be reduced by so much. If it is something, then India is not losing nothing. If the troops are required for security, then it is unfair that India should be deprived of that security, and yet be made to pay for it. The question resolves itself into this: Should the pay of the troops be allowed to be a saving to India or to England? For if India is made to pay, it is so much a saving to England, and if England pays, India saves so much. Now whether on the grounds of equity, or of need, or of ability, certainly India has the claim to be allowed to save what it can. England has always charged for everything she has given on similar occasions, so she should not now shrink from paying when it is her turn to do so. The need of India to save whatever it can, is greater than that of England. Famines, intellectual and physical, are its crying evils, and the weight of a large army keeps some of its urgent wants in abeyance. Lastly, England is the richest of the two, and well able to pay for what it receives. The very circumstance that England is able to avail herself of a ready-made army, a very convenient base of operations, and the services of Indian officials and of experienced Indian officers, is in itself a great advantage to the English tax-payer.

It is urged, that because the prestige of England is important, therefore India must contribute. But what prestige is it that England has and needs to maintain? Is it that England is poor in means and unfair in dealing, or that her resources are as great as her arm is strong, and that her sense of justice is above suspicion? Here England sends her envoys to Abyssinia, and finds in its ruler a troublesome customer. Her honour is insulted, and her representative is kept in captivity. The prestige which England has to maintain under such circumstances is to show that she is *herself* able to hold her own, from her own resources; not that she is so poor or unfair that she is unable or unwilling to pay for the very troops which are employed in vindicating her honour, and liberating her own representative, and helps herself from the Indian purse. Can the world be blamed if they consider it strange that the England which is ready to spend some four millions or more for her honour, should shrink to pay a few hundred thousands?

However, even the question of the few hundred thousand pounds is not of so much importance. A far more important question, of the principles of the financial relations between the two countries, is involved in the present course of the Cabinet: Who is the guardian of the Indian purse? and are the British Government and Parliament absolute masters and disposers of it, or is it a trust in their hands to be discharged on some equitable principles? I should think that in the present condition of the political relations of England and India, the Indian Secretary ought to be its natural guardian; that he ought, when English and Indian relations are to be adjusted, to act as if he were an independent Power representing Indian interests, and negotiate with the Foreign Secretary on terms fair and equitable to both parties. If this position of the Indian Secretary is faithfully acted upon, India will have the satisfaction to know that they have some one here to protect them from any unjust treatment. Parliament being the ultimate court of appeal. The Indian Secretary, instead of offering to make a present to the English tax-payer from the Indian revenue, ought to protect it from any encroachment. India is unable to protect itself, and as the British Government and Parliament hold its purse in trust, it is the more necessary for them that they should not be generous to themselves with others' trust-money, but, on the contrary, adopt the only proper course of treating the trust with the strictest justice and care, especially in the relations with themselves.

Clause 55 of the Indian Government Act of 1858, runs thus :—

"Except for preventing or repelling actual invasion of Her Majesty's Indian possessions, or under sudden and urgent necessity, the Revenues

of India shall not, without the consent of both Houses of Parliament, be applicable to defray the expenses of any military operation carried on beyond the external frontiers of such possessions by Her Majesty's forces charged upon such revenues."

The evident object of this clause, I submit, is to prevent the application of Indian revenues except for Indian purposes, or otherwise the clause means nothing. If Indian revenues can be applied for the payment of troops beyond the Indian frontiers, then the clause becomes simply useless, for England then can use Indian troops under any circumstances, as the two grounds—viz. of Indian purposes, and of loan to England for her own wars—will embrace all cases.

I have now laid before you as briefly as possible my reasons why England should pay the *entire* expense of the Expedition, under any consideration, whether of justice and fair play or prestige, with the hope of eliciting an impartial discussion from you. Upon the necessity of the expedition, and when and how Englishmen should vindicate their honour, it is not for me to tell them. Among the nations most able to uphold their honour, the English have never held a second place. Their whole history, and their instinctive love of liberty and honour, are enough to satisfy the most sceptical that England is well able to take care of herself, and to know what her honour is and how to uphold it.

