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BY

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G.C.S.I., C.I.E., D.C.L.,

LATE GOVERNOR OF BOMBAY, LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR OF BENGAL,
AND FINANCE MINISTER OF INDIA.

THIRD EDITION.

WITH TWO MAPS.

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TO HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS
ALBERT EDWARD

Prince of Wales,

IN MEMORY OF HIS VISIT TO INDIA,
ON WHICH MOST AUSPICIOUS OCCASION
GREAT BENEFIT WAS CONFERRED

ON THE

PRINCES, NOBLES, AND PEOPLE

OF THAT EMPIRE

WITH A POTENT AND ENDURING EFFECT

ON THEIR HEARTS AND MINDS,

THIS BOOK IS,

WITH THE GRACIOUS PERMISSION OF HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS,

Dedicated,

BY HIS DUTIFUL AND LOYAL SERVANT,

THE AUTHOR.

PREFACE TO THE THIRD EDITION.

THE issue of a third edition seems to be a suitable opportunity for adverting in general terms to the notices which this book has received during the eighteen months that have elapsed since its first appearance. I am thankful to find that it has been favoured with some commendation from the Press, and that no material error whatever has been discovered. Still there has come from several organs of opinion some criticism which deserves attention, and may be considered as relating to, first, the want of definiteness in the expression of opinion regarding at least a few important points; secondly, the optimism alleged to characterize parts of the work.

The first heading of criticism, then, relates to the supposed want of definiteness in the expression of opinion regarding several important points. Now, as stated in the introduction, at page 3, the work was meant to be a dispassionate survey, and to supply the reader with the means of judging for himself regarding difficult and disputed questions rather than to establish any particular conclusions. I trust that this much is in some degree effected, and that the various sides, phases, or aspects of many doubtful matters are duly presented. Still in the course of the exposition, my own view was meant to be indicated, though it might not be dogmatically expressed. For instance in chapter IV. the political advantages accruing to the British Government from the existence of the Native States, the elements of security thereby afforded to the Indian empire, are positively set forth. By chapter VI. it was intended to imply distinctly that the

land can support the additional numbers which are yearly being added to its vast population, that the wealth of the people is increasing fast under British rule, and is fairly well diffused among all classes except the very humblest, that even these humblest are not so depressed as they were in former times, and feel poverty less than the corresponding classes among Northern and Western races. In chapters VII. and VIII. it is fully explained that the moral effect of British rule upon the various sections of the people is beneficial, with but few exceptions, that mental progress, though slow among the majority, is rapid among several important classes, that the character of the educated classes is greatly improved by the Western education, and that public instruction, though as yet defective and insufficient, is beginning to scatter blessings abroad. A large degree of success is claimed for the Christian missions in chapter IX., and a decisive influence for good is attributed to them. By chapter X. the legislation for India is declared to be excellent in all respects, and the charge of over-legislating is answered. In chapter XI. the repression of violent crime is affirmed, while the police and prisons are pronounced to have been really much improved, despite many defects still remaining. The settlement of the land revenue and of landed tenures is unreservedly commended in chapter XII., the recognition by the Government of a property in the land is declared to be a valuable concession to the people, and a perpetual boon, while the status of the proprietary classes, whether landlords or peasant proprietors, is held to be satisfactory. But while those tenants who have occupancy rights are protected against oppression, those who have not such rights are unprotected, and have a fair claim to better protection in future. Still the rank and file of the agriculturists are on the whole flourishing. In chapter XIII. the land revenue is declared to be well and carefully assessed, the salt-tax to be paid without real difficulty by the poor, and without sensibly affecting consumption, the opium is held to be a legitimate subject of taxation not truly open to

the moral objections recently adduced against it. The entire abolition of the import duties on British piece goods is suggested. By chapters XIV., XV., and XVI. the canals of irrigation are shewn to be works of which any country might be proud, to be efficacious in times of famine, and financially profitable; the railways are proved to be successful whether under the guarantee system or under State management; the trunk roads are found to be finely engineered. Respecting natural and industrial products in chapter XVII. the need of forest conservancy is urged in the most emphatic manner, and the danger is indicated of stifling the art-genius of the Natives by the misapplication of European ideas. The allegations that India is drained yearly of much produce, receives an unequal amount in return, and is injured by the obligation to remit large sums annually to England in payment for value received or service rendered, are controverted in chapter XVIII. regarding commerce. The cause of sanitation is earnestly pleaded in chapter XIX., and the means of saving life in times of famine are clearly outlined in chapter XX. The requirements of agricultural instruction for the people are pressed strongly in chapter XXII. relating to physical science. By chapter XXV., regarding the army, the reduction of fighting strength is deprecated, and the need of maintaining the European and Native forces at full strength is set forth. The possible embarrassment to Indian interests from the Russian movements in the Turcoman country, and from the approach of Russia towards Afghanistan, are explained in chapter XXIV. Lastly, in chapter XXVII., regarding finance, endeavour is made to do justice to the objections which have been brought to bear upon the financial situation, but the soundness of that situation is vindicated.

Thus with the exception of those few chapters which are purely descriptive, the whole work abounds with opinions of mine definitely enuniated. The reader may or may not accept these opinions; but he is always warned of any counter-opinions which may be known to exist, and he is apprised of

the arguments on both sides in case he desires to form his own judgment. Thus, my opinions, though free, as I hope, from incisiveness or dogmatism, will not actually be found wanting in definiteness.

Doubtless the tenour of these opinions is very favourable to the Indian empire. Certainly I feel the pride which all Englishmen have felt on contemplating the wondrous achievements of our countrymen in the East. But if by optimism is meant the disposition to observe the bright parts only of the picture; and not its shadows, then I have no intention at all of being an optimist. Indeed, nothing in my judgment could be more dangerous than to encourage the British public in a belief that the Indian empire is free from disadvantages and perils, and may be left to take care of itself without incessant vigilance on the part of the governing race. My intention, therefore, was to point out every one of the troubles greater or lesser to which the empire is exposed; and I did this to the best of my recollection. A few references (following as nearly as possible the order of the pages) will convey some idea of the manner in which this part of my task has been fulfilled, for example :

- the several kinds of discontent pent up in the British territories and needing a safety valve to be supplied by the Native States, p. 63 ;
- the possible embarrassment from the military forces of the Native States being maintained at an excessive strength, and from their arsenals becoming efficient, p. 66 ;
- the Arab element in the army of the Nizam in the Deccan, p. 68 ;
- the national and perhaps hostile sentiment surviving among the Mahratta States and Mahratta mountaineers, p. 72 ;
- the probability of the Gurkha nationality in Nepal asserting itself in event of any general commotion, p. 74 ;
- the causes, climatic and other, producing more than ordinary sickness and mortality among the people, p. 81 ;

the impossibility of preventing the periodical recurrence of famine, pp. 87, 337 ;
the difficulty of sustaining the cattle at certain seasons, and the consequent murrains, pp. 99, 362 ;
the inadequate application of human labour and the extreme lowness of wages in some rural localities, p. 100 ;
the comparative poverty shewn by the smallness of the income tax proceeds, p. 102 ;
the inevitable unpopularity of British rule with certain classes of the people, pp. 107, 500 ;
the probability of the old spirit of plunder breaking out again if the bonds of order were loosened, p. 110 ;
the disaffection and fanaticism occasionally manifested among the Muhammadans, pp. 114, 120 ;
the uneasiness prevailing among the decayed Native aristocracy, p. 116 ;
the unconquerable pride of the Hindu priesthood, p. 118 ;
the inflammable character of Sikhism in the Punjab, p. 120 ;
the political ideas and aspirations of the educated Natives, pp. 125, 126 ;
the unfriendly tendencies sometimes evinced by the vernacular press, p. 132 ;
the discontent among highly qualified Natives who cannot find scope for their abilities, pp. 133, 134 ;
the paucity of children at school relatively to the vast population, despite all our educational efforts, p. 139 ;
the want of technical instruction, pp. 143, 144 ;
the backwardness of female education, p. 159 ;
the oppression practised by usurious creditors upon ignorant debtors, p. 187 ;
the political import of gang-robbery in Western India, p. 198 ;
the sudden outburst of rioting at various times, p. 199 ;
the faults remaining in the police even after the reorganization, p. 205 ;

- the not infrequent occurrence of serious mortality in the prisons, p. 211 ;
- the partial failure of the Permanent Settlement in Bengal to ensure the outlay of capital on the land, p. 115 ;
- the indebtedness among some classes of the peasant proprietors, pp. 221, 222 ;
- the want of elasticity in the revenues, pp. 244, 447 ;
- the hesitation of the people in some provinces to use the water provided by canals of irrigation, p. 258 ;
- the difficulty of framing projects for irrigation in a manner that shall ensure the State being repaid for the outlay, p. 262 ;
- the extension of railways checked by expensiveness in construction, p. 277 ;
- the mischief arising from wasteful cutting of the forests, p. 296 ;
- the danger to the public health from impure drinking water, p. 323 ;
- the bad ventilation of urban dwellings, p. 325 ;
- the slow exhaustion of the soil and the absence of agricultural instruction, pp. 361, 362 ;
- the insufficiency of naval force to fully protect British interests in Indian waters, p. 376 ;
- the incompleteness of defensive works for the coasts and harbours, p. 377 ;
- the destructive effects of cyclones, p. 380 ;
- the limits of the fidelity of Native troops, p. 394 ;
- the diminished attractiveness of British military service in Native estimation, p. 401 ;
- the difficulties of military transport, p. 409 ;
- the specific risk to India if Russian influence were to be established in Afghanistan, p. 434 ;
- the menace to Herat from the Russian movements in the Turkoman districts, p. 431 ;
- the drain upon the finances from the recurring expenditure for the prevention of famine, p. 459 ;

the loss by exchange on the remittances to England in silver to be measured by a gold standard, p. 459.

This may seem a long list of troubles for an empire which is in the main secure and flourishing. In fact the Indian empire teems with difficulties, and its security depends on the watchfulness of the ruling power. Still, if England is true to herself, the imperial interests are safe, and the difficulties will be encountered with more or less of success by English resources, while some of them may even be removed with English perseverance. But if the precautions heretofore so well maintained were to become relaxed, then the dangers, inherent in a foreign rule, would thicken fast, like clouds gathering to burst in a tempest.

Since the publication of this book in December 1880, the proceedings of Russia in the Turkoman country have been largely developed. The occupation of Merve has not been actually effected, only because a still more important line of operations has been adopted by Askabad and Serakhs, close along the north-eastern frontier of Persia. A railway has been made from the eastern shore of the Caspian to Kizil Arvat for the transport of Russian troops and material to the Turkoman territories, and will probably be soon extended along the Persian border in the direction of Afghanistan. The Turkomans appear to have been subdued with a completeness surpassing anticipation. Their almost unique resources in cavalry will be at the disposal of the conqueror. It may be foreseen that ere long the Russian forces will be within a comparatively short distance of Herat.

The favourable view taken in 1880 regarding the finances of India has been fully borne out by all that has since occurred. With the help of a contribution of five millions sterling from the English treasury, India has paid or will very shortly pay out of her own current revenues and cash balances the expenses of the late Afghan war, or twenty-one millions sterling, without making any addition to her public debt on that account.

This defrayal of the war charges by India is the more remarkable as she has paid from her current revenues fifteen millions sterling within the last few years for the relief of her people from starvation by famine. Even now, with considerable reduction of taxation both of the salt-duties and of the customs, her finance is in a condition of surplus. And notwithstanding the mortality from recent famines her population has increased by thirteen millions of souls during the last ten years.

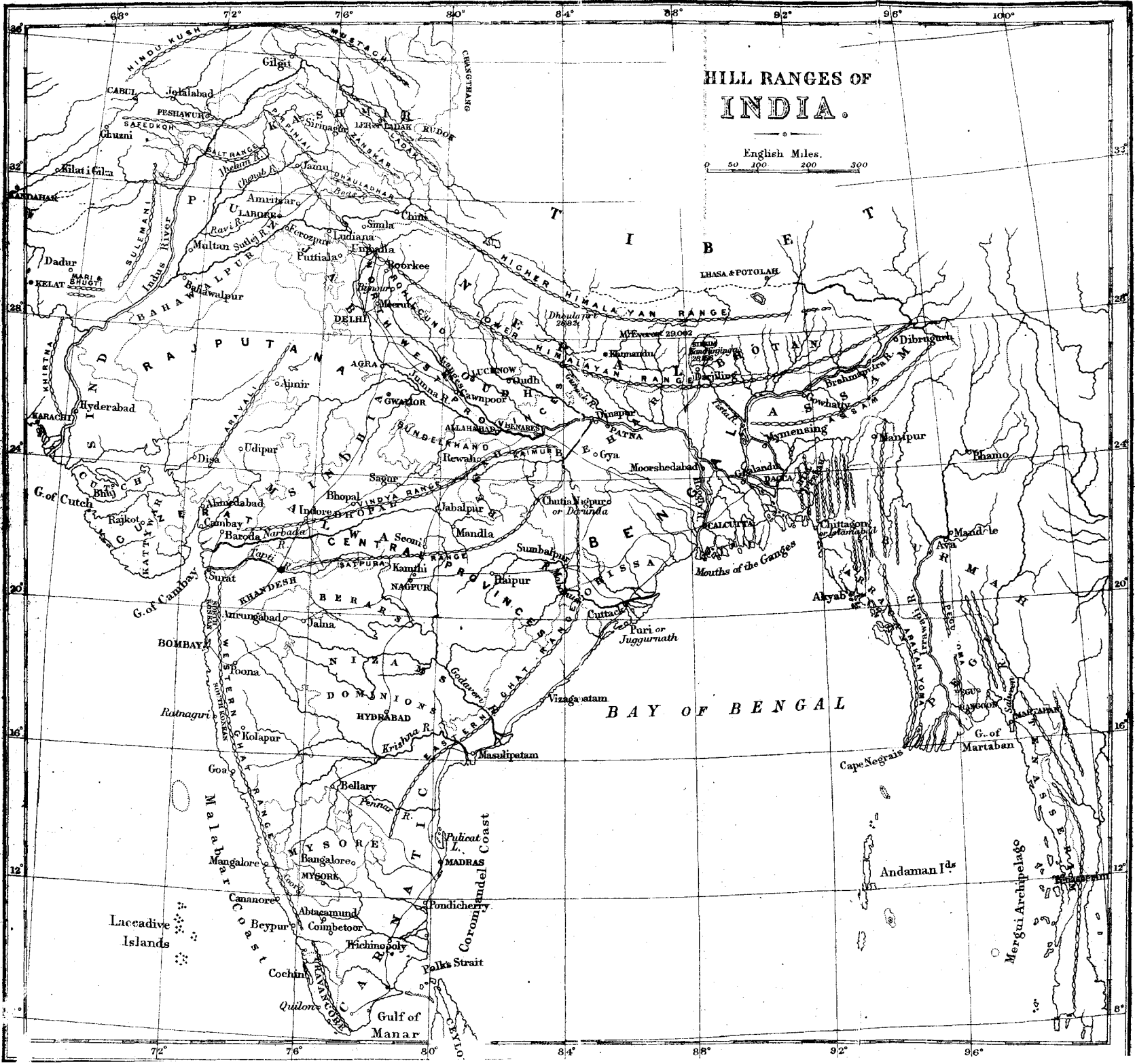
R. T.

THE NASH, KEMPSEY, *near* WORCESTER.

April 22nd, 1882.

HILL RANGES OF INDIA.

English Miles.
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PREFACE.

THIS work presents briefly to the world the results of an experience extending over nearly thirty years in India. It is also intended to be a general reply to the important enquiries which have been from time to time addressed to me by the many persons in English society, who now interest themselves in the welfare of the Indian empire. As the attention which English people are bestowing upon India must greatly affect her future prospects, it is incumbent on those Englishmen, who have long resided in that country, to place their knowledge at the disposal of the public. The subject naturally divides itself into numerous branches. Questions have been asked by some, regarding every one of the many topics which are mentioned or explained in the following pages. The characteristic of any work, which deals with India as a whole, will be the diversity of the matters embraced in the exposition. This variety is inseparable from the magnitude of the Indian empire, and enhances the difficulty of preparing an adequate description. If, in undertaking to give such a description from my own knowledge, I shall seem presumptuous, I may state that the demands of public duty have compelled me to visit every part of the Indian empire from Thibet to Ceylon, from the Khyber pass to the frontier of Ava, from the valley of Assam to the city of Candahar. It has been my fate to serve in the three Presidencies of Bengal, Madras, and Bombay, and in every province of the empire with one exception, to be brought in contact with the Native States and the North-west frontier, and

to be employed, in some capacity or other, under all the departments of the State. These circumstances are mentioned in order to shew how the materials have been acquired upon which this volume is founded. I have, with trifling exceptions, not only beheld but made sketches of, every scene which is described in these pages. I have been from first to last concerned in, or otherwise personally cognizant of, almost all the affairs which are here discussed. Nevertheless, despite the utmost care in rendering the statements accurate, there is the fear of falling casually into some error of detail among many diverse concerns and widely scattered interests. With the view of obviating this risk, nearly every chapter has been laid before some friend who is an expert in the matters which it comprises. The chances of accidental mistakes have been thereby much diminished. I have to thank warmly those of my friends who have been so good as to accord to me the benefit of their criticism and revision.

Chapters II. and III., on the objects of beauty in nature and in art, also Chapter XXIII., on wild animals and sports, are specially designed for the consideration of intending travellers who at the outset desire to rapidly form an idea of the sights most worth seeing in India. An attempt is there made to conjure up before the memory some visions of these things of beauty, which are joys for ever to all who have perfectly seen them, but to which no word-painting can do justice.

