

THE
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July 1908.

No man who hath tested learning but will confess the many ways of profiting by those who, not contained with stale receipts, are able to manage and set forth new positions to the world; and were they but as the dust and cinders of our feet, so long as in that notion they may yet serve to polish and brighten the armoury of truth, even for that respect they were not utterly to be cast away.—MILTON.

Calcutta:

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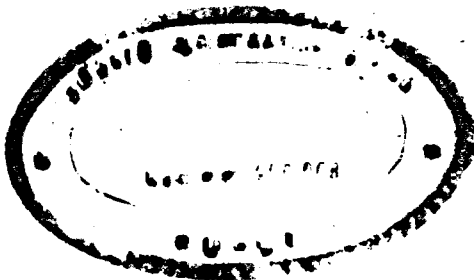
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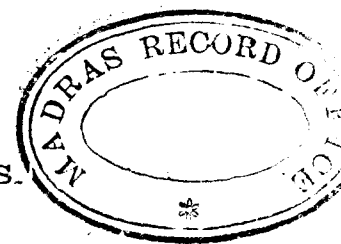
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CALCUTTA REVIEW.

No. CCLIII.

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THE CALCUTTA REVIEW.

No. 253.—JULY 1908.

Art. I.—THE QUARTER.

THE second quarter of the year 1908 will provide the future historian with material in abundance for a most interesting chapter in the history of India since it became a possession of the Crown of England. The unrest in Bengal which broke out in an acute form on the administrative change known as the Partition, developed into open sedition which generated a secret society of avowed anarchism, with a propaganda extending to the whole of India. The climax was reached when two emissaries perpetrated a frightful bomb outrage at Mozufferpore by which two innocent Englishwomen were done to death. Then followed arrests with the usual consequence that one of the anarchists, to save his neck, turned approver, revealing the existence of an active and well equipped agency for the assassination of the chief officers of the Government. These events forced the hasty enactment of repressive legislation, the effectiveness of which has not yet been proved, and is gravely doubted by publicists and administrators best qualified to judge by long experience and intimate knowledge of the country. The Seditious Meetings Act put an end to the preaching of sedition, boycott, and racial hatred from public platforms, but the ordinary law was incapable of

repressing open disloyalty and malignant vituperation of everything English in a certain section of the Native Press of Calcutta. The frequent prosecutions of pretended editors, mostly callous youths, and irresponsible printers before Mr. Kingsford, the Chief Presidency Magistrate, merely served to excite the real culprits to uncontrolled frenzy, the *Yugantar*, a vernacular journal, taking the lead. The failure of the Police to discover and apprehend these men raised their audacity to a very high pitch and the secret society developed extraordinary activity.

Mr. Kingsford, the Chief Presidency Magistrate of Calcutta, was translated early in the quarter to Mozufferpore in the ordinary course of promotion of the Bengal Civil Service. The revolutionaries decided to assassinate him for the harshness he had shown to Bengali writers and orators prosecuted for sedition. Two youths, Prafulla Chandra Chaki and Khudiram Bose, were chosen to do the deed and left Calcutta on the 28th April armed with a bomb and revolvers. On the night of the 30th they lay in wait for their victim, intending to hurl the bomb at his carriage as it drove him home from the Club. Their fiendish purpose miscarried in so far as Mr. Kingsford was concerned, but it was only too successful in the murder of two innocent women, Mrs. and Miss Kennedy, the wife and daughter of the leading English barrister in the district, who came from the Club in a carriage very similar to that of Mr. Kingsford. The lurking assassins believed their victim was delivered to them and Khudiram hurled the bomb. It struck Miss Kennedy and exploded. The poor girl was frightfully mutilated and her mother dreadfully injured. Both died and the indignation of the Planters of Behar was intense.

The Police captured Khudiram Bose while trying to make his way back to Calcutta, and Prafulla escaped the same fate by blowing his brains out with a revolver. Khudiram was subsequently tried by Mr. Carnduff, the Sessions Judge, and sentenced to death.

Immediately after the outrage at Mozufferpore the Calcutta Police made a midnight raid on a garden at Manicktollah and a chemist's shop in Harrison Road. The haul consisted of large quantities of picric acid and dynamite and other materials for the manufacture of bombs, and several revolvers and swords. Thirty persons were arrested, among them Arabindo Ghose, the hero of the *Bande Mataram* prosecution before Mr. Kingsford, and his brother Birendro Krishna Ghose. They were the owners of the Manicktollah garden, which it subsequently transpired was the academy of anarchism and the chief manufactory of bombs. These men were charged before Mr. Birley, the District Magistrate of Alipore, and Birendro came forward and made a clean breast of the whole plot. The school of anarchism was started as long back as the beginning of 1907, and the *Yugantar* was established as its organ. Birendro claimed all the credit of the enterprise and did everything in his power to exonerate his brother Arabindo, who appeared to be in the last stage of consumption. He said that he collected funds to send his associates to Europe, America and Japan to learn how to make bombs. When they returned and succeeded in manufacturing these infernal machines attempts were made on the life of Sir Andrew Fraser, Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, first at Chandernagore and then at Midnapore. They also tried to assassinate the Maire of Chandernagore. All these miscarried, and it was not until the outrage at Mozufferpore

that they succeeded in their aim of murder by bomb. In the meantime, however, the revolver was used with partial success on Mr. Allen at Gauhati. These revelations naturally created a sense of great insecurity and the whole of the loyal population, Native and European, demanded of the Viceroy a policy of repression. The Secretary of State for India was at first reluctant to adopt measures which would be unpopular with a Radical party to whom the very mention of coercion is hateful; but the open sympathy expressed by certain native papers for the anarchists forced the hand of the Government.

A meeting of the Imperial Legislative Council was held at Simla on 8th June at which Sir Harvey Adamson introduced one bill to amend the law relating to explosive substances and another for the prevention of incitements to murder and other offences in newspapers. In his apology for these hasty measures he said: "We have to cope with an organised band consisting unhappily not of the men of the lower criminal classes, but educated men who are banded together against all the interests that keep society alive, men who like pirates are the enemies of the human race. Knowing the danger before us—a danger which in India is new—we must meet it by new remedies, not in the spirit of panic, but in a cool and resolute spirit and with a determination to strangle those plans and put down the authors of them." The Explosives Act increases the power of the police to arrest persons in possession of explosives without a license; the Newspaper Act is the sequel. To quote the Home Member: "It is intended to provide a more effective way than prosecution for attempts through newspapers to incite to murder and

acts of violence." Lord Minto suspended the ordinary rule of business so that the Bills might be passed into law at once, and in summing up expressed his fear that neither of the Bills might prove strong enough for the crisis, in which case they would be amended. He foreshadowed a general Press Act to deal with "unbridled journalistic freedom under Indian conditions," "India," he said "is not ripe for complete freedom of the Press. It is unfair upon her people that, for daily information, such as it is, they should be dependent upon unscrupulous caterers of literary poison. We are called upon to regulate its sale. No exaggerated respect for principles of English freedom, totally unadapted to Indian surroundings, can justify us in allowing the poison to work its will." In conclusion he stated that no anarchical crimes would defer the proposed legislative reforms.

The immediate effect of the repressive legislation was that the *Yugantar* ceased to appear as a weekly paper written in Bengali, but on 20th June an English edition was published through the post giving the most elaborate directions for the manufacture of bombs and calling upon the natives to exterminate all Europeans by this means. By a strange coincidence there was a bomb outrage that night a few miles from Calcutta. At midnight a passenger train from Sealdah was drawn up just outside the Kankinara Station on the Eastern Bengal State Railway. In the second class compartment of a composite carriage were two Scotch mill operatives, Messrs. Brown and Campsie, and an Eurasian clerk named St. Romaine. Into this compartment a bomb was thrown through an open window by a man on the footboard. It struck Mr. Campsie on the right shoulder and exploded. The

The Kankinara Outrage.

carriage was returned to Calcutta immediately and the injured man taken to hospital, where his arm had to be amputated from the shoulder. It was found on subsequent examination that the bomb was loaded with spikes from a jute combing machine and flints, the explosive used being picric acid. Arrests were made of some pundits and a doctor of Bhatpara, but as there was no evidence to connect them directly with the outrage they were released on bail. The consternation created by this renewal of anarchical activity was intensified by the revelations of Norendra Nath Gossain, a member of the well-known Gossain family of Serampore, who was in the batch of prisoners taken in the Manicktollah Garden and who turned approver. He implicated prominent men in both Bengals and stated that Bengali anarchism ramified all over India. The police made numerous arrests on the strength of his evidence. On the top of this came the arrest of the notorious Maharatta agitator Bal Gungadhur Tilak on 24th June at Bombay for newspaper sedition. The quarter thus ended with a political horizon black with lowering clouds, which the hesitancy of the Secretary of State for India did nothing to dispel. He rated Lord Curzon and Sir Bampfylde Fuller for exposing the danger of the situation, and created among the Europeans in India a sense of insecurity and discontent by stating that Lord Minto was manfully carrying out his (Lord Morley's) wishes.

The Zakka Khels had hardly been brought to their senses when the Mohmands showed an inclination to try conclusions with the British arms. They were encouraged in this enterprise by large numbers of Afghans, who it is supposed were eager to avenge the insult put upon the Amir by the Anglo-Russian Convention. Sir James Willcocks again

The Mohmands.

took the field with a large force in the middle of April and advanced into the enemy's country. He was opposed at Shabkadr by the Mohmands and their Afghan allies and after some severe fighting he routed them. This practically ended the campaign. The Amir on a representation of the Foreign Minister recalled all his subjects on the pain of death and the Mohmands left to themselves soon gave in. The behaviour of our troops, English and Native, in the terrible heat of a Frontier summer was beyond all praise, and so was the skilful generalship of Sir James Willcocks.

The political position in England underwent an important change during the quarter.

Politics in England.

In the beginning of April, Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman resigned the Premiership owing to ill-health, and to the grief of the whole nation, died on 22nd April, a bare fortnight after he took leave of the cares of office. In the meantime, the King sent for Mr. Asquith who formed a ministry. Mr. Lloyd George became Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Winston-Churchill, President of the Board of Trade, Mr. Runciman, Minister for Education, and Lord Crewe, Colonial Secretary. The other members of the Bannerman Cabinet continued in their places. Mr. Morley, much to the astonishment of his friends, accepted a Peerage and as Lord Morley of Blackburn continues to rule India on the most approved principles of philosophical democratism. Mr. Winston-Churchill had to fight two hard elections before he could remain a member of Parliament. Manchester rejected him, but at Dundee he found a haven. The Prime Minister introduced the Budget which was chiefly remarkable for a reduction of the sugar tax and introduction of Old Age Pensions.

Sir Lancelot Hare, Lieutenant-Governor of Eastern Bengal and Assam, left for England at the end of April on six months' leave. The public was mildly surprised when Mr. Bayley, Resident of Hyderabad, was appointed to succeed him. On 1st June, the King Emperor's consent was received to the appointment of Mr. E. N. Baker as Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal in succession to Sir Andrew Fraser. At the distribution of the Birthday Honours on 26th June the new satraps were made Knights Commander of the Star of India. Sir Edward Baker has gone home on short leave and will return to take charge from Sir Andrew Fraser at the beginning of December. It is believed that Sir Lancelot Hare will retire at the end of his leave, and Sir Charles Bayley be confirmed at Dacca. Just as the quarter was going out, Mr. W. L. Harvey was appointed successor to Mr. Finlay as Member for Commerce and Industry; no appointment could have been more popular. It was chiefly due to his tact and *savoir faire* that an embarrassing strike among the Telegraph signallers was settled in April last. The signallers had been upset by an expert from England, Mr. Newlands, who sought to introduce revolutionary changes at a moment's notice.

The most famous name in the obituary of the quarter is that of Father Lafont, S.J., C.I.E., the Jesuit who devoted the best part of his life to the encouragement of the study of physical science in Calcutta. He died full of years and honours, beloved by every citizen of the great Indian metropolis.

Administrative Changes
in India.

Art. II.—MAHRATTA DOMINATION.

THE common notion still prevails that the English conquered India from the Mahomedans. But this is not in accordance with the facts of history. The Hindus had already asserted their supremacy over the Mahomedans, and weakened their power over large and important parts of the country before the English seriously entered the field of Indian conquest. This they were able to effect chiefly through the agency of two powers which, though widely separated, yet were unconsciously united by their one common aim of overthrowing the foreign power of the Mahomedans who had rivetted their yoke on their necks for centuries. The long and disastrous reign of Aurangzeb is mainly responsible for the rise of these two Hindu powers that of the Mahrattas and of the Sikhs, and it was his mistaken policy that moulded what had hitherto been but straggling and weak forces of these peoples into national powers, fighting not only for their political but religious existence, which that monarch had unwisely threatened with extinction. When to Akbar, the greatest of the Moghuls, had fallen the task of reconstituting the Mahomedan empire in the land weakened by long internal struggles under his predecessors, he very wisely tried to reconcile his Hindu subjects to the foreigner's yoke by a liberal policy of benevolent toleration of their religion and customs, and also of sympathetic encouragement, and thereby succeeded to a large extent in attaching them to his family and throne. But Aurangzeb departed from the wise ways of his illustrious ancestor, and tried to rule his Hindu subjects in the narrow spirit of a zealous

missionary of his faith rather than of a broad-minded and far-seeing statesman. The result was that, great as he was in several respects, he ruined the splendid edifice which Akbar had so laboriously raised, and by the end of his reign in the first decade of the eighteenth century it stood with its prestige hopelessly compromised at the mercy of its enemies.

Among the Hindus there were three peoples who possessed, each of them, something like a distinct nationality which under favourable opportunities was capable of achieving great things. Of these, the Rajputs had their day very early, and were played out. Though brave as lions, they had become incapable of uniting for a national purpose, and their patriotism was always confined to their clans, beyond which they saw nothing worth fighting for. The Sikhs are an example of what religious persecution could do to form a compact nation, and to develop some of its best qualities and ties. The severities of Aurangzeb and his successor in persecuting the followers of Nanak and Banda united the Sikhs, and inspired them with a fierce hatred of the Mahomedans which after two centuries is not yet quite allayed. They helped to weaken the Moghul Empire in the North, and when the time came they shared in its partition and raised their formidable power, which afterwards presented such a resolute front to the English, and which was the last of the country powers to submit to them, and the one to give them the greatest trouble and anxiety in subduing.

The Mahrattas were the greatest of the three Hindu peoples, and took the fullest advantage of the weakness of the Moghul power. They did not owe their rise so much to their intrinsic worth as to the

peculiar times and circumstances in which they found the country. Their country in the Deccan had been under the strong sway of the Bahmini dynasties of Bijapur and Golconda, and those Mahomedan kings ruled them for centuries with rather a light hand, leaving them something of autonomy in their provincial affairs. If these Bahmini kingdoms of the Deccan had been left alone, we would never have heard of the Mahrattas as a formidable Hindu power in the land, for they would have been left in subjection by their strong rule. But fortunately for them this strong rule of the Mahomedan powers in the Deccan was weakened by the policy of the Moghul Empire of the North. It was a fatal mistake, which ultimately involved the Empire in ruin, when Akbar committed himself and his successors to the conquest of the Deccan and the extinction of those Mahomedan dynasties that had so long ruled it on the whole well, and had kept down the Mahrattas and other subject peoples. This invasion of their independence by such a power as that of the Moghuls, strained to the utmost the resources of the Bahmini dynasties, and weakened considerably their power over their Hindu subjects engaged as they were for long in a life and death struggle with the invader. It was for the Mahomedans an internecine warfare which every true well-wisher of their supremacy in India had great reason to deplore. In this struggle, which lasted for over a century, both sides were thoroughly exhausted, and the Moghul power, which ultimately gained the upper hand, itself fell a victim to the great exhaustion caused by it. The Bahmini kingdoms fell one after another and were incorporated into the Moghul Empire, and the dream of Akbar was fully realised by Aurangzeb

when the dynasties of Bijapur and Golconda became extinct in 1688.

But this conquest of the Deccan cost the Moghul Empire its existence. For during this long warfare rose the Mahrattas, who were ultimately to deal it a death-blow. While the Moghul and the Deccan Mahomedans were fighting it out, the Mahratta upon whom the hold of the latter, who had so long kept him in check, was naturally weakened, realised his opportunity and felt his importance. If the Kingdom of Bijapur had not to deal with the Moghul incursion which threatened its very existence, its resources would have sufficed to put down Sivaji, if indeed he had ever arisen then. But Sivaji, seeing that the best efforts of Bijapur were directed towards withstanding the Moghul attacks, quietly and steadily pursued his course of conquest, and began to carve a little kingdom for himself and his people out of the fast decaying Bijapur territories. He wisely made the Moghul play his game by ruining Bejapur, his suzerain power. By the time the Moghul obtained the suzerainty he had consolidated his power and become so strong as to measure strength with him too. He fought against Aurangzeb in his own subtle Mahratta way, never encountering his full forces, but always from a distance attacking them when divided, and entangling them in his own mountainous country. He knew his own strength and the enemy's weakness, and profited by this knowledge to the full. He harassed and wearied the Moghul army, hanging on its skirts and cutting off its supplies, never fighting a pitched battle but always engaging in guerilla warfare. He succeeded so well that in 1674, six years before his death, he crowned himself as an independent King in the face of the Moghul Emperor, whose great pomp and

circumstance he had witnessed during his short-lived stay at Delhi two years before. Thus Sivaji was able to found a kingdom at a time when Aurangzeb was bent on destroying the existing kingdoms, and when the work of conquering the entire Deccan was almost complete.

Sivaji died at the early age of fifty-three in 1680. He had founded amid arduous circumstances the power of the Mahrattas, but he had no time to consolidate that power and found a polity. He attempted something in this direction during the last years of his rule, but the times were too troubled and unsettled to benefit by that small attempt. If Sivaji had been succeeded by a genius like himself or by persons like the Peishwas Baji Rao the first and Madhav Rao, or by Nana Fadnavis, they would have built up a polity which would have endured and done much lasting good. But even then it is doubtful whether the Mahrattas could have ever developed a good system of government and administration. The genius of the Mahrattas is not for organisation and settled Government. They had a remarkable aptitude for predatory warfare, and this had full scope in the circumstances of the times. The anarchy caused by the wars of the Bijapur Government with the Moghul Empire was their opportunity, and they developed to the full their predatory instincts during it, attacking both parties by turns when convenient and expedient and yielding to either when it had the leisure which it could ill spare to deal with them in earnest. A power that rose under such circumstances, does not usually show capacity for well-ordered Government. Confusion is the element in which it flourishes. When times become settled the qualities in which it excels have no scope, and unless it develops new qualities to suit the changed

circumstances, it is bound to droop. This the Mahrattas failed to do, and their rule accordingly declined in the eighteenth century.

Sivaji had managed to consolidate his power before the Bijapur kingdom entirely vanished before the Moghul; and before Aurangzeb had leisure to turn his full strength against him. When Aurangzeb did find time for this and employed his forces against the successors of Sivaji, it was a very critical time for the Mahrattas, and for a period they retired altogether from Maharashtra southwards to Gingee in Tanjore. All the work of Sivaji seemed to be undone during this five years' campaign of the Moghul monarch in the Deccan. But Aurangzeb could not maintain the hold that he had gained owing to his exhausted resources, and the Mahrattas managed to escape the crisis by returning and evading the danger, as was their wont, rather than by incurring a crushing defeat by openly coping with it. Aurangzeb died in 1707, and Shahu, the son of Sambhaji who had been killed ignominiously by the Moghul, was released from the Imperial Camp where he was for eighteen years a prisoner, and sent back to Satara to be received as King by the Mahrattas. He reigned for forty years after that, an eventful period for Mahratta rule, for all real authority passed to his Chief Minister Balaji Wiswanath, and his son Baji Rao, the two first Peishwas, who revived the drooping power of the Mahrattas by forming the Mahratta Confederacy of chiefs which thenceforward played a prominent part in Indian history for over a century.

Under this Confederacy the local rule of the Mahrattas expanded into something like imperial rule, as it carried their power into remote provinces wrested from the feeble grasp of the dying Moghul Emperor,

who was a prisoner in their hands. This was outwardly a brilliant period for them, but in reality it exposed their inherent weakness in the work of Government and organisation of rule. The dismemberment of the Moghul Empire was effectively carried out by this Confederacy, as Sivaji had previously helped considerably in dismembering the Bijapur Kingdom. But when those fragments of the Moghul Empire passed under their rule and constructive work in administration was demanded from them, the Mahrattas were found wanting. They were a military people having no special aptitude for the work of civil administration. Even Sivaji, great as he was, could not successfully cope with the task of organising civil rule in his very small kingdom. He knew well the strong as well as the weak points of his people, and like the Emperor Augustus (*cf. Tacitus, Annales* I.-II and II. 59), he very wisely advised his successors not to seek to enlarge his kingdom. The Mahrattas had much greater need of following this advice than had the Romans, who were an imperial race—*tu regere imperio populas Romane memento*,—which certainly the Mahrattas were not.

Yet the Peishwas and the confederate chiefs disregarded the advice of Sivaji, and in the first quarter of the eighteenth century began their imperial march which finally landed them into enormous difficulties, internal as well as external, and brought them into conflict with greater powers that ultimately overthrew them. Their power culminated in the fifties of the eighteenth century. Then they seemed to all outward appearance to hold Delhi and the Moghul Empire in their grasp, and were earnestly thinking of deposing the phantom Moghul Emperor and proclaiming the Peishwa as Emperor in his place. But in 1761, Ahmed

Shah Abdali invaded India and dashed like a comet into the Mahratta power and smashed it. Their success hitherto against the moribund power of the Moghul had made them reckless and so far oblivious of their weakness as to fight the first regular pitched battle in their history on the famous field of Panipat which has so often decided the fate of India. This disastrous third battle of Panipat broke the spell of the Mahratta power. Ahmed Abdali had dealt this blow to them, but cared little for its results, as he departed to his native Afghanistan as quickly as he had come, leaving Mahratta and Moghul behind.

But four years before Panipat, had been fought another battle in another quarter, which was still more decisive of the fate of the country and far-reaching in its consequences. The star of the English rose on the field of Plassey, before which those of the Mahrattas and the other native powers were soon to pale. Thenceforward for nearly two generations the struggle for mastery lay chiefly between the Mahrattas and the English. The Moghul Emperor was a cypher, a helpless prisoner at his own capital of Delhi, first in the hands of the Mahrattas and then of the English after the fall of that Imperial city into Lord Lake's hand in 1803. The only Mahomedan power with which the English had to fight was the short-lived one of Haider and Tipu in the extreme south, and these princes never threatened English supremacy in the whole of India. The Mahrattas were the only people in the land at that time who seriously and persistently resisted everywhere the advancing power of the English. Their power, shattered at Panipat, had hardly time to recover when they had to meet the formidable rivalry of the English. After Panipat it may be said that their supply of great

men, generals and politicians, very meagre at the best, almost dried up. Madhav Rao, who was Peishwa for twelve years after the battle, and Nana Fadnavis, were almost the only men amongst them who sustained their great name in the latter half of the eighteenth century.

