

In opening the proceedings the Master said :—Gentlemen,—It was decided at our last Committee Meeting that a public meeting of the Association should be held this morning to consider the proposed amendment of the Criminal Procedure Code, and we are now met together to carry out this object.

Most of us were, no doubt, present at the Town Hall last evening at the meeting held under the presidency of the Sheriff of Calcutta, and heard the powerful speeches of Messrs. Keswick, Branson, Pitt-Kennedy and Finter, and all of us will doubtless sign the memorial which it was then decided should be presented to His Excellency the Viceroy in Council, and also to the Secretary of State for India.

But it has, nevertheless, been considered desirable that the Calcutta Trades Association should also take steps to make a distinct representation from their own body to His Excellency in Council, but whether in the shape of a memorial or in the form of Resolutions was left for this meeting to decide.

I will now call upon the immediate Past Master of the Association to propose the first Resolution.

MR. ZEMIN in proposing the first Resolution, said :—Gentlemen,—Mr. Pratt having explained to you the object of this meeting, I feel it to be needless to offer you any further explanations on that point. From a time beyond the recollection of experience of any of you here present, the question, whenever it has been raised, of such a change as that now proposed in the criminal law of the country, has been the cause of difference and opposition between our rulers and the European British subjects of Her Majesty, calling forth from the latter all the strength and energy latent in the English character in resenting the intended encroachment on rights that have come down to them from their forefathers. On all such occasions our Association has ever borne a prominent part; and true to our instincts, we meet here to-day to testify our strong sense of disapproval of the measure now before the Government of Lord Ripon. (Applause.)

Gentlemen, you were all witnesses, no doubt, of the strong emotion and the outburst of feeling which were called forth in the large assembly at the public meeting held yesterday at the Town Hall. I give it to you on my experience of the past thirty years in Calcutta, that I never witnessed a meeting so enthusiastic, or one at which the people present were so moved with one common passionate feeling of resentment against a sense of wrong as that of yesterday. But, gentlemen, our proceedings here to-day need not be marked by any such outburst

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of feeling. We meet as men of business, and we desire to do no more than to lay before our rulers an expression of our sense of the unnecessary and uncalled for character of the proposed change in the criminal law. And we know from our experience of the just and upright character of the present Government that any representation made to it, and which is based on a principle of right is not likely to be disregarded. Nor is it necessary now that we should consider in detail all the arguments which can be urged against the proposed measure. Those arguments have been set forth very fully and ably in the Press, and that not only in editorial leaders, but in the numberless letters with which the papers have literally teemed during the last fortnight. I therefore lay before you the first Resolution, which is to the following effect :—

"That the Association regards with alarm the proposal now before the Government to amend the provisions of the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1882, in so far as they relate, to the exercise of jurisdiction over European British subjects; and that the members of the Association now in meeting assembled desire to record their emphatic disapproval of the proposed amendment as being impolitic, unnecessary, and repugnant to the feelings of Her Majesty's European British subjects in India."

Mr. WALLIS said he was glad of the opportunity of seconding this Resolution, but that he thought there was no necessity for him to dwell at any length on the subject after the success which had attended the Meeting at the Town Hall when expression had been given to every view of the question. He would simply second the Resolution, and would take this opportunity of endorsing all that had been said against the proposed amendment of the Code.

The Resolution was put and carried unanimously.

Mr. IRVING then moved the next Resolution, which was in the following terms :—

"That this Association, in view of the recent public demonstrations of feeling and opinion on this subject on the part of Her Majesty's European British subjects throughout the country, and the representations already made to the Government, feel it to be needless to submit, in respect thereof, a separate memorial; desires, therefore, that copies of the Resolutions passed at this meeting be forwarded to the Secretary to the Government of India in the Legislative Department, with a letter signed by all the members of the Association, for submission to His Excellency the Viceroy in Council as an unanimous expression of their views, and of their respectful protest

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against the proposed alteration of the present Law of Criminal Procedure, being Act X of 1882."

The Hon'ble Mr. CAITHNESS, in seconding the Resolution, said that the members of the Trades Association did not require to memorialise the Government on this very important question, not because they did not consider it necessary, but that they could, as business men, express all that they had to say in the form embodied in the Resolution, and that all that could be said on the subject had been already said, and dispassionately. He thought, perhaps, it would be better not to weaken the effects of the meeting which had been held last evening, and the speeches made which, no doubt, all those present had listened to at the Town Hall, and he could add nothing which could be more eloquent and more urgent. He considered that the Association should join in the emphatic and wide protests which were coming in from all parts of this great Empire with reference to this unfortunate and disturbing proposal of the Government. It was a very unfortunate circumstance that the Government, in their attempts to promote and ameliorate the condition of the natives, to enlist their sympathies in favour of the British Government, and in endeavouring to strengthen the loyalty of the natives to the British Government, had introduced an amendment which was of so retrograde and unwise a character that, in his opinion, it would throw back, as Mr. Branson had stated yesterday, that desirable consummation for at least a quarter of a century. After many years, something like a social friendly feeling had been created by the efforts of many worthy gentlemen, amongst whom might be numbered Mr. J. B. Knight, and others, in the good work. But he felt very sorry that the movement against which the spirit of opposition was so widespread, and which had been so urgently brought to the notice of the Government should at this time be entertained. They all felt that it was a distinct encroachment on what European British subjects had enjoyed for some years for how many he did not know, or when it began. It was not a privilege which was conferred on them by the Government, but it was a right which Englishmen enjoyed as their birthright, and therefore to throw among them, as Mr. Branson had eloquently termed it, the apple of discord, was, he thought, a most unfortunate and impolitic measure, and it was at a particularly inopportune time that this amendment of the law had been introduced. The present Government had evinced a sincere desire to enlist the sympathies of the natives in the Government of the country. They had introduced a scheme for Local Self-Government, a very large and important scheme, by which they would place in the

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hands of natives large power. There were many other things to which he need not allude; for instance, the privilege which native females enjoyed to be examined in Courts as purdah nasheens, and other privileges. These were privileges to which Europeans had never objected, and to which their own ladies laid no claim. Many natives of distinction had been exempted from attendance in Civil Courts. Had a single European voice been ever raised against these privileges? Then the natives were allowed to affirm, when European British subjects were not allowed to give evidence unless sworn upon the Bible. Then again, have Englishmen ever objected to the many social privileges which natives enjoyed? They enjoyed caste privileges, marriage privileges which were never interfered with, and he did not think that any measures which aimed at the benefit of the natives of the country, even when they were in some degree opposed to European notions, had been resented by them. On the contrary every measure introduced for those objects so far as is to the benefit of the natives was received in a broad and liberal spirit, and it was a fact that they had never opposed any project of the Government which had for its object the amelioration of the condition of the natives. Not a single voice had been raised against such project. But this was a proposal to do away with all race distinction, and he need not say it was entirely a false conclusion. He did not think they could do away with race distinctions so long as the two races existed. He did not believe that natives considered it a slur cast upon them that they should not be allowed to have jurisdiction over European British subjects. The natives, so far as he could judge, had never demanded this privilege, and he did not consider that they required it, because even supposing the measure would be passed, a very few covenanted District Magistrates would have power to try Europeans, the large mass of native magistracy would still be debarred. How would it do away with race distinctions? He thought the Government of India should remember that the condition of the natives of the country could never be what the Government declared it to be, and would be what the European consensus of opinion would declare it to be. Their condition could never be altered by the Government and could only be what it was by the consent of the British community. He had said more than he intended to say on the subject, and he had now to ask them, in putting the resolution, to adopt it in a spirit of fairness and of moderation towards their native fellow subjects. They did not distrust natives entirely, they did consider that there were many among them who were quite competent to try Europeans, but he must say that

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he regarded the proposed bill as an infringement upon their rights and privileges, and as such, called for their most emphatic protest and consistent resistance to the end.

After a short discussion as to whether a memorial should not be forwarded to the Government against the alteration of the criminal law, the resolution was put and carried.

The meeting then came to a close.

March 3.

SPECIAL TELEGRAMS.

Chittagong, March 2.

The European community here will hold a meeting this afternoon to protest against the proposed amendment of the Criminal Procedure Code. The alarming fact is realised that whereas the rights of the English race are universally respected elsewhere, here in India its liberties are at the caprice of a few, and a strong remonstrance will go up from thus condemning this outrage on our privileges.

Silchar, March 2.

At a meeting hastily assembled here on 1st March, the following resolutions were passed:—That, notwithstanding the Governmental promises to the effect that no Bill would become law without full time for discussion, this meeting deprecates the haste with which the Bill is being pushed on as not allowing the European residents time to lay fully their views before Government, and strongly protest against the same. It was unanimously agreed that the present meeting view with great apprehension Mr. Ilbert's Bill to amend the Criminal Procedure Code, and beg to record a strong protest against the same as likely, especially in Mufasal districts, like the tea districts, to create a still further gap in the already existing race prejudices, and as being likely to alienate capital from a district which has sprung into a prosperous condition by the aid of European energy and capital; that already, before this Bill has become law, the native press are calling for more concessions and are protesting against the control of coolies in

Darjiling ; such a control, too, as contemplated being only what exists in every town in the United Kingdom. The meeting, therefore, strongly protests against any contemplated concessions ; that under the above circumstances, as there is no time given to lay our views before Government in writing, it is resolved unanimously that the Assistant Commissioner be asked to telegraph these resolutions to the Chief Commissioner to be laid immediately before the Viceroy's Council. Signed by twenty-three planters.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE ENGLISHMAN.

SIR,—I enclose a cheque as a subscription in furtherance of the promotion of a political organization, such as that proposed in your issue of to-day. Your paper has proved so firm and zealous a supporter of this good and patriotic cause, that I feel assured that you will not hesitate to aid it still more by receiving subscriptions till such time as a special committee can be formed for that purpose. It is well for all to remember that this proposed organisation is intended for "defence—not defiance." It is in no way meant as an aggressive movement against the native classes, or any of their just privileges, but as a permanent constitutional agency for the legal and legitimate protection of the existing rights of certain other classes in India from complete political annihilation.

A. B. M.

Bengal Club, March 23.

[N. B.—We shall be glad to receive, and acknowledge in our columns, any subscriptions to the proposed fund that may be forwarded thus pending the formation of a special committee.—Ed., Eng.]

TO THE EDITOR OF THE ENGLISHMAN.

SIR,—In connexion with the late meeting at the Town Hall, I would recommend that an experienced person be sent to England to represent the matter in its proper light, and to cover this expense, I would propose that a subscription list be opened at once. I for one shall be most happy to give a quarter month's salary towards this object, and I think every Britisher in the land will be ready to do the same.

Let it not be said that we left one stone unturned in our endeavours to oppose such an obnoxious Bill.

SHIPPY.

Calcutta, 2nd, March 1883.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE ENGLISHMAN.

SIR,—May I, through your columns, be permitted to say how much the European residents of this station sympathise [with what you have written regarding Mr. Ilbert's Criminal Procedure Code Amendment Bill? A largely attended meeting of Europeans was held here last evening, and a resolution was passed condemning the Bill as most unjust. A memorial is being prepared on the subject, and it is proposed to ask the Bengal Chamber of Commerce to forward this to Government along with their own memorial.

We are a small body of Europeans in this district, and no Volunteer Corps has yet been formed, but the feeling against Government is at present so strong that, did such a corps exist, arms would be laid down until we were assured of the withdrawal of this Bill. The Darjiling Volunteers are thoroughly sympathised with in their proposed action, and I only hope the Calcutta Volunteers will also show their disapproval of such uncalled for legislation in this way.

It is most unfortunate that race animosities should be strengthened as they undoubtedly will be by such discussions. Within the past few days there has been more written calculated to open out sores afresh than the last ten years have done to heal.

While talking over these matters with an old friend here, a staunch shikari, most popular with natives and well known to, and much respected by, almost every civilian who has been in the districts of Rajshahye, Malda, Pubna and Bogra for the past twenty years, he said that frequently he has been beseeched by natives to use his influence in having their cases in court transferred from the file of the Native Magistrate or Judge, to that of the European. They said they always got more justice done to them by the European. If this feeling is held by natives against their own countrymen, what is likely to be the feeling of the European who may have to be tried by a native of this country?

X. Y. Z.

Serajung, February 28, 1883.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE ENGLISHMAN.

SIR,—I have read with great satisfaction your various leaders on the subject of the Criminal Procedure Code Amendment, and consider the European community in India under a deep obligation for your able advocacy of their rights in this crisis.

The letters of your numerous correspondents show how deeply the non-official mind has been stirred on contemplation of the threatened

change, and it is to be hoped that due weight will be given to their remonstrances, and that Government will pause before carrying into effect a measure as unpopular as it is uncalled for.

Mr. Ilbert professes to deprecate tinkering legislation, but if his amendment possesses any element of finality it will not commend itself to those at whose instance it is ostensibly made. The concession can only be acceptable to them in the light of a pledge of further progress in the same direction. In point of fact the proposed amendment is a test case devised in order to ascertain what further burdens might safely be imposed on European shoulders, and were it to pass into law unopposed, the legislative mill would at once be put in motion to produce some fresh enactment of a still more drastic nature.

To those who know how slow the Indian Government is to move in any matter of acknowledged public utility, it seems strange that all this activity should be evoked by what you rightly style "Mr. Gupta's whimper," and it is hard to look upon him as other than a convenient stalking horse introduced to screen the real motive power, which should be looked for elsewhere.

The procedure adopted by Government in attempting to rush the measure through at all hazards, and the preparations that have been made to ensure its receiving the sanction of the Secretary of State without a moment's delay, leads one to the belief that it was intended to force the amendment upon us *volens volens* in obedience to some imperialistic fiat.

It may be our Viceroy's Council is only doing what it has been ordered to do by the Secretary of State for India, and thus to a certain extent may be free from blame. In one thing, however, it has failed and laid itself open to the charge of unfaithfulness to the interests of the empire it governs, and that is in not placing before the home authorities reliable information as to the reception which a measure of this sort might expect from the Europeans in India. The consensus of opinion collected and forwarded to England as indicative of the general view could not be received as evidence in any Court of Law. The parties from whom the opinions were elicited, being Government officers, cannot be regarded as free agents. Notwithstanding the embarrassment of the position, some of them have spoken out boldly against the amendment, but most of the others afford good examples of political hedging, plainly enough indicating that the answers given were not unaffected by personal considerations. Supposing the measure were to pass, those benefited by it would be Bengalis, chiefly, and inasmuch as, except within the limits of the 24-Pergunnahs

the Bengali is regarded all over India quite as much as a foreigner and interloper as the Englishman it is evident that Government in its anxiety to remove a fancied anomaly, incurs the risk of importing real and glaring inequalities into the Code which, leaving the European out of the question, will intensify the discord between the races.

A Sonthal, Rajput, or even a Behari would consider it an insult to be classed with Bengalis, and in the North-West the feeling is equally hostile.

Whether the aversion is unreasonable or other wise—I do not stop to argue the point—what concerns us is that it exists, and a fact of this sort cannot be ignored with safety.

I cannot believe that the amendment will be proceeded with in face of the determined opposition which your note of warning has called forth. The united action of the Chambers of Commerce of Calcutta, Madras and Bombay, must tell with great effect upon the Imperial Parliament. Many of the members of both Houses have intimate relations with India, some as partners with firms here, or trading with this country, and others as Directors or shareholders in the numerous Joint Stock Companies which are now only beginning to develop the resources of the country, and it is not to be supposed that they will allow a measure to be sanctioned which, while conferring a fancied benefit on a few, would inflict a grave injustice on the many, and at the same time endanger the stability of every commercial enterprise in India.