India might well have furnished many places of pilgrimage to Childe Harold. To him Delhi would have seemed a "Niobe, of nations," and a "lone mother of dead empires"; the Tâj mausoleum at Agra would have appeared "a beautiful thought softly bodied forth;" the Nerbadda would have been the river where "the delicate waters sleep prisoned in marble;" and the rainbow spray of the Gairsopa cascades would by him have been likened to the "Iris sitting like Hope upon a death-bed" or as "Love watching madness."

The sacred groves near the temples of India might have inspired the verse of Wordsworth when he wrote,

. . . solemn and capacious groves .
 Of vast circumference and gloom profound,
 . . . beneath whose sable roof
 May meet at noontide Fear and trembling Hope
 Silence and Foresight, Death the skeleton
 And Time the shadow, there to celebrate
 United worship."

Chapters VII., VIII., and IX., on the mental and moral progress of the Natives, on national education, religious establishments and missions, may, it is hoped, be of interest to moralists, philanthropists, and those concerned in the propagation of religious truth, whose hearts yearn towards their Asiatic fellow-subjects living in need of enlightenment. If the facts and considerations therein set forth shall be accepted, then hope will spring eternal in the breasts of all who are moved by charity towards the distant races which Providence has committed to the care of England.

Chapters XIX. and XX., on public health, sanitation, and relief of famine, will leave on the minds of humane reformers some impression of the measures requisite for alleviating the physical ills of an Eastern population.

Chapters VI., XII., XIII., XVII., XVIII., XXVII., and XXVIII., on the material progress of the Natives, the revenues, products, commerce, finances, and the summary of statistics, will offer to the student of statesmanship and political economy some general information regarding the resources and capabilities of the country, their present growth, and the prospects of their development.

Chapters IY., X., XI., and XII., on the duties of civil officers generally, on law, legislation, crime, police, prisons, the administration of the land-tax, and the nature of the landed tenures, will explain the practical work that actually devolves on those who manage the affairs of an empire consisting of many

nationalities with divers types of civilization, all of which are strange to English experience.

Chapters XIV., XV., and XVI., on works of irrigation, railways, electric telegraphs, roads and communications, will afford to those who know what the application of science has done, and may yet do, for material improvement, an assurance that these national concerns are occupying a due place in the thoughts of Anglo-Indian statesmen.

Chapters XXI. and XXII., on learned research and physical science, will indicate to Englishmen how their countrymen in the East, amidst countless distractions and avocations, do yet pursue many of the highest ways of culture, and

. . . "musing mount where science sits sublime,
Or wake the spirit of departed time."

Chapters V., XXIV., XXV., and XXVI., on the Native States, the naval defences, the army, the foreign relations, and the conclusion, may furnish some help to those who patriotically reflect on the best means of holding a widespread dominion with the strong arm of authority, of guarding this mighty heritage against danger from without, and of vindicating British rights in Asia.

The effect of all the chapters in combination will, it is hoped, be to display the present state of the Indian empire, its elements of security, its prospects of danger, its sources of weakness, its basis of ultimate prosperity.

To European eyes, India is a region of kaleidoscopic brightness; in the heated atmosphere everything seems to dance and quiver under the noonday glare. Some notion may be gathered of the strange, quaint, fantastic, and often fairy-like aspect of the sunny land, from W. H. Russell's "pictured page," recounting the tour of the Prince of Wales, or Rousselet's illustrated volume depicting the life of the Native States, or Grant Duff's graphic notes of travels in India. There is a vivid freshness

also in the descriptive passages of Edwin Arnold's 'Light of Asia.' The rural scenes are presented to the mind's eye, where,

" In the mango-sprays
The sun-birds flashed, . . .
 . . . Bee-eaters hawked
Chasing the purple butterflies, . . .
The pied fish-tiger hung above the pool,
The egrets stalked among the buffaloes,
About the painted temple peacocks flew.
 . . . the swart peasant urged
 * * * * *
The great-eyed oxen through the flaming hours,
Goading their velvet flanks."

The urban scenes, too, are delineated, where dwell

" The traders cross-legged 'mid their spice and graip,
The housewives bearing water from the well,
The weaver at his loom, the cotton-bow
Twanging, the millstones grinding meal, . . .
The dyers stretching waist-cloths in the sun
Wet from the vats; . . .
 * * * * *
There a long line of drums and horns, which went
With steeds gay painted and silk canopies
To bring the young-bride home; and here a wife
Stealing with cakes and garlands to the god."

The marvels of the gorgeous East must, however, be seen in order to be realized; to set them forth appropriately in words would be to "describe the undescribable." But my story will have been told in vain, unless the reader shall be induced to feel an affectionate regard for India and the Indians.

R. T.

THE NASH, KEMPSEY *near* WORCESTER.
December 1, 1880.

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INDIA IN 1880.

CHAPTER I.

CLAIMS OF INDIA ON THE CONTINUOUS ATTENTION OF ENGLAND.

Need of steadfast attention to Indian affairs on the part of Englishmen—Changeful character of India under British rule—Necessity of observing current events—Therefore survey undertaken of India in 1880—Circumstances interesting to travellers and sportsmen—To those connected with art and science—To the friends of missions—To those concerned in public affairs—To economists and statesmen.

THE possession of India by England involves grave responsibilities, and comprises recondite problems. Consequently the attention of Englishmen is excited, and their conscience is stirred with emotions transcending the patriotic pride with which the Indian empire is regarded. But amidst the distractions of English life, such attention and such emotions are fitful and spasmodic, instead of being continuous. Nevertheless, continuity of thoughtfulness is essential, because, under British rule, India is changing with a rapidity of which eastern nations seldom afford an example. Immutability has heretofore been characteristic of India, and still is so in some respects. But in many other matters, mutation and mutability are rather to be attributed to the country and to its people. Some things indeed, such as the costumes and ornaments, the styles of domestic architecture, the festivals and ceremonies, the religious observances and structures, remain the same from epoch to epoch. Antique carvings, sculptures and frescoes are often found to represent in externals the same people whom we see

to-day. But under the plastic touch of western civilization, the face of the land, the economic conditions of the country, are undergoing modification, and the religious ideas, the moral sentiments, the social habits, the political aspirations, of many classes of the people are changing fast. Whether these movements shall be for better or for worse, must depend on the conduct of England under the guidance of an all-wise Providence. Wonderful as India has been in her past, and is in her present, she will be equally wonderful in her immediate future.

This tendency to change produces some difficulties in the governance of India, which have been as yet imperfectly perceived. Men who have specially studied the country or travelled in it, or taken part in its administration, will naturally think that the knowledge acquired at the time and on the spot will be always valid, that the experience gained under certain conditions will be ever applicable. However valuable such knowledge and experience may be, as constituting a preparation for judgment, they must be supplemented constantly by fresh study and new observations. There is danger lest data, sound in themselves, should lead to unsound conclusions, by reason of the shifting character of the circumstances. Hard as may have been the labour of mastering the manifold conditions of the country at any given time, the further task must yet be undertaken of learning the variations which have subsequently occurred and are still occurring. Those who are conversant with the country must, by the study of current events, strive to march abreast of Indian progress, and to keep pace mentally with the advancing tide of change in the East. Otherwise they will be moved rather by the recollection of India as she was, than by the consideration of India as she actually is.

Therefore it behoves those who have fresh memories of the country, to record their recollections before the freshness begins to fade. By such a record they set up landmarks to denote the steps by which the age is advancing, and leave such vestiges on

the sands of change as may help to guide the students and workers who are to follow. With this view I undertake to present a survey of the India of 1880, the year in which I left its shores. My work will be a survey as exact and comprehensive as can be contained in the limited space, and will be nothing more than a survey. It will comprise only such retrospect of the past as may be occasionally necessary to elucidate the present. It will not determine disputed matters, nor vindicate specially any set of opinions. It will often, however, present both sides of debatable questions, and indicate any dangers which seem to threaten the general weal. It will be a short account of the most interesting facts and circumstances, as developed at the time of writing. The exposition will not be technical, but will aim at being popular.

The statement must be as varied as the considerations are multiform, and the conditions many-sided. For India presents phases interesting to all sorts of men.

To the traveller she opens a field where the peculiarities of the eastern world and the results of ancient systems may be observed, in combination with the achievements of the Anglo-Saxon race and the effects of modern civilization.

To the painter she offers scenery, ranging by gradations from tropical to alpine conditions, and a variety of national features, figures and costumes, not to be seen in any other dominion under one Government.

To the architect and antiquary she presents either standing specimens, or ruins, or antique remains, of several styles of architecture, originating from different circumstances, and emanating from diverse states of the human mind.

To the hunter and sportsman she promises stirring adventures by flood and field, in burning heat, in frost and snow, wherein the wildness of nature may be enjoyed and the fierce courage of the brute creation admired.

To the geologist she displays, among countless other formations, the loftiest gneiss and granite peaks yet discovered, many

coal-bearing strata, and one of the grandest masses of bedded trap to be found in the world.

To the botanist she yields, as the reward of plant-collecting toil, the specimens of vegetation varying from that which flourishes near the equator, to that which thrives near the line of everlasting snow.

To the entomologist she exhibits many of the finest and loveliest forms of insect life.

To the ornithologist she exemplifies in her woods and forests whole orders and genera of birds, together with many rare species and varieties.

To the meteorologist she manifests wondrous and mighty phenomena, which specially invite scientific cognizance, as they affect the rainfall and the contingencies of drought and famine.

To the ethnologist and philologist she shows several types of mankind, aboriginal or civilized, Caucasian or Mongolian, Scythian or Aryan; together with the roots or bases of several languages.

To the moralist she indicates the effects produced on human conduct by the three most wide-spread religions of the non-Christian world, and by Christianity itself; also the influence exercised on the thoughts of men by several systems of philosophy.

To the missionary she holds out the hope of the largest field, yet seen in the world, for religious effort among the heathen, under the protection of a strong government, which ensures equal security to all religions.

To the journalist and publicist she originates discussions which may be conducted and controversies which may be waged, before an ever-widening circle of readers.

To the politician and administrator she furnishes a sphere for exercising the ability to arrange complex affairs on the greatest scale, divine the feelings and wishes of alien races, maintain diplomatic control over semi-independent States, and render foreign rule acceptable to an indigenous population.

To the jurist she demonstrates the manner in which foreign codes and systems of law may be considerably administered by a ruling nation, and the best principles of western jurisprudence applied to the governance of eastern races.

To the civil engineer she affords a scope for storing the bounteous resources of nature to be used by man, reducing the effect of distance in an enormous area, reclaiming the desert, and augmenting many fold the produce of cultivation.

To the soldier she propounds professional questions regarding the secure occupation of a vast country by scattered bodies of troops, the defence of mountainous frontiers, the concentration of forces for extreme efforts, and the organization of armies drawn from many nationalities.

To the merchant she develops large opportunities for barter between nations, raw produce being exchanged for manufactures, new products being introduced, and industries, with the aid of capital, being commenced, of which the growth may be indefinitely great.

To the mariner she discloses some few harbours of great extent, a rock-bound or sand-encumbered coast, and seas where the periodical phenomena demand nautical observation.

To the hygienist she proves the necessity of applying the principles of European sanitation to the conditions of tropical insalubrity.

To the economist and financier she suggests for solution many problems, relating to the balance of trade, the remittance of silver with value measured by a gold standard, the want of elasticity in the revenue, the returns on the capital outlay by the State, and the growth of the public debt.

To the statesman she proffers all these matters, as they collectively concern the maintenance of a widely-extended and progressive empire in peace, wealth, strength and safety.

CHAPTER II.

OBJECTS OF BEAUTY IN NATURE.

Objects of beauty in divers places—Improved facilities for travelling nowadays—Variety of climatic aspects—Phenomena of the rainy season—Different characteristics of the country on the north and on the south of hill ranges forming the backbone of the Indian continent—Pleasant mountain retreats during summer for European residents—Fine views from mountains looking towards the sea—Noble prospect from Himalayas looking towards the plains of India—River scenes—Marble rocks—Cascades—Mountains clothed with perpetual snow—Loftiest peaks yet discovered in the world—Lake region—Scenery of Cashmir valley—Features of the several Indian races—Picturesque effect of their costumes.

If a series of sketches were to be made of the beautiful and interesting objects in every province throughout India, the spectator might imagine that the country is one vast book of beauty. But while some regions are continuously beautiful, many outlying districts have an ugly and ill-favoured appearance, to which no part of Europe, except, perhaps, Russia, can furnish a parallel. The objects of beauty and interest, which exist in India are, in their quality and variety, probably not surpassed in any country of the world, and exceed any description that can be given of them in words. But they are somewhat scattered; and though by no means few, they are far between. The intermediate spaces wear an aspect, often in attractive, and sometimes even repulsive. Visitors who, after becoming versed in the description of India, actually traverse expansive tracts of the country and find nothing to please the eye, may at first sight be disappointed. Such disappointment was more common in the past generation than it is in the present. Some thirty or forty years ago, it was impossible for a traveller to visit more than a few of the places worth seeing

in the country. Men who spent the most active years of their lives in an empire containing many provinces, were acquainted with only one province. Hardly a person could be found who had seen most of the interesting views in the country. Indeed, to see them all would, in those days, have required the devotion of a lifetime to that single purpose. The search was tedious and protracted, while the gems of scenery or antiquity were rare. The pilgrimage was toilsome and troublous, while the spots, hallowed by beauty of aspect or by interest of association, were remote. Therefore the things seen were often disproportionate to the distances travelled, and to the time spent in travelling. This circumstance may have given to some the impression that the glories of India are overrated and overpraised.

But within the last twenty years the introduction of railways in the interior, and the employment of steamers along the coasts, have already caused many parts of the country to be easily and quickly approached, and will soon render almost every part accessible. The phrase of the *grand tour of India* represents a project which can be executed by an ordinary tourist. In the course of a few months a visitor may, without undue fatigue or imprudent exposure to the weather and climate, see most of the finest sights in India. By transit rapid and facile he is relieved from the tedium of slowly crossing the intermediate spaces devoid of interest; and proceeds straight to the point whither his thoughts and hopes are directed. Thus the knowledge of India has increased fast, and is increasing still faster, not only among the travelling classes of England, but also among those Englishmen whose lot is cast, and whose residence is fixed, in the Indian empire. Still, notwithstanding the augmented facilities for seeing and the ambition of so many to see everything, there lives not the man of whom it can be said that he has seen all India, so extensive is the country, so diversified is its configuration, and so dispersed are its wonders.

When the thoughts are fixed upon these wonders and glories,

it must at the same time be remembered that the greater part of the country is neither wonderful nor glorious, that much of it is commonplace, and that some portions of it are even hideous. Nothing for instance can be more wretchedly plain in appearance than the treeless, shrubless, shelterless plains in the northern province of the Madras Presidency, in the Bombay Deccan, or in the districts lying between Delhi and the Satlej. In western India and even in the southern slopes of the western Himalayas, there are low ranges of hills denuded of vegetation, which have all the bareness of the mountains in Arabian or African deserts. Indian villages are in some provinces, for instance in Bengal, in Behar, and on the western coast, eminently picturesque, but in many provinces are uncomely and unprepossessing. Still, even the plainest parts of the country often verge on the picturesque, and a chance collocation of objects produces an interesting scene. The sunlight brightens up rude objects, casting vivid lights against strong shadows, and fixing attention upon the play of light and shade. The dress and the implements of the peasant, though rough, are interesting. The costumes of most classes of the people are variegated in colour, and set off even the dullest landscape. Wherever the old ancestral tree in the midst of the village affords a spreading shade, the village folk cluster in very attractive groups.

As might be expected, the wonders and glories belong partly to nature and partly to art, and are all affected by climate.

By most Englishmen, who have not travelled in the East, the Indian climate is probably imagined to be damp, sultry, enervating, the prolonged stillness being broken occasionally by tempests, and to possess all the disagreeable characteristics of tropical latitudes. This is but too true of the Indian regions which first became known to Europeans, and from which traditional ideas have originated. But in the empire, now comprised under the territorial name of India, there are many varieties of climate. In some regions, for example

the northern, the noteworthy characteristics are the constant agitation of the hot air for several weeks and even for some months consecutively; the sharp biting cold at certain seasons during the last hours of night and the first hours of morning; the generally prevailing dryness often verging upon drought; the moisture sufficient during the first months of summer and autumn, and deficient during the remaining months. Although, sometimes, unseasonable rains spoil the standing crops, and floods sweep away the reaped but ungarnered harvest, still it is the dread of drought which generally haunts the minds of the people. It is only in some lines of country that the rainfall can be described as unfailing, with variations often on the side of excess, but never on that of deficiency. The long range of the Western Ghat mountains, on the west coast of India, forms a mighty wall 1500 to 2000 feet high, for many hundreds of miles. Against the crests of this natural wall, there beat the masses of vapour drawn by the sun's rays from the Indian ocean or from equatorial seas, accumulated during several hot and dry months, and propelled by the wind during the heat of summer. Of the vapours one portion is condensed on touching this high land, the first which is encountered, shedding rain in wonderful quantities, feeding the sources of great rivers, tearing up the hill-sides with torrents, or adorning them with cascades. The remaining portions pass onwards, with the driving breezes, to fertilize India. These are the phenomena which constitute the "monsoon" so familiar to all. Similar circumstances occur in the mountains flanking eastern Bengal and dividing it from Burma, in the eastern division of the Himalayan range, and in the littoral provinces on the eastern shore of the Bay of Bengal. The vapours, from the Bay of Bengal and from southern seas, are propelled by currents of air, and condense into a marvellous rainfall from contact with the highland which stops their aerial course. In the eastern section of the Sâtpura range which is the backbone of the Indian Continent, near the source of the Nerbadda

river, the moisture-laden clouds, blown across the great plateau of the Deccan, are gathered together. They are hindered by the mountain summits from proceeding further, and are there changed into rain which supplies perennial moisture to the neighbouring regions. But with these, and perhaps some other, large exceptions, there is an abiding anxiety in most provinces lest the clouds should move on, without dropping fatness on their way.