As is usual, they did not perceive the signs of weakness amongst them and became more ambitious. They underrated the power of the English and provoked struggles with them. Had they left them alone—as indeed the latter were desirous of being left alone—it is very probable their power would have lasted much longer, if indeed the two between them had not partitioned the country by arriving at a mutual understanding. Had there been a real statesman to guide their affairs in their latter days, he would have perceived the necessity of some such understanding with their powerful rivals and would have profitted by it. Nana Fadnavis seems at times to have seen this, and had he a free hand, he would have urged upon the Peishwa and the other chiefs of the Confederacy the wisdom of this policy. After Nana, even the little wisdom that appeared now and then in the affairs of the Mahrattas during their decadence, vanished, and thenceforward the road to ruin was easy and clear under the fatuous rule of the second Baji Rao, who was destined to be the last Peishwa. That ruin would have come a little earlier if the far-seeing policy of the high-souled Wellesley had not been abandoned for a time by his immediate successors. However, an equally sagacious and spirited successor followed within ten years in the person of the Marquis of Hastings and the Mahratta Rule was extinguished on the fields of Kirkee, Korigaum and Ashta in 1818.

With the extinction of Mahratta Rule, the hope of any native power obtaining supremacy in the land and

overmatching the English vanished for ever, though the Sikhs afterwards made a stand in their own province how did the Mahrattas use their opportunities for doing good to the country when they enjoyed power, and how did their rule affect the peoples under them? These are important and pertinent questions which the impartial historian is bound to answer adversely to them. They were undoubtedly the best fitted of all the Hindu peoples and races to rule; but that ruling capacity was very narrowly circumscribed. Their rule never to the end lost the nature and character of its origin. It rose amid confusion and anarchy, and it always thrived when these were rampant in the land. Nay, it often helped to make this political confusion worse confounded in order to create opportunities for itself. It made its way by plundering raids and this predatory nature clung more or less to it to the last. If they had a genius for rule, it was for ruling their own small and mountainous country, and even in this they were in earlier times divided among several feudal chieftains, independent of one another.

They had no genius for reorganising a vast imperial rule over several conquered countries and they made a fatal mistake in extending their conquests beyond Maharashtra into Hindoostan and in rivalling the Moghul Empire in its palmy days. Even in their own small territory the civil rule which Sivaji had taken so much pains to organise during the last few years of his short reign, speedily gave way under his immediate successors. Even of this civil rule most of its good and strong points were borrowed by Sivaji from the Moslem system of the Bijapur Kingdom. The Peishwas afterwards tried to renew Sivaji's system, but succeeded only partially. That disruptive tendency of the Mahrattas

which had raised in early times several feudal chieftains and which Sivaji had conquered for a time by his magnetic personality, again asserted itself, and after a time they were divided into several principalities, each pursuing its separate object regardless of the common good and only nominally under the hegemony of the Peishwa. The various chiefs composing the Mahratta Confederacy seemed incapable of making the sacrifice of their own personal objects and ambitions which a true Imperial spirit always demands. Even in their own Maharashtra their rule speedily degenerated, chiefly in the hands of the Brahmins who ruled in the very narrow spirit of their caste, engrossing all power in their own hands and degrading all the other castes in political importance, including the Kshatria, to which the Mahrattas belonged.

But in the conquered provinces their chiefs never seriously attempted to introduce settled civil rule. A writer does not exaggerate much when he says that "the territories which the Mahrattas conquered were considered as predatory acquisitions to be held only by the sword, for to the subtle and aspiring Brahmin war and plunder were the two great sources of revenue; hence the quartering of a Mahratta army in a province was more destructive than myriads of locusts or years of drought and pestilence, while of their rulers it has been aptly observed that their *musnuds* were their horse cloths; their sceptres their swords, and their dominion the wide line of their desolating marches." (M. Martin, History of Asiatic Colonies, p. 20.) The state of Malwa under the Mahratta conquerors, as depicted by Malcolm and his assistants, shows the defect of their system well. But perhaps the best illustration may be furnished by Gujarat, which fair and

fertile province was despoiled and plunged into anarchy by them, for more than half a century when the Gaekwar, one of their principal confederate chiefs, held it; and his rule was rather a system of organised plunder than administration.

It was far better for the provinces and peoples who had been subject to them that they passed under British rule. Mahratta rule was an anachronism even in the beginning of the nineteenth century, and it survived for eighteen years during it, chiefly through the mistaken forbearance of the power that has abundantly justified its conquest by nearly a century of benign administration. Those who know the character of Mahratta rule in India best will most dread even the possibility of its recurrence in the non-Mahratta provinces of India. Happily there is no likelihood of that. If, by a very remote and unforeseen contingency English supremacy were to be withdrawn from the land by the retiring from India of the present rulers, and the country were to be plunged again into anarchy from which they saved it, the Mahrattas might then find their opportunity again and be once more in their element. But *absit omen* will be the pious wish of not only friends of England but also of every true patriot and lover of India, need I add, of every patriotic—for now he as well as other Indians profess to live not only in his own little province but in all India—Mahratta also; because he must admit as the result of a study of his history and the character of his people, that they have not the genius for Imperial Rule, and without such genius no people can govern the vast countries and varied nationalities comprised in what is only geographically a country, but really a continent that is called India.

R. P. KARKARIA.

Art. III.—SCIENCE : ITS RELATION TO AND INFLUENCE UPON RELIGION AND MORALITY.

SCIENCE is the rationalisation of knowledge which is twofold, *à priori* or original to the mind and *à posteriori* or derived from experience. Scientific knowledge means simply that part of knowledge which is definitive and capable of accurate explanation. It is merely the crystallised core of the vague mass of indefinite and inaccurate knowledge. It reaches the highest or most strictly scientific stage when it admits of being stated in precise propositions of unconditional validity. Observation (including experimentation,) classification and generalisation are generally the processes employed in investigating the truths of science. To observe facts and their relations to each other, to arrange them in order and reach generalisation by induction from ascertained facts and ultimately to explain phenomena by deduction from general principles, constitute the business of science. Each science has for its subject some specified attribute or attributes of things which it undertakes to investigate and interpret. Proper treatment of our body and mind; due management of our affairs, whether private or public; proper utilisation of natural resources; in a word, how to live completely depends mainly on scientific knowledge. Science may be divided into three classes—Natural, Mental and Ontological or Speculative. The first and second deal with the Objective and the Subjective phenomena, the Material and the Mental world respectively. The third deals with the relations which transcend the facts of experience (*e. g.*, our relations to the absolute Being) and is concerned with nominal or real substance.

The utility of natural science in ministering to our physical comforts cannot be doubted for a moment. What a vast difference there is between men in their primitive state and those enjoying all the advantages of modern progress in knowledge of the necessary appliances of civilised life.

We are all indebted to science for our prosperity and advancement in life, for the preservation of our health and for the cultivation of our intellect. Its influence for good in the world of matter and mind is obvious, not calling for any detailed notice. All that we are concerned with in the present inquiry is its ethical efficiency which is not generally admitted. Ethics has been defined by Dr. James Martineau as the doctrine of human character. To interpret, to vindicate and to systematise the moral sentiments constitute the business of ethics. Considered as a practical science, moral philosophy embraces knowledge requisite for the guidance of human conduct. What is the ethical value of a knowledge of moral philosophy in particular and of science in general? Granting that scientific study is productive of moral value, the next question arises what is the test for distinguishing the morally good from the morally bad, *i. e.*, right from wrong.

This leads to an enquiry into the source of our knowledge of moral distinctions, that is, whether such knowledge is introspective or experiential—intuitional or developmental. The conduct of a human being is affected by his surrounding conditions, his opportunities and motives. Mere introspection is not sufficient to determine the objects with which he is confronted, the relations he bears to them and the dealings he can have with them. What those objects are that constitute the scene around him may be expressed in two words,

Nature and God, understanding by the former the totality of perceptible phenomena and by the latter the eternal ground and cause whose essence they manifest. The questions as to what they are and what exactly they have to do with man, cannot but affect the decision of what he ought to be. The order of enquiry with reference to Nature and God, on the one hand, and man on the other, is a point which has divided the ancient and modern schools of philosophy.

If we study first the former, we are apt to explain the human mind by their analogy and to utilise the conceptions derived from them for the interpretation of mental operations; but if we study first our own mind we rather believe what the soul says about Nature and God than what they have to say about the soul. The latter method of procedure makes man a free agent and therefore responsible for his deeds; the former makes man a necessary product of natural evolution—an efflorescence as it were of Nature and, therefore, irresponsible. The latter method is psychological and the former unpsychological. The unpsychological method may be of two kinds according as we begin by assuming real, eternal, intellectual entities and thence descend to the human world, or as we start only with phenomena and their laws. If the former, we have a metaphysical; if the latter, a physical system of morals. Hobbes was the representative of physical absolutism and Spinoza that of metaphysical. Auguste Comte's Positivism may be traced to the theory of Hobbes, while the theory of Spinoza survives in the School of Hegel.

Granting that we as moral beings are capable of moral law and of putting it into practice so as to realise virtue in our life, we have next to consider the metaphysical question, what is the ultimate ground or source

of all morality? In other words, what is the foundation of virtue? It is of essential moment to distinguish between the foundation of moral distinctions and the knowledge of them. These are two perfectly distinct subjects, the former is independent of individual nature, while the latter has to be acquired by each individual through his own reason.

We now proceed to consider the various points raised above or such of them as are intimately connected with the subject of our enquiry.

THE MORAL INFLUENCE OF SCIENTIFIC KNOWLEDGE.

Moral philosophy, furnishing us with a rational explanation of our moral actions, moral nature and moral relations is the best means we can make use of for improving our minds and gaining a true knowledge of ourselves and consequently recovering our souls out of the vice, ignorance and prejudice to which they are naturally subject. What strange disorders are caused in the minds of those men whose passions are not regulated by virtue or disciplined by reason! Without proper culture the latent powers of our mind and the excellencies of our hearts remain undeveloped. "What sculpture is to a block of marble, education is to a human soul. The philosopher, the saint or the hero, the wise, the good or the great man, very often lie hid and concealed in a plebeian which a proper education might have disinterred and brought to light."

According to F. D. Draper, the author of "History of the Conflict of Religion and Science," it is scientific education that is best fitted to discover to us a world of eternal truths—a world not to be explored through the vain traditions that have brought down to us the opinions of men who lived in the morning of civilisation,

nor in the dreams of mystics who thought that they were inspired. That world is to be discovered by the investigations of science and by the practical interrogation of Nature. These confer on humanity solid, innumerable, and inestimable blessings. Science only asks the right of adopting a criterion of her own. If she regards unhistorical legends with disdain; if she considers the vote of a majority in the ascertainment of truth with supreme indifference; if she leaves the claim of infallibility in any human being to be vindicated by the stern logic of coming events, the cold impassiveness which in these matters she maintains is what she displays towards her own doctrines. Without hesitation she would give up the theory of gravitation or undulation if she found that they were irreconcilable with facts. For her the volume of inspiration is the book of Nature of which the open scroll is ever spread forth before the eyes of every man. Infinite in extent, eternal in duration, human ambition and human fanaticism have never been able to tamper with it. On the earth it is illustrated by all that is magnificent and beautiful, in the heavens its letters are suns and worlds. It is commonly observed that ignorance is the mother of wonder—a vacant staring at an unusual and unfamiliar phenomenon. But this sentiment is the beginning of all knowledge and has in itself a function of the utmost value. Wonder, as Plato has it, is a truly philosophic passion; the more we have it, blended with reverence and with a clear open eye, the better. It fixes and concentrates our attention with great energy. Our thoughts generally wander; intruding thoughts generally call off the mind; but once let wonder be awakened with the curiosity which follows it and the intellectual powers are quickened. In its higher stage

it gives place to admiration which is directed to what is present in the mind and is its homage to the contemplated object.

The spirit of *Nil admirari* may be indulged in by a cynic or a captious critic but is highly incompatible with yearning after truth. "He who wonders not," says Professor Blackie, "largely and habitually in the midst of this magnificent universe, does not prove that the world has nothing great in it worthy of wonder but only that his own sympathies are narrow and his capacities small. It is by admiration only of what is beautiful and sublime that we can mount up a few steps towards the likeness of what we admire. To look with admiring rapture on a type of perfect excellence is the way to become assimilated to that excellence."

The sciences of the heavenly bodies and of the earth's crust, of the nature and properties of substances and their combination, of the laws of heat, light, electricity and magnetism, the sciences dealing with molar and molecular forces and those relating to the vegetable, the mineral and the animal kingdoms—all these sciences giving us an insight into the wonders of the creation, call forth our warmest admiration, prove that our knowledge of the wondrously fair and glorious works of the Creator is very limited, that like children we are still gathering pebbles on the seashore, that we are small creatures even the biggest of us, that we have very great reasons to be of a humble and reverential spirit, and that the admiration of science is a basis for the foundation of virtue and piety.

The discipline of science is superior to that of ordinary education because of the religious culture that it imparts. Morality is the practical part of true religion which is intimately connected with true science.

"True science and true religion," says Professor Huxley "are twin sisters and the separation of either from the other is sure to prove the death of both. Science prospers exactly in proportion to the religious depth and firmness of its basis. The great deeds of philosophers have been less the fruit of their intellect than of the direction of that intellect by an eminently religious turn of mind. Truth has yielded herself rather to their patience, their love, their single-heartedness and their self-denial than to their logical acumen."

The charge of atheism or irreligion is commonly laid at the door of science. A little consideration will show that so far from science being irreligious, it is the neglect of science which is irreligious—it is the refusal to observe and understand the properties of the wonderful phenomena, internal and external, which is irreligious. "Devotion to science," says Herbert Spencer, "is a tacit worship—a tacit recognition of worth in the things studied and by implication in their cause. It is not a mere lip-homage but a homage expressed in actions—not a mere professed respect but a respect proved by the sacrifice of time, thought and labor." Not only a religious frame of mind but moral discipline is the result of scientific study. Knowledge of every kind has two values—value as knowledge and value as discipline. Science not only stocks the mind with rational knowledge, which is superior to mere empirical knowledge, but the process of acquisition strengthens the powers and faculties of the mind. The laws of evidence requiring only such facts to be admitted as are pertinent or relevant, the rules of logic which require that correct conclusions are arrived at from well-established premises, the necessity of proceeding step by step in processes of reasoning or calculation, in order to solve

rightly mathematical or scientific problems, apart from their value as positive knowledge, generate an attitude of mind not to submit to dogmatic teaching. The habit of understanding the *why* and the *how* of things and their processes, produces that independence of thinking which is a most valuable element in character.

Nor is this the only moral benefit from scientific culture. It leads under proper regulation to perseverance, sincerity and love of truth. Speaking of inductive enquiry, Professor Tyndall says, "it requires patient industry and an humble and conscientious acceptance of what Nature reveals. The first condition of success is an honest receptivity and a willingness to abandon all preconceived notions, however cherished, if they be found to contradict the truth. Believe me, a self-renunciation which has something noble in it and of which the world never hears, is often enacted in the private experience of the true votary of science." The influence of science upon modern civilisation has been twofold—1. Intellectual, 2. Economical. Intellectually it has overthrown the authority of tradition. It has refused to accept, unless accompanied by proof, the dicta of any master no matter how eminent or honored his name. The scientific study of nature tends not only to correct and ennoble the intellectual conceptions of man, it serves also to ameliorate his physical condition. It perpetually suggests to him the enquiry how he may make, by their economical application, ascertained facts subservient to his use. The investigation of principles is quickly followed by practical inventions.

KNOWLEDGE OF MORAL DISTINCTIONS.

The knowledge of an action as fact is one thing; the knowledge of that action as right or wrong is another

thing. The former involves simple perception, the latter is attained only by comparison. Every accurate moral judgment affirms a particular application of a general moral truth. There are other judgments which apply a standard altogether adventitious, the result of agreement or of common association. Judgments of morality differ in this respect from judgments of measurement. The judgment that an extended body is a few yards long contains an element of truth dependent on common consent. In morality the standard of judgment is invariable, because independent of personal or national choice. In measurement the standard of judgment is variable, dependent upon national sanction. There may be various standards of measurement but only one standard of morality. Truthfulness and nothing else must be the standard of morality in utterance. Honesty and nothing more or less must be the standard of morality affecting property. It is, therefore, an essential feature of a valid moral judgment that it carry in it a general truth. The general truths involved in moral judgments are not generalised truths dependent for their validity on an induction of particulars; but self-evident truths known independently of induction. The rightness of honesty is not proved by an induction of particulars. But the conclusion that honesty is the best policy is essentially a generalisation from experience. The recognition of general truths or principles is perception or intuition of a higher order as the recognition of simple facts is perception or intuition of a lower order. Knowledge of the former kind implies direct insight into necessary truth. The power to recognise such self-evident truths has been named Reason or Conscience in contrast with Reasoning or Understanding. Kant, the leading champion

of an *à priori* philosophy, formally enunciated this distinction thus "Knowledge of a fact is knowledge by onlook ; knowledge inferred is knowledge of one thing through means of another ; knowledge of first principles is knowledge by insight into truth higher than fact." Conscience has been defined by Professor Calderwood to be that power of mind by which moral law is discovered to each individual for the guidance of his conduct. It is the reason as that discovers to us absolute moral truth—having the authority of sovereign moral law. It is an essential requisite for the direction of an intelligent free-will agent and affords the basis for moral obligation and responsibility in human life. "Conscience," says Joseph Butler, "is the moral approving and disapproving faculty—a principle of reflection or conscience."

Conscience is a faculty which from its very nature cannot be educated. As well propose to teach the eye how and what to see and the ear how and what to hear as to teach reason how to perceive the self-evident and what truths are of this nature. All these have been provided for in the human constitution. Moral training is something different from education of conscience. Personal attainment in the practical subordination of other powers to the authority of conscience is one thing and personal experience in the application of conscience is another thing. "Had conscience," says Butler, "strength as it has right, had it power as it has manifest authority, it would absolutely govern the world." Conscience being immediate knowledge of moral law is not dependent upon training for the discovery of such law, but training is necessary to be able to reduce moral law to practice. The diversity of moral judgments and sentiments among men is the main difficulty in

vindicating an intuitional theory of conscience and is the leading great objection of its opponents. The following explanation among others is offered in answer to such objection.

Men differ not as to the principles but as to their application in given circumstances. There is often great difficulty in deciding what is present duty when there is none as to what is morally right. Hence it happens that there is much more diversity of opinion as to the dutiful in special circumstances than as to what is right in all circumstances. Men may agree that benevolence is morally right and yet may altogether differ as to the duty of helping a beggar. Diversity of opinion in this latter point, though it is connected with morals is not connected with the standard of morality. As there must needs be different degrees of culture among mankind and as they are not gifted with equal intelligence, their responsibility as moral agents would seldom be compatible with the infinite justice and mercy of God if their notions of right and wrong were to depend upon such training. It is needless to enter into any discussion on the Development Theory as to the source of our knowledge of Moral Distinctions as it has been found to be an exploded and untenable doctrine. The fundamental position of this theory is that all our most complex states of consciousness are merely developments under natural law from our simplest state. The mind as known in present consciousness is the general resultant of all previous experiences. It objects to the affirmation of original faculties of mind as explaining the states of consciousness. That a child is born with power of observation, reasoning and will is pure assumption. The Development Theory which seeks first to rise from sensation to intelligence,

endeavours next with the aid of intelligence to reach a knowledge of Moral Distinctions. This theory has been demolished not only by a critical examination of its own merits by competent judges but by the arguments advanced above in support of an Intuitional Theory of Morals. The theory of the greatest happiness of the greatest number propounded by Jeremy Bentham, the Utilitarian theory of J. S. Mill, the Sociological theory of Professor Bain, the Biological theory of Auguste Comte, etc., are the various phases of the Development Theory which have all been found to be insufficient or defective speculations as to how we come by a knowledge of right and wrong.

K. C. KANJILAL, B.L.



Art. IV.—HISTORY OF JOURNALISM IN INDIA.

IV.

I.—BENGAL.

THE burning question of Government relations with the Press* was studied with equal care by Lord Lawrence's successor, Lord Mayo. On the eve of his departure for India he discussed it with the Secretary of State, Sir Stafford Northcote, and W. W. Hunter's remarkable letter on the establishment of an official organ was mooted at the interview. But the result of the deliberation instead of taking shape of an official organ, went chiefly towards the addition of the Sedition Section to the Indian Penal Code, Section 124A. On his arrival in India Lord Mayo asked the Legislative Member of the Supreme Council, Sir James Fitzjames Stephen, to prepare a Bill to amend the Indian Penal Code for making penal seditious writings and speeches. On the 2nd August 1870, Sir James Fitzjames Stephen proposed the Bill at Simla. The members present at the Simla Legislative Council were the Viceroy, Lord Mayo, the Hon'ble John Strachey, the Hon'ble Sir

* In the biography of Sir W. W. Hunter we read on page 160 :—"The journalists who had offered so hearty a welcome to their colleague (W. W. Hunter) urged him (in 1868) to renew his connection with the Press. But on learning that the Bengal Government objected to his writing for the newspapers, he reluctantly declined their overtures. On Mr. J. O'B. Saunders' arrival in Calcutta which closely followed Hunter's, he obtained the removal of the interdict. The influence invoked was that of Mr. Saunders' old friend and kinsman, Mr. John Strachey (afterwards Sir John Strachey, G.C.S.I.). At this time he was Chief Commissioner of Oudh, and all powerful with the Viceroy, Lord Lawrence, who was closing his Indian career. Mr. Strachey already knew Hunter from his books, and the favourable impression was heightened by a close personal intercourse which dated from this period and lasted during the remainder of his stay in India. He espoused Hunter's views as to the necessity of concluding an alliance between Government and the local Press, and obtained Lord Lawrence's sanction to an informal arrangement under which the young leader-writer became the channel of communication between the two forces. The position thus secured was strengthened by the accession to power of the Earl of Mayo, an event which proved the turning-point in Hunter's life and enabled him to convert his splendid dreams into realities."

Richard Temple, the Hon'ble James Fitzjames Stephen, the Hon'ble B. H. Ellis, Major-General the Hon'ble H. W. Norman and the Hon'ble F. R. Cockerell. While moving for leave to introduce the Bill, the Law Member, referring to the Sedition Section said: "The next section was one which, by some unaccountable* mistake, had been omitted from the Penal Code as ultimately passed. It stood as Section 113 in the draft Code published in 1837, and Sir Barnes Peacock was quite unable to account for its omission when the Code was enacted. It punished 'attempts to excite feelings of disaffection to the Government,' but it distinguished between disaffection and disapprobation, and explained that 'such a disapprobation of the measures of the Government as was compatible with a disposition to render obedience to the lawful authority of the Government, and to support the lawful authority of the Government against unlawful attempts to subvert or resist that authority, was not disaffection,' so that 'the making of comments on the measures of the Government with the intention of exciting only this species of disapprobation was not an offence within this section.' Nothing could be further from the wish of the Government of India than to check, in the least degree, any criticism of their measures, however severe and hostile, nay, however disingenuous, unfair, and ill-informed it might be. So long as a writer or speaker neither directly nor indirectly suggested or intended to produce the use of force, he did not fall within this section. This, however, must be coupled with a warning. The question on trials under this section would always be as to the true intention of a speaker or speakers, and this intention would have

* In the previous article I have shown why the Sedition Section of Macaulay's Code was omitted in 1860 from the Indian Penal Code. The omission was not due to a mere oversight as Sir James Fitzjames Stephen says later on.

to be inferred from the circumstances of the case. The most bitter and unfair criticisms published by a newspaper in the common course of its business, might be perfectly compatible with the absence of any intention to advise resistance to lawful authority. Language, temperate in itself and justifiable as far as the express meaning of its terms went, might, if addressed to an excited mob, be the clearest proof of an intent to produce forcible resistance to authority. Whilst genuine criticism had nothing to fear from the proposed section, persons seditiously disposed must not suppose that they could evade its provisions by confining themselves to what, under other circumstances and in other persons, might be genuine criticism."