NEMO.

Calcutta, March 1, 1883.

VIEWS OF A MUHAMMADAN.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE ENGLISHMAN.

SIR,—Mr. Ilbert's Amendment of the Criminal Procedure Act, not yet two months old, is based on entirely untenable grounds.

He admits that it is the privilege of the prisoner to be tried in a particular way, but it is said that what is not bad in Calcutta cannot be bad in the Mofussil. This is so outrageous a statement that I am surprised it should have been advanced by honest and intelligent people. There is no public opinion in the Mofussil, and even Europeans do not feel the necessity of that care the want of which led to the case against Mr. Briscoe.

Mr. Elliot rightly says that there is no police in the interior capable of dealing with European prisoners, and scandals might easily occur in the administration of justice which would lead to excitement and agitation, and strengthen the race antagonism which it has taken years to soften.

No class of people have given up their rights without a struggle. The amendment has been proposed as a matter of general policy, but what is there to recommend the policy, reawakening the slumbering passions of a large number of strong and resolute people for the purpose of giving to three or four persons who are yet to appear the power of trying and sentencing three or four men of a certain class in the course of half a dozen years? I was under the impression that a Government best performs its duty by allaying rather, than exciting passions but I see I was mistaken.

It is possible the claim of the European is based upon sentiment rather than reason, but the world is governed more by sentiment than reason, especially the Indian world. The various castes and religions of India display, in their refusal to intermarry or to intermix, the power of sentiment rather than reason, and should prevent Mr. Gupta and others like him, from cavilling at the more justifiable sentiment of the English. What is an aristocracy but a sentiment? and even in democratic America they are going to have an aristocracy. The story told of Mr. Chamberlain in reference to an aristocratic (the Reform) Club proves that England is still swayed by sentiment. History proves that sentiments do not die till replaced by other sentiments. The sentiment of equality between the native and the European is at present merely embryonic it is in fact nothing but a mere wish on the part of some natives who belong to the Government service, and a mere blind on the part of those who care more for unreasoning popularity, or who are afraid to utter unpleasant truths.

But the Englishman's sentiment is founded on fact. Does any one seriously believe that in the conduct of the two classes to each other the Englishman is not ever considered the conqueror and the Indian the conquered? The very continuance of the English people on Indian land is based on their right of conquest, and they are asked to consider this right as a wrong sentiment. No doubt the privilege claimed by the Europeans is an anomaly, but a privilege is always an anomaly. Women in India are excused from attending Courts—what is this but an anomaly? Particular Rajas and Zemindars are exempt from appearance in Courts—this is nothing less than anomaly. Why should the European forfeit old privileges while the Indian should acquire new ones?

The English are the dominant race in India. In spite of what Mr. Gupta or his brother Aryans of Bengal may say or do, the English will continue to be superior in civilisation not only to the native of Bengal, but even of Hindustan and the Panjab for ages to come. While the Englishman has to bear the brunt of preserving order and stability, he

must continue to own the prestige which his name has hitherto carried.

The Englishman has to lead armies to Assam, Burma, Bhootan, Kabul—has to oppose enemies and put down insurrections, has often to place himself in the midst of hostile aliens and hourly to expect and await the fate of the Resident poisoned at Baroda or the fate of Cavagnari. Why should the Bengali, incapable now and hereafter of doing anything of the kind, why should he envy the European the mark of a superiority which is undoubted, the possession of a privilege which does no harm?

Why should the Bengali think himself equal to his conqueror? No amount of legislative Acts will make the two races equal till, perhaps, after the lapse of a dozen more generations. If the Saxons, who were little if at all, inferior to the Normans, were unable to assert themselves till nearly 200 years after the conquest, I think, I have under rather than over reckoned the period within which the Bengali, who has never known anything but thralldom, might claim equality with the Briton, who has never known subjection.

The Lieutenant-Governor of Allahabad promises the Europeans to nominate as Justices of the Peace none but those who are fully experienced and tried. In other words, he asks them "to give up what is claimed as a right and receive it back as a favour." We hope that no European will be taken in by the false glamour of liberality apparent in the amendment. Laws are made for the welfare of subjects; here they are made for the convenience of officials. Real Liberalism consists in the acquisition of rights, not the destruction.

The proposed measure is of a piece with the various other acts of the Gladstone Ministry. Those who can scuttle out of Zululand without retrieving their honour—those who can agree to be turned, bag and baggage, out of Afghan land without avenging the murder of Cavagnari may easily sell their birthright for a mass of pottage; sell their long and immemorial right for a cheap and low popularity.

It is said that there would be great inconvenience if all District Magistrates did not possess equal powers. But the charge of sub-divisions is given sometimes to first class and sometimes to second class officers. This difference of powers affects a large number of people. If the sub-divisional officer has second class powers he has to send up many persons to the Sadar Station about 40 or 50 miles off. In the eyes of our patriots, however, this is a small matter; for what matters it to them whether these poor men are tried near their houses or far away? There would be no *ecdt* in

compelling the Government to invest all sub-divisional officers with first class powers so as to save these poor men some trouble and some in time, which they can ill spare.

No member of the Government deigns to examine how much trouble is caused and how much time is lost which could very easily be saved. But Mr. Gupta cares much for himself; and because a District Magistrate may not hereafter be able to try one or two Europeans, every member of the Government swears that the law must be changed.

If any European cares to acquaint himself with the feelings of the people who lead whatever public opinion there may be in the interior, he would do well to examine to files of native newspapers, and he will find that there is no kind of crime and no amount of crime which the European does not commit in the Mofussil. With such a strong credulity and prejudice it must be impossible for Europeans to obtain justice at the hands of native officers.

For you may be sure that if the competition civilian gets the power, the nomination civilian will not be long behind, and then there would be nothing to prevent the power from being conferred on other officers. Much has been made of the invidious distinction that lies between the covenanted European and the covenanted native. But if the covenanted native were empowered and the nomination civilian excluded, would there not be an invidious distinction between two natives—a distinction which must be more pointed because less defensible? The nomination civilian is likely to come from a higher social circle, and this would be an additional reason for giving him equal powers with the competition native.

A course of travel or a temporary sojourn in a foreign country may give a man some new ideas, but it is perfectly impotent in modifying his moral nature, I cannot, therefore, speak highly of English civilisation if a three years' resident in England is sufficient to make Indians equal to those who have lived there for generations and centuries; to make a B. L. Gupta and a Surendernath Banerji equal to Finucane or an O'Donnell, or even to a Moseley or a Sharp. The distinction between an European and native is broad and well remarked—that between a native who has been to England and a native who has not been is entirely fanciful. The distinction between these two natives is unsupported by any fact in existence, while that between the European and the native is supported by the differences of color, dress, language, religion, political position, and manners.

If the competition native gets the power, the nomination civilian will not be long behind, and you will soon find the whole native magis-

tracy invested with the power of sitting upon their conquerors both a Judge and Jury. For you may be sure that as soon as Europeans become amenable to native Magistrates, a desire will spring up in the official mind to have the rules of procedure further simplified, and you will soon find Mr. Gupta and others declaiming against the remaining privilege of the Englishman,—against the privilege of being tried by Special Jury.

The Government must remember that the great body of the people are quite indifferent and do not care how the European may be tried; and that it is only the wish or sentiment of Mr. Gupta and about half-a-dozen newspapermongers that has made them propose the amendment. On the one hand, there is nothing but an unreasoning whimper; on the other hand there is strong and determined public opinion. It is their national prestige that enables the English Government to rule over this vast country and population with so few bayonets and so few soldiers; let them pause before they wilfully give up their prestige and try to rule by more bayonets and more soldiers. Let them pause before alienating the sympathies of their fellow-countrymen; of those men whose fearlessness and courage were greatly conducive to the safety of the Empire during the mutiny. Let them pause before arraying against themselves the sense and opinion of a strong and resolute body of men who have never known how to lose a privilege or forfeit a right.

MEERZA.

February 25, 1883.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE ENGLISHMAN.

SIR,—As a Frenchman, I was most grieved to hear from the lips of one of the able speakers, at the meeting held in the Town Hall on Wednesday last, a remark disparaging to my countrymen.

There may be few Frenchmen in Calcutta, but there are staunch and true hearts amongst them, and at least one was beating there in favour of the cause of the meeting.

Allow me, then, to assure the gentleman in question that Frenchmen are, as much as any other nationality, jealous of their own rights, and sensible to the dangers of obli-losing theirs.

Indeed, who but Frenchmen entered the field *en masse* against England in support of the rights of Americans? Who but Frenchmen have bled and died for the deliverance of Italy from the Austrian yoke? Who I say, but Frenchmen have helped Prussia and Italy with moral, yet most powerful, support? The first to effect the unity of Germany,

the second to recover Venetia. Other nations have often sympathised with their unhappy friends, but it has generally been in fine speeches and with folded arms. France sympathises "*la main sur l'épee*," if not "*l'épee a la main*." That is French sympathy. You may then count on the hearty good will and support of every true Frenchman in India, and judging not only from personal feelings, but also from past history, I make bold to say that in time of need, Frenchmen, above all others, will be your friends indeed.

Lafayette and his volunteer's spirit, quixotic though it may seem; is not extinguished in the breasts of Frenchmen, and, like them, tens of thousands are ever ready to fight over the battles of right and liberty.

ONE OF THEM.

Calcutta, March 2, 1883.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE ENGLISHMAN.

SIR,—Permit me to say a word in your columns on the subject of Mr. J. Croft's letter published in this day's *Daily News* and *Statesman*.

Entirely appreciating the calm and moderate tone of his criticism upon my speech of Wednesday last, I cannot but admit that I spoke under very great excitement.

My own extreme repugnance to the measure, so strongly shared by the vast Meeting I addressed, as manifested by their enthusiasm, not unnaturally acted very strongly upon me, a speaker almost entirely unused to a responsive audience.

This must be my excuse for having been led to use language towards my native fellow subjects, which I feel to be unjustifiable and personally offensive, and which I should never have used except under the influence of very violent excitement. I am aware that the great mass of the natives have not demanded this measure, and do not desire it, and there are many among them for whom I have very great esteem. Such language forms no part of the ground on which I rest. I regret and sincerely apologise for the use of it, as well to those to whom it was applied as to the audience to whom it was addressed.

That I should have been led by my excitement to use such language has pained me myself, and I do not fancy that any one has been more grieved by it than myself.

JAMES H. A. BRANSON.

March 2, 1883.

March 5.

SPECIAL TELEGRAMS

Chittagong, March 3.

The following resolutions were unanimously carried at a meeting of the European residents held here:—"That in the opinion of this meeting the proposed amendment of the Criminal Procedure Code is totally inopportune; that we consider Englishmen and women have inherited the right to be tried by their own countrymen, and vigorously protest against any interference with this right."

Sylhet, March 4.

At a meeting held here to-day the non-official Europeans of North Sylhet protested against the new Bill for the Amendment of the Criminal Procedure Code. The Volunteers will resign to a man if the Bill be passed.

The *Statesman* of March 3rd tries to minimise, the effect of the *Times*' article on the Criminal Procedure Bill by alleging that the *Times*' Calcutta leader writer had been misled as to the purport of the Bill by the Calcutta telegram, and that he imagined that the Bill proposed to take away the reservation of graver cases to the High Court.

We find, however, that the *St. James's Gazette* of the 7th February was not so misled, and that the telegram was not calculated to convey the erroneous opinion suggested.

We find in the *St. James's Gazette* the following passage:—

"The Bill, as we understand the telegram in the *Times* (which is so far our only source of information on the subject), does not propose to enlarge the jurisdiction of the Sessions Judges, or to take away the right of Europeans to trial by a Jury at the High or Chief Courts in all classes in which a conviction would presumably be followed by more than a year's imprisonment, that is to say, in all serious cases."

It may have been a source of surprise to many of our readers that, while the question of the propriety of Europeans and

Eurasians continuing, under existing circumstances, to support a hostile Government by bearing arms as Volunteers is being widely discussed in Calcutta, and while the various local corps throughout the country are passing formal resolutions to lay down their arms in case of the Government persisting in its present extraordinary policy, we have neither ourselves expressed any opinion as to the course those concerned should pursue in the matter.

In preserving silence on so important a question we have been influenced by two considerations. In the first place, we are of opinion that while every member of a Volunteer corps possesses perfect liberty to resign his membership, whenever he pleases, provided he complies with the terms of his engagement, it is an infraction of discipline for volunteers as such, to discuss in meeting the question of laying down their arms. In the second place we are convinced that the time has not yet come for arriving at any decision in a question the bearings of which depend largely on the future course of events.

There are reasons why we think that it would be not merely an imprudent, but a suicidal course for the Anglo-Indian and Eurasian community at the present moment to take such a step as that contemplated. It seems to us that, if there is much in the aspect of the times to raise in the minds of the members of the various Volunteer Corps the question whether they should resign, there is more to raise in the breast of every European and Eurasian in the country the question whether he should not at once get himself enrolled as a member of some such Corps.

In the first place, we believe that, whatever strength the opposition to Mr. Ilbert's Bill might at present gain from the contemplated resignation of the Volunteers *en masse*, it would gain a hundred-fold as much strength, if its introduction were made the signal for trebling the existing number of Volunteers throughout India. For such a movement would testify, in a far more marked way than resignation, to the keen sense enter-

tained by the community of the danger of the policy of which the Bill forms a part.

We must look beyond the immediate crisis to see the question in its true bearings. There are contingencies, some of them not, perhaps, very remote, in which not only the strength, but the very existence, of the European and Eurasian community in India would depend upon their means of organised action for their own defence. Not only is it the declared aim of the Radical party to prepare India to govern itself, but the changes which, one after another, it is thrusting on the country make it a matter of uncertainty how soon it may choose to consider things ripe for that consummation. We will not enter into all the possible consequences that would follow such a step. One of its consequences, however, we may predict with certainty. It would bring the European and Eurasian community in India face to face with the alternative of abandoning the country, or ruling it.

Now, if the Englishmen are still what they lately were, we have no hesitation in saying that, between these two alternatives, they would choose the latter. The British Government may be false enough to its duty to surrender its post here as the guardian of British interests, but in that case Europeans in India are not going to be so false to themselves and to their Eurasian kindred here, as to scuttle out of the country without a struggle to preserve the stake they have in it, and save from destruction those Christians who cannot leave it. If we are right in this view, it is the duty of every European, every domiciled Anglo-Indian and every Eurasian, to be prepared beforehand to act with effect in such an emergency. In order that he may be so prepared, organisation is necessary; of such organisation the power of acting together must be one of the chief aims, and nothing contributes so much to that power as the drill and discipline procurable in Volunteer Corps.

To the Volunteers, therefore, we would say:—Reserve your action in this matter for the last resort and every accession to

your strength in the interim will add so much to the effect of your final decision.

The following has been sent to us for publication :—

Serajgunge, 28th February, 1883.

From—A. W. MacDonell, Esq., Serajgunge,

To—The Honourable Robert Miller, President, Bengal Chamber of Commerce, Calcutta.

DEAR SIR,—In accordance with the third resolution passed at a largely attended meeting of Europeans held here yesterday evening, I have now to hand you the unanimous protest then entered against Mr. Ilbert's proposed amendment to the Criminal Procedure Code and have to request that it may be incorporated with your own memorial to Government on the subject.

I may add that the feeling against Mr. Ilbert's Bill is exceedingly strong, and that the Europeans here are prepared to offer every opposition to it, and to support the action of the Bengal Chamber of Commerce or any association which may be formed to protect our highly prized rights.