In general terms (subject always to exceptions) the Sâtpura range, crossing the country from east to west, causes a climatic division of the empire. South of this range, that is in the Deccan and in the Presidencies of Madras and Bombay, the climate is equable, hot generally, but seldom reaching extreme heat, cool and slightly cold at some seasons, but seldom approaching severe cold; on the whole showing a high temperature on the average of the year. It may be described in southern India as equably hot all the year round except in mid-winter, when it is mild, and in mid-summer, when the constant breezes are cooled by the rains. North of the Sâtpura range, extreme degrees of heat are met with, and at some seasons at certain hours a degree of cold which appears acute to the senses. In the early part of summer the winds, heated in their passage across the western desert, rush over the inhabited plains with blasts like those of a furnace, from which the wayfarer will recoil as if smitten with fire. Even through the weary watches of the night the wind pursues its course. These are "the hot winds" so well known to many. Then it is that the earth becomes like iron, and the heaven looks like brass. In the centre of these phenomena lies the historic city of Agra, which is for a time one of the hottest places in the habitable globe; though it is almost rivalled by Delhi in this respect. But at these same places there is during the short winter a bright, cold, dry climate, and about new year's day there is frost at night. Further north, in the Panjab, the intense heat is nearly the same, but the winter is longer and

colder. In all these provinces there is a rainy season of three months' duration, to mitigate the heat. The southern parts of the Panjab about Multan, and the province of Sind in the valley of the Indus, are almost rainless. From the proximity of the desert, the air becomes scorching. In the daytime, the people bear the rigour as best they may, crouching in their darkened houses; at night, when sleepless, they sometimes dash cold water over their bodies in order to obtain a brief repose. They are, however, re-invigorated by a cold, though short, winter. In the delta of the Ganges and in lower Bengal, the climate is quite different, being damp and much milder as regards both heat and cold.

North of the Sâtpura range, and in the Indus valley, the physical constitution of the Natives is decidedly superior. Their stature is taller, their thews and sinews stronger, their nervous force greater. Their character is more robust, and their temper more inclined to violence. South of the Sâtpura range, their physical frame is of lesser build, and their moral qualities less firm; with the exception of the Mahrattas, and some other hill tribes, whose resolution and endurance are seldom surpassed. In Bengal, their disposition is milder, but their mental faculties are more acute. The drought of northern India has been well said to be the "arida nutrix leonum," in allusion to the Sikhs whose cognomen of Singh has a leonine significance. The harder conditions of life, imposed by the extreme of dry heat alternating with considerable degrees of cold, nourish the sturdier races of men.

For Europeans, southern India offers perhaps more comfort, or less discomfort, than northern India, less liability to violent illness, with a better chance of long residence without specific ailment and without change of scene and air. To persons of enfeebled condition, obliged to live in the plains, the south will probably prove more favourable. But in northern India, the Briton, of average health and constitution, is stronger and

healthier, more able to preserve the vigour which he originally brought with him from Britain. If a comparison in respect of violent illness should appear favorable to the Panjab, then it is to be remembered that, from the first, resort to the Himalayas has been easy for all whose health suffered in those plains. The autumnal season in northern India is very insalubrious, doubtless from the nocturnal chill setting in while the earth is still damp from the rainy season, and that is the time when all Europeans, who can, escape to the mountains. It may be doubted whether a European, residing uninterruptedly in the plains of the Panjab, would be as free from acute disease as he would be in southern India under like conditions. But in northern India, even those who have been most exhausted by the heat of summer are rapidly restored by the bracing and exhilarating winter. Opinion among Europeans, however, differs greatly respecting the relative advantages, or disadvantages, of residence in the north or south, in the east or west. Many Europeans will be found to praise those parts most in which they have lived the longest, and to disparage those parts of which they know the least. It is well that they should all cherish their respective views, which prove that they have enjoyed happiness in whatever part of India their lot may have been cast. They generally possess a faculty for accommodating their taste and preference to the external conditions amidst which they are thrown.

The diversity of these conditions may be exemplified by the different characteristics of the mountain retreats, where the Government of India and the several Local Governments spend the summer. For the Government of India, there is Simla with its oaks, firs and rhododendrons, and its distant view of the snowy range; for the Panjab, Dharmasala with its irrigated valley and near snowy hills almost overhanging the spectator; for the North-western Provinces, Naini Tâl with its fine lake embosomed in the mountains; for Bengal, Darjiling with its tree-ferns, creepers and semi-tropical vegetation, its cloud-effects,

and its view of the grandest snowy mountains in the world; for Assam, Shillong with its green undulations, partly clad with pine forests, and its distant prospect of the Brahmaputra river; for the Central Provinces, Pachmari with its sandstone precipices, unfathomable rifts, and summer cascades; for Rajputana, majestic Abu with its darkling masses of granite; for Beluchistan, Quetta with its panorama of limestone formations towering aloft, barren and naked; for Bombay, Mahableshwar with its horizontal strata of igneous rocks cut into steep scarps, and its distant view of the sunset across the ocean; for Madras, Utacamand with its rolling plateaux and rounded summits, its botanic gardens and park-like drives.

Similarly, the finest and most celebrated views in the empire comprise a diversity of scenery, hard to be imagined, but still intelligible, when the degrees of latitude embraced, and the altitude of the mountains above the plains, are borne in remembrance.

In southern India, the western horizon of the sea is seen from mountains eight thousand feet high. The sun, descending towards his couch in the ocean, casts a sheet of light over the waters, which is visible from summits thirty miles off, and affords a sparkling background to the scene. For instance, let there be taken such a view as that which may be seen from parts of the Nilgiri or "blue-peak" mountains. The summits tower in the distance, with their violet hues which have given the name of "blue" to the range. In the foreground are verdant coffee-plantations, studded with bright houses and factories, in the middle distance are dark precipices of granite, and on the extreme horizon is the sheen of the sunlight glimmering on the ocean.

From a like position let the eye be turned towards the Wynaad country, a series of low hills and valleys. In the early morning, while the mists lie low and thick before they are lifted and dissipated by the advancing day, the valleys seem filled with vapours, as white and thick as wool, presenting a flat

surface. The ridges of the hills rise up dark, as if islanded in a sea of clouds. Beyond them all, is the horizon of the distant ocean, not glittering this time, but cold and grey.

In further illustration of the same characteristic in scenery, let the view from Matheran, the summer retreat of the residents of Bombay, be considered. In the foreground there are plutonic rocks, bold and precipitous, yet fantastically shaped and grouped, also interspersed with vegetation. The middle distance consists of a plain, intersected in all directions by rivers, creeks and estuaries, terminating in the broad harbour of Bombay, which is surrounded by promontories and tongues of land, whereon the city of Bombay is built. Although the water looks dimly bright, and the land is too faintly grey for the city to be clearly discernible, still the knowledge that so teeming a population and so numerous a shipping are there, heightens the effect on the imagination. Beyond it all, there lies the shining ocean, almost merged in the sunset sky. Then the spectators realize what the poet conceived, when he sang of the sun setting,

“ Not as in northern climes obscurely bright,
But one unclouded blaze of living light.”

In the Himalayan regions a like effect is produced in another manner. The mountains rise abruptly to a great height, overlooking plains some thousands of square miles in extent. The traveller may see a grand view from an altitude of four or five thousand feet. He will behold it better by proceeding to the interior of the mountains, and ascending summits of ten or twelve thousand feet, near Simla, near Landour, or near Darjiling. The prospect is to be best enjoyed on one of the clear evenings which occasionally break the monotony of the rainy season, when winds have lifted the curtain of clouds and mists, when the atmosphere is transparent, and when all the hues and tints of the earth have been intensified by moisture. In the foreground are darkened rocks and forests, among which there float fleecy clouds lighted up by the sun with orange colour. In the middle

distance the plain lies flat as a mirror, empurpled by the waning sunlight, and intersected by rivers, which wind across it, like serpents of supernatural glitter. In the extreme distance is the long horizon of the plains, resembling that of the ocean, and blending with the sunset-sky gorgeous with a splendour which can be displayed only in ethereal spaces, and cannot be matched on earth. The imagination is elevated by the knowledge that the lines of brightness athwart the plains represent famous and classic rivers, such as the Ganges, the Jamna, or the Satlej.

The scenery on the banks of the Indian rivers is at its best when they burst through clefts of the mountains, before spreading out into the plains. The Ganges debouches picturesquely from the Himalayas at Hardwar, the holiest of all the places of Hindu pilgrimage. The Godavery after passing through a tortuous defile, which has been well compared to the valley of the Rhine between Bonn and Bingen, is dammed up by a great dyke, whence numerous canals are drawn. The Mahanaddi pierces its hilly barriers by a series of gorges, before entering upon the plains of Orissa. Of the many river scenes in the country, two may be selected for their exceeding beauty.

Near Jabalpur in central India the river Nerbadda wanders for more than a mile amidst cliffs and bluffs of marble, from fifty to a hundred feet high, which enclose the narrow stream on both sides as with walls. The water, thus confined, has an immense depth and intense hues of mingled green and blue. Being very pure and still in the cold season, it receives perfect reflections from the snow-white rocks. The effect of the river, with the reflections from the marble on either side almost joining each other in the blue water, when viewed in perspective either by sun-light or by moon-light, transcends description. The voyager, rowing softly along the gentle stream, stops his little bark for a moment, and feels as if left alone with the Nerbadda in its marble palace.

On the western coast, the Gairsopa river, flowing from the Mysore plateau, falls over a sheer precipice of eight hundred and

fifty feet, and leaps with one uninterrupted plunge from head to base of this great descent. If witnessed during flood, it is said to stun the senses, deafening the ears with its thunder, and blinding the eyes with its spray. When seen at its best during early winter, it divides itself into four falls, which can be combined in one comprehensive view, and which are named locally, the "Raja," from its stately and measured cadence, the "Roarer," from its sonorous impetuosity, the "Rocket," from the peculiar play of its waters as they shoot downwards, and the "Dame blanche," from the grace and elegance of its movement. The traveller, wending his way through the dark forest at eventide towards the famous cascades, finds his night's rest disturbed by the weird unearthly moaning of the waters as they fall. Emerging from the forest before sunrise, and facing the waterfalls, he sees nought but a thick sheet of mist and spray, hung like a white pall in front of the waters, from behind which he hears the resounding voice of the cataract. After the sun has ascended the heavens, the misty curtain is lifted, and the falling waters are displayed in all their variety of motion. As the sun descends towards the west, the spray rises, hanging around the waterfall like a thin veil of gauze, and receiving rainbow colours.

The Himalayan region displays, as might be expected, a rich scenery equal to that of the Alpine region in some respects, though inferior to it in regard to the lakes and other prominent features. Those travellers who reach the perpetual snows of the Himalayas have a much longer ascent to make, because, by reason of difference in latitude, the line of permanent snow is so much higher than in the Alps. They behold sights, in grandeur not superior to those beheld in Switzerland, though the summits are so much higher. It is doubtful whether, when range after range of mountains have been climbed, the superiority of the altitudes finally attained adds essentially to the effect upon the eye. The snowy ranges as seen from Simla itself are not remarkable, but from mountains in its neighbourhood, such as the Chore summit, the sacred sources of the Ganges and the Jamna

called Gangotri and Jamnotri, can be seen, as represented by domes, towers and pinnacles of dazzling snow.

The town and station of Simla itself present a striking aspect, with their bright habitations of light and picturesque architecture, perched aloft on the heights, and serving as a crown to the cedar-clad mountain.

There are some points in the Himalayas which must be chosen for special notice. In the province of Kumaon at Bhinsa near Almora, the view of several groups of snowy mountains 26,000 feet high (above sea-level), at a distance of less than forty miles, is surpassingly beautiful. The middle distance is so fortunately placed, the atmosphere, in favourable weather, is so clear, and so little intervenes between the spectator and the stupendous masses of snow-clad gneiss or granite, that he is momentarily cheated into the belief that the soaring summits and the tortuous glaciers are close to his eye.

The view of Kinchinjanga upwards of 28,000 feet high, as seen from the station of Darjiling, is finer still. The low valleys, not more than 2000 feet high, are so situated that the spectator can look down into their very depths, from the same standpoint whence he looks up to the snowy summits. He thus can see, almost in one glance, a distance of 26,000 feet from depth to height. It happens, too, that at the moment when the summits are brightest, the shaded valleys appear gloomiest. To say that, during one of the very few perfectly fine days which occur in the year, these snowy summits are at sunrise tipped with fire, and are at sunset bathed in rose colour, would be to give but a faint description of the manner in which the mind of the beholder is impressed. Ordinarily, even in fine weather, among this eastern section of the Himalayas, which is so much more wet and verdure-clothed than the western, the clouds gather round about the mountains, and play over the vast landscape with graceful movements and in fascinating forms. All that has been eloquently written by travellers in other countries, regarding the clouds being suspended as gorgeous

banners around the everlasting summits, is applicable to these scenes.

In the vicinity of Darjiling a still finer view is obtained by ascending the range 10,000 to 12,000 feet high, which divides Sikhim from Nepal. The spectator there beholds, on his right front the Kinchinjanga group, and on his left front the group of Mount Everest, of which the central peak, upwards of 29,000 feet high, is the highest known in the world.

In this quarter is situate the lake district of Sikhim, on the very top of a range from 12,000 to 15,000 feet high, bordering eastern Thibet. Of these lakes (which are six in number and lie near together) four are situated above the line within which vegetation can grow, being at nearly the same height as that of the loftier summits in Switzerland. The prevalence of tempestuous weather, during most seasons of the year, renders them difficult of access. When they are seen during the mid-autumn, the most favorable time, the sterile ruggedness of their craggy surroundings is sublime; the gneiss rocks having been riven and splintered by some tremendous explosive forces. In each lake the colour of the water is different, in one it is murky, in another purplish, in another turquoise-blue, in another amber-green. In the background there are the bare ochre-brown hills of Thibet, which from the effect of the atmosphere have a colour of aerial pink. Behind them there rises up the pyramid of Chimalari 25,000 feet high, draped in snow from the head to the base of its cone, and piercing the sky with a sharp apex.

Cashmir must be included in any notice of the Himalayan region, as it constitutes, if taken all in all, the most beautiful part of the whole empire. From the upper basin of the Jhelum river, which valley is Cashmir proper, there branch off many lovely valleys of the best Alpine character, still Alpine only. In Cashmir there are two lakes, of which one is fraught with poetic and historic associations, while the other is famed for having the snowy mountains mirrored in it. Still, these lakes may be equalled or surpassed by the lake region of northern

Italy, and with the lakes of Switzerland they cannot be exactly compared. It is rather the combination of divers elements of interest, the ruins and remains representing several distinct phases of civilization, the quaintness of the modern architecture, the picturesque approaches and surroundings, the great extent of the plateau, environed by snowy mountains on all sides and permeated by a navigable river, which constitute the peculiar charm of Cashmir, and which make it an object of desire to all men. If its merits be analysed and examined separately, each one of them may be matched elsewhere. But if they be regarded collectively, then in their beautiful entirety, they are perhaps unmatched in any country. Nevertheless, there are some objects in Cashmir which deserve, and will repay, special analysis.

The fountain of Vernâg, the source of the Jhelum, near the eastern extremity of Cashmir, is a sheet of water of an octagonal shape. Its colour varies from azure, to turquoise, to emerald, catching reflections from the surrounding architecture and foliage, yet tinging each reflection with the prevailing blue, like the Italian waters at Capri or Sorrento, and having a depth which the eye essays to penetrate but can never fathom. The autumnal tints of the umbrageous trees around make a foil to the dark-hued water, and impart vividness to the reflections.

From the temple-crowned summit of the Takht-i-Suleman, or "Solomon's throne," near Sirinagar the capital of Cashmir, a panoramic view is obtained of the whole valley. Far beneath the eye, lies the city of Sirinagar, like Venice founded amidst the waters, with the Jhelum river forming its main thoroughfare, and the branching canals its side-streets. On one flank there rises the citadel, on the other flank there stretch the poplar avenues where the national games and races are held. Hard by is the transparent expanse of the lake, catching the reflections of the rocky ranges around and of the floating clouds above. On its margin stand the groves of plane-trees, the royal gardens, summer-houses and fountains, where the poet laid the scene of Lala Rukh, and whence emperors, borne in luxurious

barges over waters fringed with the lily and the lotus, issued mandates of war or peace to Caubul and to Delhi. Beyond the city, the Jhelum is like a silver streak, pursuing a serpentine course through the verdant plains, till it joins a line of broad light which represents the distant Walar lake. Along the horizon, on all four sides, there are snowy ranges, bounding the valley on the north, east and west, towards the Himalayas, and on the south separating it from India. At the end of summer, after rain, there are breaks in the long snowy line. At all other seasons the whole horizon forms a circle of uninterrupted snow.