No other member spoke and the motion was agreed to. On the 16th August, the Hon'ble Mr. Stephen introduced the Bill to amend the Indian Penal Code and moved that it be referred to a Select Committee with instructions to report in a month. He reserved his further observations till after the Select Committee's report. Two more members, namely, the Commander-in-Chief and the Maharaja of Jaipur were present on that day. The motion was put and agreed to without any other member uttering a word. The form given to the Section in the Bill was:—

124A. Whoever attempts to excite feelings of disaffection to the Government established by law in British India, shall be punished with transportation for life or for any term, to which fine may be added, or with imprisonment for a term which may extend to three years, to which fine may be added, or with fine.

Explanation.—Such a disapprobation of the measures of the Government as is compatible with a disposition to render obedience to lawful authority of the Government, and to support the lawful authority of the Government against unlawful attempts to subvert or resist that authority, is not

disaffection. Therefore the making of comments on the measures of the Government, with the intention of exciting only this species of disapprobation, is not an offence within this clause.

The statement of Objects and Reasons explained :—

Sections 121 to 130 of the Code deal with offences against the State. But no mention of seditious speaking or writing.

In the draft Code originally prepared by the Indian Law Commissioners, and published in 1837 appears a section resembling Section 6 of the present Bill, and its omission from the Code as ultimately enacted was due to a mere oversight. Attempts to excite disaffection to the Government by words or writing are now punishable only when they can be proved to amount to abetments of the offence of waging war against the Queen, and as this proof implies the actual existence of war, and must often be a matter of extreme difficulty, it seems desirable that some such provision should become part of the law of British India.

On the 30th August 1870, the Hon'ble Mr. Stephen simply presented the Report of the Select Committee. At the next meeting of the Council, on the 6th September, he obtained leave to postpone his motions regarding the Bill. On the 3rd October he "moved that the Bill to amend the Penal Code be re-committed." He said that he had not in any degree changed the views he had expressed upon the main provisions of the Bill in consequence of the criticisms which had been made upon them by the European and Native Press; but as the subject was an important one, and as certain amendments of detail appeared to be desirable, he made the present motion. He was determined to bring the matter forward at the earliest possible opportunity after the return of the Government to Calcutta, and on that occasion to state, in the fullest and most public manner, the reasons which led him to the introduction of the Bill and the objects

which it was meant to effect. When the Council met at Calcutta on the 18th November 1870, the Law Member presented the final report of the Select Committee saying the Bill had been much discussed and that he hoped to explain at a very early opportunity the policy of the Government in respect to it. Accordingly, on the 25th November, he moved that the final Report of the Select Committee be taken into consideration. Passing to the explanation of the fifth section which related to the exciting of disaffection he said : he thought that section had been very severely criticised, or rather it had been severely blamed, for of really intelligent criticism there had been far less than he should have been glad to see. He proposed to state generally the purpose of the section and how it affected that purpose. The object of the section was this. In connection with the preceding section it embodied and, he hoped, improved and condensed, the existing English law on the subject to which it related. It might be said of the Indian Penal Code in general that it was the English Criminal Law freed from the defects which from a variety of causes had affected it. By some means or other the Penal Code, as it stood, had entirely omitted that branch of the English Criminal Law which consisted of the Treason-Felony Act and the law relating to seditious words and libels. It contained no section by which you could punish conspiracies to wage war against the Queen or deprive her of the Sovereignty of British India, unless the conspiracy proceeded so far as to be followed by open acts or actual preparations for rebellion. But besides this the Code contained no provision, whatever with respect to exciting disaffection by speaking or writing, and that, he said, although the

contrary had been asserted, was a great defect, and one which ought not to be permitted to exist in any rational system of criminal law whatever. The only means by which offences of that kind could be punished under the Penal Code was by treating them as cases of abetment. It might be said that if the speaking or writing went the length of advising persons to wage war against the Queen, it was abetment, and those who instigated the commission of the crime were abettors. In some cases it might be so, but in the vast majority of cases, he had no doubt, it would be otherwise: for the crime of rebellion, speaking broadly, was not a crime committed like theft, murder or house breaking, by one single act, done at one single moment, and proceeding from some one motive. It was, on the contrary, the result of a great variety of feelings excited in various ways, and therefore, if rebellion itself was to be regarded as a crime (and it was needless to argue with those who thought it was not), it was necessary to punish acts which led or were intended to lead to it even if they did not fall within those narrow limits within which abetment was comprised in common cases. It was necessary to have a wider definition of abetment in the case of rebellion, than in the case, say, of murder or theft, because the causes which produced rebellion were wide, and the acts were numerous and were spread over a large space of time. It was on these grounds that he said there was a serious defect in the absence from the Penal Code of all provision for the punishment of offences of this kind.

He then continued: the section now before the Council did not make it criminal to do things which people knew to be likely to excite disaffection. To punish the doing of an act which you knew to be

likely to produce disaffection might be to punish a man for doing an act which he had a right to do, although it produced disaffection. He could imagine many things which a public man might have a right to do, even at the expense of exciting disaffection, but which, nevertheless, should not be punishable. Then the section proceeded to describe the kinds of disaffection which it would be a crime to excite. These are such feelings as were likely to induce any portion of the people not only to resist, but to disobey the authority of the Government of India. That was carrying things a very long way, because the mere omission to do what you were told to do was disobedience. The mere non-payment of a tax is disobedience; and to punish a man for doing what was likely to induce people to disobey an unpopular law of any kind was far beyond what in his (Mr. Stephen's) judgment was desirable. In short, the Committee came to the conclusion that this clause was considerably more severe than the clause originally drawn by the Commissioners. That clause was greatly discussed at the time, and adhered to after careful discussion, and although he (Mr. Stephen) was not prepared to say that it was the best that could have been adopted, the Committee unanimously came to the conclusion that the best course was to leave it as the Commissioners had settled it. The clause was somewhat lengthy, but its substance was sound good sense. It provided that anybody who attempted to excite disaffection might be punished; but it insisted on the distinction between disaffection and disapprobation. It expressly provided that people might express or excite disapprobation of any measure of the Government that was compatible with a disposition to render obedience to

the lawful authority of the Government; in other words you might say what you liked about any Government measure or public man; you might publish or speak whatever you pleased, so long as what you said or wrote was consistent with a disposition to render obedience to the lawful authority of Government. Let it be shown that the matter complained of was not consistent with a disposition to obey the law; let it be shown that it was consistent with a disposition to resist the law by force; and it did fall under this section. Otherwise not. He now proceeded to assert that this law was substantially the same as the law of England at the present day, though it was much compressed, much more distinctly expressed and freed from a great amount of obscurity and vagueness with which the law of England was hampered. The proposed section says, if you excite feelings of disaffection, either by speaking or writing, you shall be liable to punishment, and the law of England says, in substance that if you yourself feel disloyal towards the Queen and show that feeling by any writing you shall be liable to punishment. The proposed section did not relate to a man's feelings or wishes, but simply to his writings or words, and the feelings which they were intended to produce in others. But the great peculiarity of the English law of treason was to regard every thought of the heart as a crime which was to be punished as soon as it was manifested by any overt act. That was the English law as it stood according to the Treason-Felony Act.

In answering the objection taken to the severity of the punishment he said that, "in criticising any provision of law, especially of the criminal law, credit ought always to be given to those who were to administer it for some degree of common

sense and moderation." Then quoting the defamation section of the Penal Code originating with Lord Macaulay he proceeded: he would ask His Lordship or any one of his colleagues, whether he could say that he had ever been to a dinner table at Calcutta, or anywhere else, where that law was not broken; where something was not said by somebody which conveyed an imputation concerning somebody else likely to lower his moral or intellectual character. Why, he saw before him those who were great masters of their pencil, and who had a power of representing persons in a manner which certainly would, by a visible representation or design, lower their moral or intellectual character; and by the Indian Penal Code any person who did this was liable to simple imprisonment for a term which might extend to two years, or to a fine, or to both. In no society in which he had ever been, or which he had ever heard of, would any person escape punishment if this law were carried out to its full extent, unless, indeed, he were the dullest of mankind. But severe as the law was, it was reasonably administered, and he did not think that private conversation or public writing on general subjects was, in point of fact, under greater restrictions in India than elsewhere. He mentioned this in connection with the section now under consideration of the Council, as showing that, in all cases, you must credit the persons who would administer the law with some degree of commonsense.

To meet the apprehension about malicious prosecutions, the Law Member explained: This, however, was completely answered by the provision that no prosecution should be commenced under this section except under the authority of the Government. That showed that this was a weapon to be used in no case

except where the peace of the country was, in the opinion of those who were put at the head of the Government, seriously endangered and that was a very effectual check to prevent the law being used in an oppressive manner. Another objection was that the law punished intention, and we were told that the effect of it would be, that people whose intentions were innocent might be convicted. That merely amounted to saying that mistakes might be made; but that was the case with all laws. In the Penal Code, wherever you might refer to it, you would find that the intention made the crime. It was strange that that argument should be used, when it was considered that the Act which declared that the intention of the publisher of an alleged libel should be determined like other questions of fact, had always been regarded as one of the greatest triumphs of the popular cause in England. Finally he wished to observe that, if any one thought that there was absolutely no occasion for any law of this kind, he ought to look back to incidents* which happened not

* During the year 1868-69 the Government of Bengal were apprised that an active movement of some kind was taking place among the Mahomedans of the Wahabi sect in several districts of Bengal. On inquiry it was found that a *jehad* or religious war against the British Power had for some time been preached, and collection in aid of the Hindustani fanatics on the frontier made on a regularly organised system. From 12 to 15 agents were arrested and kept under detention under Regulation III of 1818. In connection with the measures undertaken for the suppression of these intrigues, it was considered whether it was not necessary to amend the law with the object of enabling Government to deal more satisfactorily with seditious proceedings not amounting to waging war against the Queen. In the opinion of the Government of Bengal, such an amendment was required to meet cases of seditious preaching such as had been alleged against certain of the Wahabis, and for which there seemed to be no satisfactory provision in the existing Code. The total number of persons arrested in connection with the Wahabi movement and detained as State prisoners under the Regulation was 26. At last they were brought to trial. The trials were held at Malda, Rajmahal and Patna. One of the prisoners, Haji Moniruddin, was acquitted. The prisoners tried at Malda and Rajmahal were Amiruddin of Malda and Ibrahim Mandal of Islampur, both of whom were convicted and sentenced to transportation for life with forfeiture of property. At Patna seven prisoners including Amir Khan and Hashmadad Khan on whose behalf Mr. Chisholm Anstey moved the High Court for a writ of *Habeas Corpus* unsuccessfully, were put on trial. Hashmadad Khan and Pir Muhammad were acquitted, but Amir Khan and the rest were convicted and sentenced to transportation for life with forfeiture of property. On appeal to

many weeks ago. A man was convicted and sentenced to transportation for life, substantially for committing the very offence at which this section was directed: he was preaching a *jehad* or holy war against Christians in India. He had carefully read the evidence and supposing it to be true, it proved that this person was in the habit for weeks and months and years, of going from village to village, and preaching in every place he came to, that it was a sacred religious duty to make war against the Government of India. Is that to be permitted, or is it not? If any one really meant to say that it was no crime to go into villages and tell the people that a rebellion against the Government was a sacred duty, he could not argue with such a person. But if such conduct was admitted to be a crime, he would ask any person who objected to the proposed section to frame a better one. Besides the man to whom he had referred, there were eight other men under commitment at Patna who were charged with very similar offences." The motion was put and agreed to. On a second motion the Bill was passed. The members of Council present on that day were the Viceroy, the Hon'ble John Strachey, the Hon'ble Sir Richard Temple, the Hon'ble J. Fitzjames Stephen, the Hon'ble B. H. Ellis, Major-General the Hon'ble H. W. Norman, the Hon'ble D. Cowie, the Hon'ble Francis Steuart Chapman, the Hon'ble J. R. Bullen Smith and the Hon'ble F. R. Cockerell. No amendment was moved, and none of the honourable members except the member in charge of the Bill had any remarks to make.

the Calcutta High Court, the convictions of Amir Khan and Toborak Ali were upheld, but the rest were released. Amir Khan was a wealthy banker and money lender. He was released on the Proclamation of the Queen as Empress of India, 1st January 1877.

Thus the Wahabi Conspiracy of 1869-70 created the occasion for adding the Sedition Section to the Indian Penal Code and making penal all seditious writing and speaking. During the remaining short period of Lord Mayo's Viceroyalty which closed so sadly on the 8th February 1872, no attention was paid to the scheme for founding an official organ. Lord Northbrook succeeded Lord Mayo, and in his time the question of Government relations with the Indian Press was mooted with the Home Government with great earnestness. The occasion for discussing the vexed question again arose in this way. In the month of October 1873, Lord Northbrook announced a serious failure of winter crop rice, in Behar. Very soon the failure of crop led to a regular famine in Behar. The Viceroy came down from Simla to confer with Sir George Campbell, then Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, on the means of meeting the crisis. It was about these means that a difference of opinion arose between Lord Northbrook and Sir George Campbell. The latter helped by the expert opinion of his Assistant Secretary in charge of the Statistical Bureau, the late Mr. Robert Knight of the *Statesman*, strongly urged that the exportation of grain should be prohibited during the period of scarcity, but Lord Northbrook vetoed the proposal and placed his Finance Member, Sir Richard Temple, to give effect to his own Famine Policy. As Mr. Robert Knight was then editing the *Indian Economist* as a subsidised Government paper, he naturally attacked the Viceregal Policy with regard to Behar Famine most outspokenly in the columns of the *Indian Economist* and brought serious charges against the financial methods of Sir Richard Temple. These free and outspoken criticisms in the columns of a subsidised paper and by a

Government official, greatly displeased not only Lord Northbrook, but also his Finance Member, Sir Richard Temple. On the 8th April 1874, when the Behar famine was furiously raging, Sir George Campbell who placed Mr. Knight in charge of the Statistical Bureau* and had great respect for Mr. Knight's economic knowledge, retired and was succeeded by Lord Northbrook's favourite minister, Sir Richard Temple, in the Lieutenant-Governorship of Bengal. Towards the end of November 1874, the Government subsidy to the *Indian Economist* was reduced by one-half, and in January following, it was stopped altogether. About this time Lord Northbrook deposed the Gaikwar, Malhar Rao, of Baroda, and a series of articles appeared in the *Indian Economist* criticising the Viceregal action. There was much plain-speaking in them and consequently the Viceregal wrath knew no bounds. In February 1875, Lord Northbrook demanded that the proof-sheets of the *Indian Economist* should be submitted to the Government before they were published. This led to an angry correspondence between Lord Northbrook and Mr. Knight, as the latter refused to comply with the demand and pointed out to the Viceroy that Government officials were entitled to own or edit whatever newspapers they pleased. Further correspondence followed, the result of which was that the Government of India agreed to purchase the copyright of the *Indian Economist* by paying to Mr. Knight Rs. 20,000. On the completion of the purchase, the

* The post which Sir George Campbell created in the Bengal Secretariat and gave to Mr. Robert Knight was an additional department of the Financial Department. Mr. Knight was an Assistant Secretary to the Financial Department of the Bengal Secretariat with special charge of provincial finance, agriculture and statistics. He was also in charge of the Statistical Bureau of the Lower Provinces. The pay was Rs. 1,000 per mensem without extra allowances.

paper was stopped* by the Government of Bengal on the 31st March 1875.

But Mr. Knight remained in Government service three months more during which Lord Northbrook sent an express order to Mr. Knight to cease all connection with the Press† even as a contributor, and when it was pointed out to him by Mr. Knight that he had no power to do so under the existing rules, he opened a long correspondence with the Home Government regarding the connection of Government officials with the Public Press. In June 1875, the Home Government agreed with Lord Northbrook in the desirability of forbidding official men to have any connection with the Indian Press, and on the 8th July 1875, the following notification appeared in the *Gazette of India* :—

Questions having recently arisen as to the extent to which officers in the service of Government are permitted to connect themselves with the Press, the Governor-General in Council thinks it desirable that the existing orders on the subject should be clearly understood.

1. No officer in the service of Government is permitted without the previous sanction, in writing, of the Government under which he immediately serves to become proprietor, either in whole or in part, of any newspaper or periodical publication, or to edit or manage any such newspaper or

* In November 1875 the Government of Bengal revived the *Indian Economist* under the name *The Statistical Reporter*, a monthly journal devoted to economic agricultural and statistical enquiries, edited by Mr. H. J. S. Cotton (now Sir Henry who succeeded Mr. Robert Knight as Assistant Secretary in charge of the Statistical Bureau. *The Statistical Reporter* ceased to exist in 1877.

† Immediately after the suppression of the *Indian Economist* on the 31st March 1875, Mr. Robert Knight became editor and proprietor of the two famous Indian weeklies, *The Friend of India* and *The Indian Observer*. On the 16th April 1875 the purchase of both the papers was effected by Mr. Knight, and on the 24th April the Serampur journal came out in Calcutta for the first time, amalgamated with the *Indian Observer*. As Mr. Knight was still then in Government service, Lord Northbrook clearly saw the danger, as also the frustration of his plan for preventing Mr. Knight from having any connection with the Public Press. Failing, he opened communication with the Home Government and got his above orders sanctioned by the Secretary of State for India.

publication. Such sanction will only be given in the case of newspapers or publications mainly devoted to the discussion of topics not of a political character, such for instance as art, science or literature. The sanction will be withdrawn at the discretion of the Government.

2. Officers in the service of Government are not prohibited from contributing to the public Press ; but their position makes it incumbent upon them to confine themselves within the limits of temperate and reasonable discussion, and they are prohibited from making public, without the previous sanction of Government, any documents, papers, or information of which they may become possessed in their official capacity.

3. The Government of India will decide, in case of doubt, whether any engagements of officers with the Press are consistent with the discharge of their duties to the Government.

4. Nothing in this Resolution is intended to relax the provisions of any regulations on this subject which now apply to the army.

This resolution* superseded the notification issued in 1841 by Lord Ellenborough. In anticipation of this resolution, Mr. Knight resigned the Government service in June 1875. Besides the above action, it does not appear that Lord Northbrook did anything more to interfere with the Press.

* The most unfortunate victim of this Resolution was Lieutenant-Colonel John Macdonald of the Survey Department who had the manliness of exposing the maladministration in the Survey Department in two articles published in the *Friend of India* of the 17th and 24th June 1876 under the heading "The Survey Department of India." These articles were written at the request of the editor, the late Mr. Robert Knight, and appeared in the paper as editorials without the author's name. One of the many charges brought against the Department and which particularly gave offence to the head of the Department had reference to the third edition of the *Manual of Surveying* published in 1875 in the name of Colonel H. L. Thuillier, C.S.I., F.R.S., Surveyor-General of India. Some of the most valuable matter in this book was the work of an able Indian, Babu Radhanath Sikdar. In former editions this fact had been frankly acknowledged, but in the edition of 1875 his name and services were completely ignored. This was forcibly pointed out in the second article of indictment. Instead of visiting the editor of the *Friend of India* with punishment, Lord Lytton as a warning to all officials, suspended, in virtue of Lord Northbrook's above Resolution, Colonel Macdonald for three months, reduced him four steps in rank and ordered him not to be re-employed at head-quarters till Government should signify its pleasure to that effect. This took place in October 1876.

In the following year Lord Northbrook retired and was succeeded by Lord Lytton. The new Viceroy took the usual oath of office on the 12th April 1876. One of the first things that attracted Lord Lytton's attention on his arrival in India was the unsatisfactory relation into which the Government had fallen as regards the whole Indian Press. Without losing time he asked his Private Secretary, Major Owen Tudor Burne (now Sir Owen Burne) to open correspondence with the greatest journalist of the day, the late Mr. Robert Knight, with the view of eliciting the best information for improving the relations then subsisting between the Government of India and the Indian Press. Major Owen Burne* wrote a confidential letter to Mr. Knight on the 7th June 1876, to which the veteran journalist replied thus :—

CALCUTTA, 31st July 1876.

DEAR COLONEL BURNE,

I must apologise for my long delay in replying to your confidential letter of the 7th ultimo, in which you are good enough to express your wish that I would state for the information of H. E. the Viceroy my views as to the relations that now subsist between the Government and the Indian Press and such re-adjustment of them as appears to me desirable in public interests. The subject is of so much importance, and I have so little leisure at command, that I fear I shall not be able to do justice to it, or more than state briefly the most prominent conclusions of my own mind concerning it.

The Government of India is necessarily a despotism, tempered only by the character of the men who

* In the *Memories* published in 1907 by Sir Owen Tudor Burne, there is no mention at all of his correspondence with the late Mr. Robert Knight about the Indian Press.

administer it, their accountability to the Home Government, and by the right of complete freedom of speech which has been accorded to the people. The State has conferred upon the people all the privileges of free men and in the conscious integrity of its purpose, has conceded the right of free speech in every part of the empire. In doing this, the State seems to me to have placed in the hands of the newspaper press a very responsible trust. It is not the place of the newspapers, I think, to be courtiers of the Government, but to represent the interests of all classes. And there is no country in the world, perhaps, in which it is more important that the Press should discharge this duty. But there has been a tendency of late years to less cordiality between Government and the Press than ever existed, and I do not think that it has been the fault of the latter. The Government is less ready than it formerly was, to avail itself of our help in the only way in which it can be given. As to the value of this help, Lord William Bentinck assured a deputation that waited on him at Calcutta many years ago "that he had derived more information from the Indian Press as to the real state of the country than from all the Councils, all the Boards and all the Secretaries by whom he was surrounded." Now no one will maintain that the Press is not more ably conducted to-day than it was then; but the Government, as a whole, has come to look with less magnanimity upon it, especially upon the communication of its servants therewith, and in particular upon any criticism of its proceedings or measure thereby. The change is for the worse altogether. To expect the Indian Press to be "official" is, I think, to mistake its trust; while if we exclude loyal and well-informed criticism from its columns, we must not complain if they

are filled with what is not loyal and is ill-informed. By drawing nearer to the Press, without any attempt to influence it otherwise than by sympathy, very much might be done, I am sure, to raise the character of the Vernacular Press, and certainly very much to improve that of the English papers.

It seems to me that under the system of administration we have established in India, the only right conception of the office of the Press is that of Her Gracious Majesty's *Opposition*, and whether that opposition shall be well-informed and loyal or the reverse, depends wholly upon the relations established therewith by the Government. If it shews sympathy therewith, admits it as far as possible to its Councils, places all the information it properly can at its disposal, shows a readiness to defer to public wishes and opinions when they are reasonable, and instead of regarding the newspapers as a natural enemy, treats the Press as an ally, actuated by the same desire as itself for the public welfare, and finally gives it such support and encouragement as it may reasonably look for,—the country may patiently endure the want of those representative rights that are so prized and cherished wherever they exist, but that at present are admitted to be out of our reach in India. If, on the other hand, the Government shows no sympathy, is jealous of all appearance of consulting it, excludes it from all information upon subjects of current interest, shows no deference to public wishes, however reasonable, looks upon the Press as factious and inspired by no real desire for the public good and gives neither the support nor the encouragement it might reasonably expect—then the want of representative institutions becomes unendurable, and the whole Press glides insensibly into an attitude of hostility to the Government.

I shall not conceal my conviction that we have been tending towards this state of matters for some years in India, and that it received a most unhappy development under the rule of Lord Northbrook.

