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PREFACE.

THERE are, at the present day, hopeful indications on all sides that, with the gradual and fuller development of the liberal policy inaugurated by the Marquis of Ripon, happier days are about to dawn again upon this ancient land—the cradle and home of religion, philosophy and civilization, of science and of art. Perhaps no private representative body in India has contributed more largely to the adoption of the present policy than the Indian Association; but without the least intention of depriving that Association of any measure of its due credit, it may be safely asserted that the success of its agitation against the pernicious principles of Lord Lytton's administration is in no small degree owing to the singular tact, wise moderation, and exceptional ability with which Mr. Lalmohun Ghose, as the delegate of the Association, pleaded the cause of the Indian races at the bar of the great English people.

At his very *debut* at Willis's Rooms in London, where he labored under the disadvantage of addressing a perfectly strange assembly in a language not his own, Mr. Ghose's clear statement and fervid eloquence moved the admiration of the prince of English orators. Nor is the great Tribune a dealer in empty compliments. It is no common praise from a common man, when Mr. Bright described Mr. Ghose's first speech before an English audience as 'admirable,' and professed his own inability to add in any way to 'its beauty or its force.'

In offering to the Indian community a collection of the speeches delivered both in England and in India by Mr. Lalmohun Ghose, the editor hopes to meet a want, which, at the present moment, is making itself more and more obviously felt among the educated classes in India. When the project was first broached, Mr. Ghose had kindly consented to undertake the personal revision of his speeches; but this advantage has been lost to the present edition in consequence of his sudden departure to England again as the delegate of the Indian people. It would be selfish to mourn over an accident which introduces the speaker himself to his proper sphere of work, with all its promises of substantial blessings to his country. In one sense, indeed, the departure of Mr. Lalmohun Ghose on his third mission at this critical juncture in

Indian politics is an advantage to this publication. The mission invests it with a rare interest, and imparts to the speeches a peculiar significance. It is hoped that the manner of presentation by the editor will be acceptable to the public.

The speeches, though comprised in a small compass, traverse a wide field, dwelling on, or touching nearly all, the more important questions of Indian policy. On their treatment, it is not for the editor to offer any opinion, but it may safely be averred that, by the intelligent classes throughout India, the principles these speeches affirm and uphold are generally regarded as equally constitutional and patriotic, and the views they enunciate as substantially sound, reasonable, and just; while from beginning to end they breathe an unmistakable spirit of true loyalty to the British Government, to whose sense of reason and justice alone they earnestly appeal for the redress of grievances and for the political advancement of the Native races of India.

ASUTOSH BANERJI.

CALCUTTA :
1st July, 1883.

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LORD LYTTON'S INDIAN POLICY.

THE following Address was delivered by Mr Lalmohun Ghose at Willis's Rooms, St. James's, London, on Wednesday afternoon, July 23rd, 1879. The circumstances which led to Mr. Ghose's appearance before a London audience are sufficiently explained in the observations which the Chairman (the Right Honourable John Bright, M.P.) made in introducing him to the Meeting. Mr Bright said,—

"LADIES and GENTLEMEN,—In beginning the proceedings of to-day, it seems fitting that I should explain why it is that we have come here. There happens to be in London at this time, and he is now sitting on my right hand, a native gentleman from India, who is a lawyer—a barrister of repute in the city of Calcutta. He has come to England, deputed by an Association composed mostly of natives of India, called the Indian Association; and he brought over with him a number of petitions to the House of Commons, complaining of grievances, and asking for redress, and particularly with regard to the manner in which the natives of India have been persistently, almost entirely, excluded from the Civil Service. He entrusted these petitions to me, and I presented them to the House of Commons. He was, however, not satisfied to go back to his own country without seeking an opportunity of communicating more freely with any who might care to hear him at some meeting in London. A few gentlemen formed themselves into a committee, and arranged to call this meeting, and they did me the honour to ask me to preside over it I have, during all my public life, felt a great interest in the welfare of the people of India, and I have felt great sympathy with the gentleman from Calcutta, who is anxious to make a better acquaintance with our people, and to tell them with his own lips something of what is passing in the minds of his own people. And, therefore I do not much hesitate to accept the position offered to me. I am

here on this occasion, and you are all here, to listen, and Mr. Lalmohun Ghose is here to speak; and I have no doubt you will give him a friendly and an attentive audience, and perhaps when he is done you will allow me to make a few observations on the same subject."

The Committee of Arrangements to which Mr. Bright referred, consisted of the following gentlemen:—

SIR D. WEDDERBURN, M. P., *Chairman.*

Sir C. T. TREVELYAN, K.C.B.	General COLIN MACKENZIE, C.B.
Sir CHARLES WINGFIELD, K.C.S.I.	Mr. LEWIS MORRIS.
Sir CHARLES W. DILKE, M.P.	Professor HUNTER.
Mr. PENNINGTON, M.P.	Mr. HODGSON PRATT.
Mr. LEFEVRE, M.P.	Major BELL.
MR. T. B. POTTER, M.P.	Mr. DACOSTA.
Mr. RICHARD, M.P.	Rev. MALCOLM MACCOLL.
Mr. A. MCARTHUR, M.P.	Mr. J. W. PROBYN.
Mr. W. H. JAMES, M. P.	Mr. F. W. CHESSON, *Hon. Sec.*

The attendance included nearly thirty members of both Houses of Parliament, and a large number of other representative persons, many of whom have been or are officially connected with India. No fewer than forty natives of India, temporarily resident in London, were also present.

Mr. Ghose said:—

MR. CHAIRMAN, LADIES, AND GENTLEMEN—

I am deeply sensible of the high honour you have done me to-day by giving me this opportunity of laying before you the views and opinions of my countrymen in reference to some of the most important questions connected with the administration of India. I wish the task had fallen into abler hands, for I am painfully conscious of my inability to discharge the duty that has devolved upon me. But, in spite of my personal deficiencies, I feel sure that, with the generosity and forbearance that have ever characterized the English nation, you will grant me an indulgent hearing as the humble

exponent of the convictions and feelings, not of any particular section of the Indian community, but of the entire body of the educated classes in India.

Sir, it is of the utmost importance that English statesmen and the English nation at large should fully realize the nature and extent of the change that India has been undergoing within the last few years. The establishment of English schools and colleges has marked a new epoch in the history of India. Under the powerful influence of Western education the various races inhabiting that vast peninsula are being gradually, but certainly, welded together into one common nationality; they are beginning to co-operate with each other in the discussion and agitation of political questions, in a manner that would have been absolutely impossible a few years ago; and the national pulse is beginning to beat with a unison which, to my mind, is one of the most glorious results that history shall hereafter have to record of British rule in India.

Sir, the topics to which I desire very briefly to call the attention of the meeting are the financial and general policy recently pursued by the Government of India, and the exclusion of the people of India from anything like an adequate share in the administration of their own country. Notwithstanding the well-known declaration of Lord Mayo several years ago that the utmost limits of taxation had been reached before his time, the Government of India have very recently imposed fresh burdens upon the people to the extent of a million and a half. The frequent famines that have of late desolated the country were found to be a heavy drain upon the Indian Exchequer, and, since economy and retrenchment have

seldom found favour with the Government of India, the only way out of the difficulty that suggested itself to the Finance Minister was the imposition of fresh taxes. According to the new scheme of taxation devised by Sir John Strachey the burden was to fall chiefly, I may say almost entirely, upon the agricultural, the trading, and the artisan classes; in other words, upon the very classes who were the first to suffer and the last to emerge from the effects of famine. But in the practical application of that scheme a difficulty presented itself at the outset which would have seemed insuperable to ordinary statesmen governed by the ideas of political morality that prevail in Europe, and subject to the healthy and bracing atmosphere of free criticism and of a powerful public opinion. Sir, the difficulty was this. In the province of Bengal the land-revenue had been fixed in perpetuity by a compact entered into, towards the latter end of the last century, by the British Government of the day, and consequently no new tax could be imposed upon the land without involving a direct violation of that compact. Sir, I am aware that the policy of the perpetual settlement has been questioned by persons whose opinions are at all times entitled to respect, and I am free to confess that the subject is one which in its details admits of some diversity of opinion. For my own part, and expressing as I believe the opinions of a large body of my countrymen, I do not think a greater boon can be conferred upon the country than the extension of the perpetual settlement throughout India in a somewhat modified form to that which obtains in Bengal. We should like to see the settlement made with the cultivating classes themselves, and not with a class of

middlemen such as the zemindars of Bengal. We should like to see a system somewhat similar to that which prevails in Switzerland and other parts of the continent of Europe introduced into India, and we believe that millions of peasant proprietors scattered all over the country, enjoying a sense of security and of dignity, and bestowing all their energies upon the cultivation and improvement of the soil, would be the best safeguard against those ever-recurring famines which have puzzled so many Indian statesmen to provide against. But, sir, whatever room there may be for difference of opinion in regard to this question, I venture to think that there can be but one opinion as to the fact of the faith and the honour of the British Government having been deeply and irrevocably pledged to the rigid and faithful observance of the perpetual settlement in Bengal. Nevertheless, the Government of India decided upon breaking through the terms of that settlement by the imposition of a new tax, entitled the 'public works cess,' and they have thus, in the opinion of the people of India, brought a stain upon the honour of England, which, we feel persuaded, if the facts were but rightly understood by the English people, would evoke in this country a unanimous outburst of indignant protest. Simultaneously with this violation of the perpetual settlement in Bengal, the land-tax was increased in Northern India and the Punjab; but even the Government of India, although their conscience in these matters is somewhat elastic, felt that it would hardly be decent to impose fresh direct taxes upon the agricultural population of Bombay and Madras, having regard to the terrible famine that had just swept over

those unhappy provinces. They accordingly substituted an indirect tax, which was, if possible, still more objectionable. I allude to the increase of the duty upon salt by nearly 40 per cent. At the same time a new licence tax was imposed throughout India, of which the two most obnoxious features are, firstly, that incomes of no more than 4*s.* a-week are subject to it; and, secondly, that the official classes in whose hands the power of taxation is exclusively lodged took very good care to exempt themselves from the operation of the new tax. Now, sir, as to the injustice of taxing such small incomes, I think it will be sufficient to say that it has been unanimously condemned by the whole body of the Anglo-Indian Press, and that the practical working of the measure has been found to involve an amount of hardship and suffering which has seldom been known before. I am aware that Sir John Strachey once went so far as to declare that those who asserted that an Indian tradesman with an income of 4*s.* a-week was a poor man knew nothing of the true condition of the country. Sir, I cannot permit myself to make use of any observations of the nature of a *tu quoque*; but I cannot help saying that if there is any truth in that statement, then no native of India and no unofficial Englishman resident in India has yet succeeded in acquiring that knowledge, which must be exclusively confined to the official circles in India. But, sir, I may as well mention a fact which might enable you to form an opinion of your own upon the subject. According to the last Administration Report published by the Government of Bengal, we find that, during the year 1877-78, the average cost of maintaining each prisoner in our gaols was Rs. 58, or £5 16*s.* per annum. Now, assuming

that an honest and hard-working tradesman aspires to live no better than a convict in our gaols, and that he has, on an average, a family of three persons to maintain,—*viz.*, himself, his wife, and one child,—I ask you whether, according to the figures I have just given you,—*viz.*, £5 16*s.* as the average annual cost of maintenance for each person,—I ask you if much is left out of a total income of £10 8*s.* from which to pay the licence tax?

Well, sir, it was by taxes like these—wrung out of the pockets of the poorest classes of the population—taxes replete with misery and suffering, that the Government of India derived an additional income of £1,500,000, which, as we were solemnly and repeatedly told, was to be set apart for the creation of a famine insurance fund. But it is not long since the Government of India unblushingly confessed that no portion of the fund had been devoted to its legitimate purpose—to the purpose for which it was avowedly raised—and we are aware how it was taken advantage of, in the first instance, in order to delude the British Parliament and the British public into a belief in the existence of a spurious and fictitious surplus, which, as we now know, has been more than swallowed up in defraying the expenses of a needless and aggressive war beyond the frontiers of India. Sir, I have no desire to reopen a discussion which has been carried on in this country with considerable—I may say with unusual—warmth; but I will say this, that the people of India feel profoundly grateful to those eminent and distinguished statesmen who made such a firm and noble stand against the divorce of morals from politics which was such a conspicuous feature of the negotiations immediately preceding that war. And I firmly believe

that if India could have been polled on the subject, she would have recorded a unanimous protest against the war. But, sir, I wish on the present occasion to confine myself to the question that concerns us most—*viz.*, whether the entire expenses of the war should be made chargeable against the revenues of India. Sir, it was a war undertaken for Imperial purposes, or, to quote the language of the Prime Minister, "for the maintenance of the character and prestige of England in the eyes of Europe," and it was moreover a direct consequence of the foreign policy pursued by Her Majesty's Ministers in this country. During a great European war Her Majesty's Government assumed a particular attitude towards one of the belligerent Powers, and they resorted to various naval and military demonstrations, one of which consisted in the summoning of a body of Indian troops to Malta, with a view to demonstrate to Russia that your Indian Empire, so far from being a source of weakness, could, in case of necessity, be turned into an additional element of strength. Well, that was a policy which naturally induced Russia to seek to create a diversion against you, by sending an embassy to Afghanistan, which, in its turn, led to counter-moves on the part of the Government of India, the result of it all being that unhappy war, which is deplored alike in India and by a great and distinguished party in this country. Under these circumstances I ask you if it is not right and proper that England should pay her adequate share of the expenses of a war into which, whether rightly or wrongly, she suffered herself to be led, and whether it would not be opposed to every notion of fairplay if the whole of those expenses were

to be thrown upon a nation that is entirely unrepresented in your councils, and whose only hope and trust, therefore, is in the justice and generosity of the English people.

Again, as if wars and famines, an adverse exchange, and a general extravagance in every department of the State had not caused sufficient embarrassment to the finances, the Government of India have deliberately elected to sacrifice a considerable revenue by the repeal of the import duties upon cotton goods. Sir, I am anxious that our views upon this subject should not be misunderstood. The people of India do not desire to see these duties retained for the purposes of protection. We should rejoice quite as much as the people of Lancashire if every port in India were to be declared free to-morrow, provided the state of the finances permitted of such a step being taken. But when we find that these duties, however objectionable on economic grounds, cannot be repealed without being replaced by other and more odious forms of taxation, then we feel that it is a case of "jumping from the frying-pan to the fire," and we are inclined to cry out, "save us from our friends." And, having regard to the condition of the Indian finances at the present moment, to the new and burdensome taxes imposed upon a famine-stricken population, and to the manner and circumstances attending the repeal of those duties, we cannot help entertaining a strong conviction, not unmingled with indignation, that the Government of India have in this instance, under the thin and transparent pretext of introducing principles of free trade, wantonly sacrificed the true interests of India in order to conciliate a powerful party in England in view of the coming elections.

Then, again, at a time when difficulties and embarrassments were daily and hourly multiplying, when a wise and far-sighted Government would have been more than ever anxious to study the current of popular opinion, and to pursue a policy of conciliation and of generous confidence, sir, it is at such a time that the Government of India have deliberately embarked upon a policy of imperialism, of jealousy, distrust, and repression—a policy illustrated by such enactments as the Vernacular Press Act and the Indian Arms Act, whereby the entire Native Press has been gagged, and the whole Indian population disarmed—a policy that is directly calculated to alienate the sympathies and to irritate the feelings of the people of India.

Sir, I now come to a question which, while it is intimately connected with the subject of finance, is regarded by us as one of the greatest grievances of which we have to complain—I allude to our exclusion from a fair share in the government of the country. Sir, we have received repeated promises upon this subject both from the Crown and the Parliament of England; but, in spite of all these gracious and generous pledges, our hopes and aspirations in this respect remain to this day ungratified and unfulfilled. In some departments of the State, such as the military, we are openly and avowedly excluded from all the higher and more honourable offices, while in other departments, such as the Covenanted Civil Service of India, we have been declared eligible in theory, but rules and regulations have been adopted which practically shut us out; and, as if the condition imposed upon Indian candidates of undertaking a long voyage to this country at great personal and pecuniary sacrifice, on

the mere chance of passing a most difficult competitive examination, was not a sufficient obstacle in our way, a modification has been recently made in the regulations of the examination which has rendered it practically impossible for any native of India to compete at these examinations in future. I allude to the reduction of the maximum age for candidates from twenty-one to nineteen. Sir, when the news of this change reached India it created feelings of the deepest regret and dissatisfaction; and crowded public meetings were called together in every part of India—I may say in almost every great city of Northern India—of the Punjab, and in the Presidencies of Bombay, Bengal, and Madras; and all the various Indian races combined together in a remarkable manner to record a unanimous national protest against the step recently taken by the late Secretary of State for India. And, sir, I think this striking national movement is in itself the best practical refutation of an assertion that has been from time to time found convenient by Anglo-Indian officials to put forward—I allude to the unfounded assumption that the races of Northern India, &c., entertain a peculiar jealousy of the people of Bengal, who, it is alleged, would have the best chance in any contests of a purely intellectual character. But, sir, the memorials to Parliament that have been unanimously adopted by numerous representative bodies belonging to all these various Indian races—the petitions that were recently presented to the House of Commons by yourself,—sir, I say those petitions and the co-operative national movement of which they were the result and the embodiment,—furnish to my mind the best answer to the gratuitous assump-

tion to which I have just alluded. Sir, the people of India do not object to the adoption of the severest tests of mental and moral qualification that can be devised, but what they do complain of is the introduction of rules which, while they escape public attention in this country as mere matters of detail, have, however unintentionally, the undoubted practical effect of excluding us from a competition which is still theoretically open to us.

But, sir, all these complaints that I have been urging before you to-day are as nothing in comparison with another subject, which is regarded by us as the very origin and fountain-head of all our grievances. I allude to the utter absence of any system of popular representation in the Government of India. An idea has taken root amongst the educated classes in India that the time has fully come when some system of representative government ought to be conceded to us. I am aware that it is the fashion among Anglo-Indian officials to treat all such demands with contemptuous sneers; but, sir, I feel that the time is not far distant when the voice of a united nation will make itself heard across the seas and oceans that roll between our native land and yours, and it will make itself heard, too, in tones that will demand and secure a prompt recognition of our claims; nor can England, without being utterly false to all her traditions, to her history, and to herself, continue to refuse to us that boon of a constitutional government which it is the proudest boast and the greatest glory of this country to possess.

Sir, I am afraid I have trespassed somewhat longer upon the patience of this meeting than I originally

intended to do. I have endeavoured to lay before you the views and sentiments of my countrymen in respect of some of the most important grievances of which we have to complain. I have felt the utmost diffidence in expressing our humble opinions upon important financial and administrative questions in the presence of so many distinguished and veteran statesmen; while, in addition to my other disadvantages, I have had to address you through the medium of a language not my own—a language with which, even after years of patient and continuous study, I feel I am still but very imperfectly acquainted. And, gentlemen, I feel all the more grateful to you—and I am sure my countrymen in India will share that feeling when they hear of the kind and indulgent attention that you have accorded to-day to their humble representative. Sir, I have necessarily confined my remarks to the defects and the blemishes of British rule in India. I have pointed out to you some of the shortcomings of your Indian administration, in the hope of obtaining redress for our grievances. But, sir, believe me, we are not unmindful of the brighter side of the picture. The destinies of India have been united with those of England now for upwards of a century. During that period successive generations of wise, humane, and generous rulers have striven, and not without success, to cement and strengthen the bonds of political union by encouraging and promoting the growth of national amity and of mutual good feeling between the governors and the governed. They have sought to merge the *role* of the conqueror in that of the beneficent regenerators of the country. They have preferred to rest the foundations of the Empire more upon the willing allegiance of a grateful

people than upon the bayonets of their soldiers. Under the benignant sway of England a new and happy era of material prosperity and of moral regeneration has been inaugurated in India. You have covered our country with a network of railways and other beneficial public works, which testify to the wisdom of your statesmen and the success of your administration. You have given us the inestimable benefits of Western education and Western civilization. You have taught us to study and to admire your noble literature and your glorious history, which is, in other words, the history of political freedom. The works of your immortal bards, the writings of your great historians, the lives and careers of your distinguished statesmen, are not studied with greater enthusiasm and admiration in this glorious island home of yours than in that far-off Eastern dependency of England. You have taught us to think of England as the home of Freedom and the temple of Justice; while those of us who, like the humble individual now addressing you, have had the invaluable privilege of visiting this great country, of witnessing your glorious national institutions, and of personally experiencing the kindness and hospitality of Englishmen in their own homes and by their own firesides, have come to regard this country with feelings of the most unbounded admiration, and I will add with affection scarcely inferior to what we feel for our native land. You have roused us from centuries of political torpor, and awakened in us a new sense of national life, and the gratitude of the people of India and their regard for their benefactors have kept pace with the benefits that you have showered upon us with no stinted hand. But, sir, I regret to say that of late a

change seems to have come over the spirit of British rule in India, and it is for you to say whether the seeds of national friendship and of a spontaneous and heartfelt loyalty, based upon a sense of benefits received,—it is for you to say whether those seeds of goodwill and love, of loyalty and devotion, sown by wise and large-hearted statesmen in days gone by, shall be allowed to fructify and to ripen, or whether they shall be nipped in the bud by the adoption of a new-fangled, a repressive, and an irritating policy. Sir, the English people are justly proud of their magnificent empire in the East, and they may well be proud of the valour that won, and of the wisdom that has hitherto maintained that empire; but I venture to think that there is a pride still more legitimate, and a glory even higher, which should be the aim and the aspiration of a civilized and a Christian nation,—I mean the proud consciousness of having done your duty to millions of fellowmen, over whom, in the inscrutable dispensations of Providence, you have been called upon to rule, and the glory of having risen superior to the paltry considerations of a narrow-minded and a short-sighted policy. And if you do that justice to India, to plead for which my countrymen have sent me here as their humble representative, before the bar of English public opinion, in the firm conviction that this great nation can never be deaf to the voice of reason, and that national claims founded upon the highest justice and urged in the language of moderation, can never fail to meet with your acceptance and your approval,—I say if you do us that justice which I seek at your hands, you will have erected for yourselves a monument more lasting than brass,—you will have inscribed your names in

imperishable characters upon the scrolls of Fame, and you will have left to your children a richer and a more glorious heritage than that of physical empires, however broad and however magnificent,—you will have bequeathed to them an everlasting moral empire, graven deep in the hearts and memories of a grateful people. (The speaker resumed his seat amid loud and prolonged applause.)

At the conclusion of Mr. Ghose's address, speeches were delivered by Mr. Bright, Mr. Fawcett, and Sir David Wedderburn.

NATIVE VIEW OF INDIAN QUESTIONS.

A MEETING was held at the Horns Tavern Assembly Rooms, Lambeth, on August 18, 1879, to hear an Address by Mr. Lalmohun Ghose on the "Native View of Indian Questions." Alderman Sir J. C. Lawrence, Bart., M.P., presided, and amongst those present were Mr. Alderman M'Arthur, M.P., Mr. G. Palmer, M.P., Mr. E Jenkins, M.P., Mr. Andrew Dunn, Mr. Hodgson Pratt, Mr. H. Broadhurst, Mr. F. W. Chesson, &c.

The Chairman said they were brought together that evening by the interest which, he trusted, they all felt in that great country whose interests were linked with that of England—he referred to India. They all knew how intimate was the connection between England and India, and although there were many in this country who understood something of that empire, its history, aspirations, hopes, progress, and future—they would agree with him that a vast number of people in this country knew but very little of India. It was in a great measure to make known facts in connection with that country they were called together that evening—to hear Mr. Ghose—a man whose knowledge of that country was well known, and who on a former occasion had shown he possessed the faculty of imparting to others that knowledge. It was a fact and principle which all nations had to learn, that, in the exercise of power, that power must be exercised righteously, and in accordance with the true principles of justice, if a nation was thoroughly to do its duty to another nation; and if in the lecture they would hear that evening, or by other means, they could better understand their duty as a nation

in regard to their obligations to India,—if by any words Mr. Ghose might utter, they might feel a greater interest in India, or a greater desire that our rule there might be exercised in such a manner as to win the affections of the people, and that every class in India might be made to feel that their connection with England was a connection which tended to the progress and the advancement of the nation, and that the connection with England might, as years rolled by, prove to everyone in that country that the progress and welfare of India and its inhabitants were dear to the hearts of every section of the English people,—if the effect of the lecture should be to promote these views, he need hardly say that Mr. Ghose would feel that he had accomplished his object. Dear to that Gentleman was the future of his native land—dear to him was its progress, and he would be delighted to know that there were gathered around him sympathising friends who would endeavour to learn more of that country, and endeavour to promote, as far as they could, a knowledge of the relations which ought to exist between a powerful country like England, and a struggling people like India. (Cheers.)

Mr. Ghose commenced his observations by remarking that it must be confessed that, until quite lately, very little interest had been shown in this country—whether in or out of Parliament—in the discussions on Indian affairs. No doubt, England had been ready to defend India against all comers, visionary dangers, and imaginary enemies; but in Parliament discussions on Indian matters had taken place before empty benches. Happily, however, a change had taken place in the temper of the nation—a change owing to no small extent to the persistent efforts of a few high-minded Englishmen who had succeeded in drawing attention to the grave financial embarrassments of the Government of India. There seemed now to be a general opinion that, unless prompt measures were taken, the Government of India must become before long absolutely bankrupt. The revenues of India were mainly derived from six

sources, all of which, except opium, were inelastic, whilst the expenditure had been increasing year after year. The taxes were derived from land, opium, salt, excise, customs, and stamps. The revenue from opium was nearly eight millions per annum; but this source of income was dependent entirely upon the Chinese, and he had been informed that the Chinese Government had contemplated a measure which would put an end to that source of income. The land-tax had been settled in perpetuity in some parts of India, while in other parts, where it had not been so fixed, nothing had tended so much to impoverish the agricultural population of India—nothing had been more prejudicial to the true interests of the country than the system which now prevailed of periodically enhancing the land-tax. Mr. Ghose then gave figures showing the disastrous effects which had followed the increase in this tax in Bombay since the year 1868, and said,—that, wherever this system had prevailed, it had led to the abandonment of land, to the neglected cultivation of land, and had been of little or no advantage to the Government, and the sooner this system was modified the better. In Bengal, where this system did not prevail, the people were, to use the Lieutenant-Governor's own words, as prosperous and comfortable as any peasantry in the world. A measure was loudly called for to fix the land-tax where it was not fixed, if not in perpetuity, for a sufficient number of years, in order that the people might feel free to enjoy the benefit of their own labor. With regard to the other sources of revenue, none of them were capable of yielding any increased income. With regard to the remission of the cotton duties, Mr.

Ghose explained that the opposition to that measure did not arise from any hankering after protection, but when the country was suffering from the effect of the blustering policy of the Government, surely it was not the time when a wise Government would have thought of sacrificing such a source of income. The legitimate sources of the Indian revenue being of a stationary character, and unable to meet the growing extravagance of the Indian Government, fresh taxes had been imposed, which fell with the greatest severity on those least able to bear such burdens. What would be thought in this country if the poor-rates were levied exclusively on the class from which paupers came? And yet this was the principle which underlies the new taxes imposed by the Indian Government. The new system of taxation was not without an element of danger, even when dealing with such docile and law-abiding people as the Natives of India, and this was proved by the disturbances which had undoubtedly taken place. The new taxes had become odious in the eyes of the people by the wholesale exemption of the official class—perhaps the only class in India most able to bear these increased burdens; and the Natives could not help feeling indignant that officials with large salaries should be exempt, because the power of taxation rested in their own hands. In the legislative policy of the Government of India, they would find a spirit of Imperialism and an utter absence of generosity. The Government seemed to be half conscious that their policy of blunder at home and bluster abroad could not but stir opposition. Up to March 14, 1878, they had one important privilege, which was all the dearer by being the only one—the privilege

of unreservedly vindicating their grievances by means of a Free Press. Up to that time they were enabled to say to their governors, "Strike, but hear;" but the Government resolved to put that down, and they hastily passed a law suppressing the freedom of the Vernacular Press. In spite of hysterical utterances, the Government had been so conscious of the weakness of their case that they had never ventured to appeal to the law. If the Government were so anxious to preserve the prestige of the Empire in the East, as to embark in a most unjustifiable war at an immense sacrifice of blood and treasure, they should also have the wisdom to discern that by their breach of solemn promises, such as that involved in the misappropriation of the Famine Insurance Fund, and by their ungenerous and repressive policy, they were doing that which was calculated to lower the character of the British Government in the eyes of the people of India. Many of the existing evils were directly attributable to the constitution of the Government of India. The Members of the Council were a mutual admiration society who delighted in decorating each other with stars and ribbons and singing pæans of praise, until, he supposed, they actually deluded each other with the idea that they were great wonders. He believed the remedy for this was the introduction into the Council of the Viceroy and the local Councils of independent members. This was not a proposition of a revolutionary character—it was only the extension of a system of which the germ already existed. They had municipalities in many of the cities, which had worked well, and the people had learned to cherish the privilege. After alluding, in terms of praise,

to Sir Richard Temple, Mr. Ghose referred to the question of the employment of Natives in higher offices. Since he had the honor of speaking on this subject in Willis's Rooms, the situation had been somewhat altered by the new rules issued by Her Majesty's Government: but he thought all classes in India would have preferred a system of open competition of fairplay and no favor, to the system of nomination which had been actually adopted.

Mr. Ghose then concluded as follows:—

"But, sir, there is another matter in connection with this subject to which I shall ask your permission to advert for a moment, before resuming my seat. (Cries of 'go on.') It has been suggested from time to time, by certain so-called Indian authorities, that there is one great objection to the larger employment of my countrymen in the higher offices of the public service,—*viz.*, that our standard of morality is so low ('oh! oh!'), that we are so amenable to bribery and corruption, that, by admitting us freely into the more responsible offices of the State, you would be seriously affecting the purity of the administration. Such was the view that was recently put forward in a leading article in the *Pall Mall Gazette.* ('Oh! oh!' and laughter.) But before making any observations of my own upon this subject, I shall quote, with your permission, a short sentence from an Anglo-Indian journal, the *Pioneer*, a newspaper which is supposed to occupy a somewhat confidential relation with respect to the Government of India, and which is not at all likely to err on the side of undue partiality towards the Natives of India. Even the *Pioneer* is obliged to admit that 'the doubts cast by the

Pall Mall on the judicial integrity of the Native Bench are, to a great extent, worn out prejudices. . . . . It is seldom that a Munsiff or a Subordinate Judge is charged with corruption, or even with favoritism.' (Cheers.) But, sir, unfounded as the assertion is, it is still sedulously circulated by those who bear no friendly feelings towards us, and who, finding themselves unable to meet us fairly in the lists of reason and argument, have recourse to wholesale calumnies of a vague and general character. (Cries of 'shame.') Only the other day, not quite a week ago, I was told by a gentleman, whom I happened to meet at the Reform Club, that he had heard a similar statement from a retired Anglo-Indian official. Sir, I will not mention the name of that official, because I cannot say anything complimentary of him. (Laughter.) He is a gentleman, who condescended to go out to India on the receipt of an enormous salary (laughter), who worked incalculable mischief during his official residence there, and who, for all that disservice, came back knighted to his native land. Sir, I will not trace his subsequent career in this country, for that would at once identify him. But I will venture to repeat to you to-night, the answer that I gave on that occasion. I said then, and I say now, that I challenge that high authority and everybody else who may be disposed to echo his sentiments, to point out one single instance of corruption amongst the numerous Native Indian gentlemen, who have, within the last 10 or 15 years, filled with honor to themselves, and with advantage to their country, the Subordinate Judicial offices all over India. (Cheers.) Of course, if you go down low enough in the social scale, if you search among

the ranks of the police, of tax-gatherers and assessors, and people of that class, you will have no difficulty in finding many instances of corruption and criminality. But confining ourselves to the Judicial Service, which is recruited exclusively from our educated classes—for that is the point at issue—(hear, hear), I throw out this challenge boldly and publicly to all whom it may concern; and if there is any manhood in them they will take it up, and no longer indulge in baseless and cowardly calumnies against a whole nation at whose expense they have enriched themselves, and from whose revenues they are still enjoying very comfortable pensions. (Loud cheers and cries of 'shame.') Ladies and Gentlemen, I beg to thank you most heartily for the kind and patient attention with which you have listened to me. But I should be sorry to think that any one of you went away under the impression that my countrymen see nothing good or bright in the British administration of India taken as a whole. Unfortunately, the very object of my mission to this country obliges me to speak more of our complaints and our grievances than of the benefits we have already received. (Hear, hear.) But, believe me, I speak from the bottom of my heart, and I represent the sincere convictions of all my fellow-countrymen when I say that we feel deeply and profoundly grateful for the many and incalculable blessings that you have already conferred upon us. (Hear, hear.) We can never forget that it is you who have made us what we are at the present day,—that it is you who have made such a spectacle as that of to-night possible—that a Native of India should be telling you, with his own lips, of the wants and aspirations of

his countrymen (hear, hear,) and should be asking you to redress their wrongs and to gratify their expectations. (Cheers.) Sir, we feel firmly persuaded that the cause of justice can never be pleaded in vain before the English nation (cheers), and although none of us should happen to possess the gift of eloquence which is, perhaps, necessary for the successful advocacy of a great cause, we have the satisfaction of knowing that there are great men in this country who are ever ready to take up the cause of the oppressed and the weak in every clime and every part of the habitable globe (cheers)—that there are such men as John Bright (cheers) and William Gladstone (cheers)—men whose names and reputations are no less dear to us than they are to you, who have the proud privilege of calling yourselves their countrymen (cheers)—men whose integrity of purpose and the unspotted purity of whose lives we may all set up as our pattern and our model (cheers), although their intellectual grandeur and their unparalleled gifts we must be content to contemplate with reverence from an immeasurable distance,—I say, we have the happiness of knowing that, if our cause be founded on reason and justice, it will be advocated by such men; we know also the high character of the tribunal—the English nation, with whom the ultimate decision will rest; and knowing all this, we can never despair of the future of India." (Loud cheers.)

Mr. Alderman M'Arthur, M.P., moved "That this Meeting, in returning its best thanks to Mr. Lalmohun Ghose for his able and eloquent address, desires to express its sympathy with the views which he has expressed, and its hope that the action of public opinion in this country will be brought to bear upon the better administration of the affairs of India."

Mr. G. Palmer, M. P., Mr. E. Jenkins, M. P., and Mr. Broadhurst spoke in support of the motion.

The motion having been carried,

Mr. Chesson moved, and Mr. Hodgson Pratt seconded, a vote of thanks to the Chairman, which concluded the proceedings.

THE FINANCIAL, COMMERCIAL AND GENERAL POLICY OF THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.

A MEETING of the members of the Birmingham Chamber of Commerce was held in the Council Chamber Exchange, Birmingham, on September 30, 1879, to hear an Address on India by Mr. Lalmohun Ghose. Mr. S. Booth (Vice-Chairman of the Chamber) presided, and there were also present Mr. J. S. Wright, General Smythe; Aldermen Sturge, Lloyd, and Barrow; Councillors R. Heaten and Sharp; Messrs. C. H. Wagner, H. L. Muller, J. P. Turner, J. C. Lord, A. Lord, Alfred Keep, C. Keep, H. Elliott, C. Cartwright, G. Holloway, J. Lea, W. Brown, J. Read, E. Evans, J. Gabriel, J. Morgan, J. W. Tonks, and H. J. Harding (Secretary).

The Chairman, in introducing the Lecturer, said, that our interests in India were so great, and our responsibilities and duties to the teeming population so numerous and grave, that he thought it the duty of every intelligent Englishman to inform himself, to the extent of his opportunities, of the present condition and the possible future of that great country. India was a place we had subdued, and must continue to govern, and he sincerely hoped that we should govern it in a spirit of justice and truth—not with a view solely and exclusively to our own national advantage, but with the hope of developing to the utmost the natural resources of the country, and to effect the moral and material elevation of the inhabitants. (Applause.)

Mr. Lalmohun Ghose said, it was with feelings of peculiar pleasure that he found himself face to face with an influential audience such as the one he was addressing. The senior member for Birmingham, Mr. Bright, had

placed the people of India under a deep debt of gratitude by his earnest and eloquent advocacy of their rights throughout his long and distinguished public career, and it was impossible that the constituents of one of England's noblest sons should not feel somewhat of his warm sympathy and active interest in the people of India. At no period since the foundation of the British Empire in the East had the affairs of India commanded a greater interest in this country than within the last few months; and it was at least one satisfactory result of the blunders and financial embarrassments of the Government of India that the people of England were beginning to manifest a greater and more intelligent interest in the discussion of Indian questions than they had hitherto done. Mr. Ghose then explained that he was present, not so much to dilate upon the blessings of British rule in India, as to point out what he and his fellows regarded as its shortcomings, to acquaint the people of England with the Indian grievances, and to ask that people for redress. In doing so he had no apprehension of being misunderstood by those whom he was addressing, although it was not long since certain critics in this country were not ashamed to deliberately misquote and audaciously misrepresent some of the utterances of even so distinguished a statesman as Mr. Bright. During the century and a half that had elapsed since the foundation of the Indian Empire, England had done much to earn the lasting gratitude of India, to impress the people with the conviction that the continuance of British rule was for their benefit and safety. But, while all that was freely and ungrudgingly admitted, they could not help thinking that the Government of India had, of late, clearly and

unmistakably manifested a desire to depart from that line of justice and generous confidence which had hitherto been followed with excellent results, and that the present administration in India was disposed to consider the people more as a hostile and newly subdued race, than the citizens of a great free and peaceful empire as the subjects of a sovereign to whom they were as loyal as their English fellow-citizens. Before saying anything about the repressive policy which had been recently pursued, he wished to address himself to the consideration of the financial condition of India and the means to be adopted for the development of the natural resources of the country. It had been recently pointed out by an eminent man like Professor Fawcett that the revenues of India were mainly derived from five or six sources, which, with the exception of opium, were more or less of a stationary character, while the ordinary expenditure of the Government had been rapidly and alarmingly increasing in every Department of the State. (Shame.) Mr. Ghose then proceeded to deal with the two important items of the land and the custom duties. The first, he said, had supplied nearly one-half of the entire revenues of India, and must be fully understood before any steps could be taken for the development of the resources of the country; while the subject of the custom duties naturally led to a consideration of the commercial relations between England and India. With regard to the opium traffic, its immorality would not be denied by any one; but, on the other hand, it would be difficult—he might say impossible—for those who most strongly condemned that trade to point out any means for making good the serious gap in Indian finance that

would be caused by its abolition. With regard to the land-tax, it was absolutely insusceptible of yielding any additional revenues to the State, and every attempt made to obtain an increased rent had only resulted in plunging the agricultural population into a state of abject and hopeless poverty, in throwing them more and more into the iron clutches of the money-lender, and it is seriously aggravating, if not actually producing, those calamitous famines which were threatening to become chronic in India. Simultaneous with a process of exhausting the fertility of the soil, the Government had gone on increasing its demands, until the cultivators, finding themselves unable to meet the demands, had in large numbers abandoned their fields, leading to the startling result that many millions of acres of arable land were now lying waste and uncultivated. But the mischief did not stop there; there was another consequence of the periodical system of revision of the land-taxes. When the time for such revision came round, the cultivators, in too many instances, neglected their fields intentionally, so as to escape an increased assessment. What was wanted was the introduction of a system of land-tenure, whereby the land should be assessed at a fair and moderate rate, and should be taxed, if not in perpetuity, at least, for a very long term of years—say, for one hundred years—a measure which would give to the cultivating classes some degree of security against arbitrary and harassing enhancement of the rents, which would allow capital to effect the necessary improvements, and which would enable the agricultural population all over India to feel what at present the peasantry of Bengal were alone able to feel—that they

were free to enjoy the full benefit of their labors. After speaking of the necessity for retrenchment in the extravagant expenditure on the army, Mr. Ghose referred to the repeal of cotton duties, and then spoke as follows:—"But the Government of India, or the Home Government, under whose directions they have been acting in this matter, have been utterly insensible to all considerations, excepting those of an electioneering character. They have left intact, as I have already said, the heavy export duties on articles of Indian produce, although their repeal would have been of great benefit to the country by stimulating its export trade, while new taxes of the most oppressive character have been imposed on the pretence of insuring the Empire against the calamities of famine, and then the whole of the fund thus created has been absorbed and misappropriated for the general purposes of the State. The proceeds of the new taxes, for the imposition of which, we were repeatedly told, the sole justification was the necessity of saving the people from starvation—the fund that was to be regarded as a 'sacred trust' and to be 'religiously reserved' for the purpose of relieving the wants of a suffering people—that fund has, in the words of the Government of India, "ceased to exist;" and it is impossible to come to any other conclusion than that it has been used to pay for the invasion of a friendly nation, who gave you no provocation and no just cause of quarrel. (Cheers and cries of 'no no.') Well, sir, that war was hurriedly terminated by a patched-up peace with a puppet prince—a second Shah Sujah—whose very eagerness to come to terms with the British Government betrayed, in the eyes of every one gifted

with the most ordinary political sagacity, his total want of power to give effect to the conditions to which he so readily submitted at Gundamuck. (Hear, hear.) And, sir, I cannot help thinking that, when Mr. Bright spoke of that peace on a recent occasion as being scarcely less ignominious than that war itself, he was unconsciously using language of almost a prophetic character. (Hear, hear.) We all know how that opinion has been justified by subsequent events which have caused a thrill of horror from one end of this country to the other. You had the opportunity of cultivating the friendship of the Afghan people, by respecting their national feelings, or, if you will, their national prejudices, and thereby imposing a neutral zone and an impregnable barrier between yourselves and Russia, even if that Power really entertained all those aggressive designs which are imputed to her by alarmists in this country. But, sir, all that is now changed, and your troubles in Afghanistan have only commenced. Your armies may, indeed, march in triumph to Cabul; but, unless the British nation is equal to the occasion—unless you demand, in unmistakable tones, a complete reversal of the policy which has brought you to the brink of this precipice, he would be a bold prophet, indeed, who would undertake to say where and how these complications are to end. (Cheers.) And, sir, hand-in-hand with this new foreign policy of brag and bluster (cheers, cries of 'no, no,' 'oh, oh,' and uproar),—well sir, I do not wish to say anything that might not be agreeable to any portion of the audience; but I would only beg leave to remark that hand-in-hand with this new foreign policy—whatever may be its character—we have had in India a retrograde domestic

policy of a repressive and irritating character. (Cheers.) At a time of profound peace and after the people had given unmistakable proofs of their unswerving loyalty to the British Crown—a loyalty that even received the high recognition of Her Gracious Majesty herself (hear, hear) on the occasion of the visit of the Prince of Wales to India—at such a time we find the Government of India riding rough-shod over the rights and privileges, over the feelings and the sensibilities of the Indian people;—we find them, in their intolerance of criticism, shackling the liberty of the Press, and following up that measure with a Disarming Act. Sir, I am bound to admit that great expectations were formed by my countrymen of the present Viceroy when he first arrived in India. But how have those expectations been fulfilled? (Cheers.) Himself a votary of the Muses, his name will nevertheless go down to posterity as the sworn enemy of the freedom of the Press and of vernacular literature,—as the author of the most burdensome taxes ever invented by the ingenuity of man to be imposed upon a starving population, and as being directly responsible for a war *which I shall refrain from describing, having regard to the conflict of feeling in the audience, but about which, I can assure you, the Indian people have but one opinion.* (Cheers.) Sir, it is of these things that we have to complain. It is against this policy of injustice which, we believe, is destructive of the best interests alike of India and of England—that my countrymen have sent me here to appeal to the high tribunal of English public opinion, and I cannot believe that that appeal shall have been made in vain." (Cheers.)