Whether in the Himalayas, or in the plains and valleys of the Indian continent, the trees constitute one of the chiefest ornaments of the country. Many districts, and even some provinces, are characterized by sylvan beauty. Among the mountains the cedar forests, with their massive trunks and their umbrella-shaped foliage, make the ancient glories of Lebanon shrink into littleness by comparison. The cypress resembling, as the Persians say, the grace of the human stature, loves to grow out of the crevices of the rock or on the brow of the precipice. The fir, with its dependent branches and weeping leaflets, represents funereal melancholy. The yew grows thick in shadowy groves, where Druids might have worshipped. The lofty magnolia bursting forth with white blossoms seems sprinkled with newly fallen snow. The umbrageous plane still casts its shadow over the classic waters of Cashmir.

In the Indian continent, the teak, as the forest monarch, shoots up with an arrowy trunk, and a head crowned in summer with orange-coloured flowers. The "coroneted" palmyra, the feathery date-palm, the tapering bamboo, cluster in the fields, or around the homesteads. The casuarina whispers and murmurs when agitated by the sea-breeze. The pipal intertwines its roots with ruined buildings, till the masonry becomes enveloped like Laocoon in the folds of the Python. The banyan, with its tendrils drooping to the earth, forms trunk after trunk

in rows like the supports of a Gothic structure, viewed in perspective, with arches of boughs and a leafy ceiling.

The effect of Indian scenery upon the mind is much enhanced by the aspect of the people, their costumes, their equipages and their surroundings. The complexion of all the Indian races is more or less dark and is, to that extent, uniform. The Caucasian type of head and cast of countenance prevail, the Mongolian being rare. In other respects there is extraordinary diversity. In physiognomy, in stature, and in all physical characteristics, the Bengali differs widely from the Sikh of the Panjab; the stately Rajput from the short Mahratta; the handsome Telugu from the dwellers in the Ganges valley; the rough Muhammadan on the Indus from his weaker but more refined and gracefully shaped brother of Madras. Opinions may vary as to the relative merits or demerits of the aspect of these several races. Among the Hindus, the Rajputs and the Sikhs will probably be thought the most picturesque, and the Pathans of the trans-Indus frontier, among the Muhammadans. In every part of India, both among rich and poor, often among homeless wanderers, subjects can be found well worthy of the artist's brush or pencil. The Indian costumes have a generic resemblance, though with many specific varieties. In some parts of the country, say near Benares, or Lahore, or Jeypore, or Madura, a gay crowd on festival days, with its sea of turbaned heads, will present a brilliant and varied mass of colour. After the sight of such comely multitudes, disappointment may be felt by visitors on meeting crowds at Calcutta or in Bengal where the dress is generally white; though even there, the light colours are often very effective in contrast with the rich greens of the foliage.

Among the upper and middle classes on gala occasions, the dresses are quite resplendent with gorgeous colours, recalling to memory the most ornate tales regarding the splendours of mediæval Europe. Yet the colours are not gaudy nor garish; though florid, they are not flashy. Nowadays in the costumes, the brightest fabrics of the west are tastefully mingled with the

rich dyes and stuffs of the east. Though not versed in chromatic theories, the Natives are naturally gifted with an eye for colour, which renders their practice the theme of admiration, even among men of culture. This talent of theirs displays itself still more when the gentry, chiefs or princes hold civil and religious ceremonies, or institute festivities in celebration of marriages and other social rites. Then the most glowing descriptions of barbaric pomp and gold will fall short of the strange and curious reality. Much of the show will be solidly and substantially real, precious metals shining, and still more precious stones glittering. Much also will be the merest tinsel, spangle and finery. Yet the effect of tawdriness will be mitigated or removed by the general harmony of colour, under the all-pervading glare of the sun, or in the flare of the torch-lights. The embellishment of the equipages, once conspicuous in these spectacles, has been in part lost from the introduction of European vehicles. The elephants, however, and the camels are caparisoned and bedecked as of old. The favourite bullocks, constituting the very pink of animal beauty, are still to be seen drawing cars of antique build. If on any signal occasion large numbers of elephants are marshalled, with their ornamented trappings, and their gaily dressed riders, a noble spectacle is presented. When in former times the troops, or the untrained militia as they really were, of the Native sovereigns used to be reviewed, their gait, arms and accoutrements were attractive to the ordinary spectator, though perhaps not admirable to a professional eye. Nowadays these troops have a uniform and drill in imitation of the English army, whereby the picturesque effect is lost without an equivalent gain in warlike precision. Still, when a Native sovereign parades his state and dignity through his capital, scenes arise not far short of those described by historians. The gladdened eyes, the radiant aspect, the beaming faces of the people, on beholding their king issue forth, may afford scope for the reflections of moralists and politicians.

CHAPTER III.

OBJECTS OF BEAUTY IN ART.

Architecture under British rule—Interesting views at Bombay, at Calcutta, and on lines of railway—European churches and cathedrals—Beauty of Native architecture—Buddhist caves, rock-cut temples, pagodas and monasteries—Ancient frescoes—Sacred mountains of the Jains—Hindu or Brahminical structures—Mention of the finest temples—Mountain fortresses—Beautiful palaces—Excellence of Muhammadan architecture—Interesting remains at many places—Largest dome in the world—City of the dead—Mosque, palace and tomb of Akber the Great—Grand mosque at Delhi—Pearl Mosque at Agra—Matchless beauty of Taj Mehal mausoleum.

THE objects of beauty in Indian art, and especially of architecture, are equal to those in nature, like gems set in gold, where the jewels are worthy of their setting.

For a long time the British Government contributed little or nothing to the category of national architecture. Indeed, the style of many British structures was so erroneous or defective as to exercise a debasing influence on the minds of those Natives, who might be induced to admire or imitate it as being the production of a dominant, and presumably a more civilized, race. Most of the early buildings erected under British rule were, and many of the recent buildings still are, of a plain and uncouth fashion architecturally, however useful or commodious they may be practically. Of late years the Government has moved in an æsthetic direction, and at Calcutta, Madras and Bombay, fine edifices have sprung up in which the Gothic, Italian and Saracenic styles have been adapted with much taste and skill to the necessities of the east. A department of architecture has been established, from

which the Native princes are beginning to obtain artistic designs for their palaces, colleges and civil structures.

At Bombay, along the shore of the bay, there is a long line of stately piles befitting a capital city in any country of the world, some of which were designed by Sir Gilbert Scott. The view of them as seen from Malabar Hill, with the blue sea before them, the city on their flank, the harbour behind them; the several ranges of Concan hills in the distance, and the Western Ghat mountains bounding the horizon, has often been compared with the scenery of the bay of Naples. It probably would rival the Neapolitan scenery, if only there were the transparent atmosphere and azure sky of the Mediterranean.

In Calcutta, the Eden gardens, rich in tropical vegetation, and embellished by ornamental water, form a fine foreground to the view of the State buildings. There, on a clear evening, the varied scenes, the semicircle of palatial structures, the foliage and serpentine water of the gardens, the tall masts of the shipping in the river close by, the moving crowd of horses and equipages thronging the strand, the guns of Fort William overlooking the whole like sentinels, combined with the ceaseless hum of voices, make up a marvellous effect.

Many of the largest public works under British rule, though not designed for artistic effect, do yet incidentally present a very handsome appearance and have surroundings fraught with interest. For example, the Bhowrah Ghat incline, between Bombay and Poona, where the railway ascends the Ghat range to a height of nearly 2000 feet, has very fine scenery in the rainy season, when the thunderclouds are blown away by the wind and display the precipitous and wooded mountain-sides, streaked in all directions with rain-swollen torrents, which leap in many series of cascades from the crests to the bases of the precipices. This spectacle, when seen to full advantage, is admitted by all railway travellers to be one of the most remarkable in the empire. In the Madras Presidency, the railway, as

it rises from the Malabar coast at Beypore through a gap in the Nilgiri mountains, with the lofty granitic summits on either side, or as it ascends from the Coromandel coast through the wooded valleys to the central plateau, delights the traveller with the sights to be seen as he rapidly passes onwards. The views are striking and suggestive, from the pontoons which form a floating passage across the Hughli at Calcutta, from the railway viaduct a mile in length over the sandy bed of the Sonner river near Patna, from the bridges across the Jamna at Allahabad and at Delhi, also from the lofty structure of iron-work, imbedded deep in the ground, which crosses the line over the Nerbadda at Broach.

The British Government has not yet constructed any sacred edifice which, in respect of ecclesiastical architecture, could be placed in any high rank. At many stations in northern India, however, handsome churches have been erected. The mementos at the "Bailey guard" in Lucknow, where so much of genius and bravery is buried, stir emotions in the breast of every Englishman. The memorial garden at Cawnpore, and the marble figure of the angel over the Well where the British victims of the massacre repose after their sufferings, attract the reverent and sorrowful regards of all beholders.

The Portuguese raised, at their chief settlements, cathedrals of much architectural pretension according to the style of the time. In the midst of the ruins of old Goa, is the church, whither congregations from new Goa occasionally resort, and where the remains of St. Francis Xavier are on great festivals exposed to the view of the faithful. At Bassein near Bombay, the Portuguese churches were ruthlessly unroofed by the Mahrattas for the sake of the timber: but the walls, arches, columns and windows still bear witness to the original grandeur of the structures. The ruins, interspersed amongst the dense foliage and dimly outlined by the moonlight, have a solemn and melancholy aspect.

Whatever be the estimation, favourable or unfavourable, of

European achievements, attention is at present centred and fastened upon the art and of architecture under Native dynasties, which were rooted for centuries in the country, making there as they hoped a lasting home, and were inspired by political enthusiasm, social pride and religious fervour. The Natives are sometimes thought to be deficient in the sense of the picturesque; certainly they do not cultivate it as it is cultivated in Europe, and they seldom express it in words. But that they possess it naturally, is proved by their selection of striking and beautiful situations for their edifices. With almost all of their numerous structures, the beauty is increased by advantages of site. There is hardly throughout the whole continent a fine and effective position, on summit, eminence, river-bank, junction of waters or commanding point of prospect, which they have failed to occupy with some structure.

From the historic roll of these works, it is only possible to select those which have victorious beauty or consummate interest.

Buddhism as a religious reformation, and as a social and political movement, left grand traces of its handiwork. Of these traces many have been effaced, while some yet remain, though in a defaced state; many, again, having been carved in the hardest rock, are imperishable.

The "topes," or mounds, form an extensive class of remains. They were originally replete with beautiful ornamentation, which can now be recalled but imperfectly to the imagination. Their shape is that of enormous beehives raised hundreds of feet in height, as shrines enclosing relics, or as memorials of religious events.

The most conspicuous among them is the principal "tope" of the Bhilsa group near Bhopal. This mighty mound was originally constructed in masonry, coated with a thick envelope in cement, and surmounted with a structure on its apex; both structure and casing have long been lost. It is placed on the

crest of a ridge of low hills, and when first reared must have gleamed from afar, like a beacon, to the inhabitants of the district. Around its base is a passage walled in with large slabs of stone, and divided into equal divisions by four lofty gateways, of which two, the northern and the eastern, remain standing. Of these two, the northern is the finest. It is a quaint and most suggestively beautiful remnant of the past. Over the entrance there is a façade consisting of sculptures in grey stone, representing elephants and various figures, together with the principal symbols of the Buddhist system. Immediately behind it, a tall tree has grown up, setting off, with its dark foliage, the hoary tints of the sculptures. A delineation of the form and details of the northern gateway has been prefixed to Fergusson's work on Tree and Serpent worship. Of these features, but little has been destroyed, and quite enough remains to enable the visitor to understand what the structure must have been. A plaster cast of the eastern gateway is in the Indian Museum at South Kensington.

Many of the rock-cut temples, or the cave temples, belong to Buddhism. The fondness for excavating their sacred places out of the mountain sides was a characteristic of the early races of India. Amidst the Western Ghat range of mountains especially, as at Nasik and elsewhere, also amidst the Eastern Ghat range, as at Khandagiri near Cuttak, in the hills which branch off from the Vindhya towards the Ganges, and in other hill ranges, these interesting excavations are to be found. The total number of them, discovered as yet, amounts to nearly one thousand. Ofttimes, the traveller, arriving laboriously at the arched entrance of an excavation, peers curiously into the cavernous, and once holy, recesses. Turning round for a moment, he beholds the spreading landscape, the very prospect which Buddhists of old commanded, as they contemplated the wealth and civilization of the plains and valleys at their feet, whence the support of these national institutions was derived. In some of these places are inscriptions graven on the rock even as early as the reign

of the Buddhist emperor Asoka, the shadowy outline of whose historic figure looms grandly through the mists that still obscure these times.

In the more modern of the Buddhist cave temples there is a stone figure, seated or standing, and sometimes colossal, of Buddha, with the ineffable calm of impassibility in the features. The forefinger solemnly points to warn men to look from mortality to immortality, from the seen things of time to the unseen things of eternity. The hand, holding a pinch of dust, indicates the insignificance of worldly greatness. The bearing and aspect are gentle and wise, yet grave, and in some degree severe.

Of the Buddhist caves and rock-cut temples, the finest group is that of Ajanta where, in a narrow and sequestered vale among the hills which branch off eastwards from the Western Ghat mountains, the trap rocks are almost honeycombed with the excavations. The valley, now an utter solitude shut in by mountain barriers from contact with the outer world, was once thronged with a community of priests, monks and worshippers living in seclusion. The pillars, capitals, doorways, shrines, seats for the priests, stalls for the monks and sculptures generally, are characterized by simplicity of design and execution.

Some of the walls were decorated with frescoes, well drawn and richly coloured, representing domestic scenes, secular and religious ceremonies, festivals during peace and after victory in war, royal and priestly processions. If these frescoes had survived they would have been inestimably precious relics of the past, but they have for the most part perished. Enough, however, of them remains to recall to life, before the imaginative eye, the people and things of that period. The process of decay can hardly be arrested; but the Government is causing copies to be made of some among them; and copies of others were made by their enthusiastic admirer Major Gill.

To the Buddhists belong many of the caves at Elura, a place which was signalized by the achievements of the Brahminists

after the overthrow of Buddhism, and which will be mentioned presently.

Near the point where the railway incline surmounts the lofty crest of the Western Ghats, there is a single cave taking its name from the village of Karli. Its doorways and façades, its rows of columns with groups of elephants for their capitals, its roof arched and ribbed, render it, perhaps, superior to any one of the Ajanta caves, and constitute it the finest known specimen of a Buddhist excavation.

Near the city of Gya in Behar, there is at Buddh Gya a temple reared straight from the ground to a height of a hundred feet, in form resembling the Hindu temples dedicated to Shiva. It is a tower broad at the base and tapering towards the top, with an outer flight of steps at the basement. From the terrace at the top of the basement there still projects the withered trunk of the sacred tree, in harmony with the fate which has overtaken the structure. At Sarnâth near Benares, there are the ruins of a still grander fane.

In Sikhim near Darjiling there is a Buddhist population which enables the observer to study the modern and debased types of Buddhism. Their chapels and monasteries are placed in the midst of beautiful Himalayan scenery, overlooked by the snowy range, and surrounded by forests. The roofs are shaped like vast umbrellas with overshadowing eaves; the wooden pillars of the doorways are richly painted and the porticoes adorned with frescoes. At the entrances there pass in and out processions of high priests, abbots and monks, arrayed in vestments of red and purple. The large images of Buddha have the same mien and expression as the ancient sculptures. In one of the chapels the representation of Buddha assumes a threefold shape. In the centre of the group is the deity, or abstract wisdom, in whom no sex male or female can be distinguished; on the right is he who promulgated the faith, and who wears a sacred apparel; on the left is he who propagated it by arms and policy, and who has a martial garb; the figures being three

times the life-size. The material of these remarkable images is terra-cotta of Thibetan workmanship; the figures are highly and tastefully coloured, and seen in the subdued light of the chapel, with some of the richly clothed priests in the front, produce an artistic effect. Sanctity attaches to the group; recently, an aged monk when alluding to his own end, was asked whither he was going; he replied, pointing to the figures, that he was going to meet those beings in another world.

In Nepal there are two large Buddhist pagodas of the Burmese type. One of these is on an eminence to which the ascent leads by a flight of steps. The traveller toiling up the stairs in the shade of the trees, casts a longing gaze at the brilliantly gilt apex of the pyramid, which seems so close above him, and yet so hard to reach.

In British Burma, living Buddhism may be seen to fair advantage. The forests supply the richest material, teak and other woods, for building, and suggest to the builders those designs which are derived from the shapes developed in sylvan growth. Consequently, the wooden structures and the wood-carvings in the Burmese pagodas are extraordinarily elaborate. The rich sombre and uniform colour of the wood and the shaded light, save the eye from being tired by the infinitude of detail in the pillars, ceilings, cornices and pinnacles. To these dark backgrounds, the priests, with their orange and saffron coloured vestments, give a graceful relief. At Prome, on the Irawaddy river, there is a cluster of low wooded hills, which are covered with numerous pagodas, rearing their pointed finials somewhat like the masts of shipping and surmounted by tapering structures cased with gilt copper. The architecture is in unison with the palms, plantain-trees and groves around. At Moulmein also, the heights are crowned with pagodas whence a noble landscape may be surveyed, with the city in front, behind it the plain watered by three converging rivers and the horizon bounded by the mountains of Siam.

At Rangun, the Shwe-dagong, or Dagon pagoda, is among the

chief ornaments not only of Burma, but of the British Indian empire. Placed on a wooded ridge, it rises to the height of near 300 feet with its towering structure, encased with burnished gilding, and narrowed gradually by a series of delicate curves towards an apex shaded by the sacred "htee" or umbrella. Seen from a distance, it seems to spring up from among the groves with a pyramid shining in the sunlight, and then to shoot up into the sky with an obelisk of flame.