At present there is not the slightest sympathy with the Press, nor the least disposition to assist it. Instead of any desire being evinced to conciliate its sympathies, it is made to feel that it is a matter of indifference to the Government whether it sinks or swims. Thus the papers are expected to publish gratuitously the notifications of the various departments such as the Post Office, the Commissariat Department, and the Customs and Opium Departments; and although it has been repeatedly represented that such notifications should be paid for as advertisements, and although the amount would be most trifling, the Government has refused to show even this small amount of interest in, or consideration for, the Press. I am persuaded that with the Vernacular Press in particular, a very trifling outlay in this way, would give the Government a hold upon the sympathies of its conductors, which, if wise, it would seize at once. Thus what could be more proper than advertising the Land sales of this province in its vernacular papers, putting them under a mild but effectual discipline in the matter, by giving them to understand that the Government was desirous of helping every journalist who honourably used his columns to promote honest discussion of public questions and maintained complete respectability of tone. But the Government practically treats the Press as though it were Bohemian, and in all passive ways, ignores and discourages it. The attitude is felt sensibly and calls forth a corresponding one on the other side.

Passing by these considerations, however, I come to the question of the footing upon which the Press should stand towards the Government as to the information communicated to it thereby. Under Lord Northbrook, the system was simply fatal. The almost open practice was resorted to of selling information to any journal that would give the Government support. No journalist of any self-respect will ever enter into a compact of this kind, while the paper that does prostitute its columns in this way, covers not only itself with odium, but the Government also. The Government must never condescend to buy public support. A strong Government will challenge it, and if kindly and sympathetic in its attitude towards the Press, will secure it.

To begin with, the Government does not sufficiently sympathise with the desire of the public for information. It must be remembered that we have no Parliament in India in which interpellations can be made to the Government, while the desire for information upon subjects of current interest is just as strong here as there. A disposition exists to make everything secret in India. The tendency has, of course, been inherited from the days when all Europeans outside the official class were looked upon as adventurers and interlopers, who knew nothing about the administration of the country and cared nothing about it so long as they were not interfered with in their own pursuits. But this state of matters has long passed away, and a very strong desire exists in the great non-official class of the country and in the educated native community, to understand both the principles and the course of our administration, our relations with the Native Princes and with the states beyond the frontiers. Every Government must, of course, have its *arcana* which it is

neither desirable nor wise to throw open to the public gaze, but the tendency in India is to make a secret of everything, and the general run of business is involved in a degree of mystery that is far from conducive to the public good. An "Editor's Room" was established some years ago in each of the Secretariats of the country and for a time valuable papers were laid upon the table, but the institution dwindled down into a mere sham, until the *pabulum* put on the table was not worth appropriating.

It seems to me most desirable that the Government should possess some means by which it might communicate to the Press as far as it may be prudent and possible to do so, the course of its proceedings, the information it is receiving, the views with which it is regarded, the purposes and desires of the Government and the special difficulties that embarrass its course. The practice of giving exclusive information on such subjects to any one journal, is sure to produce general dissatisfaction; while exact information is all that is wanted, nine times out of ten, to secure public sympathy and approval. I think there should be a special Press Bureau in the Government, the duty of whose chief should be to acquaint himself with the writings of every journal in the country. This would be easy enough with the English papers as they are not very numerous, and a practised hand would get the entire heart out of it daily in an hour's time. He will see from them what the course of public thought is on current events, on what subjects information is manifestly desired, on what questions wrong impressions are prevalent and what matters ought to come prominently to the notice of the Government. Having mastered their contents, it seems to be desirable that he should see

personally the head of every department, to consult with him as to the desirableness or otherwise of communicating with the journals on these subjects; while the Press should be invited to communicate with him freely on all questions concerning which they desire information. As the most influential native papers are published in English, they would be placed on the same footing, and daily bulletins would issue from the Bureau to all the journals simultaneously. There would often be nothing to communicate, sometimes a great deal, but nothing would tend more, I think, to the growth of sympathetic and cordial relations between the Press and the Government than the establishment of a Bureau of this nature, under the administration of a man of broad views and general culture. He would be at once a sort of Dionysius' ear to the Government and the channel of free and unreserved communication between the Government and the People. The Vernacular Press ought constantly to be reviewed by him, through the medium of the provincial summaries into which their contents are translated. In the course of a very few months, he would know the exact character of every native journal in the country and would be able to advise as to the course to be taken towards the Vernacular Press as a whole. I believe the Government might indefinitely improve its character and settle its loyalty by a wise attitude towards it. A broad, sympathetic man really interested in his work, with the art of instilling good humour into his correspondence, would change the tone of the whole Press of India in six months, if he was really the right man for the work. All Press grievances should go to him, and if fitted for the task, he would quickly be on friendly and confidential relations with every editor in the country. I would

have no official *Moniteur*, nor anything approaching to it, but a *personal* bond between the Government and the Press. Everything, of course, will depend upon the *man* in the working of such a system. A cold and narrow official would fail absolutely: a broad genial man of sound judgment and commonsense would succeed absolutely.

To sum up. The Government should abandon its attitude of total indifference to the Press and should frankly recognise in it an opposition with which courteous and friendly relations were to be maintained; and in all reasonable and proper ways it should be recognised, honoured and assisted.

To establish and maintain such relations, I think there should be a Press *Bureau* administered by a broad and genial man, endowed with prudence and plenty of commonsense, whose special office it would be to invite the confidence of every journal in the country and establish friendly relations therewith. It would be for him to communicate freely what information can be given them and to tell them frankly what it was deemed necessary to reserve.

I think that in the course of a very few months the Director of such a *Bureau* would become a real mentor of the Press and would succeed in reawakening those sympathies for Government which have been so largely alienated by its attitude of late years. There would be this great advantage in such a *Bureau* that it would divert from the shoulders of Government to itself nearly all the complaints and grievances of the Press, and a change of Director would be the "constitutional" remedy when their complaints and grievances attained a real magnitude. A *censor* we cannot have: the very name is fatal to all idea of sympathy, and what we want is, I

think, a mentor of the Press whose office it would be to evoke and maintain sympathetic relations between the Government and the Press by extending frank and cordial assistance to it. I do not think an official man at all likely to succeed in such an appointment, unless he is exceptionally broad indeed.

Apologising for the length to which my remarks have reached

I am, My Dear Colonel Burne,
Yours faithfully,
R. KNIGHT.

P.S.—I purposely throw into a postscript one other remark I have to make, and that is with reference to the communications of Government servants with the Press. Twelve or fifteen years ago the Government looked with almost open favour upon its servants contributing freely to the papers, but of late years we have had a race of officials in high positions who have positively put a mark upon "the men who write to the papers" and have resented their doing so almost openly. I cannot too strongly express my sense of the wrong done to the country by this course. Who will lead the *opposition* so loyally or to such good effect as the men who feel that they themselves are a part of the Government?

The above was the genesis of the idea of the Press Commissionership elaborated in 1877 by the late Sir William Hunter (then Mr.) and tentatively approved by Lord Lytton in that year. We now know for certain that at the suggestion of the late Sir John Strachey, then Financial Member of the Viceroy's Council, Mr. W. W. Hunter was asked on the 3rd February 1877 to prepare a plan for improving the unsatisfactory relations into which Government had fallen as regards the whole

of the Indian Press. On the following day Hunter submitted a project mainly based on Mr. Knight's idea, for establishing a Press Commissionership for the Viceroy's consideration, and Lord Lytton at once agreed to give it a year's trial as an experimental measure. The first Press Commissioner of the Government of India was Mr. E. Roper (now Sir Roper) Lethbridge. He thus tells the origin and growth of his great Commission:—"Hunter and I had frequently discussed the relations between the Indian authorities and the Press, which had been as unsatisfactory as they could be ever since the Mutiny. Editors had no means of ascertaining the views and wishes of Government, there being no such thing as Parliamentary debates or the right of interpellation in Council. Thus, with the best and most loyal motives, editors were entirely in the dark as to the course and significance of public policy, and had to rely for this sort of information on the merest gossip, picked up in the offices of the Secretaries or in the drawing-rooms of their wives. The *Pioneer* alone had, with infinite pains and ability and at a very heavy cost, worked up a close connection with many of the secretariats through the social life of Simla and had for some time a monopoly of the official information to be obtained in this way. Thus the belief grew up with some truth in it, that the Government was mostly responsible for the utterances of the *Pioneer*, and this was extremely inconvenient, for however loyally the *Pioneer* endeavoured to reflect the views and intentions of the Viceroy, the latter had, of course, no power to enforce his wishes being set forth or followed. Thus it came about that no one knew exactly where the so-called moral responsibility began and where it ended, what was official and what was not. The arrangement

also aroused the most violent jealousy on the part of the other great Indian newspapers; and Hunter, as a part proprietor of the *Englishman*, was able to show the Viceroy how disastrous this sentiment might become. During the Bengal Famine of 1874, Dr. George Smith edited the *Friend of India* and was also Calcutta correspondent of *The Times*; and it was the opinion of many that his powerful criticism of the policy of the Government would have lost much of its asperity if he had been in closer touch with the Viceroy.

"Hunter as Director-General of Statistics was at that time (March 1877) engaged in preparing the *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, and he had obtained the loan of my services from the Government of Bengal to be placed under the Government of India in the Foreign Department for the purpose of writing the articles on the Feudatory States. This work necessarily brought me into contact with the Viceroy and the Member of Council in charge of the foreign portfolio; and it was arranged that, while so occupied, I should also tentatively start the Press Commissionership, in order that the Viceroy and the Council might see how the plan worked before publicly committing the Government to its details. After a year's probation the Council unanimously decided that the plan had succeeded admirably, nearly every editor in India having pronounced favourably upon it. Into the details of that plan I need not go, as it would take too much of your space. But in its general principles it was simplicity itself. The Press Commissioner was the recognised intermediary between the Government and the Press, the editors being informed that I was authorised to address them on behalf of the Government, and also to receive and reply to all inquiries, complaints and interpellations. At first the boon was extended only to

the English Press and to Native Papers (such as the *Hindu Patriot* and the *Indian Mirror*) published in English, and I do not think that Hunter ever contemplated any dealings with the Vernacular Press. But gradually on my initiative, the latter was included, and I think that portion of the Press was the greatest gainer by its operations. It will thus be seen that the Press Commissionership in its origin had no connection whatever with the Vernacular Press Act. But as the office was already in existence when that Act was passed, and as the Press Commissionership was already in touch with all sections of journalism, it was resolved that questions arising under the Vernacular Press Act should be reported on by me.

"When my appointment was on the point of being abolished by Lord Ripon, a strongly worded petition was presented to him, full of gratitude for the work of the office, and earnestly begging for its retention. It was signed by every native editor in India except two or three. There were between one and two hundred signatures, including practically every native journalist of eminence—men like Kristo Das Pal, Norendra Nath Sen and Malabari taking the lead in this matter.

"On my retirement, the duties of the Press Commissioner were assigned for economy's sake to a subordinate of the Foreign Office, aided by a clever native gentleman* whom I had trained."

* Mr. C. E. Buckland, who was sometimes Press Commissioner, thus writes to me about the native gentleman referred to in Sir Roper Lethbridge's paper:—"The 'clever native gentleman' whom Sir Roper Lethbridge says he had trained, must have been Babu Kali Das Banerjee who was his first man; I think the last in the Press Commissioner's office. Kali Babu died some years ago. He was quite a nice fellow, well-bred and mannered. He was somehow related to the Nadia Raj people. There is a man still living who would remember Kali Babu, viz., one Fazl-ul-Karim, now high up in the Political Department in the Bengal Secretariat—a right good little man, quite one of the best. He was also in the Press Commissioner's office under me."

Mr. C. E. Buckland, who succeeded Mr. Lethbridge temporarily in 1878-79 as Press Commissioner and during whose tenure, a storm of virulent criticism arose against the utility of the institution, has given me the following account of the Press Commissionership :—
 “In secretly starting the Press Commissionership the Government neither desired nor attempted to restrict the free play of public criticism, nor to obtain for its policy the support of a subsidized Press. Lord Lytton had only two objects in view, *viz.*, to seek relief from the embarrassment and danger of a public opinion or the appearance of a public opinion formed, whether in India or in England, on fundamentally false information or malicious apprehensions; and, secondly, to remove the prevailing acute irritability on the part of Anglo-Indian editors and journalists which predisposed them to attribute all Government action to foolish and evil motives. As he said facetiously, ‘falsehood goes twice round the world while truth is putting on her boots. Our object is to give the truth a day’s start of the lie.’ That was, in brief, the sufficient reason of his measure. He aimed, therefore, at furnishing the Press with constant, timely and accurate information in order to minimize their ignorant and uninstructed criticism of Government and its measures. By degrees some of the Anglo-Indian and Anglo-Vernacular newspapers and a portion of the Vernacular Press entered into communication with Mr. Lethbridge, with a view to obtain the information on official matters which he was authorised to provide, as the recognised medium between the Press and the Government. After sufficient experience of the working of this tentative measure for over a year, the office of the Press

Commissioner was constituted and Mr. Lethbridge appointed to it in 1878.*

“But meanwhile the Vernacular Press Act IX of 1878† (an Act for the better control of publications in Oriental Languages) had been passed at a single sitting of the Governor-General’s Legislative Council on 14th March of this year. The Press Commissioner was, therefore, required by the Government of India to undertake the establishment and conduct of relations between Government and the Vernacular Press. The Government recognised that in order that they should be able to enforce the Act with judgment and with a due regard for the rights of free thought and legitimate discussions, it was necessary for them to have the means of being kept fully and continuously informed of the tone and character of the utterances of the whole Vernacular Press with a view to exercising the necessary control, not only over the journals which came under the operation of the Act, but also over the action of the local authorities through whom its provisions were to be carried out. They also laid down that no repressive measures should be instituted under the Act without the previous sanction of the Supreme Government, and they required the Press Commissioner to keep them informed of the character and tendencies of each important vernacular journal and to be the responsible adviser of the Government in its dealings with the new law. To enable

* The Government Notification runs thus :—GENERAL, the 9th April 1878, No. 965 G.—Subject to the sanction of Her Majesty’s Secretary of State for India, His Excellency is pleased to appoint Mr. E. Roper Lethbridge, C.I.E., to be Press Commissioner with the Government of India. Mr. Lethbridge is attached to the Foreign Department and will rank with Political Agents of the first class.

† As I wish to deal with the history of the Vernacular Press of India in a separate chapter of my book, I have purposely omitted here all details regarding the Vernacular Press Act of 1878. The relation of the Vernacular Press with the Government of India has not been touched upon in this part of my narrative, which is devoted mainly to the relation of the Government of India with the Anglo-Indian Press including newspapers conducted by Indians in English.

him to exercise these functions, the Press Commissioner was provided with an office establishment, including a staff of contributors for the purpose of translating important articles which might possibly appear to infringe the Act, or which might contain important criticisms or suggestions on the measures or proposals of the Government or its officers.

"The Government desired to take every legitimate means of helping the Vernacular Press throughout India, to inform itself upon the measures and proposals of the Government and upon the progress of such political events as could properly be made public. In short, the Press Commissioner was to be the recognised medium between the Vernacular Press and the Government charged with the duty of making himself thoroughly acquainted with the legitimate wants and aspirations of the Press, to receive and reply to references or complaints from editors, and, in a word, to act as the referee of the Press in its communications with the Government. Thus the Press Commissioner came to have two distinct functions: firstly, he had to supply the Press, Anglo-Indian and Vernacular alike, with such correct and official information as could be made public by the Government, whether spontaneously or in reply to references from the Press; and, secondly, to supervise on behalf of Government the working of the Vernacular Press Act.

"For a time the Press Commissioner's information was well received by the Press throughout India, but the office was always opposed by the influential newspapers which wanted a monopoly of important items of news and did not care to be furnished with such intelligence as could, in the opinion of cautious secretaries to Government, be safely put at the disposal of all journals.

In spite of the efforts of the Press Commissioner to supply interesting information, his communications were not unfrequently made the subject of derision. However, the existing arrangements were continued during Lord Lytton's tenure of office. On the occurrence of financial pressure in consequence of the Afghan War and unfavourable seasons, the office of the Press Commissioner came under review in 1880, and economy was effected by the abolition of his Translators' Department, so that the supervision of the Vernacular Press and of the working of the Vernacular Press Department was transferred to the Local Governments. The distribution of important information by the Press Commissioner was continued, but on the advent of Lord Ripon as Governor-General steps were soon taken to repeal the Vernacular Press Act of 1878 and strengthen the ordinary law of the Penal Code relating to seditious and libellous writing. When this was effected, there was not sufficient work left to occupy the whole time of a special officer. Mr. Lethbridge retired on pension, and the duties of the Press Commissioner in respect of the dissemination of information and replying to references from the Press, were made over to a subordinate officer of the Foreign Department. The importance of the appointment dwindled away, the information doled out became the subject of an official *communiqué*, and public interest in the office of Press Commissioner ceased. After an interval the very name of the appointment dropped out of sight. Notwithstanding the energetic efforts of Mr. Lethbridge and myself who acted for him for a year or more, to render it a success, the institution of a Press Commissioner required a more unanimous support than it received from the members of the Government and from the

Press generally to admit of its becoming a permanency. It was undoubtedly useful to the Press in facilitating their communications with Government and the publication of the best information available."

In 1879 during the height of the Afghan War, the Press Commissioner was virulently attacked by a section of the Calcutta Press for paucity of news from the seat of war. As a reply to these attacks against the institution, *The Times* then published an account of the Press Commissionership; it is believed to have been written anonymously by Sir W. W. Hunter. It runs thus:—"The Indian Press Commission is a small but useful department of the Government of India which has charge of all official relations with the Indian Press, both Native and English. There are in India at present about 200 newspapers published in the various vernacular languages—chiefly in Bengalee, Urdu, Marathi, Gujrati, Tamil and Telegu. There are also nearly 20 journals published in English, of which the chief are those of Calcutta, Bombay, Madras, Allahabad and Lahore. By far the most important part of the Press Commissioner's duties is that which is concerned with the Vernacular Press, and the Press Commissioner is the official primarily charged with these responsibilities. The office was established simultaneously with the passing of the Act after sundry tentative efforts in the same direction. It was evidently designed for the two-fold purpose—first, of enabling the Government rightly and fairly to superintend the working of the law; and, secondly, of affording to the Native Press all possible facilities for obtaining trustworthy information about public affairs and thereby anticipating and obviating all excuses that might have been offered for misconduct on the ground of ignorance.

"The Vernacular Press Act empowered the provincial governments to take repressive measures against such vernacular journals as might transgress certain very wide canons of loyal conduct and of political criticism; and the orders of the Supreme Government of India, approved by the Secretary of State, further required that no repressive measures should be instituted under the Act without the previous sanction of the Supreme Government in each case. It, therefore, became necessary, in order that the Government of India might be able to enforce the Act with judgment and with a due regard for those rights of free thought and legitimate discussion which every British Government has always jealously guarded, to provide means whereby the Government might be kept fully and continuously informed of the tone and character of the utterances of the whole Vernacular Press of India. This, then, is the first duty of the Indian Press Commission. The Commissioner is the responsible adviser of the Government of India in its dealings with the Native Press under the new law.

"The Press Commissioner is, secondly, the *vakil* or representative and advocate of the Press with the Government, and the referee to whom may be addressed all inquiries and the statement of all wishes or complaints. Heretofore the native editor had been placed in a position of much difficulty and had suffered from many disabilities. He was rarely personally known to any of the high officials of the land; he was unacquainted with the real opinions or the modes of thought of the ruling class; if a rumour reached him, there was absolutely no means by which he could assure himself of its truth or falsehood; if he misunderstood or misinterpreted the meaning or motive of any public

measure, there was absolutely no one to give him even a hint of his mistake, or from whom he could derive the slightest aid to a better understanding. There is in India no Parliament from whose debates he might learn some of the various bearings of public questions, no right of interpellation from which to obtain even the shadowy outlines of the truth regarding a fact or a measure. He might write to a Government Secretary or Under-Secretary, and would doubtless usually receive a civil and obliging answer, but it would obviously be difficult, if not improper, for officials thus privately and unofficially to commit their Government to any very definite statements about public affairs; and moreover, the Indian Secretariats are far too heavily worked to admit of such communications being ever carried as a rule beyond the narrowest limits compatible with courtesy. And, further, a certain indefinite obligation was often understood to be incurred by the reception of information in this way, and it may safely be presumed that the Government would, naturally and rightly, wish that all information given on its behalf to the Press should be given freely, without fear or favour, not as a matter of private obligation, but in recognition of the public importance of the dissemination of truth and the correction of falsehood. Hence the second duty of the Press Commissioner is to be the authorised medium of free and impartial communication between the Government and the Press, to receive and reply to references or complaints from editors, and generally to act as the official referee of the Press, to whom all applications may be made as a matter of public right, instead of private favour as formerly.

"The third part of the Indian Press Commissioner's duties relates to the small but highly important

and valuable section of the Indian Press that is published in English. With reference to this portion of the Press, the responsibilities of the Government are lighter, as it is affected by no special legislation; and so the Commissioner's duty in relation to it is confined to that of affording it the same facilities as are accorded to the Vernacular Press, detailed in the last paragraph. Long before the establishment of the present Press Commission, many desultory attempts had been made at various times and in a more or less informal manner, to improve the relations between the Government and the English Press in India. Ever since the time when Mr. Silk Buckingham, a Calcutta editor in the days of the infancy of the Indian Press, was deported by order of the Government, those relations have generally been somewhat strained and often really embittered. The fact is, the peculiarities of the country in its mode of administration and in various other respects throw many obstacles in the way of a newspaper adequately fulfilling the highest journalistic functions, without some aid from the official class. There is practically no professional literary class in India, then again, there are difficulties in obtaining perfectly trustworthy information, and difficulties in getting the information, when obtained, adequately and impartially discussed; that are unknown in England. Nearly all events of importance originate with or concern the Government; nearly all measures of importance are initiated and discussed by the ruling body almost *in camera*; and consequently nearly all news of interest are official news. The attention of every successive Government had been directed to the discovery of some means whereby the evil of a chronic hostility between itself and the Press made more serious in

its public effects by the consideration just recited, might be mitigated. Hence when the legislation on the Vernacular Press rendered necessary some similar action with regard to that portion of the Press, the experience gained by these preliminary and desultory efforts was doubtless utilised in formulating the principles which are now applied in the working of the Press Commissioner's office. The department is subordinated to both the Foreign and the Home Departments of the Government of India, the Press Commissioner himself being graded as a political officer. Its total cost is stated at £4,000 per annum."

The derision with which the Press Commissioner's communications were received by a section of the Indian Press in 1879 found its vehement expression in the columns of the *Statesman*, then most ably edited by Mr. William Riach.* On the 5th July 1879 Mr. Riach

* Mr. William Riach came out to India about 1875 as a Professor of Mathematics in the Doveton College of Calcutta. In the beginning of 1877 he was brought within the personal influence of the late Mr. Robert Knight, then Editor and Managing Proprietor of the *Statesman*, and began to be trained as his possible successor. From an occasional contributor Mr. Riach became Assistant Editor of the *Statesman* towards the end of 1877 and in the beginning of 1878, when Mr. Robert Knight went on his tour in the North-Western Provinces to inspect personally the terrible famine that was raging there, Mr. Riach took the whole editorial responsibility of the paper. While Mr. Knight was away in the North-Western Provinces, Lord Lytton passed the Vernacular Press Act in a single sitting of the Supreme Legislative Council on 14th March 1878. Mr. Riach as editor of the *Statesman* warmly supported the enactment of the Bill to the surprise of all the Indian constituents of the *Statesman*. In May 1879 Mr. Robert Knight left Calcutta for England to start in London a weekly edition of the *Statesman*, leaving the Calcutta paper with Mr. Riach as editor and Messrs. Nicholls and Company, Bankers and Agents, as his attorney and financial agent. Mr. Riach conducted the paper during Mr. Knight's absence with great ability. In 1879 he fought with the Press Commissioner as described above. All along he opposed strenuously the policy of Lord Lytton in India, as his colleague did with regard to Lord Beaconsfield's policy in England. In 1880 Lord Lytton resigned with the Home Government, and Lord Ripon succeeded him. When the latter entered on a series of internal reforms by repealing the Vernacular Press Act and introducing his scheme of Local Self-Government, he found a sturdy champion in the editor of the *Statesman*, Mr. Riach.