I am, dear Sir, your faithfully,

A. W. MACDONELL.

At a meeting of Europeans held at the Big House, Serajgunge, on the 27th February 1883, it was :—

1. Proposed by Mr. Charles G. Ridge,

Seconded by Mr. John Ogilvie, and carried unanimously,—

That Mr. A. W. MacDonell take the Chair.

2. Proposed by Mr. S. Gowan,

Seconded by Mr. John Ogilvie, and carried unanimously,—

That this meeting strongly protest against the privilege hitherto extended to Europeans in the Mofussil being withdrawn, as proposed in Mr. Ilbert's Criminal Procedure Code Amendment Bill. In a district like this, where there is only a handful of Europeans, it is considered specially dangerous, and likely to be most prejudicial to the welfare of the European commercial community, and to the business of the place.

3. Proposed by Mr. R. C. Donaldson,

Seconded by Mr. Robert Leighton, and carried unanimously,—

That the Chairman be asked to place these views before the President of the Bengal Chamber of Commerce, with the request that they may be embodied in or add to, the memorial to Government on this subject now being prepared by the Committee of that Chamber.

A. W. Macdonell, S. Gowan, Charles Ridge, Wattie H. Henny, J. F. Jeffroy, C. Vaughan, George R. Steel, William Mollison, Robert C. Donaldson, John Ogilvie, J. Bryce, Robert W. Hutchison, A. M. Hannah, T. D. Syriot, James C. Robertson, William Daniel, David Scott, James Campbell, Robert Leighton, William Forest, James H. Niekely, W. E. Lemon, Commander S. S. Scinde, R. Hutchison, E. J. Angarie, P. Hill, Cuthbert MacDonell, Charles E. Noyes, Master S. S. John Jacob, William E. Elder, Francis Hattey, E. Griefts, C. E. E. G. Rodrigues, J. Rodgers, H. Whitworth, T. R. Elsey, W. Hodgart, R. A. Hilton, W. Johnson, I. G. S. N. Co., Ltd.

Proceedings of an Extraordinary General Meeting of the Indian Tea Association and the General Public of South Luchhimpur, held at the Dibrugargh Club on the 21st February 1883 :—

Present.—Chairman, C. Hill, H. G. Hall, H. E. S. Hannay, T. S. M. Riach, A. L. Laing, George Pain, Jas. Robinson, Dr. D. O'Brien, C. Morgan, A. G. Hall, G. Grant, J. G. Hulburnt-Burt, Tom Palmer, A. W. Madden, T. J. S. Black, F. Loch, A. C. Sweeting, S. Mainwairing, F. C. Moran, T. E. Hulbert, P. E. Macgregor, R. Cavendish, A. Rowe, Scott Campbell, H. Macnish, T. J. Ede, C. E. Strangways, A. Want, W. J. Wheatly, A. D. Stuart, Robt. Pierce, A. W. B. Kirwan, B. Anderson, Proxies : A. W. Halker, W. Little, C. Sharpe, John Buttler, J. W. Jones, James Board Burn, William Jones, John Devine, F. McKeown, John Lennius, J. M. Rayson, Uriah Taylor, E. A. D'Cruz, J. Toogood, A. R. Arthur, Dasil Holmes, E. J. Edwards, W. E. Higginson, C. Derabechi, H. Bone, W. L. Quare, G. W. Sutton, J. C. Coutts, Tom Elliot, C. Sheppherd, J. C. Horne, A. B. Holmes, B. Shellswell, H. L. Tottenham, H. W. Stevenson, Gerald Fitzgerald, A. Weddle, W. J. Edwards, W. Broughton Chambers, R. Weddle, J. C. Coak, R. Walker, F. R. Mayne, W. Shaw, T. J. Shaw, E. H. Swinly, W. Gair, J. M. Wood, C. Lindesay, J. Robinson, J. Alston.

After Mr. Hill had read the telegram from the Secretary of the Indian Tea Association, on receipt of which the meeting was called, and having read several extracts from the *Englishman* and explained the object of the meeting, it was proposed by Mr. Sweeting, and seconded by Mr. Moran, that this meeting individually protest against the most ancient privilege of a Briton being sacrificed merely for a political sentiment, and are strongly convinced that, especially in Assam, which differs greatly from other parts of India, both in being so isolated from the influence of public opinion, owing everything to European enterprise and capital, such legislation as proposed will not only vitally injure, existing European interests, but by debarring future capitalists

and alienating existing ones, will stop the progress of the province, and is even now aggravating, and will certainly revive, that antagonism and friction of races which has of late years remained dormant.

(Sd.) C. HILL, *Chairman*.

H. E. S. HANNAY, *Hon'y. Secy.*

February 26.

On the 14th instant, at the general meeting of the Tea Association Committee of Cachar, it was unanimously resolved that the Calcutta Committee of the Tea Association be asked to make representations to the Government on the subject of proposed amendments of the Criminal Procedure Code, and also that they prepare a memorial on the subject and send it to Cachar for general signature. Before this could be done up comes Kubber from Calcutta that the Bill is coming on for discussion, and that if tea-planters wanted to give an expression to their opinions they must do so, and that quickly. The Secretary of the Tea Association then wired that the discussion had been put off for a week, and the telegram, fortunately for the planters, came at a time when it was possible to hold a meeting, fairly representative, considering the shortness of notice, but which would have been quadrupled had there been time to send out notice. It so happened that Government had called a meeting of the members selected for the Local Self-Government Board for the 24th instant to consider some points with regard to carrying out the mode of election for future Boards, so that on that account there was a fair sprinkling of planters in the station, although of course the outlying districts were not represented. The proceedings resultated as below:—

1st. It was most vigorously and unanimously resolved at this meeting that we protest, in the strongest terms, against Mr. Ilbert's proposed amendments of the Criminal Procedure Code; and that the protest be wired to the Secretary, Calcutta Tea Association, to be laid before the Viceroy's Council.

2nd. That this meeting very greatly regretted that there was no time to get together the whole of the European community, and strongly protested against the action of Government for not having given time for the full discussion of such an important alteration in the Criminal Procedure Code which so vitally affected all European British subjects living in the mofussil. With a vote of thanks to the Chairman, the meeting separated.

(Sd.) W. AITCHESON, *CHAIRMAN*.

Present :—D. Stewart MacIntosh, T. H. Lawrie, Dr. McLaughlin, C. E. Pickford, E. Livermore, A. Stewart; E. F. Skinner, W. J. Balfour, A. J. Preston, H. E. Sanderson, F. Ross Jones, P. J. Macdonald, A. Milne, R. B. Doake, E. Pearce, C. Menzies, J. D. Jackson, E. C. Showers, W. Aitcheson, H. Wer, W. L. Clark, C. W. Griffiths, R. H. Farquhar, John Stirton, J. O. Bonhill, A. A. L. Anderson, Dr. Dundee, Dr. Faussel, J. L. L. L. Morison, C. Wilson, J. Schaleh.

TO THE RIGHT HON'BLE THE VICEROY AND GOVERNOR- GENERAL OF
INDIA IN COUNCIL.

The humble memorial of the undersigned Anglo-Indian and European British subjects residing at Allahabad in Upper India.

Sheweth,—That your Memorialists have learnt with surprise and alarm that a Bill has been introduced into the Legislative Council of India, having for its object the conferring, for the first time in the history of India, upon Natives of India, of criminal jurisdiction over European British subjects residing in the Mofussil.

2. Your Memorialists have also learnt with surprise that the Government of India has given its sanction to this innovation in the law of India without being subjected to the slightest pressure proceeding from the Natives of India; that it has of itself, thus raised this grave question of race antagonism, and that it bases its action principally on the ground that a large proportion of Covenanted Civilians—i. e., Lieutenant-Governors, Commissioners, and other salaried officials who have little or no stake in the permanence of British rule in India (and who can have very few more years to reside in India), after being informed of the Governor-General's opinion of the measure, have expressed themselves to be in favor of the same.

3. Your Memorialists further notice with regret that the Government of India entirely failed to seek for any expression of opinion regarding this measure from either those European British subjects residing permanently in the Mofussil, whose lives and fortunes depend on the security of life and property in the Mofussil—the persons likely to be affected in their personal safety by measures of this kind—or the great body of English merchants, planters, traders and others, both in England and in this country, being those who are likely to suffer by depreciation in the value of their property.

4. Though your Memorialists are as strongly impressed as any one can be of the desirability of extending the principle of equality in the judicial administration of India where it can be done with safety and without disturbance, yet considering the disproportion in numbers of

Natives and Europeans in India, especially of Europeans residing in the Mofussil (about 1 to 5,000 Natives), your Memorialists are as strongly persuaded that the principle of equality is not applicable in the present state of India, and that Natives, especially those in the Mofussil, are unprepared for and will entirely misunderstand and misapprehend the announcement that Europeans are now by law liable to be punished by the Native Magistracy.

5. Your Memorialists are also strongly convinced that no change in the law is necessary or expedient, and they most earnestly deprecate any further attempts on the part of those Europeans in India, whose power is great, but whose presence is temporary and not permanent to encourage the natives of India to agitate for positions in the administration and Government of India on the principle of equality, while the following indisputable facts exist, namely :

(a.) The Natives of India are admittedly subject races, bearing the greatest enmity and animosity towards each other, dependant on European soldiers to keep the peace, and except an insignificant number of individuals in the presidency towns (who owe everything to compulsory education and contract with Europeans), are wholly unfit for independence.

(b.)—They have unquestionably more of liberty, peace and protection than any other people in the world who are subject to foreign domination.

(c.) They already stand equal before the law; subject to the same Penal and Civil Codes as the dominant race.

(d.) They have the benefit of personal laws to a greater extent than Europeans—Natives of rank and women being exempted from attendance in courts of justice.

(e.)—The number of Europeans in India are comparatively so small that to admit and enforce the principle of equality without reservation and without considerations of race or feeling in every department would reduce British power in India to a cypher, and make the British occupation of India unmaintainable, and eventually produce the same state of anarchy and disorder that prevailed before its conquest by the British.

(f.)—The principle of equality has no application among the Natives themselves, as their domestic and social institutions prove.

6. Your Memorialists further submit that with many indications present in the minds of the people of India, namely :—

(a.) Of their acknowledged unfitness for independence or self-government ;

(b.) Of their (with few exceptions) acknowledged unfitness to exercise jurisdiction over the liberty and lives of even their own fellow-countrymen ;

(c.) Of the necessity for excluding them from exercising any power except under proper safeguards ;

(d.) Of the necessity for excluding them from appointments in the Army, and taking part in the defence of their country against disturbers of the Pax Britannica ; to propose to grant them the principle of equality to the extent of permitting them to sit in judgment upon members of the dominant race seems to your Memorialists, residing in the Mofussil, an unnecessary and dangerous innovation, which for many generations to come your Memorialists (speaking on behalf of their wives and children) will never calmly acquiesce in or submit to.

7. Your Memorialists unhesitatingly aver that should this Bill pass (which has already been spoken of by the Native papers as an instalment of what is to follow), there will be no adequate security or safety for your Memorialists and European residents in the Mofussil, and the present peaceful state of India will on the punishment of the European by a Native, be liable to disturbance of such a character as, if once set on foot will produce greater anarchy and disorder than has been known in India for centuries.

8. Your Memorialists would further observe that they perceive in this Bill, in which the principle of equality is affirmed, the prelude to others of a similar character calculated to destroy British interests in, and exclude Europeans from, Mofussil India. That if such is the ultimate aim and policy of the Government of India, your Memorialists submit that the same should be boldly announced and notified to your Memorialists and the thousands of Europeans entering into and settling in the country.

Your Memorialists therefore pray—

1. That he may be heard by Counsel against the passing of this Bill.

2. That the Bill may be thrown out.

3. That the Bill, if passed, may be limited to Bengal, or places where residents will have the protection of European public opinion and the Press.

And your Memorialists will ever pray.

NAME OF PLACE.

Date.

- | | | |
|---------|--|--|
| 28-2-82 | C. J. Groom
H. J. C. Turner
H. D. Cartwright
D. M. Beresford
H. J. Lattey
J. M. Anderson
Messrs. Grindlay & Co. | } Tenor of letter or telegram.
Unable to attend the meeting, but desire that their protest be recorded against the proposed amendment of the Criminal Procedure Code. |
| | Calcutta. | |
| 22-2-82 | H. Bell,
Gauhati,
p. L. & Telegram,
d. 22nd inst. | Writing to the Secretary, Indian Tea Association, informs him that he had called a meeting of the European Community in the district, at which 10 gentlemen attended, representing more than 2-3rds of the European community when it was resolved that "the meeting strongly protests against any power being given to <i>any</i> Native Magistrate by which he would be empowered to enquire into or try any charge against a European British subject, and claims class legislation for Europeans." |
| 22-2-83 | Proceedings of a meeting of the Europeans in the Lushkerpore District, held at Chandpore on 22nd Feb., 1883, protesting against Bill.
S.P. J. Hay, Chairman.
Wm. Meldrum, Hony. Secy.
p. L. d. 22nd Feb. & T., d. 23rd Feb. | Bears 8 signatures. The meeting considered that depriving Europeans of their privileges as proposed would not be an act of justice to the Native Civil Service, but of pandering to their prejudices. Some may be capable Judges, but adjudicature given to the one principle demands that it should be given to all, and this would ultimately be demanded. Isolated Mofussil Courts offer no security that an injustice might not be perpetrated. The feelings of those to be judged should be more worthy of consideration than those of the Judge. The proposal is calculated to increase rather than decrease race animosities. Telegram sent to this effect. |
| 21-2-83 | Proceedings of meeting of residents held at Loobahcherra on 21st February, protesting against Bill. | Bears 15 signatures.
Requested Secretary, Indian Tea Association, to enter vigorous protest against the amendment. |
| 20-2-83 | C. J. Bell,
Silchar. | Telegraphing to the Secretary, Indian Tea Association, states, that it was proposed at a full and influential Committee of Tea Association, held 13th, and carried, that the Calcutta Committee, Tea Association, be asked to make representation to Government on the subject of the proposed amendment to the Criminal Procedure Code. Also to ask the Committee to prepare a memorial on the subject for general signature here. |
| 24-2-83 | Charles J. Bell,
Silchar. | Telegraphed to the Secretary, Indian Tea Association, that at a meeting of Planters held in Silchar on 24th, it was most vigorously and unanimously resolved to protest, in strongest terms against the proposed amendment, and that the protest be telegraphed to the Indian Tea Association to be laid before Viceroy's Council. Strongly protested against action of Government in not having given time for full discussion of such important alteration in Code which so vitally affects all European British subjects in the Mofussil. |

22-2-83 W. F. Dowling,
Chittagong.

21-2-83 Secy., Nowgong Tea
Association.

22-2-83 Hony. Secy., S.
Sylhet Tea Assocn.

22-2-83 Hony. Secy., Tez-
pur Tea Planters Asso-
ciation.

21-2-83 H. E. Hannay,
Dibrugarh.

22-2-83 John Phillips,
Sibsagar

22-2-83 Secretaries, Bish-
nath Tea Planters
Association.

22-2-83 W. M. Lawrie,
Jorhat.

23-2-83 B. B. Pringle,
Badulipur.

27-9-83 Brownlow,
Chittagong.

28-2-83 P. C. Nal,
Dum-Dum,

27-2-83 European
Community,
Khagoul.
Dinapore
Railway,

28-2-83 C. G. D. Belts.
2 Russell St.

28-2-83 W. C. Madge,
Secretary, Euro-
asian and Anglo-
Indian Association.

European Community unanimously condemn contemplated amendment of C. P. C. Mofussil residents are particularly alarmed at this threatened attempt on their liberty.