The Jains possess many fine structures in different parts of India. The adherents of the Jain faith occupy the summits of the forest-clad Paras-nath which overlooks the plains of western Bengal, and of Abu which stands as a lofty outwork of the Aravali range. Their religious stronghold in the present time, is on the heights of the solitary Satrunj mountain, near Palitana in the peninsula of Kathiawar. The numerous cupolas, obelisks and spires, often bright with the whitest marble, seem to pierce the sky. The shrines are laden with the weight of gorgeous offerings, sent by the wealthy members of the sect from almost every populous city in the empire. From the terraces of the edifices, half temples half fortresses, is to be seen an extensive view of the rich plains, once studded with historic cities, of which the names alone survive, even the sites being untraceable. On the horizon are the waters of the Gulf of Cambay.

The Hindu, or Brahminist in contradistinction to Buddhist, remains are often, though not always, more recent than the Buddhist; they are therefore more numerous and better preserved.

The Brahminist Hindus excavated some of the finest of the rock-cut temples. To them chiefly belongs the series of excavations in the Deccan, known as the caves of Elura. Among this wonderful set of works, the temple of Kailas (or Hindu paradise) is pre-eminent. The architects first hewed, out of the trap formation of the hill-side, a broad passage all round a rocky mass, leaving this mass in the first instance a solid

block. Inside this block, again, they hollowed out spacious chambers, on the interior walls of which they sculptured figures. On the exterior also of the block they carved a variety of devices. They then coated the whole with many-coloured pigments. Thus they produced a fane as large as a modern church, not built, founded or constructed at all, but excavated solid and entire out of the precipitous rocks of the mountain. Lastly, from the outer sides of the surrounding passage they excavated niches for sculptures. This train of operations renders the temple unique of its kind in the empire.

On the same side of the mountain with the Kailas temple are numerous rock-cut temples, of which the interiors are richly and elaborately carved, and which have made the name of Elura so famous.

The island of Elephanta in the Bombay harbour has some Brahminical caves of almost equal interest. The visitor, while gazing in the dim light at the gigantic sculptured figures, and the massive yet richly carved columns, looks through a vista stretching towards the bright landscape and the blue waters.

In the Hindu temples of recent centuries, in northern and central India, there is a want of height, size and expansiveness. Ingenuity seems to have been bestowed on ornamentation in detail, while the general proportions and dimensions were comparatively neglected. This fault, however, is not perceptible in the Hindu temples of the elder time, which are distinguished for breadth of conception, grandeur of design, correctness of proportion and subordination of details to the main features.

In Cashmir, the ruined fane of Martand (or the sun) is massive in construction and plain in ornament; the material consisting of huge blocks of dark stone. It has compartments somewhat like nave, transepts, aisles, and an extensive cloistered enclosure, of which the gateways were magnificent. The structure was meant to resist the ravages of time. The visitor,

observing its broken arches, overthrown columns and leaning sides, perceives that some earthquake must have caused a destruction which is manifestly apart from the process of decay. Inspection disproves the truth of the tradition which attributes the mischief to Muhammadan iconoclasts. These ruins grey, with their background of Cashmir landscape and of snowy mountains, form an impressive object.

At Pâtan near Katmandu, the capital of Nepal, are the temples of the aboriginal Hindu dynasty which was overthrown by the Gorkhas. These fanes are still in good preservation. Their roofs, tipped with gilt copper cupolas, have overhanging eaves, somewhat after the Thibetan or Chinese fashion. Their masonry consists of bricks of great size, baked to a firm consistency and covered with a sort of pink enamel. Their black-wood carvings are set off with ornaments of burnished brass, resembling shields. They have considerable height with several stories. Their background also consists in part of snowy mountains.

At Brindaban on the river Jamna near Mathra and Agra, in the most classic ground of Hindu mythology, where the scene of the birth and childhood of the god Krishna was laid, there is a Hindu fane, having proportions and dimensions somewhat like those of a church, and built with grand material, the stone being of a deep red colour. The interior, fairly well-preserved, is the best example of Hindu art in the plains of northern India.

On the seashore of Orissa, stands the Black Pagoda, so called by mariners at sea who regard it as a landmark. It is a noble ruin, although what is now seen is only the vestibule of the great temple itself. There has been doubt felt by some as to whether the structure was ever completed, or after completion sank from failure of the foundations laid in a sandy soil; it probably was completed. If finished in the same proportions and detail with which it was begun, it must have been one of the most beautiful buildings ever raised by Hindu hands. The

ruin inspires sentiments tinged with melancholy, standing as it does near the beach, with the billowy sands surging round it, and within sound of the sea waves.

At Mahabalipuram near Madras, masses of rock rear themselves up on the sea-side, protruding through the low-lying littoral ground or the sandy beach. Upon each one of these separate rocks the Hindu architects laid their transforming hands, hewing the shapeless masses into shapely forms of dome, cupola and convex top, and excavating stately interiors, based not upon artificial foundations, but upon the everlasting stone. The finest of these rock-cut fanes is second only to that of Kailas at Elura, already described. One temple in the vicinity is built in the ordinary way upon rocks jutting out into the sea, and the surf at high tide dashes up the steps at its entrance. It was near here that Southey laid the scene of his poem, "The Curse of Kehama."

In southern India, in this respect unlike northern or central India, the Hindu temples of recent centuries have imposing proportions as well as most elaborate ornamentation. The temple itself is usually lofty, and stands in the midst of a spacious courtyard, which is surrounded by walls and has one or more "Goparums" or gateways; often as many as four. Sometimes there are several enclosures, one within the other, each having gateways, in which case the number of gateways is multiplied. These lofty gateways have magnificent façades, reflecting honour upon the Hindu architects, and constituting some of the most noteworthy features in the country. Such are the gateways at Tanjore, at Srirangam, on the sacred island in the river Cavery near Trichinopoly, and at Madura. In one of the principal courtyards at Tanjore there is the figure of a sacred bull about twenty feet high, a granite monolith; men nowadays marvel how the vast block was carved and transported to its present site. Often the taste of the architects displayed itself in the construction of noble colonnades, such

as that at Rameshwaram, on one of the islands of Adam's bridge, which almost connects India with Ceylon. At Madura, in addition to the fanes and gateways, there are numerous courtyards, aisles, corridors and colonnades, replete with figures carved in stone, and often presenting a fine perspective with a beautiful play of light and shade. The precincts are crowded with the busy and gaily dressed multitudes of those who buy and sell in the temple; the scene in its way is hardly equalled anywhere else in the empire.

Benares, in the north, which notwithstanding rival claims to pre-eminence, must be regarded as the most sacred city of Hinduism, has a host of temples, none of which are remarkable for their dimensions. The city, lining the high bank of the Ganges, can best be viewed from a barge, dropping gently down the current at sunrise, when the people issue forth to bathe in the holy river. Then is perceived the unequalled river-frontage of towers, lattices, porticoes, spires and cones. The palaces bear the names of all the principal Native sovereigns and chiefs of the Hindu faith in all parts of the empire. The structures are dedicated by Hindu piety to all manner of religious uses, with terraces and stone platforms, on some of which every earnest Hindu prays that his body after death may be burned to ashes as the best passport to a new and happier state. The steps, flight after flight, are thronged with multitudes eagerly pressing for immersion in the water which, according to their faith, washes away sin.

The architectural ambition of the Hindus was not limited to sacred structures, but extended to palaces and buildings for royal uses, to fortresses, and also to works of public utility, whereby the names of founders might live in the grateful memory of posterity.

The particular wells, known by the name of "Baoli" are contrivances on a laborious scale for ensuring a supply of water at all seasons in arid tracts. Enormous cisterns are excavated to a depth of a hundred feet or more, with broad steps leading

down to the deepest part and with spacious galleries at various heights all round the reservoir, according to the rise and fall of the water at the several seasons so that there may be access to it always. The finest specimens of this remarkable class of structures are found in the province of Gujerat on the west coast.

Sometimes towers were erected of stone-work elaborately carved, in celebration of victories; of a shape resembling that of the Italian campaniles. Notable among these is the tower of victory at Chitorgarh in Rajputana, a monument which is placed on a celebrated hill and looks down upon the scene of some of the most gallant deeds ever performed by Rajput patriotism.

The fortresses of Gwalior on the confines of Hindostan, of Asirgarh in the Sâtpura range, of Daolatabad and Gawilgarh in the Deccan, of Gâtý in the Madras Presidency, of Nandidûrg in Mysore, frown sternly from their beetling crags, and have features of rugged grandeur enhancing the effect of their historic associations.

The picturesque Mahratta hill forts, built on rocky eminences in the Western Ghat range, were the eyries whence Sivaji, like the eagle, used to swoop upon the plains, namely, Junir, where he was born; Rajgurh, where he founded his predatory rule; Pertabgurh, where he openly rebelled against the Muhammadans and assassinated their envoy; Raegurh, where he held his court and controlled all western India till death closed his reign. The scenery around these places is in unison with the momentous events which occurred in them.

Little, save mounds and hillocks and the remnants of structures here and there, remains to mark the extensive site of the ancient city of Ayodhya, or Ajudhia, on the banks of the Ghogra. The splendour of this city is the theme of descriptive eloquence in the epic poetry of the Hindus. And every educated Hindu turns his thoughts towards its glory as the representative of the golden and heroic epoch of his nation.

Near Bijayanagar, in the Madras Presidency, where the

Hindus made their final, but ineffectual, stand against the encroachments of the Muhammadan conquerors, there exist the remains of magnificent temples, some of which are among the best memorials of Hindu art and architecture, while others have lofty, though gloomy, interiors. The ruins of the city cover an extensive area; the palaces and many-storied towers, the stone platforms raised for witnessing state spectacles, the fountains and conduits, the elephant stables, have a style of antiquated simplicity, which is most interesting. Here and there solid rocks are hewn and fashioned into gigantic and grotesque figures of divine incarnations. The site of the city is remarkable, in the midst of granite cliffs and boulders, watered by canals from the rock-bound stream of the Tungabadra. The scenery of the river, with its rapids, with its rocky barriers mirrored in the placid pools, and with the monolith pillars of the ancient viaducts still standing, is in harmony with the historic halo which surrounds the place.

The palaces of Hindu kings are often built on the margin of artificial lakes, in the midst of which are islets adorned with gardens and summer-houses. Such, particularly, are the celebrated palaces at Udeypur in Rajputana. Such, also, is the situation of the palaces at Ambair, the old capital of the Jyepur State, near the modern and well-planned city of Jyepur. The palatial summer-pavilion at Dig, near Bhurtpur, is of comparatively recent construction. It embodies many of the finest principles of Indian architecture, and is the most beautiful of the modern structures.

Amongst the old palatial buildings there may be noticed the palace of Mandla near Jabalpur in central India, specially remarkable as having been constructed by an aboriginal dynasty of Gonds, and of Chandragarh near Arcot in the south, where the native chief is said to have signed away to the East India Company the strip of what was then sand, but now is the site of the Madras city.

Foremost among the palaces of India is the palace built by Tirúmal Naik at Madura. Its courtyards and arcades, its vestibules, anterooms and halls of audience, its rotund chambers, vaulted roofs and arches lofty as those of a church, combine to excite the admiration of the beholder and to render the name of its founder renowned. A mystery enshrouds the memory of Tirúmal Naik, by reason of the generally received tradition of his tragic end. It is believed that searching for hidden treasure he was enticed into a subterranean chamber by some Brahmin conspirators, who suddenly closed the door, and left him to starve in darkness.

The Muhammadan architecture is one of the chief ornaments of the Indian empire, and has the highest claims upon the attention of Englishmen.

The Muhammadans in India can indeed boast of many secular structures of size and beauty, forts, palaces, halls of audience, summer-houses, colleges, caravanserais and market-places. But their highest efforts were given to religious edifices, mosques, shrines and tombs. Saints being much venerated, costly shrines were raised to preserve their example in the mind of the faithful. Though tombs were often built in affectionate remembrance of the departed, still it was sometimes the custom for sovereigns to build their mausolea in their lifetime, which accounts for so many tombs being so magnificent.

Some conquering dynasties have bequeathed more monuments of usefulness as signs of their occupation, but none ever left more beautiful traces of their conquest, than the Muhammadans. In boldness of design and breadth of idea they always equalled and often surpassed the Hindu art, and infinitely excelled it in respect of taste, in the most æsthetic and artistic sense of the term. They were in the very first rank of the architects of all nations, ancient or modern, respecting simplicity of form, adjustment of proportions, gracefulness of curvature, chasteness of ornament and quality of colouring. Some of their later

structures were like poems, so artistic was the composition. The combination of these merits in the highest degree was hardly attained till the reigns of the Mogul emperors, and reached its zenith in the time of Shah Jehan. Still, it shewed itself almost from the very first; despite some crudeness or awkwardness here and there, and something of angularity, its progress may be traced from dynasty to dynasty, from province to province, from century to century. Nor did it suffer any deterioration till buildings were, in later days, erected at Lucknow. These edifices, however lofty or imposing, belong to an inferior style of art.

Thus, for example, the structures at Ahmedabad in the province of Gujerat near Bombay, may not present specimens which could be singled out for special mention, but nevertheless are replete with beautiful details of interest to every student of architecture. A similar interest attaches itself to the buildings, sacred and secular, at Bijapur, at Golconda, and at Bedar, all in the Deccan; to the ruins of Mandu in central India; to the remains of Toghkakabad and other cities, which were built near the site of the comparatively modern city of Delhi; to the mosques at Jounpur near Benares; to the ruins of Gour in Bengal, including the fine Adina mosque, which is, however, much overgrown by the teeming vegetation. Among these there are some structures which must be chosen for notice.

At Bijapur, the dome of the tomb of king Mahmud is the largest in the world, exceeding even the duomo of Florence. Its structural arrangements are well worthy of being studied by all architects. It is one of the most imposing, though hardly one of the most beautiful, buildings in the empire. In beauty it is surpassed by the mausoleum of king Ibrahim close by. At Golconda, near Hyderabad, the collection of domed tombs of the kings, at the foot of the frowning citadel, has caused the place to be named the city of the dead. It somewhat resembles the tombs of the Caliphs near Cairo. Near Delhi, the Kutab Minar, soaring aloft to a prodigious height, in shape somewhat like an

obelisk, and covered with elaborate carvings, has excited the wonder and admiration of all beholders.

Of a later period, when the Mogul empire was first consolidated by Akber the Great, are the mosque and palace built by him as a country seat at Fatehpur Sikri, near Agra; also his tomb at Sikandra in the same neighbourhood. The design of these buildings is very fine, and the contrast of colour in the material afforded by the brilliant white marble, and the dull-red sandstone, is remarkable. The style in some respects recalls memories of Hindu architecture, while in other respects it displays nascent beauty, and affords promise of the architectural triumphs which followed. The emperor, though a Moslem, was imbued with cosmopolitan ideas respecting religion and philosophy, and had chosen one of his queens from a royal Hindu house in Rajputana.

The two mosques at Lahore, one built by imperial orders, and called "Padshahi," the other built by a minister, and called "Waziri," are in a more advanced style. The body of the Padshahi mosque is of red sandstone, while the three cupolas are of marble. The Waziri mosque is quite different, being adorned with exquisitely coloured glazing in floral devices.

The Muhammadan artists cultivated the art of fixing beautiful colours on earthy substances. The number of such men being limited, they died out during the wars and revolutions, leaving no successors in their art which has thus perished. Traces of the art survive, however, in the mosque at Tatta in Sind, which structure is the gem of that province. The Muhammadans also practised the art of mosaic with inlaid stones, imitating leaves and flowers with coloured stones, inserted in white marble. This art still survives among their descendants.

The "Jama" mosque at Delhi, of a later period, built by the emperor Shah Jehan, is in good preservation as one of the prime ornaments of the empire, and is probably the most beautiful mosque on a very large scale that has ever been seen in the world. Its vast dimensions, swelling cupolas and lofty arches;

its spacious courtyard, arcades, gateway, cloisters and flight of steps, produce ultimately an imposing effect. But even this is hardly perceived at first by the beholder, because his admiration is so riveted by the grace of its forms, the nicety of its proportions, the delicate adjustment of its component parts, and the harmony of its colouring. For the material of this noble structure the marble lends its brightness and the sandstone its finest red.

Besides the "Jama" mosque which, as its name implies, was built for the general attendance of all the faithful, special mosques were designed for the attendance of the emperor himself or of his immediate family and suite. In the palace precincts, inside the fortress of Agra, there is a mosque, built by the same emperor, of faultless construction, entirely in white marble. It was named the Moti Masjid or Pearl Mosque, and well it deserves that designation. It possesses many of the superb characteristics ascribed to the Jama mosque. It is inferior to the Jama mosque in size, but is superior even to that mosque in loveliness. It is carefully preserved by the State as one of the most precious gems of the empire.

The spectator standing in the courtyard of this Pearl Mosque with the gateway behind him, the arcades on either hand, and the mosque with its cupolas in front, beholds nothing but sky and marble. As he lifts up his eyes towards the dazzling white, the cloudless sky has an intense azure. The perfect contour of the cupolas strikes the vision, while the atmosphere behind seems to have infinite depth. Then, under the arches in the broad recesses of the building, there are the cool shades of the marble, diversified by the play of reflected lights, and affording grateful relief to the eye fatigued with beauty. A more lovely edifice for divine worship has probably never been erected.