In 1881 a temporary embarrassment was occasioned to the *Statesman* by the failure of its financial agents, Messrs. Nicholls and Company. On the 8th February the insolvency of Messrs. Nicholls and Company was announced, and it was found by Mr. Riach that for the liability of the papers under his charge, which amounted to Rs. 1,50,000, besides arrears in their establishment, the papers had already been

severely criticised some of the Press Commissioner's communications by describing them as "fatuous flap-doodle." Both Lord Lytton and the Press Commissioner were incensed at this and they stopped all communications with the offending journal. The following official correspondence on the subject then took place between the Editor of the *Statesman*, the Press Commissioner and the Viceroy:—

PRESS COMMISSIONER'S OFFICE,

SIMLA, 11th July 1879.

SIR,—I have of course seen the article in your issue of the 5th July. I am sorry that I should have troubled you with communications which apparently are not acceptable to you. For the future I will desist from so troubling you, as you can copy from other papers such communications of mine as you may think it worth your while to reproduce.

Yours faithfully,

C. E. BUCKLAND.

To the Editor of the *Statesman*, Calcutta.

heavily mortgaged. On the 10th February the attorney for the mortgagees, Messrs. Roberts Morgan and Company, entered on possession of the whole concern and offered the property for sale. Thereupon Mr. Riach made an arrangement with the late Kumar Indra Chandra Sing of Paikpara to pay off the mortgagees and to continue the papers, the *Statesman*, the *Friend of India* and the *Indian Agriculturist*, under his general superintendence. The late Kumar became the sole mortgagee of the whole concern and virtually their proprietor. As Mr. Riach stated then, the embarrassment "did not arise from any financial unsoundness in the papers themselves," and hence he found no difficulty in removing it easily with the help of the Kumar.

In 1883 Lord Ripon introduced his ill-fated Criminal Jurisdiction Amendment Bill, otherwise known as the Ilbert Bill. Mr. Riach warmly supported the Bill and thereby incurred the displeasure of the whole of the Anglo-Indian Community. The *Statesman* as edited by Mr. Riach was denounced as a "native paper" by Mr. J. W. Furrell of the *Englishman*, and in the Town Hall meeting held to protest against the Bill, Mr. Keswick remarked that Mr. Riach's views on the Bill were "swayed by a native money-lender." But against immense odds Mr. Riach did not flinch from his duty. He did not move an inch from his original views, until the arrival of Mr. Robert Knight in Calcutta in April 1883, when the latter sought to make a compromise by changing the *Statesman's* views on the much agitated Bill. On the 1st August 1883 Mr. Riach's connection with the *Statesman* ceased. On the eve of his departure for home, an evening party was held at the Albert Hall of Calcutta in his honour in which all the most prominent Indians of the day were present. Returning to Scotland Mr. Riach joined the editorial staff of the Edinburgh *Scotsman*, where, I believe, he is still working.

The Statesman and Friend of India,
3, Chowringhee Road,
CALCUTTA, 16th July 1879.

SIR,—I have to acknowledge receipt of your letter of the 11th instant, announcing your intention to desist from sending me further communications.

I have also to request that you will be good enough to submit the enclosed letter on the subject to His Excellency the Viceroy.

Yours faithfully,
WILLIAM RIACH,
Editor, *Statesman*.

TO THE PRESS COMMISSIONER.

P.S.—I should add that as it is the readers of the *Statesman* and not myself whose interests are affected by the suspension of your communications, I feel it my duty to publish this correspondence for their information.

From—The Editor of the *Statesman and Friend of India*.

To—His Excellency the Right Hon'ble Lord LYTON, G.M.S.I.,
Viceroy and Governor-General of India.

CALCUTTA, 16th July 1879.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY,—

I regret that I am obliged to submit the following for your Excellency's information, and to request your Excellency to take action in the matter.

On the 15th instant I received a registered cover from the Press Commissioner, enclosing the letter copy of which is hereto annexed.

I considered it advisable to take no notice of this communication, feeling assured from the matter and manner of it, that it was not an authorised intimation of an order of Government, but that Mr. Buckland erroneously supposing that a personal attack upon him had been made in the article to which he refers, had been betrayed into addressing to me a threat which he had not the power to execute.

I am astonished to find that Mr. Buckland has actually ceased to send his communications to this journal, although

as it is not alleged that I have failed to comply with the conditions on which those communications are furnished to the Press, the Press Commissioner cannot have the power to withhold them.

I am, therefore, obliged to bring to the notice of your Excellency the action of the Press Commissioner in taking upon himself to withhold these communications because he disapproves of an article that appeared in this journal on the 5th instant.

I have also the honour to request that your Excellency may be pleased to instruct the Press Commissioner to send to me all official communications issued to the Press as heretofore.

I have the honour to be,
MY LORD,
Your Excellency's most obedient servant,
WILLIAM RIACH,
Editor of the *Statesman and Friend of India*.

GOVERNMENT HOUSE,
SIMLA, 21st July 1879.

SIR,—Your letter of the 16th instant, forwarded through the Press Commissioner, has been placed before His Excellency the Viceroy.

His Excellency desires me to inform you that it is not without his concurrence that Mr. Buckland has ceased to supply you with information from the Press Commissioner's Office.

The article which appeared in the *Statesman* of the 5th July, certainly seemed to show that you placed no value on the items supplied to you. You can, therefore, hardly be surprised that His Excellency is of opinion that you should no longer be troubled with the receipt of matter, which you characterise as "fatuous flap-doodle," and which serves as a text for pouring ridicule on the source whence it is supplied.

I am, SIR,
Yours faithfully,
G. H. M. BATTEN,
for Private Secretary to
H. E. the Viceroy.
WILLIAM RIACH, ESQ.,
Editor,
Statesman and Friend of India, Calcutta.

*Statesman Office,
CALCUTTA, 28th July 1879.*

SIR,—I have received your letter of the 21st instant in which you state that you are desired by His Excellency the Viceroy to inform me that it was not without His Excellency's concurrence that Mr. Buckland ceased to supply me with information from his office.

The two reasons given by His Excellency for withholding the Press Commissioner's communications from the *Statesman* are:—(1) that the article in the *Statesman* of the 5th July seemed to show that I placed no value on the items supplied by the Press Commissioner, and (2) that these items serve as a text for pouring ridicule on the source whence they are supplied.

May I be permitted to reply briefly to this statement of reasons, in the hope that His Excellency may be pleased to alter his decision? It was stated in the last paragraph of the article referred to, that the criticism did not apply to *all* the items of news supplied by the Press Commissioner; and the object of the article, as indicated in the same paragraph, was to show that it was desirable either to abolish the Press Commissionership, or to curtail the expenditure upon it by restricting it to supplying nothing but really valuable matter to the Press. As I never denied that some of the items supplied were valuable, so I never hinted a wish that the *Statesman* should "no longer be troubled with the receipt of matter," which was being supplied to other newspapers. I hope His Excellency will be of opinion that after this explanation, the first reason is no longer valid.

In regard to the second reason, I am bound to admit that in criticising the work of the Press Commissioner I did employ ridicule. I regarded the Press Commissioner as a public servant, paid from the public revenues, and liable, like every other servant of the State, to public criticism and I regarded ridicule as one of the most effective weapons of criticism. I am convinced that His Excellency does not desire that the Press Commissioner should enjoy an immunity from criticism which His Excellency does not ask even for himself. But your

letter gives me to understand that His Excellency objects to the employment of ridicule in criticising the Press Commissioner, and in particular, to my characterising that official's communications as "fatuous flap-doodle." I am not prepared to defend the use of that phrase, and I am prepared to admit that ridicule, as employed by me, may be peculiarly offensive. I therefore beg to be allowed to withdraw the expression "fatuous flap-doodle," and to express my regret that I should seem to have employed ridicule offensively.

I am also ready to undertake if His Excellency will be pleased to instruct the Press Commissioner to renew his communications to the *Statesman* to do what I can to keep out of its columns all offensive ridicule of the Press Commissioner, and never to criticise his work except with perfect seriousness and propriety.

I request the favour of your placing this communication before His Excellency.

I am, SIR,

G. H. M. BATTEN, ESQ.,

Private Secretary to

H. E. the Viceroy.

Yours faithfully,

WILLIAM RIACH.

GOVERNMENT HOUSE,

SIMLA, 2nd August 1879.

SIR,—I have received and submitted to His Excellency the Viceroy your letter dated the 28th ultimo, in which you state that you are ready to undertake, if His Excellency be pleased to instruct the Press Commissioner to renew his communications to the *Statesman*, to do what you can to keep out of its columns all offensive ridicule of the Press Commissioner, and never to criticise his work except with perfect seriousness and propriety.

In reply I am desired to state that on these conditions and the further one, that you will complete the publication of the correspondence, on this subject, by inserting in the *Statesman* copies of my letter to you on the 21st, your reply of the 28th, and this present letter, His Excellency will restore the

Statesman, to the list of papers to which the Press Commissioner is authorised to send information.

I remain, SIR,

Yours obediently,

W. RIACH, ESQ.,

G. H. M. BATTEN,

Editor,

For Private Secretary

Statesman and Friend of India, Calcutta. to the Viceroy.

From—The Secretary to the Government of India.

To—The Editor of the *Statesman*.

Dated Simla, the 18th September 1879.

Foreign Department, Pol.

SIR,—The attention of the Governor-General in Council has been directed to the article in the *Statesman* of the 11th instant commenting on a Press telegram received by you from the Press Commissioner.

2. The facts connected with that telegram are as follows :—The political officer at Ali Khel, telegraphed to the Government on the 9th September, that he had received a letter from a certain person at Cabul, giving the particulars contained in the telegram. It was, and it is impossible, to mention the name of the writer of the letter as his life would be endangered or a source of information closed were it known that he had been communicating with British officers, but the information which he gave was in almost his exact words at once given through the Press Commissioner to the Press for the benefit of the public, who would naturally be anxious to know any particulars in the possession of the Government regarding the attack on the Residency. The whole telegram was a simple statement of what the letter contained and did not purport to be anything else. Whether true or false, important or insignificant, the information thus given to the public was the latest and fullest received by the Government.

3. In your article commenting on the telegram, while professing to keep to your promise not to throw ridicule on the Press Commissioner, you proceed to say that "this telegram would furnish matter for abundant ridicule" and you add, if the Press Commissioner, in the absence of any news to be

communicated with, had been told to sit down and concoct out of the materials already received, a message so many inches long to occupy the papers, and the public a little, and prevent them from thinking too much, this is the sort of passage that he might have produced." Again you say : "This Afghan has come upon the stage to efface a very unpleasant impression that the Press Commissioner had unfortunately created." These passages, and indeed the whole tone of the article, are calculated to suggest to the readers of the *Statesman* that the Press Commissioner's telegram might have been concocted for a purpose, and that it is not to be accepted as authentic and put forward in good faith.

4. The fact that the informant's name is suppressed, is made the subject of a series of sarcastic remarks, although the reasons for such suppression might have been supposed to be obvious, and ridicule is freely applied to every item of the telegram.

5. The Governor-General in Council is of opinion that this article is a distinct violation of the promise conveyed in your letter of the 28th July last to the Private Secretary, in which you voluntarily undertook to do what you could to keep out of the columns of the *Statesman*, "all offensive ridicule of the Press Commissioner and never to criticise his work except with perfect seriousness and propriety." As it was on condition of your observing this undertaking that the Press Commissioner was authorised to resume his communication to the *Statesman*, His Excellency in Council is now compelled to withdraw that authority, and, as you have already been informed by telegram, to prohibit further communications being made to you.

It is also observed that in the same number of the *Statesman*, you permitted yourself to insinuate that His Excellency the Viceroy's Private Secretary communicated information to the *Pioneer* before the Press Commissioner sent it to the Press ; a charge which is absolutely devoid of any foundation.

I have, etc.,

(Sd.) A. C. LYALL,

Secretary to the Government of India.

From—The Editor of the *Statesman*.

To—The Secretary to the Government of India, *Foreign Dept.*

CALCUTTA, 24th September 1879.

SIR,—I have the honor to acknowledge receipt of your letter of the 18th instant. An officially authenticated copy of that letter was published in the *Englishman* of the 23rd instant; and publicity having thus been given to its contents, I desire to reply to it as briefly as possible.

The Governor-General in Council has been pleased to consider that, in an article in the *Statesman* of the 11th instant, I violated the promise conveyed in my letter to the Private Secretary of the 28th July last. It is admitted that I professed to keep my promise, but three quotations are made; from the article to prove the alleged breach of it. The first is a statement that the telegram on which I was commenting "would furnish matter for abundant ridicule." As I cannot suppose that this remark taken by itself, would have been regarded as "offensive," without ascribing an incredible degree of sensitiveness to the Governor-General in Council, I shall proceed to notice the second quotation which is substantially an assertion that the telegram contained little or nothing which had not already been communicated to the Press. The rest of the article was chiefly intended to show that this was a fact. The offensiveness of the assertion lies, I presume, in the form in which it was expressed. I said that the message was such an one as the Press Commissioner might have written had he been instructed to concoct it out of the materials already communicated, but I went on to qualify this statement by pointing out such parts of it as might be regarded new. That this criticism has proved "offensive" is unhappily a fact; as to its propriety I must leave the public to judge; that it was written in perfect "seriousness" and earnestness I can truly assert. The third quotation is a simple statement of a fact. The Press Commissioner had informed the Press that the mutineers burnt the doorway of the Residency "swarmed in, and up to the upper-storey, overwhelmed the defenders and sacked the Residency." He thus created the impression that the defenders allowed themselves to be chased up to the upper storey and there massacred. The

"Afghan," on the other hand, said that "the defenders, charging out sword in hand, were all slain;" and thus he actually did come "on the stage to remove the impression which the Press Commissioner had unfortunately created." I venture to say that in the whole of my criticism on the telegram, there is nothing which any English paper might not have written in commenting upon a ministerial statement or even a Queen's speech.

I shall now state what I considered as justifying me in making my criticism effective by saying that the message might have been concocted out of materials that were not new. I did not say that it had been thus concocted, because it was stated "Ali Kheyl, 9th September," and "Simla, 10th September." But on the 8th and 9th September the Press Commissioner had sent to the Press messages containing information which had been in possession of the Government at least as early as the 7th September, and which had, on the last mentioned date, been telegraphed from Simla to the *Pioneer* by its special correspondent. I refer particularly to the statements that the bodies of the envoy and his suite had been seen and that nine sowars had escaped. Both statements were telegraphed to the *Pioneer* on 7th September; the one was telegraphed by the Press Commissioner on the 8th and the other on the 9th September. I do not, therefore, consider that there was any impropriety in emphasising the fact that the information contained in the message, was not, in the main, new, by a pointed reference to the Press Commissioner's habit of sending out information which had been for some time in the possession of Government and had already been made public in a favoured journal.

The last paragraph of your letter appears to me to be entirely irrelevant. The insinuation complained of was not directed against the Press Commissioner. As, however, the Governor-General in Council has been pleased to inform me that the charge against the Private Secretary is without foundation, I am thankful for the information. I have already shown that information was communicated to the *Pioneer* before the Press Commissioner sent it to the Press. It would never have occurred to me that the Press Commissioner himself

was the *Pioneer's* early informant. Neither could I have supposed that the Foreign Secretary or any official having access to the Foreign Office would have violated well-known rules by communicating the secrets of the office to the *Pioneer*. It was, therefore, almost necessary to believe that the common rumour that Mr. Batten was the *Pioneer's* informant was true. This rumour had already found public expression in the editorial column of a Bombay newspaper, and it was the *Englishman* that first complained of the anticipation of the Press Commissioner's news in the columns of the *Pioneer*.

I am aware of the probability that the above explanations may not be regarded as satisfactory by the Governor-General in Council. If not, I shall regret it; but as I have nothing further to say, I have laid your communication before the Proprietors of the *Statesman* and shall leave it to them to take any action they may think fit.

I have, etc.

WILLIAM RIACH,

Editor of the Statesman.

It does not appear from the records that the Proprietors of the *Statesman* ever wrote to the Governor-General in Council with a view of regaining the privilege of receiving communications from the Press Commissioner. On the other hand, evidence is not wanting of their strenuous efforts to have the Press Commissioner abolished as an useless and expensive institution. In this they succeeded, for on the advent of Lord Ripon as Governor-General of India in 1880, the institution came under revision and practically ceased to exist as a separate department of the State. In the beginning of 1881, when Lord Ripon abolished the last vestige of the short-lived Press Commissionership, the following memorial signed by one hundred and twenty-four newspaper editors and proprietors, was sent to the Viceroy against the abolition, but without any success.

To His Excellency the Most Hon'ble the Marquis of Ripon, K.G., P.C., G.M.S.I., Viceroy and Governor-General of India.

May it please Your Excellency :—We, the Editors and Proprietors of Newspapers in India hereafter mentioned, published in the English and Vernacular languages, beg to present the following memorial to Your Excellency under the following circumstances.

We have heard, though we must admit that the rumour has not been duly authenticated, that it is under the consideration of the Government of India to abolish the office of the Press Commissioner.

Although we presume that Your Excellency is well acquainted with the facts which preceded the appointment of a Press Commissioner, still we think it as well to recapitulate in this memorial some of the chief reasons for the creation of such an appointment.

The idea of having an officer under the Government of India, whose duty it should be to communicate all items of public importance to the Press in this country, is no new one. It was first mooted when Lord Lawrence was Viceroy, but we are not aware that on that occasion the subject ever got beyond the stage of preliminary discussion.

Again, during the Viceroyalty of Lord Mayo, the question was discussed, but on this occasion it assumed rather a different form, the idea then being to establish a Government newspaper, through the means of which all important information might be made public. This, however, was not found to be possible as it was considered that such a monopoly would be unfair to the other newspapers in India, and that the discussion of Government measures in a newspaper known to have the exclusive right to official information, would never be accepted by the public as free or unbiassed. The value of the special information provided would have made any such newspaper merely the mouthpiece of officials. This proposal, therefore, was never carried out.

During the Viceroyalty of Lord Northbrook, the proposed office was more than once brought forward, but nothing was done.

It remained for your Lordship's immediate predecessor, Lord Lytton, to establish the office of Press Commissioner. The duty of this officer was to be to supply all newspapers, English and Vernacular alike, with all information which it was considered important or expedient to furnish to the public, and it was to be the duty of all heads of offices to give such information to the Press Commissioner. With the unvarnished facts before them, it was felt that all public writers would be able to deal justly with the Government as well as their readers. So the office was established in 1877, the appointment being conferred upon Mr. Roper Lethbridge, a member of the Education Department, and fully competent to the discharge of the duties of such an office.

We would here beg to draw your Lordship's attention to the fact that the appointment of Press Commissioner was first created in the month of April 1877. We draw special attention to this fact because an idea has been frequently promulgated that the appointment was created in connection with the Vernacular Press Act No. IX of 1878, and that the Press Commissioner was intended to be a censor of the Vernacular Press. The dates of the creation of the appointment and of the passing of the Act will alone show that such could never have been the intention of the creation of the appointment, nor have we in our experience, extending to all parts of India, ever heard of a single instance of the Press Commissioner attempting to exercise such a censorship. Any prosecutions of the Vernacular papers that have taken place since the passing of the Act have always been by local officials. We have thought it necessary to bring this fact specially to the notice of your Lordship, as not only was the idea very generally entertained by writers for the Native Press in this country, but it has been also sedulously propagated by the opponents of the appointment, both in this country and in England.

We do not wish to occupy your Lordship's time by pointing out in this memorial the evils likely to arise from any competition to obtain Government secrets for publication by underhand means, whether by payment or by flattery. An official who can be bribed by either methods is unworthy of

government confidence. Every Government in England supplies important information to the Press either generally or to its own special organs which are well known. It remained, however, for the Government of India to establish the precedent of supplying information to all papers whether supporters or opponents alike.

We would, however, specially call your Lordship's attention to the marked improvement in the Vernacular Press since the institution of the office of the Press Commissioner, a fact prominently noticed in several of the letters from the proprietors and editors of Vernacular Newspapers attached to the memorial. No longer dependent chiefly on bazar rumours for their information, the writers in the Vernacular Press are now able to discuss actual facts, and Government is thus provided with an opportunity of knowing the real sentiments of the people on all subjects of importance, a fact which is of itself sufficient to justify the retention of the appointment. The same argument applies, though, of course, in a less degree, to English papers and the native papers published in English.

We have as yet failed to see any valid argument brought forward for the abolition of the appointment. It has been said that the procuring of news should be left for private enterprise, and though this may be true so far as ordinary news is concerned, in the case of special Government news, it simply means bribery and corruption in some form or other which every Government must wish to prevent. The expense of the maintenance is but trifling, regard being had to the benefits mutually conferred and received by the Government and the Public.

In conclusion we would beg specially to draw your Lordship's attention to the letters from members of the English and Vernacular Press attached hereto, from which your Lordship perceive that the expressions in favour of the retention of the office of Press Commissioner are almost unanimous from the entire Press of India, with but a few trifling exceptions.*

We would, therefore, humbly request your Lordship that the appointment of the Press Commissioner may be maintained

* The *Pioneer*, the *Civil and Military Gazette* and the *Statesman* did not sign the memorial.

and that all the heads of offices may be directed to supply the Press Commissioner without any delay with all important information which it may be advantageous or useful to the public to know, without revealing confidential communications.

[Here follow the names of 124 newspapers.]

In spite of the above memorial, the Press Commissionership was abolished in March 1881. On the 15th March 1881, the following intimation was given to the Indian Press by the Government of India about the abolition of the Press Commissionership :—

Calcutta, March 15th.—The Government of India has decided to re-organise the system under which official information has of late been distributed to the Press, through the Press Commissioner's office. In accordance with this decision, Mr. Lethbridge, the Press Commissioner, will retire from Government Service* from the 15th instant, when the new office arrangements will come into force, the distribution of news being carried on, as during the greater part of the last twelve months, through a department† of the Secretariat of the Government of India.

All communications should continue to be addressed—
Press Commissioner's Office, Simla from the 15th March.

The following reply was given by His Excellency the Viceroy to the Memorial referred to above :—

GOVERNMENT, HOUSE,
SIMLA, 4th April 1881.

SIR,—In my note of 15th January last I acknowledged the receipt of the Memorial forwarded in your letter of the 12th of that month, from Editors and Proprietors of Newspapers in India in favour of the retention of the Office of Press Commissioner. His Excellency the Viceroy regrets the delay which has occurred in sending a final answer of the Memorial. It has, however, been due, not to disregard of the importance of

* Mr. Lethbridge retired on a special pension of Rs. 4,000 per annum.