Mr. J. S. Wright moved a vote of thanks to the lecturer, which was seconded by the Chairman, and passed. After some remarks by Mr. J. W. Tonks, Mr. J. C. Lord said that, in view of the deliberate attack upon the Government, he should like to know under the auspices of what Society the lecturer came amongst them. Mr. Ghose, in acknowledging the vote, said he was the representative of the Indian Association. The meeting then terminated.

THE POLITICAL SITUATION.

THE following Address was delivered by Mr. Lalmohun Ghose at a Meeting held at the Town Hall, Calcutta, on Thursday evening, March 4, 1880. The object of the meeting was to give a public reception to Mr. Ghose on his return from England to this country. There were over a thousand persons present, among whom were noticed the Hon'ble Kristo Das Paul, C.I.E, Rajah Shyama Sunker Roy Bahadur, Nawab Mir Mahomed Ali, Mr. M. Ghose, Moulvi Mahomed Eusuff, Dr. Ralph Moore, Mr. P. Mehta, Mr. J. G. Apcar, Mr. G. Gregory, Rev. K. S. Macdonald, Mr. D. Fuller, Babu Bhairub Chunder Bannerji, Babu Mohesh Chunder Chowdhry, Rai Kunja Lal Bannerji Bahadur, and others.

The Revd. K. M. Bannerji was voted to the Chair.

The Chairman opened the proceedings by remarking that all were aware of the object of the meeting—it was to give a public reception to Mr. Lalmohun Ghose, for the most satisfactory manner in which he had discharged the very delicate and responsible duty entrusted to him by his countrymen. A delegation to England was in some respects a novel idea. Many eminent Native Gentlemen had been to England, but no one felt himself authorised before to speak in the name of the nation, and this was the first occasion on which an Indian had been sent to England to speak with authority on behalf of Indians, and who was received as such by the people of England. The mission had been a great success. It was a novel experiment, and it had proved a great success. Englishmen felt that there was something in this delegation which bound them to India, and Indians

felt that there was a great deal in the way in which the delegation was received, which bound India to England, and such a delegation was well calculated to draw the union between England and India much closer. It was a sympathy—a social sympathy of one people for another, and a proof of the living unity of the members of the great British Imperial public. The manner in which the mission had been discharged was a very happy one, and they had met there that evening to give that gentleman a cordial and public reception, and he felt sure that all would join in the business that was to follow with hearty co-operation.

Rajah Shyama Sunker Roy then moved the following resolution :—
" That the best thanks of this meeting be accorded to Mr. Lalmohun Ghose for the ability, energy, and the judgment with which he has conducted the various duties and the important work entrusted to him by the Indian Association, and has laid before the British public the views of the Indian people in relation to the various questions of Indian Administration."

Babu Jodu Lall Mullick, in a well-chosen speech, seconded the resolution. He said, that Mr. Ghose had discharged his mission to the satisfaction of all concerned ; he had pleaded the cause of the zemindar, and at the same time had not forgotten the wrongs of the ryot.

Babu Kalichurn Bannerji, in supporting the resolution, said, that he felt that all those present were inspired with feelings to which it was not possible to give adequate expression. He was glad to find that they had met there in numbers sufficiently large to express that the country and its soul were inspired with the feelings which were expressed in the resolution which had just been moved. The idea of sending a delegate to England was at one time a dream, but that dream had been realized in a manner satisfactory in the highest degree, and which bore promise of still greater success in the future. The present step was one which brought India close to England, which not only made England know India, but feel India. England had now come to know India, and they owed that to Mr. Lalmohun Ghose, who was now among them. Mr. Ghose had gone to England as their representative, and they were his constituents, and he was there on that occasion in order to give his constituents an account of his proceedings in England.

The Chairman then called upon Mr. Lalmohun Ghose to address the meeting.

Mr. Ghose said :—

MR. CHAIRMAN AND GENTLEMEN,—I do not know in what terms sufficiently to thank you for the honor you have done me this evening. I frankly confess that, before standing upon this platform to-night for the first time after returning from my wanderings in a distant land, and until I heard the cheers with which, far in excess of my deserts, you have been pleased to greet my appearance amongst you, I had scarcely any idea of the amount of enthusiasm which a meeting of my countrymen was capable of displaying. Nor is it possible for me to express to you even a portion of the feelings with which I listened to the highly flattering language which my esteemed and eloquent friends who have acted as your spokesmen on this occasion were pleased to apply to me and to the humble services which I may have been enabled to perform. No one knows better than I do how wholly unworthy I am of any such praises. And, when I look around me, and see so many of my friends present here to-night, any one of whom would have done all that I may have done, and done it infinitely better, I cannot fail to be struck with the immense contrast between the language of panegyric that has been held towards me, and the insignificant nature of the services that I may have been able to render. Much of the glowing eulogy, by far the greatest portion of those encomiums that have been pronounced upon me, I must, therefore, attribute to the fervour and enthusiasm of an occasion like this, when you are apt to identify the humble advocate with the great cause with which it was my good fortune to be associated. But nevertheless, gentlemen, I am deeply grateful—indeed,

I feel almost embarrassed at the excess of kindness which you have displayed towards me this evening. I only wish I was better able to express my feelings. I wish I was worthier of the occasion. But I have found over and over again, both in my public and private life, that whenever my heart has been most full, my tongue has been least equal to the task of giving expression to the sentiments that have struggled for utterance. I must, therefore, beg of you, gentlemen, to accept the will for the deed, and not to measure my gratitude towards you by my feeble and inadequate powers of expression. But, sir, amongst the many kind things that have been said of me to-night, and which I feel I do not in the slightest degree merit, there was one observation made, I think, by my friend Babu Jadu Lall Mullick, which I do not much hesitate to accept. For he did me no more than bare justice when he said that I did not represent the views of any particular class or section,—the interest of the zemindar or the ryot; but that I represented only what I believed to be the true interests of the country and of the nation as a whole. (Cheers.) Sir, it is not given to every one of us to possess abilities, or eloquence, or intellectual gifts of any kind; but we may at least all of us be honest. And this I will say boldly in the face of this audience, and in the face of the country, that whatever mistakes I may have committed, whatever shortcomings I may be charged with, whatever exceptions may be taken to the soundness of any of the views urged, or enunciated by me, I have at least the satisfaction of knowing that I have never expressed a single opinion, or uttered a single sentiment or a single word, which I did not in my conscience

believe to be just and true. And if, in the faithful discharge of the responsible duties that were entrusted to me according to the full measure of my humble abilities, I am supported not only by the approbation of my own conscience, but by the discerning approval of my fellow-countrymen, I consider I have received the highest reward to which an honest man could possibly aspire. (Cheers.)

Sir, I shall now pass on from the purely personal aspect of the question to some other less embarrassing and far more important topics, upon which, on an occasion like this, it is, perhaps, expected that I should say a few words. I know you will bear with me while I do so, and I can assure you in return that I shall not take up your time a moment longer than I can possibly help. In the first place, I cannot let this opportunity pass without making one or two observations in regard to some of the criticisms that have been passed upon my public utterances in England. You are aware that those criticisms have been many and various in their character. From highly flattering notices in the recognized organs of native public opinion to furious and frantic abuse in the unique style of such Anglo-Indian journals as the *Pioneer* (laughter), there is scarcely a shade of criticism of which I have not come in for a share. Of the too partial opinion of my fellow-countrymen all I can say is, that I only wish I could honestly feel that I was in the slightest degree worthy of it. On the other hand, I am sure you will also excuse me if I do not stoop to enter the lists with hireling scribes who have nothing better than vulgar abuse to offer in reply to honest arguments. (Cheers.) But, sir, there

is a very different class of critics, whose criticism conceived in a gentlemanly spirit and couched in the language of civilised controversy, at once places them in a position which commands our respect, even if we are unable to concur in their views. Well, sir, it has been said by a critic of the latter class, a gentleman for whom I have always entertained the very highest respect, and whose views upon most of the important topics of the day are in entire accord with our own—it has been said that I did not enter sufficiently into details. I am afraid I am not in a position to judge how far that observation was just or reasonable. But I think I owe it to myself to explain to you some of the reasons which influenced me, and leave you to decide how far I may have been right or wrong in the course which I adopted. In the first place, at Willis's Rooms,—for that is the occasion to which reference was made—I was bound to bear in mind—indeed, it would have been unpardonable if I had not remembered—that the distinguished audience whom I had then the honor of addressing had come there with the purpose of listening to the greatest orator of the day (cheers), and although, with the generosity of Englishmen towards a foreigner from a distant land, they were inclined to give your representative an indulgent hearing, yet it would have been in the highest degree intolerable, if I had so far forgotten myself as to exhaust the patience of the meeting by interposing a speech of inordinate length, composed largely of uninteresting or unintelligible details. Under those circumstances, I considered that the best thing that I could do was to lay before the meeting the principal questions in which we were interested, as briefly, as intelligibly

and in as attractive a shape as I could, so that the few words that I might utter might serve as a text upon which the great statesman, who had so generously undertaken the advocacy of our cause, might enlarge and dwell upon. But, however that may be, one thing is certain: I am quite sure that there is not one amongst you,—that there is not a man in India,—who does not feel that never since the foundation of the British Empire in the East have the millions of this country found a nobler, a more illustrious, or a more eloquent champion than the eminent orator and veteran statesman who consented to undertake the brunt of the labors of that day. (Loud cheers.) Then, again, I have been told that it was useless for me to speak in general terms of the necessity of representative institutions in India, unless I was prepared at the same time to bring forward a definite and practical scheme on the subject. But there were several reasons why I could not do so. I should scarcely have been justified in recommending even the outlines of such a scheme, unless that scheme had been previously laid before my countrymen and considered and approved by them. (Hear, hear.) But apart from this, I think that when you are appealing to the English nation on a question like this, the best thing you can do is first of all to try and secure the recognition of the principle. (Hear, hear.) When that is done, you will have won half the battle, and it will be time enough for you to make your suggestions as to details, in order to assist and strengthen the hands of responsible English statesmen as to the best mode of giving practical effect to your demands. (Cheers.)

Sir, I now come to a charge of a very different kind to

which one of the speakers made a passing allusion. It has been said by some critics that I identified myself with one of the great political parties in England, and that it was a great mistake to do so. I confess, I feel some difficulty in dealing with a charge of this kind. For I am not quite sure that I exactly understand what it means. If the impression that is sought to be conveyed is this, that I addressed myself exclusively to pronounced members of the Liberal Party, then I deny the correctness of the statement. Our appeal was directed, not to any particular party, but to the English nation as a whole; to every Englishman, in short, who was open to conviction, or amenable to reason. But if the questions with which I had to deal were such that, as regards most of them, the violent partisans of the present Government had already committed themselves to an opinion adverse to our views,—if our demands were of such a character as to be more in consonance with the political principles of one party than of another,—why, then the fault was not in me, but it was in the very nature of the case that our complaints and our aspirations should meet with the sympathy of the Liberal, rather than of the Conservative, Party in England. (Cheers.) You condemn the Afghan war; you disapprove of the Vernacular Press Act; you object to repressive Legislation, and to a policy of tawdry Imperialism, which begins in fireworks and ends in burdensome taxation (cheers); and do you think you can possibly hope to make the slightest impression upon the thick phalanx of ministerialists, who have over and over again supported the action of the Government in these respects? You ask for free and impartial admission

into the public service; you demand representative institutions; you ask for justice, and how then you can expect to obtain a fair hearing from those who are ready to swear by the *Daily Telegraph* and the *Pall Mall Gazette;* from those who laugh to scorn the idea of there being any such thing as morality in international dealings; from those who openly and cynically avow that "the greed of material gain and the fear of material loss" is the only principle which ought to guide the actions of statesmen? (Cheers.) Gentlemen, my remarks are not intended to apply to the great body of reasonable Conservatives, but only to the extreme section of the Tory Party; to those who have caught the infection of Jingoism in its most virulent form; to those highly intelligent and cultured persons who may be found displaying their patriotism by joining in the chorus of stupid and blustering songs in London Music Halls and other midnight haunts of frivolity—

> "When the noise
> Of riot ascends above their loftiest towers,
> And injury and outrage: and when night
> Darkens the streets, then wander forth the sons
> Of *Jingo*, flown with insolence and wine." (Cheers.)

From this party, therefore, you have nothing to expect. Put not your trust in Jingoes, for in them there is no salvation. (Laughter.) But it is far otherwise with the Liberal Party. It is far otherwise with the great body of the English people, for I know of no nation in whom the principles of justice and fairplay are more deeply or more firmly implanted than in the breasts of Englishmen. (Cheers.) And the Liberals have ever been

pre-eminent in this respect. They have ever stood up for justice, and advocated the rights of the weak and the oppressed. And surely it is only natural that those who abolished the slave trade, who emancipated the Roman Catholics and disestablished the Irish Church, and who now in opposition have never ceased to protest against the "gospel of selfishness,"—I say it is only natural that this great party should be the first to extend to us the right hand of fellowship and to plead our cause. (Cheers.) Sir, I confess I see nothing very alarming at the prospect of India being made a party question. You are familiar with the saying that what is every body's business is no body's business. Nor can I call to mind a single instance of any great movement in England having been brought to a successful issue until after it had been made a party question. It is, therefore, with feelings of the most unmixed satisfaction that I have observed of late various indications of the probability of justice to India being made one of the battle-cries of the Liberal Party at the forthcoming elections. (Cheers.) I will read with your permission one or two sentences from a sympathetic article in an English newspaper, the *Plymouth Western Daily Mercury.* The writer says:—"A great change has, indeed, passed over the spirit of the rule of England in India. We are not now referring to the present Government (though its policy has in many respects been execrable), but to the general neglect of India and to the general sacrifice of her interests. Believing, however, that when next the Liberal Party accedes to power, there will be a new era in the relation of England and India; we know that Mr. Lalmohun Ghose will rejoice with us,

as we shall rejoice with him, when the Tory yoke is broken and the Stracheys and their policy dismissed into chaos." (Cheers.)

Sir, it has also been said that I erred in excessive blame of the Afghan war. But after all the calm consideration that I have since been able to bestow upon this subject, I must take leave to dissent from that opinion. I do not think I expressed myself as strongly as I might have. And entertaining the opinions that I do in regard to the origin of that war and the policy of which it was the outcome, and believing that those opinions are shared by the entire thinking portion of the Indian community, I think I should have been grossly wanting in my duty towards my fellow-countrymen who did me the high honor of sending me to England as their representative, and I should scarcely have been acting honestly and fairly towards the large and distinguished British audiences whom it was my privilege to address, if I had not said the little that I did say upon this subject. Let us for a moment consider one or two of the various and contradictory explanations that have been given as to the objects of the war. We are told on the highest authority that the object was to secure a "scientific frontier." That was done, I suppose, by the Treaty of Gundamuck, which, by the way, was not worth the paper on which it was written. But can any of you tell me what has become of this scientific frontier? I remember having read somewhere, a long time ago, that a celebrated naturalist, upon hearing an ignorant cockney describe a lobster as a "red fish," observed that it was an excellent description, only it was incorrect in two particulars, namely, that it was

neither red, nor was it a fish. (Laughter.) Similarly it strikes me that this scientific frontier, although it was a fine phrase calculated to catch the ignorant and unwary, yet no sooner was it put to the test than it proved to be the very reverse of scientific, and it is now a long time since it has ceased to be looked upon as a frontier at all. (Cheers.) Again, Sir Stafford Northcote, perhaps the least imaginative member of the present Cabinet, declared the other day that the war was undertaken in order to quiet the minds of the people of India. (Laughter.) This may possibly go down with Tory audiences in England; but I ask you what you in this country think of this extraordinary statement? All I can say is, that you must have very peculiarly constituted and ill-conditioned minds, if it should be necessary for the Government, in order to quiet your minds, to undertake every now and again a little war against a neighbouring State, and then to levy fresh taxes upon you to meet the expenses of the war. (Cheers.) But not to trouble ourselves about the past, I cannot help wishing that we had even now some knowledge of the future policy of the Government. I read with eager interest—I have no doubt you all read with similar feeling—the speech of the Viceroy on New Year's Day. As I took up the morning papers to read His Excellency's speech, I was strongly reminded of a famous observation made by the present Prime Minister, I think about two or three years ago, at the time of the Bulgarian atrocities agitation. Lord Beaconsfield, speaking on the 9th November at the Lord Mayor's Banquet, observed, that up to that time the country had been only hearing "the hare-brained chatter of irresponsible

frivolity;" and then His Lordship added in a characteristic manner, alluding to his own speech, that the time had at length arrived when the nation had the chance of listening to the "voice of sense and of truth." (Laughter.) Well, I will not venture to make any comments upon the justice, the appropriateness, or the good taste of that remark; but I was strongly reminded of it as I read Lord Lytton's speech, and I thought to myself that when so distinguished a lieutenant of Lord Beaconsfield as the present Viceroy of India makes a political speech, we are naturally led to expect that, as on the 9th of November in England, so on New Year's Day in this country, we are about to be favored with the "voice of sense and of truth." (Laughter.) But we looked in vain among the well-turned periods of that speech for any information of the kind for which the whole Empire had been anxiously longing. The nearest approach to anything like an indication of policy is contained in one or two oracular expressions conceived in the true spirit of Lord Beaconsfield, which may mean anything or nothing, and which leave us no wiser than before. (Cheers.) We are told that the army cannot retrace its steps until it has completed the work in hand. But as to what that work may be we are only left to conjecture. It is impossible for us to tell whether the Government have decided upon the practical annexation of Afghanistan, or whether, when they tire of the work of slaughter and execution, they intend to fall back behind their scientific frontier; or what it is that they have made up their minds to do, if they have made up their minds at all. But at the same time I am bound to add that it is possible for us to gather one little crumb of

comfort from His Excellency's speech, for the Viceroy tells us that the horrors of war rendered doubly horrible by reason of the wholesale executions that have followed and stained the triumph of British arms in Afghanistan,—we are told that these horrors will soon cease and become things of the past. (Cheers.) If that be so—and I devoutly pray that it may be—all I can say is,—and believe I may say so with far less impropriety than was said on a well-known recent occasion in reference to an alliance between two great military Empires,—all I can say is, that it is "glad tidings of great joy." (Loud cheers.) To this I will only add the expression of my own hope that the time may not also be far distant, when the English nation will authoritatively declare that the policy which received the high sanction of such a truly great man as Lord Lawrence, the policy of non-interference and of proud reliance on her own strength within the legitimate bounds of her own Empire, is the only safe and sound, the only wise and just policy for England to pursue in the East (cheers); and I cannot but think that the painful events of December last must tend, in a great measure, to confirm that opinion, and to open the eyes of the British public as to the true character of the policy that has been recently pursued, and the innumerable dangers attending such a policy. But, sir, however strongly we may condemn this war, I believe there is only one feeling amongst us all, namely, a feeling of thankfulness and of profound relief at the escape of the British army from the difficulties and dangers which, for more than an anxious fortnight, threatened in Afghanistan. For anything that puts in peril the lives of the soldiers now serving

in that unhappy country, of the men whose bounden duty it is unquestioningly to carry out any policy that they may be commanded to carry out, without the slightest reference to their own opinions, and no matter how unjust, or even how iniquitous that policy may be,—I say anything that imperils the lives of the men who are placed in this painful predicament, and anything that affects, however remotely, the safety of the Indian Empire, must be a source of no less deep and no less painful anxiety to us, who condemn and deplore this war, than to those who are its authors and its admirers. (Applause.) I say, therefore, that all parties must join, sincerely and heartily join, in congratulating the Government of India upon having been fortunately saved from the calamities and disasters which they so blindly and wilfully courted. But at the same time I can never bring myself to congratulate either the present administration, or the party at present in power upon the mode in which they have gone to work to bring about "a strong, friendly, and independent Afghanistan." I cannot congratulate them upon their treatment of foreign enemies as domestic rebels; and finally, I cannot congratulate them upon a policy and on events which have brought a stain upon the fair escutcheon of England, which years and ages and centuries will not be able wholly to obliterate; which history will blush to record, and which after-ages will contemplate with mingled feelings of incredulity and indignation. (Cheers.)

Gentlemen, I shall say no more upon this painful subject—a subject which, to quote the language of Lord Lytton in reference to another topic, promises to become an "increasingly irritating controversy." I shall pass

on to another question in which you are deeply interested—I allude to the question of the Civil Service. You are aware that it was within twenty-four hours of the meeting at Willis's Rooms that the new rules upon this subject were laid on the table of the House of Commons; and I have reasons to believe that the publication of these rules was materially hastened by Mr. Bright's speech of the day before. (Cheers.) Those rules were meant as a sop to public opinion in England. They were intended to stop the mouth of the great Tribune of the English people, who had stood forth as the champion of the voiceless millions of India (loud cheers), as the advocate of a country which he had never visited, and of a people whom he had never seen, and from whom he could never expect the slightest requital. (Applause.) But Mr. Bright has never, during the whole course of his long and distinguished public career, been accustomed to look to any other recompense than the approbation of his own conscience (cheers); he has never obeyed any other impulse than the dictates of his own noble and generous heart (cheers); he has never shrunk from lifting his voice on behalf of what he believes to be the cause of truth and of justice, even when all other tongues have been silent. (Loud applause.) Well, when these rules were first published, they seemed to all appearances to be a step in the right direction. And for myself, although I strongly objected to the system of nomination that had been adopted, yet I frankly confess, I was very far from suspecting the real nature of the scheme that was to be brought forward under cover of those rules. But now the curtain has been lifted. You see the scheme

in its true colors. You see it in its naked deformity. It is a scheme which may rejoice the hearts of a few impecunious aristocratic noodles. (Laughter.) But to you, the people, it brings no comfort, it brings no hope (cheers); but, on the contrary, it means the utter negation of all those solemn pledges which you have hitherto regarded and cherished as your great charter. (Loud cheers.) Neither the British Legislature in the Act of 1833, nor Her Majesty in the memorable Proclamation of 1858, ever laid down any such test as that of aristocratic birth as a condition precedent to admission to the public service. On the contrary, Her Majesty was graciously pleased to declare in the most explicit manner that the only qualifications that were to be insisted upon, were "education, ability, and integrity;" and provided you were duly qualified in these respects, you were to be "freely and impartially admitted to all offices in Her Majesty's service." Such were the noble and truly queenly words of our Gracious Sovereign. (Loud cheers.) But the Government of India mean to do no such thing. They intend, at least practically, to confine those new appointments to persons of good or aristocratic birth. But this is not all. In a despatch from the Government of India to the Secretary of State, which, perhaps, when it was written, was never expected to see the light of day,—in that despatch it was suggested that the door of open competition in England should be closed against us, by law; but if that could not be done, then the Government had at least the consolation of thinking that the recent reduction of the standard of age would be a virtual bar, even if the competition remained theoretically open. (Shame, shame!)

This is the precious scheme, these are the benevolent intentions for which you are expected to be eternally grateful. But I ask you, are you prepared to accept this huge sham, this elaborate delusion? (Loud cries of 'no' and hisses.) It is impossible that you could have returned any other answer. It is impossible that you could even for a moment be deluded by this flimsy, this almost transparent device to nullify the royal word of a Gracious Sovereign (cheers) and the solemn declaration of the British legislature. It is impossible that there can come from the people of this country any other response than one loud and universal hiss of indignation. (Cheers.) Now, what we ought to do is to appeal from the Government of India to the people of England. (Cheers.) We ought to tell the English nation honestly and frankly that we seek no favor, but only ask for justice. We ought to tell them that we only demand the removal of those obstacles that have been put in our way, and I have reasons to believe, deliberately put in our way with the intention of excluding us from the competition. And of these obstacles the first and foremost is the question of age. (Hear, hear.) You have been discussing this matter for some time past, and it is not necessary that I should point out to you how prejudicially, how fatally it affects the chances of candidates going up from this country. But I think, in dealing with this question, we should not only put it from this point of view, but that we should also look at it from a higher standpoint. For I believe nothing can be more prejudicial to the interests of the service itself which, after all, is the dominant body in this country, than that very young and inexperienced

lads should become members of that service vested with the large magisterial functions. At an age when by the laws of their own country they are still regarded as infants and incapable of taking part in the graver transactions of life, when no Inn of Court would think of calling them to the Bar, we find these young men with characters but half-formed suddenly placed in authority over many thousands of fellow-men, dispensing fine and imprisonment according to their own sweet fancies euphemistically called discretion, surrounded by troops of sycophants, and entirely removed from the healthy control of public opinion. When we consider these things, can we possibly wonder that some of them "dressed in little brief authority should play such fantastic tricks as would make the angels weep," and that so many of them should grow up to be "Great Bahadurs" and develop a variety of unamiable qualities which in Europe are conspicuous by their absence, but about which, on an occasion like this, I think I had better not say anything more. (Cheers.) No, gentlemen, the more I think of these things, the less am I surprised at the result, and the greater is my wonder that there should nevertheless be so many members of that service who are able successfully to resist these baneful influences; that there should be so many amongst them who are truly entitled to our respect, and whose services must ever be remembered with admiration and gratitude by the people of this country. (Cheers.) These are some of the questions in which you are deeply interested; and the question is, what are the steps that you ought to take to promote the ends that you have in view. I am firmly persuaded that the only way in which you

can hope to do any good is not by sending up any deputation to the Viceroy—for there you are likely to be snubbed for your pains (hear, hear), but that you should carry your appeal to the English nation—a tribunal whose verdict in a just cause you can never fail to win. (Loud cheers.) Of late, a variety of causes has combined to turn the attention of the English people to Indian affairs, and altogether an opportunity is presented to you which you have never had before, and which if you let it pass, may never occur again for years to come. I may tell you from personal experience that, during my late sojourn in England, wherever I went, there were gathered around me sympathising friends ready to listen to every complaint that we had to make and every suggestion we had to offer. I have found the British public evince a degree of intelligent interest in the discussion of Indian questions, and a generous sympathy with the aspirations of the people of this country which touched me more deeply than, I am afraid, I was able to express (cheers), while personally I met with a courtesy and a kindness — an almost overwhelming kindness,—which to the last day of my life I shall remember with the deepest gratitude. (Cheers.) I am also bound to tell you that whatever small, whatever humble measure of success may have attended my efforts, was due wholly and entirely to the kind and generous help of many valued friends, amongst whom I may be permitted to mention the name of my esteemed friend Mr. Chesson (cheers), without whose assistance I should never have known what to do; who spared himself no trouble, and who, I am afraid, at great inconvenience to himself, spent much of his valuable

time in co-operating with me and furthering the objects that I had in view. (Cheers.) Well, there are friends like these in England, who are willing and ready, and I may even say anxious, to give you their powerful help, if you will only bestir yourselves, and act with sufficient promptitude and vigour. Now that the battle of parties is being fought with increasing ardour, now is your time to seize opportunity by the forelock. You must strike while the iron is hot, and if you have sufficient energy and perseverance, you are bound to succeed. But if you stand by until the battle is over, if you wait until the political fever has cooled down, you will be too late and never be able to obtain a hearing. I, therefore, think that if, instead of at once aiming at something very high, or very grand,—if you find any difficulties in carrying out your project of a permanent deputation, then if you were to send a temporary representative to England to remain there at least until the general elections are over, you would be following a much more practical course.

But, sir, as regards the majority of this audience, it would be as unnecessary as it would be presumptuous on my part to venture to point out our national duties in connection with these great questions. You have many of you the advantage of a riper judgment and a wider experience, and are in every respect better fitted than myself to come to sound conclusions in reference to these momentous issues. But, perhaps, I may be permitted to give one word of advice to my more youthful countrymen, so many of whom, I notice with pleasure, are present here to-night. I hope that they will all of them continue to feel and retain in after-life the same

warm and enthusiastic interest in the political welfare of our country which they have so abundantly manifested by their presence here on this occasion. I hope that such of you as may be still engaged in the pursuit of academic honors, will not suffer your spirit to be chilled when you enter the colder and sterner arena of the world. For allow me to tell you that the result of my experience,—which though limited in point of years, has nevertheless been of a somewhat diversified character,—has been to convince me that there is nothing in this world which is less likely to play you false and nothing better calculated to be to us on moments of calm reflection the source of a purer or a more unalloyed satisfaction than the consciousness of having devoted our energies and our talents, such as they may be, to the service of our country. (Cheers.) Whatever other meteors may allure you in life, whatever other pursuits may engage your attention and absorb your energies, depend upon it, even if you are lucky enough to win the goal for which you may be striving, the "paltry prize" will not then seem worth the struggle, and the glittering guerdon, however it may have fascinated you from a distance, will appear to be not unlike the fabled apples on the shores of the Dead Sea, rich and tempting to the view, but "ashes to the taste." (Cheers.) But, sir, there is one exception to this universal curse. It is when you are strengthened and sustained by the consciousness of having done something higher and holier than the prosecution of selfish aims and of personal projects; it is when you are cheered by the thought that you have accomplished, or attempted to accomplish, something, however humble, that may be calculated to

augment the sum of human happiness, or at any rate, to lighten that burden of suffering and misery which stares us everywhere in the face, and which nowhere calls more loudly for redress than in our Native land (Cheers.) It is, therefore, my most fervent hope and heartfelt prayer that the political well-being and regeneration of our country may not only be the passing pursuit of an hour, but that it may become an all-absorbing passion with everyone of my educated and enlightened countrymen throughout the length and breadth of this land. I happened to be present under the gallery of the House of Commons on the occasion when Mr. Stanhope introduced the debate on the Indian Budget. I had the pleasure of listening to his able address, which was concluded with a brilliant peroration, of which the key-note was that, in spite of the gloomy prognostications of several Hon'ble members, Mr. Stanhope believed that there was a great future still in store for India. I fully sympathise with that sentiment. I believe with Mr. Stanhope that there is a great and a bright future still in store for us. (Cheers.) But whether that is to be but a vision or a glorious reality, must depend mainly —I may say entirely—upon ourselves. (Cheers.) A great, an arduous, and a patient struggle is before us—a struggle in which everyone of us must be prepared honestly and fearlessly to take our part and to work steadily and harmoniously together, subordinating every other consideration and sinking all sectional differences for the furtherance of the common cause. (Cheers.) Sir, public opinion in India is at present feeble; scarcely a faint echo of it is heard in England. But, sir, it is for us to change that state of things. A deep responsi-

bility rests upon the educated classes throughout India. It is for us to transform the tiny brook of a feeble popular opinion into the rushing torrent of a mighty national demonstration—a torrent that will carry in its onward sweep every opposition, every prejudice, every obstacle; and, depend upon it, if you are only true to yourselves, if forgetting and sinking all your petty and miserable differences, you stand shoulder to shoulder in the peaceful and constitutional agitation of your grievances (cheers), if, undeterred by the frowns, and unseduced by the smiles of power, you follow the plain and straightforward path of duty — depend upon it, your voice will not be for ever lost over a "remote and unhearing ocean," but that it will reach across the seas to England, to "the inviolate island of the sage and free" (cheers), and there it will be taken up by wise and large-hearted, by philanthropic and eloquent statesmen, by men like John Bright (cheers) and William Gladstone (cheers)—men, whose generous sympathies are not bounded and circumscribed by the geographical limits of their native land (cheers), and "whose resistless eloquence wields at will the fierce democratie" (cheers), and there never is a lack of such men in England—and they will give to that voice and those claims a form, a color, and a life, which will rouse the conscience of England and induce the English nation to do justice to India. (Applause.) Gentlemen, I beg to thank you once more from the bottom of my heart both for the honor you have done me this evening and for the indulgent attention with which you have listened to me. (Loud and prolonged applause, during which the speaker resumed his seat.)

SOUTH AFRICAN POLICY.

THE Annual Meeting of the Aborigines Protection Society was held on the 19th May at the Devonshire House Hotel, Bishopsgate Street Without, London. There was a large attendance, Mr. Wm. Fowler, M.P., presided. The report, read by Mr. P. W. Chesson, dealt principally with the state of affairs in South Africa, and of the Society's action in relation thereto during the last twelve months. In reference to the Zulu settlement, the Committee expressed a hope that Zululand might be preserved as a native State, and the civilization of its inhabitants promoted by moral and peaceful agencies. They considered that the nation owed a great act of reparation to the Zulus, and urged that the Government should, as a first instalment, liberate Cetywayo, and restore him to his own country. A recent interview which a Zulu Embassy had had with Bishop Colenso showed that the Zulus generally did not even now know what evil either they or their King had done which justified the invasion of their country, and that they followed Cetywayo in his exile with their sympathy. In discussing the question of Native policy in the Cape Colony, the Committee remarked that Sir Bartle Frere was unquestionably the most formidable opponent the Society had ever been called upon to encounter in South Africa. They specially condemned the New Vagrancy Law, which, they stated, gave a dangerous power to Justices of the Peace to subject natives to imprisonment and hard labour. Cases of great hardship, they said, had occurred under this law, one of which was the imprisonment of a Native Minister of the Free Church of Scotland for travelling without a pass. The confiscation of Morosi's country was protested against as an act of injustice to the Basutos, to whom it belonged, and the proposed disarming of that tribe, whose loyalty had never been challenged, was emphatically condemned as being calculated to provoke another native rising. The Chairman said that he felt bound to attend the Annual Meeting of the Society, and to express his sense of the gravity and the danger of the situation in which South Africa was now placed, and to enter his protest against the cruelty and injustice to which the people of that country had been subjected—people who were unable to protect themselves from the mighty power of England. As for the late war in South Africa, he never felt himself so disgraced in his life as an Englishman, as when he read the accounts that campaign. He had found it difficult for a long time to ascertain clearly the real cause of the war. He had at last come

to the conclusion that it was owing to the peculiar constitution of the mind of the Chief Commissioner, and to a scare to which that gentleman had fallen a victim. The war, in the opinion of the Chairman, was not called for, and the man who brought it about was unfit to be a governor of any place, or to hold a position of responsibility. He thought that great honour was due to Bishop Colenso for the manner in which he had spoken out on this subject. (Applause.) Mr. Firth, M.P., moved the adoption of the report. He expressed his great interest in the subject of which the report treated, and testified to the necessity of such a Society as the one whose operations it recorded. As for the late war in Zululand, and the circumstances which led to it, he believed no civilized nation would dare to treat another civilized nation in such a way as we had treated the people of South Africa, and he denounced in strong terms the policy under which such a treatment was possible. The late war was waged without a cause, and no greater charge could be brought about against a man than that he had brought about a war for which there was really no necessity. He hoped that before long the man who had brought that war upon us, would be reduced to such a position as to be unable in any capacity to speak in the name of England. (Applause.)

The motion for the adoption of the report was seconded by Mr. Lalmohun Ghose, who spoke as follows:—

MR. CHAIRMAN, LADIES, AND GENTLEMEN—

As a native of India I have very great pleasure in taking this opportunity of assuring you that the subject which you are discussing to-night is one in which every portion of the British Empire is deeply interested. (Hear, hear.) Believe me, the policy that England may pursue in South Africa in her relations with races which are, perhaps, lowest in the scale of civilization, can never be a matter of indifference to your Indian fellow-subjects. Everything now-a-days is done in the fierce light of day, and with an Empire so extensive as yours, it is inevitable that your actions and your policy in the most distant part of the world should be keenly and anxiously watched by other nations who, although they may

differ widely from each other ethnologically, as well as in the various degrees of civilization to which they may have respectively attained, are yet all equally interested in studying and ascertaining the principles which govern your conduct towards subject races and weaker neighbours. (Hear, hear.) If that policy is based upon justice and a desire to respect the rights and privileges of those whose political destinies are more or less in your hands, then it is at once hailed with satisfaction all over the world. But if, on the other hand, your Colonial policy betrays a tendency to depart from those principles of right and wrong which govern the international relations of the civilized world, and a desire to subordinate considerations of right to those of might, it is only natural that such a policy should excite the gravest anxiety and alarm in every part of the Empire. (Cheers.) Sir, I wish it could be said that there was no cause for such alarm. I wish it could be said that the policy of England in South Africa has been such as might be reasonably expected from a nation which unquestionably leads the van of civilization. Recent events have forced the affairs of South Africa upon public attention, and a state of things is disclosed which, I am persuaded, can never be regarded with equanimity by the people of this country. (Cheers.) Take for instance this Zulu war. Is it a matter for national congratulation, or is it an event of which every Englishman ought to be heartily ashamed? (Hear, hear.) Well, without entering into details with which our Chairman has already dealt, and with which you must all be familiar, I may be permitted to tell you in one or two words what we in India think of the

policy which led to the conflict with the Zulus. (Hear, hear.) In our opinion,—and I am sure the majority of Englishmen will agree with us,—the responsibility of that war belongs not to the Zulus but to the British authorities in South Africa. (Cheers.) If you divest your mind, for one moment, of the sophistries and fiction with which the judgment of the English nation has been sought to be warped, you must inevitably come to the conclusion that this was one of the most wicked and wanton wars ever undertaken in modern times by a civilized nation. (Cheers.) Well, you are aware that the chief cause of quarrel was in connection with the land disputes which had, for a long time, existed between Cetywayo and the Dutch Republic, and in regard to which the British authorities had repeatedly expressed their opinion in favor of the Zulu claims. (Hear, hear.) But no sooner had the Transvaal been annexed than both Sir Theophilus Shepstone and Sir Bartle Frere suddenly became converts to the Dutch version of the dispute. (Hear, hear.) Can you wonder, if, under these circumstances, the Zulus attributed that sudden change of opinion to the altered circumstances which had given the Colonial Government a direct interest in the claims and pretensions of the Transvaal Republic? (Hear, hear.) Well, sir, Englishmen are excellent judges and arbitrators when they themselves have no interest one way or the other in the subject-matter of the dispute. (Laughter and cheers.) But when it is otherwise, when their own interests are concerned, they are very much like other human beings (much laughter and cheering), and hence the sound old maxim of English law that no man should be a judge in his own case.

(Hear, hear.) Well, it seems to me that the wisdom of that maxim was well illustrated by the history of this dispute with the Zulu King. So long as it was a question between him and the Republic, the British authorities had no hesitation in denouncing the pretensions of the Boers as unjust and unfounded, and no less an authority than Lord Carnarvon declared in an official despatch that "Her Majesty's Government could never accept, or be a party to any extension of territory on the part of the South African Republic, or any appropriation of the lands now ruled over by Cetywayo." And the Zulu King had all along manifested the utmost confidence in the impartiality of the Colonial Government; and though that confidence must have been rudely shaken (hear, hear) by the sudden change of opinion to which I have already referred, yet this barbarous Chief showed no little forbearance and no little regard for civilized usage, when he consented to the proposal of Sir Henry Bulwer, that the matter should be formally referred to arbitration. (Hear, hear.) And what was the verdict of that Court of Enquiry? Who, after all, was proved to be in the right? The Commissioners, who, by the way, were all Englishmen, after a careful and protracted enquiry, declared that the Zulu claims were just, and recommended that the disputed lands should be made over to Cetywayo. But, in spite of the emphatic and well considered Report of the Commissioners, Sir Bartle Frere could not bring himself to make the award until six months afterwards. (Hear, hear.) This long delay was in itself a very grave matter, when you bear in mind the excitement which prevailed on both sides of the frontier and the ostenta-

tious military preparations which were going on. (Hear, hear.) But this was not all. The worst feature of the case was this, that, when the award was at length reluctantly made, it was found that Sir Bartle Frere had only given with one hand what he took away with the other. (Cheers.) Only a few days later, a memorandum was published, announcing the appointment of a British Resident in Zululand, who, besides being invested with functions utterly inconsistent with the national independence of the Zulus, was also to take care that the most valuable portion of the lands which were nominally made over to Cetywayo, was in reality secured to the wrongful holders without the payment of any compensation whatever. (Hear, hear.) Now, I ask you, if anything could be more unjust than a transaction of this kind? (Cheers.) Could anything be more discreditable than that your responsible public servants, while pretending to do an act of justice, should be giving to the rightful owners an empty shadow of sovereignty, and, at the same time, deliberately withhold the substantial rights of ownership? (Cheers.) But as if Sir Bartle Frere was afraid that he had not already done quite enough to drive the Zulu nation into a state of hostility, he made assurance doubly sure by sending along with the award an *ultimatum* which was unquestionably a message of war. (Hear, hear.) To expect the Zulus to concede the numerous demands contained in that *ultimatum* was to expect them to surrender their national independence at the bidding of the High Commissioner. (Cheers.) But even at this juncture Cetywayo displayed a spirit of conciliation and forbearance which even civilized monarchs have not

always been ready to show. When the twenty days of grace had expired, he asked for a little more time, but the British authorities refused his request, and commenced the invasion of his territories. Can you be surprised, if, under these circumstances, the world is unanimous in regarding the Zulu war as one of the unjustifiable and aggressive wars ever undertaken by a great power in the wantonness of superior strength? (Cheers.)