The supreme effort of Muhammadan genius was the design and construction of the mausoleum erected at Agra by the emperor Shah Jehan in memory of his beloved empress Mumtaz-i-Mahal, whence the building has acquired the common name of the Taj

Mahal. Some Italian artists may have assisted in the details of the ornamentation. But to the Muhammadan alone belongs the imperishable renown of having reared this the peerless queen of all the structures in India, perhaps in the world. The British authorities, proud of possessing this unequalled treasure, maintain it in good preservation and adorn its gardens with all the choicest flowers of the West. People who have seen it constantly during the greater part of their lives, never tire of seeing it again and again. Artists despair of representing it on canvas; and in truth no drawing that can be made, no account that can be given, will do justice to it. There is almost equal difficulty in analysing the reasons why it appears so exceedingly beautiful. Doubtless, the colouring is one important cause. The marble which, in that dry climate, is but little sullied by the stains of time and at a short distance seems, in the sunlight, to be pure as a snow-wreath, the liquid blue of the sky in the cloudless winter season, the sombre green of the funereal cypresses, contribute to the effect, which every one feels but none can fully explain. There must, however, be other and higher causes; among these are the perfect proportions and the exact balancing of one part against the other. In support of this view it may be noted that in other places, imitations on a smaller scale have been attempted, with only slight deviations from the form and proportions of the original, but the effect is marred, the beauty gone, the resemblance lost. If the edifice be well-nigh indescribable when viewed by day, still more does it transcend description if seen by night, when the moonlight rests upon the marble, and by contrast deepens the gloom of the cypress shades. When all nature is hushed, a sentiment arises of solitude in the pale presence of the monument, until the historic dead ascend in dim procession before the imagination, and a feeling of awe mingles with a sense of the overpowering beauty of the scene.

CHAPTER IV.

EUROPEAN CLASSES, OFFICIAL AND NON-OFFICIAL.

Importance of the Covenanted Civil Service—Results of new system of competition—Interesting duties of civil servants—Historic names of Civil Servants in the past—Military officers in civil and political employ—Distinguished names among them—Several classes of covenanted officers—Medical officers—Military and civil engineers—The clergy—Eminent prelates—Uncovenanted European and East-Indian officers—Non-official Europeans—Mercantile firms—Chambers of commerce—Indigo-planters—Tea and coffee-planters—The Anglo-Indian press.

THE Covenanted Civil Service is the most important class in the country. It consists of 928 officers, of whom 7 are Natives, and the remainder 921 English; there are 623 in the Presidency of Bengal, 158 in that of Madras, and 147 in that of Bombay. It represents before the Natives the essential qualities of British rule, and personally symbolizes to them the mind and intent of the Government. It supervises the collection of the revenue, the repression of crime, the administration of justice, and the relations of the State with the people. There are some important matters, indeed, which are in great part managed by other official classes; such as the finances, the public works, the political and foreign relations, the higher education, the application of English law, the general legislation; though in these also the Covenanted Civil Service has a considerable share. But in so far as the action of Government concerns or affects the daily life, the domestic comfort and the ordinary affairs of the people,—the arbitrament for weal or for woe rests with the Covenanted Civil Service. The members of this Service, officially termed the Civil Servants, are generally too much absorbed in the work before them to reflect much on their own position. They are conscious of being representative men in the

eyes of the Natives. According to their conduct, the character of England herself is measured by the mass of the Indian people. Even if some Englishmen in India evince unpopular qualities, they are seen but little by the population in the interior. But the disposition, temper, ability, demeanour, life and conversation of the Covenanted Civil Servants, are familiar to millions of men. Thus the Natives, when thinking of the government under which they live, and of the nation from which it emanates, judge mainly from what they see of the Civil Servants. It is well that England should be gauged by the standard of some of her best sons.

More than twenty years have elapsed since a fundamental change was made in the mode of appointing men to this Service, according to which they are admitted by open competition, instead of being nominated by the Directors of the East India Company. The Service enjoyed so much repute under the Company, and had won such historic fame, that the results of the change from nomination to competition have been awaited with some anxiety by English opinion. Whenever the conversation in English society turns upon India, the question is asked whether the new class of Civil Servants, who enter by competition, is equal to the old class of Civil Servants who entered by nomination, and whether on the whole the change is working successfully. The answer may be given in the affirmative without any hesitation. The change has not produced, and probably will never produce, all the benefit which its advocates and admirers predicted, but it is producing the benefit which might fairly be expected. The competition does not indeed allure the most successful alumni of the universities in the United Kingdom. Nor is that combination of ability and energy in unison, which amounts to genius, found more in the new Service than in the old, for this quality, which never has been, and doubtless never will be, wanting among British people in India, cannot be tested by examination and will not be ensured by regulation. But young men are procured, of

more than average acquirements and more than ordinary industry. Under the old system of nomination, inferior men as regards diligence and capacity crept into the Service occasionally. Such instances, which must be specially harmful in a country like India, are not found under the system of competition. Some men will prove to be unsuited, by habit of mind or from physical failings, for the work of their profession; but such cases are infrequent. The predictions formerly hazarded to the effect that many men would be mere book-worms, inapt in horsemanship and other pursuits essential or incidental to an administrative career, have happily failed to be verified by the event. Formerly the mettle of the old Service was sorely tried in the pacification of newly annexed territories, or in quelling disturbances and rebellions. Recently the spirit of the new Service has been evoked by famine and pestilence menacing many millions of people. Its members have in these fiery trials displayed zeal, constancy, endurance, and energy not to be surpassed in Anglo-Indian annals. They are filling the office of Magistrate and Collector in almost all the districts throughout the empire; an office which concerns more immediately the welfare of the Natives than any other. Some of them are arriving at a position which entitles the holders to fill the higher administrative posts. They are entering the secretariat under the several Local Governments, and the secretariat of the Government of India; one of them has just obtained a seat in the Council of the Governor-General. Most of the district judgeships are now held by them, which offices also directly concern the welfare of the Natives; and soon some of them will be ascending the bench of the High Courts.

In general terms there are two branches in the work of Covenanted Civil Servants, the executive or administrative, and the judicial. Formerly in some divisions of the empire, the men were interchangeable between the two branches, while in other divisions they have long been kept separate. But at the present time, the plan almost universally adopted is in this

wise. The young officers are, for a very few years, all employed in the executive or administrative branch, in order to become familiar with the vernacular, the ways and the customs of the people. They are then divided by a final distribution, some being assigned to the executive or administrative branch and some to the judicial, according to the needs of each branch; after that, they are not interchanged between the two branches. In this distribution, the aptitudes, acquirements and preferences of individuals are considered as much as possible consistently with the necessities of the service. Though many men from the first bend their minds towards the judicial line, yet with the majority the executive or administrative line is regarded as the more interesting of the two.

It is in the administrative line that a man as Magistrate and Collector receives charge of a district, with an area of 3000 to 5000 square miles, and a population of one to two millions. Looking at the great and varied interests entrusted to his keeping in relation to the revenue, the treasury, the landed tenures, the police, the magistracy, the prisons, the public education, the municipalities, the sanitation, the local funds and the works of material improvement; at the many contingencies and emergencies in which all his energies may be summoned for the preservation of the people from danger; at the relations which must be maintained with all classes of the Natives in a firm, judicious, considerate and conciliatory manner;—he comes to regard his district almost with the same sort of feelings with which a great landowner regards his broad estate. He learns to take a lively interest in the concerns of the district, in the industries of the people, in their manufactures, their productions, their trade, their festivals and their local customs. With many individuals among them, he will form a lasting friendship. One of the faculties he must cultivate is a discriminating insight into the character and disposition of those with whom he comes in contact. He will be surrounded by many Natives who are themselves endowed with this very faculty, and who

intuitively perceive, or learn by subtle observation, the strong and the weak points in the character of every Englishman in authority. He will oft be surrounded by flatterers, and will constantly meet with those who desire to mislead, cajole or deceive him. In seeking for an expression of the sentiments, ideas, feelings and reflections of the Natives, he must be careful not to let his own view be perceived, nor to evince any sign of a foregone conclusion; for they are but too apt to chime in with the opinion of official Europeans, or at least to avoid indicating any contrary opinion. If he be not on his guard in this respect when conversing with Natives, he will find that instead of ascertaining their sentiments, he is only hearing an echo of his own. As they are very reserved in communicating their views to an official European, it is harder for him to probe their inner mind, than for a non-official European, before whom they have less reserve and with whom they will converse without fear of possible consequences. While incessantly watchful against wrongfulness concealed under specious and plausible masks, he must beware of the uncharitable insinuations against their neighbours, in which Natives are too prone to indulge and which are more dangerous than open accusations. There is nothing which good Natives, who do their duty incurring enmity thereby, dread so much as the risk of their conduct being traduced before him by covert suggestions, and of his mind being poisoned, as it were, and set against them.

While cautious not to allow interested persons to make separate or personal representations to him regarding matters under investigation, he cannot be too accessible to all sorts and conditions of Natives. In his own house, on certain days, at certain hours, or at any hour which his pressing duties may leave comparatively free, also during his drives and walks, he should be ready and willing to receive Natives, to talk with them, so as to catch the tone and feel the pulse of the people. His recreation in the cool hours of the morning will be to inspect the city or the station near his headquarters, promote

sanitation, examine schools, inspect public works and form plans for material improvement. He will take the same pleasure in doing this as a landlord takes in going round his gardens, parks and farms and considering plans for the improvement of the property. His ambition is to leave behind him some useful work, as a mark of his sojourn in the place and a sign of his improving hand.

For nearly half the year, he quits his headquarters and marches with tents about the district. This camp life under canvas constitutes the most enjoyable part of his Indian career. He then has intercourse at all hours of the day with classes of Natives, who can hardly be observed with advantage at the central station of the district, and who can be best understood when met with at their remote homes. While he is riding through the fields, halting in the villages, shooting by the way, lounging after a march in the shaded anteroom of his tent under the spreading boughs, or warming himself by the bonfire outside his tent door on cold or frosty nights, he is on much more easy and familiar terms with the Natives than he could possibly be at his headquarters, where he is surrounded more or less with his staff and subordinates. Often he pursues the wild sports of the east; and then he learns many things about the district and the people which could not otherwise be learnt. At every turn his eye glances on picturesque objects, and sometimes it rests on sights of beauty and interest; all which help to endear to him the district where his lot for a time is cast. After some weeks or some months of marching and touring, during which time he has seldom heard the English language spoken, he returns to his headquarters with his physical frame invigorated, his mind refreshed, his imagination stored with new ideas and his will braced with fresh resolves. Many of the beneficent plans, which he then conceived, he proceeds to carry out, as he once more sits in his central office during the long hours of the summer days. In the hum and the heat of these close and crowded rooms, and amidst the whirl of never-

ending business, he longs for the day to come round for him to travel once more in the interior of his district, at the season when nature decks herself with the dew that glitters on the rising crops, and when she is freshened by the health-giving breezes of an eastern winter.

Indeed, that part of the British administrative system, which directly concerns the majority of the Natives, is centred in the office of Magistrate and Collector. So long as these very important officers continue to be able and efficient, as they have heretofore been, the administration will be regarded by Native opinion as in the main successful. They are usually esteemed by competent observers as being among the best types of the English in the east. A prelate of the Church, acquainted with countries of the East and West, is said to have declared that as a class they are among the best men he ever knew.

The junior Civil Servants, in the executive or administrative branch, undergo in the districts a training to suit them for the life which has just been described. They pass examinations in the vernacular language or languages of the division of the empire to which they are attached.

A divisional Commissioner of revenue and police is the superintendent of the Magistrates and Collectors in several districts which make up a division. There are several such Commissionerships under each of the Local Governments (except Madras). The Commissioner is thus at the head of a province, or part of a province, and in several respects represents the Government. He is a high functionary in the eyes of the Natives, and the statements, just made regarding the Magistrates and Collectors, apply to him.

The District Judges, also Covenanted Civil Servants, form a very important class of functionaries. Their duties are not only judicial, consisting of the trial of original suits and the hearing of appeals from some classes of Native Judges, but are also in a considerable degree administrative.

The District Judge is the superior of the several Native

Judges who are serving in the district, and the visitor or inspector of the various courts established therein. He makes a tour from place to place inspecting these courts, examining their returns, testing their procedure, and learning the popular estimate of their character and efficiency. He is, in short, a sort of minister of justice for the district; upon his diligence and watchfulness the convenience of suitors, and the promotion of the many interests relating to civil justice, must greatly depend. The juniors in the judicial line serve as Assistant Judges, and so become trained for the office of District Judge.

It is from among the District Judges that men are selected for the bench of the High Courts; and many able and learned men have been thus obtained to discharge the duties of these tribunals.

It is impossible here to describe the varied work, besides district work, which is done by Covenanted Civil Servants in many capacities, as political Residents at Native Courts, as heads of fiscal departments, as Chief Commissioners of provinces, as Secretaries to Government, as Members of the Councils, as Lieutenant-Governors of divisions of the empire, and sometimes as Governors of Presidencies.

There is every hope that the historic traditions of the Civil Service in the past will be emulated by the Civil Service in the future. All the well-wishers of India will pray that the memory of good men departed may encourage the new Civil Servants, and that the spirit of the most illustrious of their predecessors,—of Warren Hastings, of Teignmouth, of Mountstuart Elphinstone, of Metcalfe, of Macnaghten, of Thomason, of Mertins Bird, of Edmonstone, of John Lawrence,—may ever rest upon them in their labours.

Next to the Covenanted Civil Service, there is a very important class of officers drawn from the army for civil and political employ. These officers used formerly to be taken from the European officers of the Native armies; they are now taken from the Staff Corps. The greater part of the diplomatic or

political appointments in the country are held by them ; also many of the civil appointments in several provinces, namely the Panjab, Oudh, British Burma, Assam, the Central Provinces, Sind and Berar. In these capacities their duties are the same as those of the Covenanted Civil Service ; and all that has been stated regarding that Service, is applicable to them also. They have always been most zealous, able and efficient ; many of them, having been originally chosen on account of their promise of talent, have become eminently distinguished. Some of the best and greatest names in Anglo-Indian history have belonged to this very important class of officers ; such names as those of Clive, Munro, Malcolm, Alexander Burnes, Henry Lawrence, Mark Cubbon, John Low, James Outram, John Jacob, Herbert Edwardes, John Nicholson, Henry Durand. Of these, Munro became Governor of Madras, Malcolm Governor of Bombay, and Durand Lieutenant-Governor of the Panjab. Many of them survive, either in retirement, with names destined hereafter to be inscribed on the rolls of history, or in active service, with abilities capable of preserving the brightest traditions of their profession.

There are other classes which, though not having the official style of covenanted, are yet under covenant with the Government, having been sent out from England under this condition. These classes have of late years grown much in importance, and their members are now filling places of consequence in the public service. Such are the educational officers, generally graduates of the universities of the United Kingdom, to whom practically is entrusted the management of the national education. Such are the Civil Engineers, trained in the Royal College of Civil Engineering at Coopers' Hill. Such are the Forest officers, despatched from England, after having been professionally instructed in the forest schools of France and Germany. Such are the scientific officers, geologists, botanists, chemists, meteorologists, astronomers, appointed from England.

The Indian Medical Service has been in part employed with

the Native Army and its members have heretofore been military officers. But its largest and most important employment has been among the civil officers and employés of the Government, and among the Natives. One of its highest functions has been the education of the Natives as medical men and medical practitioners. At the Presidency towns of Calcutta, Madras and Bombay, its members have an extensive private practice, not only among their own countrymen, but also among the Natives. It furnishes to Government skilled advisers in every branch of sanitation. It contributes largely to the advancement in India of those sciences which are cognate to its own work; in botany especially it has held a distinguished place. It has raised the British character in the estimation of the humbler classes of the Natives, by reason of philanthropy scientifically directed in performing surgical operations, and in superintending charitable dispensaries. Its influence with the middle and upper classes of Natives is considerable. By recent arrangements it will be relieved of its military work, and will be devoted to those civil duties for which it is so signally qualified.

The several Corps of Engineers in India were separate bodies until the amalgamation of the forces of the East India Company with the Royal Army. They contained as high an average of talent and capacity, and as many shining lights of the public service, as any corps that ever existed. The names of some of its members will live in Anglo-Indian history, such names as Proby Cautley and Baird Smith in the North-western Provinces, Robert Napier (now Lord Napier of Magdala) and Alexander Taylor in the Panjab, Arthur Cotton and Anderson in Madras, Haig in the Central Provinces, Michael Kennedy and Fife in Bombay.

The position of the civil engineers under their covenants has been already mentioned. They now constitute the larger number of the officers serving in the Department of Public Works, a branch of the service which has grown rapidly of late years owing to the extension of canals and the construction of

railways by the State. Although the Government is striving to educate the Natives for the profession of civil engineering, still at the present time, the employment of a large number of Europeans is necessary in this profession, and for an indefinite period the direction of the great public works must remain in European hands.

The clergy consist mainly of the Chaplains of the English Church in the service of Government who minister among the European soldiery, and among all the servants of the State both civil and military, also of Presbyterian Ministers and of Roman Catholic priests who attend to the troops and other establishments of their respective communities. They constantly visit the hospitals of the European troops, and accompany the forces into the field on active service. They also visit the numerous civil stations scattered over the country, but their scanty number is altogether too few for such extensive charges; consequently societies are formed for bringing out additional clergy from England. The Bishops of the English Church were three in number; two more have been recently added, as it was found necessary to strengthen the episcopate by reason of the growing needs of the community. The Bishop of Calcutta is also metropolitan in India. Among these prelates there have been several who exerted an elevating influence on the State and the community. The memories of Bishops Heber, Wilson, Cotton, Milman, and Archdeacon Pratt, are reverently and affectionately cherished.