Telegraphs that Europeans unanimous in strong condemnation of Ilbert's amendment.

Telegraphs that: European Community unanimously protest against proposed amendment.

Telegraphs that: This Association unanimously protest against the passing of the Bill allowing natives to have power to try and imprison Europeans.

Telegraphs that: At a meeting held, at which 90 were present, the following resolutions were proposed and carried unanimously, that this meeting indignantly protests against the most ancient privilege of a Briton being sacrificed for a political sentiment; is strongly convinced that, especially in Assam, which differs greatly from other parts of India in being so isolated from the influence of public opinion, and owing everything to European enterprise and capital, such legislation as proposed will not only vitally injure existing European interests, but, by debarring future capitalists, and alienating existing ones, will stop the progress of the province, and is even now aggravating, will certainly revive that antagonism and friction of races which of late years had remained dormant.

Telegraphs: All Planters in this district protest against amendment for which no sufficient grounds are given.

Telegraphs: That the amendment of the Criminal Procedure Code would be a breach of confidence on part of Government, and would make position of Tea Planters untenable.

Telegraphs: Unanimous protest by Jorhat Committee.

Telegraphs: He knows that the European community is unanimous against giving power to natives to try Europeans. Has had no time to call a meeting.

Telegraphs: Gwilt and himself earnestly protest against Ilbert's amendment.

Unavoidably detained; entire sympathy with the meeting.

Over 100 Europeans emphatically protest against Ilbert's Bill and support your action. We consider it a violation of all national and hereditary rights.

Giving his experience of 35 years in India as Translator and Interpreter of late Supreme Court, Magistrate, Justice of the Peace, Zemindar and Indian Planter. Says it will be terrible day for India when the C. P. C. Amendment Bill is passed.

Expresses strong sympathy with the object of the meeting, and the willingness of the Board to co-operate by all lawful means in opposing Bill. Association intends to present a memorial to Government of India.

23-2-83 T. F. Luke,
Duncan Guide
W. Zoachim
Geo. Toussaunt
J. F. Taylor
Sugar Mills,
Cossipore.

} Cannot be present at meeting, but wish their
names included in protest against Mr. Ilbert's
Bill.

26-2-83 Proceedings of
meeting of Planters
and Volunteers,
held at Garidure
on 26th Feb., pro-
testing against the
Bill.

Bears 55 signatures.

Resolved, among other things, that, should the
Bill be passed, Volunteers will lay down arms.

27-2-83 H. Hilbert and
30 more Europeans
whose names he
does not give. No
place mentioned.

Protests against infamous proceedings of
Government and their doings. States disgust
and indignation at the cowardly policy which
places natives in all the posts and positions of
trust, to the prejudice of the European. Is a
Volunteer and should the Bill pass he and the
whole of his company will resign to a man.

Had he time, could get his letter signed by
1,000 Europeans.

27-2-83 H. D. Thompson,
Bankipore.

Handing a letter to the Chairman of the
Calcutta meeting, which says that at Bankipore
(Patna) and in the adjacent stations of Dinapore,
Patna and Arrah, the irritation is not less than
in Calcutta at the proposal to sacrifice Europeans
to gain the approval of the natives. Is ready to
devote means, energies and time to promote union
among our countrymen to oppose the Govern-
ment measure. *A letter well worth reading.*
Ready to send. Rs. 10 immediately by cheque
and collect and send more. *Has just had to*
advise a Syndicate at home, purposing to invest
15½ lakhs in permanent works in the country,
that it would be prudent to await further advice
before embarking in the undertaking.

28-2-83 E. Morris,
Calcutta.

Regrets he cannot be present at meeting, but
will gladly support any measures that may be
adopted to oppose Mr. Ilbert's Bill.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE ENGLISHMAN.

SIR,—May I be allowed to suggest to our experienced legislators
that, if they are anxious to make new laws, they might experiment
upon the native population first, and see the effect. The cry is "India
for the Indians"—so let it be; let native Magistrates be appointed to
hear and decide all native cases. I venture to assert that the outcry of
the victims would not be long in making itself heard.

EUROPEAN BRITISH SUBJECT.

March 2, 1883.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE ENGLISHMAN.

SIR,—I was very glad to see Mr. Branson's letter this morn-
ing. As it was written in reply to mine, I cannot but acknowledge it.
It should at once remove any of that ill-feeling which his remarks at
the meeting tended to give rise to.

I feel convinced that the whole community, both native and European, will appreciate the spirit in which it has been written.

JOHN CROFT.

9, Clive Street, Calcutta, March 3 1883.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE ENGLISHMAN.

SIR,—The indignation meeting on Wednesday last was the most marvellous spectacle which it has ever fallen to my lot to behold. That surging mass of passionately resolved faces, convulsed with enthusiastic wrath under the influence of an intolerable wrong, formed a political drama in action, unsurpassed in grandeur, I will venture to say, by any event within the experience of living Englishmen.

I have taken a personal part in many political movements in England, and have even joined in canvassing an Irish county under conditions of intense social excitement; but the expressions of emotions on one and all of these occasions were dwarfed into complete insignificance in comparison with the terrible earnestness exhibited on that day. Had it not been for the splendid manner in which the meeting was kept in hand, nothing would have restrained its members from marching to Government House to make a representation of their wrongs to the Viceroy personally. Not a single European policeman would have interfered. Had the Government attempted to obstruct the movement, it would have been driven to the dangerous alternative of either calling out British soldiers, whose sympathies in this matter would have been entirely in accord with those of their fellow countrymen and co-religionists, and who would in all probability have fraternised with the members of the meeting, or else the Government would have been forced to the terrible experiment of seeking the assistance of native troops. If a single drop of European blood had been shed under these circumstances, it would have inevitably led to an internecine struggle in every cantonment in India. Heaven help an English Viceroy and his admirers if they should ever be called upon to answer at the bar of public opinion in England for a single drop of English bloodshed in such a cause as this. For the present, however, we may congratulate ourselves, and it is a matter for the most sincere congratulation, that this dangerous crisis has passed away.

But the feeling of passionate burning is as intense as ever, and may at any moment take a form of expression most dangerous to the peace and interests of the country. My daily experience brings me into contact with all classes of Europeans, and I solemnly state that I have never seen any body of men so sternly determined to resist, to the utmost of

their ability, what they consider an irreparable wrong. A great political character in England, when prosecuted by the Government for the third time after having been twice acquitted by an English Jury, commenced his address to the Jury in these words:—Gentlemen of the Jury.—Experience maketh wise men wiser, but nothing can alter fools." Applying these words in all courtesy, and of course in a strictly political and inoffensive sense, I would most earnestly urge the members of the Government to avoid the shade of a shadow of a possibility of being included, however unjustly, in this political category, and whilst there is yet time, implore them to retire from this dangerous and impolitic measure. The emphatic abhorrence of the Bill rests not so much on the provisions of the present bill, as upon the absolute certainty if it be allowed to pass into law, of a continuance of the same line of policy in the future, and the consequent absolute ruin of the country.

A WELL-WISHER OF THE STATE.

March 5, 1883.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE ENGLISHMAN.

SIR,—Kindly allow me to explain that my allusion to Frenchmen and Spaniards was not meant to disparage them at all, and that I was aware before the meeting that at least one French gentleman thoroughly sympathised with the objects of it.

What I wished to express was this, that in ruling subject races the French and Spanish are able to amalgamate and sympathise with the conquered, and even to become, as it were, one with them. The case of Alsace is a striking instance of this, where the Germans were made to become enthusiastic adherents of France against their own countrymen. The English do not seem capable of this; where they rule they must rule in a masterful, though kind and just manner.

I may add that I got the idea from a Frenchman, and this, with the above explanation, will I trust, fully exculpate from all offence in this matter.

THE SPEAKER.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE ENGLISHMAN.

SIR.—Will you be so good as to insert the following letter:—

To the Secretary to the Committee appointed to prepare a memorial or petition to the Government, &c., from European and Eurasian Associations, being the Christian inhabitants of India.

DEAR SIR,—It appears to my judgment that the authorities, in dealing with the question forced upon by the Government and raised by

the European inhabitants and their descendants, composing the Christian subjects of the Crown in India, have the following facts before them which are entitled to their consideration.

1. That these subjects of the Crown represent the real enterprise, energy and wealth, which have been devoted to the development of the material progress of the country, from the day that this country came into British possession.

2. That the English speaking aborigines in the country are represented by official and non-official natives.

3. That the education they possess, whatever its extent is what they have derived by the necessity under which they were placed to render themselves useful to the dominant race and the Government, in order to gain a livelihood through its instrumentality, and also by the medium of the educational institutions placed within their reach by the Government of the country.

4. That these English speaking aborigines have so little passed themselves of the principle which characterise the dominant race that they have no feeling in common with them, and yet they turn round upon the benefactors of their country and demand that they shall sit in judgment over them and their families in criminal cases.

5. That, for the most part, the official portion of the aborigines in the service of the Government of this country, though holding B. A. and other educational degrees, can hardly write two words of English.

6. That the English speaking aborigines are for the most part apostates from the religion of their fathers, have in point of fact no religion of their own, and are remarkable for the facility with which they have picked up the vices of the European races without having the least pretension to the possession of their virtues.

7. That in point of fact the problem which has always been before the British Government and its representatives in this country to solve, is the question of self-protection of their inherent rights, by the Christian British subjects of the Crown and their descendants, as threatened by the encroachments, arrogance and assumptions of the English speaking natives, represented by the official and non-official aborigines with such moral and religious and educational training as they possess.

8. That if it be recognised as a true maxim of political economy that the greatest good of the greatest number must prevail in all communities, the course of the British Government is quite clear, in this question of the dominant race versus the English speaking aborigines—the former preponderating even numerically and in all other respects

representing the real backbone of the safety of British rule and the material advancement and continual progress of the country.

9. That the question under consideration has no element in it that would affect adversely the real interests of the masses of the uneducated aborigines of the country, if decided in favour of the protection of the inherent rights of the Christian dominant race.

10. I have, in a short letter which appeared in your columns on the 16th ultimo I believe, suggested that the Government of India should endeavour to ascertain the real opinion of the uneducated as well as the quasi-educated masses as to whether, either in civil or criminal cases, they refer that the adjudication should be entrusted to Europeans and Christians or to English speaking natives.

11. It is nothing but the fatuous policy of the representatives of the British Government that, for the sake of an "idea" unlawful unstatesmanlike and dishonest in itself has professedly and loudly proclaimed to the uneducated masses, through the medium of the quasi-educated portion, who in no respect or sense are the real representatives of the uneducated masses, that the Government intends to shut up every channel of official employment of the dominant race, in favour of the aborigines, that has created and stirred up an unlawful and dangerous ambition in the minds of the quasi-educated masses, which the Government can never practically gratify without endangerment of the British rule.

12. The Government has clearly placed itself in a false and dangerous position, and nothing seems now left to the dominant race but to place the real facts of the case in their true colours before the Houses of Parliament, so that a new departure may be made on the promulgation of a truthful policy from whence all elements of deceit shall be eliminated whereby both uneducated and quasi-educated aborigines of India shall know honestly what they have to expect under British Rule as well as the dominant race, who have built up this Empire and continue to be its backbone.

J. W. S.

March 3, 1883.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE ENGLISHMAN

SIR,—Mr. Ilbert's proposed amendment has filled us unfortunate dwellers in the interior with disgust, consternation and alarm, I saw last year an extract from some native paper in which it was boasted that some Calcutta Baboos had, what they called, "gone straight up" to the

Viceroy about the White Act" as it was termed, and had extracted some sort of promise that the matter should be looked into.

A diplomatic answer to turn off some interviewer, I thought and gave the matter no more attention.

And now, Sir, comes the awakening. Ah me! ah me! how sad a thing to think that an Englishman's birthright should be sold for such a miserable mess of potage.

How sad a thing too to think that a few Calcutta Baboos should be able to extract from the representative of the Queen a promise to take away from his fellow Englishmen the privilege they most cherish and hold dear, that of being tried by their fellow countrymen and peers in race to take away without one word of warning consultation, or even decent attempt at obtaining an opinion from the Indigo planters, Tea planters, Zamindars, Jute growers, contractors and Traders of Bengal and the North-West Provinces the one thing that holds them up among millions of natives who respect them through fear and prestige alone which has, I say, excited a universal feeling of disgust and alarm among the non-official Englishmen of India who have, and are still, spending millions of capital on the soil, who employ hundreds of thousands of labourers, to whom the present prosperity of Bengal is in great part owing. We are treated as nought, not even heard, on a question relating, to the greatest degree, in regard to our fortunes, our persons, yea our very lives.

As your correspondent observes, the Act cannot stand where it is. I must extend till every native Temporary Deputy Collector on Rs. 150 per mensem has power to issue a warrant and try the unfortunate Europeans in his district.

But why do the Baboos want this? No native ever asks for a thing without some underlying reason. They do not say that the civil service of Bengal are biased and deliver unjust verdicts on behalf of their fellow countrymen. They do not dare to, but they think it all the same. The great reason, is that, however, we, the conquering race, may be lowered in native estimation, and they may be correspondingly exalted. Every educated Native is looking forward to the time when there will be no Viceroy, no Lieutenant-Governor, no Chief Justice. Our rulers are blind. They have ears but they hear not, they have eyes but they see not. Ostrich like they bury their heads in the sand and think they are protected from the coming storm.

You, Sir, say if the present policy is pursued we must either leave the country or become hewers of wood and drawers of water. Sir, a good deal must happen before that; there are 60,000 non-official Eng-

lishmen at present in this country, and our numbers are yearly increasing. We must and shall be heard. We will not rest content until we have a voice in the management of our affairs. The army are with us to a man, I say, from every British officer down to the humblest private.

I would urge that a fund be at once formed for the purpose of meeting the preliminary expenses of creating a British League. Let a suitable house in the Capital be engaged for the purpose of holding the meetings of the League, the Union Jack to float over the building. Let the whole of India be parcelled out into elective districts, each district to return a member to be elected triennially.

Let a proper and suitable salary be attached to the office of member of the League. We are all poor men out here, and cannot afford the time and attention unless the office bears a salary

If only able and energetic men are elected, the League will soon carry with it irresistible authority and influence second only to the Council of India. Some such scheme as this is urgently required. I am willing to subscribe Rs. 1,000 towards preliminary expenses, if only my fellow countrymen will come forward. Let Lord Ripon pause. Is it decent, is it proper, to witness the spectacle on one side of natives holding meetings to petition for the Viceroy's extension of office, and on the other his fellow countrymen holding indignation meetings and pouring out the vials of their wrath on the devoted heads of himself and Mr. Ilbert?

The British Lion is roaring with no uncertain voice.

VIET, ARMIS.

Feb. 28 1883.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE ENGLISHMAN.

SIR,—You have rightly directed attention to the necessity for combined and energetic action both here in and England in the respect of the rights of British subjects as affected by the proposed law for amending the Criminal Code. Every Englishman in India is stirred to the core and is prepared to defend his rights at the present time by every means in his power. But it will not be enough merely to fight out his particular question, even if we should win in the end. It is abundantly clear that there is a great deal behind this, and that the whole question of the rights of Europeans and Eurasians in India at stake. The policy of Government of late years has been to undermine the right and the status of British born subjects in India, irrespective of all considerations of good government, expediency, and moral right. The mischief has

been going on for a long time. It has been done slowly, insidiously, but certainly, and the great outburst of feeling displayed at the Town Hall on Wednesday, and which has been echoed and re-echoed all over the country, was the outpouring of those pent up feelings which for some time past have been accumulating as each new folly and injustice has been proposed or carried, the two latest being this amending Bill and the Roorkee Resolution. Both these measures are utterly incomprehensible to Englishmen with any experience in the country, "Sir Louis Cavagnari died in the service of his country by the dagger of an assassin. If he leaves a son, and the assassin leaves a son the assassin's son would be preferred in Government employment. That is the simple truth, that is the Roorkee Resolution, strange as it may appear. The authors of it are believed to be the Honorables Major Baring and Mr. Hope. It is well that their names should be known far and wide.