Now, sir, turning our eyes for one moment towards the domestic policy of the Colonial Government in reference to the African races subject to the British Crown, we find a similar spirit of injustice and oppression. (Hear, hear.) The elaborate Report to which we have just listened dwells at length upon the nature and working of what are called the Vagrancy Laws. Can you entertain any doubt as to the real object of those laws? For my part, after what we have heard to-night, I am convinced that those laws were enacted with a view to obtain, through the intervention of the machinery of criminal justice, the forced labour of those unfortunate Kaffirs who had refused to accept the miserable terms offered them by the Colonists. (Cheers.) Individual instances of cruel hardship have also been cited in the Report which speak for themselves, and upon which comment would be superfluous. (Hear, hear.) I was conversing on this subject with an esteemed friend of mine yesterday afternoon, and he said that if any such were attempted to be introduced in this country, resistance would become a duty. (Cheers.) I will go so far as to say that resistance would become justifiable in any country where such a state of things existed. (Hear, hear.) I am happy to be able to tell you that

even in India, where, as you know, we have much to complain of, things are not half so bad as this. If such measures were attempted to be introduced in India, your Indian Empire would not be worth a day's purchase. (Cheers.) I rejoice to think that my countrymen are not yet sunk so low as to render it possible for the most rash and heedless governors to dream of introducing measures like these. And I will tell you frankly that if such a thing were attempted in India, and if my countrymen were to sit tamely under so gross an outrage, from that moment I should give up all hopes of my country and hang down my head in shame. (Cheers.) Well, sir, it is for public opinion in this country to make itself heard upon a question like this. I cannot believe that the English nation will tolerate these things, or that the new Liberal Government, which has happily taken the place of the Tory administration —(cheers)—I cannot believe that the new Government can, by any possibility, accord its sanction to a system which is a disgrace and a scandal to civilization. (Cheers.) You, sir, have also referred to another question upon which the people of this country should lose no time in declaring their opinion. We are told that the Colonial Government propose to bring in a Bill authorising the detention of Cetywayo in some island or other place. Now, Ladies and Gentlemen, I think you have a perfect right to demand to be informed, whether it is intended that the captive King should be sent to some penal settlement such as Robben Island. (Hear, hear.) Are you content that your responsible public servants in a distant part of the Empire should bring an indelible stain upon the honor of England by treat-

ing a brave unfortunate enemy as a convicted felon? (Cheers.) Well, these are questions which not only appeal to your sense of justice, but which deeply concern your national honor. (Hear, hear.) It is necessary that English opinion should exercise the most vigilant control over the conduct of your distant representatives. Within the last two or three years your public servants in various parts of the Empire have been vying with each other as to who should commit the nation to the most unworthy courses. (Laughter and cheers.) I began my remarks by telling you that English policy in the most distant part of the world is anxiously watched by the rest of the Empire as an indication of what might be expected elsewhere, and if you will permit me I will conclude by giving you an illustration drawn from recent events in India. (Hear, hear.) There, too, we have had a policy of sham Imperialism (cheers), of coercive legislation, and of wanton wars. (Cheers.) The new policy was proclaimed amid a blaze of fireworks (laughter), while the people were dying of starvation by thousands and tens of thousands. And, after all, it was most fitting that a policy which was so soon to culminate in bloodshed and untold misery and suffering to many thousands of human beings in distant quarters of the globe—I say it was only fitting that such a policy should have been inaugurated amid the dying groans of a starving population. (Cheers.) But, sir, I rejoice to think that the turn of the tide has come. (Cheers.) We are now able to say of that policy in the words of the poet—

> "Begot in sin to die in shame
> Its life began and ends the same." (Cheers.)

The English nation has repudiated that policy (hear, hear) and driven its authors from power. The national will has once more called to the helm of affairs the foremost statesman of the age (loud cheers)—a statesman who, in opposition and amid the envenomed invective of foes, was never tired of defending the rights of the weak and advocating the equality of nations, and who is now about to show to the world how statesmanship may be carried on consistently with those immutable principles of right and wrong which we all acknowledge in the relations of private life. (Applause.)

ANNIVERSARY MEETING OF THE WOMEN'S PEACE AND ARBITRATION AUXILIARY OF THE LONDON PEACE SOCIETY.

THE sixth annual meeting and *conversazione* in connection with the Women's Peace and Arbitration Auxiliary of the London Peace Society was held at the Memorial Hall, London, on the evening of the 26th May 1880, the chair being occupied by Dr. Leone Levi. There was a good attendance, a large portion of those present being ladies.

From the report it appeared that the Society had made considerable progress, and had been useful in disseminating a large number of pamphlets and tracts advocating peace principles. Several branch Associations have been formed, the one at Wisbeach numbering 723 members.

Mr. R. C. Morgan having read the Beatitudes and other passages of Scripture, offered prayer, after which,

The Chairman said, as a Society they had a great reason for congratulation at the success of the Liberal Party, whose motto was "Peace, retrenchment, and reform." There were two ways of promoting peace; one was by commending the principles of peace to the heart of the people, the other by endeavouring to remove causes of war, and by facilitating the peaceful solution of disputes. It was a disgrace that in the 19th century the principal nations of the world

should be spending some £170,000,000 a year for their armies and navies, and maintaining some 3,000,000 of men engaged in the art of destruction. The policy now pursued all over Europe was perfectly suicidal. Last year we expended as much as £32,000,000 for army and navy purposes, and it would be the duty of the present Government to make a substantial reduction in these charges.

Mrs. Aukland moved the following resolution: "That the report be adopted, and that this meeting, believing in the Divine principle of love as the social regenerator, desires to reiterate its conviction that the war system is antagonistic to Christianity and injurious to the best interest of mankind." She urged that women's work was especially with the young over whom they had great influence. There should be no drums or military toys about the nursery which gave their little ones the military spirit and ambition to become soldiers. She trusted the war flag would soon be furled, and that they would march beneath another banner, the banner of brotherhood and love. (Cheers.)

Mr. Lalmohun Ghose, in seconding the resolution, said:—

MR. CHAIRMAN, LADIES, AND GENTLEMEN,—When the Honorary Secretary of this Society very kindly invited me to take part in the proceedings of this evening, I felt that I could not shrink from the performance of so pleasant a duty. I cannot, indeed, hope that anything that I may say on this occasion will be worthy of your attention, but at the same time, I am inclined to think that the utterances, however feeble and halting, of a Native of India, who has been deputed to this country to represent the wishes and sentiments of your Indian fellow-subjects (cheers), cannot fail to be regarded with indulgence by a gathering of English ladies and gentlemen, such as I see before me. (Cheers.) Well, the cause which you represent, and the principles which you are assembled here to advocate, are second to none in importance, and they concern the vital interests of the

whole human race. (Hear, hear.) Unfortunately, Cæsarism is not yet extinct, and even in the civilized world, the popular will in too many countries is yet powerless to guide and control their Governments which are carried on in the interests of dominant cliques, or of reigning dynasties, rather than in the interests of the nations in whose name they speak and whose policy they direct. I think you will all agree with me that the real mischief—the true reason why militarism is still in the ascendant—was laid bare by Lord Derby a few months ago when he pointed out that the "Emperors, Arch-Dukes, Field-Marshals, and other tremendous personages of that sort" (laughter), of whom there are so many in Europe, have direct personal interest in keeping up those huge standing armies (cheers) to which reference has been already made by the fair speaker who preceded me, and which are not only a standing menace to the peace of the world, but are maintained at a ruinous cost and by drawing away large portions of the population from the peaceful pursuits of productive labor. (Hear, hear.) But I feel sure that when the nations of the world become sufficiently alive to their own interests, and when they are governed by themselves and not merely "by sovereigns and statesmen" as we were recently told (laughter), the chief obstacles will have vanished which at present hinder and retard the spread of those beneficent principles which you are met together to advance. (Cheers.) Well, I will not deal with this question merely on abstract grounds, or on those high moral considerations which have already been so often and so eloquently discussed; but I shall, if you will allow me, refer to one or two recent events with which,

as a Native of India, I am most familiar, and which seem to me to show how necessary it is that this question of peace should be continually agitated (hear, hear), and that you should go on spreading your opinions among the different communities of Europe, until you have forced the various Governments to adopt and carry out your principles. Now, if you turn your eyes for one moment towards the N. W. Frontier of India, and think of all that has been recently done in that part of the world in the name of England, you cannot but feel that the work which you seek to accomplish is one of the most difficult and arduous character. Ladies and gentlemen, it is for England to set an example in this direction, which cannot fail to be followed by the other nations of the world. (Hear, hear.) It is for you to set your faces resolutely against any attempt on the part of your responsible public servants in any portion of the British Empire to imitate the sort of tawdry Imperialism which cost your neighbours across the channel oceans of blood to get rid of. (Cheers.) Even in this country you have lately observed some symptoms of this kind, and you have seen and lamented some of the evils that have flowed from a restless and mischievous foreign policy; but, to see the worst phases of the disease, you have to turn your eyes towards India, where we have had special reasons to deplore that policy of mock Imperialism of which we have been made the victims for the last three or four years. (Cheers.) Sir, if it had been merely a question of Her Majesty taking to herself an additional title—although for myself I believe that it is impossible for the Sovereign of these realms to assume a nobler or a more honored title than the good old title

of Queen of England (loud cheers)—yet I am bound to say that if it had been merely a question of an additional title, the people of India would have had little to say against it. But the new *régime* was only the symbol, only the prelude and precursor of aggressive wars and of crushing taxation. (Cheers.) You cannot make bricks without straw, nor can you carry on wars without a lavish expenditure of money. (Hear.) Therefore, the Government of India, when they embarked upon their new policy, found it necessary to impose fresh taxes upon a famine-stricken population; and this they did under the pretence of insuring the empire against the worst calamities of famine. We were told that the new fund was to be regarded as a "sacred trust," and to be "religiously reserved" for the "sole purpose" of famine relief. But you all know how that fund has vanished, or, in other words, has been misappropriated for the purpose of a wicked and wanton war. (Cheers.) Sir, the greatest of your poets has said, I know not with what truth, that "at lovers' perjuries they say, Jove laughs." But whether that be so or not, and without soaring so high as Olympus, it is quite certain that no right-minded man will ever be disposed to laugh at such a deliberate violation of faith as that of which the Government of Lord Lytton have been guilty with regard to the Famine Insurance Fund. (Cheers.) Nor it is possible to palliate their conduct even on the principle of the ends justifying the means. For it is unquestionable that this Afghan war, like the war in the south of Africa, was one of the most unjustifiable quarrels that have ever been fastened by a strong power upon a weaker neighbour. (Cheers.) It is the old

story of the wolf and the lamb over again. (Laughter and cheers.) Even the authors of that war know perfectly well that, if the whole truth were known in this country, they would never be permitted to commit the nation to so discreditable a course. (Hear, hear.) They, therefore, imitated some of the worst tactics of the second empire in France, and sent telegrams to this country, which, with every desire to avoid the use of offensive expressions, I cannot but describe as utterly misleading and false. (Hear, hear.) Well, such was the origin of that war, and how was it conducted? I am aware that wars cannot be carried on with rose water. (Laughter.) But it is certainly not necessary that conquerors should be other than generous towards a brave, though vanquished foe. (Cheers.) It is not necessary that a Christian nation should forget those noble precepts of the Prince of Peace of which we have been reminded this evening by our friend Mr. Morgan. It is not necessary that a great power like England, even when she is fighting against semi-barbarous races, should ignore the rules of civilized warfare. (Hear, hear.) It is not necessary that those who represent you in a distant land should sully your national honor and drag the name of England through the mire, by refusing to give quarter to a beaten enemy, by permitting their soldiers to set fire to the clothes of the dead and dying (shame, shame), by the wholesale execution of prisoners of war, and by burning innumerable villages. (Cheers, and cries of "shame.") Ladies and gentlemen, I am afraid I have already exceeded the ten minutes allowed to me (loud cries of "go on"), and I will not detain you more than two or three minutes longer (cheers and "go on"). Well,

when you think of these things, when you reflect upon all that has been done in various parts of the British Empire, you cannot but be impressed with the necessity of keeping up a persistent agitation in favour of the principles of peace and arbitration. You will have many difficulties to overcome, and many obstacles to surmount. But with the patience and perseverance which have ever distinguished the champions of peace and progress in this country, you can never fail to accomplish the object you have in view. Already in one memorable instance the principles which you advocate had been adopted in practice. I allude to the Geneva arbitration. (Cheers.) And we have now once more the happiness to see at the head of the Government the great statesman (cheers) who will be known in history as being the first to set a noble example of removing international quarrels from the barbarous arbitrament of the battle-field to the peaceful arena of the Hall of Justice. (Loud cheers.) We have also the further satisfaction of knowing that one of the most eminent members of the Peace party is also a member of the new Government (hear, hear), and the cause which reckons among its most distinguished advocates the honored name of John Bright (cheers) can never fail to be ultimately crowned with success. The English nation has now returned to more rational counsels and to a juster conception of the national honor. (Cheers.) In the emphatic verdict returned at the late elections, I see a happy augury for the future, not only of this country, but of the world. (Cheers.) I see in it the dawn of a happier era, the commencement of the reign of peace and prosperity, of plenty and contentment at home, and the

healing of many wounds abroad. (Loud cheers.) In that great work—in promoting the principles of peace and "good-will among nations"—the ladies of England can render the most invaluable service. (Cheers.) It is impossible to exaggerate the influence which women can exercise in a civilized community like this. (Hear, hear.) And if the gentler sex are only true to the unerring instincts of their nature, they can never lack either the opportunity, or the power of persuasion. (Cheers.) Ladies and gentlemen, I beg to thank you heartily for giving me this opportunity of addressing you, and for the kind manner in which you have received my remarks. (Loud and prolonged applause, amidst which the speaker resumed his seat.)

PRESENTATION OF AN ADDRESS OF WELCOME TO MR. LALMOHUN GHOSE AT BOMBAY.

A LARGE meeting of Native citizens was held at the Framji Cowasji Institute on Thursday, November 4, 1880, to present an address of welcome to Mr. Lalmohun Ghose on his arrival from England. On the motion of Mr. Mahomed Ali Rogay, the Hon'ble Rao Saheb V. N. Mandlik, C.S.I., was called to the chair.

The Chairman said that he was sorry to read a note from his friend, Sir Maunguldas Nathubhoy, who was prevented by indisposition from presiding at the meeting. He said Mr. Ghose was deputed to England last season by the Indian Association in order to represent the wants of India. No doubt, in one sense he went to represent a public body in Calcutta; but although he went from Calcutta, he no less represented other parts of India as well (hear, hear), and all he requested Mr. Ghose to bear in mind when he returned to Calcutta, was that he was returning not as a delegate simply of Calcutta, but as a delegate of Western India as well. (Applause.) It was with that view that a few words in the form of an address had been penned and circulated. The Chairman then called upon Mr. Nanabhoy Byramji Jijibhoy to read the following address:—

TO LALMOHUN GHOSE, ESQ., BARRISTER-AT-LAW, DELEGATE OF THE INDIAN ASSOCIATION OF CALCUTTA, NOW IN BOMBAY.

Dear Sir,—Allow us on behalf of the citizens of Bombay to offer you a cordial welcome to our city on your first landing on the shores of India after a successful mission to Great Britain. We have anxiously watched your career during your brief sojourn in the West, and we are extremely happy to see that in the delicate position to which you were unexpectedly called you have discharged your duties towards India with great zeal, with marked judgment and discretion, and with ability of a very high order. The cause of India is the cause of principles and not of parties. It is to the Conservative Liberals as much as to the Liberal Conservatives that India must look and does look for the advancement of her interests: and we are glad that you have been enabled to secure the kindly sympathies and distinguished co-operation of many eminent statesmen and citizens in

Great Britain during your short stay among them. In now wishing you a prosperous journey to your native city, we beg of you to convey this expression of our sympathy and approbation to those whom you so worthily represent.

Mr. Lalmohun Ghose, who, on rising, was received with loud cheers, said :—

MR. CHAIRMAN AND GENTLEMEN,—I can scarcely tell you how gratifying it is to me to meet with such a cordial welcome at the hands of the citizens of what I may call the commercial capital of India. At the same time, I am not so vain or so foolish as to imagine that personally I have done anything to deserve even one-twentieth part of your good opinion. But I believe I interpret your feelings correctly in regarding the proceedings of to-day as only one mode of expressing the very deep interest which you all take in those great national questions with which it has been my privilege lately to be associated, especially in another country. Viewed in that light, I see great cause for gratification in a meeting such as this which seems to me to bring the different parts of this great empire into closer union, and to promote a warmer sympathy between them than had hitherto unfortunately prevailed. But, Sir, at the same time, I may say the embarrassing position in which I now find myself has not been of my own seeking. Last year, when I passed through your beautiful city on my return from England, it was suggested to me by a very esteemed friend of mine that I should consent to address a public meeting in this city before I left Bombay. At that time, I was able successfully to resist my friend's kind proposal; but when the same proposal was again pressed upon me

this time, I found that it was not only the wish of one or two personal friends of mine, but there existed something like a general desire among your leading citizens that I should discuss with you some of those important questions in which, without distinction of race or creed, we are all profoundly interested as Natives of India. (Cheers.) Under these circumstances, I did not much hesitate to accept this invitation; and now that I am here amongst you, I do not at all regret that I consented to occupy this position, however embarrassing to myself, for embarrassing it must always be to find one's self spoken of in terms of kindness far exceeding what he thinks he deserves. But I would not, for personal considerations of that nature, willingly forego the very great pleasure which it affords me to witness a demonstration of this kind of the growing sense amongst us that we are a nation with national duties to discharge, and national privileges to win. (Cheers.) Well, Sir, what is the great reproach against us? What is it that our political opponents look upon as a conclusive and a crushing reply to any demands that we might make for increased political rights, or even for a more extended employment of our fellow-countrymen in the higher ranks of the public service? Why, it is this. They tell us that all these demands come only from a handful of mischievous agitators—for that is what they call us—who are to be mostly found in Calcutta, and with whom the bulk of the Indian people, particularly what are called the martial races, including, I have no doubt, those great communities which I see represented here, have no sympathy in common. They also tell us that you look upon a Bengali as something worse than a

foreigner. Well, is it true, or is it a libel and a calumny? For myself I need no assurance from you, because I can read your answer plainly in your countenances, and in the kind, the almost too kind welcome, which in my humble person you have just accorded to a member of the Bengali race, which you are represented to despise and to hold in contempt. Well, Sir, those superior critics to whom I have already alluded, the writers and the inspirers of those articles, those bitter articles, in the English and the Anglo-Indian Press, are open to conviction. But I do hope that some of those whom they seek to delude will read or hear of meetings such as this, and will learn to value at their true worth those deliberate misrepresentations which are being continually made on the subject. I also hope that the Press of this country and especially of this great Presidency will speak out boldly on the subject, and will do its duty, and that every effort will be made to give the lie to all these interested assertions. For believe me, gentlemen, that the very first condition of success in the great national struggle in which we are at present engaged, is not only that we should be perfectly united amongst ourselves, but that the English people, who are in the last resort, or at any rate in the last resort but one, the arbiters of our destinies, should know that we are so united. The great majority of the people of England, believe me, have no desire to inflict injustice upon any portion of their fellow-subjects. (Hear, hear.) They have no interest in wrong-doing. They only want the requisite knowledge; and that is for you to supply. Because if the English people once see that the demands which are made in the name of this country are the

national demands of a united people, and that the grievances of which we complain are genuine *bonâ fide* grievances, and not merely manufactured by a few mischievous busibodies, such as I and others who act with me are represented to be—if this conviction is once brought home to them, I cannot bring myself to believe that the freest nation in the world will be slow to respond to our appeal. (Applause.) Sir, towards the beginning of March last, about four or five days before I embarked for England, I had the honor of addressing a very crowded meeting of our fellow-countrymen at the Town Hall of Calcutta. At that time I took what was even then regarded by some of my friends as perhaps a too sanguine view of the benefits which this country might expect from a Liberal Administration when the Liberal Party acceded to power. Well, the event which I then hoped for, and which even then I ventured to predict, has now come to pass. The accession of the Liberals to power was hailed with delight by the people of this country; but now, if I may judge from the columns of the Native Press, I believe there exists a very general feeling of disappointment in regard to the performances of the new Government, as compared with their promises, so far as this country is concerned. (Cheers.) Gentlemen, I am not surprised that you receive that statement with cheers; nor am I going to deny, that to a certain extent it is a very natural and a very justifiable feeling. I go further and say that at one time I myself felt quite as much disappointed as any of you could possibly have been. But since then I have had the advantage of discussing this question with some of the most distinguished men in England; and the more I have reflected upon what

I have been told in connection with this matter, the more have I been impressed with the necessity of very great patience and forbearance on the part of the people of this country. You must remember, gentlemen, that the present Government have by no means succeeded to a bed of roses. They were, at the outset of their career, burdened with the difficulties of a war of which the less said the better (hear, hear, and applause) —a war for which they were not themselves responsible, and which, indeed, they tried to avert to the best of their power. And so long as that war was not brought to a termination, so long it was natural that statesmen who had suddenly been called to office should find all their attention engrossed in the solution of the many complicated problems arising out of that unhappy business. So much so that even Lord Hartington was obliged to confess, when a deputation of our countrymen, of whom I had the honor to be one, waited upon him, that he had had no time to study or to acquaint himself with the various bearings of those important questions of internal reform to which we ventured to draw his attention. I am free to admit that as I listened to Lord Hartington's reply on that occasion, I felt my enthusiasm considerably damped. But a day or two later I had the honor of an interview with another Cabinet Minister, than whom there breathes not a more ardent or a more sincere friend of the people of this country, one whose name is honored and cherished wherever human genius is admired, and who is as large-hearted a philanthropist now as ever. (Hear, hear, and cheers.) Need I tell you that I allude to Mr. Bright? (Cheers.) Well, when I had the honor of an interview with him he told me

that if I were to read between the lines of Lord Hartington's reply to the deputation, and to make due allowances for the cautious and reserved language of a minister new to his office, I would not see cause for disappointment. The same remark has been made to me by more than one of my friends in England: and I must say that I have seen reason considerably to modify the feeling of disappointment or irritation, or whatever else you may call it, which I at first shared in common with all our countrymen, and not our countrymen only. For you remember there was a time when even the most advanced and earnest section of the Liberal party, most hearty admirers and followers of Mr. Gladstone, felt—what shall I say, disappointed is too mild a term? Well, they felt chilled and alienated at the action of the new Government in apparently hesitating to recall Sir Bartle Frere, a man of whom you knew something as your Governor, and who was the author of that iniquitous war in Zululand, which was denounced in unmeasured terms by the members of the present Government when in opposition. Now, gentlemen, what is the lesson that we ought to derive from this incident? It is not that whatever great leaders of parties may say when out of office is said in a polemical sense—though for myself I think it is to be greatly regretted that they should ever say anything in a purely polemical sense—but I think the true lesson is this,—that ministers have a great many difficulties to encounter and to overcome of which the outside public have hardly any conception, and oftentimes with the very best of intentions, and with the utmost anxiety to do justice they might find it impossible to carry out, as speedily as they themselves

might wish to carry out, some of the very measures which they may have strenuously advocated when out of office. At all events, gentlemen, whether you agree with me or not, that was the remark made to me by the distinguished statesman whom I have just referred to shortly before I left the country. And then the right honorable gentleman, speaking of India, added that even if he and I had the whole thing in our hands,—although to speak of me in that connection was undoubtedly the boldest figure of speech which even Mr. Bright had ever used,—we should find ourselves unable to effect much more than the present Government had done and were trying to do. Well, gentlemen, there is only one word more which I wish to say on this point. I wish to call your attention to an observation which once fell from the Chief Secretary for Ireland—an observation which, although it was addressed to the Irish people, might have been with equal propriety addressed to ourselves. You have no doubt read and heard a good deal of the Irish Disturbance Bill, which created, as we know, much disturbance in Parliament. Well, though that Bill had passed the Commons, it was, as you know, almost passionately rejected by the landlords in the Upper House. It was only natural that the Irish members of the House should have deeply resented the action of the Lords. Nor was it to be expected that so able and so sagacious a leader of the Irish party as Mr. Parnell would allow such an incident to pass without making use of it as an additional argument in favor of the principles which, rightly or wrongly, he advocates. That, gentlemen, was the first time that I had the pleasure of listening to Mr. Parnell; and I must say that

a more able, a more moderate, or a more well-reasoned speech, one does not often hear even in the British House of Commons. (Hear, hear, and applause.) The speech evidently created a profound impression in the House, and every now and again there came a burst of cheers from the Liberal benches, — cheers which you might almost describe as having been wrung from reluctant throats. Even Mr. Forster, although he was obliged on behalf of the Government to oppose the resolution that had been moved by Mr. Parnell, could not help acknowledging his general concurrence with much that had fallen from that gentleman; and towards the conclusion of his speech the Irish Secretary, speaking in deeply earnest tones, made a feeling appeal to the Irish Party amid loud cheers from the Irish members, asking them to exercise some forbearance towards the new Government and to give them at least one year for the solution of those difficult Irish problems with which the new Ministry were sincerely anxious to deal in such a spirit that they might be able to leave Ireland better than they had found it. (Cheers.) Well, gentlemen, you must remember that this was said in reference to Ireland, which is an integral part of the United Kingdom, and which is represented in the House of Commons by upwards of one hundred members. And if that be so in the case of Ireland, how much greater is the necessity for patience on the part of the people of this country? We are not represented in Parliament; we have no political power, direct or indirect; while the immense distance which separates this country from England, and the general want of knowledge amongst the English people as to the true state of affairs here, preclude the

possibility of Indian questions being taken up in England and dealt with in a manner that we should like to see them dealt with. Well, gentlemen, I do not appear here before you in the character of an apologist for Her Majesty's Government, or for the Liberal Party. It is perhaps much more congenial to me to attack than to defend. But there are considerations of justice and of fairplay, which we should never loose sight of; and while, on the one hand, we should never slacken in our efforts, while we should strain every nerve to obtain a full recognition of our political rights, we should, at the same time, not be slow to recognize the difficulties which responsible statesmen have to encounter and to overcome. (Hear, hear.) And, gentlemen, on account of the reasons which I have endeavoured to indicate, I still think that we have great cause for rejoicing in the change of administration that has recently taken place in England. I do not believe that there ever was an English Government more sincerely anxious to deal justly by every portion of Her Majesty's subjects in every quarter of the globe. And surely a ministry that is presided over by Mr. Gladstone, and which counts among its members such names as those of Mr. Bright and Mr. Fawcett,—such an administration, I say, may well claim the confidence, and may appeal to the forbearance of the people of this country. Happily the change of administration in England has been followed by something like a change of Government here. The Nobleman who now represents the Queen in this country is still new to his high office, and it would be quite premature for us to form any estimate of the policy which he might yet pursue. But I think we have something like a

guarantee of a useful and beneficent administration in the fact that Lord Ripon enjoys the full confidence of the foremost statesmen in England. (Hear, hear.) But, gentlemen, it is not enough that we should have wise and good men at the head of affairs both in England and here. If we are ever to acquire those rights and privileges which we all desire to acquire, the stimulus and the motive-power must come from ourselves. (Applause.) We should lose no opportunity of ventilating our grievances and of acquainting our rulers with the opinions and aspirations of the people. At the present moment, there are many questions of the greatest importance, which must before long engage the serious attention of the Government. If I am not trespassing too much upon your time and attention, I should like to say a few words upon one or two of these questions. First and foremost is the question of representation. I do not believe there is any subject as to which we are more unanimous. Well, what is the present state of affairs? Half-a-dozen or a dozen gentlemen—I do not know the exact number—sit round the Council table here, and in Calcutta and Madras, and between them they govern and legislate for upwards of 200 millions of people. Two or three Native gentlemen are nominated to seats in these Councils. But with a very few exceptions, such as the appointment—the happy appointment that was made last week (loud applause)—an appointment on which the Government of Bombay a great deal more than you, sir, are to be congratulated,—I say with a few exceptions of that kind, the men who are nominated to these seats are generally magnificent nobodies (laughter), and they no more represent the

people of this country than the man in the moon might be said to represent them. (Renewed laughter.) I have said there are exceptions; for we cannot be blind to the fact that occasionally we find men like our worthy Chairman, men of sterling independence and honesty, men of great ability and intellectual power, who are not afraid to speak out their minds, and to pursue a public-spirited and a patriotic course. (Cheers.) But what happens to these gentlemen, at least to most of them? I believe you, sir, and our friend, Mr. Mahomed Ali Rogay, might give us some very interesting information upon this subject, if you chose. (Laughter.) I believe these independent gentlemen are generally regarded as very inconvenient and very troublesome, and they soon perceive more or less plain indications that the powers that be would, if I may use so homely an expression, much rather have their room than their company. Well, the consequence is, that, thwarted and humiliated at every step, they sooner or later retire with disgust from an assembly where they are powerless to do any good, and where they only retain their seats at the pleasure of the authorities. Well, gentlemen, are you content that such a state of things should continue for an indefinite period to come? I think the country demands, and it is ripe for the demand, that we should have something like a fair and genuine representation of the people in the Council of the Government. (Hear, hear.) And that those representatives should be freely elected by ourselves. You are doubtless aware that, in the Memorial which was presented to Lord Hartington by the deputation to which I have already referred, there was something like an outline of a scheme of public representation

submitted for the consideration of Government. I may as well tell you that that particular scheme was drawn up in consultation with such practical Anglo-Indian statesmen as Sir Charles Trevelyan, who, as you know, is one of the most illustrious and high-minded of retired Indian Governors. (Applause.) Well, gentlemen, I am persuaded that that scheme, as a beginning, is likely to commend itself to the approval of all our fellow-countrymen; and at the same time, it is so moderate in its nature that it is not calculated to alarm the most timid or the most conservative of the official classes. But, sir, if the country is with us, let every newspaper throughout this empire, let every public speaker on every platform give expression to what I consider to be one of the most urgent and vital necessities of our common country. (Cheers.) Because so long as there is no popular representation in this country, so long it is impossible to expect anything like a great legislative measure which would even attempt to deal with any of those grievous wrongs from which this country is suffering. You all know that ours is one of the poorest countries in the world, and yet from this poor country no less a sum than something between 15 and 20 millions sterling is annually drained away to swell the wealth of England. (Applause.) And how much of the industry do you think, how much of the fruits of the patient and unremitting toil of our countrymen is represented by the sum of, let us say 15 millions? A mere abstract or arithmetical statement of figures does not go home to us in the same way as if we were to take a concrete or a tangible illustration. Well, let us take the case of our miserable ryots. I have often seen them, and sorrowed

over their lot, even as I have hurried across the country by rail, or while I have wandered about in pursuit of game during one of those shooting excursions in which I occasionally indulge, and I have often paused to think and reflect upon the condition of those for whom life is one long trial and existence an unmitigated torment. I have seen them—in fact, all of you have seen them—with scarcely a rag round their loins, with hardly one scanty meal of coarse grain during the twenty-four hours' toiling and sweating under the burning rays of a tropical sun from the dawn of the day till nightfall. We see these men battling with silent heroism against their hard and fearful lot, and assisted in their never-ceasing labors by the tiny hands of their little children, who in times of scarcity look up to them in vain for their daily food. Take the case of these men, who from the cradle to the grave drag an existence than which one more wretched or more miserable the imagination of man can scarcely conceive. I believe the most liberal estimate would not compute the annual income of one of our average agricultural labourers at more than ten pounds. Well, if that be so, then the sum of 15 millions sterling represents the entire fruits of the industry of at least a million and-a-half of these wretched beings. And it comes to this that, in order that a few thousand English gentlemen might live at ease and luxury on their return to their native land, more than a million and-a-half of our countrymen have to toil and slave from year's end to year's end. Can such things be, and leave no bitterness behind? The blessings of nature, the gifts which mother earth yields up in abounding plenty in return for human industry, are meant to be shared by all God's

creatures alike. Who amongst us does not share the feelings of the poet when he exclaims with indignation?—

* * * * * Yon sun,
Lights it the great alone? Yon silver beams,
Sleep they less sweetly on the cottage thatch
Than on the dome of Kings? Is mother Earth
A step-dame to her numerous sons who earn
Her unshared gifts with unremitting toil;
A mother only to those puling babes
Who, nursed in ease and luxury, make men
The playthings of their babyhood, and mar,
In self-important childishness, the peace,
Which men alone appreciate? (Cheers.)

But, gentlemen, how is it that our Government looks on with apparent apathy, with icy coldness, on all this mass of human wretchedness! How is it that no attempt is made to rescue our agricultural population from the abject poverty into which they are sinking deeper and deeper every day? Don't you think that if the people were really represented in the Councils of the Government, we should soon have wise and well-considered measures of legislation calculated to improve the condition of the tillers of the soil, and to develop the resources of the country? Well, you all know, and I believe it will scarcely be denied by anybody, that the peasantry of Bengal, on account of the permanent settlement which prevails there, are far better off than the peasantry of any other part of India. (Applause.) Wherever else you may turn, you find the occupier of land continually harassed by the settlement officer. Far too arbitrary systems prevent the employment of capital for agricultural purposes. Well, I was once talking on

the subject to a well-known Irish member of Parliament, Mr. Justin Macarthy, and I was greatly struck with some points of similarity between the land-laws in Ireland and here. Mr. Macarthy told me that in Ireland a farmer does not venture to put a flowerpot outside his window, lest his landlord should look upon it as an indication of prosperity and immediately proceed to enhance the rent. Well, the same sort of thing exists in this country with this difference, that here the State is the landlord. If the extension all over India of a permanent settlement, which, as I have just said, has been so beneficial in Bengal, is asking for too much, why should we not have a settlement for a long term of years, say for 100 years, with fixity of tenure and rents assessed at a fair and equitable rate? Again, it is well-known that indebtedness is the great curse and blight of our agricultural population—an evil which is greatly intensified by the cumbrous and complicated machinery of our courts of law. Why should no attempt be made to revive and to utilise those old and indigenous village tribunals which on our side of the country are called *panchayets*? I do not know what they are called here; but to them, I believe, might be left with advantage the settlement of most of those disputes which arise from the borrowing and other transactions of our ryots. Why should not even the money-lender himself be gradually supplanted by the establishment of rural agricultural banks, where our ryots may borrow money at moderate rates of interests? (Hear, hear.) I do not think it would be necessary to embark any very large amount of capital for this purpose. If the Government seriously undertake such a project, all that it would be necessary

to do, would, in my opinion, be simply to guarantee a certain rate of interest; and I feel sure that most of the money-lenders would then come forward with capital to support the scheme, as most men always prefer moderate returns combined with security and certainty to those enormous risks which the money-lenders at present incur. There is also another point, gentlemen, which I wish to mention in this connection. You are all aware that every year during the hot weather many millions of cattle in this country perish of starvation, thus involving a loss which has been variously estimated at from five millions to thirteen or fourteen millions sterling. And our lawgivers are continually engaged in giving us harassing laws on all sorts of subjects, on which the country needs no legislation! But why should not some portion of their superfluous energy be directed towards finding a remedy for this great evil? For myself I believe it would be a great boon to the country if a law were passed directing that, in all those parts of the country which suffer most from scarcity of forage, a certain tract of land should be set apart as a common enclosure, which might be thrown open to the village herds whenever all other fodder had been consumed. Well, gentlemen, these are a few of those questions which intimately concern the interest of our agricultural population, and which, if we had representative institutions in this country, would soon be solved in a satisfactory manner. Sir, I have already referred to the tribute which this country pays to England in the shape of home charges. I wish to make one more observation on this subject; and I feel sure it will be endorsed by an audience so conversant with commercial

airs as the citizens of Bombay. Last year, when I had the honor of addressing the Birmingham Chamber of Commerce, I took occasion to point out that, on looking at the Indian Trade Returns, we find that our exports exceed our imports by something like 15 millions, which, as you know, is almost equal to the amount of the home charges. Now, you are aware that if the commercial transactions of a country are left free and undisturbed, the exports and imports have always a tendency to balance each other. International commerce is almost wholly carried on by barter, or the mutual exchange of goods, only a very insignificant portion of the price of the goods which one country receives from another being paid in money. You are also aware that the old theories of the balance of trade have been entirely exploded. It will now be admitted by every political economist that wherever a country imports more than it exports, as they do in England, that is only an indication of prosperity. It proves that she has laid out her capital to advantage in foreign countries; and the excess of her imports represents the interest which those countries have to pay. But, gentlemen, it is the very reverse of this which happens in India. We export a great deal more than we import; in other words, we give more than we receive. And it is a most significant fact—a fact which the people of this country ought to take to heart, that the excess of our exports over our imports is as nearly as possible equal to the amount of the home charges. But, gentlemen, it must be admitted that much of it is the result of the legitimate operations of trade. No one, for instance, can have a word to say against the interest which we have

to pay on British capital invested in our railways and other public works. But I think this country has a perfect right to complain, if charges like this are found to be swelled by any other causes which are not so legitimate. You all know that it has been repeatedly declared by no less an authority than Mr. Fawcett, that, in the military charges alone, a reduction of at least three millions is possible without reducing the strength of the army by a single man. This, he points out, can be done by a mere change of system, particularly as regards the service and transport systems. Well, now that Mr. Fawcett is a member of the present Administration, I hope he will soon be able to recommend and to introduce so important a measure of reform. Then you also know that a good portion of these charges is represented by the pensions and other allowances that are made to Anglo-Indian officials in England. Can nothing be done to keep this item down and gradually to reduce it? I am aware that it is a very delicate subject, and one is obliged to speak with bated breath, as it were, on a question regarding which our Anglo-Indian friends are naturally very sensitive. But we do not seek to disturb any vested interest, or to tamper with what may be called the rights of property. I do not believe there is any one amongst us who is so far unfair as to advocate for one moment any interference in the pensions or other liberal incomes which have been already acquired by long and, in many instances, by useful and beneficent service rendered to the Government and people of this country. But what we say is this. Is there the same necessity for this charge now as there might have existed formerly? Why should you fill every office of dignity and emolument in

this country with youthful Englishmen, when there are hundreds and thousands of the Natives of this country, the children of the soil, who are just as well qualified, no less by their undoubted loyalty to the British Government (cheers) than by their intellectual acquirements and by their purity and integrity to fill those offices with honour to themselves and advantage to their country? (Renewed cheers.) Gentlemen, I think this is a question of most momentous import. I think we have a perfect right to say to our rulers,—You have for a long time past given us the blessings of a liberal education. Our minds are expanded under the generous influence of Western culture. We are deeply grateful to you for all these benefits. But remember, as our intellectual faculties are developed, so are our aspirations, both personal and national, sharpened and stimulated. We have a right to say to them—Remember that the study of European history, and particularly of the history of England and of English political institutions, is not calculated to deaden, but, on the contrary, to rouse and to fire those instincts of patriotism which have slumbered in the national breast of India for centuries. (Loud cheers.) Open up a career for those whom you yourselves have fitted for a high and useful career, and remember, above all, that the surest way to make the people of this country disloyal and to array them in bitter opposition to the British Government, is to close and shut up every avenue for the legitimate vent and gratification of their ambition and aspirations. (Cheers.) Well, gentlemen, I think I have already spoken longer than I intended to, or than I ought to, have. (Cries of no, no.) I have briefly touched upon one or two of

those questions about which we feel very strongly, but it is not enough that we should feel strongly. It is necessary that we should endeavour to give something like an adequate expression to our feelings. A great English writer has said that whatever we do, we do very languidly. I ask you, gentlemen, can nothing be done to wipe out that reproach? We are at present engaged in a political contest of the utmost importance. Should we not strive to make our efforts in some degree commensurate with the greatness of the cause which we advocate? You sometimes send up petitions to Parliament. Last year, I had the honour of taking some of these petitions with me to England, which bore upwards of ten thousand signatures. To tell you the truth, I was almost ashamed to tell Mr. Bright what the number of signatures was, when he asked me the question. For what is ten thousand out of 200 millions? I should like to see our petitions signed by hundreds of thousands, if not by millions; for a great delusion seems to prevail in this country as to the effect of memorials sent to Parliament. A great deal of time and labor and energy and intellectual power are wasted in drawing up elaborate documents which, for all the good they may do, might be thrown into the waste paper basket. (Laughter.) Our countrymen of Bengal seem particularly to delight in drawing up verbose compositions of this kind, entirely forgetting that, however admirable they may be as literary compositions, they are doomed "to waste their sweetness on the desert air," and that they are never even read by those to whom they are addressed. I will tell you in one word what happens to petitions sent up to the House of Commons. When you have got an

honorable member, to oblige you,—and there is never a lack of such members,—he rises in his place in the House; he says he has got a petition to present from the inhabitants of Bombay, Puna, or Calcutta, as the case may be, that it is on such a subject, that it contains such and such prayer and is signed by so many; after making this brief statement, which seldom takes more than a minute, he walks up to the table of the House and deposits it in a capacious canvass bag; and after that yawning bag has received it no one thinks of it or hears about it again. Well, gentlemen, this is what happens to all our petitions to Parliament. But pray, do not misunderstand me. I am not trying to discourage the practice of sending up memorials to Parliament. My object is to stimulate you further, and to point out the way in which you can make them effective. My advice is, do not waste any time in drawing up long compositions. Make your petitions as short as possible. If I were to draw up one, I should take care that it should never extend beyond six or twelve lines. But I should at the same time take care that it should be backed up by such a number of signatures that the mere statement of the number might startle the House and might fix the attention of recumbent and indifferent legislators. Your petitions must be signed—at least no Indian petition ought to go to England which did not contain half a million of signatures. If you were to do this, you would very soon see a great change in the temper of the House of Commons; and, gentlemen, so strongly do I feel on the subject, and so painful is it to me to think that our petitions are so scantily signed, that I make no scruple to tell you that if I had the honor of a seat in

the House, I should probably decline to present a petition from my countrymen which did not contain at least half a million of signatures. Well, gentlemen, I have done. I am afraid I have exhausted your patience (cries of no, no)—quite as much as I feel I have exhausted my own strength. (Laughter.) I will only say in conclusion that if I had the leisure and the ability, I should go from platform to platform, from city to city, and from village to village, endeavouring to rouse our countrymen to a sense of the duty which they owe to themselves and their country. (Loud applause.) But what I am unable to do I hope worthier and abler men will be able to accomplish. We do not want any flashy rhetoric or any idle claptrap. We only want men of earnestness and of practical wisdom,—good men and true. We have had enough of what one of your leading citizens very recently and properly described as insular or provincial patriotism. And what is, perhaps, sadder still, we have too many shams and counterfeits amongst us, and only too many pitiful exhibitions of the spirit of the green-eyed monster. But, sir, this country has had a great record in the past. At a time when the foremost nations of to-day were still no better than painted savages, our ancestors were founding empires, making laws, and cultivating letters and science with a success which still commands the wonder and admiration of the civilized world. (Cheers.) Is the present generation in any degree worthy of so glorious an ancestry? (Cheers.) Is the greatness of the past ever to be revived? The answer to both these questions depends, I believe, upon the conduct which you may pursue in the great political struggle—and believe

me, it is none the less a struggle because it is peaceful—in which we are at present engaged. Gentlemen, I have only to apologize for having detained you so long, and once more to tender you my hearty thanks for the very kind welcome which you have given me. (Loud and prolonged cheers.)