There is a large class of European officials who are termed uncovenanted, to distinguish them from the covenanted. They are not so numerous as they once were, owing to the competition of educated Natives for the numerous ministerial appointments which may be designated as clerkships. And in situations superior to ministerial appointments, the policy of the Government is to employ Natives as much as possible. Still, Europeans, uncovenanted, are largely employed in several important branches, especially the Financial department, the

Police, the special branches of revenue such as salt and opium, and in many other miscellaneous capacities. Some of them have been employed in the administrative work of districts in the Panjab and other provinces, and have there sometimes won distinction. The rules regarding furlough and pension have of late years been greatly modified to their advantage.

The same remarks apply to the class of East Indians or Eurasians. Their home is in India itself, and they suffer more and more from the competition of the Natives. This disadvantage is quite inevitable; but they are striving to counteract it by improved education. They will doubtless succeed in maintaining their position in the country; but it is to be feared that the struggle will be hard. Many of them have served the State with usefulness and honour in various capacities; some of them have also been distinguished.

The description, thus given of the official European classes in India, would by itself convey but an imperfect idea of the European community, which consists largely of non-official classes.

Even those Indian regions most favoured by climate, such as the mountains of the Himalayas and of the Nilgiris, have failed, and probably will ever fail, to afford a field for British colonization. The British conqueror will never establish colonies of his countrymen in India, as Alexander established colonies of his Greeks in Asia. Repeated attempts at such colonization on the part of British people have proved unsuccessful. It seems doubtful whether the children, of European parents bred in India, could be reared at all after two or three generations. The climate is unfavourable to children, even of European parents bred in Europe, after five years of age. English parents are, as a rule, anxious to send their children to England for education. The circumstances of India are unsuitable to Anglo-Saxons as labouring men.

Still, non-official Europeans in India have been, and will continue to be, numerous and influential. The beginnings of

British rule in India were factories and settlements, not only at the three Presidency towns of Calcutta, Madras and Bombay, but at many places in the interior. These establishments have been closed long ago, but the three Presidency towns have grown into centres of empire and of trade under the leadership of Europeans, and take rank among the populous cities of the world. It has been well said of these cities that, unlike so many Indian capitals in the past, they are not merely courts and camps which perish after a revolution, but are founded on the lasting interests of commerce. Although the Natives acquire a large and increasing share in the trade with foreign countries, still much of that trade remains in European hands. Though many of the new and advancing industries have fallen under Native management, many also are under European guidance; and the influx of European capital is constant. Notwithstanding the improvement in the stamp of Native lawyers and the rise of the Native Bar, the Native suitors still employ English lawyers and barristers in most of the important causes before the High Courts of Judicature. At Calcutta, Madras and Bombay the English Bar has always formed an important institution, and is rising into influence at several centres in the interior of the country.

Some European firms in the Presidency towns have succumbed to the disasters which appear to be of periodical recurrence in an age when speculation plays too great a part. Of those firms which remain, the heads and some of the partners reside in England more than formerly; and the business in India is consequently entrusted more to agents. The merchants of personal weight and individual eminence, though still happily numerous, are not quite so abundant as they used to be. It is commonly said that the race of merchant princes is diminished, although the number of Europeans engaged in trade has increased.

Nationalities other than British, have always been represented in the mercantile community, and have of late borne an increasing proportion to the whole. The French are not so numerous as

they once were; the Austrians, the Italians and the Russians appear but slightly; but the Germans are fast growing in importance and the Americans are rearing their front of enterprise. Added to these, the Greeks, the Armenians and the Jews now included in the English-speaking community, all enjoy much mercantile repute and entitle Calcutta and Bombay to the name they love to claim, that of the hall of all nations.

The Chambers of Commerce, long established at these great centres, are the principal organs of European non-official opinion in the country, and are repertories of commercial intelligence. They are represented in the several legislatures by members whom the Government chooses from their body. They express Native as well as European sentiments; they are the chief, though not the sole, interpreters of independent opinion to the Government; they raise their voice on many matters fiscal, economic and financial. The patriotism of their sentiments and the accuracy of their extensive information secure to them the willing attention of the Government. In grave emergencies, demanding the organization of public charity, they are looked up to as the leaders of independent action, and they unflinchingly enact a worthy part.

In Bengal the European indigo-planters once formed a very important class, owning broad acres, possessing large leasehold interests and dwelling in fine country-seats. But the properties were vitally affected by the agrarian troubles of 1860, and the owners have for the most part passed away. In Behar, however, they still survive; their busy factories, extensive establishments, picturesque houses, gardens and parks constitute some of the most remarkable and interesting sights in that province. During the crisis of the famine which threatened the safety of the province in 1874, their services in obtaining transport for the importation of grain by the Government, for the support of the people in danger, was as beneficial to the public interest as it was honourable to themselves.

It is as tea-planters and coffee-planters that Europeans,

chiefly British, have happily increased in India. They have now covered, or are covering, with their plantations, the slopes of the mountains which hem in Assam, a portion of the hills bounding Bengal on the east, the territory ceded by the Bhotan State, the greater part of Darjiling and British Sikhim, much of the Kumaon province, the north of Hindostan, some of the Kangra valleys in the Panjab, and to the south many portions of the Nilgiri section of the Western Ghat mountains, including valleys, slopes and ridges in the State of Curg, the district of Wynaad and the kingdom of Travancore. In many of these plantations, they have introduced steam machinery and many scientific appliances. They offer a good occupation to young men from England, who are prepared to undergo a thorough apprenticeship in the business, and to master the details of the work. But experience has shewn that the management of the plantation, and the preparation of the tea or the coffee for market, constitute a difficult profession, and demand a professional training. It was the want of this knowledge, at the outset, which contributed to the many failures which occurred. Those, who witness the success which is now apparent, would little imagine, unless they studied the history of many concerns, how much capital was dissipated in the beginning, how many fortunes were impaired, how many hopes were wrecked. Many of these disasters, however, inculcated lessons from which those, who came after, have judiciously profited. It is to be hoped that in future these concerns will have an unbroken career of prosperity, educating many of the best qualities of the Anglo-Saxon, supporting the pioneers of civilization in regions previously unoccupied and affording an outlet for some of the superabundant and unemployed energies of England.

The Anglo-Indian newspaper press, as an institution, has always flourished. It circulates not only among the European community, but also among the educated Natives. Indeed from it, the Natives gather largely their ideas regarding public

matters and political affairs. The Europeans also pay much regard to it, although they read the newspapers from England as well. It criticizes with the utmost freedom and independence the policy and proceedings of the government in India, and spares no pains to present information collected from all parts of the empire. It obtains contributions from all sections of the European community, including the official classes. Some of its contributors have held high offices under Government, as the State permits its servants to communicate their thoughts and their knowledge to the newspapers, on the condition that they avoid matters of a confidential or controversial nature, or topics that may be otherwise objectionable, and rather encourages them to publish compositions which may promote the cause of science or enlarge the bounds of knowledge. The press also endeavours with much success to lay before its readers all the newest intelligence of the day, in Europe and in other parts of the world, together with the substance of all the most interesting discussions and the best-reasoned opinions in the English prints. It exercises real influence, and is of much use and assistance in the governance and management of the country. Its editors enjoy political consideration, and among them there have been several, now either deceased or retired, who in their day were among the leading minds of the country and were ornaments of current Anglo-Indian literature, namely John Marshman, Meredith Townsend, George Smith, J. O'B. Saunders, Dr. Buist, Robert Knight, J. M. Maclean.

CHAPTER V.

NATIVE STATES.

Relations of the Native States with the British Government—Loyalty of Native sovereigns during war of the mutinies—Order of the Star of India—Imperial assemblage at Delhi—Visit of the Prince of Wales—Advantages to the empire from existence of Native States—Education of young Native Princes—Internal administration of Native States—Their military forces—Mention of largest States—The Nizam of the Deccan—Jammu and Cashmir—Protected Sikh States—Rajput Princes—Maharatta Princes, Sindhia, Holkar and the Gaekwar—The Princess of Bhopal—Travancore—Political importance of the Deccan—Mysore—Kingdom of Nepal—Khan of Khelat—Eminent Native Statesmen.

THE Native States constitute a political entity of some magnitude in the Indian Empire. In round numbers they have an area of half a million of square miles and a population of fifty millions of souls. The sum total of their revenues cannot be precisely stated, but may probably exceed fifteen millions sterling annually. Though sovereigns in their own dominions, they are all more or less under the control of the British Government, as suzerain and paramount power. In accordance with existing treaties, some of them are potentates enjoying much consideration, while others are hardly distinguishable from feudal barons. They have had the most diverse relations with England in past times. With some of them, the pure mirror of English friendship has never been dimmed or sullied from the beginning; with others, it has been at one time shattered, and its fragments have been afterwards reunited. With some, the English connection has been an unbroken series of alliances, services, rewards and concessions, all thankfully remembered. To others, former collisions with English power have left ungracious memories now lapsing into oblivion. Whatever

their past circumstances may have been, they are all conscious that their destinies are linked with those of England, and that there is a community in interest, in peril and in safety, between themselves and the supreme authority.

When the mutinies suddenly broke out in 1857, the conduct of the Native sovereigns, and the attitude of their States, were watched by the English with anxiety. Had these Native powers turned against the paramount power, and sided with the mutineers, the flames of revolt, which blazed over so many districts, would have enveloped the whole empire. In that moment, though some of the States, as distinguishable from the sovereigns, did misbehave, though sometimes their troops joined the mutineers and their vassals rebelled, yet almost all the sovereigns personally, together with their relations and retainers, displayed a firm allegiance. Herein they acted according to the instinct of self-preservation, being convinced that they would be buried in the ruins of the British Government if it should fall. Nevertheless, it must be in generosity admitted that they gave full play to noble and loyal sentiments. They rendered a priceless service to the British cause, at the moment of its extreme depression. They deserved then, as they will ever deserve, to be esteemed as bulwarks of imperial stability, and as conservative elements in a country where subversive and explosive forces may at times burst forth. Enjoying an undisturbed existence under an all-protecting power, they are the natural foes of revolutionary disturbance.

They were once apprehensive lest the British Government should refuse acknowledgment of their right to adopt heirs and successors, in event of lineal descendants failing. As descendants are not unfrequently wanting in these old families, it became very important that the principle of adoption should be permanently recognised, because in the absence of such recognition, any State might, on the demise of the sovereign without male issue, revert or escheat to the paramount power. All fears

on this account were set at rest by a decree of the British Government in 1858, sanctioning the right to adopt according to the Hindu and Muhammadan institutes. The decree was communicated to every Native State, and to every Chief who was held to be governing his own territories. This measure was carried when Lord Canning was Governor-General, and has caused fragrant memories to gather round his name.

The creation of the Order of the Star of India has produced a moral effect upon the Native princes and chiefs, which time will serve to strengthen more and more. This measure, so graciously intended, cements their relations with the British Crown, elevates them in the estimation of their subjects and associates them with the British functionaries, as members of the same Order, in a fraternity of honour. The favour of the Sovereign, respecting admission to the Order, is most highly prized among them; and its insignia are worn by them with pride on all public occasions.

The visit of the Duke of Edinburgh to India in 1870 was loyally accepted by the Native States, and by Indian British subjects, as a mark of favour shewn to the nation.

The fealty and loyalty of the Native States have been strengthened, their Oriental sense of grandeur gratified and their imaginative faculties stimulated by the addition of the imperial style to the titles of the British Sovereign, and by the gracious visit of the heir-apparent to the British Crown. The visit of the Prince of Wales was regarded by them as most auspicious, and produced great good among them and their subjects. It constituted, in their eyes, a fresh tie, binding them indissolubly to the British Crown and nation. The august proceedings, connected with it, will ever be remembered by them and their successors, with pride in the past, and with hopefulness for the future.

The State ceremonials at the Imperial Assemblage at Delhi on New Year's Day of 1877, were held before the largest gathering of Native sovereigns, princes and chiefs that has ever been

seen under British rule. Probably that Assemblage was never equalled by any meeting of allies and feudatories around the emperor in the brightest days of the Mogul empire. It left a happy impression on the minds of all present, and will be a sunny spot in their memories. Its fame spread among the many nationalities of India, and confirmed the popular ideas regarding the final consolidation of the empire. It will serve as a landmark in the recollections of many millions of men.

The appointment of several Native princes to be Councillors of the Empress, in conjunction with some of the highest British functionaries, had an ennobling influence upon the Chiefs as a body. The selection of two among them to be honorary Generals in the British army was regarded as a high honour.

The creation of the Order of the Crown of India, to which Native princesses are admitted, will exercise an elevating influence socially, in a country where the need of such an effect was peculiarly felt.

The Native States supply some of the unavoidable deficiencies of a foreign rule, among a people with whom a versatile fancy, a passion for external display and a spirit of veneration for visible glories, are often predominant. The citizens and the country-folk gaze with glistening eyes, eager looks and intense admiration, upon the glitter of chivalric pageantry and the pomp of eastern royalty. The middle and upper classes regard the regal or feudal spectacles with an enthusiastic pride which constitutes the nearest approach to patriotism of which they are, as yet, capable. It is noteworthy that these sentiments are felt as much by the Natives, who are British subjects, as by those who are subjects of the Native States. Considerateness and graciousness, on the part of the British Government towards the Native States, are popular in the British dominions. Harshness or undue severity, on the part of the British Government towards the Native States, would be unpopular in the British territories, and would excite unfavourable comment among the educated Natives especially.

The Native States operate as an imperial safety-valve to release several kinds of discontent which would otherwise be pent up in the British territories, and, failing to find any vent, might burst forth injuriously. Persons who cannot meet with any scope under a foreign rule, who are too proud to submit to a system fashioned upon modern principles, and are yet too innately active to remain without some employment good or evil, can always discover some congenial sphere under the Native rulers. Many intractable characters who, if restricted to British centres of political influence, would themselves become agitated and would communicate their agitation to others, may resort to Native courts and capitals, where, though not innocuous, they are not so noxious as they might otherwise have been. Thus, as it were, many acrid humours of the imperial body are drawn off from its vital parts to its remoter members.

In the golden age of the Hindu polity, many of the Native States were ruled on a patriarchal system with paternal benevolence, and were founded on filial obedience. Even the Muhammadan period was adorned by many instances of statesmanlike administration. But during the dark night of all-pervading disturbance before the dawn of British ascendancy, these States, with scarcely any exception, groaned under utter misgovernment. Out of the chaos, hideous forms of crime, like Thagi, evolved themselves. Though the more salient of these evils were repressed after the establishment of British control, yet much misrule continued, the English being too much busied, in reducing their own political household to order, to note the administrative shortcomings of their feudatories. Of recent years, however, the Native States, though not actually forced to follow the lead of the paramount power, have yet felt the constraining power of moral compulsion, and have been moved by a worthy ambition to emulate improvements which are sanctioned by the highest example. Consequently they have imitated, with more or less fidelity, most of the reforms introduced by the British Government, for instance, judicial organization, education, sanitation and public works. In some

respects, for instance, the management of the land revenue; they have followed the English in adapting the results of Western wisdom to the peculiarities of Eastern society. In arranging customs unions, accepting commercial reciprocity and relinquishing transit duties, they have evinced a laudable readiness to fall in with the ways of imperial uniformity. In stamping out barbarous and inhuman practices, like self-immolation of widows and female infanticide, they have obeyed the dictates of civilized morality.

Thus it has come to pass that many of the Native States are comparatively well-governed. Some of them, indeed, are indicated by economists as rivalling the British territories in prosperity, and by philanthropists as emulating the British Government in the diffusion of popular contentment. The praise, accorded with justice to Native States, has sometimes operated to the disparagement of British rule. If Native rule is so good, how, it is asked, can the British rule be evincing its superiority? In fact, however, it is from their contact with the British that the Native rulers have become what they now are. Nevertheless, if those independent Europeans who have long resided in Native territory, or those Englishmen who are cognizant of both British and Native rule, were to be questioned, there would be a preponderance of testimony in favour of the British system. The opinion of Natives would be still more valuable, were it not clouded with a natural and excusable partiality. However wide may be the popularity of the British Government, many of its subjects imagine that their lot would be happier and better under Native rule. There are many, who sigh for some regime that in its essence shall be national. Still, experience has shewn that whenever, in adjusting the boundaries of dominions, or in exchanging territories, the English officers have had to propose the transfer of villages or districts, from British to Native rule, they have received remonstrances from the Natives concerned. Sometimes these remonstrances have been couched in such language of dismay as implied the sincerest flattery of British rule.

The British Government wisely seizes every opportunity of educating under its own auspices, young Native princes. Several sovereigns, now reigning, have in their youth been thus educated. In the next generation, almost every prince will have been educated after the European method, either by private tuition in the palace, or at institutions established for youths of princely degree.

Some of these institutions, such as that at Ajmere for the kingly families of Rajputana, or that at Rajkot in Kathiawar for the chiefs of western India, have been dignified with a collegiate status. English has been spontaneously chosen by the Native States as the language for their diplomatic correspondence with the British Government. These circumstances induce the chiefs to regard themselves as alumni and the paramount power as the alma mater.