When I wrote this paper I could not know the reasons of the Government; therefore I must crave your indulgence while, in continuation of the paper, I make a few remarks on the debate of last night. But, in making those remarks, it is far from my intention to make any personal reflections on any speaker: Parliament has accepted the reasons, and decided upon the resolution; consequently any remarks I may make apply as much to Parliament itself as to any of the individual speakers. To make my remarks as few as possible, I shall just read a few extracts from some of the speeches of last night, which give nearly the pith of the whole argument, and give my views upon them. Sir S. Northcote said—"From the first moment that this expedition was thought about, early in the month of April last year, in reply to communications addressed to the Secretary of State in Council, we stated that we were willing to place the resources of India at the disposal of the Home Government, but must stipulate that, as the matter was one in which Indian interests were not concerned, India should not bear any portion of the charge. At that time it was clearly understood, though we did not put that into the despatch to the Treasury, that, though we were determined to resist any attempt

to charge the revenues of India with any new burthen, we did not, to use a homely expression, want to make money by the transaction." This amounts to saying that India must pay under all circumstances. If Indian interests were concerned, then, of course, India must pay all; and if Indian interests were not concerned, then also India must pay for the troops in order "not to make money." Can this be considered right? Sir Stafford Northcote says—"It is said, and we have said it ourselves, that India has no interest in this matter. That is perfectly true if by 'interest' you mean material interest. But there are principles which should be upheld in the interest of both countries, even at the cost of blood and treasure, and one of them is this—that envoys of the Sovereign of this country should be protected by us. That is a leading principle of international law, and we should be untrue, not only to ourselves, but to the civilized world, if we fail to uphold it." If that principle is to be admitted, if the envoys of England are to be protected everywhere at the expense of India, then India could be made to share in the expenses of a European or American war. Also, in other words, if the United States dismissed an English ambassador, and insulted the dignity of the Crown, and if the Crown went to war with America, India must contribute for it; or if the Crown embarked in a European war, India must contribute. This, I trust, would not be allowed by Englishmen as just. Again, the interests of the Colonies are as much, or perhaps more, involved in this principle. What are they contributing to the present expedition? And would they be always ready to act according to the principle laid down in the extract I have read? Sir Stafford Northcote has been at great pains to show that the news about the Abyssinian captives, and the efforts made to release them, is carried to the natives of India, and that in undertaking this expedition the opinion of the people of India about the power and resources of England is most important to be taken into consideration. If it be considered so important that the prestige of England should not suffer in the slightest degree in the estimation of the natives of India, then that is just the reason why Parliament should not have passed the resolution. For it will be naturally thought that though the English Government admit that the war is for their own purposes, that it is for liberating their own captives, that it is for vindicating England's honour; yet they, while ready to spend five millions, or ten millions if necessary, to protect their country's honour, and to punish its insulters, take from India a little because India cannot help herself. That cannot increase the prestige of England in India; it is likely to have just the contrary effect, not only among the natives of India, but perhaps among all Asiatics.

Let us now consider the precedents brought forward by Government for what they propose to do now. We have the Persian war and the Chinese war referred to. There is one important difference between the precedents I have brought before you and those of the Government. In the precedents I have referred to there were two parties, both able to take care of themselves, who negociated with each other, and who were able to strike the right balance between them ; whereas in the case of Government precedents the holder of the purse was also its disposer, without any voice from the owner, and therefore the transactions themselves required examination. Even granting, for argument sake, that former transactions were in just proportions, they are not at all applicable to the present expedition. The Persian war and the Chinese war do not bear analogy to this. In the Chinese and Persian wars we can, at least, trace some Indian concern—with the former commercial, with the latter political, the alleged necessity of arresting Russian progress ; but Government itself acknowledges that, in the present expedition, Indian interests are not concerned. All these present complications have arisen without the India Office or the natives of India having anything to do with the matter. It is entirely the Foreign Office affair. Even at present it is the Foreign Secretary who takes the whole brunt of the battle in Parliament, and the only way in which India is brought forward is that it is the best agency through which the Foreign Secretary can accomplish his object of carrying on the war in the cheapest and most expeditious way possible. Sir Stafford Northcote says—"All that India undertakes to do is to lend her troops, without charge, as long as she can spare them. That is the principle upon which we have proceeded, and which, I contend, is a just and liberal one. I say it is just, because India really loses nothing whatever in point of money ; she only continues to pay that which, if the expedition had not been ordered, she would still pay ; and it is liberal, because India places at the disposal of Her Majesty forces which the Imperial Government could not obtain without paying for them." If to be prevented from saving when saving can be made, is not losing, then I do not know what losing means. Again, if India loses nothing, then how can there be any liberality? I have no doubt if England ever needed aid or liberality, India, from very gratitude to England for the position in which it now stands, ought, and would, strain every nerve to give it. But is the present such a case? The world naturally does not like trustees to be liberal to themselves. It is a matter of regret more on account of England herself, that she should present the spectacle of, on the one hand, being able and ready to spend any number of millions for her honour,