† A small establishment under the control of the Home Department of the Government of India.

the representation, but solely to the fact that owing to various circumstances, the final decision of the Government upon sundry unsettled questions of detail has had to be deferred. It has now been determined to reconstitute the office, and His Excellency authorises me to lay before you for the information of the Memorialists, the following observations explanatory of the decision :—

The office of Press Commissioner was instituted for the purpose of facilitating the distribution to the public, through the Press, of information at the disposal of the Government. Other attempts in the same direction had before been made and had proved failures. In 1877 it was determined to try a fresh experiment, and a system was inaugurated which as pointed out in the Memorial, was of a novel and unprecedented kind. But it was from the first regarded as tentative, and it was felt that experience alone could determine how far it would fulfil, in its practical working, the objects for which it was instituted. When His Excellency arrived in India the system had been in operation for more than 2 years, and it seemed to him proper that its results should be examined with a view to determining whether or not any modification was called for. He found that the system seemed to be working satisfactorily so far as it went, but that the duties of the Press Commissioner were practically limited to the daily distribution to the Press of such items of official news as the Government thought expedient to publish, and that the scale of his salary, and the cost of his establishment were out of all proportion to the duties thus discharged. To an extension of the functions of the office there seemed to His Excellency substantial objections. The whole arrangement was, as before remarked, of an exceptional kind, and though the peculiar circumstances of this country may justify an exceptional treatment of the relations between the Government and the Press, and the expenditure of a certain amount of public money in supplying to the Press early information regarding the course of public events, yet such exceptional treatment ought to be confined within the narrowest limits compatible with the necessities of the situation.

Upon these grounds it was determined to reduce the cost of the service, and a proposal in this sense has been submitted to the Secretary of State and approved by him sometime before the receipt of the Memorial from the Press. Nevertheless the Government felt it was due to the influential expression of opinion which the Memorial conveyed, to give its representations full attention, but having considered these carefully it did not appear to them that they called for any serious modification of the course already decided on. For in reconstituting the office of Press Commissioner, it was not intended to withdraw from the practice of affording direct information to the Press, but rather to place the machinery for communicating such information on a proper footing as regards cost and organisation. The highly paid appointment of Press Commissioner has accordingly been abolished, and the details of the arrangements by which the service will, in future, be performed are now engaging attention. In considering them, the wishes of the Memorialists will, as far as possible, be kept in view, and pending a final settlement, the arrangements which were in force during Mr. Lethbridge's absence on furlough, will continue in operation.

His Excellency trusts that from the above remarks the Memorialists will perceive that such changes as have been, or are being, made, had been dictated solely by a regard for public economy, and the best interests of the Press, and not by a desire to deprive the Press of the advantages which it has hitherto enjoyed, or which it may reasonably expect at the hands of the Government.

I am, SIR,
Yours obediently,

H. W. PRIMROSE,

Private Secretary to the Viceroy.

J. O'BRIEN SAUNDERS,* ESQ.,
Englishman Office,
Calcutta.

* Son of J. O'B. Saunders who purchased the *Englishman* in 1860. For an account of both father and son, the reader is referred to my articles headed the "Pillars of Indian Journalism," published in the *Journal* in February, March and April 1908.

Thus closed a memorable, though short, chapter of the history of the Indian Press opened by the brilliant Lord Lytton with the best of intentions. By abolishing Press Commissionership, Lord Ripon simply added another stone to the cairn of the abortive attempts made by successive Viceroys and Governors-General of India to improve the relations of the Government with the Indian Press. In the next article I shall describe how matters have fared since then.

S. C. SANIAL.

(To be continued.)

Art. V.—THE THREE BIG QUESTIONS.

AS the competitive essays, for which Mr. R. Laidlaw has offered a prize, are to be sent in on the 1st July, the date on which this number of the *Review* is published, no harm can be done to any of the rival essayists by the following attempt to consider briefly the three questions on which the competition is based. These are : I. Is it possible for the diverse races of India to become one united self-governing community? II. By what steps, and in what period of time, can this consummation be attained? III. How can encouragement best be given to legitimate political aspirations, and sedition most effectively suppressed?

I. While the tendency of any careful study of world politics is to promote pessimism, that of religious reflection is to encourage optimism. Answers to this question will generally suggest themselves to most minds according to the standpoint from which it is regarded. History teaches us that the Christian enthusiasm of the apostolic era washed out apparently inveterate prejudice from the proudest and most self-centred race and type of mind known to history, the Jewish. If a wave of Christian emotion, stirred by any people who were not actual conquerors of the inhabitants, and thus banded all their patriotic impulses against itself, had swept over India some centuries back, it is conceivable that the masses of this land might have been welded into a nation. No other single influence, certainly none entirely secular, is conceivable to which such a vast soul harmony could reasonably be traced; for, though there are numberless small platforms on which groups of persons

of differing races, creeds and heredity may agree to combine for short periods and for limited purposes, the distinctions which divide the various populations of India have invariably proved, and will probably always prove, too strong to admit of any such vast soul harmony as could alone inspire and sustain such a fabric as a united nation of over 300,000,000 people.

The enquirer who approaches such questions as this one, with the enquiry why, if God has made of one blood all nations of men that dwell on the earth, and blood is thicker than water, the blood may not be purged of the centrifugal forces which have filled it with separatist tendencies, and inspire it afresh with its original centripetal impulses, is—besides being pulled up with the experience of Babel,—met with a deeper philosophic difficulty in the suggestions of men like Mr. McCausland, who, arguing from the ineradicable differentiations of the four great sections of the human race, all of which have some representatives in India, concludes that the original story of the creation of a single man, as the progenitor of the whole human race is a myth, and that man must have sprung from four different and distinct stocks. This difficulty is described as a deep and a philosophic one—it might also be called a scientific barrier—not because the belief from which it starts, or to which it leads, need by any means be accepted, but because the facts which have been used to construct it are very striking and undeniable. So far as history can bear testimony, the human race is broken up into four great divisions, which possess their own distinctive features and qualities; and even those who may believe that all have sprung from the same stock are at a loss to understand the apparently radical character of their differentiations. What has produced

these differentiations, and what conceivable influences may eradicate them? They can be traced neither to climatic conditions nor to political environment, for they recur in spite of both. The mind is staggered, confining itself to natural as opposed to supernatural influences, at the task of even conceiving, still more of bringing about, any material conditions under which the influences which have produced such results may be counteracted. The peoples of India have possessed a grandeur of their own—several grandeurs for that matter—for though empires have risen and fallen in it, and civilizations of all sorts have clothed themselves in Indian garb, and attempts have actually been made to weld them into a whole, these all have signally failed. The reasons for expecting that the centrifugal and disintegrating forces, which have for centuries prevented the combination of the races of this land into one community may be overcome by unknown, if not unknowable material influences, which can neither be described nor imagined, are neither numerous nor convincing. They belong to a region of idealism in which beautiful pictures may be drawn that reveal no susceptibility of materialisation. The references made to material and natural as opposed to emotional and supernatural influences, in the preceding remarks, have not been casual or accidental. Their design, as may be conjectured from the allusion made to the dissipation of Jewish prejudices in the earliest Christian era, is, *firstly*, to point to some great religious obsession as the sole possible means of any real unification—a unification blotting out all subordinate, local or sectional interests, and first idealising and then realising a single great common end—and, *secondly*, to point out how difficult, though not impossible, the task has become. In its essence, all true religion has been

emotional and supernatural. It has surrendered reason to faith, and sought to bring divine into human relations. It is too late in human history to deny that, whether Christianity as taught by Christ be true or false, of all religions known to men, it has, so far as it has succeeded, gone further than any other in surrendering reason to faith, in bringing divine into human relations, and by the joint action of these two operations, setting up ideals, which, whether realised or not, are more elevating than any other known to man. Why, if such an elevating influence should, ex-hypothesi, be capable of producing such results, it has so largely failed to do so all the world over, must probably be owing to one of two causes or to the joint action of both. On its charter, Christianity would seem to be a way of life which, powerfully revealing itself to individual consciousness, transforms it, without of necessity involving any external change except in conditions which are hostile to its essential tendencies. Apparently, this result of Christianity in the individual, when effected, does generally appeal to or strike the observer; and if such a change of life was to progress among communities, it obviously could only do so by what is described as individual witness-bearing which should prove irresistible. But this is not the place to elaborate doctrinal theses. There seems to be another cause of the failure of Christianity to accomplish much that it might have secured. In India, which demands closer attention than it has received from religious politicians. The Rev. Lal Behari De, author of *Govind Samanta* and one of the profoundest of thinkers and most candid of speakers, publicly declared that, in his belief, the country would sooner be converted by German or French than by British missionaries, not because of any personal virtues or

defects, but because the British were conquerors of the country, and the underlying inherent patriotism of the Indian, expressed or unexpressed, was arrayed against his conquerors. This touch of human nature, which should have made the whole world of thoughtful and candid students of Indian phenomena kin, has fallen flat on dull ears, until bombs have wrung distorted echoes from a sound which might have been and might yet be courted back into the highest harmonies.

II. It is useless to speculate in what period of time any great consummation can be brought about which depends, to a certain extent, secondarily if not primarily, on variable human agencies. If it should be true, as has been suggested, that only some deep soul-stirring bond of union such as a common and an elevating religion could ever unite such broken fragments of humanity as the various races of India into a sentient and harmonious whole, this truth is not antagonistic to subordinate methods of predisposing people towards any such designed end. First, amongst all means and methods of raising man, stands education, or the leading out of the mind into true relations with the world. If it is undeniable that the great despatch of 1854, well styled the charter of Indian Education, contained great promises which have not been fulfilled, this result can only have come about from some miscarriage of its true purposes in the hands of the agencies to which those purposes were entrusted. No honest student of the despatch has denied that it was designed to educate the whole people of India, to let light into their darkness. Its methods were primary education for the masses and secondary education for such as needed to be encouraged and to be taught how to set up their own institutions. There is no evidence in the despatch that primary State

education was intended to be temporary. There is ample evidence that secondary State education was. This is not the place to fulminate anathemas against any authors, real or supposed, of obvious miscarriages. But it cannot be gainsaid that, while higher education, and that of a mischievous kind, setting up the passing of examinations in the place of mind development, has been encouraged at an expenditure out of all proportion to its claims, the primary education needed to emancipate the masses has been lamentably neglected. Early in the history of the British exploitation of Indian public education, the sad mistake was made of imagining that any foreign language could ever be the medium through which so vast a population could be raised. Nearly twenty years ago, in a gathering of persons interested in religious movements, a declaration to the effect that the problem of educating a nation was solved at Pentecost—when a divine influence, instead of inspiring an audience with a knowledge of Hebrew or Aramaic, inspired a number of men with a knowledge of several different tongues in order to qualify them to speak to listeners from various countries, in their own language—was greeted with a contemptuous laugh. He laughs best who laughs last. To-day, it is being more and more clearly realised that, if Britain is ever to raise the masses of this country, it must be by schools in which their children are taught in their own tongue. The absurd plea that Indian languages are not capable of rendering scientific terms—invented by persons who, wanting the gift of learning languages, and thereby proving their own incapacity for the highest efforts of instruction—has now been thoroughly discredited. It may be that if instruction is in future imparted in the vernaculars in all primary schools

and middle schools, and even in some of the higher schools where English may well be taught only as a foreign language, two great preparatory results may be brought about. In the first place, teachers mastering Indian languages will not only strengthen their own intellectual fibre, but be insensibly drawn nearer to the people. In the next place, Indians, hearing the language in which their tenderest and most sacred associations have been expressed from childhood, addressed to them by foreign teachers, will be drawn towards their teachers as never before, and in a manner otherwise impracticable. Thus a moral foundation will be laid for those exchanges of mutual interest, from which alone great results can be expected. The change here advocated would of course necessitate a revolutionary recasting of what is known as the Education Department, whose vested interests may be found to stand in the way of this and many another obvious reform. But the question now, with the miscarriage of past State Education facing us in its unlovely results, is whether the people of India are to be saved from the results of our mistakes as well as their own; and whether any limited vested interests can be allowed to stand in the way.

It seems to be highly probable that, while many naturally great Indian intellects have proved their own native worth in spite of our system of education, that system, by dangling false analogies before mediocre minds, may have produced that want of a sense of proportion which seems so characteristic of some modern Indian political aspirations. The claims commonly put forth for a greater share in the administration of the country—in which, as regards all but the highest spheres, Indians already possess a larger share than any other

class—overlooks the indefeasible right of the great masses (for whom their own middle and higher classes have done absolutely nothing) to be provided with the very best type of public officers for whom the country can afford to pay. The Indian graduates and undergraduates who have issued in thousands from our universities possess many estimable qualities, but nobody who knows them well, even though he may love them sincerely, will maintain, either that any number of them, who could be provided for in the public services, would make better officials in most respects than British officials, or even that the masses of their own countrymen in the interior would trust them more. The political influence, which it is supposed that the fuller employment of Indians in high offices would bring to the support of the British Government, is one of those shadowy gifts which had better be divested of its obscurity and reduced to its true proportions, and measured in its true perspective. The only class who possess any real influence among the masses are natural leaders in the mofussil, whom the greatest difficulty would be experienced in moulding in our precise administrative forms and methods. The city educated men, who make inconsiderate claims in newspapers, are unknown out of large cities, have no influence whatever among the masses, and are sometimes looked upon by the conservative rural classes as a kind of hybrid foreigner. But even though it were otherwise, the number of administrative posts that could be conferred on them, if they entirely or largely displaced British officials, would be so small in proportion to their whole number that any political influence secured by their advancement would be as a drop of water in an ocean. It seems almost an elementary lesson of political morality

that, so long as British Rule is necessary for the Indian masses, the majority of responsible offices in the higher administration must be held by British officers, in simple justice to the masses; and that the only way in which Indians can best serve their country, if they do not enter the Civil Service by its open door, as some have done and more are doing, is by engaging in commerce and mechanical industry, and accepting honorary office in Local Self-Government. Whether in Britain or in any European country, the number of persons in official employ in the public service is small in comparison with the number who make their way in life in other careers; and the misled youth of this country have yet to learn that the truest patriotism is exhibited in independent careers, which serve to raise the whole character of a people, rather than in selfish clamourings for appointments which afford far fewer and less fruitful opportunities of serving the country than independent careers. It is therefore surely only in opening more honorary offices for our Indian fellow-subjects, wherever they showed greater aptitude for it than is generally yet displayed in most municipalities and Local Boards, that their future lies. Public Life in Britain has come to mean a Parliamentary career; but that is surely so only or chiefly because, before a great many of the members of the House of Commons enter the House they have made for themselves reputations in independent careers, of which the successful entrance into Parliament, if not exactly the crown, is the ledge or foundation on which the crown has to be reared. Men fulfil or belie the promise of a past life after entering the House.

III. To consider fairly, tenderly, even affectionately, how legitimate political aspirations may be encouraged, and sedition suppressed, one has to begin at the

beginning and weigh what these terms mean. What is a legitimate aspiration in India and what is sedition? If true ideals of patriotism had been set up before Indian students instead of their being allowed to mould inappropriate ones from the false analogies of foreign literature, which reflects little that touches or enters into the life of Indians, is it unwise to say, even in the present temper of many young Indian men, that they would have been different from those which they seem to be striving to realise? True public life is denied to no man who is fairly intelligent and has formed a character. The agnostic of the day may scoff at the idea, but there is something alike utilitarian and beautiful at the bottom of the hypothesis, which some consider a great truth, that if the world and its phenomena, including all human and national experiences are not mere accidents, the sport of chance, or of unknown law, and there is at the back of Things a great Thinker with a purpose in every individual life, no life can be successful which thwarts that purpose. The key to that is surely the discovery of the highest duty possible to any one in any sphere of life. To say that this ideal is not realised in the most civilised countries is to say little to the point, if there is no reason why it should not be. One of the first propagators of Christianity found such a successful student in a Roman Centurion, whose desire to do right he treated as the proof of his acceptance of the great purpose of his life. The lesson of this striking picture is that in every nation, among any race, any man may desire to find the true purpose of his life, and, if he succeeds will be a great success. This is not religion—or not religion alone—it is practical politics. If the suggestions contained in the preceding observation form any approach to the truth, and independent

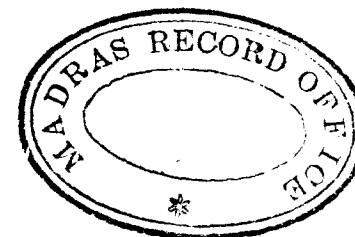
careers would have furnished the firmest foundation on which any sound political aspirations could be based, the blame of the wrong equipment in which Indian youth have been armed may lie with whomsoever it may, the future of every man is in his own hands. If it is futile for Indian patriots to clamour for power, on the false plea that it would be a sign of the emancipation of their countrymen from a foreign bondage—which affords them greater freedom than their ancestors ever enjoyed—politics ought for ever to be excluded from the horizon of immature Indian youth, who ought to be taught that, though we are all human, and mixed motives will always sway our actions, and selfishness perhaps never be wholly excluded from them, yet, the man, in whose forecast for the future, selfishness forms the largest element, and self-advancement under the pretext of freeing his country, regardless of all the history which belies his professions, and the experience which contradicts them, is the worst enemy his country could have. Eton and Harrow may not actually hold the fields on which the battles of the world have been fought and won; but between them and the historic universities character is developed in a way which no pretence of imitating has ever been made in India by either teachers or taught—as a rule. No student, who has the better class of books of all countries within his reach, Ruskin's and Carlyle's among the rest, can well lay on the indifferentism of his foreign teachers the whole blame of his own failure to detect where he has been fed on saw dust and where on wholesome food. Why an Anglican Bishop was persecuted and recalled for recommending the introduction of the best Book ever written into Indian schools is an inexplicable mystery. In the transition stage of Indian society brought about by an unwonted

freedom, naturally tending to license, and with the contact of different standards of living, encouraging young men to ape the superficial manners and sometimes also the clothing of foreigners, it is impossible to define sharply what aspirations of a confused state of moral and social consciousness are legitimate and what illegitimate. This is a case in which nothing succeeds like success, and in which a man who allows eager and strong desire to serve his country to permeate his desire to serve himself, may prove the truest friend and servant of his country and his race, be he a Municipal Commissioner, a Deputy Magistrate or a China Bazar shopkeeper. No worse *ignis fatuus* could lead any man into worse quagmires than political aspiration not instinct with desires containing some strands of unselfish interest in its warped woof. The movement called the Indian National Congress, which has existed for a quarter of a century, while making large political demands, never once thought spontaneously of any moral or social reform which could elevate or otherwise benefit the masses, until stung into such effort by foreign taunts. Efforts which are neither spontaneous nor voluntary, and owe their genesis to fears created by external taunts, have never done anything for mankind. The condition of women in India, a subject which moved patriots like Malabari and Keshab Chandra Sen to their noblest eloquence and their worthiest efforts, would seem to have roused slight echoes in the hearts of most Congressmen, who wax eloquent over theoretical refinements, such as the separation of the Judicial from the Executive, but are rarely roused to righteous wrath by the tyranny of the zemindar and his underlings, and the underlings of the Indian police, over the helpless masses. What is the use of seeking to define legitimate aspiration, when

the great bulk of educated young men, as it is the custom to call them, disclose no distinct consciousness of what legitimate means? And as for suppressing sedition, which ought never to have been allowed the freedom which it has enjoyed, although it is perfectly true, as a class of Indian newspapers have justly pointed out, that repression never uproots political crime, it is not less true that deterrent penalty is by the common consent of civilised nations the only available means by which innocent people, Indians or British, may be protected from the criminal violence of vicious men. British Rule may not become more popular because of new sedition and conspiracy laws; but it is impossible to allow innocent people to be destroyed by criminals who mistake themselves for patriots, the moral consistency of whose ambitions has been disclosed in organised schemes for plundering their own countrymen in order to obtain money for their propaganda. That many Indian journals which applaud the heroism of the new brand of martyrs, should fail to perceive this defect of such heroism, surely affords a sad comment on the enlightenment which is supposed to have qualified the country for self-government. Only one point remains to be touched on before this small article on a great subject is closed. No radical reform is ever entirely onesided. Whatever the causes of the present unrest in any portion of India, it is beyond question that they have been aggravated by two causes on which much may not be wisely said at the present time in public. Race prejudice, leading to indulgence of contempt by individuals in no way the real moral superiors of some of their victims, has rankled much in the heart of many Indians. This sore will not be healed by the growing indifference of many British modern

invaders of the country to the country and its people. The prestige of the ruling race has also been lowered by the unrestricted importation of foreigners of both sexes, who have not added lustre to the foreign name. Let us not overlook, when discussing needed legislation, the imperial need of a new bi-sexual European Vagrancy Act.

HISTORICUS.



Art. VI.—SOME INDIAN ECONOMISTS.

THE subject of Indian Finance in its manifold aspects has been dealt with by many writers. We have the monumental works of men like the younger Mill; Hunter, Strachey, Chesney and Lyall. But the personal lives of the great Indian Financiers such as Wilson, Laing and others are not as widely known. An attempt will be made to present a few salient features in the lives of some of these great men.

The word "Economy" originally meant in Greek, the management of the affairs of a household, specially the provision and administration of its income, and "political economy" was the name given to that part of the art of government which had for its aim the replenishment of the public treasury, and, as a means to this, the enrichment of the community by a provident regulation of industry and trade. Since the publication of Adam Smith's epoch-making book, the *Wealth of Nations* a new meaning was given to the term and "political economy" came to be conceived as a part of the science of human society, rather than a part of the art of government.