The Chairman tendered the thanks of the meeting to Mr. Ghose for having, in the short space of an hour, presented to them so many subjects of political discussion. He thought that on all the great questions relating to India they had not only an accord of sentiment amongst themselves, but what was more, they had an accord of the best British feeling on their side. He thought that in the long run if they did not attain to all the objects to which as a great nation they ought to aspire, it would be their own fault, for the British Government had given them the best guarantee in guaranteeing a sound mode of popular education, an education of a very high order, coupled with another system for the masses; and if they did not exercise a large amount of foresight, forbearance, and patience, and, above all, self-abnegation, they would not deserve to get a tithe of all the advantages that were depicted by the learned speaker of the evening. Once more tendering his warmest thanks to Mr. Ghose, the Chairman resumed his seat.

After a vote of thanks to the Chairman, the meeting terminated.

THE EDUCATIONAL POLICY OF GOVERNMENT.

MR. LALMOHUN GHOSE, who presided on the occasion of the distribution of prizes at the Shibpore Higher Class English School, on Sunday, March 6, 1881, began by observing that it had given him much pleasure to take part in those proceedings. The songs and recitations by

the boys were also very interesting. He was also very glad to learn from the report that the School had been steadily improving, and that it was entirely supported by the people of Shibpore. (Cheers.) He would have been very glad if there was nothing further to do. But he believed it was expected, in accordance with the general practice that he (Mr. Ghose) should make a few observations before they separated. That was the only circumstance which had made him hesitate to accept that invitation. (Laughter.) But now that he had come there he did not see that it was open to him to depart from the almost universal custom on such occasions. (Cheers.) He wished to say a word or two about educational policy. It must be admitted that in this country the Government must, for a long time to come, give a liberal support to the cause of education. Nor could it be denied that much had been done in that direction. The improvement which had taken place among the people within the last fifty years as regards knowledge and general education was one of the few results of British rule in India, about which there could be no difference of opinion, and for which they must ever be deeply grateful. (Cheers.) Let them think for one moment of the nature of the change that had taken place. Half a century ago, their fathers with very few exceptions had no knowledge of the English language, there were no vernacular newspapers, and they had little or no means of information on subjects of general interest, or even as to what was going on beyond the narrow sphere within which they lived and died. Centuries of misrule and anarchy had done their work, and the population was sunk in the deepest igno-

rance and superstition. The British Government had found them in that condition; and among those who were charged with the administration of the country, there were wise and high-minded statesmen who gave them what they so sorely needed,—namely, the means of instruction, and thereby opened a fresh chapter in their history which Englishmen might read with legitimate pride, and the people of India might contemplate with great satisfaction and thankfulness. (Cheers.) The result of that beneficent policy had been to create an intellectual and moral revolution. With the exception of the generation that was fast passing away, there was scarcely a single individual among the youthful portion of the gentry at the present day who did not know English. He (Mr. Ghose) would say nothing of the aristocracy which in most countries was always found lagging a long way behind. (Laughter.) As to the mass of the population who lived by the sweat of their brow, he would have to say a word or two later on. But confining his present remarks to the middle classes, he thought they would all agree with the opinion he had just expressed. And as there was a reading public, so, on the other hand, there were newspapers, published in the English language, and conducted by their own countrymen with very great ability and public spirit. (Cheers.) Then, again, for the class—the rapidly diminishing class — who do not know English, there was the Vernacular Press which had been much abused of late, but which in his (Mr. Ghose's) humble opinion had all along shown steady signs of improvement and had done and was still doing very good and useful work. (Cheers.)

Mr. Ghose then continued as follows:—

Well, when I consider these things, I cannot but unhesitatingly and thankfully declare that the Government of our country have done much in the matter of education. But it must also be acknowledged that a great deal more yet remains to be done. Hitherto, or at least until very recently, education in this country has been confined exclusively to one sex. Our women, for the most part, have continued to remain in the same state of ignorance as before. The consequence was that we had a most anomalous state of things leading to much domestic misery, and, under the very best of circumstances, retarding considerably the social progress of the country. (Cheers.) The anomaly was this—that men of the highest culture and ability, men capable of competing on equal terms with educated Englishmen in every walk of life—such men found themselves yoked for life with partners, who no doubt loving and gentle and good as most of our women are, yet through no fault of their own were wholly unable to sympathise with their husbands, to share in their intellectual pursuits, or even to understand their thoughts and ideas, their views and aspirations. (Cheers.) Well, that is a state of things which you cannot suffer to exist for ever. At the same time, I must say that I am not one of those who advocate the instruction of our girls exactly upon the same lines as that of our boys. Nor do I, speaking for myself, see much advantage in women going up for University degrees. (Laughter.) However, this is a very large question in itself, and it opens up matters of a controversial character into which this is not a befitting occasion to enter. Well, I now come to the masses. It

cannot possibly be said that our present system of education has reached them at all. I cannot help thinking that hand in hand with the high education which our Government is so liberally supporting, it is also their imperative duty to devise some effective measure in order to provide instruction for the dwellers in the cottage and the tillers of the soil. For, after all, as Mr. Bright once said, "the nation in every country dwells in the cottage." (Cheers.) It is not necessary that they should be deeply read in poetry or metaphysics, or any other ornamental branch of learning, but there is no reason in the world why every man and every woman in this country should not be able to read and write at least their own vernacular. Nor do I see any reason why, in addition to such elementary instruction, there should not be technical schools, whether founded by Government or maintained by the people themselves, where trades and manufactures might, be taught, so that our artisans and working men may be able to do their work more efficiently than at present. Well, these are some of the questions which ought to engage the attention both of the Government and the people of this country. But you will also allow me to add, that although under our peculiar circumstances we are frequently compelled to go up to Government with prayers of assistance, yet you can only deserve that assistance when you show a disposition to help yourselves and to endeavour gradually but honestly to bring about and hasten the time which I hope some of the young people here may live to see when every educational institution in this country will be independent of Government support. (Cheers.) Mr. Ghose then reminded his hearers

that in England the Government only concerns itself about the instruction of the poorest classes, who had to send their children to the Board schools, which were the only schools supported by Government. The middle and upper classes paid for their own education, and it was a great deal more expensive in England than it was here. He (Mr. Ghose) did not forget that Englishmen were the richest people in the world, and they (Indians) about the poorest; that the value of money in England was very much less than it was here; and, therefore, a mere comparison of figures was somewhat misleading. But making all allowances, it was impossible to deny that the Government of India had done its duty nobly by providing for them an education of a high order at almost one-tenth of its cost in England. Mr. Ghose then observed that the proper way to carry out the principles which he had endeavoured to indicate was by founding institutions like the one at Shibpore which he understood had been up to that time maintained quite independently of Government support. (Cheers.) It was a step in the right direction, and deserved the hearty support of all the inhabitants of that place. (Cheers.)

Mr. Ghose then said he would conclude with a few words of advice to the boys of the school. In the first place, he wished to warn them against a very fatal mistake,—namely, that of looking forward to Government employment as the sole end and aim of the instruction which they were receiving. If he (Mr. Ghose) had been himself a Government servant enjoying a large salary, they might have resented his remarks. But as he was not, he felt he was more at liberty to speak on that sub-

ject than those who were themselves Government officials. Of course the Public Service of the country ought to be freely and unreservedly thrown open to them. Mr. Ghose then continued:—I have expressed myself pretty freely and pretty strongly on this subject both in this country and in England. And after the part which I have taken with reference to the agitation of this question (cheers), I am quite sure you will not misunderstand my remarks on this occasion. (Cheers.) What I want to impress on your minds now is this—that even if the whole of the public service was to be thrown open to you, if it was to be even reserved for you to the exclusion of all foreigners, even then that service could afford employment to only a very small minority of those who are receiving and may hereafter receive instruction in our schools and colleges. You have only to consider that for every single office that there may be in this country, there will be found at least one hundred duly qualified candidates. Therefore, it is my strong and earnest advice to you that you should not waste precious years in a vain search after Government employment; but that as soon as you have finished your scholastic career, you should go into some business, and take to some trade or some commercial pursuit. Believe me, that is the only means by which you can hope to earn an independent and honorable livelihood, or to increase the prosperity of the nation to which you belong. (Cheers.) Mr. Ghose, then addressing those of the boys who were unsuccessful, advised them not to be discouraged. They ought to say to themselves like the man in the story once quoted by the late Viceroy "Give up be blowed." (Laughter and cheers.) He (Mr. Ghose) would also give them

an illustration from his own personal experience. The first time he himself went up for the Entrance Examination, he was unable to pass. (Laughter.) On that occasion he (Mr. Ghose) received the same advice which he was now giving them. He was determined to do better next time. And at that distance of time he might tell them without being considered immodest that he kept his resolution, and was successful the next year. Mr. Ghose then continued,—I hope some of you whom I am now addressing will do the same thing; and if any words of mine should have that effect, I shall always rejoice to think that I came here on this occasion.

Now as regards those of you who have been more fortunate, who have obtained prizes to-day, I hope your present success will only be an incentive to further and greater efforts in the future. (Cheers.) Remember always the moral of the well-known fable of the hare and the tortoise. Whatever your abilities may be, however brilliant your parts, those qualities alone can never ensure success, whether at school or hereafter, unless you join to them great industry and perseverance. I shall not detain you much longer from receiving the congratulations of your parents and friends which so much heighten and enhance one's pleasure on these occasions. Your success has been honorably won, and no one will grudge you your triumph, not even I hope your less successful rivals and competitors. Those of us who are older than you can assure you that whatever successes, whatever laurels may yet be in store for you, there is no triumph which may be achieved in after-life that has the power to give you a hundreth part of the gratifica-

tion which in boyhood one derives from these successes at school. (Cheers.) In conclusion, I desire to say to the teachers of this Institution that they and everybody else who may be similarly engaged elsewhere, are doing a great and holy work. (Cheers.) The boys of to-day will be the nation of to-morrow; so that you have in your hands the moulding of the future destinies of this country. And if the rising generation are to surpass us, as I hope and believe they will surpass us in patriotism, in public spirit, and in social and material progress, it will be owing mainly to the instruction which you are now imparting to them and to the principles which you are seeking to instil into their minds. (Cheers.)

REPEAL OF THE VERNACULAR PRESS ACT.

A PUBLIC meeting of the Native inhabitants of Calcutta and the Suburbs was held at the Town Hall on Saturday, February 1882, to express the gratitude of the Native community to His Excellency the Viceroy for the repeal of the Vernacular Press Act, and also to take into consideration the question of local self-government.

Over 3,000 persons were present, and the large hall was crowded almost to suffocation. On the platform were the leaders of the movement, while among the audience were six Brahmo ladies, and also representatives of every class of the Native community. The Rev. K. M. Bannerji was in the chair.

Mr. Lalmohun Ghose moved the first resolution,—"That this Meeting begs to tender its respectful and hearty thanks to His Excellency the Viceroy in Council and to Her Majesty's Government, for the repeal of the

Vernacular Press Act: and gratefully accepts it as an earnest of the many reforms to which the Government is pledged, and which the country so urgently needs."

Mr. Ghose said:—Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen, when I look around me and see how densely this large Hall is crowded, I am almost overpowered with a feeling of nervousness, for I can scarcely hope to make myself heard by everyone in this vast audience; and much less can I hope that anything that I may say will be worthy of your attention. At the same time, the kindly feelings which you evidently entertain towards me enable me to hope that in the few remarks that I am about to make, I shall be sure to meet with an indulgent and sympathetic audience. You, sir, have considerably lightened my task by entering into the history of that agitation, the success of which we are to-day met together to celebrate. (Cheers.) Well, gentlemen, having regard to the observations which have already fallen from our respected Chairman, and to the several excellent speeches that are yet in store for us, I think you will be glad to hear that I do not intend to make anything like a speech, or to occupy your attention for more than a very few minutes. I only intend to tell you in one or two words what is passing through my mind in connection with the subjects which you are met together to discuss. In the first place, I must tell you frankly that if this were only a thanksgiving meeting, intended to offer up the grateful incense of praise at the altar of power, I am by no means certain that I should have taken part in these proceedings. There are plenty of people in this country,

unfortunately only too many, who are always ready, with or without cause, to worship and to pay homage to power. (Cheers.) But as I understand it, the object of this meeting is not so much to glorify this or that official personage—although we are not slow to give credit where credit may be honestly due—as it is to take an early and fitting opportunity of expressing our views on some important questions as to which the Government are sincerely anxious that popular opinion should go along with them, and that the public should be taken as it were into their confidence. Now, sir, this in itself is such a very novel step for the Indian Government, with all its bureaucratic traditions, to take, that I think it is almost impossible to exaggerate the credit that is due to the statesman who has had the firmness and the courage to make such a new departure in the direction of freedom and progress. (Cheers.) This, sir, is one of the great advantages of having a fresh English statesman at the head of the Government, who is able to take a broad view of affairs, and who is not imbued with Anglo-Indian prejudices. (Cheers.) But such a statesman to be able to do any good and to leave behind him any abiding and lasting landmarks, must be possessed of considerable strength of character, for otherwise such is the consonant and paralyzing pressure of his surroundings that he would soon become in their hands as clay in the hands of the potter. (Cheers.) It is therefore that we rejoice to recognize in the repeal of the Press Act an indication of that firmness without which all the good intentions in the world would avail us but little. But now it must be admitted that a happy change has at last come over the spirit of the Indian Government.

We have no longer to turn our eyes towards the North-Western Frontier, and to watch, with mingled feelings of indignation and anxiety, the progress of a war, involving a terrible waste of human life and of treasure wrung from the pockets of the miserable tax-payers of this country. (Cheers.) We have no longer a Government holding high revels and indulging in gorgeous pageantry, while in the immediate vicinity of the grand Durbar the population was dying of starvation. (Cheers.) We have no longer a Government startling the public mind by suddenly forcing upon the country new and harsh and utterly uncalled for measures of repression. (Cheers.) We have no longer a Viceroy uttering meaningless, platitudes, oracular epigrams and hollow rhetoric, unredeemed by one single touch of sincerity or of natural feeling. (Loud cheers.) Instead of these things, we have now the honest utterances of an honest statesman (cheers), which have about them the ring of that true eloquence which is only another name for earnestness. (Cheers.) We find the present Government honestly anxious to promote the prosperity and the happiness of the people, to do something for the education of the masses, to encourage Native industry, and to try the experiment of local self-government on a new and enlarged basis. We further find them engaged, although from our point of view too slowly and too hesitatingly, but nevertheless they are engaged in removing some of those restrictions upon freedom which were so needlessly imposed upon us by the late Administration. (Cheers.) Well, gentlemen, it is their action in this last direction—I refer to the repeal of the Press Act—which forms the subject-matter of the resolution

which I have the honor to move. The resolution says—and says very justly—that the country is grateful for this concession to popular opinion, and then it goes on to add with equal truth, that we look upon this measure as the prelude and precursor of other and still more important reforms, which we have a right to expect from this Government. (Cheers.) It is, sir, this last consideration—it is because we regard this measure not as a solitary or isolated act, but rather as a clear indication of the new policy and of the determination to carry it out—I believe it is because of these reasons that there has been so much rejoicing all over the country. (Loud cheers.) It seems to me, therefore, that although it is only fitting that those of us who took part in the agitation should now come forward to tender our thanks to the Administration that has listened to our prayers, it is no less our duty to remind the Government respectfully that they are as yet very far from having fulfilled those expectations which by their speeches and their attitude in Opposition they led us to entertain. (Cheers.) It is, sir, now upwards of twelve months since I had the honor of addressing a public meeting on political questions. I then said, speaking in the city of Bombay, that we ought to have patience and that we should wait longer before criticizing the acts or policy of the new Government. (Hear, hear.) But now that two years have elapsed since their accession to power, or, in other words, a considerable portion of their term of office has gone by—not to take into consideration accidents which may happen at any moment,—it can scarcely be considered unreasonable if the people of this country prefer to judge the Govern-

ment more by their performances than by their promises. I have myself all along been, as you know, a great admirer of the political party at present in power, and I need hardly tell you that for the illustrious leaders of that party I entertain, in common with the majority of my country, the most unbounded respect and admiration. (Cheers.) But, nevertheless, I am forced to confess to a feeling of disappointment when I consider the measure of their performances, and contrast it with the expectations that were formed two years ago. (Cheers.) They have undoubtedly brought to a peaceful and honorable termination the unfortunate and wicked business in Afghanistan, and the country has welcomed this reversal of policy with a profound sense of relief. (Cheers.) But, sir, when we turn from foreign affairs to internal administration, and we have regard more to solid results than to benevolent intentions, I do not know that there is very much to be said in favor of this Government. I can assure you, gentlemen, and you will readily believe it, that it is no pleasure to me to have to stand here, and thus publicly proclaim that the bright picture which I myself drew two years ago on this very platform, of a Liberal Government scattering benefits with an unstinted hand—I say it is no agreeable task to have to confess that those predictions have not come true. But I cannot invent facts, and an impartial consideration of those facts compels me to say that the achievements of the Government have as yet fallen far short of their promises. (Cheers.) I am as thankful as anyone else for such a measure as the repeal of the Press Act, but I cannot help thinking that it is high time that the Government should be told in a

friendly and candid manner that, although their accession to power was welcomed in India with demonstrations of joy never before known in the history of this country, yet slender, indeed, shall be their claim to our gratitude if, at the expiration of their term of office, it shall be found to consist merely in the formal repeal of an Act which, however objectionable on principle, had long been practically dead, and in the introduction of a scheme of local self-government, which, unless it be modified in material particulars, seems destined to turn out a failure. (Cheers.) Well, gentlemen, you cannot forget that the Arms Act still continues to disfigure the Statute Book (cheers) by perpetuating irritating distinctions of race. (Cheers.) I was told some time ago by a very high and distinguished Indian official in this country that the agitation against the Arms Act was unreasonable, because, after all, there was only four annas to pay for a license. I said then, and I say now, that if four annas be such a trivial sum, as no doubt it is to all well-to-do people, then there is all the less reason why the Act should not be extended to the European community as well. (Cheers.) But, sir, there are considerations which I may well leave to be dwelt upon by the gentlemen who have charge of the second resolution. You cannot also forget that the rules for the Civil Service examination which were framed under the late Government for the purpose of excluding our countrymen from the ranks of that service still remain unaltered, although the injustice of those rules was admitted and denounced by conspicuous leaders of the Party who are now members of the Administration. (Cheers.) You cannot also help being alarmed by the

rumours that have prevailed for some time past regarding contemplated changes in the constitution of the Medical Service, which, if true, would have the effect of shutting us out of that service as well. We can only hope that this rumour may prove to be as unfounded as the one regarding the imposition of an income tax. But if either of them should happen to have the slightest foundation, then all I can say is that the Liberal Government will be very far, indeed, from having earned the gratitude of this country. (Cheers.) And, sir, in this connection, we cannot also overlook the fact that we owe it to this Government, which was to have redressed all our wrongs, and to have introduced a new era of international equality and universal brotherhood, —it is to this Government that we owe the reduction of the salaries of our Native Judges and the recognition of the iniquitous doctrine, that for doing the same sort of work with equal ability and efficiency, the Native of India is to get only two-thirds of the pay of the European. (Cheers.) Of course, if the object had been to prevent the acceptance of office by men possessed of self-respect and independence, then one could have understood it. But as that surely could not have been the motive which actuated our rulers, and as even the few men in the Civil Service, who might wish it at heart, are not likely to avow it, it is almost impossible to conceive of even any plausible explanation of this glaring act of injustice. (Cheers.) Then, sir, there is the question of the cotton duties, which are now about to be abolished. But with regard to this, it must be confessed that the Liberal Party never gave us any hopes, and that, therefore, they are not open to the charge of

breach of faith, however much we may complain of this barefaced subordination of Indian interests to those of Manchester; and however much we may be disposed to wonder at the strange irony of fate by which it should have been reserved for the most philanthropic Government that England has ever had, to associate and identify itself with a policy, which, properly analyzed, means nothing more or less than the robbery of the overtaxed millions of this country, for the sake of putting more money into the pockets of the rich and influential cotton spinners of Lancashire. (Cheers.) Then, again, I am not aware that the present Government are in any degree more disposed than the late Administration to concede to you the priviledge—shall I say the right—of being represented in the Councils of the Empire. They seem to all appearances to be just as well satisfied as their predecessors with the existing system, whereby they associate with themselves a few titled gentlemen of whom I shall say nothing more than this, that they seem either to lack the intelligence to think for themselves, or the independence to give expression to their convictions, if they have any. (Cheers.) I admit that there are occasional exceptions; but, as a general rule, these honorable gentlemen may be safely reckoned upon to vote and speak, according to official desires. And no doubt, from the Government point of view, it may be very convenient to have a few of these men who may pose as representatives of the people, while in reality they are echoing back the official voice, and swelling the official chorus. (Cheers.) I confess, sir, I have not always the patience to read the speeches which these honorable gentlemen deliver in Council, but, on one or two recent

occasions, I could not help satisfying my curiosity as to what some of these men, both European and Native, had to say for themselves. Well, I read their speeches, and I cast about in my mind for a parallel, and the only one that I could think of was in the domains of fiction in the well-known scene between Polonius and Hamlet, where the courtier was just as ready to endorse the opinion of the Prince, when he likened the shape of a cloud to a camel, as when he compared it to a whale and a weasel. (Laughter.) Similarly these courtly Councillors, who were ardent supporters of coercion under Lord Lytton, avowed themselves, the other day, to be equally ardent friends of liberty under the present *régime*. (Loud cheers.) Those who had gladly officiated as midwives and wetnurses at the birth of that little stranger, the Vernacular Press Act, now showed equal alacrity in acting as gravediggers at its funeral. (Cheers.) But, unfortunately for them, although they may have helped to bury the measure itself, they can never hope with all their "shovelfuls of earth" (laughter) to bury the memory of the past. (Renewed cheers.) Well, gentlemen, are you content that you should continue to be so represented? (No, no.) If you are not,—and you would be something less than human if you were,—then you ought to avail yourselves of every constitutional means, in order to make your wishes known while yet the friends of liberty are in power. And I cannot believe that they will for ever continue to turn a deaf ear to the just prayers of a united people. (Cheers.) In this great struggle, you must be prepared to work without the co-operation of the rich and privileged classes whose selfish interest might induce them to hold aloof. You must

also bear in mind that of late years a most dangerous influence has been at work, calculated to destroy all independence of thought and feeling, and to set a premium on abjectness and servility. I refer to the profuse distribution of so-called titles of honor which, while it does not cost the Government one single penny, has succeeded in completely emasculating whatever was left of manhood in this unhappy country. (Loud cheers.) But, sir, I have faith in the middle classes, in those who are daily swelling the numbers of our educated community. If one last lingering spark of patriotism still smoulders in this country, I believe it is in the breasts of these men who constitute the main strength and the future hope of Hindustan. (Cheers.) And you, gentlemen, who represent this great class, it is for you to realize to yourselves fully the great responsibility which rests upon you; for you have to fight not only your own battles, but the battles of your country, and in particular of those humbler and poorer millions beneath you, who are as yet unable to act, or to think for themselves. If you are equal to the occasion—if, on the one hand, you refuse to be corrupted by the debasing examples of sycophancy so often presented to you, while, on the other, you are equally firm in declining to be led away by the violent and wrong-headed counsels of foolish men—if you hit the proper medium between a servile truckling to power and an unreasoning and insolent defiance of order and authority—if, in short, you do your duty in a truly loyal and manly spirit, I see no reason to despair of the future of our country. (Loud cheers.)

ANGLO-INDIAN AGITATION AGAINST THE NATIVE JURISDICTION BILL.

A CROWDED and enthusiastic meeting of the Native citizens of Dacca was held on Thursday, the 29th March, 1883, at the East Bengal Theatre, at which upwards of two thousand persons were present. The Chairman having requested Mr. Lalmohun Ghose to address the meeting on the subject of the Criminal Procedure Code Amendment Bill, he said :—

MR. CHAIRMAN AND GENTLEMEN,—I confess I did not expect such a large gathering, in spite of the unfavourable weather. I am almost afraid I shall not be able to express in fitting words the various feelings which are agitating me, and my deep gratification at this unmistakable sign of political regeneration, showing that you are about to shake off the apathy of ages. Although this is my first appearance on any public platform in the capital of East Bengal, yet I don't come before you as a stranger. (Cheers.) For, although I was not born amongst you, I cannot forget that East Bengal is the home of my fathers. (Loud cheers.) Gentlemen, it is not without some degree of pride that I make this claim. For, here was the last glorious stronghold of Hindu power. Not far from this city, and nearer still to my own ancestral home, is the site of the sad funeral pyre where the family of the last Hindu king courted a fearful death, rather than fall into the hands of the enemy whom, by reason of an unfortunate accident, they erroneously believed to be victorious. Well, their memory has survived the flames, and from the ashes of that pyre, their chaste spirits have risen immortal like the fabled Phœnix, and they present to us an example of female purity, of devotion to fatherland, and a stern

determination to prefer death to dishonor—a bright and undying example unsurpassed in the history of this or any other country. (Cheers.) Well, these are glories of the past. But, even now in these degenerate days, I am happy to think that there still exists in East Bengal a love of country, a spirit of organization, and a capacity for combined action and sustained effort which are not altogether unworthy of our past traditions. It is not for the purpose of pandering to an idle vanity that I allude to these things. I have a very different object in view. I am anxious that we should be fully alive to the responsibility which now rests upon every Native of India. The time has now arrived when all those great qualities, of which I have spoken, will be severely tested. Your own conduct must show whether or not you really deserve to be gradually admitted to your full and proper share in the administration of the country, which I rejoice to think is the settled policy of that large-hearted statesman whom God in infinite mercy has called to rule over this ancient land. (Cheers.) Your own conduct must furnish the best vindication of that policy and the most complete refutation of the predictions of your opponents. Remember you have opponents of various kinds. There are honorable antagonists whose fancied interests turn them against you, but who will never stoop to resort to the base weapons of calumny and vilification. Opponents of this kind we can all respect, however much we may regret that they are not far-sighted enough to see that after all there is no conflict of interest, and that in the advance of liberal ideas, in true progress, and, above all, in the impartial and equal administration of justice lies the

best hope of the permanent stability of British rule in India. (Hear, hear.) But, gentlemen, there are others of a baser sort—a rabble rout made up partly of a few Englishmen unworthy of the name, and partly of a heterogeneous horde whom an English gentleman well-known in Bombay has well described in verse as:—

"A motley crew
Of each possible shade, of each possible hue,
White, grey, black and brown, red, yellow, and blue,
The pucca-born Briton and Eight-anna Eu
—Rasian and Greek, Armenian and Jew."

(Loud and prolonged cheers.)

Some of them have lately achieved an unenvied notoriety in the Town Hall of Calcutta. They have "brayed the heroes of the long-eared kind." At that time, I was detained in my village home in Vikrampore on account of some domestic business, and not having arranged for the newspapers to be sent to me as I was daily expecting to start for Calcutta, I was in entire ignorance of what had transpired for upwards of three weeks until my attention was called to a paragraph in a vernacular newspaper. But it was only the other day when I visited this city that I had, for the first time, the opportunity of reading in your own Northbrook Hall a full report of that meeting. And when I read those speeches, I wondered how it was that our friends in Calcutta—some of whom, as you know, have no occasion to be afraid of the oratorical powers of any champion that is likely to be pitted against them in India, and who are not in the habit of writing out their speeches, as I am informed, these redoubted orators did. (Roars of laughter.) I wondered how it was that the

Calcutta people were sitting down tamely under this outrage, and how it was that public meetings had not been called all over India in order to denounce in fitting language the authors of these unparalleled insults. I have been told that the citizens of Calcutta, after much anxious deliberation, decided to preserve a dignified silence. It speaks much for their moderation and temper; but I cannot agree with them. I believe there are moments in the history of a nation when the virtues of patience and forbearance may be carried too far. (Hear, hear.) This is one of those moments. Already the action of the Calcutta people has been misrepresented. A correspondent of a Bombay newspaper has telegraphed to say that the Natives have been cowed down. Therefore, I say, hesitate no more to enter the lists. Ride in fearlessly, and God-speed the right. But as you love your country, as you wish your cause to succeed, take care to confine your agitation within strictly constitutional limits. Do not imitate the pernicious example of your opponents who, calling themselves Englishmen, were not ashamed to speak the language of sedition and to suggest lines of action utterly subversive of law and order. You, on the contrary, make law and order your motto. Let our Governors, let our beloved Viceroy, let our August and Gracious Sovereign herself, see with mingled feelings of surprise and gratification that by a strange irony of fate it was reserved for the Natives of India to teach the Anglo-Indian community how a peaceful and constitutional agitation should be carried on, without resort to the language of calumny, of sedition, and of menace. (Cheers.)

Well gentlemen, having said thus much to explain

our position and to prevent any misrepresentation, I can no longer resist the temptation of somewhat disburdening my mind on the subject of the late European meeting at Calcutta. (Hear, hear.) It is true the principal offender has since then thought fit to publish a sort of an apology in the newspapers. Some of our countrymen of a more forgiving disposition than myself, and among others my esteemed friend, the Editor of the *Hindu Patriot,* have recommended that we should accept the apology which has been offered, and let bye-gones be bye-gones. But I am utterly unable to agree with my honorable friend. This apology is to my mind absolutely worthless. I will also tell you of another incident which will enable you to judge of the value of such apologies. You all remember how in connection with a recent Municipal case at Calcutta, Mr. Branson made certain grave charges against Mr. Behari Lall Gupta, the Presidency Magistrate. I don't blame him in the least for what he did on that occasion, as he was acting as Counsel under instructions from his client. But hear what happened afterwards. When the case was finished, Mr. Branson had reasons to be satisfied that his instructions were not true, and he accordingly wrote a letter of apology to Mr. Gupta, expressing his great regret that he should have been made to utter charges which, he was now convinced, were utterly groundless. Well, if the matter had rested there, nothing could be more gentlemanly or more honorable. But it did not rest there, for we find him again repeating his calumnies at the meeting in the Town Hall of Calcutta without a word of reference to his letter of apology and without explaining what had transpired since that letter

was written to induce him to alter his opinion again. No, gentlemen, I beg your pardon. I was not quite accurate in saying that he repeated those charges. He had not the courage to state expressly what he had to charge against Mr. Gupta. But he accomplished his purpose in a more indirect and cowardly manner. He left it to Mr. Keswick to repeat all those charges, and when it came to his own turn to speak he emphasised Mr. Keswick's statements in more than one sentence, full of inuendo and insinuation. We were told first of all, "if we look for tact and judgment and impartiality, then where shall we find them in all this wide world, excepting in the person of Behari Lall Gupta!" In another part of his speech he said, alluding to Mr. Gupta, "this Bengali Babu, with all his faults, wants to sit in judgment over you." Now, gentlemen, you see what this gentleman's apologies mean. He will apologise to you to-day if he thinks it desirable to do so for some reason or other, but he will re-assert or re-insinuate his calumnies to-morrow if he thinks he can do so with impunity. No, gentlemen, the memory of the foul language and unheard-of insults which were deliberately uttered on that occasion amid the shouts of a sympathising audience can never be obliterated by any apology however humble, or any retractation however complete. I am anxious there should be no difference of opinion amongst us.. I will, therefore, with your permission, refer to one or two of the choicest flowers of rhetoric which were used by this consummate master of the language of Billingsgate. We are first of all told that this Bill had been introduced in order to "remove a sentimental grievance which rankled in the

minds of a few blatant Bengali Babus." But I ask you, whom would you rather call "blatant"? The men who speak the language of reason and moderation? Well, if we are somewhat heated and excited now, we have received ample provocation. (Cheers.) I ask you to whom would you rather apply the term "blatant"? To the men who lift their loyal voices in favor of justice and of equality in the eye of the law, or to the man who was wicked and seditious enough to call upon Englishmen to "rise as the Athenians rose against Philip," and who, for lack of argument, vilifies a nation and calumniates individuals? (Cheers.) Well, gentlemen, we have in the next place a carefully prepared, but nevertheless a feeble paraphrase of a well-known passage in Macaulay's Essays. We are told that "what the stiletto is to the Italian, so are false charges to the Bengali;" but those who live in glass-houses ought not to be the first to throw stones at others. It ill becomes the unblushing calumniator, who utters the falsest slanders, to talk in the same breath of false charges with simulated indignation. But, gentlemen, the next passage is richer still. "Verily and truly," said this orator, "the jackass kicketh at the lion." If this, indeed, were the case, nothing could be more presumptuous or ridiculous. But even the jackass is not foolish enough to insult the majesty of the lion. But if the pitiful cur chooses to cover his recreant limbs with the borrowed hide of the lion, then I think the kick of the jackass is his only fitting punishment. (Loud cheers.) But the climax of impudence is reached in the next passage to which I shall call your attention. With a brutality unsurpassed, unequalled, and with a total

absence of shame, he covered himself with lasting infamy by levelling his cowardly insults against the innocent and unoffending women of this country. He dared to tell his hearers that our ladies "were used to the foul multitudes of the Courts." Let the whole country throughout its length and breadth declare with one voice what it thinks of such conduct, and if the authors of these insults venture to appear in any public assembly, let their ears be greeted with one universal hiss of indignation, so that stung with shame and remorse, they may fly far from the country whose air they have polluted with their pestilential breath. (Cheers.) Well, when I read this last infamous passage, I asked myself, can it be that Englishmen have sunk so low as to accept such a veritable "Yahoo" for their spokesman? (Hisses of indignation.) Can it be that any assembly of English gentlemen, with one single spark of their English honor left in them, could have listened to such language with patience? No, gentlemen, I rejoice to think it has not yet come to that. Although in the excitement of the moment some of them might have missed the point of this shameful observation which was artfully put in the midst of a very involved sentence, yet as soon as they had time for reflection, they hastened to protest against such language and to express their sense of shame at having been obliged to listen to it; and I am happy to think that men like Mr. J. Croft in Calcutta and Mr. Wordsworth in Bombay are not solitary exceptions, but represent the views of a large and honorable minority. (Cheers.) Well, gentlemen, one more reference to these speeches, and I have done with the subject. We were taunted

several times with being a conquered race. But if we have been conquered, we have at any rate the satisfaction of knowing that our conquerors were the freeborn sons of England, and not men of a mixed race who only came into existence after the British conquest, and whose exact nationality it would be difficult to determine. Well, then, if all these old sores are to be re-opened; if the friendly feelings which have so long subsisted between the two nations, and which for so many years have been fostered and cultivated by a succession of wise and generous statesmen, are to be rudely disturbed; if we are to be thus taunted and insulted, let it at least be done by genuine Englishmen, if they are disposed so far to abuse their privilege as conquerors, but not by Eurasians masquerading in the borrowed mantle of Macaulay. (Peals of laughter.) We will not permit any pseudo-Englishman, any Brummagem Britisher, who is "neither fish nor flesh nor good red herring," who is disowned by both England and India alike,—we will not permit such a man to slander our nation and insult our country. (No, never.) If such a person dares to hold the language of contumely and insult towards us, we shall make an example of him. We shall not disgrace our cause by doing anything unlawful or improper; but we shall only give him, free of charge, the immortality which an admiring correspondent of the *Englishman* has proposed to confer upon him by means of a statue, but it shall be the immortality of infamy. Our platforms shall ring with denunciations; our newspapers shall keep alive the memory of the outrage; and our poets shall sing of his infamy until his name shall become a bye-word and a hissing

reproach to after ages and to generations yet unborn. Now, gentlemen, it has been said by the *Englishman* newspaper that we, Natives of India, have no *locus standi* in the discussion of the question; but if we are out of Court, what *locus standi* have homeless Armenians, wandering Jews, and mixed races who have neither country nor nationality? I need not tell you that Armenia is not an English county, that they have not a drop of English blood in their veins, and that they can no more claim to be European British subjects than you or I can. Nor are the Eurasians much better off. The law requires that in order to claim this privilege, you must show that you are either the son or grandson of a European British subject, born of lawful wedlock. Now, there is scarcely any of them who would not have to ascend very much higher than their grandfather in order to trace their descent from an Englishman. Then, why should these foolish Asiatics swell the ranks of this spurious and artificial agitation, forgetting that this privilege is not theirs—forgetting that, even under the existing law, they can be dealt with by any Native Deputy Magistrate just in the same way as he can deal with the meanest of his countrymen. Why should these outer barbarians cry "*Romanus civis sum?*" Why should Helots, who have no privileges whatever, shout with the Spartans? (Cheers.) But, sir, we live in strange times. The *Indian Daily News* said the other day of an Armenian speaker at the Town Hall that he was, to all intents and purposes, an Englishman. It took my breath away to read it. I asked myself "Stands England where it did?" Or has it come to

this that her brave and sturdy sons have to seek for recruits and allies in Armenia? Or is a morbid hatred of the country which gives him shelter alone sufficient to convert an expatriated Asiatic into a free-born Englishman? But believe me, gentlemen, those very Europeans, who now applaud these men to the skies for shrieking with them and doing their dirty work, entertain at the bottom of their hearts no other feeling than that of contempt for these their miserable allies; and, probably, if the truth were known, the bitterest and most unreasonable Anglo-Saxon has no such unmitigated contempt for us, the pure Natives of India. Our conquerors know, at least those of them who have the slightest tincture of education and culture, know well, that we had a bright history of our own and a rich literature still unsurpassed, and scarcely equalled when Europe was sunk in barbarism and superstition. Englishmen are too chivalrous and too great themselves not to have some respect for the fallen greatness of this country. I have no fears that Englishmen, even in India, although the heat of our climate may sometimes affect their brains, though they may have their occasional aberrations, will ever as a body permanently forget that conquerors should never be other than generous. Well, our opponents have expressed their determination to go up to the House of Commons. We will also carry our appeal to the same august Tribunal. We are content to abide by the decision of Parliament, confident that that decision will be a just one, and that it will be consonant to the noble principles on which this country has been so long governed, and which have been solemnly enunciated in the gracious

Proclamation of 1858 which we look upon as our Magna Charta. (Cheers.) But, sir, a bitter and notorious enemy of this country, Sir Fitz-James Stephen, has recently written a letter to the *Times*, urging upon the English people no longer to allow India to be governed on these principles, but to substitute for them the doctrine of pure and unmitigated force. It would be useless for me to remind him of what was said on a well-known occasion by one of England's noblest sons, Mr. John Bright (cheers),—namely, that "Force is no remedy." I say it would be useless, because a few years ago, Mr. F. J. Stephen did not even scruple to make a bitter attack upon the great Tribune, because of his noble and philanthropic views regarding the policy that ought to be pursued in this country. Within a few days afterwards, the Tories, who were then in power, rewarded the assailant of Mr. Bright with a seat on the English bench. Well, having thus risen through dirt to dignity, he might have been content to rest upon his laurels; but no, the spirit of evil is as strong in his breast as ever. One would have thought that even his appetite for mischief would have been amply satiated by the incalculable evil which he wrought during his official career in this country. He it is who was the author of this Criminal Procedure Code, bristling with hateful distinctions, only one of which it is now proposed to amend, and containing provision after provision, adverse to liberty and inconsistent with the sound and impartial administration of justice. It was he who took away from us the right of claiming the writ of Habeas Corpus, reserving it only for European British subjects. But if I were to refer to all the unjust and Draconian

laws of which he was the author, I should never be done till the small hours of the morning. You also remember that he had a principal share in the institution of those Wahabi prosecutions which led to so much needless misery and suffering. In fact, his entire policy was one of repression and more repression, irritation and more irritation, until at last, by goading into frenzy a set of desperate and wicked *non-Indian* fanatics, it brought about two terrible disasters which sent a thrill of horror throughout all classes and all races of Her Majesty's Indian subjects. One of the speakers at the late meeting in Calcutta, in his anxiety to throw mud upon our people, did not hesitate to misrepresent the horrible story of the assassination of Chief Justice Norman, and the still more horrible massacre of Cavagnari and his gallant comrades. He showed his knowledge of contemporary history and geography by describing a wild Beluchi in the one instance, and a ruffianly mob of Cabulis in the other, as Natives of India. (Roars of laughter.) Well, this is taking us considerably beyond even Lord Beaconsfield's "scientific frontier." (Loud cheers.) But those who imagine that Armenia is an English county, may well be pardoned for thinking that Beluchistan and Cabul are integral portions of India. But, gentlemen, don't be afraid that these gross misrepresentations will take root. Impartial history will declare that the guilt and shame of these deeds of turpitude do not attach to India or to her people. But, besides identifying and properly describing the barbarous perpetrators of these infamous crimes, history will attach no little responsibility to the man who was the chief author of the policy which led to two out of the

three deeds of horror of which I have spoken. Well, gentlemen, if Sir J. Stephen is not satisfied with the mischief he has already done—if his conscience is not overburdened, then nothing you or I can say is likely to make him hesitate in his baneful career. He has already richly won the curses of the Indian people which followed him across the seas, but for achievements like his there can be no fitting or truly adequate reward excepting in the world to come. (Cheers.)