and on the other of taking a few hundred thousand pounds from India for the pay of the very troops to be employed in vindicating that honour. However, had Government stopped at the argument of liberality, or sense of gratitude, or friendly feeling towards England, there would not have been much to complain of, and the natives, perhaps, would have been glad to have been looked upon as friendly; but by citing precedents for justification, and arguing for rights, the question assumes a different aspect, and occasions the present discussion. Then the Government has taken very great pains to prove that after all what India has to pay is very little, and that if all the former precedents were followed, it would have had to pay more. But suppose it is a small affair, then it is a greater pity that they should have made so much fuss about it, and not paid this little themselves, and should not have taken this opportunity to show that they are as just as they are strong and rich. Sir Henry Rawlinson says—"Our system of Government in India was essentially for the maintenance of our power, and when we spoke of Indian interests we meant our own interest as the ruling power of India." If that is the case, and that is the guiding principle of the Government, then against such argument of the rights of might there can be no discussion. But I believe the English Government to be guided by the principles of justice and truth and not of the rights of might. Sir Henry Rawlinson says—"The Royal Navy now fulfilled gratuitously all the duties connected with the defence of India, that were formerly discharged by the Indian navy—a service which drew heavily upon the Imperial Exchequer; and in many instances the Home Government had sent out, as its own expense, expeditions of which the objects more nearly related to India than to the rest of the British Empire." I have no right to question the truth of that statement. I only say if it be true, and as it is also intimated by Mr. Gladstone, that India is better off in its financial relations with England, it is indeed a great pity that the natives of India should be allowed to remain under a false impression. If it be true that England has, on occasions, performed services for India to which India has not contributed, it is in the first place necessary, for the sake of justice to both parties, that the financial relations between the two countries in respect of those services should be fairly examined and adjusted; and next, if India has been so benefited as alleged by England, it is proper and just that India should know and feel that benefit, and knowing it be grateful for it. At present India is under the impression that England, having the purse, appropriates it at its own pleasure, and that unjust burthens have been placed upon her. As Sir Henry Rawlinson has not given us any instance of what he refers to, we

are left in the dark ; but against his statement there is one of another authority, equally, if not more important. Lord Cranbourne says—"At all events the special injustice of the course now about to be pursued consists in this—that when we employ English troops in India they are paid for out of the Indian revenues from the moment they land in that country ; but when we employ Indian troops on English duty, we say that India must pay for them." I do not, of course, impute to Sir Henry Rawlinson, who has only lately given a signal instance of his sense of justice to India, that he would state anything that he did not thoroughly believe. I wish he had given the cases, for it is very desirable, for the sake of both countries, that the real state of the case, in regard to this matter, should be known. It is also necessary to know how far the Colonies, which also benefit by the Royal Navy, contribute to it. Then there is some stress laid upon this, that India benefits by this expedition ; that by the expedition going from India, stores are brought there, and money is poured into the country ; but nobody can seriously urge that, therefore, India must contribute to the expedition. I do not suppose that cotton merchants, or ship owners, paid anything towards the American war because they benefited largely by its occurrence. The fact is, that India is resorted to on this occasion in order that the interests of the English tax-payer may be served in the best possible manner. Lord Stanley distinctly stated that he referred to the Indian Secretary, and to the Indian authorities, in order to carry out the expedition in the most successful way. He found in India a ready machinery for carrying out the expedition. That induced the English Government to make India the basis of operations. In concluding my remarks I once more suggest that the discussion should be confined to the one point which I have brought before you, and I hope that we shall follow the advice of our noble Chairman, and not be guilty of any personalities, but shall confine ourselves entirely to the arguments of the case. It is my sincere conviction that Lord Stanley or Sir Stafford Northcote would never allow any injustice intentionally. All their acts would at once refute any contrary assumption. I take this opportunity of thanking Mr. Fawcett and the other twenty-two members, and the English press, for their advocacy of justice to India.