Fifty years ago there was no separate Finance Department of the Government of India. The whole work of the government was brought before the Governor-General and all his Councillors, and finance was the business, not of any particular member of the Government but of all the members alike. The Mutiny of the Bengal Army had increased the debt of India by about forty millions sterling and the changes required by it had augmented the annual expenditure by another ten

millions. Indian finance caused grave anxiety and required the serious consideration of the Government for its proper administration. To grapple with this deficit it was decided in England to appoint a Financial Member of Council. Previous to the creation of the Finance Membership there were in India financiers of note, such as Henry St. George Tucker who afterwards became Chairman of the Honourable Court of Directors. It was during the second tenure of his office as such that he selected Lord Dalhousie for the Governor-Generalship of India. The person who was chosen to be the first Finance Minister of India was the

RIGHT HONOURABLE JAMES WILSON

who was a distinguished political economist and Parliamentary financier and held at the time the post of Financial Secretary to the Treasury. Born at Hawick on June 3, 1805, he was the third son of a wealthy woollen manufacturer and received his first lessons at the school at Ackworth. From early childhood he imbibed a taste for reading and at the age of sixteen was apprenticed to a hatter in his native town. Here he acquired a thorough practical knowledge of commercial life. He had not, however, forgotten his books and pursued his studies far into the night. In 1824 he started a firm in London under the name and style of Wilson, Irwin and Wilson, which was dissolved seven years later and he continued to carry on business as James Wilson & Co. On January 5, 1832, he married Elizabeth Preston of Newcastle and about the year 1836 was tempted to speculate in indigo and lost all his capital. He acted most honourably however in paying up his creditors and retired from business in 1844 not before making his name conspicuous in financial circles by three pamphlets

which he had published. He was a regular contributor to the *Morning Chronicle* and the *Examiner* and was desirous of increasing his papers in the columns of the latter, but the space was denied him. With the help of Cobden and Villiers he started on September 2, 1843, the *Economist*—a weekly journal for financial and commercial men—himself writing nearly the whole of the paper in the early stages of its existence. He wrote as a practical man for those engaged in the daily routine of business life and his paper at once became a power in the newspaper world and has maintained its position ever since as the leading monetary organ of London. Wilson entered Parliament in 1847 as member for Westbury and was re-elected in 1852. With the formation of the Aberdeen ministry in the following year he became Financial Secretary to the Treasury and on Lord Palmerston returning to power in June 1859 he was made Vice-President of the Board of Trade—a post which he had previously declined, humorously observing that it was a good pillow but he did not wish to lie down. He also became Paymaster-General and was made a Privy Councillor. At this time he was offered the Financial Membership of the Governor-General's Council, which he accepted though not without some hesitation and left England on October 20, 1859. It is said that the late Queen on hearing from the Prime Minister of Wilson's appointment to India exclaimed "But what will become of the *Economist*?" A worthy successor, however, was found in Wilson's son-in-law Walter Bagehot who conducted the paper with great credit. Arriving in Calcutta at the end of November, Wilson proceeded on a tour through the upper provinces of India to Lahore and returned to the metropolis much impressed with the

undeveloped resources of the country. In his famous budget (February 1860) he proposed an excise on home grown tobacco, a small and uniform license duty on trades of every class and an income-tax on all incomes above Rs. 200 a year but with a reduction for those not exceeding Rs. 500 per annum. His proposal met with the approbation of the Viceroy, Lord Canning, and Sir Charles Wood (afterwards Lord Halifax), the Secretary of State for India. Sir Charles Trevelyan, Governor of Madras, opposed the imposition calling it "three tremendous taxes," but was recalled by the Government in England. The income-tax was sanctioned but the other two taxes were postponed *sine die*. The income-tax bill was prepared with the assistance of William Ritchie, the Advocate-General, on the model of the English Acts. He established a State Paper Currency and set up at Calcutta a Government Commission charged with the function exercised in England by the Issue Department of the Bank of England. Branch establishments were started at Madras and Bombay and the three Presidencies were divided for the issue and redemption of notes into convenient districts called Currency Circles. He next proceeded with the reformation of the system of public accounts with a view to restoring equilibrium between income and expenditure. He effected this, however, not by the imposition of new taxes alone, but also by the reduction of expenditure in accordance, as he said, with the maxim *magnum est vec-tigal parcimonia* ('economy is itself a great revenue'). To secure this, a Military Finance Commission was constituted under the presidency of Sir George (then Colonel) Balfour in order to effect every possible saving or reduction of expense of the army consistently with safety and efficiency. He tried similarly to reorganise

the police system and procured the appointment of a commission to review the numerous branches of civil expenditure. In all these measures, especially as regards the reduction of military expenditure and the imposition of income-tax, he received hearty support from Sir Bartle Frere, who before becoming Governor of Bombay had charge of the Exchequer in the interval between Wilson's death and the appointment of Mr. Laing. One need fear no contradiction in stating that Wilson was the first scientific economist and the greatest financier that ever came out to India, and it has been rightly said that he evoked order out of the chaos of Indian finance and rendered it possible for the future to regulate the outlay by the income. In the midst of his splendid work, however, he had from the latter part of June 1860 been suffering from dysentery to which he succumbed on Saturday, August 11, 1860, and was buried in the Lower Circular Road Cemetery, Calcutta, on the following evening. There stood around his grave the *elite* of the City of Palaces—most of the mourners being among those who had welcomed him to India only eight months before—and the string of carriages bearing sorrowful spectators is said to have covered more than two miles of the road leading to the burial ground. The following inscription marks his grave :—

“ SACRED

to the memory of the

RIGHT HONOURABLE JAMES WILSON,

who was expressly sent from England to restore order in the finances of India at a period of disastrous confusion. He proposed several important measures for that purpose, but died from the combined effects of climate, anxiety and labour within eight months after his arrival in India.

Mr. Wilson, was one of the soundest political economists, safest financiers and best administrators in his generation. He contributed to the adoption of Free Trade Policy in England by a long series of elaborate writings, as well as by protracted exertions in Parliament and in office. He was Secretary of the Treasury during two administrations, besides spending many laborious years in other departments of state and his aid was often sought by his political contemporaries, when economical difficulties required investigation or grave financial work required to be done.

Mr. Wilson was born at Hawick, in the County of Roxburghshire, N. B., on the 3rd day of June 1805, and died at Calcutta, on the 11th day of August, 1860; aged 55.”

Wilson was of middle height with broad chest and shoulders and possessed an intellectual cast of countenance. A fine full length statue in white marble by Sir John Steele of Edinburgh may be seen in the Dalhousie Institute. He had (in the words of Sir Richard Temple) a “keen perception of every object that met his view, a habit of casting observant looks in all directions, and an extraordinarily retentive memory of what he saw, heard or read. His manner of conversation, though grave while he was intent on work, was bright and vivacious in society. He was methodical in his habits, ever searching for first principles and then applying them to actual circumstances.” Wilson was a foreign Associate of the Institute of France. The celebrated Sir William Wilson Hunter was a nephew of his and began his Indian career three years after the death of his illustrious uncle. Wilson was succeeded in the Finance Ministership of India by

SAMUEL LAING

the very person who had taken his chair as Financial

Secretary to the Treasury. He was a son of Samuel Laing, the traveller and author of the well-known "Tours" and was a nephew of Malcolm Laing, the historian of Scotland. Born on December 12, 1812, he was educated at Houghton-le-Spring Grammar School and privately by Richard Wilson, a fellow of St. John's, Cambridge. Entering that College as a pensioner on July 5, 1827, he obtained the B.A. degree as second Wrangler in 1831 and was also Second Smith's prizeman. He was admitted a student of Lincoln's Inn on November 10, 1832; was elected a Fellow of St. John's on March 17, 1834, and was called to the Bar on June 9, three years later. He then became Private Secretary to Henry Labouchere (afterwards Lord Taunton) who was at the time President of the Board of Trade. At the age of thirty he became Secretary to the Railway Department of the Board of Trade on its formation in 1842, and by dint of exceptional ability made himself famous as an authority on Railway matters. It was to his suggestion that the English public are indebted for the running of "Parliamentary" trains at the rate of one penny per mile. Connection with industrial and commercial concerns gained for him much financial experience and in June 1860 he was made Financial Secretary to the Treasury. In October of that year he was called to India to replace Wilson as Financial Minister to the Governor-General. When first asked to undertake the work he said to Lord Palmerston that the question of going to India to doctor a sick budget with a deficit of six millions depended on military reduction and the possibility of military reduction rested on peace. He wanted the Prime Minister's opinion regarding the prospects of peace to enable him to regulate his financial

policy. Palmerston replied that he did not trust the man at the Tuilleries an inch further than he could see him; but for the next two or three years, which was enough for their purpose, he thought he was fairly safe of peace, and advised Laing to go in for reduction. Joining his new post on January 10, 1861, Samuel Laing preserved in the main the principle of his predecessor in regard to the income-tax, but he introduced certain modifications in the details of levying it, and, by judicious moderation, tried to remove, or at any rate, to mitigate any causes of reasonable discontent. This he did by "lowering its rate, by waiving the claim to revise assessments, and by exempting the lower incomes altogether." While admitting the merits of the income-tax in bringing the untaxed yet wealthy classes under taxation, he was actuated to take this middle course under the belief that it was unsuitable to the circumstances of India. He abstained from levying the license tax, but arranged to increase the salt duties. The license tax, however, was introduced in 1867 by the Right Honourable William Massey during the Viceroyalty of Sir John Lawrence, while the income-tax was abolished in 1873 under the *régime* of Lord Northbrook who was perhaps the greatest financier among Indian Viceroys. He next settled the Paper Currency by having a revised bill passed and the Master of the Mint was made Head Commissioner of State Paper Currency. Following Lord Canning's dictum that even the danger of having too small a force of European troops was of less moment than the danger of imposing too heavy a burden of taxation upon large classes of the people, he lent his support to the measures started by his predecessor for diminishing expenditure and assisted in the abolition of the Indian Navy. Like Wilson he tried to check

extravagance and enforce a wise economy, so long as the latter was compatible with efficiency. He was also much impressed by the indications of India's vitality and resources and anticipated much benefit from material improvement, especially the construction of canals for irrigation. Towards the middle of 1861 he was attacked with dysentery—the disease which had carried off his predecessor, and went for a few weeks on a voyage to the Straits of Malacca. The change did him good and after some time he proceeded on short leave to England whence he returned much improved in health to produce his second budget in April 1862. Soon, however, he resigned his appointment and left for England in the month of July. It will be remembered that he was censured by Sir C. Wood (Lord Halifax); but he amply justified himself before resigning. Before leaving India he had the satisfaction to observe that he came out here under the impression of the gloomy, almost despairing views of Indian finance which were prevalent, and it was only by degrees, and as the result of close enquiry, that the conviction had forced itself upon his mind that the revenue of India was really buoyant and elastic to an extraordinary degree. In July 1865 he was again elected M.P. for Wick and after working in various capacities retired from Parliament in 1882 at the age of seventy. He published *Modern Science and Modern Thought* in 1885 and other works followed in quick succession till his death on August 6, 1897, at the ripe old age of eighty-six. He left two sons and three daughters. Among the latter is Mrs. Edward Kennard, the well-known writer of sporting tales.

SIR JOHN STRACHEY,
who passed away recently followed by his brother Sir Richard, was born in London on January 5, 1823,

and was the fifth son of Sir Edward Strachey of the Bengal Civil Service and a grandson of Sir Henry Strachey, who was for some time Private Secretary to Lord Clive. When only nineteen he obtained an appointment in the Bengal Civil Service and came out to Calcutta in 1842. After passing through the several grades in the service he rose to be the Lieutenant-Governor of the North-Western Provinces as successor to Sir William Muir. He had acted as Viceroy during the fortnight that elapsed between the assassination of Lord Mayo and the arrival from Madras of Lord Napier of Merchistoun. He gave sound advice and encouragement to Sir Syed Ahmed in the establishment of the Mahomedan Anglo-Oriental College at Aligarh and Strachey Hall is named after him. When coming out to India as Viceroy, Lord Lytton halted at Allahabad on his way from Bombay to Calcutta to take the experienced advice of Sir John Strachey in regard to the Afghan policy. In 1876 Strachey again succeeded Sir William Muir as Finance Minister and became the right hand man of the Viceroy. He developed the scheme of periodical provincial contracts. Resigning his appointment in 1880, he took his seat in the India Council five years later. In June 1907 he received the D.C.L. degree of the University of Oxford from Lord Curzon and died on the 19th December following. He was the trusted friend and adviser of successive Viceroys and influenced the Indian policy of the greater part of the Victorian era to a degree and over a period approached by few members of the Indian services, except, perhaps, by his brother Richard. These brothers may be compared only to John and Henry Lawrence of an earlier generation. Among his works may be mentioned *India: its Administration and Progress*, which has passed

through three editions and which is perhaps the "most concise and informed of detailed expositions of the principles and methods of British rule in India," and *Finances and Public Works of India* which was published in collaboration with his brother General Sir Richard Strachey. A tablet "in grateful commemoration of his services" was placed by Lord Lytton in the Agra Fort in 1880.

Perhaps no name is better known or beloved for sympathy with the people of India than that of

ROBERT KNIGHT.

Born on March 13, 1826, he left England at the age of 22 and came out here as an assistant in the firm of Messrs. Cutler, Palmer & Co. His earliest journalistic associations were formed at Bombay, where he became the editor of the *Bombay Times* (subsequently known as the *Times of India*) on the paper becoming the property of General Nassau Lees. Mr. Knight is said to have had considerable pecuniary interest in it. During the Mutiny of 1857 he fought hard to support the policy of Lord Canning and made his paper a power in the Western Presidency. While connected with the Bombay Press Mr. Knight was instrumental in starting the Press Telegraphic Service between India and Europe which was sold to, and is now associated with, the name of Baron Reuter. He was not, however, latterly over-pleased with the Baron's way of doing business and started in conjunction with the *Indian Daily News* and other daily papers the Central News Agency which for a long time gave satisfaction to the public. On his departure from Bombay the people presented him with half a lakh of rupees after giving him a farewell entertainment as a reward for his advocacy of moderate measures. He then went home and on his return to India started the

Indian Statesman which he sold to Mr. Sidney Laman Blanchard for Rs. 10,000. Coming to Bengal in 1858 he started the *Indian Economist*, a monthly journal of finance and statistics and the marked ability with which he handled these difficult subjects attracted the notice of Sir George Campbell, the Lieutenant-Governor. The latter offered Mr. Knight the post of Assistant Secretary to the Government of Bengal in the Agricultural and Statistical Department,—a post which was expressly created for him. At this time Sir Richard Temple's famine was going on and in his journal there were some expressions of disapproval of the policy of Lord Northbrook. Sir Evelyn Baring, Private Secretary to the Viceroy, was not a man to brook opposition and reduced by one-half the Government subscription by which the paper was chiefly supported, intimating that future opposition or even dissent from the policy of Government would result in the withdrawal of Government support altogether. Mr. Knight resigned the post after some time, as Lord Northbrook did not like the idea of his continuing as editor of the journal while he held the post of a Secretary to Government. With the co-operation of the Honourable Kristo Das Pal, Mr. Manmohan Ghose and other Indian gentlemen he started in 1876 the *Statesman* as a journal carried on in Indian interest. On May 4, 1878, an evening supplement devoted mainly to Literature and to War appeared and the paper continued to be issued twice daily till September of that year. It was the property of a joint stock company, Messrs. Nichols & Co. being its treasurers. When the Company failed about the year 1881 Mr. Knight mortgaged the press and plant to the Rajahs of Paikparah. He went home again (1879) on account of ill-health and in London he started a monthly *Statesman* with the help of Colonel

Osborne, which was afterwards converted into a weekly and ran for a year or so. It was at this time that Sir Richard Meade, Resident at Hyderabad, brought an action for defamation against Mr. Knight in the Court of Queen's Bench. It is said that Lord Lytton and other Anglo-Indian officials favoured this prosecution, but nothing came of the case owing to the death of Sir Salar Jung. Mr. Knight returned to India for the last time in 1880 and resumed charge of the *Statesman*, which, in his absence, was conducted by Mr. William Riach. He died on January 27, 1890. The number of Indians present at his funeral testified to the esteem in which the great deceased was held by the native community. He was a man of large heart and deep conviction endowed with vast information. On financial and statistical matters he could write with the authority of an expert. He may be called the Bayard of Indian Journalism and was without a rival among his contemporaries. Fearless in his advocacy of whatever cause he adopted, he always took the side of the weak and the suffering. He had an absorbing love for India and a passionate desire to do justice to her sons.

ROBERT HEATLY HOLLINGBERRY

was a Eurasian of sterling qualities, whose simple modesty always kept him in the background and prevented his services to the Government and the public from being known beyond the circle of his colleagues. Educated at the old Parental Academy, now known as the Doveton College, he entered Government service at the age of eighteen in the Military Accounts Office where his fine powers as an Accountant marked him out for selection when a vacancy occurred in the Financial Secretary's Office. During the Financial Membership

of the Right Honourable James Wilson, Mr. Hollingbery published a pamphlet on Finance bristling with carefully prepared statistics. The originality of the production attracted Wilson's attention and he took Hollingbery into his counsels. From that time forth he speedily rose in the confidence of his superiors and eventually became Assistant Secretary to the Government of India in the Financial Department on a salary of Rs. 2,000 per mensem. Thorough in his work and exhaustive in his research, his devotion to Government was unsurpassed. He was invited to go to England to represent the Government before a Parliamentary Committee which was overhauling the financial administration of India, but, through diffidence, he declined the honour. He was an authority in matters relating to land and currency and wrote largely on both these subjects. His book on "Silver" shews profound mastery of the currency question, but his greatest work was the one on the relation between landlord and tenant in Bengal. The zemindari settlement of Bengal will remain a standing monument of his industry and research, and, though superseded by Sir W. W. Hunter's "Bengal MSS.," will continue to be a charter of the Bengal Zemindars. When he set to work it was with a view to curb the pretensions of the zemindars, but such was the strength of their cause and such his own adherence to truth that he ended by siding with the Permanent Settlement. At great sacrifice to himself and with an utter disregard for money, he tried his best to help those who sought it in distress and even ran into debt and came to grief. But his dealings were always honourable. When arrested for debt and brought before the High Court he was asked by the Presiding Judge why he did not take the benefit of the Act, he

made no reply and quietly went to jail. He was a man of very simple habits and was unassuming and kind-hearted to a degree in his private life. It was once remarked of him that Hollingbery could control the finances of an empire but was unable to tie his own purse-strings. For many years he contributed a monthly sum of two hundred rupees towards the expenses of the Doveton College. On his retirement, forced upon him by his civil imprisonment, he had applied for a bonus, but the Government of Lord Lytton would not sanction it for the benefit of his creditors and granted him only a special pension of Rs. 500 per month. This was but a poor acknowledgment of the great services he had rendered to the State. He set apart, however, the whole of this pension to repay his debts which were incurred for no benefit to himself and fell back on personal labour to support himself for the few remaining years of his life. He stayed at Jeypore and other places where he earned enough for his few needs. He died on April 27, 1895, at the Howrah General Hospital, aged seventy. He was the author of the several financial codes which are now collectively known as the Civil Service Regulations. A keen-sighted financier as he was, his ability as an officer is proved by the fact that he was often consulted by Lord Mayo and Lord Northbrook, and scarcely any financial scheme was passed which had not his approval. Sir Richard Temple took his advice in every difficulty and was almost invariably guided by him. Once he had asked Hollingbery to devise a scheme for raising money without fresh taxation. The latter suggested the reduction of the expenditure in Jails and the Whipping Act was passed. He wanted to get half the population flogged to save Government from a financial crisis! He was very hardworking and shrank

from no labour, however great. On one occasion Lord Northbrook wanted to give him certain instructions personally and required his presence at dinner. Mr. Hollingbery's name not being in the Government House list, Mr. Chapman, the Financial Secretary, asked him to call at Government House to qualify himself for the honour. He gave every satisfaction to the Viceroy, and not only finished the special work before the allotted time, but did it in addition to his current duties, though orders were issued to relieve him. He was exceptionally kind to his assistants and would never punish them if he could help it. He used to say that office clerks are taught to tell lies by the harshness of their superiors. He left one son whom he sent to England for education and who took orders in the Church of England. Mr. Hollingbery was first cousin to E. W. Kellner, Esq., C.I.E., and to

SIR GEORGE WELSH KELLNER,

who was born at Calcutta on March 20, 1825, and was a son of Mr. Francis Daniel Kellner. He entered the service of the Indian Government in a subordinate capacity in 1841 and in the same year married Caroline, daughter of Mr. H. B. Gardener. It is said that when he was a young man of sixteen earning his livelihood by giving lessons in drawing, he made a fancy sketch of a Bengal official of high rank. The humour and truthfulness of the portrait attracted the notice of a big officer who befriended young Kellner and secured for him a post of a clerk in the Financial Department of the Government of India. His merits were appreciated by the head of his office and he contrived to get employed on a special mission which afforded scope for the exercise of his innate capacity for marshalling facts

and figures. An official report of his at length attracted the attention of Lord Dálhousie, who selected him to make a financial enquiry into the accounts of the Government and displayed great tact and discretion in the discharge of his duty. Lord Canning selected him for other similar enquiries and eventually for the Military Finance Commission. He improved his Indian experience by a course of studies in accounts in the war offices in London and Paris and also studied the financial working of the principal railways in both the places. On his return to India he was employed in re-organising the account departments of the Public Works, Railways, Customs and Civil offices. He possessed an intimate knowledge of military accounts, and, in the words of Sir Richard Temple, was one of the ablest men whom the uncovenanted service of India has produced. He accompanied Sir F. Goldsmid on a financial mission to Turkey in connection with the Telegraph Department and was twice deputed as a Government witness before committees of the House of Commons on Indian Finance and was complimented on both occasions for the evidence he gave. In the discharge of his various duties he uniformly exhibited a discretion which not only obtained the approval of Government but secured for him many friends in all departments of the service. He was appointed, on the ground of special fitness, to the post of Military Accountant-General of India in 1871,—an office which had up to that time been held by officers of high military rank. As a reward for his eminent services he was made a C.S.I. in 1877, and a K. C. M. G. two years later. He accompanied Lord Wolseley as Financial Commissioner and Member of Council to Cyprus (which had just, during the Russo-Turkish War, been added to

England) in 1878. That year, on his departure from Calcutta, he was entertained by his old "Uncovenanted" friends at a dinner in the Town Hall.

In 1882, he married Jane, daughter of Mr. F. B. Carter and in the same year was deputed by the Council of Foreign Bondholders to report upon the condition and prospects of the Republic of Costa Rica. He was made Assistant Pay Master-General of the Supreme Court of Judicature in England in 1884 and died in London on 10th June 1886, and was buried in the Kensal Green Cemetery. He was essentially a self-made man and had worked for his uncovenanted brethren for many years as Secretary to their Family Pension Fund. Of polished manners and devoid of any approach to pomposity, in private life he was very sociable and popular. By his first wife, he had a son, Cecil George, who was baptised at o'd St. James's Church which fell shortly after the Mutiny. The young man returned to India as a barrister, but died at Maimansing in his thirtieth year (1880).

An endeavour has been made above to recall a few Financiers whom India has known. The number of others, by whose deliberations and advice the country has benefited, is of course considerable.

KIRAN NATH DHAR, B.A.

CRITICAL NOTICES.

MODERN EGYPT. By the Earl of Cromer. With Portrait of Author and a Map. Macmillan & Co., London. 2 vols. 1908.

THE maker of modern Egypt has come forward to tell the story of his work in the Valley of the Nile for a period extending over thirty years after his retirement from the field of his labours. Being auto-biographical and written from personal knowledge, the work certainly possesses an abiding interest and a general importance which books of a like nature can scarcely expect to possess, produced as the latter are from published records, newspaper reports and second-hand information. Possessing first-hand knowledge of unique importance of the great events in which he acted the principal part and which went gradually to the making of modern Egypt as a British Protectorate, it is undoubtedly the fact that Lord Cromer is the best person to give us an account of the way in which the Valley of the Nile has been restored from chaos to order and from anarchy to peace. "And whatever be the ultimate issue of that undertaking," says Mr. Traill, "its record, let us be sure, will retain a lasting place in history, as its memories will abide in the traditions of the Egyptian people. If England, concentrating her strength for self-defence were forced to-morrow to retire from Egypt—even as Rome, our prototype in history, withdrew her legions from our own shores when her enemies gathered on her frontier—the last two decades of the nineteenth century would still be remembered in the Nile valley as a period when for the first time for countless generations, law and order and security reigned under the ægis of a power which has spread these blessings over half the world; when the stream of justice flowed pure from its fount, and the rich man could no more deflect its course than he could divert the waters of the Nile from the plot of the poorest cultivator; when the hand of the oppressor was stayed over the people, and the extortions of the tax-gatherer were made to cease, and the lash was wrested from the task-master, and the peasant everywhere ate of the fruit of his

labour, no man making him afraid. The recollection of these things will not soon pass away in Egypt; the experience is too sadly strange, too pathetically novel for that. It will be engraven on the hearts of the people as upon a stela as enduring as the sepulchres of their kings. And wherever the tale of this great and beneficent work is told the name of the English Administrator who guided its whole course from commencement to completion, whose unconquerable patience overcame one by one all the obstacles that impeded it, whose sagacity foresaw and whose firmness averted all the dangers that threatened it, will claim a place at the head of every chapter of the noble narrative, and be recalled with honour on every page."