I will now hasten to dwell upon one or two other topics, to which I think it absolutely necessary to draw your attention. You are aware that Mr. Stanhope has given notice of a motion in the House of Commons to the effect that this Bill is calculated to inflame the jealousies of race. Now, no one can regret such a result more deeply than we, the Natives of India, who understand our interests too well ever to harbour in our hearts the traitor wish to see the foundations of the empire sapped by antipathies of race; and nothing could be more diametrically opposed to the intention of the noble statesman whose truly liberal policy has earned the lasting gratitude of the people of this country, and which will be hereafter regarded as the brightest page in the history of British India. (Cheers.) This is an attempt —a barefaced attempt—to father the sins of the opponents of the measure on its authors. The entire administration of Lord Ripon has been a noble and sustained effort, carried on amid unparalleled difficulties of which we now have a glimpse, but for which, I frankly and regretfully confess, some of us, in our impatience for reforms, have not at all times made sufficient allowances. I say the present administration is a sustained

effort to extinguish the last lingering sparks of race antagonism, and to inaugurate slowly and cautiously the reign of constitutional freedom of justice and of equality. To cast such imputations upon such a statesman can only redound with treble force upon those who make these aspersions. Nor can it be said, gentlemen, that we have stirred up this strife? It has not been of our seeking, nor have we done anything to provoke the ceaseless torrent of invective that has been poured upon us. Already the better classes of Englishmen have begun to express their indignation that some of their compatriots cannot bear to contemplate the smallest measure of justice towards the Natives of this country without being roused into a state of ungovernable frenzy. Well, then, what shall we say of the authors of this wanton and unprovoked strife now attempting to turn round, and to fasten the blame of their own conduct on the Government and on the Natives of India? To those who shed these crocodile's tears, my answer is, "If your pretensions are so utterly hollow, if you will only consent to wear the mask of friendship and to bespatter us with your insulting patronage so long as we are content to grovel at your feet, then the sooner the mask is plucked off your faces, the better. We prefer that you should stand revealed in your true colors, and that we should know whom we have to deal with. Then delude us no more with your shallow pretences, your Christian professions of brotherhood, and your philanthropic missions—your *soirées* and At-Homes, and all the other cheap devices to win an undeserved popularity. Above all, do not blame Mr. Ilbert's Bill, which has only, like Ithuriel's spear, compelled you to assume your proper forms."

Well, sir, I confess that at the commencement of this discussion we took but a languid interest in this Bill, because we looked upon it as only a small instalment of a large debt of justice still due to us. If our zeal has been kindled, if our interest has now become intense, it is not only because our feelings have been cut to the quick by unparalleled insults, but because a broader issue has been raised,—namely, whether India is to be any longer governed on the principles laid down in the Proclamation of our Gracious Queen, or whether that great Charter of our people is to be rescinded and torn up. It is because an attempt has been made, both here and in England, to shift the foundations of the Empire from the willing and loving allegiance of the Natives of India, and to recognize nothing but brute force in the government of 250 millions of Her Majesty's subjects. That is an issue in which we are all deeply and vitally interested. But, gentlemen, I am not afraid that these unworthy counsels will prevail with the English nation or with a liberal House of Commons. Those who, like myself, have had the good fortune of visiting England, of having lived there for years, and who have had ample opportunities of recognizing the noble and generous instincts of that great nation, have not been dismayed or taken aback by the furious hostility of a handful of men who are unable to rise to an appreciation of their duties, and who only look upon this country as a sort of plunder-ground, created for their special benefit. (Cheers.) Depend upon it, these men and their unworthy sentiments will be repudiated by the bulk of their countrymen in England. One word more, and I have done. Although this great fight will be fought in the House of

Commons, we should not sleep over our rights. We should do all that lies in us to strengthen the hands of our numerous friends and well-wishers in England and in Parliament by refuting the calumnies and misrepresentations with which it is sought to darken the real issue of the case. We should have a comprehensive organization, such as has been suggested in the columns of the *Indian Mirror*, embracing every presidency, every city, and every hamlet in this country. That organization should be in constant communication with our friends in England, and it should be prompt to contradict every misleading telegram that may be sent to the London *Times* by a correspondent who holds a lucrative office under the only Local Government that is hostile to this measure, and whose favor Lord Ripon, nlike his immediate predecessor, will not condescend to court. Let us make a grand effort such as is sure not only to deserve, but to command success. Approach St. Stephen's and the foot of the Throne, offer your humble thanks to your beloved Sovereign for having given you a Viceroy than whom a nobler statesman never ruled over this country, and pray, from the bottom of your hearts, that his policy may be supported in England and that he himself may be spared to reign over us for some years to come. (Loud cheers.)

At the conclusion of the address, a vote of thanks was given to Mr. Ghose, in acknowledging which he spoke as follows :—

I thank you very much for this expression of kindness, but you will not expect me to make another speech at this late hour. I only wish to say one word. If, in the excitement of the moment, I have used strong

expressions, nothing was further from my mind than to speak in terms of disparagement of entire classes among whom there must necessarily be many who have in no way identified themselves with this movement. (Hear, hear.) My observations were intended to apply only to those who have taken a discreditable part in this present agitation. So far as these persons are concerned, I have nothing to retract, and nothing to add. (Prolonged cheers.)

Appendix.

SPEECH OF THE RT. HON. JOHN BRIGHT, AT WILLIS'S ROOMS, ON JULY 23, 1879.

At the meeting held at Willis's Rooms on July 23, 1879, to hear an address from Mr. Lalmohun Ghose the Rt. Hon. John Bright, M.P., occupied the chair. Mr. Ghose having addressed the meeting, Mr. Bright rose and said:

I have no doubt that there is an unanimous feeling in this meeting, which I only represent when I say that we have just listened to a most interesting and admirable speech on a very important question. (Hear, hear.) I am not sure that it would not be better that we should separate now under the influence of that speech than that I should try to add anything to its beauty or its force. I have said that the speech was very interesting, and that the subject is very important. If any of you have read the debate which recently took place in the House of Commons on the Indian Budget you will have discovered that not only is it our opinion that this subject is important, but that it has become at last the

opinion of the Administration and of Parliament. During that debate we had a long and an able speech from a member of the Government. It was a speech wholly different to many that I have heard from the Ministerial bench and from Indian officials. It was, in point of fact, a confession and a promise of amendment. (Laughter and cheers.) The speech was confined very much to the question of finance, but in reality it opened up almost the whole question of Indian Administration. It is a fact which you may accept with regard to every country that if its finances be wrong almost everything else is wrong. (Cheers.) I have heard promises from the Treasury Bench, from Indian Secretaries and Under-Secretaries for more than thirty years. (Ironical cheers.) I have heard promises and prophecies in abundance, but they have met with no success; indeed I think, on the whole, with almost total failure. (Hear, hear.) We hear now what is to be done with regard to finance, and I will ask your attention for a few moments to the promises made. First of all we are promised that in the Civil Service, in some way not exactly explained, that an economy of 250,000*l.* a year may be accomplished, and that a Military Commission shall be appointed—it has, I believe, already been announced—to inquire into the military establishment of India, and to ascertain how far economy can be practised in that all-devouring department of the revenue. (Laughter and cheers.) The result is not known, and of course cannot be known for some time; but seeing that the recent policy of the Government has caused some increase of the native army in India, if the army grows in magnitude I suspect that the expenditure is not likely to

diminish. (Hear, hear.) The only certain diminution of expenditure to any considerable extent that I can discover in the promises and propositions of the Government is in dealing with the subject of public works. Now if there be one thing in India more than another that requires a wise application of money, I believe it is in the construction of judicious public works of various kinds in different parts of the country. I will venture to read to you one paragraph from the reply of the Chamber of Commerce of Bombay to the Famine Commission. The document is signed by the chairman and secretary, and in it there is this passage—"So long as we find it stated with regard to the great producing districts of India that but little more than a third of the land is under cultivation, and that even under such circumstances in years of abundance the more perishable description of produce cease to be of almost any value, indeed are often left to perish on the field for the want of outlet by roads, we can look for but little progress in this direction. So long as such a state of things is permitted to exist it is impossible for the ryot to better his condition; he must remain, as at present, without incentive to exertion and with difficulty able to provide the scanty means of supporting existence from day to day." Well, to say you will economize in the matter of public works and will not continue to make the means of communication, may be a saving of money for the time, it appears to me to be a grievous injury and misfortune to India. (Cheers.) Where the necessity is most urgent, there the expenditure apparently to a very large extent is to be at once suspended. (Hear, hear.) Now, with regard to the military expenditure, it appears

to me that with increased forces the promises of the Government are for the most part a mere delusion (Cheers.) Let us for a moment examine that question of the army.

Before the Mutiny—that is twenty-one years ago—the English forces in India were, as nearly as I can recollect, about 40,000 men. At the present moment, I believe, the English force in India is at least 60,000 men. (Hear, hear.) I am told—in fact the Minister, in the speech to which I have referred, says—that they have no expectation of diminishing the army in India; they cannot lessen the English garrison in that country. The native army, which was a great danger twenty years ago, is much less than it was then. Therefore that source of danger is less. And what other change has taken place? This, that throughout India, in all the tracts which may be indicated for military purposes, railways have been extensively constructed; and surely it will not be denied that, for the purpose of preserving tranquility and suppressing insurrection, or for any object for which soldiers are necessary, one regiment in a country where there are railways may be reckoned equal to two, perhaps three, regiments where there are no such means of communication. And yet you have half as many more soldiers in India now than you had at the time when there were few or perhaps no railways at all. Still we are told that it is impossible now to lessen the English garrison in India. But surely, after an Act has been passed for disarming the whole general population, there must be less opportunity for, less chance for, an insurrection; if the native army be small, there must be less danger of mutiny in that branch, and if the people of India be the

docile people we believe, and have the greatest reason to know they are for the most part, and if the Government of India be, as its friends tell us it is, so beneficent a Government, then I think we may come reasonably to the conclusion that it may be possible to lessen the English garrison and to diminish the enormous cost at which it is maintained. (Cheers.) What proportion of the whole revenue is it that the English garrison, I mean the whole army, in India costs? It costs, I suppose, nearly 17,000,000*l.* per annum. I think the net sum is smaller than that; but there are great expenses for barracks which may be fairly connected with and added to the net expenses of the army, and I think you will find that, when the Government has extracted the last farthing which it can safely extract from the whole of the people of India by its own indirect taxes, exclusively of the opium duty, which is not a direct tax upon India, the army which is necessary to garrison India expend rather more than half of the net revenue; and therefore you are maintaining your authority over 200,000,000 of people by a military expenditure exceeding one-half of all the revenue that you are extracting from them by a system of taxation which is felt to be burdensome to the last degree. If this is necessary, if there is no remedy possible, no escape from this dilemma, it seems to me that it would be almost better to surrender—to confess our failure, to say that the government of a great Empire in Asia by persons sent out as rulers from this small island in the Atlantic—that such a government is impossible and never should have existed. (Cries of "Question" and "No, no.") Well, there is one other saving to which reference was made, and it is one

of very considerable importance; I refer to the proposal to employ more native labour, which can be had in a shape just as effectual and as intelligent as English labour, and which can be had, no doubt, at considerably less cost than the English labour which is now employed. But what confidence have the people of India in this? (Hear, hear.) Mr. Ghose has alluded to this point, but he did not tell you in detail what has been done, and I think you will allow me to occupy two or three minutes in explaining it in detail. (Cheers.) In 1833 the Charter of the East India Company was renewed. In that year it was declared on the renewal of the Company's Charter, after solemn and careful deliberation by both Houses of Parliament, "That no native of the said territory, nor any natural-born subject of His Majesty resident therein, shall, by reason of religion, place, birth, descent, and colour, or any of them, be disabled from holding any place or office or employment whatever." This statutory declaration was followed by a remarkable despatch from the Court of Directors to the Government of India, containing their interpretation of the Act of Parliament. What did they say in this memorable despatch? They said, "they conceive this section to mean that there shall be no governing caste in British India, that, whatever other tests of qualification may be adopted, no subjects of the King, whether of Indian, or British, or mixed descent, shall be excluded from the post usually conferred on our uncovenanted subjects in India, or from the Covenanted Service itself, provided they be otherwise eligible." In 1853 that declaration was made by the Court of Directors. Well, then, in 1858, after the Mutiny, as many of you know, the Queen was

advised to issue, and did issue a proclamation admirable in language and in temper, and in the wisdom of the promises which were made to the people of India. In that year Her Majesty, on the occasion of her directly assuming the government of the country, was led to issue a proclamation announcing a generous and beneficent policy which was to mark the government of India, now for the first time placed under the direct authority of the Crown of England. This is part of the language of that proclamation, "It is our further wish"—and you may depend upon it that the Queen was expressing the feelings of her own queenly and womanly heart (loud cheers)—"It is our further wish that, so far as may be, all our subjects, of whatever race or creed, be fairly and impartially admitted to all offices or services the duties of which they may be qualified by their education, ability, and integrity duly to discharge." Well, now, how have those promises been fulfilled? Lord Lytton, speaking lately as Chancellor of the University of Calcutta, said the pledges remained inadequately redeemed. But I will show you how they have been redeemed and how inadequately. From 1833, the first year which I gave, to 1879 is a period of forty-six years. In 1833 Parliament and the Directors gave this pledge, and passed in point of fact what was substantially a law. In 1858 there came the Queen's Proclamation. Well, from 1833 to 1853—a period of twenty years—when the Covenanted Service was first thrown open, not one native of India was appointed to any office to which natives were ineligible before 1833. Therefore for the first twenty years not one native received any advantage whatever from the promise and declaration to which I have referred.

(Hear, hear.) Then in 1853 the competition was thrown open for the Covenanted Service, and up to 1863, in ten years, only one single native of India had been admitted to the Covenanted Service. And now at this day, after forty-six years' promises which Lord Lytton says have been inadequately redeemed, only nine persons, natives of India, have been admitted to that service. How many have been admitted from England, who have gone from this country to India? Probably from 1,000 to 1,200 persons have had comfortable, and honourable, and well-paid places provided for them, followed by considerable pensions; but the Indian has been systematically, and I maintain purposely, excluded. Now reference has already been made to the question of examination. You will see how impossible it is for a native of that country to come into the Civil Service under the arrangement that has been made. They might as well have said every native of India who is eight feet high shall enter that service. (Laughter.) You would have had about as many. In the first place, the examination for the Civil Service must be held in England, not in India. Then a young man who comes over to England must cross the sea, he must traverse nearly half the globe. He must come when he is sixteen or seventeen years of age. His parents must allow him to live thousands of miles away from home. At nineteen years of age he must go up for his examination. If he fails once he is too old for any subsequent examination. If he misses his first chance all his chances are gone, and there is nothing left for him but to return disappointed to his native country. Well, the result is that no one comes here for the examination, and the barrier that is put is a barrier that is put there to make it impossible that he

should come. (Cheers.) I will not blink the question in the least. I say that arrangements have been made by somebody and somehow, and by some influence, to keep as far as possible all these promotions, salaries, patronage, and pensions in the hands of Englishmen who shall go out to India. (Cheers.) Now I say, that a pledge of this kind is in point of fact not a right; it is not a privilege. It is so fenced round as not to be available to those to whom it is pretended to be given, and, therefore, it is in fact an insult and a wrong. Reference has been made by Mr. Ghose to the petitions which he brought over. These petitions were from various parts of India, and they were signed by more than 10,000 persons, natives of India, and they claim from us to grant them relief from the grievances of which they complain. Now, the whole policy must be changed, the whole policy of this question, or else those promises are wholly, or nearly wholly, delusive. As to the saving by employing native labour, whatever it may be in the long run, clearly at first it can be but very small and very gradual. You cannot at once remove 500 Englishmen in India, and put 500 natives in their places at half the salary. You must send fewer young men from England to fill those offices. You must have examinations in India. You must make appointments of the educated natives of India, of whom every year there is an increasing number. (Cheers.) I have referred to the pensions and to the salaries. Now, I believe nobody who knows anything of the facts will deny that the salaries of the Civil Service of the Indian Government — the Covenanted Service — are greater, double at least, in many cases threefold, the salaries of persons employed in equal occupation in any other civilized

Government of the world. There have been many of these servants who have been worth all that they received and much more. These have been men of wonderful power, wonderfully wise judgment, wonderful self-devotion, men who would be an honor to any country, and servants the value of whose services could not be doubted to any Government. But still, taking them as a whole, the salaries and pensions, the whole cost of the Civil Service in India is very large, and if economy is to be pursued, to be made a reality, there must be some very considerable change in it. Forty years ago things were very different. Men went to India by the Cape of Good Hope. It took nine months to send a letter from London to Calcutta and receive an answer back. But what is the state of things now? Only last Monday I saw a young lady reading a letter just received from a relative in India. She told me under what condition her relative was there. He was in the Presidency of Madras, and had a month's holiday every year. If he saved it for three years he could take the three months altogether, he could come to that England, spend a month with his friends, and then go back again. That is an entirely different state of things to that which prevailed thirty or forty years ago; and if it might be said that extravagant salaries and pensions were necessary in India at that time, they are not equally necessary now, and there requires, in my opinion, a great reform and a great measure of economy with regard to the Civil Service in India. (Cheers.) I say—and I think Mr. Ghose said the same thing, speaking from actual observation of what I know only from reading, from hearsay, and from the probabilities of the case—that there is in India at this moment, and has been more

visibly than before for several years past, a growing distrust of the Government on the part of the people, and a growing distrust in the mind of the Government of the people. (Hear, hear.) The Government seems as if it had not the confidence in the people it used to have, and the people seem as if they had not the faith in the Government which they have had in past years. Reference had been made to the Vernacular Press Act—an Act which is intended to apply only to newspapers which are published in the native languages and which circulate chiefly among the native population. What did the Government do? On a certain day, the 14th March 1878, but sixteen months ago, the Legislative Council in Calcutta, without any notice—the public knew nothing about it, their opinion was not asked and was not considered—introduced a Bill which did not take nearly so much discussion as a single clause in many Bills before the House of Commons in our country (laughter)—and in the course of two or three hours, for anything I know it might be in one hour, this Bill became law. And what did it do? It put the whole of that portion of the Press of India not into the hands of the courts of India, but into the hands of the Government itself. And what happened? Only a little while ago the oldest and the most well-known and the most widely-circulated and probably the best conducted of all newspapers of India, published in the native language for the benefit of the native population, was assailed by the Government, because it had admitted, what I confess to have been—nobody would deny it—an extremely foolish letter, written by some correspondent at Lahore, which a good management of the paper ought to have

prevented appearing in it. I have nothing to say in favor of that letter—an accident no doubt—but, having appeared, the paper was attacked by the Government under this new law, certain penalties were enforced, and the result has been that the proprietors of the paper were so struck with terror and the probability of a large pecuniary loss that the paper was suppressed and is no longer published. That paper was published by some of the most learned Pundits in India, it was written and managed by educated and Sanscrit scholars, and yet, with all this, it has been suppressed under the Bill which became the law one morning, and which probably no human being knew anything about except the half-a-dozen members of the Council who passed it and made it the law. If there had been a judicial trial, the person who committed the error would have known that he would be brought before competent and wise judges, and before an intelligent and just jury. There is no judge and no jury in this case. The Government is the prosecutor, and the Government is the judge. (Hear, hear.) You will not misunderstand it. This system is one which has created a wide terror through the whole of the Indian Press, and the effect of it is that the Government must necessarily be more ignorant of Indian opinion than it was before, and the natives, shut out from reading their own journals, which alone they can read, as a matter of course must be more dissatisfied with and more hostile to the Government. (Hear, hear.) The next day—for the fit seemed to be on them (laughter)—they passed in a similar manner the Disarming Act, to which reference has been made, by which the general population of India were forbidden to carry

arms, although there are large portions of the country where they are absolutely necessary for the purpose of providing against the wild animals which are so destructive. (Hear, hear.) Well, now I come to the License Tax, and I will call attention to one fact in connection with it which has come to my knowledge. The license tax is not levied on professional people—respectable people, as we should call them—nor upon the official salaried people, but it comes down on the labourer and the artizan, whose whole income, for himself and his two children it may be, is 4*s.* a week. I should like to ask what would have happened in England if it had been proposed to put on such a tax? (Hear, hear.) I am quite clear that no political party would have dared to go to the country on a question of the kind. (Hear, hear.) I am quite sure that any such party before an election would be a very small one afterwards. (Hear, hear, and laughter.) In reference to this point I will quote a short extract from the *Hindoo Patriot*, a paper which has a high reputation. The passage which I wish to quote is as follows:—"The wails of distress under the License Tax come from all parts of the country. We have over and over again alluded to the oppressions committed under colour of this Act in this city. The stories which reach our ears are simply heartrending. Mr. Souttar is doing his best to mitigate this oppression; but what can he do?" I have recently seen a gentleman who has come from India, and who told me that he had seen a crowd of people in one of the streets of the city who informed him that they were simply present for the purpose of appealing against the license tax. The persons whom this gentleman saw were not the same

who had been there on previous occasions; but he was informed that large numbers of people whose object was precisely similar had been at the same place on the same business on many previous occasions in the course of several preceding weeks. What, I should like to ask, would be the result of a similar proceeding in this country in regard to the income-tax if a crowd of the kind filled the square at Somerset House and adjacent parts of the Strand? We should know that the beginning of the end had come. ("Hear, hear," and laughter.) It is the opinion of the people of India and of statesmen who have reflected upon the affairs of India, that in reference to the extreme poverty of the people of India taxation has reached the highest possible point—that in point of fact it has reached a position which is absolutely dangerous to the condition of the country even though the taxes are imposed upon a docile and unarmed people. If there be only a fair quantum of truth in what I have said, may I not ask whether there is not good cause for anxiety in regard to the state of things in India? The educated natives of India are losing confidence in the Government of their country, and they are coming to the English Parliament and the English public through the agency of meetings such as this to state their views. The educated natives of India are becoming more numerous every year, and there are now as many native Indians who read Shakspeare and Milton as there are in England. (Cheers.) As the native of India studies our language and reads our literature, the terrors and the darkness of his superstitions vanish. He becomes a changed man. He is awakened to some knowledge of his public and private rights. He knows what

a Government owes of right to those whom it governs, and he says to us that history tells him that you are their conquerors, but at least it is not necessary that a conqueror should be other than magnanimous, or that he should be otherwise than just to those over whom he rules. (Hear, hear.) Even at such a time as this, when there are all these grounds for anxiety, we have had in India a restless foreign policy, and have been dragged, forced, or led into a war condemned by almost every man who had any reputation for wisdom or judgment in Indian statesmanship. (Cheers.) Only the other day the grave closed over one of the greatest and noblest statesmen India has ever had, and now when his lips are silent everybody speaks his praise. But some months ago, when he gave wise advice to his country and to his Government—and no wiser was ever offered to them—his counsels were derided, and all that he said and urged was neglected with scorn and contumely. (Cheers.) Now, at such a time as this, and when famine has been so rife in India, you have a Government in India or at home, or the two together, who have ventured on this restless policy, and have involved the country in a war—a war which I am obliged to say they have got out of as ignominiously as I think they well could. (A Voice: "No, no.") I am glad to find that there is some gentleman here who agrees, and I also am disposed to agree with the old statesman who said that there never was a good war and never a bad peace. (Cheers.) Therefore we will not have any question about the peace. We will only rejoice together that it has come. (Hear hear.) In 1876 the Government promised that the new tax should be applied for the support of those who were

suffering from famine. Nothing could be more specific than their pledges—nothing more notorious than the way in which their pledges were broken. (Hear, hear.) Before I sit down I will read two little sentences bearing on this subject. The Finance Minister, by way of justifying increased taxation, said, "I feel confident that I shall be able to satisfy the Council and the public that the resolution which the Government has proclaimed will be faithfully carried out, and the proceeds of these new taxes will be expended for the purpose of providing what I have called an insurance against famine and for no other purpose whatever." Then there are other pledges, such as the financial Resolution of the 18th of March, and I will now quote from the Minute of the Viceroy himself, dated March 18. Lord Lytton says:—"The sole justification for the increased taxation which has been imposed upon the people of India for the purpose of insuring this Empire"—not against the Russians (laughter)—but "against the worst calamities of future famine, so far as such an insurance can now be practically provided, is the pledge that we have given that a sum not less than one million and-a-half sterling, which exceeds the amount of the additional contributions obtained from the people for this purpose, shall be annually applied to it. We have explained to the people of this country that the additional revenue raised by the new taxes is required not for the luxuries but for the necessities of the State; not for general purpose but for the construction of a particular class of public works and we have pledged ourselves not to spend one rupee of the special resources thus created upon works of a different character." These were the promises made

by the Finance Minister and by the Viceroy; and upon which they justified the levying of this new tax. Well, you know that not one 6*d.* has been applied for the purpose for which it was raised. The whole of it has gone into that bottomless pit which is always opened when war is commenced. (Cheers.) I ask you, as sensible Englishmen and Englishwomen, what can be the effect on opinion in India of a course of policy like this? (Hear, hear.) And don't imagine that opinion is only powerful in this country. Even in the most despotic countries—and India, as you know, is despotically governed — public opinion is a matter that must be noticed by Czar or by Empress. (Cheers.) There is no escape from that, and I say, then, the effect on public opinion in India must be highly unfavourable; that it must tend to destroy the confidence of the people in their Government, and tend to create in the minds of the people a contempt for the Government that so treats them. (Hear, hear.) Now, I am here freely and frankly to condemn this policy as one of injustice and of danger. I believe that it enormously increases all the difficulty of our position in India; that it exaggerates all the perils which surround it, and that it hastens that catastrophe of disaster and humiliation which awaits on the statesmanship which is made up partly of folly and partly of wickedness. (Cheers.) History offers us many examples of great empires which have been built up, and of great empires which have fallen. From the time of Alexander the Great to the time of the Corsican conqueror of our own age, abundant lessons are offered to us, that power may be built up, but that wisdom and justice are necessary to sustain it.

(Cheers.) England has done much by force. Now is the time for the policy of wisdom and of justice. If these great qualities are wanting—and I confess I have not observed them lately in our Indian Administration—I say if these great qualities are wanting, I see before me little but calamity and humiliation in connection with our Indian Empire. (Hear, hear.) If English opinion and the English conscience will seize this question boldly and deal with it there may be a remedy. If not, in my mind, the future of India and of English connected with it is full of gloom and full of peril. (Loud cheers.)

Mr. Fawcett, M. P., having risen amid loud cheer in response to a call from the chairman, proposed a vote of thanks to Mr. Ghose for his address. He said there were one or two parts of that admirable address in which he did not concur. Mr. Ghose, for instance, advocated the extension of what was known as the permanent settlement of the land-tax over the length and breadth of India; while he himself regarded the system established by Lord Cornwallis in 1793 as one of the greatest financial blunders ever committed during our possession of India. Mr. Ghose might regardthat meeting as a conclusive sign of the awakening in England of a sense of the responsibility which we owe to India, the interests of which ought never to be treated as party questions. (Hear, hear.) They had at last got an official recognition of the gravity of the financial position of that country, and the Government had pledged themselves to a policy of rigorous retrenchment and strict economy; but people who advocated such a policy and called out loudly for economy objected

to it when it touched themselves, and the Government should be supported by the public in their efforts to carry out the object. (Cheers.) He believed that English public opinion and the English Parliament would henceforth be on the side of economy in regard to India, and as regarded the question of taxation on account of the recent war, he was confident that, much as the people of this country were now suffering from the depression of trade, they did not desire to be relieved from their just burdens at the expense of the famine-stricken millions of India. (Hear, hear.) As to military expenditure, after having carefully considered the matter, he would express the opinion that, without diminishing the strength of the European army in India, or of the native army, by a single soldier, through a change of system the cost might be reduced by at least 300,000*l.* a year. What did that saving mean? It meant the reduction of the salt duty to two rupees per maund—an immense boon to the poor ryots who tilled the lands of India; the sweeping away of the license tax and the application of a surplus for the construction of public works, instead of the borrowing of money for that purpose. Amongst the many achievements of the English nation, none would bring it greater honour or more lasting renown than the giving of economical administration, just laws, and good government to the countless millions of our Indian Empire. (Cheers.)

Sir David Wedderburn, M. P., having briefly seconded the motion, it was put from the chair, and cordially adopted.

Mr. Ghose, having returned thanks, in moving a vote of thanks to Mr. Bright for presiding, said on behalf of the people of India he wished to tender him their sincerest expressions of gratitude for what he had done to promote their welfare.

The motion having been put by Mr. CHESSON, and carried by acclamation.

MR. BRIGHT, in acknowledging the vote, spoke of the great pleasure with which he had listened to "the voice from India," and said he hoped that many other educated natives would, in a similar manner, enlighten and inform English opinion on Indian questions. (Cheers.)

The Meeting then separated.

THE MEMORIAL PRESENTED TO LORD HARTINGTON AT THE INDIA OFFICE BY A DEPUTATION OF ENGLISH AND INDIAN GENTLEMEN.

THE Secretary of State for India (the Marquis of Hartington) received a deputation of Natives of India and other gentlemen in July 1880 at the India Office. The object of the deputation was to present a Memorial, containing suggestions in regard to Indian administration, relating to the Press Act, the Indian Arms Act, the admission of Natives of India to the higher ranks of the Indian public service, and the desirability of giving to the people of India a voice in the administration of the affairs of their country. Among those present were Lord Stanley of Alderley, Lord Lawrence, Mr. T. B. Potter, M. P.; Mr. Cheetham, M. P.; Mr. J. C. Clarke, M. P.; Mr. T. Burt, M. P.; Mr. G. Palmer, M. P.; Mr. Pennington, M. P.; Mr. Hugh Mason, M. P.; Sir Charles Trevelyan, Sir John Phear, Professor Hunter, Mr. Noble, Mr. C. Hancock, Mr. Dacosta, Major Bell, Mr. Chesson, Mr. Lalmohun Ghose, Merza Pir Bucksh, Mr. O. C. Mullick, Mr. Syud Hossein, Mr. F. B. Chatterji, Mr. Lutfur Rahman, Mr. M. D. Dadyset, Mr. Edulju

Jamsetji Khory, Mr. S. Nurul Huda, Mr. M. L. Gupta, Mr. H. C. Banerji, Mr. D. N. Dass, Mr. Radhica Ram Dhekial Phukan, Mr. Dolat Rao Desai, Mr. S. Chandra Nundi, Mr. U. K. Dutt, and Mr. J. Palit. The Marquis of Hartington was accompanied by Sir T. Mallet.

Sir D. Wedderburn, M. P., introduced the deputation, and the following Memorial was formally presented to the noble Marquis:—

TO THE RIGHT HONORABLE THE MARQUIS OF HARTINGTON, HER MAJESTY'S PRINCIPAL SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA.

My Lord,—In venturing to approach your Lordship with a few suggestions in regard to Indian administration, we feel confident that your Lordship will be ready to accord a sympathetic hearing to the representations which we feel it our duty to make.

The Viceroyalty of Lord Lytton marked a new departure in Indian policy, and the sanction which it received from the late Parliament caused the people of India to watch the result of the last general election with a degree of interest unknown in former times. The columns of the Native Press of India, as well as the proceedings of various public meetings, held in different parts of the country, testify to the warm and heartfelt satisfaction with which the people of India have hailed the accession of the new Government to power. They feel confident that the retrograde policy of the past few years will be reversed, and that the new Administration will be signalized by the introduction of many important and much-needed reforms. It is in connection with these topics that we venture to offer a few suggestions on the present occasion.

Under Lord Lytton's administration two measures of exceptional legislation were passed, which have created grave dissatisfaction in India, and for which we believe there was no adequate justification. We allude to the Vernacular Press Act and the Indian Arms Act, which became law on the 14th and 15th of March 1878 respectively. But these measures have been repeatedly discussed in this country, and it is, therefore, not necessary that we should dwell upon them at any length.

The Press Act formed the subject of debate in the House of Commons, and even called forth expressions of disapproval from Lord Cranbrook, your Lordship's predecessor in office. It was at that time generally understood that the provisions of the Act would not be enforced, and that, although it was not repealed, it would not practically interfere with the freedom of the Press. That expectation, however, has not been realized. Towards the beginning of last year proceedings were taken under the Act against a leading vernacular newspaper —the *Shome-Prakash*, and the result was that the proprietors of the journal had to discontinue its publication for upwards of a year. The only offence charged against the newspaper was the publication of a letter from a correspondent, of which no one will approve, but which certainly did not call for the exercise of the exceptional powers conferred upon the Government by the Vernacular Press Act. But it seems to us that scarcely any amount of care on the part of the authorities can suffice to prevent the harsh and oppressive working of a measure which, instead of leaving the decision to an impartial tribunal, violates one of the cardinal maxims of jurisprudence by allowing the Government to sit in

judgment over criticisms passed upon its own measures and policy. We believe the Act is so bad in principle, and there is so little necessity for it, that the only satisfactory method of dealing with it is to expunge it from the Statute-book, leaving to the executive the ordinary remedy of proceeding against offenders by prosecution in the courts of law, whenever the occasion might arise.

The Indian Arms Act is also regarded by the people of that country as a violation of their rights and a reflection upon their loyalty, which has been proved, and repeatedly recognized by the highest authorities, during more than twenty years of profound peace. We need not point out to your Lordship the unwisdom of entertaining, and proclaiming by a legislative enactment, an unfounded and nervous distrust of the people. But apart from the political mistake involved in such a measure, we believe it is calculated to produce serious mischief by throwing additional difficulties in the way of the people, as regards the possession of arms, in a country where they are so much needed for protection against the ravages of wild animals. This view of the case seems to us to be completely borne out when we find, on reference to the Statistical Abstract for 1877-78, that during the year 1877, although upwards of 22,000 wild animals were destroyed, yet no less than 2,918 persons and 50,252 cattle were killed by wild animals, exclusive of 16,777 persons and 2,945 cattle killed by venomous snakes.

The principal argument urged in favor of the Act was, that it was necessary to put a stop to the facilities which previously existed for the smuggling of arms across the frontiers of India. But we may be permitted to observe

that that object could be equally served by the introduction of stringent Police regulations in the frontier districts without resorting to the extreme measure of disarming the whole population of India.

We are relieved from the necessity of dwelling at further length upon the objections to the two measures to which we have ventured to call your Lordship's attention, as we have the satisfaction of knowing that the policy of those measures has been strongly condemned, on various occasions, by most of your Lordship's colleagues. We, therefore, earnestly hope that your Lordship will soon be able to advise the new Viceroy of India to repeal the Vernacular Press Act and the Indian Arms Act.

We also desire to call your Lordship's attention to the question of admission of the Natives of India to the higher ranks of the public service. So far back as 1833 an Act of Parliament declared that the people of India were eligible for all offices, civil as well as military; and this declaration was emphatically repeated in the Royal Proclamation of 1858, in which Her Majesty was pleased to say that all her subjects, of whatever race or creed, were to be "freely and impartially admitted to all offices, the duties of which they may be qualified by their education, ability, and integrity duly to discharge."

About the same time, the Covenanted Civil Service of India was thrown open to general competition. But it is obvious that the very fact of these examinations being held in London, placed Indian candidates at a considerable disadvantage. Nevertheless, a few Indian youths (not exceeding nine or ten altogether) succeeded from time to time in entering the service through the door of competition. But unfortunately, about two or three

years ago the Marquis of Salisbury, the then Secretary of State for India, introduced a change in the rules reducing the maximum age for candidates from twenty-one to nineteen. We believe the result of this alteration has been to place an insuperable obstacle in the way of Indian candidates by making it necessary for them to come over to this country at the early age of sixteen or seventeen on the mere chance of passing a most difficult examination conducted in the English language with which, at that age, they must necessarily be very imperfectly acquainted. This change, which naturally caused considerable dissatisfaction in India, was protested against in public meetings; and numerously signed petitions from all parts of the country were presented, in June 1879, to the House of Commons in reference to this subject.

In July 1879, Her Majesty's Government issued certain Rules, in pursuance of an Act of Parliament passed in 1870, with a view to facilitate the admission of Indians of "approved merit and ability" to the public service. These Rules empowered the Government of India to frame a scheme whereby a fixed number of appointments—not exceeding one-fifth of the total number annually made from this country—were authorized to be made on the nomination of the Local Governments, subject to the approval of the Supreme Government. In accordance with these Rules, a scheme was brought forward by Lord Lytton towards the end of last year, of which the chief feature was that it declared, contrary to the spirit of all the previous declarations on the subject, that no person was to be appointed merely by reason of his "education, ability, and integrity;" but

that the Local Governments were to be guided in their selection by such considerations as the birth and family connections of the different candidates. Limitations have also been laid down in reference to the nature of the appointments to be embraced within the scope of the new scheme, which have given to the "Native Civil Service," as it is called, a distinctly lower status than that of the ordinary Covenanted Civil Service.

We are assured that the new scheme has only intensified the dissatisfaction which is felt in India in reference to this subject, and that it is regarded as a retrograde step, amounting practically to a revocation of the various pledges which have been given to the people of India, both by Her Majesty and by Parliament. On the whole, we venture to think that the difficulty cannot be satisfactorily solved by the creation of a distinct and inferior service, which scarcely differs, except in name, from the Subordinate Executive and Judicial Services, to which Natives of India are ordinarily admitted.

We would, therefore, respectfully suggest—

1*st.* That the maximum age for English and Indian candidates for the *London* competitions should be replaced at twenty-one; and

2*nd.* That the Rules under the Act of 1870 for the admission of Natives *in India* to the Covenanted Civil Service should be amended, so as to throw it open to Natives, who have established a character for integrity and ability in the subordinate department of the service, as well as to those who have distinguished themselves in the exercise of the legal profession.

Lastly, we beg to submit to your Lordship the desirability of taking some step towards giving to the people

of India a voice in the administration of their country. We believe the time has arrived, when an experiment may be safely made in this direction by admitting elected representative members to the Supreme and Provincial Legislative Councils, in a certain proportion to the nominated members. At present, each Local Government nominates two or three Indians to serve as members of the Council, who are often officials, and, with a few exceptions, generally selected more on account of their rank and wealth than for their fitness and capacity. Although some of these members have, from time to time, rendered useful service to the State, it is obvious that, so long as all the members are nominated by the Government, however carefully the selection may be made, the Native members who are so appointed cannot feel, or be credited with, that independence which it is essential they should enjoy, nor can their opinion possess the weight and authority which belong to the voice of representatives elected by the people.

We believe there will be no difficulty in finding constituencies to which the privilege of sending representatives to serve in the Councils may be properly conceded. The Presidency-towns, as well as some other important cities, already possess the Municipal franchise; and the electors, who evince a growing and intelligent interest in the Municipal elections, could not fail to cherish, and to exercise with wisdom, the higher privilege of selecting representatives to serve in the national councils of the Empire. We would, therefore, respectfully suggest that each of the Presidency-towns, together with such other towns, in each Presidency, as may happen to possess the Municipal franchise, or to whom such franchise

may, from time to time, be extended, should be empowered to send a proportionate number of members to serve in the Legislative Council of the presidency to which they belong. We would also recommend the introduction of the principle of representation within similar limits as regards the constitution of the Supreme Legislative Council, so that a certain proportion of its members may be elected representatives of the different presidencies.

We need hardly point out to your Lordship that, by introducing a reform in the direction we have indicated, there would be an enormous accession of strength to the British Empire, inasmuch as there would be a recognized means of ascertaining the real wants and opinions of the people, which would enable the Government to secure for its legislative and fiscal measures the sanction and support of public opinion in India.

We earnestly hope, that the suggestions which we have ventured to make will meet with your Lordship's careful consideration.

We have the honor to be your Lordship's obedient servants,

DAVID WEDDERBURN, *Chairman.*

HODGSON PRATT, *Treasurer.*

F. W. CHESSON
LALMOHUN GHOSE } *Hon. Secretaries.*

Speeches of Sir C. Trevelyan, Mr. Lalmohun Ghose, and Mr. Hodgson Pratt.

After the presentation of the Memorial to the Marquis of Hartington, Sir C. Trevelyan addressed his Lordship on that part of the Memorial, which related to the admission of the Natives of India to the higher ranks of the Indian Service, and proceeded to adduce instances in favor of the practice. In his youth and early life it was said that the Hindus were adepts at finance. That seemed to have been very much forgotten. Of late years, there had been instances where some of the Natives, who had been advanced, had made admirable Judges. If they had employed Native diplomats, they would never have had the Afghan war, and some of the diplomats lately employed had been Natives. He submitted that the Natives were good all round, not in one thing, but in all things. Justice could subsist only side by side with her sister, personal integrity. It was with the Natives of India, as it was with ourselves. As to the work of education, they had of late done a great deal for high education, but the fact that we had so thoroughly done our duty in the work of education imposed on us the duty of going on in the path of the higher employment of the Natives, and of giving to those whose ambition we had aroused a real career in their native country. The case of India might be illustrated by that of Greece, though India was a very large country, and Greece a very small one; but the case of Greece went on all fours with that of India. We did not want an extension of boundaries in India, but what was wanted was honorable employment for our fellow-subjects within the existing boundaries.

There were two entrance-gates to the Civil Servants in India. The Natives of India had, in common with the natural-born subjects of Her Majesty, the entrance-gate by literary and scientific competition in the examinations held annually in London. The Natives of India had always been at a great disadvantage in this respect on account of the distance they came, as well as by reason of the strangeness of the climate and the difficulty of the language. These difficulties had been increased by the regulations with reference to age and the alteration of the age to nineteen years. That was a retrograde step altogether. A lad of nineteen was like a grown-up school-boy, and you could not tell how he might turn out. At present, the men were so young that they were mere apprentices, whereas if they were taken at a more mature age, the Government would get better and stronger men. The step which had been taken ought to be recalled. If it had been difficult for the Natives of India to compete before, how much more difficult would it be now? The other entrance-gate was, where the Natives were appointed to positions without leaving the country. He considered this a better entrance-gate than the competition in England, because it supplied them with men who could do credit to the Government and to their fellow-countrymen. The retrograde legislation which had been passed under the Government of Lord Lytton should be repealed. If we governed India for the benefit of the country, without any indirect view either to our material interests or to our Imperial glory, we might entirely depend upon the fidelity and loyalty of the Natives of India. There was no more well-disposed, well-meaning population on the earth,

if they only saw that they were governed with justice; and if so, they would be the best subjects Her Majesty had in any part of the world.