It is necessary, therefore, to take measures for protecting the rights of European British subjects in India on a sound and secure basis, and not to be content with a single big meeting and its results, and there is very much to do. The Government of the country is apparently steeped in the grossest ignorance, has no notion of the feelings, desires, opinions of the people it is set to govern. This living on the hills like gods together, careless of mankind, surrounded by a bureaucracy, "all of them served from anything like an intimate acquaintance with the mind of the non-official population" (or of nine-tenths of the official population for that matter) is the real evil at the bottom of all the mischief, coupled with an insane desire to abolish anomalies and substitute a "series of vagaries of philosophical Radicalism." Some one has said we must give up Simla or India. Of the two it would seem at the present time better that we should give up Simla. If other officers of the Government can live in the plains, why not the members of the Government of India? Here is another "anomaly;" let us get rid of it. The Simla exodus costs a great deal of money to the tax payer, and the Simla officials get larger salaries and greater advantages and privileges than other people. Here is a good Radical anomaly. Away with it! Nobody in India will complain beyond half a dozen people, and I think that is the number of native civilians likely to be affected by the Amendment Bill. We will undertake not to get up any indignation meeting if this "anomaly" is swept away.

But there is too much reason to fear this anomaly will not be given up, and therefore it is the more necessary that there should be an Association, established on a sound and permanent basis for the purpose of discussing all Government measures and legislative proposals, Mr.

Finter was quite correct in saying there was no Calcutta, in the political sense, at the present time. Considering the large European Community in the Capital itself, and the thousand of Englishmen and Eurasians scattered all over the country and the millions of English money invested in the country, it is high time that an Association were formed to watch their interests and keep the Government fully informed on all subjects affecting the welfare of the country. The Government has already expressed a desire for greater information. It wants to know the views and opinions of the various sections of the people likely to be affected by its measures, executive and legislative. Let us, Englishmen, respond to the call in light good earnest. Let us determine that Government shall no longer be kept in ignorance on any single question on which it wants informations, light or assistance. In England, when our rulers are not in accord with the people, there is an effectual way of settling the differences. The rulers are replaced by other rulers. We cannot do that in India just yet, but we can make a very good beginning. We can have our own parliament. We can have an Association whose duty it will be to watch every Government measure and every Government official; to discuss and consider every proposal, and criticise the public conduct, words and actions of every public man. Let our rulers feel that there is a powerful and educated Association watching their public doings and sayings, as public men in England are watched, and they will soon be brought to feel the responsibility of office. Men will not dash off opinions and minutes in light-hearted and irresponsible fashion such as is too often done at the present time. And when a man is found to be going altogether wrong and to be out of sympathy with the people and the times, let such pressure be brought to bear upon the Government and Parliament as will lead to his removal. Let our rulers be made to feel that they are servants and not the masters of the public; that the master will use the right which every master has of getting rid of an incompetent, injudicious or ignorant servant, and we will then have our political and Government relations on a proper footing. But not till then. Neither the Government nor the natives need feel alarmed at such a proposal as this. It is for the good of both. We are to have local self-government. Very good. Let the Capital lead the way. Let us return to the best traditions of our fathers. Let us show the people of India how to govern themselves as Englishmen govern themselves. Let us have light and truth and honesty. Let us not shrink from telling the truth because it is unpalatable in high places. Let us meet a crisis of this kind as Englishmen go to battle. This has not been of our seeking. It has

been forced on unoffending peaceful, law abiding, citizens: but upon men who can meet great crises in a great way. Our duty, as Mr. Branson pointed out, is plain, and it must be done. It takes a long time to make an Englishman say that word, but once said he does not go back from it. Our duty then is to form this Association here at once, with branches in London, Madras and Bombay, and at every station and centre throughout India. To make our voice heard from Cape Comorin to the Himalayas; Parliament; through every town and village in the United Kingdom and the British Colonies and possessions, and carry our petitions to the steps of the throne itself. And it must not be done in a half-hearted way. Let the stirring words of Mr. Branson be scattered broadcast over the length and breadth of Great Britain. Let the first duty of the Association after doing what is necessary about the Criminal Code Bill, be to bring up the Roorkee Resolution, the Simla Exodus, and the Bengal Rent Bill as fitting subjects for public discussion and consideration. Let it also give its attention to the Financial and Public Works Departments. Let us look to the sources of our Revenue and to the way it is spent. Let us see to the management of our Public Works, and that one class of our servants does not break faith with another: let us have the breakers of faith hurled from their high places and the stirrers up of strife taught that their duty is to observe the rights of the people, and not to set them at defiance. A few wholesome lessons will do a world of good. And let the natives see how we do our work. How we govern ourselves. Let us seek the good of the country and of the people, and not of any particular class. The interests of the country and of classes ought in the main to be the same. On all really great questions Englishmen and natives are not likely to disagree. The interests of both must of necessity be bound up with the material and social welfare of the country, for no one is so foolish as to believe that England and India can ever be separated, at least for centuries yet to come. And what we the people of the present time, have to do is to deal with what is possible and practicable in our own day. Let us recognise truth and plain facts, and abandon Radical vagaries and party advices. Let us rescue India from the Maelstrom of party strife and the desire for chief personal popularity. Let there be a fair field and no race distinctions. If the levelling process must go on, let it be a levelling up and not a levelling down. In the matter of appointments let it all men be equal. Let there be equal competition. Let Englishmen, Eurasians and natives all enter for the race, and let the best men win. This will

strengthen and consolidate British rule in India. There are many points upon which Englishmen and natives may make common cause for the general good without trenching upon each others' particular rights and privileges. This is surely a liberal enough platform and sufficiently wide for all parties. But some such organisation as I have suggested must be established, or all our cherished rights will go one after the other, and the country, instead of advancing, will go back and suffer. Our primary duty is to look after our rulers and see that they do their duty consistently with the sentiments of an enlightened and thinking public, and in accordance with the wishes of the people. If we let this opportunity pass, it may never occur again. Let the parent institution be established here without delay. Mr. Branson, I believe, intends proceeding home next month. He would no doubt help to establish a branch in London. There are many Anglo-Indians in and about London who would, I feel sure, be glad to assist and carry on the work there. They are not over-burdened with works and a political career of this kind would be congenial to most of them. There are many whose experience of India and whose opinions are quite as valuable as any which the Secretary of State can command on Indian questions. There need be no difficulty in establishing corresponding Committees all over India. I commend these suggestions to the Committee appointed at the Town Hall last Wednesday,

AN ENGLISHMAN.

Calcutta, 3rd March, 1883.

March 6.

SPECIAL TELEGRAMS.

Narainganj, March 5.

At a largely attended meeting of Europeans held here this morning, it was resolved:—"That this meeting strongly protests against Mr. Ilbert's Bill, as a gross injustice to the European inhabitants of India, which while depriving British subjects of their hereditary rights, confers no practical benefit on natives." A Committee was appointed to act in concert with the Calcutta Committee, those present binding themselves to subscribe their proportion of any necessary defence fund.

Muzafarpur, March 5.

At a meeting presided over by the Secretary of the Behar Planters' Association the following resolutions were passed unanimously:—

"That all present at this meeting protest against any interference with the rights we enjoy as European British subjects in India. That we believe it is only ignorance of the position in which thousands of Europeans are placed in the interior that has permitted the proposal to give natives jurisdiction over European British subjects to be placed before the Council, and that we authorise the Secretary of the Behar Indigo Planters' Association to request the Hon'ble Sir Steuart Bayley to place this our firm and indignant protest before His Excellency the Viceroy, in the assurance that Lord Ripon will not permit our most cherished right of being tried by our peers to be taken from us.

Proposed by A. Rennie, Esq., seconded by James Begg, Esq.,—that in the event of our Government ignoring the universal protest of the European community, we should all petition the members of Parliament of our different towns and counties to place the matter before Parliament and protect our interests and rights, and get our relations and friends at home to use their influence to this effect in placing our case before the different members in question."

The strong feeling of the assembly demanded a substitution of "indignant" protest for "humble" in the wording of the first resolution proposed by W. B. Hudson, Esq., seconded by M. Wilson, Esq.

Darbhanga, March 5.

A numerous attended meeting of Europeans was held at Darbhanga to-day, when a Resolution was unanimously passed, protesting against the Criminal Procedure Code Amendment Bill and requesting the Secretary of the Indigo Planters' Association to convey the protest to H. E. the Viceroy through Sir Steuart Bayley.

Chaprah, March 5.

A crowded meeting of the Indigo planters and other non-official Europeans was held at the Telpah Club House this

afternoon, when a resolution was passed protesting against the proposed alteration of the Criminal Code as highly detrimental to British interests in India.

The *Bombay Gazette*, in a recent article on Mr. Ilbert Bill, writes :—"The extension of the jurisdiction of native Magistrates has, it appears, the approval not only of Sir Ashley Eden, but of the two retired Lieutenant-Governors of Bengal who preceded him, as well as that of Mr. Rivers Thompson, the present Lieutenant-Governor of that province." Whatever the views on the extension of native jurisdiction held by former Lieutenant-Governors of Bengal in conditions very different to those which now exist, it is hardly a secret that the present head of the province does not by any means look upon the proposed measure with the feeling here attributed. It is the more to be regretted that Mr. Rivers Thompson's opinion on the subject has not been asked, because the class of non-official European British subjects is more numerous represented in Bengal than probably in the whole of the rest of India.

Jamalpur, March 5.

There is a great excitement among the Railway employes. Mr. Ilbert's Bill for giving jurisdiction to natives is looked upon with feelings of intense regret as certain to disturb the good relations now existing between the European and native staff. Meetings are being held at all the large stations, and a memorial is in circulation for signature praying that the Bill may be withdrawn as injurious on grounds of public polity.

The following is the Memorial referred to :—

TO HIS EXCELLENCY THE MOST HON'BLE THE MARQUIS OF RIPON
K.G., G.M.S.I., P.C., G.M.I.E., Viceroy and Governor-General of
India in Council.

The memorial of the European British born subjects of Her Majesty the Queen-Empress and employes of the East Indian Railway Company, most humbly and respectfully sheweth :—

1. That your memorialists have read with much concern the provisions of the Criminal Procedure Amendment Bill which was introduced into your Excellency's Council by the Hon'ble Mr. Ilbert on the 2nd February 1883, by which it is sought to invest Native Civil

Servants with jurisdiction over European British subjects in Criminal cases.

2. That your memorialists humbly submit that they have a constitutional right to be tried only by their peers and their country, and that in India they have always enjoyed the right of being tried by means of their own nationality and have done nothing whatever to forfeit that right.

3. That, although the natives of India have by force of conquest become subjects of the British Crown, they are, nevertheless, still aliens both in nationality and religion; and a European British subject appearing before a Court presided over by a native Magistrate or Judge would be essentially before a foreign tribunal, without the advantage of that Consular protection which he would be entitled to in a foreign country.

4. That in the humble opinion of your memorialists the proposed amendment of the existing law is not only inopportune, but is calculated to engender class feeling and race antagonism, which your memorialists who are collaborators with a very large number of native Railway employes cannot too strongly deprecate as being injurious in the extreme, to European and native alike and to the public service generally.

5. That your memorialists would draw your attention to the fact that no dissatisfaction has been expressed by the native community generally on the subject of the immunity from native jurisdiction now enjoyed by European British subjects, and that none of their privileges have been affected by rent law, as a piece of class legislation, has been a success, and that cases coming under it should be enquired into and tried by trained European Magistrates, your memorialists beg to quote the opinion expressed by the Honorable the Legal Member of Council at the meeting of your Excellency's Council on the 2nd ultimo, in which he said:—"And as to the facts with which we have to deal, no one who has studied the statistics and reports of the cases involving charges against European British subjects can fail to be struck with two things: first, that as compared with the great mass of ordinary criminal business, *they are exceptionally rare*, and, secondly, that they are *exceptionally troublesome and difficult*."

6. That your memorialists as Railway employes are more likely to be injuriously affected by the proposed change in the law in respect of jurisdiction over European British subjects than other classes of the European community: first, on account of, in many cases, their residence at stations far removed from European centres and Courts of revisional jurisdiction: and secondly owing to the great amount of technical and scientific evidence

that is usually introduced into Railway Criminal cases, and which would be almost, if not quite, unintelligible to a native Magistrate. A protracted trial with all the heavy expenses attendant thereon, followed probably by an erroneous and perhaps ruinous judgment, might therefore not unreasonably be expected from the Judge's want of technical knowledge and experience in subjects with which European Judges are all more or less familiar. To illustrate the possible vexatious action of a native Magistrate in a Railway Criminal case, your memorialists feel that they cannot do better than quote an instance which recently occurred in which the presiding Magistrate was a Native.

On the 19th November 1882, a collision occurred in the Howrah yard, and on the 22nd a Line Jamadar was prosecuted for carelessness in connexion therewith before a native Magistrate. The Jamadar *admitted his guilt* and formal evidence only was necessary to summarily dispose of the case; but the Magistrate, after recording some evidence postponed the case until the 24th idem. When the case was resumed, some technical evidence was tendered and rejected, and the trial was then postponed until the following morning at 8-30 o'clock for a local investigation. At the appointed hour ten Railway employés, European and native, attended in the goods yard, but the Magistrate did not come, and after waiting in the yard at much inconvenience to the traffic and themselves until 12-30 P.M., they were all summoned by a Court messenger to the Court-house, only to be informed on their arrival there that the Magistrate had left, but that he would be in the yard at 2-30 P.M. Again the ten witnesses returned to the goods yard and had to wait there until dark, when a messenger arrived at 5-30 P.M., and said that the Magistrate could not come. Two days after this, notice was received that the case would come on for trial on the 29th November, but the Magistrate did not attend the yard until 4-30 P.M., and again postponed the case until the 5th December. The ten European and native witnesses duly, appeared on the latter date, *but only one of them* was called to give some slight formal evidence, and then, after all these adjournments, the prisoner was convicted on his own plea of "guilty."

7. That your memorialists, whilst fully recognising the right of natives to a share in the administration of this country, beg to point out that the proposed amendment, if it become law, will place European British subjects at a positive disadvantage when compared with the mass of the population of India. An Indian British subject will enjoy the high privilege of being tried by his countrymen, or by European Magistrates who have been specially selected, educated, and trained for the Indian

Civil Service, and who have taken up their fixed residence in India; but *European* British subjects will be under the jurisdiction of native Magistrates and Judges whose ideas of Western civilization, manners, and thought will have been gained only in India, or during two or three years' study in England, instead of their being subject, as at present, only to the jurisdiction of highly trained and educated Englishmen who, being of their own nationality, have an intimate knowledge of their inner life, habits, and manners.

8. That your memorialists would draw attention to the fact that a native Magistrate of any class can exercise, under section 445 of the Criminal Procedure Code, nearly if not all, the powers which a Justice of the Peace can exercise in England, inasmuch as he can issue process of arrest, making it returnable to himself or to any other Magistrate having jurisdiction.