IV.

MYSORE.

(Read before a Meeting of the East India Association, London, Friday, July 5th, 1867. Sir James Fergusson, Bart., M.P., in the Chair.)

I trust the meeting will make some allowance for the imperfections of this paper, hurriedly prepared within two days; and by their own temperate, disinterested, and judicious discussion, make up its deficiencies.

It is discovered by Lord W. Hay that Lord Wellesley drew his pen through the words "heirs and successors," and it is therefore argued that Lord Wellesley therefore intended the subsidiary treaty to be only a personal one. The question then naturally arises, whether any alterations made in drafts can affect the actual compact ultimately agreed upon? Next, had Lord Wellesley any right to depart from the stipulations of the partition treaty, which is the sole authority for the subsidiary treaty? The very draft of the subsidiary treaty goes to show that the drawer of the treaty naturally felt that the subsidiary treaty was to be an hereditary treaty. If we accept the argument now based upon the new discovery in the British Museum, we are driven to the necessity of casting a reflection upon the character of Lord Wellesley. For leaving aside, for the present, the consideration and proper interpretation of the words "unnecessary and dangerous," this discovery, as it is proposed to be interpreted, would mean that a British statesman, knowingly and intentionally, just left *in* words enough to lull any suspicion, and left *out* words enough for some private ulterior motives. Here are the words left *in*: "A treaty of *perpetual** friendship and alliance"—and, "as long as the sun and moon shall endure;" just sufficient to lull any suspicion, and yet, behind the back of the other contracting party, "heirs" and such words are omitted, in order that when the opportunity came, advantage might be taken of the omission. I sincerely trust that the present English statesmen are not going to hold out this as an edifying and statesmanlike course of conduct to be learnt by the natives from their enlightened English teachers. No, I do hope that a more reasonable and satisfactory explanation may be given of the discovery which Lord William Hay has brought to light. I shall revert to this point again further on. It is urged that the words "as long as the sun and moon shall endure" are only conventional

* The italics in all the extracts are mine.

terms ; and in support of this, the following sentence is quoted from Sir T. Munroe :—"The terms employed in such documents, 'for ever,' 'from generation to generation,' or in Hindu grants, 'while the sun and moon endure,' are mere forms of expression, and are never supposed, either by the donor or the receiver, to convey the durability which they imply, or any beyond the will of the sovereign." On what authority or grounds this proposition is laid down I cannot say. If it means anything, it means that there are no such documents as were really intended to mean perpetuity by the donor and receiver. According to this proposition the British Government can make one clean swoop of all property possessed under any grants whatever ; for even the words "generation to generation," and "for ever," are not safe from its grasp. Then again, were there ever perpetual grants made or not under the former rulers ? and how could they ever be considered so if words like "for ever" and "from generation to generation" were meaningless ? It is true that high-flown compliments, raising one to the seventh heaven, or becoming one's most humble servant or slave, are mere forms, but to say that words expressing the duration of an engagement mean nothing, is more than I ever knew among the natives. I wonder how such duration can or was ever expressed, if not by the words "during life," or "for ever," or "from generation to generation," &c. To me it appears that it is not correct to assume that both the receiver and the donor did not understand the words to mean what they said, but that the Hindu sovereign, being in the very nature of his position a despotic sovereign whose will *was* law, and *above* law, and at whose mercy lay, not only any grants, but even any property whatever of his subjects, as well as their lives, did sometimes confiscate by his will such grants, though originally intended to be perpetual. Such arbitrary exercise of power could not, however, make the contract the less binding, but there was no power above that of the will of the sovereign to compel him to abide by his contract ; it was simply the power of might over right. But this treaty is not of a Hindu sovereign. It is drafted and made by Englishmen for an English sovereign. Is the English sovereign the same despotic ruler ? Is it right for the Englishmen to boast of their superior political condition, in which the sovereign is no less subordinate to law and bound to good faith than the meanest subject, and yet, for a purpose like this, suddenly to sink down to the level of the despotic Hindu rulers? Whatever may have been the conduct of the Hindu rulers in such matters, certainly the English rulers ought to set a better example, especially in a case