MR. LALMOHUN GHOSE said:—My Lord, under ordinary circumstances I should not have ventured to take up your Lordship's time; but as I have been sent here for the express purpose of representing the views of a large portion of my countrymen, it would, perhaps, not be out of place, if I were to say one or two words on this occasion. My Lord, twenty or thirty years ago, there was hardly an Indian public opinion to which one could refer. But with the progress of education, a very remarkable change has taken place in this respect. Now-a-days there is hardly a public question of any importance which is not earnestly discussed at public meetings as well as in the columns of the Indian Press. And, my Lord, of the questions which are so discussed, there are none more important than those which are referred to in the Memorial that has just been presented to your Lordship. Some of those points have been already amply discussed by Sir Charles Trevelyan, than whom no one can speak with greater authority upon Indian questions. But, my Lord, I may be permitted just to add one word as to the state of public opinion in India in reference to the Civil Service question. Your Lordship may probably remember a well-known passage in the despatch of the Court of Directors, written shortly after the Act of 1833 was passed. In that despatch they said that they conceived that it was the intention of Parliament that "*thenceforth there was to be no governing caste in India.*" But, my Lord, the very thing which the Court of Directors depre-

cated nearly half a century ago has been perpetuated in an aggravated form by the new scheme of the Indian Government. Instead of *one*, we have now *two*, "governing castes" in India. There is, in the first place, the ordinary Covenanted Civil Service, from which our people are practically shut out; and now there is to be a subordinate adjunct to that service to be composed of a few Natives of India appointed by favor, on the ground of family connections. Under these circumstances, I am only expressing the unanimous opinion of all my countrymen when I say that the recent action of the Indian Government is regarded by us as a direct violation of all those promises and gracious pledges to which Sir Charles Trevelyan has already drawn your Lordship's attention. My Lord, before I sit down I will only say one word about the Arms Act, to which reference is made in our Memorial. I will take leave to remind your Lordship that even after the *Mutiny*, when some measure of this kind was urgently needed for the safety of the State, the eminent statesman, who then presided over the Indian Government, was most careful to distinguish between those parts of the country which were loyal and peaceful, and such as were turbulent or disaffected. But now, after twenty years of peace and without the slightest justification, that just and wholesome distinction has been deliberately ignored. Then, again, my Lord, there is another serious objection to this Act. It is the first instance, I believe, in British India of class legislation of a most invidious character. Under the old law passed by Lord Canning's Government, all Her Majesty's subjects, whether European or Native, were placed in the same position. They were all alike

prohibited from possessing arms in a Disarmed District without a special license. But the present law expressly exempts from its operation Europeans, Eurasians, and East Indians or half-castes. The result is, that a Native gentleman of rank and position, if he happens to possess a gun for sporting purposes and forgets to get a license at the proper time — and these licenses have to be renewed every year—he renders himself liable to two years' imprisonment with hard labor. While if he has an East Indian or Portuguese butler or cook, that man—his own menial servant—is not subject to this law. Therefore, your Lordship can scarcely be surprised to hear that my countrymen look upon this law as a gross indignity needlessly put upon them, besides being a hardship to the poor by depriving them of the means of protection against wild beasts. In conclusion, my Lord, I will only say that the question, referred to in our Memorial, is at present very keenly discussed all over India. The educated classes are daily increasing in numbers and growing in influence. My Lord, it is inevitable that what are their opinions to-day will, before long, be the prevailing opinions of the masses of the people. And I need scarcely tell your Lordship that whether the educated men of India are to be loyal or disaffected, must depend, in a great measure, upon the sort of treatment which they may receive at the hands of their governors, and the political and social equality that may or may not be extended to them. I have now only to thank your Lordship, and to say in reference to the suggestions which we have ventured to make, that we feel sure that your Lordship will give them such consideration as they may deserve.

MR. HODGSON PRATT denounced the Vernacular Press Act, which had interfered with what all Englishmen considered to be a great means of promoting the education of the people. There was no such instrument for educating the population as was supplied by a free Press, and there was no more ready and complete instrument for communication between the rulers and the ruled. Other opportunities of communication between the two such as we had here were wanting in India, where there was no popular representation. Throughout the record of our connection with India terrible injuries had been inflicted, which might have been prevented if there had been a free and unfettered Press. He thought those who had looked at the Vernacular Press must admit that, though there might be found in it a little of what was pedantic, the writing of the Natives showed great ability and fairness. These educated Natives must be the best interpreters between the rulers and the ruled. If it were true that our great mission in India was to qualify the Natives to govern themselves, he knew no better means to forward this end than by the encouragement of a good Vernacular Press.

LORD STANLEY of ALDERLEY made a few observations relating to the age at which candidates for the Competitive Examination should be admitted, and as to the degree of influence exercised by sections of the Press.

LORD HARTINGTON'S REPLY.

Lord Hartington said: I have had great pleasure in receiving this influential deputation, and having had this opportunity of hearing the opinions which are held by

some of the educated and intelligent Natives of India upon these important questions. I think I rightly understand your object in coming here to-day is to rather lay before me, and through me the Government of India, your views on this subject, than of eliciting from me any expression of my opinion. (Cheers.) You have referred in your Memorial to four of the most important questions which can possibly engage the attention of the Indian Government. You hold strong views upon those questions, which have been very ably stated; but while there is a great deal that has been said, with which I can very much agree, of course some observations have been made with which I cannot entirely coincide. But I do not wish to argue these questions now, for they are so large and important that anyone of them would furnish sufficient material for a very prolonged debate. All I can say is, in the most general way, that I think your views are well worthy of consideration; they have been very ably and temperately expressed, and I shall have great pleasure in laying them before my colleagues and the Government of India for their best consideration. With the change of administration the time has come when some, at all events, of the recent legislation for India will have to be reconsidered. But I would remind you that it would be quite inconsistent, with our ordinary practice, that a change in the political power of this country should be accompanied by anything like a hasty reversal of legislation. In Opposition in this country, we have very often to oppose, with all our power, legislation which is proposed by our opponents. We do all we can to stop or modify it; but it is our usual practice, when once that legislation has

been passed, not hastily, on a change of political power, to attempt to reverse what has been done. Well, it is necessary to bear that in mind here and also in India. I think we all desire that Indian questions, and especially those of Indian Administration, should not be made questions of party discussion in the House of Commons; but they should be discussed upon their own merits, and, as far as possible, removed from party influence and passion. (Cheers.) I think it very much to be regretted that it should be supposed that on account of a change of political power in England, everything that was done by the late Administration was at once to be reversed, and that sudden political changes in India were to follow upon our political changes at home. I do not want to push these considerations at all too far; I quite admit that the operation of those Acts to which you refer must be carefully watched and inquired into, and it will be the duty of the Government here and in India to inform themselves as to what the opinions of the best authorities—not the opinions of officials only—but the opinions of intelligent Natives are as to the character and tendency of those Acts, so that we may consider carefully whether they ought to be modified, or, perhaps, in some instances repealed. As to the Vernacular Press Act, I can say I have already heard from Lord Ripon that that is a subject to which he is now giving attention, and I will not, therefore, express any opinion upon it at this moment. I would at once point out that, as Lord Ripon himself told me, it is a matter which must be approached with considerable care and circumspection. You are aware that the legislation did not proceed from the Home Government, and I do not know that it even emanated from

Lord Lytton himself. It is due mainly, I believe, to men of experience and in official positions, and many members of Lord Lytton's Council are, no doubt, to a very great extent, in favor of the principle contained in the Act. I do not think you would unduly desire to weaken the sense of responsibility of the Legislative Council by pressing upon them a sudden reversal of their expressed opinion. Any change must be carefully and well considered, and if brought forward, it must be after the full consideration of the working and effect of the present law. One other observation I might make on this subject, which is, that the criminal law as to libels was, as it existed, unworkable. Well, many of us thought that, instead of making a special law, the criminal law and law of libel might be altered, and more easily workable. This is a matter which will also have to be considered; but I would remind you that it is just possible that in altering the law, so that it may more easily be worked, the Native Press may find themselves under rules which will be practically more severe than the present ones. But this also is a matter upon which Lord Ripon is engaged, and he is about to submit proposals on the subject. As to the Indian Arms Act, all will admit that in a country circumstanced as India is, some regulations must be imposed upon the carrying of arms. Whether those in operation are judicious or not, or are calculated, as one gentleman has said, to wound Native pride — all these are matters which engage the attention of the Viceroy. The question of admitting Natives into the higher ranks of the Civil Service is also most important. It has engaged the attention of the Home Government for a very long time;

and I would inform the Deputation that two principles have guided our conduct throughout in these appointments. We have been obliged—and I believe all Indian statesmen of eminence hold that it is necessary—to have a certain number of the higher appointments reserved for British officials. How far that principle may be gradually modified I am not able to say at present; but if it is modified at all, it will have to be done, as I say, gradually and with very great care and caution. The second principle which has animated almost every man who has had anything to do with the Government of India, is that the Natives should be gradually introduced in larger numbers. Whether this has been done judiciously or not, I cannot say, but anyone who reads the papers presented to Parliament will be able to see for himself that the new rules and regulations were framed so as to extend, and not to limit, the employment of Natives in the Civil Service. The subject, however, is much too large to be discussed here. I am sure that the Indian Government, if it finds that these regulations are not satisfactory, will make such modifications as will bring them in harmony with Native opinion. (Cheers.) In justice to the late Government, I should state that these rules were framed in no jealous or niggard spirit. The question of representation is a large one. My predecessor in this office admitted that some of the suggestions were very well worthy of consideration, and I am not disposed to say less. You are aware that the political system of this country places occasionally at the head of the administration of Indian affairs, both here and in India, men who have not had any special experience with regard to them. Lord Ripon will admit—as I am

quite ready to admit—that we have a great deal to learn. We have both come suddenly and newly to the administration of Indian affairs, and both of us are fully aware that we have a great deal to make ourselves acquainted with before attempting to speak positively upon them. The present is a time when we have not much leisure to spare for the discussion of legislative and general measures—the state of our foreign relations—the war in Afghanistan—and the financial condition of India are two subjects of enormous importance to our Indian fellow-subjects. You will, therefore, agree with me that it is most important that we should devote the whole of our attention to these two pressing questions, and we must postpone the consideration of other subjects until we can give them more undivided attention than we can do now. I hope—we all hope—that happier times are not far distant for India. The Government here and in India will, at the earliest moment, devote their undivided attention to the important subjects connected with the Government of India, which you have brought before me to-day, and it will afford me very great pleasure to bring your views before my colleagues. (Cheers.) On the motion of Lord Lawrence, the Deputation thanked His Lordship.

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PREFACE.

WHEN, in the course of the past year, I published an edition of the Speeches on public questions delivered by Mr. Lalmohun Ghose, both in England and India, I felt the great disadvantage under which the work was carried out, that it could not admit of the personal revision of the gifted gentleman whose public utterances, so full of patriotism, loyalty, and eloquence, were then for the first time presented to the public in a collected form. It had been my intention to bring out a continuation of the Speeches whenever they should have furnished sufficient matter of equal merit and size with the first volume.

That intention I have been forced very reluctantly to anticipate for two reasons. In the first place, it must be generally known that many Members of Parliament, and other English gentlemen of high position and large influence, have publicly, and with unmistakeable earnestness, signified their desire to favour and promote Mr. Lalmohun Ghose's candidature for election to represent an English constituency in the House of Commons. Such a movement cannot hope for more than the moral support it might receive from the English nation, and its success, therefore, must depend upon such substantial aid as all classes of the Indian people, from a wise regard for their own best interests, might be prepared to render.

It was thought that the publication of the present work, if it could not do much to help Mr. Lalmohun Ghose's candidature directly, would, at any rate, realise more vividly to his countrymen's minds his special qualifications to assert and vindicate their inherent rights in the only place where those rights can expect a fair hearing and a full consideration,—that is, the House of Commons. It was there that the battle for the liberties of England was really fought out and won—it was there that the intolerable institution of slavery received its death-blow—and it is there, it is to be hoped, that that justice which has so long and so arbitrarily been withheld will ultimately be conceded in full measure to India. With the marked determination of a large class of the Anglo-Indian bureaucracy to persist in the repudiation of Native rights and in the repression of Native aspirations, our countrymen will be worse than blind to their own interests if they do not "take time by the fore-lock" and avail themselves to the freest and fullest extent of the present tendency of public feeling in the most influential circles in England to ensure, as far as lies in their power, Mr. Lalmohun Ghose's return to Parliament.

The second reason for the hasty publication of this work is that the demand for the Speeches has been constant and pressing, and Mr. Lalmohun Ghose's absence in England on his fourth deputation has necessarily created and is maintaining a strong and growing interest in his public utterances as the selected champion of his country's cause there.

The present work has been undertaken, perhaps, prematurely, with a view to contribute, in however small a degree, towards the heavy expenses of his election, as well as to meet, however partially, the public demand ; and, accordingly, those speeches which have been delivered by Mr. Lalmohun Ghose since the date of the last publication have been embodied in this volume. The surplus proceeds from the sale of the present work will, therefore, be applied to assist Mr. Lalmohun Ghose in defraying the expenses of his election.

It is to be hoped, then, that all true friends of their country will co-operate in an object which is sure to be conducive to its lasting benefit. Mr. Lalmohun Ghose's past efforts for the advancement of his country's cause have been so great and so successful that his further services in the same direction, emphasised by the responsible position he may soon be called upon to fill, cannot fail to be attended with results of more marked and permanent value to the people of India. The Speeches contained in the present volume will be found to be characterised by the same patriotism and eloquence as his previous utterances, and though they are less numerous, they are of as much merit as the contents of the first volume. With these few remarks, I confidently commit this little volume to the public spirit of all classes of the Indian community, who can appreciate true patriotism and real eloquence.

ASUTOSH BANERJI.

CALCUTTA,

25th November 1884.

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LORD RIPON'S INDIAN POLICY.

A CROWDED meeting was held at Willis's Rooms, on August 1st, 1883, in support of Mr. Ilbert's Bill and the general policy of Lord Ripon. There were present several Members of Parliament: Mr. John Bright, M.P., presided. Mr. Bright, after dwelling on the aims and objects of the Ilbert Bill, referred to the Anglo-Indian agitation consequent upon it, and said: "I will not insist upon it that the Covenanted Civil Service are at the bottom of this commotion. Some say that the non-official Englishmen have done too much to promote it. Some say—and there is a great deal of reasonableness in the statement—that a great deal of the trouble has arisen from the conduct and agitation of the lawyers in Calcutta. There are one or two facts which go rather to support that. We know lawyers are very ingenious everywhere, in every country. Well, I am told that recently a Judge in Bengal—a native lawyer of eminence—had been appointed, during the absence of his brother Judge, Chief Justice of Bengal, and that this was a very unpleasant pill for the English lawyers there, some one of whom, I suppose, might have been expected to take that office. They fear that this is a precedent that may be followed. Then, beyond that, I am told that a native member of the Bar has recently been appointed Standing Counsel to the Government of India, and these two appointments, and the suspicion that more may follow, have disturbed the minds of the members of the Calcutta Bar, and built up all this jealousy." Mr. Bright concluded by saying: "I know it has been said on high authority, speaking of the Supreme Being, that even the wrath of man shall praise Him, and possibly it may; but the results which may flow from the conquest of India and its government by this country may, in some degree, compensate for the crime and suffering which were committed and endured during the progress of that conquest. But I should say that one thing is perfectly certain—that India was not committed to our control to be held as a field for English ambition and English greed. Our fathers may have erred—in my opinion, they did greatly err—but their children will make some compensation to the countless millions now subject to their rule by a policy of generosity and justice—a policy which, in my opinion, India and

the world have a right to expect and to demand from a Christian people, as we profess to be. I believe that Lord Ripon desires to advance this policy, to maintain the principles laid down in the Act of 1883, a paragraph from which I read, and in the noble Proclamation of the Queen issued to the people of India in the year 1858. And I may add this belief, that this meeting will maintain the Governor-General of India in the arduous and conscientious performance of the duties of his high office. (Cheers.) I gather support and consolation from the answer which the Secretary of State for India made the other day to that deputation. He told them that the Government had not the slightest idea of even suggesting to Lord Ripon to withdraw the Bill. Our business here to-day is to support Lord Ripon in that policy—(renewed cheers)—and to give, by united voice, as I hope we shall do, our utmost support to the Government existing in this country, under whom, of course, Lord Ripon is acting in India. He is the great Governor-General appointed by the Queen. He knows what there is in that Proclamation of the Queen. I do not believe that Lord Ripon could (I hope there is no man that would) abandon the gracious and noble promises which the Queen in that Proclamation made to the population of India. Now I told you that Lord Kimberley had received a deputation—a formidable deputation. I shall now introduce to you a deputation—I will not say as formidable in any sense except that in which a man comes forward to tell the truth with his whole heart. I call upon Mr. Lalmohun Ghose, who has been deputed by his countrymen in Calcutta to lay some of their thoughts before you on this important question."

MR. LALMOHUN GHOSE, who was received with cheers, said:—If I did not know from past experience how ready an English audience always is in the case of a stranger, especially if that stranger is pleading the cause of his country, to give him a favourable, fair, and intelligent hearing, I should despair of being listened to by an audience still under the spell of the voice that is yet ringing in our ears (cheers), but under the circumstances I feel certain that, however inadequate my powers of expression may be, you will bear with me patiently while I endeavour to explain to you as briefly as I can the views and sentiments which my countrymen have commissioned me to make known to you in

reference to the questions under discussion. The administration of Lord Ripon is looked upon with a very different feeling by the Natives of India on the one hand, and by the Anglo-Indian community on the other. This controversy has lasted in India upwards of six months, and it has been carried on with unparallelled bitterness. Invective of the most envenomed character has been freely used, and the vituperative resources of the English language have been well-nigh exhausted. In saying this I do not wish to imply that the fault has been altogether on one side, or that the party that I represent has been perfectly immaculate; but I do say without fear of contradiction that if they have said things which were better left unsaid, the provocation has come entirely from the other side. But it is one of the characteristics of the men who are agitating against Lord Ripon's policy that they consider themselves privileged to strike with impunity. The echo of the contest, as the Chairman has told you, has been heard in this country. It has been heard within the walls of the India Office. But in order that you may be able to form a calm judgment on the question submitted to your decision, it is important that you should bear in mind that the policy that has been pursued by the present Viceroy is no reckless innovation of a visionary enthusiast, that it is no part of a revolutionary programme, but that it is the legitimate outcome of the pledges which have been given from time to time to your Indian fellow-subjects by the Imperial Parliament and by your common Sovereign. As the

Chairman has already told you, it is exactly half a century since the principles on which India was to be governed were laid down in an Act of Parliament passed in 1833. By that Act it is declared that all the subjects of the Queen, whether British or Indian, or of mixed parentage, were to have equal laws, and live under the same laws. That Act did not pass without opposition. Then, as now, it was said that the greatness of this country was inalienably bound up with the maintenance of the special privileges of Englishmen who went to India to make their fortunes, and who looked upon the country and its population as having been created for their special benefit. Then, as now, they were told that any diminution of these privileges, or any recognition of the political rights of the Indian people, was fraught with the greatest danger to the stability of the Indian Empire. But, to the lasting honour of this country, those unwise counsels did not prevail in 1833. The Parliament of that day refused to believe that what was morally right could be politically wrong. And, as if the language of that Act was not sufficiently clear, the Court of Directors wrote a despatch in which, in the most explicit terms, they said that thenceforth there was to be no governing caste in India. No doubt, it was an unpleasant change to men who previously were so many irresponsible despots, to be told that thenceforth they must be shorn of all their privileges and be content to be only subjects of a great empire and governed by laws administered to all without distinction of colour or creed. But this change was hailed

by the Natives of India as the inauguration of a new state of things under which law and order are to be supreme, and liberty for all, and not license for a few, is to be the guiding principle of the Government. (Cheers.) The same principles were again affirmed by the Royal Proclamation of 1858, when Her Majesty gave fresh pledges to her Indian subjects, promised them impartial justice, equal laws, and a fair share of the administration of their own country. Perhaps you will allow me to read a memorandum written by the Queen in her own hand, addressed to Lord Derby, when drawing up that Proclamation. It is to the following effect:—"The Queen would be glad if Lord Derby would write it himself in his excellent language, bearing in mind that it is a female Sovereign who speaks to more than a hundred millions of Eastern people on assuming the direct government over them, and, after a bloody war, giving them pledges which her future reign is to redeem, and explaining the principles of her government. Such a document should breathe the feelings of generosity, benevolence, and religious toleration, and point out the privileges which the Indians will receive in being placed on an equality with the subjects of the British Crown and the prosperity following in the train of civilization." The noble desire of the Queen was faithfully embodied by the Minister in the Proclamation of 1858, and Her Majesty's words went straight to the hearts of her Indian subjects, and did more than anything else to tranquillise their minds and to secure their loyalty after the terrible calamities

that immediately preceded it. But the actual fulfilment of these promises has been prevented by the strong and determined resistance of the Anglo-Indian community, and they are, for the most part, as yet unfulfilled. We have still in India one law for the European and another for the Native, and our Criminal Code is still full of invidious distinctions of race. Well, it is only one of these distinctions—and probably the very smallest of them all—that is intended to be remedied by the Ilbert Bill, about which so much fuss has been made. Of itself it is a small measure scarcely worth fighting about; but then it is a step in the right direction, and it is an unmistakeable indication of the desire of the Indian Government to carry out those principles of equity and justice that were promised so long ago. It is on this account that our opponents have determined to fight out the old battle over again; and the people of India, well aware of the important principle involved, have come to regard this Bill as a sort of test question. Up to 1872, Europeans were altogether exempt from the jurisdiction of the local Courts, but they might be tried in one or other of the Courts for the presidential towns, of which there were only three; and, considering the great extent of the country, in many instances, offences could only be punished by a Court which was hundreds, or it might be more than a thousand miles from the place where the offence was committed, which meant nothing more nor less than a positive denial of justice. In 1872, the local Courts were invested with a jurisdiction over Europeans, but it was

of an extremely limited character. For instance, a Magistrate can pass a sentence of two years' imprisonment on a Native for certain offences, but he is only empowered to imprison a European for three months. It is natural that the Natives should look forward to the time when these distinctions of race would be swept away. In 1872, when these limited powers over Europeans were granted, it was enacted that they should be exercised only by judicial officers who were themselves Europeans. It is this last distinction, which has only been in existence eleven years, that is intended to be removed by this Ilbert Bill. Even the law of 1872 was strongly opposed, and was only carried by a majority of two in the Legislative Council. All that the Bill proposed to do is to raise a few Native Magistrates of the higher grade to a footing of equality with their European brethren, and the number who would be immediately affected by the proposed change is at present not more than three or four, who have all been educated in this country, and have won their way into the Civil Service in open competition with English youths. Is it likely that these men will abuse trust that is intended to be reposed in them? It is impossible to discover any real foundation for the alarm that is pretended to be felt. Speaking of the Bill, Sir J. Phear, a Judge of the High Court, and the late Chief Justice of Ceylon, said :—"I have carefully read all the reported speeches on this subject; but whether it is due to my want of perception or not, I have utterly failed to see any justification for the excitement

that prevails. If there is no real objection to the Bi itself we are forced to go behind and seek for an explanation elsewhere for the agitation against the Bill. The fact is, the opposition is not so much to the Ilbert Bill as to the general character of Lord Ripon's policy. The scheme for local self-government, to which reference has been made by the Chairman, the proposal to extend the benefits of education to the masses, the appointment of Natives to offices which used to be uniformly conferred upon Europeans—all these measures taken together, indicating a desire to carry out the promises of the Queen and of Parliament, have endeared Lord Ripon to the Natives of India; but they have raised up against his administration a host of enemies among a section of his own countrymen in India, who, if they had the power, would tear up the Queen's Proclamation and burn the Act of 1833. (Cheers.) The late Viceroy, who has been described by the Marquis of Hartington as being everything which a Viceroy ought not to be, has constituted himself the champion of those discontented persons to whom I have been referring. They have been lying in wait for a suitable opportunity, when they might hope to enlist the passions and the prejudices of the Anglo-Indian community against Lord Ripon's government, and the opportunity presented itself when Mr. Ilbert's Bill was introduced in the Legislative Council towards the beginning of this year, although it is a remarkable fact that when the measure was first announced, it excited no opposition and no alarm what-

ever. The present attitude of the Anglo-Indian community was not assumed till after the discontented persons, to whom I have alluded, put their heads together; and till after speeches had been made by Calcutta lawyers containing some of the most infamous attacks that have ever been made against the Natives of India. The question seems likely now to be discussed in this country, and the people of India are not apprehensive of the result. Lord Ripon is keeping in view the principles held by such men as Lord Canning and the late Lord Lawrence. When he was Secretary of State for India, writing to Lord Lawrence, he said: "I hope that you saw enough of me when we were together at the India Office to know that I feel a great interest in Indian questions and in the welfare of the population for whose good government and happiness we are responsible. And I can assure you that it is an immense satisfaction to me to know that the principles on which I should desire to see the administration of India conducted are those by which you, as Governor-General, are constantly guided." And yet, because Lord Ripon has steadily followed the footsteps of that great and enlightened statesman, he and his administration have been denounced in unmeasured language. This conduct of his opponents, if it is persisted in, may be productive of the most disastrous consequences, and is utterly in opposition to the sentiments of the wisest statesmen that ever governed India. Lord Lawrence, in a speech made by him at a farewell dinner given to him in Calcutta, said :—

"And now I avail myself of this opportunity to entreat my countrymen in India of all classes to do their utmost in cultivating friendly and cordial relations with the people among whom they dwell. The latter will well repay our sympathy and good-will. Without the aid of the people we could never have weathered the storm of 1857. However great, however heroic, the exertions of our own countrymen in evil days, they were over-matched in the struggle, and never could have maintained themselves against the overwhelming odds to which they were opposed had they not been zealously aided by the efforts of loyal Natives."

These words of wisdom have been utterly disregarded on the present occasion. The mischief that has been done is not yet irreparable. I doubt not that the present angry feeling will soon evaporate, and that Englishmen and the Natives of India will live together again on terms of friendship ; but whether that is to be the case or not depends on the degree of support which the just and enlightened administration of Lord Ripon will receive at the hands of his countrymen. I will only add this observation, that if you wish to make another Ireland in the East, where you will have to deal with the disaffection, not of eight, but of two hundred and fifty millions of people, then you have only to listen to those who are endeavouring to force their baleful counsel on Her Majesty's Government and the English nation. (Cheers.) I am happy to say that our cause finds powerful champions among some of the greatest of your countrymen, and none more eloquent or more truly noble-

hearted than you, Sir, who has been a beacon to England, to the cilivization of the world, through nearly half a century of public life, and has done us the honour of presiding on this occasion. We have abundant faith in the justice of the English nation, and we cannot believe that they will now turn their back upon their principles, or will shrink from giving their hearty support to the Viceroy who, amid difficulties of no ordinary character, has endeavoured to give effect to the will of Parliament and to redeem the pledged word of the Queen.

(Mr. GHOSE was warmly cheered at the conclusion of his speech.)

LORD RIPON'S INDIAN POLICY REGARDED FROM A NATIONAL POINT OF VIEW.

THERE was a meeting in the Palace Hall at Exmouth to hear an address by Mr. Lalmohun Ghose on the subject of "Lord Ripon's Indian Policy regarded from a National point of view." J. P. Bryce, Esq., J. P. (Bystock), presided, and the attendance included Sir John Phear.

The Chairman said they had met to hear two gentlemen speak who were well acquainted with India. (Hear, hear.) There had been considerable feeling upon the subject of the meeting, which was illustrated by the remarks of a Conservative friend of his, who expressed (in the same breath he used for speaking of the affection of the Colonies to the Mother Country) great disapprobation of the Ilbert Bill, which proposes to give the Natives of India the same power as is given to British residents. (Hear, hear.)

Sir John Phear said, in rising to introduce his friend, Mr. Lalmohun Ghose, he should very briefly bring before the meeting the nature of the subject which they were at present interested in, and with regard to which it was the purpose of Mr. Lalmohun Ghose to give the view which the Natives of his country hold. Mr. Lalmohun Ghose was a very old friend of his. He had known him and his brother—both eminent members of the English Bar in the High Court of Calcutta—for many years, and no persons with whom he was acquainted in India had a better right to stand forward as exponents of the best Indian feeling upon this subject. (Hear, hear.) The matter really lay within a very small compass.

Sir John Phear having finished his speech and resumed his seat,—Mr. LALMOHUN GHOSE, who was received with applause, expressed the opinion that it was essential to the good government of India that opportunities should be given for making known to the English nation the feelings and opinions of the Indian people upon subjects upon which this country was called on from time to time to exercise

independent judgment. Alluding to the meeting at Willis's Rooms last week, he referred with satisfaction to the powerful advocacy of Mr. John Bright, and to the reverence with which he was regarded in India, whose cause he had advocated throughout his long and distinguished public career. To Sir John Phear—than whom no one was better qualified to express an opinion—they were also deeply indebted for the readiness with which he had stood forward, and for the ability with which he had expressed himself upon this question. Although one particular measure had come to the front in the present agitation, yet the difference between the Natives of India and the Anglo-Indian community related to the general character of the whole of Lord Ripon's policy. The Anglo-Indian community hoped that, if they succeeded in defeating the Government on Mr. Ilbert's Bill, they would make the remainder of Lord Ripon's policy impossible. The purpose of the Bill was to remove the distinction at present existing between Native and European judicial officers of the higher grades. Until 1872, Europeans were entirely exempt from the jurisdiction of all local Courts in criminal matters. A European could only be placed on his trial before the Court in the Presidency town, and as this was often hundreds, and sometimes a thousand miles away from a locality in which there were Europeans residing, the inconvenience and expense of making complaint against them was so great that, practically, there

was an absolute denial of justice where an European was the offender. This became such a scandal that in 1872 it was determined that local Courts should have certain limited powers over Europeans, but provision was inserted in the Code that even such limited powers should be exercised only by such local Judges and Magistrates as were themselves Europeans. At that time, this disqualification of the Natives had no practical application, because then none of them had attained that rank in the service that would enable them to exercise this jurisdiction; but now, some few of them had attained the qualified rank, but the provision in the Code of 1872 debarred them from exercising jurisdiction. This had already given rise to some administrative inconvenience, because the Government had been obliged to keep these few gentlemen in out-of-the-way stations, where no Europeans were residing. But, apart from the administrative inconvenience, there was the important question of whether such distinction, based entirely on consideration of race and having nothing to do with consideration of fitness, capacity, and integrity, was compatible with the declaration of the first Imperial Parliament in 1833 and the Royal Proclamation of 1858, both of which laid down in unequivocal terms that all classes of Her Majesty's subjects were in future to be on a footing of equality, were to live under the same laws equally administered, and were fairly and impartially to be admitted to offices for which they might be otherwise qualified. When the matter was brought under the notice of Lord Ripon, he came to the conclusion that the

provision of the Code was a perpetuation of race and class distinction in their most offensive form, and a violation of the declaration made by Parliament and the promise made by the Queen to her Indian subjects. Accordingly, two years ago, the present proposal was announced. It was significant that at the time it created no excitement in the minds of Europeans in India, but when the proposal was introduced in the Legislative Assembly, six months ago, a change had come over the spirit of Europeans in India. Why was this? Because by that time it was found that the intention of Lord Ripon's Government was to mete out even-handed justice between all classes. If there was one thing more than another disliked by advocates of monopolies and upholders of privilege, it was even-handed justice. The official classes of India deeply resented a scheme of local self-government propounded by Lord Ripon, which proposed to transfer from that Civil Service to local bodies the transaction of Municipal affairs, members of such bodies, however, to be under the control and supervision of the Central Government. This gave mortal offence to the Civil Servants of India. Then admirers of Lord Lytton—the Jingo of India—were displeased with Lord Ripon for freeing the Native Press from the shackles formed for them by the previous administration. Certain appointments of Lord Ripon proved that he was anxious to recognise the legitimate and just claims of the Natives of the country. The appointment of a Native Chief Justice of Bengal, and of another of Standing Counsel to the Government, gave

terrible offence to the Calcutta lawyers, who were to a large extent responsible for the present agitation. He was sorry to say this feeling did not stop with the Bar but had spread to the Bench. These various causes produced a certain amount of irritation among certain sections of the Anglo-Indian community against the administration of Lord Ripon, and when the Ilbert Bill was introduced, it was felt it presented a splendid opportunity for making an atttempt to discredit the Indian Government by raising the cry of liberty and appeal to the passions and prejudices of the bulk of the Europeans in India, which was likely to be echoed in some parts of England. The result was an agitation of a most persistent and vehement kind had been set on foot in India. Some of the Anglo-Indian newspapers were indulging in language towards the Natives of the most objectionable character, and denouncing Lord Ripon in terms for which they could find no parallel since the days when Canning stood between the people of India and a bloody and indiscriminate vengeance. But whilst bitterly opposed by Anglo-Indians, the policy of Lord Ripon had been welcomed by the Natives as the indication of an honest desire and sincere determination to carry out the promises of the Queen and Parliament, and had called forth a degree of loyalty, gratitude, and personal attachment towards Lord Ripon which it had fallen to the lot of a few of his predecessors to evoke. The Anglo-Indian community would have liked to have themselves settled this matter, but menace had no effect upon Lord Ripon. The Government of India

were not to be bullied into submission, and the Anglo-Indians had been obliged, much against their will, to appeal to the public feeling of England. In this tribunal the Indian people had abundant faith, for they felt that the English nation would never allow themselves to perpetuate an injustice at the bidding of a small selfish clique. The measure now proposed was based on principles laid down by Parliament and affirmed by the Queen, and was not the revolutionary measure likely to sap the foundation of the British Empire that its opponents would suggest. Alluding to the persons whom it was proposed to appoint under this measure, he pointed out they would be men who had seen years of service and who had proved their fitness, ability, capacity, and integrity to the satisfaction of the Government. He condemned the misleading impression conveyed by the speech of Mr. E. Stanhope, the effect of the suggestion being that the Natives of India already enjoyed certain exemptions from criminal law. As a fact, these privileges only extended to the civil law, the Criminal Code of the country recognising no exemption of any Native of India. He needs say nothing of the judicial efficiency of his countrymen, Sir John Phear having already spoken on that point. The truth was, as Lord Lawrence had said, that the greatest difficulty in the administration of India was the opposition which any conscientious Governor met with from his fellow-countrymen in India whenever he wanted to carry out a just and liberal policy towards the Natives. He was happy, however, to say the pre-

sent question would be decided by the English people, and their Indian fellow-subjects were not afraid of what that decision would be. He did not believe that in 1883 they would be less generous than they were half a century ago. The policy of Lord Ripon was not a new invention—it was but the development of the principles of the Parliament of 1833, and an attempt to redeem the promises made by the Queen in 1858. Lord Ripon was but following in the footsteps of his distinguished predecessors, Canning and Lawrence. By his wise and generous policy he had earned the gratitude of the people of India. His policy was calculated not only to promote the welfare of the country, but it was the only policy consistent with the permanent stability of British rule in India. (Cheers.)

Mr. Green having addressed the meeting in an able speech, Mr. Gordon proposed, and Captain Luke seconded, a resolution expressing the high approval of the meeting of Lord Ripon's policy in India.

The resolution was carried by acclamation.

A vote of thanks was passed to Mr. LALMOHUN GHOSE, on the motion of Mr. Kennedy, and Mr. Ghose, in replying, said that although he had called attention to certain blemishes in regard to British administration in India, it must not be supposed that he did not recognise, and was grateful for, what the British Government had done for the people of India.

A vote of thanks to the Chairman was passed on the motion of Sir John Phear.

THE ILBERT BILL.

On Tuesday, the 4th September 1883, a crowded and enthusiastic meeting was held at the Royal Public Rooms, Exeter, under the auspices of the Exeter Liberal Association, in support of Lord Ripon's Indian Policy and the Ilbert Bill. The *Western Times* says :—"The central figure of the evening was Mr. Lalmohun Ghose, a member of the Calcutta Bar, who has come over to England for the purpose of placing before the British public the feeling the Natives of India have in favour of Lord Ripon's policy. Last evening Mr. Ghose addressed the audience in a speech of near an hour's duration—a speech which put the whole case clearly and forcibly, and which was distinguished alike by its cogency and argument and by the manner in which it was delivered. At a very early stage he won the warm sympathy of the audience, and the frequent bursts of applause indicated how fully the listeners concurred with the speaker in his advocacy of justice. But, perhaps, the feature of the evening was the demonstration occasioned by a mere incident in the speech—the mention of Mr. Gladstone's name. The effect was almost electrical. The audience with one consent burst into enthusiastic cheering, then the people rose *en masse*, and it will be difficult for those who were not present to picture to themselves the enthusiasm which thrilled the crowded room. The cheering was for some time continuous, and the speaker was more than once obliged to give up the attempt to proceed. When Mr. Ghose mentioned that in India, no less than in England, Mr. Gladstone was recognised as the friend of the people, the cheering again burst forth. The scene indicated the affection which the Liberal party have for the Prime Minister and the unbounded confidence that he still enjoys. Sir John Phear, Hon'ble Bernard Coleridge, and Mr. Edward Johnson, M.P., followed in the order named, each receiving the heartiest welcome,—the warmest greeting, however, being reserved for the Senior Member of the City, whose appearance among his constituents is always a source of sincere pleasure. The meeting was unanimous from first to last, and Mr. Ghose will certainly go back to India with a very pleasant memory of the welcome given him in Exeter, and hearty sympathy shown with the millions of people whose cause he pleaded." Mr. J. P. Bryce, J.P., the President of the Liberal Association, presided.

The Chairman, whose rising was received with applause, said they had met for the purpose of hearing an address by Mr. Lalmohun Ghose. (Applause.) He was a Barrister in the High Court of Bengal,

and after hearing him it would be allowed that he had the ability to express the feelings of the Native population of India—(hear, hear)—on the subject of what was known as the Ilbert Bill. It had long been a principle of the Liberal party that, in upholding our interests in countries over which we ruled, we should also consider the interests of the Native populations—(hear, hear)—and he was certain that the meeting would find good reason to do so in this case when it had heard Mr. Ghose, whom he would now call upon to address them. (Applause.)