9. That your memorialists would deprecate any argument founded on the basis that because natives exercise jurisdiction over European British subjects in Presidency towns they should therefore exercise that jurisdiction outside Presidency towns, as obviously misleading, seeing that the respective positions are widely different. In a Presidency town any high-handed proceeding of a Magistrate would not of necessity imperil the liberty of the subject, as an immediate application could be made to the High Court and a suspensory writ obtained within hour; but in the Mofussil the European British subject would be entirely at the mercy of the local native authority, and would be liable to be regraded by actual confinement in an Indian gaol, perhaps with hard labour, in a most deleterious climate, before a distant High Court could be moved by the most energetic advocate to suspend a sentence which might ultimately prove to be unwarranted by law.

10. That your memorialists, in conclusion, would respectfully submit that the protection which has hitherto been afforded them by the existing law is no more than they are entitled to under the British Constitution, and, as Mahommedans, Hindus, Parsis, and many other races and sects in India are protected in the exercise of their own peculiar laws and customs by class legislation, your memorialists pray that the rights and liberties so dear to them, and which are menaced by the proposed amendment of the Code of Criminal Procedure, may not be withdrawn.

And your memorialists will ever pray, &c.

PUBLIC MEETING AT CHUTIA NAGPUR.

At a public meeting of non-official Europeans held at the Chutia

Nagpur Club on Monday, the 26th February, 1883,

It was resolved,

I. That this meeting views with unqualified condemnation Mr. Ilbert's proposed Criminal Code Amendment Bill, and is determined singly and collectively to do the utmost to oppose it.

II. That our protest be circulated to all non-official Europeans in Chota Nagpore for signature and subsequent despatch to the Honorary Secretary of the Committee elected by the Calcutta Chamber of Commerce to oppose the Bill.

III. That we, the undersigned, pledge ourselves to support the said opposition to the utmost of our means and ability.

IV. That we most strongly urge on the Calcutta Committee that they be steadfast and determined in their resistance to this proposed encroachment on the hereditary rights and liberties of Englishmen. We fear that residents of Calcutta can have no true conception of the evils that would arise should the proposed amendment be carried.

V. That we think it unnecessary to record the arguments for or against the said amendment, as they have been very fully and ably expressed by the Calcutta Press. We, therefore, simply give the decision we have arrived at after careful consideration of the whole question.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE ENGLISHMAN.

SIR,—The countrywomen of the framers of the C. P. A. Bill have received small consideration at their hands. Englishwomen have been forgotten while their rulers are busied in adding a new terror to their lives in India. It appears to me that in proposing to extend the jurisdiction of native Judges something more has been forgotten than the existence of Englishwomen. Six-and-twenty years have not elapsed since no considerable portion of the most active classes of Northern India proved that they did not understand what is meant by justice and mercy to the innocent and helpless. Six-and-twenty years do not suffice to change national characteristics or to reduce from savages the qualities, at once strong and delicate, which make good Judges.

I am not afraid to assert that I speak the feeling of all Englishwomen in India when I say that we regard the proposal to subject us to the jurisdiction of native Judges as an insult.

It is not pride of race which dictates this feeling, which is the outcome of something far deeper—it is the pride of womanhood. This is a form of respect which we are not ready to abrogate in order to give such advantages to others as are offered by Mr. Ilbert's Bill to its beneficiaries.

In this discussion as in most "*il y a question de femmes*"—and in this discussion the ignorant and neglected women of India, rise up from their enslavement in evidence against their masters. They testify to the justice of the resentment which Englishmen feel at Mr. Ilbert's proposal to subject civilised women to the jurisdiction of men and who have done little or nothing to redeem the women of their own races, and whose social ideas are still on the verge of civilization.

ANNETTE S. BEVERIDGE.

Bankipur, March 3, 1883.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE ENGLISHMAN.

SIR,—In England trial by one's peers is a constitutional right or privilege. When Lord Cardigan was arraigned on account of his duel with Captain Harvey Tucker his Judges were the peers of the Realm. If to-day the law demanded the criminal arraignment of Lord Kimberley or the Marquis of Ripon, the same august assembly would sit in judgment, notwithstanding that the Judges of the land are not of an alien race, are of unimpeachable integrity, possess vast legal erudition and experience, and are chosen from the talent elite of the English Bar. Where then and on what grounds can reasonable justification be sought for depriving Englishmen scattered over India of the privilege of trial by their peers, which as a sacred heirloom has been handed down to them from the days of Plassey. Where is the grievance? where the injustice? There is none. *Per se* the natives most assuredly care not a jot who tries the Englishman. Why then such persistent and malignant opposition to a privilege so highly prized? Is it patriotism? No! That is a virtue to which no claim can be laid by a race who, as the Hon'ble Babington Macaulay says, "would see his country overrun, his house laid in ashes, his children murdered or dishonoured, without having the spirit to strike one blow." In the fable of the Bull and Frog, in petty conceit, false pride and vanity, in the jealousy which the weak entertain of the powerful, will be found the mainsprings of the agitation now convulsing the mind of the petted

race; and it is by an ignoble pandering to and encouragement of these failings that the Government of India, from time to time, foment race animosities which would otherwise slumber and in time become extinct, and as a result of this degrading policy English feeling is to be outraged and Englishmen in India handed over to the tender mercies of an alien race deeply imbued with race prejudices, and owing to idiosyncrasy of character incapable of seeing things in the same light as the European. "Is a native Judge" asks your correspondent 'Washington' "capable of judging the peculiar sense of insult which we English and other Western nations entertain?" He is not. A notable instance now presents itself to my memory. A European was accused of assaulting another European, who with indecent proposals had grossly insulted the wife of the accused. A fine of Rs. 50 was inflicted, the Magistrate, one of the Tagore family, remarking that he would not have punished the defendant had he been the party insulted. To confer the proposed jurisdiction on a race who as yet have shown no aptitude for governing themselves, is indeed an anomaly of the wildest kind. The style of advocacy adopted by the native press is in itself a condemnation of the Government policy; witness the celebrated article from the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* which furnishes incontestable proof of the inexpediency of the proposed amendment of the Criminal Procedure Code, and of the unfitness of the natives to sit in judgment over Europeans criminally charged.

The *Bengallee* is continually quoting the Queen's Proclamation as his Magna Charta, altogether forgetting, or completely ignoring, that he owes his present position to an inexplicable favoritism which has systematically set at naught the provisions of that proclamation as regards the natives of India generally. Notably among these races stand the Eurasians, a class who in loyalty to their Sovereign are second to none, who by community of blood and religion have special undeniable claims to the consideration of Government, claims which have been mercilessly neglected, and even repudiated.

Let, then, the Englishman and the Eurasian mutually assist in this momentous crisis of their political existence. Let the Volunteer movement throughout India cease at once as the only endeavour, short of an appeal to Parliament, it is in our power to make to compel the Government to abandon a policy of national degradation. Why it may be asked, abandon the Volunteer movement now? Why not wait for the decision of the Legislative Council? Because with degradation suspended, like the sword of Damocles, over our heads, and in face of the unconstitutional proceeding of obtaining in advance the sanction of the

Secretary of State with the view, no one can doubt of arresting discussion and protest, it will be very dangerous to defer active measures for nearly a year. I fancy something very sensational would ensue if, when the marriage with a deceased wife's sister is again brought before Parliament, the sanction of the Queen brought before Parliament, the sanction of the Queen was obtained ere the Bill was introduced into the House of Lords, with the view of preventing their Lordships from rejecting the Bill after it had passed the Commons. The principle in the two cases is the same.

A quoi bon to parade the names of a few eminent authorities in favour of a change which will in no way affect them. Is it hoped thus to stifle the voice of the entire non-official Christian population throughout India, which, without a dissentient voice, has unsparingly condemned the Government policy as an ignoble pandering to native prejudices as calculated to stir up race animosities, disastrous to the country at large, as insulting to the feelings and degrading to the prestige of Englishmen whose status it is sought to regulate in accordance with the views of the native. Shades of our ancestors, of departed heroes and statesman! Could you burst asunder the bonds of death, and but for a brief moment resume this mortal coil, with sorrow and shame you would exclaim—How have the mighty fallen!

INDIGNATION.

Sarun, March 2, 1883.

March 7.

SPECIAL TELEGRAMS.

Jamalpur, March 6.

A crowded meeting of railway employes was held at this station yesterday to discuss Mr. Ilbert's Jurisdiction Bill. Resolutions strongly protesting against the Bill, as an invasion of constitutional rights, and praying for its withdrawal, were carried unanimously. The memorial published by you to-day was read and formally adopted amid prolonged and enthusiastic cheering. Speeches demonstrating the injurious effect of the Bill upon the relations between natives and Europeans, and showing the unfitness of natives to govern Europeans, were passed, and three cheers for the Queen were given. The meeting terminated amidst great applause.

Allahabad, March 6.

A large meeting was held at the Mayo Hall this evening to protest against Mr. Ilbert's Bill. Several resolutions were put to the meeting and passed by acclamation. Much enthusiasm and excitement prevailed among those present. "God save the Queen" was sung by the assembly at the conclusion.

Strong endeavours are being made to create an impression that nothing will be done with reference to the Criminal Procedure Code Amendment Bill till next November, and that the proceedings in Friday's Council will be of a purely formal character. We would warn the public not to be deceived by this device into any relaxation of their efforts. Unless within the next eight and forty hours instructions should be received from Home to withdraw the Bill, the question of its passing, as far as it rests with the local Council, will, in all probability, be practically decided on Friday. For the Council will then discuss the Bill, and its members, by the speeches they will make, will commit themselves to a distinct line of policy with which it will be difficult for them subsequently to retreat.

The outburst of feeling against the Government which Mr. Ilbert's Bill has aroused among the European and Eurasian community in this country, is marked by two significant features, which distinguish it from all previous movements of the kind, and from which the Government would do well to take warning in time. These features are its sternly resolute tone and its universality. It is not the first time that the measures of Government have excited deep and widespread indignation in the breast of Englishmen in India, but it is the first time that such indignation has assumed the tone of determined animosity which now characterises it. In thus describing the prevailing feeling, we are, indeed, using the language of euphemism; and the moment must soon come when the prudent considerations which have hitherto counselled our use of such language will cease to operate, and when any attempt to hide the fire that really exists will become criminal. Had we

published all the letters that have poured in upon us, or even had we published intact all the letters that have actually appeared in our columns, it would long ere this have been abundantly apparent to the Government that they have to deal with a state of public feeling which might be justly described by a far stronger term than resolute, and that this feeling extends to quarters where, if it assumed overt shape, it would be simply impossible for them to ignore it.

We say the moment must come, if the Government persist, when it will be our duty to expose to them the true nature of the precipice to the verge of which they have brought the Empire, as the only chance of saving, not the British community in India, but the British nation from a tremendous calamity. So far we have felt it to be our duty to exclude from our columns, as far as might be, every expression and every appeal that might tend to precipitate a demonstration which we fervently forefend. But there have been moments when we have doubted whether we were not mistaking our duty in adopting a course which, while it might operate in some measure to curb the course of events, must at the same time help to conceal, from those who should know it, the direction which events are taking.

The other unprecedented feature in the present movement is its universality.

There have been occasions in the past history of this Empire when the independent British community have been united in a feeling of strong antipathy to the measures of the Government, and on some of these occasions they have had the sympathy of many good men and true in the Government services. But there has been no previous occasion on which the great bulk of those services, Civil as well as Military, have not only been violently opposed in feeling to the policy of the Government, but have come forward publicly to testify to their opposition. Not only was the public meeting of Wednesday last largely attended by the Military and Civil Servants of the Government, but it is no secret that the great bulk of the officers

of Her Majesty's Army and of the Civil Services, Covenanted and Uncovenanted, in this country, heartily sympathise with the attitude adopted by the independent British community. We might go further ; but we are unwilling to go further, and state, in plain words, what is notorious, but what, so stated, might appear like an appeal to those whose feelings were the subject of the statement, and cut away from the Government the last chance of dignified retreat. Further, it is not only the British born community in India who stand one and all, opposed with all the vehemence of which they are capable, to the blindly infatuated policy of our present rulers, but every European, every domiciled Anglo-Indian, every Eurasian is with them. The feeling of the moment is one of perfect solidarity between the European and the mixed races, and a large body of the alien Asiatics also are included in it. If it surprises the Government that communities should rise in indignant protest against a measure which takes away no right of theirs, we would remind the Government that these communities strongly feel, that every foreigner in India strongly feels that whatever detracts from the dignity and the safety of Englishmen in India, detracts equally from their dignity and their safety ; and that the policy in which this measure is but a stage, is one which, for the sake of an unattainable end, is destined, if not prevented in time, to strike at the roots of our safety in India, they have no manner of doubt.

FROM THE LONDON CORRESPONDENT.

Some excitement has been caused by a letter from the Calcutta correspondent of the *Times* intimating the intention of your Governors to put you all at the mercy of Native Magistrates. This is a sound liberal policy, but is such a policy always applicable to a conquered population ? From the days of Lord William Bentinck down to those of Lord Ripon, England has been confronted with this anomaly in her Eastern administration, that she, the representative, of *par excellence*, of rational liberty has had in India to rule despotically. You may remember Lord Erskine's famous reference to this in Stockdale's case as far back as a century ago. How are these extremes to be reconciled ?

Is Britain to treat India as if her people were homogeneous, public-spirited, and the outcome of European evolution? Is not this question its own answer? Even the *Times*, which is never opposed to human progress, has sounded the note of alarm. If the Babus of Bengal could persuade the thinking part of the public—which after all is a small and not omnipotent minority—that they, the Babus, were fit for every sort of autonomy, how would that affect the question as regards the odd hundred and a quarter millions who form the balance of the sum total of the people of India? Even in this country, which boasts of open courts, free reporting and newspaper criticism, and all the appliances that our forefathers won in generations of gloom and glory, now, in movements swamped in blood, now by the death of a king or the enforced change of a dynasty, it has not been hitherto thought wise to leave the administration of justice or of important affairs of State to chance instruments that may be quite unfit for the work.

See what is going on in France, where the people have grasped unlimited power before acquiring the intellectual and moral habits essential to its due exercise. All the great interests of the country have been in succession outraged and endangered. Commerce has been fettered by restrictions on the freedom of trade; Religion has been violated by the repressive measures adopted towards the Orders; Law has been disturbed in the principle of the immobility of its officers, a principle hitherto respected by Governments of every shade; and now the Army thinks itself insulted by the threatened cashiering of the efficient and well-conducted officers of the House of Orleans. The Senate may throw out the Bill, but at what a risk! The army is also outraged by the appointment to the chief command of M. Thibaudin, who discredited himself in 1870 by breaking his parole. It is not intended to insist that any one of these policies may not have plausible grounds of defence; but what can be the prospects of a Republic which places itself in antagonism, by degrees, with all the more important organs of the body politic, and leans at last only upon the instincts of want, idleness, indiscipline, envy, and covetousness? Mr. Courtney, who is one of the foremost and most practical of our philosophic Radicals, states most positively that the representation of minorities is "the only safeguard against the dangers of democracy." But in France every minority is seen to be gradually muzzled, and the country is rapidly assuming the condition of an undriven locomotive at full steam.

This is a terrible diatribe to have come out of the increased powers of Native Magistrates. And from a Liberal, too, as you know me to be! But I am recounting nothing but facts; and I am sure you will agree that the present state of facts is not favourable to the scheme of forcing the growth of Liberal ideas and institutions at a rate more rapid than what is intrinsic to each community.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE ENGLISHMAN.