The above is a glorious panegyric on the work done by Lord Cromer in Egypt, and no one can deny its justness and propriety. The work is magnificent and has altogether turned the history of the land of the Pharaohs in a different course. The intervention of England in Egyptian affairs is a god-send to the happy Valley of the Nile and the commission given to Lord Cromer for carrying out England's mission there is really providential. At present the work done by Lord Cromer may appear to some as altogether beneficial to England and harmful to Egyptian independence, but we cannot, by any stretch of imagination, foresee how it could go to the annihilation of the best interests of the Egyptians. On the other hand, there are unmistakable signs indicating that the work done by Lord Cromer has aroused the Egyptians to take a more prominent part in the administration of their own country and has produced ambitions and aspirations quite like those of the Western people. Lord Cromer has sown seeds of a national movement in the Valley of the Nile, and it is only time and prudent management that are required now by the Egyptians for reaping the harvest. The fact that the Egyptians are now ambitious of becoming a nation self-governing, independent and powerful, is itself the consequence of the magnificent work done by Lord Cromer apparently for England but really for the people of the Land of the Nile. Before England's intervention, there was no hankering among the Egyptians for a national independent

existence; had there been such a sentiment among the people, no foreign nation could have entered Egypt and meddled with its political affairs in the manner in which France and England have been able to do. The consciousness of national existence was absent among the Egyptians, but this sentiment now, how strong and widely prevalent among them under the guise of Pan-Islamic movement, is too clear to be dwelt upon. England's work in Egypt, just as her work in India, has inspired the people with the sentiment of nationality—a gain which under the ægis of any other Foreign Power it would have been quite impossible for the Egyptians to acquire within so short a time.

Coming to the book under notice we find, with a melancholy sensation, that the most striking part of Lord Cromer's work is his severe, rather cruel, criticism of General Gordon, the hero and martyr of Khartoum. His Lordship does not endorse the bitter accusations so freely levelled against the British Government in regard to their Soudan Policy in 1883-84, but he thinks they made two great mistakes. Of these one was a sin of omission and the other a sin of commission. The sin of omission was that the Government did nothing to stop the departure of the Hicks' expedition. The sin of commission was the despatch of General Gordon to Khartoum. Looking back at what occurred after a space of many years, two points are now clear to Lord Cromer. The first is, that no Englishman should have been sent to Khartoum. The second is, that if any one had to be sent, General Gordon was not the right man to send. Had the Hicks' expedition been forbidden by the Home Government, General Gordon would never have been sent to the Soudan; it was the spark that led to a great conflagration. The Mahdi had arisen in 1881 and spread his rules among a fanatical and misgoverned people. Early in 1883 General Hicks was appointed to the Soudan Army and was stationed at Khartoum. The Mahdi's power grew by leaps and bounds; El Obeid, the capital of the province of Kordofan, fell into his hands; the question to be answered was—should a part at least of the Soudan be evacuated or should General Hicks advance into Kordofan against the Mahdi? The expert opinion

of Colonel Stewart, Lord Dufferin and Sir E. Malet was against the expedition, but the Egyptian Government was averse to looking the facts in the face and sanctioning a withdrawal. The British Ministers, on the other hand, declined to take the responsibility on their shoulders. They might have forbidden the expedition, but unfortunately they abstained from all interference. They appear, indeed, to have seen that the wisest plan for the Egyptian Government would have been to stand on the defensive at Khartoum. But they did nothing to enforce this view.

The Hicks' expedition set out on September 8, 1883, three days before Lord Cromer's arrival in Egypt, as British Consul-General at Cairo. On November 5th, led astray by its guides, left to wander for three days and nights without water, having lost many hundreds of men by thirst, the whole army was cut to pieces by the Mahdi's forces. So came the necessity of evacuating the Soudan and of sending a right man to superintend the evacuation. The man chosen was the immortal General Gordon—a man, in Lord Cromer's opinion, *most unfitted for his task*. As British Consul-General, Lord Cromer became largely responsible for the management of local affairs in Egypt, and it became clear that the evacuating of the Soudan was the only practicable policy. The British Government was reluctant to employ British or Indian troops, or to see the employment of a Turkish army. The garrisons, therefore, so far as possible, must be withdrawn, for Egypt could not hold her ground against the Mahdi. Who should be sent to carry out the evacuation? On December 1, 1883, Lord Granville telegraphed to Lord Cromer thus:—"If General Charles Gordon were willing to go to Egypt, could he be of any use to you or to the Egyptian Government, and if so, in what capacity?" Lord Cromer objected to General Gordon, he now tells us, on the ground of "his personal unfitness to undertake the work in hand," but he refused Lord Granville's suggestion on the ground that Gordon, as a Christian, might alienate the loyal tribes. On January 10, 1884, Lord Granville again suggested that Gordon might be useful, and again Lord Cromer rejected the proposal. "Would" he adds, "that I had done so a third time!" But Lord Cromer consented—on conditions. He "knew something," he says

"of General Gordon's erratic character," and insisted that he must understand his subordinate position, take his orders from the British Consul-General at Cairo and report to him regarding his mission. It is Lord Cromer's great complaint against General Gordon that in this respect he did not strictly fulfil his duty.

It must not be thought that Lord Cromer does not pay sincere tribute to General Gordon's many good qualities. He does; but considering his own great responsibility at this time, he thinks it necessary to examine the side of Gordon's character which made him unfitted for the trust confided to his generous nature. Impulsive flightiness was, says Lord Cromer, the main defect of General Gordon's character, and it was one which in his opinion rendered him quite unfit to carry out a work which pre-eminently required a cool and steady head. Lord Cromer used to receive some twenty or thirty telegrams from General Gordon in the course of the day when he was at Khartoum, those in the evening often giving opinions which it was impossible to reconcile with others despatched the same morning. The greater part of the English Press, notably the *Pall Mall Gazette*, demanded the despatch of General Gordon to the Soudan; Lord Granville and the Home Government desired to send him; Sir Evelyn Wood and other experts were favourable to his employment. So, says Lord Cromer, "I gave a reluctant consent, in reality against my own judgment and inclination, because I thought that as everybody differed from me I must be wrong. I also thought that I might be unconsciously prejudiced against General Gordon from the fact that his habits of thought and modes of action in dealing with public affairs differed widely from mine. In yielding, I made a mistake which I shall never cease to regret. Had I known General Gordon better I should certainly never have agreed to his employment."

On January 26, 1884, General Gordon left Cairo for Khartoum on his fateful mission, in excellent spirits and hopeful of success. "My own heart," writes Lord Cromer, "was heavy within me, I had seen General Gordon. Manifestly, in spite of many fine and attractive qualities, he was even more eccentric than I had originally supposed." He might be under Lord

Cromer's orders, but "a man who habitually consults the Prophet Isaiah when he is in a difficulty, is not apt to obey the orders of any one." The main point of Lord Cromer's indictment against General Gordon is this that he was sent to Khartoum "to do the best he could to carry out the evacuation" and that he extended his instructions to an extent which was violation of his duty, that he wished to "smash the Mahdi," and he refused to consider any scheme which did not provide for the retreat of all the garrisons throughout the Soudan which were menaced by the Mahdi. On November 19, 1884, he wrote:—"I declare positively, and once for all, that I will not leave the Soudan until everyone who wants to go down is given the chance to do so, unless a Government is established which relieves me of the charge; therefore if any emissary or letter comes up here ordering me to come down I will not obey it, but, will stay here and fall with the town and run all risk." Magnificent, comments Lord Cromer, but neither war nor duty! Hence Lord Cromer finds no hesitation in saying that General Gordon cannot be considered to have tried to do his duty, unless a very strained and mistaken view be taken of what his duty, was. He appears to Lord Cromer to have set up for himself a certain standard of duty without any deliberate thought of the means by which his objects were to be accomplished, or of the consequence which would probably ensue to the British Government and the British nation from attempts to accomplish them. As a matter of public morality, Lord Cromer cannot think that General Gordon's process of reasoning is defensible. The duty of a public servant placed in his position was to sink his personal opinions.

The truth is, according to Lord Cromer, that General Gordon was so eager to "smash the Mahdi," and so possessed with the idea that it was the bounden duty of the British Government to extricate all the garrisons that he tried to force the hand of the Government and to oblige them to send an expedition to the Soudan. Lord Cromer thus sums up the melancholy indictment:—"I do not think that it can be held that General Gordon made any serious effort to carry out the main ends of British and Egyptian policy in the Soudan. He thought more of his personal opinions than of the interests of

the State. He did not adopt his means to his ends. He knew, or at all events he should have known, what were the main and what the subsidiary, objects of British policy, and he deliberately ranked the second before the first, because his personal predilections tended in that direction. The execution of that policy should have been in the hands of a man who could fight if necessary, but who would devote all his efforts to turning his mission into one of peace rather than of war; he should have been cool, self-controlled, clear-headed, and consistent, deliberate in the formation of his plans, after a careful study of the facts with which he had to deal, and steadfast in their execution when once his mind was made up. General Gordon possessed none of these qualities. He was extremely pugnacious. He was hot-headed, impulsive and swayed by his emotions. It is a true saying that "he that would govern others first should be the master of himself." One of the leading features of General Gordon's strange character was his total absence of self-control. He was liable to fits of ungovernable and often of most unreasonable passion. He formed rabid opinions without deliberation, and rarely held to one opinion for long. His Journal, in which his thoughts from day to day are recorded, is even in the expurged form in which it was published, a mass of inconsistencies. He knew nothing of English public life, or generally, of the springs of action which move governing bodies. He appears to have been devoid of the talent, so valuable to a public servant in a distant country, of transporting himself in spirit elsewhere. His imagination, indeed, ran riot, but whenever he endeavoured to picture to himself what was passing in Cairo or London, he arrived at conclusions which were not only unworthy of himself but grotesque—as, for instance, when he likened himself to Uriah and Hittite, and insinuated that the British Government hoped that he and his companions would be killed or taken prisoners by the Mahdi."

In fact, concludes Lord Cromer, "except personal courage, great fertility in military resource, a lively, though sometimes ill-directed, repugnance to injustice, oppression and meanness of every description and a considerable power of acquiring influence over those, necessarily limited in numbers, with whom he was brought in personal contact, General Gordon does not

appear to have possessed any of the qualities which would have fitted him to undertake the difficult task he had in hand." The above is a serious indictment against a dead man, by which Lord Cromer challenges the verdict of the whole civilised world which has long ago accepted General Gordon as the supreme type, in these latter days, of devotion to duty even unto death. "I am quite happy, thank God," General Gordon wrote to his sister within a few weeks of his death. And like Lawrence "I have tried to do my duty." To this Lord Cromer replies in the negative. A well-known critic says—let us endeavour to answer Lord Cromer's two questions. What was General Gordon's duty? Did he in reality try to do his duty? The materials for replying to these questions are fortunately ample and of undisputed authenticity. General Gordon's duty was to execute the mission entrusted to his care, to obey his instructions, and to save the honour of his country. What was the mission entrusted to him? General Gordon's version of it was that he had to cut off the dog's tail, *coute que coute*, and save the garrisons. He was to go up and evacuate the country, fully understanding that the Government would not guarantee the future government of the Soudan. He accepted the mission on that understanding. When he got to Cairo he met Lord Cromer, who had originally suggested the despatch of an officer of high authority to Khartoum "with full powers to withdraw the garrisons and to make the best arrangements he can for the future of the country." This was the root idea in Lord Cromer's mind as to the double duty to be imposed upon the "officer of high authority" who happened to be General Gordon.

In this connection it should be borne in mind that the above duty, as originally defined by Lord Cromer himself before General Gordon was selected when he himself had vetoed the appointment of General Gordon, was twofold; and neither part was subsidiary, but both are essential. He had (1) to withdraw the garrisons and (2) to arrange for the future government of the country. After General Gordon's arrival at Cairo, Lord Cromer gave him detailed instructions as to his duty. The main end to be kept in view and pursued was the evacuation of the Soudan. But this included the two objects above stated. In order to achieve this two-fold end, he was appointed Governor-General of the

Soudan by the Egyptian Government, which at that time was in the pocket of Lord Cromer. The *firmans* issued by the Khedive were approved by Lord Cromer, and they still further defined General Gordon's duty. The governing sentence was the following:—"We trust that your Excellency will adopt the most effective measures for the accomplishment of your mission in this respect (the withdrawal of the troops, civil officials, and such of the inhabitants, together with their belongings, as may wish to leave the Soudan), and that, after completing the evacuation, you will take the necessary steps for establishing an organised government in the different provinces of the Soudan for the maintenance of order and the cessation of all disorders and incitement to revolt." To avoid all possibility of doubt, he was further charged:—(1) to restore public tranquillity on a sure basis; (2) to establish justice and order; (3) to maintain the security of the roads open to commerce. The Khedive in granting General Gordon such extensive powers, said: "I have only made one condition: that he should provide for the safety of the Europeans and the Egyptian civilian element. My heart bleeds at the thoughts of the thousands of loyal adherents whom a false step may doom to destruction."

Here then we have General Gordon's duty defined by the two authorities to whom he owed allegiance. Both put the safety of the garrisons in the first place, and both added, as an only less important duty, the establishment of some government in the evacuated territory, a duty to be understood after the completion of the evacuation. To do that was General Gordon's duty. "Did he in reality try to do his duty?" It is surely preposterous on the part of Lord Cromer to raise such a question after the lapse of so many years during which General Gordon's memory has been cherished by the world as a martyr to the cause of Duty. The entire tragic record shows that General Gordon was desperately and passionately determined to do his duty and execute his instructions, and that it was because he deemed the honour of England pledged to the carrying out of those instructions that he incurred the animosity of those who are involved in the "indelible disgrace" of his betrayal. The accusation and indictment are evidently an after-thought. No suggestion that General Gordon was flinging his instructions to

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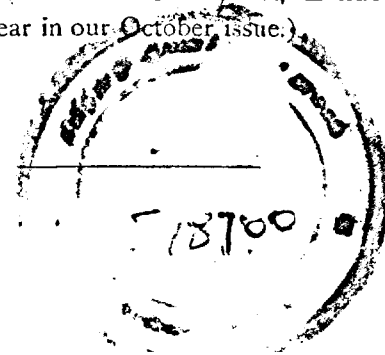
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George Birdwood, M. D., K. C. I. E., K. C. S. I., LL. D.
John Murray, Albemarle Street, W., London. (A full
review will appear in our October issue.)



the winds finds any place in Lord Cromer's own despatches during that fateful year of 1884. On the contrary, Sir Evelyn Baring again and again identified himself with Gordon's policy. In his book he endeavours to make out that General Gordon allowed himself to be carried away by his pugnacious self-willed spirit and that he subordinated the interests of the State to his personal opinion!! A more unworthy slander was never uttered about a dead hero.

Lord Cromer's contention now is that General Gordon's discovery on February 26th that "if Egypt is to be quiet, the Mahdi must be smashed up," showed that his combative spirit completely got the better of him, and that the demand for the smashing of the Mahdi was contrary both to the spirit and the text of his instructions. But he only discovered that after Gordon was dead. Writing to Lord Granville immediately after he received Gordon's telegram, he expressed his entire agreement with General Gordon's proposal "to make every effort of which the present circumstances admit to set up some settled form of Government to replace the former Egyptian administration." He went further than this. After he had received General Gordon's long despatch on March 8th, 1884, explaining that it was absolutely necessary to have Zebehr at once, because Zebehr "would make short work out of the Mahdi," Lord Cromer telegraphed urgently supporting General Gordon's demand, declaring "I think the policy of sending Zebehr to Khartoum and giving him a subsidy is in harmony with the policy of evacuation." Now, when General Gordon is dead, Lord Cromer tells us, that the policy of smashing the Mahdi, of which the despatch of Zebehr was the indispensable first step, was in flagrant violation both of the spirit and the letter of his instructions! Even that is not all. He now says that when the demand for Zebehr was refused, General Gordon, if he had been loyal to his instructions, "ought to have concentrated his efforts on evacuation. He did nothing of the sort. He thought mainly of the subsidiary portion of his instructions and neglected the main issue." Now it is difficult to find words adequately to describe such a misrepresentation of the facts. We have only to turn to page 518 of Lord Cromer's own book to find the conclusive refutation of this abominable

calumny. On March 10th, General Gordon anticipating the refusal of Zebhr and the diversion to Berber, wrote to Lord Cromer saying that in that case "I can see no use in holding on to Khartoum. Your instructions to me had better be that I should evacuate Khartoum, and with all the employees and troops remove the seat of Government to Berber. You must give a prompt reply to this, as even the retreat to Berber may not be in my power in a few days, and even if carried out at once, the retreat will be of extreme difficulty." There is nothing here about thinking "mainly of the subsidiary portion of his instructions." Gordon asks for instructions to justify him in "concentrating" on the main issue. Now what was Lord Cromer's reply? He tells us (page 521): "I repeated Lord Granville's telegrams (authorising him to extend his appointment for any reasonable period which may be necessary to carry out the objects)—plural, mark you, not the one object of sending down the garrisons of this mission with which he has been entrusted" instructing him at the same time to "hold on to Khartoum until I could communicate further with the British Government." Alas! Gordon was even then cut off from all communication with the outside world. Is it conceivable that the man who refused to order Gordon at his own request, to "concentrate on evacuation" and who actually ordered him to "hold on to Khartoum" until he had accomplished the objects of his mission, should now have the calm effrontery to upbraid General Gordon for holding on to Khartoum, and trying to accomplish the objects of his mission?

This charge brought in cold blood against a dead man who died because he obeyed Lord Cromer's orders is obviously an after-thought. Lord Cromer now admits that he ought to have ordered him to come down to Berber. But at the time he saw too well the objections to that course. He wrote to Lord Granville thus:—"The alternative which General Gordon will probably adopt of evacuating Khartoum at once and retiring on Berber is open to very great objections and will be most difficult to execute. It involves the certainty of sacrificing the garrisons of Sennar, Bahr-el-Ghasel and Gondokoro. I do not think that the retreat could be carried out without great personal risk to Gordon and Stewart. The ultimate effect will be that Khartoum

must fall to the Mahdi, whose powers will be thus immensely increased, and the policy of creating a bulwark between Egypt and the Mahdi, which I cannot but think is the only wise course to follow, will have to be finally abandoned." The doctrine that the setting up of a government for the Soudan was merely subsidiary to the main issue—that of rescuing the garrisons—found no favour in Lord Cromer's sight in 1884. He wrote in the same despatch from which we have quoted already:—"General Gordon's main contentions appear to me to be perfectly clear and reasonable. They are, first, that the two questions of withdrawing the garrisons and of arranging for the future government of the country cannot be separated. Secondly, that it is most undesirable, even if it be possible, for him to withdraw without leaving some permanent man to take his place." Yet it is the man who wrote that in 1884 who now asperses the honour and loyalty of General Gordon because he acted upon these "perfectly clear and reasonable contentions," the force of which was then recognised even at Cairo. How much more cogent they must have seemed at Khartoum need not be said. Is it possible that Lord Cromer, feeling a very natural shame at the way in which he had thwarted General Gordon's policy and had so contributed to his doom, has found an ignoble relief in aspersing the character of the hero who sacrificed himself to save the honour of his country? "It grieves me" says an old friend of Gordon, "to have to make such a suggestion concerning a public servant who has so distinguished a record as Lord Cromer. I owe it to the memory of my dead friend to expose the meanness of the attempt to besmirch the fair name of the Bayard of the nineteenth century."

The second volume is different in character from the first and will be found more generally readable. It has clearly been written in large part recently, probably during the nine months which have elapsed since Lord Cromer's retirement from official life. It deals with the present position in Egypt and its future. It is the work of a freer hand, of a writer no longer officially responsible, of one giving vent to feelings and opinions long suppressed. We imagine it will embarrass to no small degree the work of conciliating popular feeling entrusted to his successor at Cairo. This portion of Lord Cromer's work is in

effect a fierce, nay, a brutal, challenge to all native Egyptian sentiment, emphasising the bitterness of the writer's heart partially disclosed in his last official report, published a year ago. It begins with an attack on the Mahomedan religion which cannot but give the gravest offence both in Egypt and in India, and it goes on to deny all claim of intellectual or moral fitness for self-government not only to the Mahomedans of Egypt, but to every section there of the native community, Copts, Armenians and Syrians all alike. It is written, moreover, in that tone of contemptuous official superiority, which, whether justified in fact or not, has done more than anything else to raise trouble for us in India, a tone which in spite of the material benefits bestowed on Egypt by his administration roused against Lord Cromer in his last days at Cairo such a storm of native resentment as to leave him almost without a friend. We cannot think that the publication of abusive words so wounding at the present moment can do anything but grave harm. It is, indeed, more than probable that Lord Cromer is himself aware that this will be the result, and that the appearance of a work by him containing them runs risk of being disapproved in certain high quarters. There is, indeed, a suggestion of such a probability in the brief preface, dated 31st December 1907, in which Lord Cromer at the moment of publication explains:—"I am wholly responsible for the contents of this work. It has no official character whatever."

With the exception of Gordon episode which is dealt with regardless of official etiquette, there is, we believe, nothing in the historic part of the whole work—that is the major portion—which might not have been put together equally well by a painstaking compiler out of the Blue-books and other published records. There is hardly any new document quoted or incident narrated or fact not already known. Still the work is not without its merits; its reflections on the British policy in Egypt and the author's cogitations on the future of the Valley of the Nile are matters of serious consequence to the future administrators of a great dependency of Great Britain. Lord Cromer has practically made Egypt a British dependency; the Khedive is now only an annuitant of England. As such, the Egyptians are to all intents and purposes, as good as British subjects.

The fate of Egypt like that of India rests entirely with the British politicians. According to Lord Cromer Egypt for the Egyptians, like India for the Indians, is nothing less than a dream, and Egyptian nationality a chimera.

MR. CREWE'S CAREER. By Winston Churchill. Macmillan and Co., Ltd., 1908.

THE distinction between the strong and the merely strenuous, between the forceful and purposeful character and that which is merely "pushful," is one that is very apt to be lost sight of nowadays. Mr. Winston Churchill draws in vigorous line, however, and he will be a dull reader who fails to read the lesson of "Mr. Crewe's Career." From dedication to postscript the book is manifestly and unashamedly full of purpose, and good purpose too. And yet we do not often read a story so full of interest and grip.

There may be those who will regret that our author has come down out of the past to grapple with what we somewhat too easily term the commonplace present. And yet nearly all of us, at times, grow weary of the past, and our minds are held by the great problems of our own time. Why, we ask sometimes, did not Shakespeare tell us something of the spacious times of Queen Elizabeth? And why, equally, should not our best writers use their best endeavours to record the attitude of mind, the habits of life, and the great movements of the by no means dull or uneventful period of earth's history in which they and we are alike spectators and actors?

Austen Vane, the son of Hilary Vane, the law agent of the Imperial Railroad, launches out upon a sea of troubles when his untamed conscience bids him oppose his father, and his environment becomes positively tempestuous when his affections fix themselves on Victoria Flint, the daughter of the president of the same high-handed corporation. Conscience rules, however, and in the end the heart comes to its own. The character of Victoria Flint commands admiration. Here is a young woman of perception, and, though to her hard and masterful father and to her empty frivolous mother Austen is but a young fool who cannot see where his chances of success

ie, to her he is the one man who can be trusted and believed in. Humphrey Crewe whirls in and out in his red car: he represents money, and all that money gets, but his soul is lean, and his perception is as deficient as his sense of humour.

Shall we say that some of the characters are overdrawn? No, for we have met them times out of number. The self-sufficiency of Mr. Crewe, is a very widely distributed virtue, and yet—did any man ever propose to any woman in the way he did?

The book is full of the poetic consciousness of nature; the changing aspects of mountain and river and sky are interwoven with human moods and actions in our author's accustomed way. "Mr. Crewe's Career" is an interesting story, and, as we have indicated, it is also a book to give thought to the thoughtful in more than one direction.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

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