MR. LALMOHUN GHOSE, received with cheers, said he had to thank the meeting on his own behalf and on behalf of his countrymen for giving him that opportunity of laying before them some of their views in regard to the policy of the present Viceroy of India, with special reference to what was generally known as the Ilbert Bill, which had formed the subject of very bitter controversy between the people of India, on the one hand, and the resident English population, on the other. The real issue between the parties—that which underlay the present discussion and gave it the importance which it would not otherwise possess—was the all-important question whether the policy laid down by the Act of Parliament passed in the year 1833, and re-affirmed by the Queen herself in the Royal Proclamation of 1858—a policy of equal justice towards all classes of Her Majesty's subjects in India—(cheers)—whether that policy was to continue to be the guiding principle of the Indian administration, or whether it was now to be reversed ; whether the Indian Empire was to be henceforth maintained solely in the interests and for the benefit of a handful of Englishmen in the East. (Cheers.) That was the question, which was never put in that simple and naked form by their

opponents because they were well aware that such a question so put could get only one response from the people of this country; and his countrymen, for their part, had also the fullest confidence in this country's sense of justice. (Cheers.) If any further evidence were needed on such a point, it would be furnished by meetings such as these, and by the hearty demonstrations of approval with which they received those references to the policy of 1833. (Cheers.) Their opponents would have very much trouble to be able to decide this question themselves, and without the slightest reference to the wishes of the English nation; but since that was impossible, they were now trying as much as lay in their power to darken the issues in the hope that the English people might be hoodwinked into pronouncing the judgment in their favour before they had rightly comprehended the real nature of the question which was submitted for their decision. (Applause.) Although, as he had said, the real question in dispute was the general character of Lord Ripon's policy, yet the opposition was ostensibly directed to the legislative measure known as the Ilbert Bill. (Applause.) That Bill was a small measure in itself, and but for the important principles involved, it would be impossible to account for the vehement opposition which it had excited. (Hear, hear.) Judging from the violence of that opposition, they would imagine it possible that nine-tenths of the Anglo-Indian gentlemen in India spend their time in the Police Courts. (Hear, hear, and laughter.) They were paying a very bad

compliment to themselves, and had so far forgotten themselves as to pay a very grossly bad compliment to their ladies, because they were very fond of saying that delicately-nurtured English girls were to be brought up before Police Magistrates. (Laughter and cheers.) For himself he could not understand why ladies should be brought up before a Police Magistrate at all. (Hear, hear, and laughter.) But before he made any other comments upon this matter, they would, perhaps, allow him to explain to them very briefly the general scope and history of the Ilbert Bill, so that they might be able to judge for themselves whether it was a revolutionary measure such as it was represented to be by their opponents ; or whether it was not rather, as they regarded it, but a small instalment of the justice that was promised to their fellow-subjects by a Liberal Parliament and our common Sovereign. (Applause.) This MR. GHOSE very lucidly did, and proceeded to say that attempts had been made from time to time by successive Indian administrations to carry out practically the policy of 1833 ; but they had invariably provoked the bitter opposition and uncompromising hostility of the resident English population in India. Even a statesman like Lord Lawrence—one of the greatest of Indian Viceroys —had to complain of the conduct of his countrymen in India in the strongest possible language. The result was that—notwithstanding the declaration of Parliament notwithstanding the express directions of the late Court of Directors, and notwithstanding the reiteration of those promises by Her Majesty in the Proclamation of

1858—they would be surprised to hear that the European population in India, until eleven years ago, continued to be entirely exempt from the administration of justice in the local Courts. In 1872, a European subject could only be tried in one of the Courts of a Presidency Town; and MR. GHOSE graphically pictured to his audience what such a state of the law meant; it was as if a man, for an offence committed in Exeter, would have to be tried at Berlin or St. Petersburg. The consequence was that almost all the crimes committed by Englishmen in India went entirely unpunished. To tell the ignorant and the poor Hindu ryot in the interior of the country—living, perhaps, 1,000 miles from the Presidency Town—that if he wanted redress for any wrong committed by an Englishman on himself he must go with all his witnesses to Calcutta, Madras, or Bombay—as the case might be—was to tell him, in other words, to bear it and be content—that there was no justice to be had against an Englishman—that an Englishman was a superior being whom the laws of the land could not touch. (Cheers.) That was the state of the law, which was pronounced by every judicial and administrative authority in India to be a gross mockery of justice. (Cheers.) In 1872, a measure was introduced for the purpose of conferring upon the local Courts of the interior of the country some small and limited jurisdiction over Englishmen residing in India. But the jurisdiction which was then conferred was extremely limited. For instance, a Sessions Judge who was empowered to pass sentence of death upon a Native of India was only empowered to send a European

to prison for twelve months. (Shame.) No doubt it was a shame that distinctions of that kind should be suffered to exist in the Criminal Code of a country. (Cheers.) But, as if they had not already enough of those shameful and offensive distinctions, a fresh distinction was introduced in 1872—a distinction hitherto unknown. Up to that year all judicial officers in the service of the country were on a perfect footing of equality. Every Judge and every Magistrate exercised, as a matter of course, all the powers belonging to his office without the slightest reference to his own race or nationality. (Applause.) But in 1872, by that Code to which he was referring, it was enacted that the small powers which were then for the first time conferred upon the local Courts, were to be exercised only by such officers as were themselves Europeans. It was only that new disqualification—imposed for the first time eleven years ago, and which, therefore, could not be defended even on the doubtful plea of antiquity—(hear, hear)—it was that disqualification alone which was sought to be removed and altered by the Ilbert Bill. (Cheers.) That Bill left all the other laws which were in favour of Europeans entirely untouched. (Hear, hear.) In all serious cases the Europeans would still have to be tried by one or other of the High Courts. The powers of the local Courts would continue to be as limited and as circumscribed as ever. Englishmen, unlike Natives, would continue to have the right of appeal to a higher Court, and would also have a right to claim to be tried by a mixed Jury, one-half of whom, or more, must be either

Englishmen or Americans. The Ilbert Bill only proposed to restore Native judicial officers of the higher rank to a footing of equality with their English colleagues, and it only laid down that certain Judges and Magistrates of local Courts who had been deemed by the Local Government fit to be appointed to certain higher offices—that they should not be debarred from exercising any portion of the jurisdiction ordinarily attaching to those offices. (Cheers.) At the time that the disqualification he had referred to was introduced in 1872, it led to no practical mischief or inconvenience, because at that time no Native Judges or Magistrates had attained the rank in the Covenanted Service which would, but for that race disqualification, have entitled them to the position which the Ilbert Bill proposed to give them. But matters had changed since then. Now some of his countrymen who had won their way into the Covenanted Civil Service in open competition with Englishmen—(cheers)—some of those gentlemen had risen to the higher grades of the Service, and difficulties had already begun to be felt in regard to their position. The question was whether those gentlemen of whom he had spoken, who had given uniform satisfaction both to the Government and to the public, and who had shown themselves in every way deserving of promotion—whether those men were to be ever kept in out-of-the-way, undesirable, and unhealthy places, because in the more coveted and desirable stations there was a resident European population, and European prisoners might have to

be brought before them, with whom—by the disqualifying law of 1872—they would be unable to deal? That was the question which Lord Ripon had to face. Mr. Rivers Thompson—a gentleman who had been more or less opposed to every liberal measure of the Viceroy—had stated that the number of those Native members of the Service was so limited that the Government should have no difficulty in finding a sufficient number of out-of-the-way places where those gentlemen might be placed. (Shame.) It might be a matter of indifference to Mr. Rivers Thompson, installed in his palatial residence in Calcutta; but he asked them whether it was not a most serious hardship to the officers concerned—whether it was not a breach of the equality which such Native gentlemen had a right to expect under the covenants of their Service and the Proclamation of 1858—whether it was not one of those things of which not only those gentlemen themselves, but all their countrymen behind them, had a right to complain and feel indignant? (Cheers.) It was said by another class of critics that this was not a proper time to legislate upon this subject—that Lord Ripon should have waited until the number of Native Magistrates had increased to such an extent as to give rise to an imperative demand for the removal of this distinction. Which, he asked, was the wiser or the more statesmanlike course to pursue? Was it not better—did it not indicate more prudent foresight to know the season when to take occasion by the hand and to deal with difficulties as they first began to make themselves felt,

than to fold arms and look on helplessly until the difficulties had increased and accumulated—until their hands were forced, and they were driven to legislate under a howling clamour and an overwhelming demand for reform? (Loud cheers.) Such a policy would be dangerous in any country, but the danger would be something enormous in a country like India. There had always been a certain class of persons who, when they found themselves unable to deny the abstract justice of any measure of reform, fell back upon the assertion that it was inopportune. (Hear, hear, and laughter.) If they were to wait until those sapient gentlemen had pronounced the fitting period had arrived, then they would never have any reforms at all. (Cheers.) What were the other objections to this Bill? He would not dwell upon the ability, the capacity, or the integrity of Native judicial officers, because that was a subject upon which their friend, Sir John Phear, would be able to speak with a weight and authority which few besides could possibly lay claim to. He had already told them of the gentlemen who were to be immediately affected by the passing of the Ilbert Bill: there were a few others who would be thereby affected, and to whom he would refer presently. But the gentlemen who would be immediately affected by this Bill were those who had entered the Service by competition in England. They had already had long judicial experience in India. They were brought up and trained in English schools and colleges; they had the advantage of several years'

residence in this country ; and they had gone back with a thousand pleasant associations of England and English people. (Cheers). He asked, were those men likely to prove false to all their antecedents and to betray the trust that was now proposed to be given them ? (No, no.) Was it fair or just to assume that such men would be swayed by race prejudice when called upon to administer justice between man and man ? (No, no.) But, apart from these considerations, what did past experience teach us ? Some of those gentlemen had already exercised jurisdiction over Europeans as Magistrates in the larger Presidency Towns, where no distinction was recognised between Native and European Magistrates ; and it was an undisputed fact that those Native gentlemen who had acted as Presidency Magistrates, and who had had to deal with European criminals, had performed their official duties to the completest satisfaction both of the Government and of the people of India. (Cheers). Their perfect integrity and thorough impartiality had never been questioned or suspected for a moment. (Cheers). Then he asked if it was not preposterous to suppose that those same gentlemen, when appointed to higher offices in the interior of the country, would suddenly change their characters and develop a variety of faults which had been hitherto conspicuous by their absence ? (No, no, and cheers.) Then it was said by some of their opponents that there were in India false cases because of a good deal of false evidence ; that, therefore, it was undesirable to invest Native Judges with jurisdiction over

Europeans. (Laughter.) He was not aware after all that there was much more perjury in India than in this country. (Cheers and laughter.) All had heard and read something about the great Tichborne case ,for instance. (Laughter.) It was not for him to say on which side the rights and wrongs of that case might lie, but no one could possibly deny that perjury of the most astounding character was committed. (Hear, hear.) He would not go into that question. But even admitting for argument's sake, that they were worse off in India in that respect than we were in this country—how did that help the Opposition? (Cheers.) They did not question the impartiality of Native Magistrates; then how could they, with any consistency or reason, argue that because there was a good deal of perjury in India, therefore it was indispensable that every case should be tried by foreign Judges, who must of necessity be less acquainted with the people and their ways—(cheers)—and who must be very imperfectly acquainted with the language of the country? (Cheers.) Was it arguing like rational men to suppose that Native Judges and Magistrates who were born in the country, and who had sprung from the people—that those men would not be able to weigh the evidence of their own countrymen or to discriminate between truth and falsehood as well as their English colleagues? (Cheers.) The more they examined the arguments urged against this Ilbert Bill the more they would be convinced of their utter worthlessness. (Cheers.) But, nevertheless, they found that the High Court of Calcutta—which, he was very sorry

to say, had much degenerated since the days of Sir John Phear—departing from all its traditions of political neutrality, had recently issued a political manifesto in the shape of a Minute protesting against this Ilbert Bill. He would leave it to Sir John Phear to deal with that Minute in detail, but he should like to say a few words on it. He might mention, first of all, that, as against the prejudice of the Calcutta Court, the Ilbert Bill had more or less the support of three High Courts in India—of Madras, Bombay, and Allahabad. (Hear, hear.) The Calcutta Court had drawn a distinction between those Native members of the Civil Service who had entered that Service by competition in England, and those who had been appointed by nomination in India. Now, as regarded the competitive members of the Service, their opponents were unable to urge one word against their fitness. They only contented themselves with saying that the number of those men was so limited that it was not worthwhile to legislate on their behalf. They also described them with ill-disguised satisfaction as a small and dwindling class; and, judging from the sentiments which found expression in that Minute, it was certainly not the fault of the Calcutta High Court that the Civil Service was still open to the Natives of India. But the opposition of the Judges was mainly directed against the conferring of that power upon those members of the Service who had been appointed by nomination in India. What they said was this—Those men did not undergo any public test, and there was no knowing how that class of offi-

cials might turn out. He entirely agreed with the Judges of the High Court, for he could say for himself and the majority of his countrymen that they were strongly opposed to that system of nomination when it was first introduced in 1879 by Lord Lytton, and they protested against it with all their might, for they wanted a fair field and no favour—(cheers)—they wanted to enter the Service by the open-door of competition and not by the back-door of nomination. (Cheers.) But how did this question arise at the present moment? Those men might or might not turn out to be worthy of the confidence of the Government. If they did not turn out to be worthy and fit, then they would not have the jurisdiction under the Ilbert Bill, for it was not intended by the Ilbert Bill to confer the jurisdiction upon any one, whether he was a competitive or nominated member of the Service, until after the Local Government had watched his works for years, and was satisfied that he was a man of sufficient ability, integrity, and capacity to be entrusted with those powers. (Cheers.) Their Lordships forgot or slurred over—for he could not understand men of their training and education forgetting anything like this—they purposely slurred over the fact that the Ilbert Bill is not a compulsory thing, but merely an enabling law. It simply empowered the Local Government in certain cases where they were perfectly satisfied of the fitness of an officer to invest him with that jurisdiction which, under the existing law, would, under no circumstances, be conferred upon him. (Loud cheers.) There was only one other

point in the Minute of this High Court to which he would refer. The Judges said it was a natural feeling for people to wish to be tried by their own countrymen, but it was a most dangerous lesson to teach in India. (Hear, hear.) He would like to ask their Lordships what they would think if a population of 250,000,000 said it agreed with the Judges, that it also shared that natural feeling, and demanded that the Government and Legislature should respect that feeling in its case just as in that of a European nation. (Applause.) What would then become of European Magistrates and the Judges throughout India, who were enjoying such large salaries, and who, for every one European case brought before them, had to deal with ten thousand Native cases? Most of them would find their occupation entirely gone if the principle insisted upon by the Judges of the High Court was to be rigidly enforced. Looking at the question from what point of view they might, it was impossible to come to any other conclusion than that after all there was no valid objection to this Bill, but that it was opposed by those who saw in it as clearly as the Natives an unmistakeable indication on the part of the Government to carry out the mandate of Parliament, and fulfil the promises of the Queen. (Applause.) The more the question was considered, the deeper would be the conviction that the opposition was not so much to the Bill as it was to the policy of England in the matter of the treatment of Indian subjects. The Anglo-Indian opposition had chosen for its champion in the House of Lords, Lord

Lytton, who during his tenure of office, did as much as possibly could be done to weaken and undermine the foundations of the Indian Empire by coercive legislation, by grinding taxation, and by needless and aggressive wars across the Frontier. Then, again, a deputation which waited on the Earl of Kimberley was fitly led by Sir A. Arbuthnot, who was unknown to fame even in India, where fame was sometimes so cheaply earned, until he achieved the unenviable distinction of being the member in charge of the Vernacular Press Act. In addition to these two leaders, the opponents of the Bill had also found a fitting champion in the House of Commons in the person of Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett. (Laughter.) He (Mr. Ghose) took particular pains to hear that gentleman on Wednesday last, when the speech, which had been so long coming out, was at length made public. On that occasion Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett did him the honour to turn his eye-glass upon him—(laughter)—and refer to him in terms of no overwhelmingly flattering character, but he (Mr. Ghose) trusted that he as well as his countrymen would survive those invectives. (Applause.) The Natives of India deeply regretted the action of the Anglo-Indian community, but they were not surprised at it, for it was impossible to expect men who profited by a monopoly and enjoyed certain special immunities to be eager for reforms or to submit very cheerfully to any curtailment of their privileges. Only the other day the Prime Minister—(loud cheers)—they would probably be pleased to hear that it was hardly possible even for them to honour Mr. Gladstone

more than the Indian people did—(renewed cheers)—the Prime Minister declared in eloquent language that in the British Colonies, in every instance, the resident European population had been bitterly opposed to any extension of the freedom and extension of the enfranchisement of the weaker race. (Shame.) What happened in the Colonies had now happened in India, and if the voice of those who wished to perpetuate a policy of crime and blood in India was listened to, he would be a bold prophet who could say what would occur in the future, and how long peace and concord would reign. The Natives of India were not afraid, and could not believe that in the 19th century, that with all its progress and enlightenment, the present generation would be found to be less wise, less just, or less generous than their forefathers in 1833. They could not believe that England would consent to reverse the noble policy of half-a-century ago, or tear up the Queen's Proclamation of 1858 in order to gratify the unworthy instincts of those who, if they had their way, would drag the name of England through the mire, and bring on the Indian Empire some terrible catastrophe. He hoped that the meeting would give all the support it could to the Viceroy who was endeavouring to carry out the mandate of Parliament and the English nation, who had done more than most of his predecessors to rivet the bonds of union between England and India, and whose name was enshrined within the hearts of their fellow Indian subjects.

LORD RIPON'S INDIAN POLICY, GIVING GREATER FREEDOM TO HER MAJESTY'S INDIAN SUBJECTS.

A LARGE public meeting was held on the 16th November 1883, in St. Andrew's Hall, Norwich, under the auspices of the Norwich Junior Liberal Association, in support of Lord Ripon's policy for giving greater freedom to Her Majesty's Indian subjects. Mr. Lalmohun Ghose responded to the invitation of the Committee to be present and give an address on the subject. There was a large attendance of the leading and most active Members of the Liberal party. The chair was taken by Mr. J. J. Colman, M.P. The Chairman introduced Mr. Ghose, the speaker of the evening, amidst loud applause.

MR. LALMOHUN GHOSE, who was cordially received, commenced his address by referring with regret to the fact that the original arrangements for this gathering could not be carried out in consequence of his indisposition. He thought it was almost impossible to exaggerate the importance or the value of a meeting like this, for when he looked around him and saw how well this large hall was filled, he gathered consolation and hope; and he was sure when his countrymen read or heard of this meeting, they would in an equal degree gather comfort and hope from the evidences which this magnificent audience afforded, of the desire of the English people to acquaint themselves with the true state of affairs in India, and, what was of greater importance, of their desire to do justice to the countless millions of Indian subjects. (Cheers.) He had spoken of consolation and hope, and he could assure them that both were urgently needed at the present moment in India, for within the last twelve months the resident English population

in that country, led and instigated by a small, selfish and clamorous clique, had set on foot an agitation against the responsible Government of India and a crusade against the political rights of the Indian people, which for violence, for unreason, for folly, had scarcely a parallel in the history of British India. These men had roused feelings of hostility and had stirred up antipathies of race which a long succession of wise and far-sighted statesmen in India had laboured to allay and extinguish. They had re-opened many an old sore, and by their arrogant demeanour and insolent speech had inflicted many a new wound, which, but for the implicit confidence which the Indian people had reposed in the justice of the English nation and in the wisdom and firmness of their present Viceroy—(hear, hear)—might have led to dangerous and disastrous results. But he rejoiced to think that the ultimate decision of this controversy did not rest with the noisy Anglo-Indian opposition in Calcutta, nor yet with that latest apostle of despotism and brute force, Mr. Justice Stephen, who, not content with his achievements in India, had once more couched his lance in defence of the system of tyranny and oppression with which his name was indissolubly associated in India. He also rejoiced to think that they were not as yet within a measurable distance of the time when Mr. Ashmead Bartlett would be Prime Minister of England. (Laughter.) They knew that the decision depended in the first place with the responsible Government of the country, and in the last resort with the English nation, and they felt

persuaded that the case had only to be fairly and intelligibly stated, and with fairness and moderation, in order at once to evoke an overwhelming consensus of opinion in this country in favour of the policy pursued by Lord Ripon—(applause)—which is after all a continuation and the development of the principles laid down by Parliament itself half-a-century ago, and affirmed by the Queen in Her Gracious Proclamation of 1858. So long ago as the year 1833 the Imperial Legislature, after full debate, decided upon the policy which wisdom and justice alike rendered it incumbent to pursue in India, and the principles then adopted were embodied in an Act of Parliament from which he would read an extract or two. Section 87 of this Act ran as follows:—"And be it enacted that no Native of the said territories—that is, of India—nor any natural-born subject of Her Majesty resident therein, shall by reason only of his religion, race, birth, descent, color, or any of them, be disabled from filling any place, office, or employment under the said Company." There was also another section of this Act to which he would like to draw their attention, because it had a direct bearing upon the controversy in connection with the measure popularly known as the Ilbert Bill, but before reading the words of the section itself, he thought he ought to explain that up to the year 1833, Englishmen were not allowed to go out to India, or to settle there without having obtained the express permission and license of the East India Company. It must be said on behalf of the old Company, whatever their sins might have been,

they were at any rate determined not to allow any adventurers or interlopers to oppress the Native of the country. The result was that, although at that time Englishmen in India were not subject to the ordinary Courts of Justice, their number was so limited, and they were so directly under the control of the Company, that little or no practical mischief resulted from the inability of the Courts to deal with them. But in 1883 Parliament, in its wisdom, decided upon removing those restrictions which had hitherto existed; but it was at the same time felt to be absolutely necessary to empower the Indian Legislature to render the English settlers in India amenable to the laws and subject to the jurisdiction of the legal tribunals of the country During the debate which preceded this Act of 1833, a number of powerful speeches were delivered, and one of the most memorable and eloquent was a speech of Lord Macaulay, who, foreseeing almost like a prophet what has happened, said—"The license of the Government will now no longer be necessary to persons who desire to reside in the settled province of India. The power of arbitrary deportation is withdrawn. Unless, therefore, we mean to leave the Natives exposed to the tyranny and insolence of every profligate adventurer who may visit the East, we must place the Europeans under the same power which legislates for the Hindu. (Hear, hear.) No man loves political freedom more than I; but a privilege enjoyed by a few individuals, in the midst of a vast population who do not enjoy it, ought not to be called freedom. (Hear, hear.) It is tyranny!"

These views commended themselves to the approval of the Parliament of 1883, and they were embodied in section 85 of the Act to which he had referred, which section ran as follows:—"Whereas the removal of restrictions and the increase of Europeans in the said territories will render it necessary to provide against any mischiefs or dangers that may arise therefrom: be it, therefore, enacted that the Governor-General in Council shall and he is hereby required by laws and regulations to provide with possible convenient speed for the protection of the Native from insult or outrage." Now those words were clear and explicit enough; but in order to make assurance doubly sure, the Court of Directors explained and emphasised the intention of Parliament in a despatch which they wrote shortly afterwards. They said—"We are decidedly of opinion that all British subjects throughout India should forthwith be subjected to the same tribunal with the Natives." It was, of course, implied in this proposition that in the interior they should be subjected to Mofussil Courts—that meant Courts in the interior of the country. "In our view," the Court added, "you cannot possibly fulfil the obligation of protecting the Natives of India from insult and outrage according to the directions in Clause 85 of the Act, unless you render both Natives and Europeans responsible to the same judicial control. There can be no equality and protection where justice is not equal and on equal terms accessible to all." (Hear hear.) Nor was that all, for a quarter-of-a-century later, when peace and order had been

restored, after the dark days of the Mutiny, the same noble principles of justice and equality in the eye of the law were proclaimed by the Queen to her Indian subjects, and her Royal word was solemnly pledged to the faithful execution and fulfilment of those promises. In the Proclamation of 1858, Her Majesty said :—" It is our further will that so far as may be, our subjects, of whatever race or creed, be freely and impartially admitted to all offices in our service, the duties of which they may be qualified by their education, integrity, and ability, duly to discharge." (Applause.) After some further clauses, Her Majesty's Proclamation concluded as follows :—" We hold ourselves bound to the Natives of our Indian territory by the same obligation of duties which bind us to our other subjects, and these obligations, by the blessing of Almighty God, we shall faithfully and conscientiously fulfil." (Applause.) In the year 1858 he was almost a child, but he could remember the lasting impression this Proclamation produced in India. It had been regarded by his countrymen ever since as the greater Charter of their political rights. It was the key-stone around which all their hopes and aspirations had clustered, and it was the foundation upon which their loyalty to the British Crown was based. (Cheers.) In proportion as the principles embodied in that Proclamation were confirmed, ratified, and carried out, England would augment the contentment and happiness of the Indian people, and increase their attachment to the English nation. (Hear, hear.) On the other hand, if there was

a desire shown to retire from that Proclamation, or to quibble away its purport—as Sir J. Stephens had attempted to do in the columns of the *Times*—if any disposition was shown to nullify that Gracious Proclamation of 1858, a blow would be struck at the root of loyalty and peace in India. These were the pledges upon which the people of India took their stand, and these were the promises which Lord Ripon was loyally endeavouring to fulfil. (Cheers.) He felt sure those who were wholly uninfluenced by the selfish and sordid motives which had actuated the opposition in Calcutta, would be in no way surprised that Lord Ripon was trying to carry out the wishes of the Sovereign he represented; but they would be rather disposed to wonder how it was that these promises had been so long unfulfilled, and that those who were charged to execute the behests of the English nation had suffered fifty years to go by whilst these national pledges remained unredeemed. But in fairness to the many eminent men who had held the reins of Government in India, he must say that theirs had been no light task, and on every occasion when they had attempted to introduce the smallest measure of justice towards the Natives, they were met with strong and envenomed opposition on the part of the English resident population. The late Lord Lawrence, than whom a wiser Governor was never sent out—(cheers)—writing in a private letter to Sir Erskine Perry, said, in speaking of his countrymen in India, that everybody was in favour of justice in the abstract, but when it came to putting

it into practice, there was a tremendous howl set up by the Anglo-Indians. These words would lead the English people to conceive that such action as that went a great way to paralyse the Executive in India. It was an undeniable fact that, in spite of the Act of 1833, Englishmen residing in India continued up to the year 1872 to be entirely exempt from the jurisdiction of the local Courts of the country, and they were only liable to be tried by one or the other of the three Supreme Courts in the three presidency towns of India. It was difficult for the people of England to realise for themselves the full effect of such a law, even with the help of one of those large maps which some years ago was recommended by Lord Salisbury. (A laugh.) What would Englishmen think if they were told that in the case of an assault, or any other criminal offence committed in Norwich, one could have no redress unless one went before a Magistrate sitting at such a distance as Vienna or Naples. (Shame.)

It was hardly possible for an Englishman to conceive of the existence of such an atrocious law. Yet, if a poor Indian peasant in one of the outlying tea plantations in the province of Assam were to be mal-treated or half-killed by an Englishman, that Native was told that he must go for justice, if he wanted it, to Calcutta—a distance of more than a thousand miles. (Cries of "Shame!") This city was to be reached by travelling through a part of the country where railways were unknown, and where the journey would occupy several weeks. Under such circumstances, few Natives ever

cared to try the experiment; but if any one was adventurous enough to go on such a fool's errand, what happened? A farce of a trial at Calcutta before an unsympathetic Jury, who would doubtless promptly return a verdict of not guilty, accompanied, perhaps, with a recommendation to the presiding Judge to commit the prosecutor for perjury. (Shame.) That was a cruel and scandalous mockery of justice. (Loud cheers.) Lest any one should think he was exaggerating or drawing a fanciful picture, he might say that even such a staunch advocate of race privilege as Sir James Stephen, in his letters to the *Times*, said that the law in 1872, as it stood, amounted to a practical denial of justice. It was accordingly resolved in 1872 to alter the law to some slight and almost unappreciable extent, and it was resolved to confer upon some of the local Courts in the interior of the country a small and limited jurisdiction in the case of some very petty and minor offences committed by Englishmen. For instance, a District Judge—the highest judicial authority over many hundred square miles, who had the power of life and death over Natives of India, and who could sentence a Native to transportation for life, or sentence him to death—was only empowered to sentence a European criminal to prison for twelve months. That there should be these distinctions seemed a shame in the eyes of the Indian people. (Cheers.) It was a shame that a Judge who should be deemed good enough to hang a Native of India should not be good enough to send a European thief or burglar to prison for more than

twelve months. (Hear, hear.) But there was a further distinction introduced in 1872. The operation of this limited jurisdiction was further limited by a new distinction of race then introduced. It was then enacted that even these small powers were only to be exercised by those of the Judges who were themselves Englishmen. At the time of this new limitation or restriction, it was described as a compromise, and was avowedly defended as a temporary expedient. It must also be remembered that at that time no Native members of the service had attained to the rank which would have otherwise qualified them for the exercise of these powers. But the condition of things had altered since then, and this question had now come within the region of practical politics. Now some of his countrymen who had won their way into the service by open competition in this country had, after years of faithful work, been deemed fit by the Government to be appointed to high judicial offices. (Cheers.) But on account of the disqualification to which he had referred, difficulties had arisen in regard to the position of those gentlemen. In all the more important and desirable towns and districts of India, there was a more or less large European population, and one or two things must happen. Either there must be an absence of legal machinery for bringing English offenders to justice, or those Native officials must be for ever relegated to remote or out-of-the-way places, where Europeans did not often care to go, and where, therefore, the difficulty would not very likely to arise. Now, a case of this kind happened only the other day

An Indian Member of the Covenanted Service, Mr. Dutt, a gentleman of whom he might tell them that at a competitive examination, held in London in 1869, he beat almost all his English competitors, and came out second in order of merit—this gentleman, after fourteen years of honourable and distinguished service, was appointed to magisterial office in the city of Dacca, the capital of Eastern Bengal. Soon after the appointment, it was represented to the Government that there was a large number of Europeans in that city, that many cases in which Englishmen were involved often arose, and that, if Mr. Dutt were sent to Dacca, difficulties and inconveniences would arise. The result of those representations was that Mr. Dutt's appointment was forthwith cancelled, and he was eventually sent to one of the most inaccessible and marshy and unhealthy districts in Bengal. (Shame.) This was done by Mr. Thompson, Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, who was one of the chief leaders of the opposition to the Ilbert Bill; and yet that gentleman was not ashamed to assert that the present state of the law leads to no administrative inconveniences, because, forsooth, the number of Native Magistrates was at the present time limited, and that the Government could find employment for them in out-of-the-way and undesirable places. He put it to the meeting whether the present system had not involved practical hardship, and that there was a substantial grievance of which India had a right to complain. (Cheers.) Then they were obliged to ask why was it that these gentlemen should labour under

these disqualifications. In ability, integrity, culture, and capacity, they were admitted on the highest authority to be in no way inferior to their English colleagues. (Cheers.) They had had the advantage of an education and a residence in this country, and they had gone back to their Native land full of kindly feeling towards English people, and full of gratitude for the kindness, courtesy, and hospitality which they had met with in this country. (Cheers.) Their loyalty was unquestionable, for they were themselves the product of that Western culture and education which had been happily engrafted on the ancient civilisation of Hindustan. (Applause.) They held the position to their countrymen of reformers and regenerators of their Native land, and they were the natural mediators and interpreters between English people and the masses of their own people. (Cheers.) Why was it that these men were to be insulted by being told that they were not to be entrusted to decide petty Police cases in which an Englishman happened to be involved. If they were told that there were occasional false and trumped-up cases to be found in India, who would be better qualified to act as a Magistrate, to detect falsehood, and to sift the grain from the chaff, than a man who knew the ways of his own people, who was intimately conversant with the language of the land, to whom the slightest peculiarities of speech and demeanour of a witness would have a significance that would be totally lost on a foreign Judge. (Applause.) Such various and inconsistent arguments were urged by the opponents

to the Bill, that it was impossible to tell upon which of them they relied, even if they believed in any of them. The noisiest section of the agitators in Calcutta had been telling them over and over again, *ad nauseam*, that the Native Judges would be too hard upon Englishmen ; but they found that no less an authority than Mr. Thompson, a Lieutenant-Governor, who led the Opposition in the Viceregal Council, said that Natives could not have this power because they would be unduly lenient towards the English prisoners. (Laughter.) In the face of these inconsistent and diametrically opposed statements, what was the legitimate inference? The natural and sound conclusion was that both apprehensions were equally unfounded, and both equally removed from the truth, which he imagined lay half-way between the two, *viz.*, that Native Judges would be neither severe nor lenient, but that they would be only just and impartial. (Cheers.) The whole question was narrowed down to this, that the Natives were to be disqualified, that the Act of 1833 was to be disregarded, and that, the Proclamation of the Queen was to be set at naught, not because any particular mischief was apprehended, but merely because the Anglo-Indian community did not wish this privilege to be taken away from them If there was a laudable desire, as it seemed some suspected, that Europeans wished to be tried by their own countrymen, what would Sir James Stephen say if a similar demand were put forward on behalf of the Native population of India—(cheers)—and what would become of the large salaries, followed by equally liberal

pensions. (Applause.) But he could not believe that even the authority of Mr. Justice Stephen would induce the English nation to uphold an immunity of this kind, and perpetuate an injustice merely because those Anglo-Indians did not like to part with it. Mr. Justice Stephen said something else that was equally startling. He said,—"This privilege inflicts no injury. on any one, and it causes no unpopularity, because no injustice." All he would say was that he never met with any statements more completely at variance with truth, and he utterly and emphatically denied the correctness of all these statements. It did inflict injury, it did cause grave unpopularity, and it did cause the grossest injustice. (Applause.) Mr. Justice Stephen also justified his position by relying upon the fiction and theory of the law, that the prosecutor in a criminal case was nobody, because the Queen was the prosecutor, and the complainant was only regarded as a witness. That might be the fiction of the law; but he doubted very much whether there was any one in this country who would ever dream of denying that a complainant in a criminal case was the most interested party after all. Quibble apart, he thought if the question were fairly put to the people of this country, they would all unhesitatingly admit that there was something politically objectionable in the notion of any difference at all in the administration of criminal justice; that the same system should apply to all, and that absolute equality before the law should, as far as practicable, be established. (Hear, hear.) Then, again, as to the state-

ment that these privileges excited no unpopularity. All he could say was that it took his breath away to read it; and he could only refer them to the whole of the Native Press of India, which teemed with indignant protests upon this subject, and to the reports of the crowded meetings that had been held not only in Bengal, for which Mr. Justice Stephen had unmitigated contempt, but even in the very heart of that Mahratta population, and those martial races of whom, at any rate, Mr. Justice Stephen seemed to stand in dread, and for whose opinion he professed some respect. As a matter of fact, they would be something less than human if they did not complain of those distinctions. (Applause.) Any one who knew anything about India, and who had the candour to speak of what he knew, was aware that these distinctions rankled in the minds of every Native of India, who had an eye to see and a heart to feel. Before he left this part of his case, he would tell them that this privilege, about which so much fuss was being made, had never been recognised at all in the adjacent Island of Ceylon, which was, to all intents and purposes, an Indian province, and that no evil results of any kind had ever happened from Englishmen being subjected to the jurisdiction of Native officials in the Island of Ceylon. (Hear, hear.) Even in India itself, Native Magistrates in the presidency towns and Native Judges of the High Court had for many years past exercised far greater powers over Englishmen than were proposed to be conferred upon the same men in the interior of

the country under the Ilbert Bill; and yet no one had ever heard a word of complaint against the manner in which these gentlemen had discharged their judicial duties. This privilege only applied to Englishmen, to those Europeans who were British subjects; but it did not apply to Natives of any other European country. There were thousands of such other Europeans in India who were daily subject to the Native jurisdiction—Frenchmen, Germans, Russians, in fact, Europeans of every nationality, together with men of the mixed caste, the mixed races—and no one had ever heard one word against the way in which justice had been administered in respect of those people. (Applause.) The truth was that there was nothing more to be said about this privilege than that the Anglo-Indian community were reluctant to part with it. That was the sum and substance of the ten columns with which Sir James Stephen had favoured the *Times*, and that was the sum and substance of the arguments which the Judges of the Calcutta High Court had offered upon the subject. But if he was not already trespassing too much upon their attention, they would, perhaps, allow him to give them an illustration of how political passion, prejudice, and partisanship had rendered even the Judges in Calcutta absolutely blind to those considerations of fairness and justice which, in their case, at any rate, one would expect to be paramount. In a long and elaborate Minute which the majority of these Judges had recorded against the Ilbert Bill, they purported to give an extract from the speech of a dis-

tinguished Indian administrator, and after giving it they said they entirely agreed with that gentleman. Now, any one reading the extract in question would imagine that Sir Stuart Bailey, the gentleman who was quoted, was entirely opposed to the Bill. But nothing of the kind. In the sentence which was quoted by the Judges, Sir Stuart Bailey was only stating an argument made use of by the Opposition. In the very next sentence Sir Stuart Bailey proceeded to express his own dissent from it and to express his own entire approval of the principles of the Bill. And yet these Calcutta Judges, sworn dispensers of justice, with power of life and death in their hands, thought it right to quote the first sentence and to omit all that followed. (Shame.) Did they think that conduct of this kind was likely to increase the dignity of the Judges or to enhance the public confidence in their fairness and impartiality? (Hear, hear.) This was only one of many incidents which proved how little there was of reason or of fairness in the opposition which this measure had excited. The fact was that the Anglo-Indian community had only made this small innocuous Bill a pretext and an occasion for a strong and determined attack upon the just and noble policy which was adopted by Parliament fifty years ago, and which, as Lord Northbrook told a Bristol audience the other evening, had ever since been kept steadily in view by all the wisest and best of Indian administrators. (Cheers.) The fact was every act of the present Viceroy of India which has been calculated to give hope to the

Natives of India to augment their contentment and happiness, and to increase their attachment to the British power, had, unfortunately, in an almost equal degree, excited the hostility of those who wished to hold the country as a mere field for their greed and their ambition. The restoration of freedom to the Native Press of India, the knocking off of those shackles which had been forged for the Indian Press by Lord Lytton, the proposal to confer some measure of local self-government upon the more intelligent and important centres of population, the elevation of the most deserving of the children of the soil to offices of emolument and dignity, the encouragement given by Lord Ripon to primary education among the masses, and above all the anxiety shown by him to consult and conciliate the intelligent public opinion of the country—all these things had given deep umbrage to men who sighed for the days of Lord Lytton, utterly unmindful of the fact that another five years of similar misrule and jingoism—(hear, hear)—would probably imperil the very existence of British Empire in India. (Hear, hear.) But they were convinced that the English nation would not suffer itself to be led astray by interested clamour from the path of duty and of justice. It was not often that the Natives of India had an opportunity of acquainting the English public with their thoughts and sentiments, with their hopes and aspirations. They were not represented in Parliament, and from India it was a "far cry" to this country. (Hear hear.) Even when the rare and unwonted spectacle

occurred of a Native of India, like himself, addressing an English audience, it was under circumstances of exceptional difficulties; for the Native had to speak to them in a language which was foreign to him, and with which at best he must be but very imperfectly acquainted. ("No, no," and cheers.) He was too well acquainted with the disposition of English people to compliment foreigners on their knowledge of the English language to attach a literal value to those cheers. But at any rate, whatever their deficiencies might be, however feeble their powers of expression, they had the satisfaction of knowing that the cause of the voiceless millions of India had been advocated by the greatest and noblest sons of England, from the days of Edmund Burke to those of John Bright. (Loud cheers.) They knew that the policy pursued by their large-hearted Viceroy commanded the entire approval of the greatest statesman of the age, the Prime Minister. (Cheers.) They were convinced that the heart of this great nation was as sound to-day as it was fifty years ago, and that the unerring instincts of the British people would guide them to a just and righteous conclusion. The speaker added—"One word more and I have done. Men like Sir J. Stephen have insisted upon the ethnological differences between ourselves and Englishmen as a conclusive argument for the perpetuation of these offensive distinctions of which we complain; but they forget what your own scholars and philologists would tell them, that after all the people of India and Englishmen are

descended from the same great Indo-European branch of the human family. (Cheers.) Our ancestors, when, thousands of years ago, they spread over the land of Hindustan, driving before them the aboriginal tribes over the hills and fastnesses where some are still to be found, at that time, our ancestors were a fair-skinned race like yourselves. They looked down with contempt upon the darker races whom they subjugated and upon the difference of complexion which then prevailed. They founded the distinction of caste. You will most of you be surprised to hear that the most ancient word in the Sanskrit language for caste is *varna* or color ; but by a strange retribution of Providence the difference upon which our ancestors prided themselves has now ceased to distinguish their descendants, for the tropical sun which has shone over us for generations and centuries has darkened the hue of our skin and clothed us, as it were, in a sable livery. (Cheers.) But fallen and degenerate as we know we are in many respects—("No, no,")—we still retain some of the moral and intellectual characteristics of the great Aryan race, the race from which we, no less than yourselves, have sprung. (Cheers.) If you have studied to any purpose the history of that ancient land whose destinies Providence has entrusted in your hands, you will avoid the blunders and the crimes which were committed by the ancient conquerors of India. Hindustan has already suffered too much from distinction of caste. For heaven's sake do not inflict upon her the unmitigated curse of a new race of Brahmins, who are to enjoy immunity

for their crimes and to give a loòse to their worst passions without let or hindrance." (Loud and prolonged cheers.)

LIBERAL LEGISLATION AND ADMINISTRATION IN INDIA.

At the National Club Dinner in London, on the 20th February 1884, the Right Hon'ble the Earl of Kimberley presided. Mr. Walter Wren proposed "Liberal Legislation and Administration in India" and coupled with it the name of Mr. Lalmohun Ghose.

MR. LALMOHUN GHOSE, in responding to the toast on behalf of the people of India, said:—My Lord and gentlemen,—I must at the outset thank my friend, Mr. Wren, for the very kind terms in which he has been pleased to introduce me to you. I need scarcely say that I consider it a great honour to be called upon to respond to this toast. But at the same time I cannot help thinking that it is no small praise of an Administration that it should have so governed or,—at any rate, so endeavoured to govern—a distant and foreign dependency as to enable a Native of that country like myself, intimately connected as I am with the popular party in India, to feel that in undertaking the task of responding to this toast I am only doing that which the public opinion of my country will unanimously support. (Cheers.) Well, gentlemen, it is often said that India ought not to be made a party question, and I can assure you that my countrymen would heartily rejoice to find both the great political parties equally anxious to do justice to India. I am also bound to admit that, in times past, Conservative statesmen were

not slow to realise the responsibilities of their position. We cannot forget that the great Proclamation of 1858, which we now regard as the great Charter of our liberties, was drawn up and composed by the late Lord Derby. It may be that the House of Derby has always been more or less liberal at heart. (Laughter and cheers.) But be that as it may, one thing is abundantly clear. If you take up the speeches and writings of Tory politicians in reference to recent controversies in India, and contrast them with the very different language and very different attitude of their predecessors, the comparison will certainly not be to the advantage of the present leaders of that party. (Hear, hear.) The quarter of a century that has elapsed since 1858, instead of enlarging and broadening their ideas, instead of adding to their wisdom and increasing their sagacity and foresight, seems rather to have narrowed their sympathies and dimmed their political vision. (Cheers.) If, therefore, the people of India have, to a certain extent, abandoned their attitude of neutrality, if we no longer view your political contests in this country with indifference, the fault is not ours. It is because while the Conservatives have succeeded within the last few years in completely alienating our sympathies, the Liberal party has won our confidence and deserved our gratitude by enunciating a policy of justice—(hear, hear,)—and, what is of greater importance, by honestly endeavouring to carry out that policy from time to time as occasion served and opportunity offered. (Cheers.) And this change has been

brought about within a very short period. We need not go back further than the time of the late Viceroy, who was described by one of your Lordship's colleagues as being everything that an Indian Viceroy ought not to be. (Cheers.) Indeed, the whole policy of Lord Lytton was calculated to sap the foundations of the Empire; for while, on the one hand, it stirred up the implacable hostility of warlike and fanatical tribes across the frontier, it also put a severe and dangerous strain upon the loyalty of the Indian people themselves. (Cheers.) It was not in the nature of things that a policy of reckless aggression, followed by oppressive taxation and coercive laws,—it was not to be expected that such a policy would be productive of anything but grave and widespread discontent. (Cheers.) The consequence was that towards the close of Lord Lytton's term of office a deep and general gloom hung over India, and when, at last, the news of the dissolution of Parliament reached us in India, four years ago, there was not a thoughtful and patriotic Indian who did not send up from the bottom of his heart a prayer for the success of those who recognised the immutable principles of right and wrong in international dealings, and who made equal justice to all Her Majesty's subjects their watchword and motto. (Cheers.) Well, we all know what happened. The Liberals came into power and with it there came a most welcome and wholesome change for India. Lord Lytton left our shores—(laughter and cheers)—and he was succeeded by a states-

man of a very different stamp. (Hear, hear.) From the moment that Lord Ripon set foot on Indian soil he won the confidence and esteem of the people over whom he was called upon to rule. Nor was this a blind and unreasoning sentiment. It was fully justified by the nature of the policy which he pursued and the objects which he set himself to achieve. To give the country the blessings of peace, to develop its resources, to relieve the overburdened tax-payer, to encourage local industry and private enterprise, to spread the benefits of education among the masses, to consult the enlightened public opinion of the country, and gradually to educate the people in the great task of self-government, these were among the noble objects which Lord Ripon steadily set before himself from the outset of his career. (Cheers.) If any further evidence were needed of his anxiety conscientiously to discharge the duties of his high office, it was furnished by the elevation of some of the most deserving of my countrymen, in spite of bitter opposition, to offices of dignity which had till then been exclusively reserved for Englishmen—(cheers)—and last, but not least, by a measure which was brought forward with the object of removing judicial disqualifications based solely on distinctions of race. (Cheers.) This was the measure popularly known as the Ilbert Bill, to which frequent reference has been already made to-night. I am glad to think that I have had the good fortune of being present here to-night, and of hearing the explanations with which the noble Lord the Secretary of State for India has favoured us; but I regret to say that, even

after those explanations, it is impossible for me or any of my countrymen to regard the compromise with favor. (Hear, hear.) I feel, like His Lordship, that this is not a fitting occasion for any lengthy discussion of this or any other controversial questions. (Hear, hear.) But whatever our opinions may be in regard to the modifications—or, shall I say, the mutilations—which this unfortunate Bill has undergone, and probably those opinions are shared by a good many sound Liberals in this country—(loud cheers)—I rejoice to think, after the observations that have fallen from the noble Lord the Secretary of State for India, that no portion of the responsibility belongs either to Her Majesty's Government or to the noble Lord who has done us the honour of presiding here to-night. (Cheers.) I am also happy to be able to add that, keen as was our disappointment in the first instance, and deeply as we still regret the want of firmness which dictated these unfortunate concessions to a mischievous and truculent agitation, my countrymen have not been slow to recognise and to make the amplest allowances for the difficulties with which Lord Ripon found himself face to face. Opposed from the beginning by the bulk of the Civil Service, which has always been, and, I fear, always will be, opposed to every extension of freedom in India—(hear, hear,)—denounced in the most violent language by irresponsible and unscrupulous critics, and thwarted both openly and in secret by Lieutenant-Governors—(hear, hear,)—and his own immediate official subordinates, the position of the Viceroy was by no means an enviable

one. (Hear, hear.) Matters were made worse and the situation became still more untenable by reason of an unhappy exchange with Egypt—an exchange by which Egypt had everything to gain and India everything to lose—(hear, hear,)—I allude to the departure of Sir Evelyn Baring. (Cheers.) Well, gentlemen, under these circumstances, though victory would have been all the more glorious and honourable, failure may perhaps be excused. The people of India are not unreasonable, and whatever our other faults may be, a want of gratitude for benefits conferred has never been reckoned among their number. (Cheers.) My countrymen feel that though they may, for a time, afford to lose an Ilbert Bill, they cannot afford to lose a Ripon. (Hear, hear.) We know that in the present Viceroy we have a just and conscientious Governor, and a true friend whose name will yet, in spite of passing clouds, go down to posterity as a not unworthy successor of a Bentinck, a Canning, and a Lawrence—(cheers)—names that are still embalmed in the memories of a grateful people. (Cheers.) My Lord, we feel confident that neither Lord Ripon nor Her Majesty's Government will be deterred or disheartened by reason of a single check or failure of this kind. Indeed, it is hardly possible now for the Government to retrace its steps. The spread of Western education in India is producing wonderful results. It is fast welding together the various races of India into one common nationality—(hear, hear,)—it is awakening a new national life, and it is also necessarily enlarging the scope of

our aspirations. (Hear, hear.) The great question for the future is, whether India is to be governed merely for the benefit of a noisy but small and insignificant class who are unable to rise above selfish and sordid considerations—(hear, hear,)—or whether it should not rather be governed for the welfare of its vast population. (Cheers.) In proportion as you pursue a policy of justice and provide a legitimate field for the gratification of our growing aspirations, you will place the loyalty of the Indian people on a firm and sure foundation. (Cheers.) In conclusion, I have only to say that I believe the longer Lord Ripon continues in India and Her Majesty's Government continue in power in this country, the better it will be for the true and lasting progress both of England and of India. (Loud cheers.)