SIR,—The effect of Mr. Ilbert's most ill-advised Bill is not only to give Native Judges authority over the non-official community, but over our men and ourselves. I would wish to point with all earnestness that the danger to the army and the country is a most serious one. I only express the opinion of every officer I have spoken with when I say that it would be next to impossible to control our men from violence if one of their comrades were sentenced by a Native Judge. I belong to a large garrison and can positively assert there is but one feeling among officers and men, and that is extreme and violent indignation at the most audacious attempt to deprive us of our rights and privileges as English citizens.

AN OFFICER OF THAT ARMY WHICH ENABLES
RADICAL POLITICIANS TO MAKE LAWS IN INDIA.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE ENGLISHMAN.

SIR,—If Mr. Ilbert is so anxious to abolish race distinctions in India as he declared himself to be in proposing his Criminal Amendment, let him bring a Bill to abolish caste, the privilege of the *purdah* and exemption from the jurisdiction of Courts of Justice granted to certain *Rajahs*.

Men of a caste as high as there is in the world, namely, English gentlemen, are not injured in caste by eating food or drinking water out of vessels which have been touched by a man of a caste inferior to their own; then why should Brahmins, who, to say the least, are not of a caste higher than that of an English gentleman, be allowed to raise a storm when their vessels are touched by such a person?

English ladies, when plaintiffs, defendants or witnesses, are compelled to attend personally in Courts of Justice and give their evidence unveiled; then why should Hindu and Mahomedan ladies be exempted from doing so?

English noblemen are not exempted from the jurisdiction of Courts of Justice; then why should Native *Rajahs*, who, to say the least, are not superior in rank to them, be exempted therefrom?

It must be clearly understood that I am not advocating the passing of such a Bill. I am merely pointing out that, if Mr. Ilbert persists in his Criminal Amendment, he *must* propose it, unless he wishes to be branded with inconsistency, and a desire to obtain popularity with Natives by depriving Europeans of their privileges whilst leaving the Natives theirs; for the only logical inference which can be drawn from his reasons for proposing the Criminal Amendment is that the abolition of caste, the privilege of the purdah, and of exemption from the jurisdiction of the ordinary Courts of Justice, granted to certain Rajahs, is absolutely necessary.

BRITANNICUS.

Bombay, March 2, 1883.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE ENGLISHMAN.

SIR,—I enclose herewith a cheque for Rs. 100 as a payment in aid of the funds required for establishing the proposed European and Anglo-Indian Defence Association.

Also Rs. 10 as subscription for the current month.

Every one contributing to the funds of the Association should, I think, do so as a monthly subscriber, no matter how small the amount of his subscription may be.

Even an *anna per mensem* from each one interested in, or having sympathy with, the movement now set on foot, would make up a considerable sum at the end of the year.

Supposing every British soldier in India were a subscriber to the above amount, the annual receipts from this source alone would be about half a lakh of Rupees.

I understand that there is nothing to disqualify the officers, non-commissioned officers and men of the British army from joining the Association; and I would suggest that they be invited to do so, if for nothing else, to give the Government an opportunity of judging how far the feeling of indignation so loudly expressed by the European community is shared by the army in and out of India.

E. S.

17, Spence's Hotel, March 6, 1883.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE ENGLISHMAN.

SIR,—We who listened to Mr. Branson's eloquent speech on Wednesday quite understood, I think, without "John Croft's" reminder, that the references in that address to the native community were to be taken *cum grano*. For a public speaker to declare that the natives do and must hate us is doubtless, in these days, unpleasant to our

ears; and we are conscious that there are some, perhaps not a few, natives with whom our relations individually are not merely not hostile, but decidedly friendly. But that any general feeling of cordiality exists between the two races cannot, I fear, as yet be maintained. Only too many considerations crowd in to disabuse us of so pleasing a notion, and as long as this absence of cordiality between the native and the European exists, so long is the native (*quâ* native) unfitted to sit in judgment upon the European. This is the argument; and no criticisms or apologies can upset it.

In conclusion, allow me to quote the words of a distinguished writer, which are, in some sense, I think, applicable to the present crisis:—

"The constitution cannot stand the strain of a profound antipathy. There are some vital and fundamental questions on which, if the minority are beaten, they must try other weapons than those of argument. The wise party leader is always unwilling to raise these grave issues. The keen distrust with which our political idealists are regarded, is mainly due to the feeling that they do not sufficiently recognise the force of such prudential restraints. No one can tell when that fine frenzy, that ecstatic enthusiasm, that imperious caprice, that fanatical ardour, may carry them across the border line."

The last passage just depicts our present condition. We are full of uneasiness and suspicion. We know not what monstrous birth may not yet be in the tomb of the India Office or the Viceroy's Council.

VOX POPULI.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE ENGLISHMAN.

SIR,—The following significant words appearing in to-day's issue of the *Indian Mirror* are a challenge to the honour of every European and of Anglo-Indian in India:—

The Vakils of the High Court at a meeting of their body have resolved not to associate with him—(Mr. Branson)—professionally; and if we are not misinformed even the muktiars, who, from their education and other circumstances, could have been least expected to have adopted such a course, have followed suit. The Native Attorneys of the High Court, again, we understand, will hold a meeting to take steps to make their disapprobation of Mr. Branson's speech."

Now this is nothing less than a native conspiracy to attempt to persecute and crush professionally a political speaker for advocating fearlessly and publicly the political rights of Europeans and Anglo-Indians. It is hardly necessary to do more than point this out to de-

feat the movement. Let every commercial and trading house in Calcutta, and every Anglo-Indian association and society, and every European British subject throughout India who can afford it, send in at once a *general retainer* to Mr. Branson. We must make our intention marked in a most emphatic manner, that we will, to a man, rally round and protect every one who bravely champions our cause. It would indeed be a grave slur on both our honour and cause if we were to tolerate a native persecution of this despicable description without a counter combination to express our thorough disapprobation and to render it at the same time perfectly fruitless in result. I notice that Mr. Branson's high-minded and generous apology for one or two ill-considered epithets, evoked at the moment by excited feeling, has been meanly tortured into an excuse for pusillanimous jibes. Political generosity must be felt, before it can be appreciated. We must not be astonished, therefore, however much disappointed, if this virtue, as well as all others born of Western thought and Western civilisation, be conspicuous by their absence at this critical time from the native press. There are many other qualities besides these necessary for good government, which are the out-growth only of centuries of moral and mental culture. The Viceroy has planted his seed and watered it with copious floods of philosophical humanity. Let him now pluck up the plant by the roots and examine its prodigious growth.

CIVIS.

Bengal Club, March 6, 1883.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE ENGLISHMAN.

SIR—Notwithstanding the gentlemanly *amende honorable* made by Mr. Branson in respect of any expressions which may have escaped him, calculated to offend the feelings of natives for whom he has "much esteem," I am informed that a combination is being formed by native attorneys, pleaders and muktiars not to give him business. Such a combination but evidences what we know of the vindictive character of Bengalis, who, if they have the power, are ready to gratify the feeling if even at the expense of their duty to their native clients, who must needs be made to suffer because their advisers would deprive them of legal advocacy of which they themselves would approve. Such a combination also evidences how little the Bengali instincts admit of the possessor rising to the appreciation of those manly, generous impulses, which characterise the true Briton, and may show the Government of India how true it is that a native in power, or imagined power, will sacrifice every sense of duty for the gratification of his vindictive character.

istics, and, it may also be truly said, of innate hatred of the dominant race to whom he owes an everlasting debt of gratitude, as the real pioneers in the work of promoting the material progress of the country to which they can lay no claim, except here and there under the influence and by the teaching of Western civilisation.

I think Mr. Branson can afford to smile at such proofs of Bengali vindictiveness, but I also think the English Bar owe it to its dignity to decline taking business from the members of any native clique who can be guilty of the combination referred to against a member of their profession. I think the respectable and independent portion of native suitors, if they come to understand the true character of the native clique in question, will object to be guided by it in respect of any English advocate whom they choose to prefer. I speak advisedly of "respectable and independent native suitors," because as to the rest it is well known that they are at the mercy of certain native legal practitioners who do their work cheap and for the sake of getting business, however speculative or "sporting,"—advance costs out of their own pocket; a practice which, when known, ought to be put down by all Judges a partaking of the character of champerty which may also substantially exist in such cases.

A EUROPEAN.

March 6, 1883.

P. S.—European suitors, whether in the town or mofussil, seldom resort to native legal advisers, but those who do may also take warning by the purport of this letter to select themselves the English barristers whom they desire to employ as a protection against the native clique referred to.

March 8.

SPECIAL TELEGRAMS.

Jorhat, March 6.

The North Lakhimpur planters have unanimously agreed to have nothing whatever to do with the Local Self-Government or election of members, until the withdrawal of Mr. Ilbert's Criminal Procedure Amendment Bill.

Madras, March 7.

The Local Committee is preparing a memorial to the Queen upon the subject of Mr. Ilbert's Bill. This can be circulated in the Mufasal where meetings are not convenient. This

question is the principal topic of conversation, and Europeans seem unanimous in protesting against the Bill.

Lahore, March 7.

A preliminary meeting was called for this afternoon to protest against Mr. Ilbert's Bill which proved for Lahore a crowded meeting. A Committee was appointed to arrange for a monster meeting, and the meeting broke up after three groans for Mr. Ilbert and singing the National Anthem. The Committee met afterwards, and arranged to hold a meeting on Saturday afternoon, when, it is believed, the station *en masse* and delegates from outstations will be present, there being strong excitement.

We understand that the Bar of the High Court propose taking severe retributive steps against the conspiracy of native vakils and attorneys to boycott Mr. Branson, and it will not be long, we fancy, before the persons concerned in this unprofessional course of action are made to feel that they are playing a losing game.

It is very much to be desired, we think, that the European community should adopt some means of giving expression to their sympathy with the gentleman who, in espousing their cause, has exposed himself to so unworthy a persecution. Our correspondent 'Civis,' whose letter we published yesterday, has pointed out one way in which this might be done. Mr. Branson promptly came forward and made an ample *amende* for any hasty expressions he had used in a moment of excitement. But the event proves his generosity to have been thrown away, and the only inference we can draw is that his persecutors are influenced by political rancour in taking the course they have done.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE ENGLISHMAN.

SIR,—In considering the Criminal Procedure Amendment Bill, every one appears to think that it will be only the unfortunate planter that will be affected, and of course such august individuals as Lord

Ripon, Major Baring and Messrs. Hope and Ilbert do not care for such small fry.

But when it is taken into consideration that there are over sixty thousand British soldiers in India, costing the country indefinite millions sterling per annum, the case is altered. Any British officer (who is, of course, a secondary consideration to an economical Government) might possibly strike his syce for impertinence, starve his horse and sell the grain for his own profit, and would thus come under the jurisdiction of natives accustomed to putting their horses on short commons to prevent their having too much weight to carry (see a recent picture in *Punch*). If Lord Ripon wishes to estrange every one willing to honestly support Government, the best advice that can be given him is to cause the Bill to be passed.⁶

E. S.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE ENGLISHMAN.

SIR,—Will you allow me through your paper to suggest to the Military Member of Council, General Wilson, and to the Commander-in-Chief, Sir D. Stewart, that ere they give their support to Mr. Ilbert's Bill, they will fully consider its effect on the British soldier. They should remember that, away from the Presidency towns, he is the most frequent offender against whom this law if brought into force, will mostly bear. For though crime amongst the European population in India, as has been observed, is rare, still the poor British soldier is the one most frequently, in the dock. In his sporting excursions, in his rambles through the Bazzars, he often comes in contact with the native, and as, unfortunately, it sometimes happens, both sides have some misunderstanding, resulting in his being placed in the criminal dock. As Generals Wilson and Sir D. Stewart prepared to make over the British soldier to the jurisdiction of native Magistrates? Have they considered the evils that may arise, the discontent that may ensue amongst those by whose aid the country is mainly held? Are they prepared to hear of the resenting of a trial in such Court of a British soldier by his comrades, and the subsequent scenes that may arise? Are they ready to go against what I feel sure would be the opinion of every officer commanding. Let them pause and consider well these few words ere they speak on this measure on Friday: let them give it the fullest consideration, ere it be too late, is the advice of

AN OLD INDIAN.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE ENGLISHMAN.

SIR,—It is premature now to attempt to draw any moral suggested by the excitement that pervades Calcutta society and overflows daily in your columns. But one point is so prominent that I would ask leave briefly to notice it.

It is hardly credible that we are only one short month from the Trades' dinner, and the mutual admiration which it glorified. So violent a transition must have more than surface causes. It is generally allowed that the Government of a country is what the social forces in existence compel it to be, and that the greatest of the active social forces is opinion. The native Jurisdiction Bill is alleged to be based not only on opinion, but on an overwhelming expression of it. The facts and the phrase have been much criticised, and they merit it. I will only say here that they contain an absolute misapprehension. There was no consensus, nor was the opinion in any sense overwhelming. Hence, I am led to infer, some great defect in the way in which opinion is collected or represented. It is a common remark that there is no public opinion in India, and this, in one sense, true, is because as a rule that opinion is quiescent and not active. But recent events show that it not only exists, but is extremely sensitive, and, when roused, a real power that must be reckoned with. But to give this to power its legitimate and regular influence, it must be organised. And this brings me to my proposal that we should establish in Calcutta a political Club, on the model of the similar institutions in England. The Club should be political in the widest sense, and of course not based on the party Shibboleths prevalent at home; on the contrary, it should be a counterpoise to the growing and very mischievous tendency to reproduce in this country party spirit and misleading analogies. The Club which I contemplate would be the centre and focus of an opinion that might really be relied on.

At present we have nothing of the kind. Indian Society is steeped in officialism, and there is some truth in Colonel Chesney's apparent paradox, that men would do their work better if they did it less. The Bengal Club by no means answers the purpose. It is a somewhat dull and decaying institution, but whether it might not be galvanised into new and vigorous life by being placed, in commemoration of these events, on a political basis, it is for its managers to consider. The United Service Club is, of course, the reverse of what is wanted; for, in combination with that pestilent table of precedence, it simply aggravates an already serious evil. Let us have a Club where it will be pleasant to meet, and where the questions of the day

can be discussed fully and freely with all the side lights of conflicting interests and varied experiences. Are we so immersed in our pleasures and dead to our duties as to provide a habitation and a name for the lighter amenities of lawn-tennis and Saturday evening representations, while we make no provision for aiding those in authority among us by the best safeguard of free institutions?

CIVILIAN.

Calcutta, March 7, 1883.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE ENGLISHMAN.

SIR,—Political agitation, particularly when based upon race differences, is greatly to be deprecated in India, but, the Government having forced it upon the European community, self-preservation compels that community to act in self-defence, and, if necessary, the war may readily be carried into the opponent's camp.

A strong political Defence Association having been formed addresses might be drawn up demanding the abolition of the numerous legal privileges of natives, insisting on the appearance of native ladies in Courts, &c., &c. Strongly worded protests against natives' privileges would bring home to the general body of natives what equality means. This would bring the general body over to the opinion that it would be wise to let the rights of Europeans alone.

BRITON.

CHITTAGONG.

At the meeting of Europeans at the Club Building on the evening of 2nd instant, it was proposed by Mr. W. F. Halliday and seconded by Mr. S. D. Martin,—

I. That in the opinion of this meeting the proposed amendment of the Criminal Procedure Code is inopportune.

II. That we consider English men and women have inherited the right to be tried by their own countrymen, and vigorously protest against any interference with this right. Carried unanimously.

ALFRED J. DOWLING,

Chairman.

Present or represented :—F. McL. Carter, W. F. Halliday, S. J. Martin, H. Maguire, J. F. Mill, J. A. Cave-Browne, W. B. Lowrix, A. F. Bruce, J. L. Macpherson, A. Brownlow, A. Watson, R. N. Pritchard, J. D. Gwilt, E. Good, J. Fergusson, E. P. Wood, T. G. Burnell, and A. F. Dowling.