THE ILBERT BILL COMPROMISE.

A PUBLIC meeting was held at the Kensington Town Hall, on Friday, th April 1884, to consider the Indian view of Lord Ripon's policy. The hall was crowded. The proceedings commenced at 8 P.M. The chair was taken by J. F. B. Firth, Esq., M.P.

The Chairman said:—I have much pleasure in introducing to you, to move the first resolution, a gentleman very familiar to many of you—a gentleman who has upon many occasions represented Indian subjects in England, who has the confidence of our Indian fellow-subjects, and who is withal a man of great skill and ability—I mean Mr. Lalmohun Ghose. (Hear, hear, and great applause.)

MR. LALMOHUN GHOSE, who was received with cheers, said:—Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen,—Allow me at the very outset to tender to our Chairman our very best thanks for the sympathetic language in which he has spoken of the aspirations and the sentiments of my countrymen; and our hearty thanks to you also, ladies and gentlemen, for having come here to-night in order to acquaint yourselves with what is going on in India, and to give us an opportunity of making clear to you some of our wishes and feelings. It seems to me, gentlemen, almost impossible to exaggerate the importance of meetings such as this, which serve the purpose of bringing the two countries and the two nations closer together; and to enable my countrymen in India when they hear of these proceedings, to feel that the English nation sympathises with them, and that you in this country are anxious to do all in your power to secure to us the benefits of good

government, and of the impartial administration of just and equal laws. (Hear, hear.) Well, gentlemen, these expressions of sympathy on the part of English audiences such as I have now the honour of addressing are always of immense value, but they are doubly welcome to us at the present moment, because, as you are aware, we have just passed through a period of fierce controversy, which, in my opinion, is all the more to be regretted because it has scarcely led to any adequate results, and has been productive of what might almost be described as a *fiasco*. Well, Sir, upon that subject I will have to address a few words to you by-and-bye, and I only trust that, in the observations which I may make, I shall be able to express myself without causing any needless irritation to our opponents, or awakening memories which I am anxious may sink into oblivion. Well, gentlemen, I am anxious that on my return home to India, I may be able to tell my countrymen that they have the sympathies of the English nation—(applause)—on their side; and nothing would have given me greater pleasure than to add that both the great political parties in this country were equally anxious to do justice to India. I cannot forget, gentlemen, that this was so in times past. (Hear, hear.) As our Chairman has just now reminded us, the great and gracious Proclamation of Her Majesty the Queen, from which he has read out to you certain extracts—that Proclamation was drawn up by a Conservative statesman; but, Sir, times are changed, and the younger and more irresponsible Tories of the present day seem altogether to

have departed from the better traditions of their party. Well, at any rate, it is not the fault of India if Indian questions have, to a certain extent, come to be mixed up with the strife of political parties. (Hear, hear.) It is not our fault that a man like Lord Lytton was sent out as Viceroy of India, nor can it be expected that the Indian people should be grateful to the party, or to the statesman who imposed on us the most oppressive forms of taxation, and who looked on with indifference at the indescribable sufferings of our people, while millions of them perished of starvation. (Cries of "shame.") Well, gentlemen, the consequence was that, before we had three or four years of that administration, a dark cloud began to gather over the whole Indian Empire, and the only gleam of hope that shone upon us was derived from the attitude of the great Liberal party. (Applause.) Well, gentlemen, then came the dissolution of Parliament four years ago, and I can assure you that I do not exaggerate in the least when I tell you that from every Indian home, from every Indian heart, there went forth fervent wishes for the success of the Liberal party! (Cheers and applause.) Well, we know what took place at that time. At any rate, in India we had the intense satisfaction of getting rid of a *regimé* which was identified in our eyes with all that was unjust and oppressive and having sent out to us a representative of the Queen like Lord Ripon—(intense enthusiasm)—of whom I will only say this, that in almost every respect he presented a wholesome and refreshing contrast to

his predecessor. Well, gentlemen, from the outset of his career, Lord Ripon succeeded in winning the confidence of the Indian people by his earnest desire to promote the lasting welfare of those over whom he was called upon to rule. Lord Ripon's first desire naturally was to bring to a speedy termination the war which had caused so much needless suffering, and which had swallowed up the revenues wrung from a starving population; and with the restoration of peace there naturally came a most welcome diminution of taxation; especially was this noticeable in that great necessary of life—salt. Private enterprise was encouraged and an impetus given to local and Native industries. In one word, gentlemen, plenty and prosperity followed in the wake of peace. But this was not all. As soon as Lord Ripon had made himself acquainted with the true state of affairs, for he was anxious not to proceed too hastily, he knocked off the fetters that had been imposed upon our Press by his predecessor, and reversed the short-sighted policy which, instead of being anxious, as it ought to have been, to know what was passing in the minds of the Indian people, had put restrictions on the Indian Press—(Shame)—and had as it were nailed down the safety valve. Well, gentlemen, Lord Ripon gave further proofs of his earnestness by recognising the claims of some of the ablest of my countrymen to high offices from which we had been hitherto excluded, and also by consulting public opinion and taking the people, as it were, into his confidence. He further endeared himself by those measures, some of which the

Chairman has already referred to, namely, by encouraging the spread of education among the masses of our people, by introducing a liberal scheme of local self-government, and also by bringing forward this Ilbert Bill, which, although of very small dimensions, was regarded both by ourselves and our political opponents as the embodiment of a most important principle, and as the precursor of much-needed reforms in regard to the administration of criminal justice in India. Well, Sir, that Bill has ended in a way which can hardly be described as satisfactory. (Hear, hear.) It was a Bill brought forward to remove certain judicial qualifications attaching to Native Indian Judges and Magistrates in regard to the trial of English prisoners charged with certain petty offences. Well, even if that Bill had been carried out in its original form, it would not have affected more than eight or nine Indian Magistrates throughout India; but small as were the practical consequences of the Bill, we nevertheless attached considerable importance to it, because it seemed to us to be a step in the right direction, and because it paved the way for further reforms; and it enabled us to hope that we were at length approaching the time when there should no longer be one law for the Englishman and another for the Indian, and when all classes of Her Majesty's subjects were to live under the same laws, and be amenable to the same tribunals. If you will allow me, gentlemen, I will quote to you a short Section from an Act of Parliament that was passed in 1833, and which has a direct bearing on these questions. Section 85 of the

Act of 1833 runs thus :—"And wherever the removal of restriction on the intercourse of Europeans within the said territory will render it necessary to provide against any mischiefs or dangers that may arise therefrom : be it therefore enacted that the Governor-General in Council shall, and he is hereby required by laws and regulations to, provide with possible convenient speed for the protection of the Natives from insult or outrage." Then the next Section of the same Act of Parliament proceeds to say—I have not the extract with me at present—but the Section proceeds to say that all subjects of His Majesty—it was then the reign of William the Fourth—that all subjects of His Majesty, whether of British, or Indian, or mixed parentage, were to be equally eligible to all offices in the public service. (Cheers.) Well, gentlemen, you have also heard from our Chairman extracts from that noble and gracious Proclamation which was issued by our common Sovereign in 1858, and which was framed in language worthy of this country ; but unfortunately, gentlemen, for the fulfilment of the hopes that were raised by them, unfortunately for us, the resident English population in India, both at the time of the passing of that Act and afterwards, have given repeated proofs of that same domineering and intolerant spirit which they have displayed in connection with the present controversy, of the same love of power, and of the same anxiety to enjoy a total immunity as regards any offences that they might commit. In fact, whenever the slightest attempt has been made to do justice to

the Indian people, we have had a repetition of the same unscrupulous tactics, the same threats, and the same violent language, and the consequence is that, in spite of Acts of Parliament, in spite of noble proclamations by the Queen, the assurances and pledges contained in those documents have remained to this day unredeemed and unfulfilled. Well, gentlemen, so long ago as the year 1834, the Court of Directors, in a despatch to the Governor-General of India, pointed out in forcible language, referring to that Act of Parliament out of which I have read, that there could be neither equality nor protection for the Natives where justice was not equally and on equal terms accessible to all. (Cheers.) Well, gentlemen, there were many powerful speeches delivered on the passing of that Act of Parliament, and among those speeches one of the most eloquent, perhaps, was that of Lord Macaulay, delivered from his place in Parliament. I will, with your permission, read a sentence or two from that speech, because it puts the case in a far clearer light than any language of mine could possibly do. Lord Macaulay said on that occasion:—"The license of the Government will now no longer be necessary to persons who desire to reside in the settled provinces of India. The power of arbitrary deportation is withdrawn. Unless, therefore, we mean to leave the Natives exposed to the tyranny and insolence of every profligate adventurer who may visit the East, we must place the Europeans under the same power which legislates for the Hindu. (Hear, hear.) No man loves

political freedom more than I; but a privilege enjoyed by a few individuals in the midst of a vast population who do not enjoy it ought not to be called freedom. (Hear, hear.) It is tyranny!" (Loud cheers.) But, Sir, the state of things which was described and condemned in such eloquent language by those eminent authorities, has continued almost unaltered up to the present moment. The Ilbert Bill was an attempt to remedy a portion of these great evils, but we have seen that the Government of India has found itself unable even to carry that small Bill through. It was a very small Bill, even as originally conceived; it grew beautifully less by degrees, and now it has dwindled down almost to nothing. Well, Sir, when this compromise was first made known, my countrymen naturally felt considerable disappointment. Many of you may have read in the *Daily News* that a correspondent of that journal, telegraphing from the North-Western Provinces of India, stated that he found everywhere a feeling of angry disappointment. Well, gentlemen, I must confess that, for a time, it seemed as if the feelings of loyalty to the Throne, and of grateful admiration for the Viceroy, were about to give way to resentment and sullen discontent; it seemed as if my countrymen were about to lose all faith in the sincerity of English statesmen, or, at any rate, in their capacity and power to do justice to us when the Anglo-Indian community were interested in the perpetuation of injustice and oppression. But, gentlemen, when we had time for reflection, and after the first outburst of disappointment, better counsels prevailed. We recognised

the earnestness with which Lord Ripon had laboured for the good of the people. (Cheers.) We recognised the difficulties which the Viceroy had had to encounter. We felt that a Viceroy, however good and conscientious he might be—and none could be better or more conscientious than Lord Ripon—we felt that such a Viceroy, unless he also happened to be gifted with more than ordinary strength of mind, would, perhaps, be powerless to do much good to us, if he is to be thwarted at every step, and opposed openly and in secret by the whole pack of permanent officials in India. I might go further, gentlemen, and say that it is hardly of much use for you to send out a good man to India like Lord Ripon, if he is to have as his immediate subordinates men like the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal—men who are constantly insulting the Indian people by openly professing their contempt for Indian national sentiment and popular feeling. (Cries of "Shame!" and hisses.) And yet these are the men who, because they have the power of conferring lucrative appointments upon sordid and venal correspondents, have the satisfaction of finding themselves bespattered with fulsome flattery in the columns of the *Times*. (Cheers.) Well, gentlemen, the position of the Viceroy was rendered, if possible, still more untenable by reason of the unfortunate departure from India last year of one of the best men who ever went out there from this country; I allude to Sir Evelyn Baring. (Hear, hear.) And he was succeeded by a man who had had a career in Egypt, but whose Egyptian antecedents were not very promising, and

whose first official act in India was to force this inglorious compromise on the Viceroy. Well, gentlemen, if the events of the last few months have taught us one lesson more clearly than another, it is this, that whatever you in this country might think or wish to do, whatever policy of justice or generosity Parliament may solemnly enunciate, there never can be any real hope of justice or good government for India, unless you make up your minds to break up and demolish that exclusive and bureaucratic service, the members of which enjoy despotic power, who drain the wealth of the country and misgovern and oppress us to an extent that you can have no idea of. (Cheers.) But to return once more, and only for a moment, to this Ilbert Bill. It proposed, as you know, to remove at once and completely all judicial qualifications based solely on distinction of race. But, gentlemen, under the compromise that has now been entered into, these disqualifications will continue just as before in the case of all officers below a certain rank, namely, the rank of District Magistrates. Now, gentlemen, it is enacted that whenever an English prisoner is brought up before a District Magistrate, no matter how trivial the offence may be with which he is charged—with being drunk or disorderly in the streets—he may claim to be tried by a Jury, a majority of whom must be composed of his own countrymen. (A voice of "No, no.") A gentleman behind me says "No." But I can only say that the statement I have made is perfectly correct, and I am astonished to find that a gentleman like Mr. Foggo, intimately connected as

he is with an Indian Reform Association, should not have taken the trouble to acquaint himself with the exact terms of this compromise, and that he should take it upon himself to interrupt and contradict me on insufficient information and imperfect knowledge. (Laughter and cheers.) Well, gentlemen, it comes to this, that while a Native of India may be sentenced to capital punishment without the intervention of a Jury, the same Magistrate may not of himself impose a shilling fine on a drunken Englishman. (Shame, shame.) And you ought to remember, gentlemen, that, in many parts of India, it is no easy matter to call together an English Jury; and, if this right comes to be largely exercised, instead of facilitating, it will paralyse the administration of justice. And then, again, gentlemen, you must bear in mind that even when a Magistrate is just barely able to empannel a Jury, the Jury in most cases must necessarily be composed of the personal friends of the prisoner, of men who, in connection with this very controversy, have displayed such hostility towards the Indian people that it would be idle to expect from them anything like impartiality in cases between Englishmen and Natives of India. Well, gentlemen, I had an opportunity the other evening, at a House Dinner of the National Liberal Club, to hear the noble Lord, the Secretary of State for India, defend the compromise. Lord Kimberley's defence amounted to this, that inasmuch as the new law only referred to District Magistrates, and because those officers, having a variety of other duties to perform, seldom took up

any judicial work, the evils which we anticipate would not, perhaps, be much felt in practice. Now it struck me at the time that it was a very damaging kind of defence to make; for it amounts to this, that the few men who are now raised to a footing of nominal equality with their European colleagues are not expected to exercise the power that has been theoretically conferred upon them—(hear, hear,)—while those who really do any judicial work continue to remain disqualified as before. In other words, the Bill is to remain a dead letter, and is defended on the ground that it is expected to be practically inoperative. (Shame.) And, gentlemen, this is exactly the view that was taken by the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, one of the chief leaders of the Anglo-Indian Opposition, who said, from his place in the Legislative Council, almost in a tone of exultation and triumph—(hisses)—who said that "the Government would take care that no Native would be appointed Magistrate and Collector of a District in which there was not a European Joint-Magistrate capable of taking up such cases. . . . therefore, the present law would practically be inoperative even after the Bill was passed." Under the law now passed you will see, therefore, that the Government of India—I entirely except Lord Ripon and Mr. Ilbert (cheers) whose hands were forced, but speaking collectively, the Government of India—in their anxiety to please all parties, have succeeded in pleasing none. (Hear, hear.) But, gentlemen, notwithstanding the many and serious objections that may be taken to this compromise,

my countrymen have now begun to feel that it contains theoretically at least an assertion of that principle of equality on which the Bill was originally based, and we are anxious to make every allowance for the difficulties of the Viceroy, and to avoid doing anything calculated to embarrass the best administration we have had in India for a long time—an administration of which I am happy to be able to say, notwithstanding this one unfortunate blunder, that it continues to enjoy the unabated confidence of my countrymen. (Cheers.) Well, gentlemen, under these circumstances we are willing to adopt this compromise, at least, as a temporary solution of the difficulty, if only the Government will now, as an act of justice towards us, equalize the situation by extending the right of trial by Jury equally to all classes of Her Majesty's subjects without distinction of race. (Loud cheers.) It must be also borne in mind that we do not demand Jury trial in petty cases, such as has been conceded to Europeans—(hear, hear,)—but only in serious cases as in this country, and indeed under every civilized system of jurisprudence. In the next place, the difficulties anticipated in connection with the constitution of an English Jury are not at all likely to arise when you are empanneling a Native Jury in India. When you have to call together a Native Jury, your choice is absolutely unlimited; it is not restricted, as in the other case, to the four or five men who are, perhaps, the only Englishmen to be found within a circle of many hundred miles—(hear, hear,)—but you have

a whole nation to choose from. (Cheers.) The system has been already tried in many parts of India, and it has been found to be eminently successful. But under the existing law it is left entirely to the discretion of the Local Governments to declare whether a particular district is or is not to enjoy this privilege. What we now demand is that, instead of leaving it to the discretion of men like the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, who are opposed to every extension of freedom in India, the Government should by legislation extend one uniform system throughout the country. (Cheers.) Then, again, gentlemen, intimately connected with this question, there is another reform which is, if possible, even more urgently required, and which is now unanimously demanded by the entire population of India. It is the separation, as far as practicable, of executive from judicial functions, which are now frequently combined in the same officer—a combination that is a fruitful source of gross judicial scandals and grave miscarriages of justice. Under our present system, our Magistrates are not only judicial officers, as in this country, but they are also vested with large executive powers. The consequence is that they have often to initiate a prosecution in their executive capacity, as head of the Police, as chief Revenue Officer, or as chief of the local Municipality, and then they are found in the anomalous position of having to try as Magistrates the very cases in which they are virtually the prosecutors. Well, Magistrates are but men, and as might be expected, under these circumstances, cases of gross injustice and

oppression are daily occurring. I will, with your permission, if I have not already trespassed too long upon your patience—(cheers)—I should like to give you an instance. In the town of Chittagong, in Bengal, the Magistrate of the district, who was also Chairman of the Municipality, proposed certain schemes in connection with the sewage of the town. His proposals were opposed in the Muncipal Board, a Native member of the Board leading the Opposition. Well, opposition is a thing which Anglo-Indian officials cannot brook, and this Magistrate revenged himself upon the leader of the Opposition by appointing him a special constable, and ordering him to mount guard over certain sewage works, which no high-caste Hindu could do without at once losing caste. The unfortunate Native Municipal Commissioner accordingly addressed a letter of protest to the Magistrate, praying to be relieved of duties which he could not perform without loss of caste. Well, this model Magistrate started a criminal prosecution against the unfortunate man, charging him with various offences under the Indian Penal Code, and then himself presided over the trial in his judicial capacity, and would have probably sent him to prison but for the timely interference of a higher court. (Shame.) Well, gentlemen, I could multiply instances of this kind almost indefinitely. But I shall spare you that infliction, and only content myself with reading a very short letter which I have received from a retired and eminent Judge of the Calcutta High Court, Sir John Phear—(cheers)—than

whom no man is entitled to speak with greater authority on questions like this. (Hear, hear.) Sir John Phear says:—"The movement for promoting as complete a separation as can be of executive and judicial functions in the system of Mofussil administration has my hearty sympathy. Experience has convinced me that it is practically impossible for one and the same officer, however conscientious he may be, to discharge both functions with independency of the one from the other. It is almost inevitable that the executive portion of him, so to speak, should constantly be using, in furtherance of executive work, the judicial power belonging to him in the other capacity, and that when acting judicially in what may be termed his own cases, he should not always be successful in divesting himself of the spirit and bias of the prosecutor. And even when the decision of the judicial officers is unimpeachable on its merits, popular opinion is often disposed to attribute it to some personal motive of the executive officer rather than to its proper ground of justice. In both these ways it comes about that Mofussil administration is much too frequently the subject of serious and not seldom well-grounded complaint, which would be avoided, greatly to the credit and advantage of the English rule, and to the benefit of the people, if the separation of functions which your meeting advocates were carried into effect." (Cheers.) Well, Sir, these are some of the questions which are engrossing public attention in India, and for the satisfactory solution of which we have to look to the support of public opinion in England. (Cheers.)

Unfortunately, we know by experience that the Viceroy, good and conscientious as he is, is occasionally unable to stem the tide of Anglo-Indian passion and prejudice. Then, again, as regards the India Office, judging by the speech which Lord Kimberley made to the Indian deputation that waited on him yesterday—a speech to which I listened with great pain (hear, hear)—the India Office does not seem to be troubled with any very overflowing sympathies for the Indian people. Well, gentlemen, we are compelled in this predicament to turn to the just and generous instincts of the English nation as our best safeguard—(cheers)—and our best protection, both against the interested motives of selfish cliques in India and against the narrow ideas and restricted horizon of officials. (Cheers.) Sir, English education is producing wonderful results in India. It is fast unifying the various races and making them feel that after all they have common interests and aspirations which they can only win by concerted action. Public spirit and patriotism is being once more reawakened and revivified. It is not as if you were dealing with a race of barbarians without latent capacity and without a history. (Cheers.) We had expected to-night on the platform one of the greatest of living Oriental scholars—(cheers)—and if Professor Max Müller had been here he could have told you far better than I can that, low as we may have sunk at the present day and degenerate as we may be, we have had a great record in the past. (Loud cheers.) In conclusion, ladies and gentlemen, let me tell you, with all the

earnestness which I am capable of commanding, that if you follow a policy of justice and generosity; if, by example and by education, and by just and generous treatment, you raise us once more to a position not wholly unworthy of our past history, you will not only entitle yourselves to the lasting gratitude of countless millions, but you will also be conducing at the same time to the stability of the British Empire. (Hear, hear, and loud cheers.)

Mr. Ghose then moved the following resolution, which was carried :— "That this meeting, while cordially approving of the principle of the Ilbert Bill, which recognises the equality of European and Native Indian Magistrates, regrets that the application of the principle is impaired by the compromise entered into with the opponents of the Bill, and therefore hopes that, as an act of justice to the Indian people, the Government of India will take steps to extend trial by Jury equally to all classes of Her Majesty's subjects, and to disconnect as far as practicable the combination of judicial with executive functions in the same officer, which now frequently leads to miscarriages of justice."

REPRESENTATION OF INDIAN INTERESTS IN PARLIAMENT.

ON the morning of August 7th, 1884, at the Westminster Palace Hotel, several Hindu gentlemen, resident in England, gave a breakfast to a number of friends who take special interest in Indian affairs. Sir Wilfrid Lawson, M.P., presided, and amongst the company were Mr. Woodall, M.P., Mr. Wilfrid Blunt, Mr. Summers, M.P., Rev. John Moffat, Mr. Heywood, M.P., Mr. J. H. McCarthy, M.P., Mr. Borlase, M.P., Mr. Illingworth, M.P., Mr. S. Smith, M.P., Mr. Cropper, M.P., Mr. Brogden, M.P., Mr. R. D. Sethna, Mr. A. K. Sethna, Mr. P. H. Pattak, Mr. Lalmohun Ghose, Mr. H. E. Banatwalla, Mr. N. Dey, His Highness the Rajah Rampal Singh, Mr. Shapurji Sorabji, Mr. K. D. Naigamwalla, Mr. F. W. Chesson, Sir John Gorrie, Major Evans Bell, Mr. M. B. Dadabhoy, Mr. Syed Habib Ullah, the Hon'ble Mahomed Ali Rogay, Mr. Fisher Unwin, Mr. Abdul Majid, Mr. G. Foggo, Mr. R. Gowing, Mr. M. N. Bannerji, and Mr. Seymour Keay.

The CHAIRMAN said:—Gentlemen,—I think it was once said that the true use of the wars in which England has engaged is to teach the English people geography, and I am afraid that a similar remark holds good with reference to our own possessions—that we never know much about what is going on in them until the Government of this country produces a revolution, and then we begin to consider. Now it is very wise to try and find out all that we can in times of peace—what the wants and wishes of the people are; what their grievances are. Therefore, I am glad to see at this breakfast several of my fellow-members of Parliament, and I must say that, although they know a great deal more about India than I do, they feel with me that there is a very great deal that they do not know about it, and that we should be very much better if we knew more of what was going on there. On that account, on behalf of my honorable friends in the House of Commons and the other English gentlemen who are here, I beg very cordially to thank our Indian fellow-subjects who have got up this breakfast and have invited us to come here. I fancy that it is somewhat unusual to see so many of our Indian fellow-subjects assembled: I cannot recall any similar thing in London or elsewhere, and I think it is a very interesting occasion. We have here a few Hindu and Muhammadan gentlemen of mature age, but most of our freinds are young men. I may say that young India is at the present time in the ascendant at our breakfast-table, and as Mr. Disraeli once said, the "youth of a nation are the trustees of posterity." We see here these young men who probably in future life will take some part in conducting the public affairs of their

own country. That seems to me the noblest occupation that any one can engage in—the endeavour to make just laws for the country to which they belong; and I have no doubt that, as time goes on, our young friends here will take a prominent part in subjects of that kind. As I am speaking of these young friends of ours, I am sure that I may say it is a cause of congratulation to many Englishmen that one of them has achieved the very highest success which can be achieved in the competition in the Civil Service. (Cheers.) I fancy that many of us here are promoters of merit; we do not care where the candidate comes from or what he is (hear, hear); we say, "Let him get all that he deserves;" and "the right man in the right place" is our motto. (Cheers.) I am not going to talk about India, as I have told you, because I feel that it is far too vast a subject for one who has not carefully studied it. All the result of my studies about India brings me to the conclusion that I know very little about it, and I also entertain a suspicion that most Englishmen know very little more. As I believe that, I am all the more happy to think that we shall to-day have the opportunity of hearing these gentlemen. My friend, Mr. Chesson, knows that we, who are members of Parliament, will be called upon shortly to discuss the Indian Budget in the House of Commons. I am very sorry it is put off so late—(hear, hear,)—and that we have not better opportunities for discussion, but still we may get a few hints of the way in which we ought to discuss that matter when it comes before the House of Commons. (Hear, hear.) I can only say that I thank our friends for inviting us to this entertainment, and that we shall be most happy to hear any suggestions that they can make to enable us to understand Indian matters better than we do now; and I can assure them that it is the wish of the House of Commons, who would like to know more about it—it is their wish in future years to co-operate with the Indian gentlemen in order to promote wise, just, and beneficial legislation in that immense continent. (Cheers.) I shall now call upon Mr. Lalmohun Ghose, who is well known to you all. (Cheers.)

MR. LALMOHUN GHOSE said:—Sir Wilfrid Lawson and gentlemen,—I believe I am expressing the unanimous opinion of all of us when I say that we are always extremely thankful for such kind and sympathetic words as have just been uttered by our Chairman—(hear, hear,)—and I think language of that kind, coming from prominent English politicians, is calculated to go forth to India as a message of peace from this country, and

it is calculated also to inspire our people with some degree of hope, of comfort, and of consolation, in the midst of the irritating controversies and discouraging experiences that we have lately been passing through. (Hear, hear.) Well, Sir, Indian questions, unfortunately, are seldom deemed sufficiently interesting to arrest public attention in this country. Legislative measures of the gravest importance, affecting the prosperity and the happiness of many millions of Her Majesty's subjects, are hurried through our sham Legislative Councils, often against the unanimous protest of the Indian people; but the English nation and the English Parliament know as little, and seem to care as little about them, as if no portion of the responsibility for the good government of that country belongs to them. Misgovernment and oppression meet us at every step. The pettiest English official assumes all the airs and enjoys more than all the immunity of the Czar of all the Russias. (Hear, hear.) Our Courts of Justice are fast losing the respect and confidence of the people. The highest Judges of the land are permitted without rebuke to take part in the bitterest political controversies, and, as a consequence, we find political passion and race-prejudice too often displayed unblushingly from the Judicial Bench. (Hear, hear.) The administration of criminal justice in India is frequently converted into a hideous engine of oppression. Even our Statute Book has one law for the Englishman and another for the Native. But whether infamous sentences of flogging are passed upon young under-

graduates in Bengal—(hear, hear,)—or scores of highly-respected and innocent citizens are sent to penal servitude in Madras—(hear, hear,)—whether we complain of the misgovernment of a Rivers Thompson or of the vagaries of a Grant Duff—(hear, hear,)—not the faintest echo of our cries of distress seems to reach this country. If the people of England ever do hear anything of the condition of India, they hear it from those who are interested in deluding them with fancy pictures of imaginary prosperity. (Hear, hear.) The House of Commons is too busy, too overworked, and I fear, Sir, too little acquainted with Indian affairs, to bestow any attention or to exercise any vigilant control over Government officials. We have no representatives in that assembly—(hear, hear,)—and if any private members in a fit of generosity ask any questions on Indian subjects, they only draw forth dry and formal answers from the Indian Minister, carefully prepared for him by the old Anglo-Indian officials who reign at the India Office—(hear, hear,)—answers which either utterly disclaim all knowledge of the subjects, or justify, or at least endeavour to justify, the action of the local authorities by some ingenious distortion of the facts. (Hear, hear.) You, Sir, have also alluded to the fact that even the annual debate on the Indian Budget is reserved for the very last days of the Session, when empty benches testify to the interest and the sense of responsibility of the House of Commons in reference to India. Well, Sir, the apathy and indifference which are so generally felt in reference to India would be

utterly disheartening to us if it were not for occasional words of comfort from prominent English statesmen, which enable us to hope that better days may yet be in store for India. (Cheers.) Sir, it is in that hope that we have met together to-day, with a view to consult and discuss, with those of our English friends who have honored us to-day with their company, some of the most important Indian topics of the day. (Cheers.) The question to which I wish to invite your attention particularly to-day is one that has been recently the subject of considerable agitation in India; and it is perhaps of more intrinsic importance than the Ilbert Bill—I refer to the free and impartial admission of my countrymen to the Civil Service. (Hear, hear.) We know that it was promised by Act of Parliament just fifty years ago. We know that it was expressly affirmed in the Royal Proclamation of 1858. We know also that the Act of 1833 has not yet been repealed, nor the Royal Proclamation of 1858 rescinded. But when we ask ourselves, What have we gained? How have we benefited by the promises contained in these documents? it is impossible to return a satisfactory reply—(hear, hear,)—for it is obviously worse than useless to make declarations of that kind, tending to excite the hopes and stimulate the aspirations of our people, if you suffer those promises to be nullified by means of rules and regulations which shut us out of the service, although the law declares us eligible. (Hear, hear.) If you examine this question for a moment, you will see that hitherto England has only given us with one

hand what she has taken away with the other. (Hear, hear.) In the first place, the admission to the public service—I do not speak of the inferior service created by Lord Lytton (hear, hear,) but the admission to the ordinary Covenanted Civil Service of India—is by means of a competitive examination held in London. So that, to begin with, a Native of India, in order to prove his fitness for the public service of his own country, is required to undertake a long and expensive journey, to traverse half the globe, and to make up his mind for a lengthened residence in this country, on the mere chance of passing a most difficult examination, in which he has to compete with English youths in their own language and literature. (Cheers.) Well, Sir, these are heavy odds to fight against—(loud cheers)—but, nevertheless, a few of my countrymen have been found, from time to time, enterprising enough to come over to this country, at considerable sacrifice, in order to try their luck at these examinations, and, what is still more remarkable, a very fair proportion, heavily handicapped as they were, have succeeded in passing that examination. (Cheers.) Their numbers have necessarily been very limited—not more than ten or twelve, I believe. But even that small number has been an eyesore to the Indian bureaucracy, and to those who have hitherto enjoyed the sweets of monopoly. And the consequence is that at every step, whenever a Native of India has succeeded, some fresh regulation has been introduced in order to make the recurrence of such an event a still more difficult thing in the future. (Hear, hear.)

Now let us take the question of age. You will readily admit that if a Native of India has to compete in such subjects as English Composition, English Literature, and English History, and if you further bear in mind that the English language is necessarily the medium of examination in every other subject, you will readily understand that the standard of age for the candidates becomes a question of vital importance to my countrymen—(hear, hear)—for if you require a foreigner to learn your language, and to learn it so well as to hold his own against the Native, you must give him time to acquire that knowledge. (Hear, hear, and cheers.) Therefore, the more you reduce this limit of age, the more enormously you increase the difficulties of Indians. (Cheers.) How have we been treated in this respect? Every successive scheme has been worse and worse. When this system of competitive examinations was first inaugurated in 1853 by Act of Parliament, a committee (of which Lord Macaulay was the Chairman) was requested, among other things, to report as to what was the most desirable standard of age. Lord Macaulay recommended a maximum limit of twenty-three and a minimum of eighteen, adding, however, that, except in very rare and exceptional cases, it would not be desirable to admit a lad at the early age of eighteen. That wise recommendation was accepted by the India Board which was then presided over by Sir Charles Wood, and the rule continued in force until 1859 or 1860, when a young Parsee student for the first time came

over from India with the view of competing in the next examination. He was a very clever and promising young man, and every one considered that he had a very fair chance of success. But soon after his arrival in this country, without any previous notice or intimation, the age limit was suddenly lowered from twenty-three to twenty-two, and this young man, after all the expense and trouble which he had undergone, suddenly found himself disqualified by a stroke of the pen. (Hear, hear.) This was a very hard case, but a single isolated instance of that kind, standing by itself, would not, perhaps, justify us in inferring that it was intentional. Now let us come down to 1863, when the first Native of India, Mr. Satyendra Nath Tagore, passed this examination. What happened on that occasion? Sir, of the thirteen or fourteen subjects that are prescribed for these examinations, in the great majority the Native of India is at a considerable disadvantage as compared with English competitors; but there are only two out of the thirteen or fourteen in which the advantage may be said to be on his side. These are the classical languages of the East—Sanskrit and Arabic, which occupy somewhat the same position in our Universities as Latin and Greek in this country, with this exception, however, that it is very rare for any of my countrymen to learn both of those languages, the Hindu having a preference for Sanskrit and the Mahomedan generally taking up Arabic. (Hear, hear.) Well, it was found that Mr. Tagore, the successful candidate, has obtained

a large number of marks in the Sanskrit language, and it was consequently decided to lower the number of marks in both Sanskrit and Arabic from 500 to 375 each. But this was not all. Two years later the age limit was further reduced from twenty-two to twenty-one, which had again the effect of disqualifying one or two Indians who were then studying in England. Now these successive changes, tending to operate more and more harshly against my countrymen, naturally caused considerable dissatisfaction in India—(hear, hear,)—and produced the impression that our admission into the Service was viewed with disfavour by the authorities. Nevertheless, my countrymen, notwithstanding the difficulties that were imposed upon them, continued to try the experiment, and I am glad to say sometimes with signal success. (Cheers.) But, Sir, the India Office was again equal to the occasion. Although out of deference to the outcry in India, they had been obliged to retrace their steps as regards the reduction of the marks for Sanskrit and Arabic, they still found out a more effectual method of closing the door of the Service against my countrymen. They lowered the age from twenty-one to nineteen. Now, as regards this last reduction, there is one very significant fact to which I wish to invite your attention. Of the eight or nine Indians who passed between 1863 and 1876, (which was the year when the reduction was made) of those eight or nine, not one was below nineteen. I have, unfortunately, left my notes behind me, otherwise I could have given you the exact

age of every one of those gentlemen who passed between those years, but not one was below nineteen; so that if this nineteen-years' limit had prevailed from the beginning, every one of those gentlemen who passed would have been too old, and therefore disqualified for the competition. Therefore, Sir, from the point of view of the India Office, nineteen was exactly the right limit to fix. (Hear, hear, and laughter.) Of course, everybody in India understood what this change meant. It was not possible to entertain any doubts after what was said by the late Viceroy, Lord Lytton. (Hear, hear.) His Lordship expressly said in an official despatch—and I give him every credit for candour—he said that although for himself he would prefer to see the Service closed by law to the Natives of India, yet he had no doubt that the same result would be obtained by the reduction of age which had been just then sanctioned by Lord Salisbury. Now, in order to estimate the full effect of this change, you must also bear in mind that the greater number of subjects prescribed for these examinations—Latin and Greek, and the modern European languages—are not subjects which form part of the University curriculum in India, nor have we any facilities for learning those languages in our own country. It has, therefore, always been necessary for my countrymen to come over to this country at least two or three years before presenting themselves at these examinations, in order to undergo a special course of preparation. So that if a Native of India is to compete at the age of seventeen to nineteen, he must come to England when

he is only fourteen to sixteen years old. Now, Sir, in addition to this, if you remember how difficult it is for a young Indian at that early age to acquire a sufficient knowledge of the English language, which, I believe, is one of the most difficult languages for a foreigner to learn,—(hear, hear,)—you can readily understand why parents and guardians in India should be extremely reluctant to send their boys so far from home, friends, and parental control for the mere chance of passing an examination in which the odds are so overwhelmingly against them. One word more, and I have done. You, Sir, have alluded to the success of two of my countrymen at the last of these examinations, one of them having also had the great distinction of heading the entire list. (Cheers.) But I am afraid that the success of my young friends, so honorable to themselves, may be, perhaps, used as an argument against the considerations that I have ventured to urge before you to-day. It is, therefore, necessary that I should point out that their case is altogether exceptional. In addition to the talents and industry of which they have given so signal a proof, they have enjoyed rare advantages which are not open to the generality of their countrymen. (Hear, hear.) They are the sons of parents who have themselves resided in this country, and who have, therefore, been able to bring up their children and to educate them in England. But, Sir, the case of the ordinary Indian lad is entirely different—(hear, hear,)—and it would be a grievous wrong if these two exceptional cases were to be used as an argument in defence of the reduction of age

which has undoubtedly operated to exclude the great bulk of my countrymen. (Cheers.) Well, Sir, under these circumstances, we think it right to appeal to public opinion in this country. We appeal to your sense of justice, and we ask whether it does not concern the honour of the English nation to see that the declarations of Parliament and the promises of the Queen are really acted upon and honestly redeemed. (Cheers.) Public opinion in India has been thoroughly aroused against the shuffling and juggling tricks whereby Acts of Parliament have been evaded and Royal Proclamations set at naught. (Hear, hear.) If our appeal is made in vain, if nothing whatever is done to give effect to that policy of justice that has been so often proclaimed, if that policy is more honoured in the breach than in the observance, then the belief will gradually gain ground in India that England only 'holds the word of promise to our ear and breaks it in our hope,' and with that belief there will inevitably grow up the thought that justice and foreign domination are incompatible. I sincerely hope, and I am sure that every thoughtful man in India hopes, that the people of England will never suffer anything to be done in their name that will be calculated to give rise to such feelings or to excite such sentiments—(cheers)—but if feelings of that kind are once aroused, it may be extremely difficult for our leaders, thoroughly loyal as they are to the British Government, to counteract or to stem the tide of popular opinion. Sir, speaking of our popular leaders, I cannot but pause for a moment in order to pay a tribute of res-

pect to the memory of two of our great men, who have recently passed away within a few months of each other. (Hear, hear.) Each was great in his own sphere, and though neither, perhaps, was free from occasional errors, though both had experienced the fluctuations of fortune and of popular favour, their memory will be long cherished by their countrymen with affection, with respect, and with admiration. (Hear, hear.) The eloquent lips of Keshub Chunder Sen—(cheers)—are closed for ever, but the example of his life, the grandeur of his genius, and the excellence of his teachings, will survive the funeral pyre. (Cheers.) Kristo Dass Paul—(cheers)—has ceased to fight the battles of his country, whether in the columns of the *Hindu Patriot* or at the Council Board at Calcutta, but he has left behind him a noble record of services and an example of patient industry and unflagging zeal, joined to splendid abilities, which will long serve as a model and a pattern to his countrymen. (Cheers.) Well these two great men were themselves amongst the noblest products of British rule in India; and when I take the good and the bad together, I cannot help thinking that the connection of England with India will be found in the end to have been for the benefit of both countries. (Hear, hear.) I am for drawing the two nations closer together. (Hear, hear.) I believe it would be greatly to the advantage of both if the Indian people were made to feel that they were no longer treated as a hostile and conquered race, but as members of a great and free Empire—(cheers)—not less entitled, perhaps, than the Australian colonies, to take

part in a scheme of Imperial Federation, such as have been lately talked of. (Hear, hear.)

Sir, it may even be that at some future time, some representative of my country, more favourably circumstanced or taking a more hopeful view of the situation than it has been hitherto possible for any of us to do, may be tempted to try the experiment of practically testing the generosity of some English constituency—(cheers)—in order to find out whether the English people are really prepared to fraternize with us in deed as well as in word. (Hear, hear.) But whether such an experiment be ever tried or not, I believe that the time is at hand when the most loyal section of the Indian people will earnestly put forward a claim to representation of some kind, and I can scarcely believe that their claim will be disregarded. (Cheers.) Of this, at least, I feel certain, that the wisest and most far-seeing English statesmen would be the first to admit that no country can ever hope permanently to maintain its sway over many millions of people daily advancing in education, in public spirit and patriotism, without conceding to them some share in the government of their own country, some voice in the management of their own affairs, and some representation in the Councils of the Empire. (Loud cheers.)