The feeling among the planting community and Europeans in Behar has been so very intense on the subject of the proposed amendment of the C. P. C. that a very numerous attended meeting was held at the Club house at Mozufferpore, on Monday, the 5th March, under the presidency of Mr. W. B. Hudson, Secretary of the Behar Indigo Planters' Association. Other meetings were simultaneously convened at Motihari, Chapra, Sewan, Darbhanga, Somastipur, Manjhaul, and during the course of the day advices were received from all these stations evidencing a widespread unanimity on the resolutions proposed to them, and which at Mozufferpore Mr. Hudson introduced in the following speech :—

GENTLEMEN,—From the reports of the late public meeting to protest against the Bill to give natives jurisdiction over European British subjects you will have seen how the interests of men isolated, as most of us are here, have been looked after by our brethren in Calcutta. We owe a deep debt of gratitude to the promoters of that meeting, and more especially to Messrs. Keswick, Branson and the other speakers for their plain denunciation of the mistake that has been made in attempting to remove a single jot of the rights and privileges we enjoy as guarantees of that dearest right of a free-born man—his liberty. For the last week I have been inundated by letters from planters and other non-officials, calling on me as Secretary of the Planters' Association to hold public meetings in the districts, so that the voice of the hundreds of European residents scattered over North Behar might reach Government. As I had already addressed Sir S. Bayley on the subject, I wish to receive his reply before calling meetings as requested, so that that reply might be placed before them and be a guide to us, as to whether it would really be necessary to memorialise the Viceroy on the subject.

For my own part, I did not think it would be. I was strongly persuaded that this Bill had been introduced in entire ignorance of the position in which thousands of non-official Europeans found themselves in the interior, and of their feelings on the subject; and that as soon as these had been brought to the knowledge of Lord Ripon, he would have ordered the attempt at legislation on this subject to be relinquished. However, Sir S. Bayley telegraphed to me three days ago that there would be some delay in my receiving a reply to my letter, consequently I yielded to the general desire and called meetings this day at convenient places all over North Behar, and to the different gentlemen who will preside, mostly District Secretaries of the Planters' Association, I wrote as follows :—

"MY DEAR SIR,—From all sides I am urged to call public meetings to protest against the Bill before the Council to give native Magistrates jurisdiction over European British subjects, and as it is to be discussed on the

9th instant, there is no time to be lost. I have, therefore, wired you on the subject to-day (March 1st), asking you to hold a meeting of all European residents on Monday next, and like meetings will be held simultaneously in all the other districts. I propose that the following resolution be put to each meeting, and, if it be passed, that I be authorised by the Chairman of the different meetings by wire to forward it as the unanimous representation of the non-official residents of North Behar to Sir S. Bayley, with the request that he will lay it before the Viceroy. I think in such a matter threats are entirely out of place. It is foolish to threaten when there is no power to coerce, and it is only fair to Government to give them credit for sufficient consideration towards their best subjects (Europeans) to prevent them forcing a measure upon us for which the country is not fit.

Now that the voice of the community have been heard over the length and breadth of the land protesting against the proposed measure, you will see that due weight will be given to the well-founded objections that have been urged against it.

Two thousand two hundred years ago this Province of Behar was known as the kingdom of Magadha. A celebrated man ascended the throne then in B. C. 325. He headed a national insurrection and expelled from the Punjab all the Greek troops and colonists who had been established there by Alexander the Great, and placed himself on the throne of the "Five Rivers." This hero's name was Chandra Gupta, the Greek Sandracottus. Well, gentlemen, in these days another Gupta has arisen as a revolutionist; but he is not, I think, the calibre of man to drive the Behar Mounted Rifles out of Behar. (Laughter). But he demands jurisdiction over European British subjects; and I think there is a very good reason for saying that he is not fit for it. A short time ago Gupta's father and uncle were candidates for a Municipal election, and he himself had canvassed. Therefore, when the case was laid before him, he should at once have said "I am not the man who ought to try it." If the parties had said:—"We have confidence," well and good. The charges were theft and breach of the Postal Act. Any man of sense would have seen that no amount of evidence could substantiate a charge of theft. But Gupta allowed months to go on, squandered in the work of collecting evidence bearing on the theft charge. Eventually it became clear that the Magistrate contemplated drawing up a formal charge of theft and trying the accused on it. Upon this Branson jumped up for the defence and alluded to the facts of the case, saying that if the drawing up of a charge of theft were really contemplated and the Magistrate intended trying it himself, it was proposed to go up to the High Court to get the case transferred. Tableau!—Much indignation on the part of Gupta! When up jumped Gasper on the other side to suggest that the knot might be untied, by Gupta, after drawing up the charge, committing the accused instead of trying him. Gupta at once accedes!! Can anything be more monstrous.

No waiting, then, but great show of decision at wrong moment. The result was that when the matter came before the High Court, the theft was quickly dropped under what amounted to the Judge's direction, and the accused was fined Rs. 50 under the Postal Act.

Now the Government proposition is, not to do away with *all* race distinctions (they have not the courage of their opinion), but to allow certain individuals to exercise the powers of their positions without limitation on account of race; the argument being that they must be such exceptionally good men, as to be fit for the purpose. It is, I think, a strong argument to say, "Look at the man who started the difficulty, and who is (*ex-hypothese*) one of the first men who would be entrusted with the decision of cases which admittedly require exceptional powers of firmness and discretion. Look at him on the first occasion on which he is confronted with a case requiring something more than the ordinary routine procedure—look at the remarkable absence of equity and firmness! (Hear, hear). This is the man who demands that our liberties, the liberties for which our ancestors have fought—kings, nobles and prelates—should be entrusted to him! (Derision).

Now, gentlemen, after what has been said for us in Calcutta, I have little further to say, except to propose this resolution. The plain truth about our position appears to me to be this: We conquered India by the sword, we hold it by the sword, and will hold it against all odds? As long as it is kept plainly in view that India, with its 250 millions of people, is held and administered by one hundred thousand British, the sympathy of every honest man of the governing race will be with the governed, and their shortcomings and prejudices will be pardoned and respected, their customs treated tenderly. But, once place the races in juxta-position as equals in every way, and then commences a race struggle which will only end by the political effacement of one of the two. That one will not, I believe, be the British, and even if it were, another European nation would take our place. The fact of our having infused a few of our national virtues into a few trained men, is but a poor plea to advance for upsetting the present political and judicial status of the races.

Now, gentlemen, I shall put this resolution; but it must be borne in mind that, should Government show farther disregard for our feelings and interests in this matter, this meeting is only the beginning of our duties in regard to it. As a scattered community, we shall have few opportunities of discussing it together, but by combination and with the aid of those true friends in Calcutta who did not, in their own security, forget their brethren in their lonely homes in the interior—please God, if necessary, our voices will be heard in Westminster itself. And our motto must be moderation, patience, and unyielding firmness. (Hear, hear.) I cannot conclude without bitterly reproaching those who have placed us in the position that we are to-day, and thus forced us to, perhaps, wound the feelings of old and valued friends

amongst our native brethren (Loud applause.) Mr. Hudson then moved the following resolution :—

"That all present at this meeting protest against any interference with the rights we enjoy as European British subjects in India. That we believe that it is only ignorance of the position in which thousands of Europeans are placed in the interior that permitted the proposal to give natives jurisdiction over European British subjects to be placed before the Council, and that we authorise the Secretary of the Behar Indigo Planters, Association to request the Hon'ble Sir Stuart Bayley to place this our humble but firm protest before H.E. the Viceroy in the assurance that Lord Ripon will not permit our most cherished privilege of being tried by our peers to be taken away from us.

Mr. A. Rennie, of Rani Syedpore, in rising to second the resolution, urged that the temperate language employed inadequately expressed the feelings which possessed him for one, and which, looking around him, it was apparent, possessed the districts. He was quite certain that the sense of the meeting was an indignant protest against the contemplated escheat, not of their privileges, but what it was the boast of every Englishman to regard as his right. He therefore moved the substitution of the words "indignant" and "rights" in place of "humble but firm" and of "privileges." The amendment was received with uproarious applause, and the resolution was carried unanimously.

The following names of gentlemen present were then subscribed to the resolution :—

M. J. Wilson, W. Mackenzie, W. Macgregor, A. Macfarlane, L. Orgi-A. Tripe, J. Tripe, R. Browne, W. Short, H. Collingridge, C. Lange, J. C. Barton, F. W. Barton, A. S. Vipan, A. MacIver, H. Manners, E. Manners, J. Grant, A. S. Moloney, T. Barclay, W. K. Wilson, J. Barclay, M. G. Wilson, H. Moseley, G. Robertson, E. Murray, A. Murray, L. Bean, F. O. Vipan, C. F. Ruxton, J. Leadon, H. Spry, T. Lamp, C. Macpherson, H. Holloway, F. Byng, L. Berkley, E. Llewellyn, C. Sewell, J. Whitty, J. Nash, E. Stonewigg, A. Rennie, W. Elliott, W. Cox, C. Simpson, M. Lloyd, R. Carruthers, G. Smith, J. Ronald, E. Thomas, G. Sutherland, H. Jones, H. Willock, H. Caine, C. Day, H. Cox, C. Browne, F. Fletcher, G. Collingridge, E. Moore, H. Berrill, E. Vincent, P. Stevens, E. Stevens, M. Lines, W. Mackenzie, J. Wilson, J. Mackinnon, J. Filgate, J. Sevestre, G. Hume, A. Ogilvy, R. Coryton, G. Louis, H. Sealy, W. Dixon, C. Daniell, V. Hickley, J. S. Begg, W. Finch, J. Finch, J. Sutherland, W. Crowdy, C. Inglis, F. Nibblet, R. Lethbridge, C. Pearson, F. Wyatt, E. Hooley, R. Wilson, A. Blechenden, N. Hickley.

Mr. Rennie then rose to make a further proposition in these words :—

GENTLEMEN,—Passing resolutions and sending petitions to the Government of this country are excellent measures in their way, but in a case like the present this may not be enough; we may have to proceed further in the event of our petitions proving fruitless. Therefore I

propose that we should send petitions to our several town and country members of Parliament at Home, (hear, hear) asking them severally and individually to help and protect us in this our hour of need in upholding our rights as free-born Britons, that they may not be torn from us. Also that we should, one and all, get our relations and friends to meet the members in question and present our petitions, impressing on them the seriousness to us and many near and dear to us, of this question, and that we should take every step in our power to make them cognisant of the true facts of the case, thus strengthening their hands and guiding them in their vote when this matter is brought forward in Parliament, as it assuredly will be, in the event of this radical insanity being carried to a head! (Loud and continued applause.)

March 9.

SPECIAL TELEGRAM.

Madras, March 5.

A meeting of European British subjects, chiefly planters residing in the Wynaad and neighbourhood, will be held on Friday next for the purpose of entering an earnest protest against the passing of Mr. Ilbert's Bill, as being not only premature in itself, but calculated to seriously injure the prospects and prestige of European British subjects, to engender class irritation, and to check the inflow and distribution of European capital throughout the mufasal.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE ENGLISHMAN.

SIR,—I think I am expressing a widely felt sentiment when I ask you, or some competent authority, to rule upon a point of special interest at the present crisis—the relation of members of the Legislative Council to any measure brought before them by a member of the Executive Council. A glance at the composition of the Council under the Act of 1861 will show that it consists of 19 members including the Viceroy, of whom 7 are ordinary members of the Executive Council, and 11 are additional members, consisting of 5 official persons, of whom the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal is ex-officio, and 6 non-officials, of whom 4 are natives. It is obvious that if there be any law or other compulsion which requires the official element to vote one way on any occasion, then any decision of the majority must be a foregone con-

clusion. Let us see whether there is any such necessity, which, of course, would make a farce of discussion and of the decision arrived at.

It is sometimes argued that members of the Executive Council are bound by the analogy of the English Cabinet, and that any dissent should be accompanied by resignation of office—the invariable course at home, as recently adopted by Mr. Bright. The same analogy is said to apply, though with less stringency, to the additional official members, absolute freedom being reserved only for the remaining non-official members.

Is this so? I submit that such a view is not only entirely unsupported by the Indian Councils Act, but is opposed to the whole theory of the constitution. Of compulsion by law there is absolutely no trace; on the contrary, the law provides that the Governor-General can set aside the even unanimous opinion of his advisers, and can make ordinances, in his own name, having the force of law, a provision which clearly contemplates and legitimatises the dissent of his constituted advisers. And as regards the theory of the constitution, I contend that members of the Executive Council are expressly appointed to supply the professional knowledge and local experience which the Viceroy will usually lack; that the law contemplates their dissent and provides for it; and that consequently any vote not supported solely by sincere conviction has the effect of depriving the administration of so much of that professional knowledge and experience which it was the object of the appointment to secure. If this view be correct, and if the analogy of the English Cabinet be false and misleading in the case of members of the Executive Council, *a fortiori* official additional members are under no compulsion whatever—none at least that they could avow—to vote otherwise than strictly according to their honest convictions. I might bring repeated precedents to support this view throughout, *e. g.*, the cognate debate of 1872, when the Government was defeated, and when the minority on the division included the majority of the Executive Council. I do not stay to consider the view whether liberty permissible on an amendment is not, of course, equally permissible on a Bill.

Now, Sir, I will say nothing about the Native Jurisdiction Bill on its merits; nothing about its most remarkable antecedents; nothing about its momentous consequences. All this will be set forth to-day with force and authority to which I lay no claim. But I ask you to call upon those who will take part in to-day's debate to weigh well their undoubted, constitutional rights and duties, and to do justice to their great trust. It is possible, for the freaks of nature are infinite, that there may be minds so constituted as to be honestly convinced that the Native Jurisdiction Bill is supported by arguments that satisfy prudent practical statesmanship; but if such minds fail to show adequate grounds for the faith which is in them, the inevitable conclusion will be that other unworthy considerations are at work; that by indignities men sometimes come to dignities; and the whole Anglo-Indian community will mark in what form and when the thirty pieces of silver will be paid, and they will join with me, I trust, in the prayer that the recipient, with his

blushing honours thick upon him, may still complete the analogy to his great prototype.

CIVIS.

There is not even the remotest shadow of a question of the accuracy of the view put forward in the letter of our correspondent "Civis" regarding the position of the official members of the Council. It is inconceivable to us how any man could honestly hold a different view; for, while the law leaves the members in question absolutely free to speak and vote according to their convictions, any other construction of their duty would stamp the Council as an elaborate fraud.

If there was ever an occasion on which the members of the Council, whatever their official position, and whatever the degree or manner of pressure brought to bear upon them, were bound to speak out fearlessly and honestly, it is this, when the unreasoning obstinacy of the head of the Government and his more intimate advisers threatens to launch the country upon a sea of troubles the shores of which no man can see.

The letter from an officer of a large garrison which we printed on Wednesday, describing the intense indignation which pervades the British army in India is one of several to the same, or similar purport, and is more than confirmed by what we hear freely spoken on all sides. The letter of Mrs. Beveridge, a lady well known for her kindly sentiments towards natives, and for her exertions in their behalf, speaks the feelings of every Englishwoman in India. Is the Government prepared to inaugurate a new era in which not only will it have to govern India without the sympathy of Englishmen, but every honourable Englishwoman will regard the country with loathing and abhorrence?

We publish elsewhere an advertisement, announcing the formation of a European and Anglo-Indian Defence Association and inviting subscriptions from the communities interested in its support. The growing feeling of insecurity created