The Native sovereigns and their advisers are skilful in raising the utmost amount of revenue, with the least possible trouble to the people. The average rate of revenue per head of the population will generally be found higher in the Native States than in the British territories. This will be regarded by the admirers of Native rule as a proof of its superiority. It is partly due to the greater flexibility of the Native system, which quality is often more profitable to the exchequer than the rigidity of the British method. But it should be accepted as a proof that, at least according to an oriental standard, the British taxation is mild and moderate.

Many of the Native States, notably the Protected Sikh States, the Rajputana States, some of the Central India States, the Baroda State, and others have been greatly enriched by the British railways which pass through their territories; no demand having been made upon them by the British Government on that account. Some Native sovereigns, as the Nizam, Sindhia and Holkar, have furnished funds for the construction of railways in their dominions. On the other hand, it is to be remembered that the Rajput States

made great concessions to the wishes of the British Government respecting customs arrangements with which the railways were connected. In cases where British canals have passed through Native States, such as the new canal from the Satlej, a contribution has been given by the States.

In civil expenditure, the Native States are for the most part careful and economical. They shew a politic profusion in all that relates to the functions of the priesthood, the religious observances and the popular festivals.

In their military expenditure they sometimes persist in an extravagance which is injurious to the commonweal. They generally employ a large number of untrained men, where a much smaller number of well-disciplined men would suffice. They sometimes maintain forces at a strength which might, under some conceivable circumstances, prove embarrassing to their own States as well as to the paramount power. Some few of them possess arsenals and magazines, also factories for making guns, powder, arms and ammunition. The armament of the Native States is a matter needing watchfulness, but is a very delicate subject for the paramount power to approach. The British Government does, however, what it judiciously can, in suggesting a policy of reduction. The Native States have some difficulty in reducing their military establishments, as such reductions are regarded as invidious, and are very unpopular with certain sections of their people. If such measures were hastily or harshly undertaken, some disturbance would probably ensue. Still, it would be well if these forces were fewer than they actually are. Experience has shewn that they cannot always be depended upon, when the British territories are seriously disturbed, even though their sovereigns and masters are loyal to the British cause. In the war of the mutinies, however, the troops of the Jammu and Cashmir State, and of the Protected Sikh States were loyal, and fought in the field on the British side. During the recent Afghan war, a considerable body of these troops, belonging to the Native States

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of the Panjab, were despatched into the field, and did much useful service on the north-west frontier. These Native States sent their contingents with the utmost alacrity, and the troops behaved well. The moral and political effect of this movement was considerable. The Native States, also, from all parts of the empire loyally offered to place their forces at the disposal of the British Government on that occasion.

Favourable as this picture of the Native States may seem, if compared with that of former times, yet it would be incomplete without some reference to each of the principal States.

The Nizam's dominions have, for nearly a whole generation, been governed by an eminent Muhammadan statesman, first in the capacity of minister of the late Nizam, and secondly as co-regent during the minority of the present Nizam. The amelioration effected within this time will hardly be realised by any, save those who are acquainted with the many cankers which eat into the heart of that hapless State. The Arab mercenaries, nominally the servants, but really the masters of the Nizam, professedly his guard, but in action his controllers, have been brought within a manageable compass. Rich districts have been rescued from the avaricious grasp of military chiefs, to whom they had been mortgaged in security for arrears of pay due to the troops. The Rohillas, who prowled about the country in herds like hungry wolves, are resting in enforced quiet. The mob at the capital, Hyderabad, once a seething and surging mass of devilry, has been cowed and quelled. A regular administration in civil affairs has been introduced throughout the country. There has been formed a class of Native administrators of independence in character, fertility in resource and vigour in conduct. Something is effected for public education, medical aid to the sick, and repairs of roads. Though a regular settlement of the land with its revenues and tenures, after the British model, has been but partially introduced, yet many steps have been taken in this

direction, especially with a view of rendering the land-tax equitable and moderate. The artificial lakes for irrigation, which abound in some parts of the Nizam's dominions, and which attest the enlightenment of the Hindu dynasties preceding the Muhammadan conquest, have been repaired, imperfectly perhaps, but still with some degree of efficiency. The State ship was once water-logged with financial embarrassments, and was fast sinking beyond hope of recovery. From this catastrophe it was saved by the business-like firmness of its minister; and for a time its finances were on the high road to solvency. Of late years, however, there seems to have been some retrogression, partly by reason of the excessive strength of the military forces which are still retained. These forces are far beyond the real needs of a State, in which order is preserved by a British subsidiary force and a British Contingent, and which is environed by British territory as by a wall. The Arab element in this State should always be watched. The chiefs at the head of these Arabian bands were pure Arabs, of some ability and ambition. Their sons and successors, born of Indian mothers, have a quieter disposition and are well affected. The Arab troops, though not so formidable as they were, are still of importance in the Deccan, being superior in energy and courage to the inhabitants of that province. It is very necessary to prevent their being recruited by the influx of comrades from Arabia.

The sovereign of the combined State of Jammu and Cashmir is the son of Golab Sing who played a historic part in the wars that led to the annexation of the Panjab, and whose troops were ranged under British command during the memorable siege of Delhi, thereby producing a moral effect on north-western India. He possesses less statecraft, but more enlightenment, than his father. He maintains an army, sufficient but not overgrown, and was raised in 1877 to the honorary rank of a General in the British army. He succeeds well in the management of his fellow-tribesmen, the Rajputs of

the lower Himalayan range; but is less successful with the Muhammadan population of Cashmir. He has long been associated with gracious and pleasant memories in the minds of hundreds of Englishmen, by reason of the hospitable facilities which he affords to visitors for seeing the sights of Cashmir. But, alas! the name of happy valley so affectionately given to Cashmir by countless admirers, can be applied nowadays to its scenery only, and not to its inhabitants. Of late years epidemic pestilence and desolating famine have wasted half the people to death, and driven the remainder to despair. Seldom has nature in such beauty looked upon man in such misery.

The group of principalities styled the Protected Sikh States, intervening between Delhi and the Panjab, were snatched by the British from the jaws of Ranjit Sing, when he threatened to devour all his neighbours. They remembered their deliverers who in turn were menaced with destruction at the outburst of the mutinies in 1857, and were among the very first to appear in arms on the British side against the mutineers. They declared that their swords should be drawn for that power under whose wing they had nestled for fifty years. In the chronicles of feudal chivalry there is not a brighter example of fidelity on the part of feudatories towards their liege, than that exhibited by some of these States, Pattiala, Jhind and Nabha, towards the British suzerain in the darkest days of 1857. Ties, destined doubtless to be indissoluble, were then formed between them. Subsequently these States have derived prosperity from the public works, railways and canals, of the British Government, and have consolidated their civil administration after the fashion of the Panjab territory, with which their own territories are so greatly intermingled. They maintain military forces adequate but not excessive, composed of those martial elements in which the valley of the Satlej abounds. Their situation, on the national highway of northern India, is a commanding one. If there be any Native States in which the administration is really comparable with British rule, they are here.

In the Himalayan region round Simla there is a group of Protected Hindu States. These suffered grievously under Nepalese domination upwards of fifty years ago, from which they were liberated by the British. They remember their liberators with a gratitude which finds expression even in the present time.

A large congeries of States is formed under the name of Rajputana or Rajasthan, of which the principal are Udeypur, Jyepur and Jodhpur. These Rajput chiefs have, next to the Brahmins, the purest blood in India. In antiquity of descent they rank peerless among the Native sovereigns; the pink and flower of Indian heraldry is acknowledged to be with them. During the earlier Muhammadan invasions they won imperishable fame by deeds like those of the defenders of Saragossa, of Antwerp or of Londonderry; and in their hill-forts were heaped up hecatombs of men slain for the fatherland. With the advance of the Mogul empire, their autonomy was established. They sheltered Akber the Great in his infancy; some of them gave sultanates to the imperial seraglios, and by marriage mingled their blood with that of succeeding Moslem emperors. The immunities, secured by them, were continuously enjoyed during the wars and treaties which terminated in the establishment of British supremacy. During the war of the mutinies they were steadfast in their allegiance to a supremacy in their eyes so beneficent. They retain to this day, more than any other Native States, the original image of Hindu polity, untouched by the defacing fingers of modern change. Their administration, partly patriarchal partly baronial, has a rough and rude efficiency. During recent years, they have endured some inconvenience and sacrificed some predilections in conforming to the British proposals regarding the revenues from salt and customs, in order to fulfil the behests of the paramount power.

The Mahratta sovereigns in Central India, Sindhia and Holkar, bear rule over alien clans and vassals, which difficult task they perform with much considerate circumspection

and a fair degree of success. The Mahratta, however, in Central India has but a slight hold on the local Rajput chiefs and the indigenous tribes. In the event of any grave conjuncture arising, some trouble in that quarter is to be feared. Sindhia for a long time enjoyed the advantage of having his financial and territorial affairs managed by a very able minister. He devotes special attention to his military business; his troops, limited to the number settled by existing arrangements with the British Government, are maintained by him in a fair state of efficiency. In 1877 the honorary rank of a General in the British army was conferred upon him. Holkar is assiduous in personally supervising the management of his revenues and finances especially, and of his political affairs generally: there is no Native prince in all India more diligent than he in State business, for which indeed he possesses an aptitude developed by education and training. Both Sindhia and Holkar are much esteemed and respected by the Mahratta subjects of the British Government in the Deccan.

The Baroda State comprises some of the richest territories in the empire. After the death of Khande Rao the Gaekwar of Baroda, whose loyalty to the British Government was conspicuous, the affairs of the State fell under mismanagement, which led to the deportation of the late Gaekwar Malhar Rao, and to his detention as a State prisoner. An adopted son was placed on the throne, with the princess Jamna Bai as regent, and a very able minister, one of the best in India, was appointed to conduct the administration, which is accordingly prospering.

The State of Bhopal is well governed by a Native Princess, the head of a Muhammadan family whose loyal allegiance to the British Government has been conclusively proved.

Among the princes of Bundelkhand, the Raja of Pannah is known as an enlightened ruler, and as a man of broad sympathies. His territory is still famous for its diamond mines.

The State of Bahawalpur, on the bank of the Satlej, was carefully administered by the British Government during the minority of the Nawab, who, after having been duly educated in the Western manner, has been recently placed in full charge of his territories.

The kingdom of Travancore, in the south, has an area, very fertile, of coast and mountain, endowed with the choicest gifts of nature and possessing various commercial advantages. It includes many coffee plantations. Its affairs were well managed by the late Maharaja recently deceased; he had been liberally educated, and long had the services of a very able minister.

The State of Kolhapur, in the Bombay Presidency, has been managed by excellent Native officials, chosen by the British Government, during the minority caused by the lamented death of the late Raja while on a visit to Europe.

In western India there are several States of the South Mahratta country which are at present in a quiet and orderly condition. Some of them have at times been centres of political mischief; and in event of a general disturbance, attempts would probably be made to corrupt their fidelity.

It is to be remembered that these States adjoin the Deccan, where the mind of the people is affected by the past associations of Mahratta rule. The memory still survives of the Mahratta revolt against the Muhammadans. It is kept alive, in the popular imagination, by the sight of the mountains and fastnesses close at hand, which rendered that uprising practicable at first and successful at last, and which might, at any time, be made the basis of rebellious movements. Traditions of this nature are always apt to be perpetuated in mountainous regions. The British Government should continue to note the disposition of the Deccan mountaineers, and mark the features of the wild territory where they dwell.

The condition of the cluster of States, which form the Kathiawar peninsula, has been greatly ameliorated of late years, and order has been substituted for disorder. In some departments,

such as the land revenue, these States adhere to their old ways ; but in other branches they adopt all the improved methods of the time, and are thriving apace. The same happy account may be given of the neighbouring State of Cutch.

There are many lesser States in western India, Pahlanpur, Radhanpur, the Mahi Kanta, the Rewa Kanta and others, all in a satisfactory condition at present. In some of them, however, trouble has in former times arisen, and might again arise.

In north-eastern India, the uncivilized State of Bhotan has remained quiet, since its barbaric insolence was chastised during the last war. The Raja of Manipur has loyally co-operated with the British Government in dealing with the disturbances raised by the frontier tribes, and has received a British decoration. The Raja of Sikhim has become virtually a dependant of the British Government. The State of Cûch Behar has been managed by the British Government during the minority of the Raja, who has been well educated.

The Mysore State is shortly about to be placed under the administration of the Raja on his coming of age. The determination of the British Government to take this step, has had a good effect on Native opinion throughout the empire, and has been viewed with satisfaction by the Native sovereigns and chiefs. The British Government has managed the State for many years with all the advantages of an enlightened system, and has striven to train up a class of Native administrators who will assist the young Raja in managing his country. It contended in 1877 and 1878, zealously and humanely but without adequate success, against a severe famine, which afflicted this territory and was protracted beyond all precedent in the records of misfortune. It also advanced large sums of money to this State during that terrible time.

There are two Native States, bordering upon India, which by treaty have relations with the British Government, namely Nepal and Kelat.

The mountain kingdom of Nepal stretches from the malarious

forests fringing the base of the eastern Himalayas to the watersheds of perennial snow which divide India from Thibet. It has been within living memory the scene of dynastic broils and wholesale massacres. The tales of bloodshed at Katmandu the capital, on the succession to the kingship and the ministership, shock the ear of humanity. This State was for many years ruled by a Native soldier-statesman, Jung Behadur, with a rod of iron. With him discipline and order were the first objects, rather than equity and moderation. The former, however, having been permanently secured, gradually led to the introduction of the latter, until his regime became famed for its justice. In this instance, the old Native ways were followed, and no attempt was made to imitate the British model in civil affairs. But in military matters the British system has been copied with marked effect, so far as can be seen externally. If the qualities of the Nepalese army were to be seriously tested, its proficiency in the art of war would probably prove to be respectable. There is an air of self-reliance about the Nepalese officers of rank, which is seldom observed in the Natives of India in the present age. Such a demeanour is the natural outcome of the pride with which the limited, yet dominant, clan of Gorkhas remember that they subjugated aboriginal Himalayan races superior to them in art, industry and civilization, though inferior to them in war, policy and organization. But for the intervention of the British power they would have overrun north-eastern India; and in the event of any political convulsion they would re-assert themselves. They manifest jealousy of Englishmen visiting the outlying Nepalese territories. The valley of Katmandu, Nepal proper, where the British political Resident is stationed, is freely traversed by visitors of all nationalities. But the valley where the real Gorkhas live and which is regarded by them as the birthplace of their power and the nest of their warrior brood, is not to be beheld by European eyes.

The British relations with the Khan of Khelat have, of late,

been drawn much closer than formerly. In past times, the Khan's dealings with his chiefs and vassals were unsatisfactory ; disputes arose which threatened his authority with destruction and his realm with anarchy. Since the treaty of 1876, his external relations with the British Government have been satisfactory, and the dissensions in his territories have been happily composed. He and his chiefs have rendered loyal co-operation throughout the recent Afghan war. Without asking for the aid of British troops, they preserved security and order for some months in the Bolan Pass, a vitally important point in the British military communications with southern Afghanistan. Owing to their good arrangements, under the guidance of the Agent to the Governor-General, vast quantities of British stores and material were conveyed up the Pass, without any attempt at plunder being made, and even without any thefts occurring. The value of this service on the part of the Khan and his State will be appreciated by those who know the troubles which arise from the marauding in many parts of the trans-Indus frontier. His loyalty and the good conduct of his State, at that trying time, have been substantially acknowledged by the Government of India.

From this review it will be apparent that the Native States add strength to the eastern dominions of the English Crown, exert an influence upon the people of India, and are worthy members of the British empire. The general advantages to the country, arising from the existence of the Native States, have been already explained. There remains one special advantage, with the mention of which this exposition may conclude.

A class of Native statesmen is raised up, who have a better chance of showing originality of talent and force of character than they could possibly have in the territories administered directly by the British Government. Thus the ruling race acquires a far better idea, than it could otherwise have had, regarding the development of which Native ability is susceptible,

and the part which Natives can fill when thrown on their own resources. Many Native statesmen have been produced of whom the Indian nation may justly be proud, and among whom may be mentioned Salar Jung of Hyderabad, Dinkar Rao of Gwalior, Madhava Rao of Baroda, Kirpa Ram of Jammu, Pandit Manphul of Alwar, Faiz Ali Khan of Kotah, Madho Rao Barve of Kolhapur, and Purnia of Mysore.

CHAPTER VI.

MATERIAL PROGRESS OF THE NATIVES.

Census of the population—Gradual growth of the people in numbers—Expansion of cultivation—Land can yet sustain increasing people—Cultivable waste in India itself—Emigration from India to British colonies—Sufficiency of food supply in India—Her wealth under British rule—Remittances of money, public and private, to England—Outlay of English capital in India—Wealth of former times as compared with the present—Capital largely accumulated by the Natives—Increase of cattle—Reasons why India is inferior to Western nations in wealth—Maintenance of the poor—Public opinion regarding material improvements—Industrial employments—General condition of the Natives.

THE aspect of the country, the principal objects of interest therein, the European community, and the Native States, having been briefly described, it becomes necessary to approach the very important topics relating to the condition of the Native population in the British territories.

Thoughtful Englishmen, though they can hardly be familiar with a country so distant and so peculiar as India, feel a conscientious and benevolent interest in the welfare of the Indian people. As they cannot become personally cognisant of a subject, so vast in its component parts yet so minute in its details, they are content to leave the management of it, for the most part, to responsible experts whose minds, from youth to age, are dedicated to this purpose. It is possible for them, however, to entertain, evince and express a determination that every effort shall be exerted for the good government, the advancement and the civilization of India; and this they do effectually. Such a determination on their part produces an elevating influence on public opinion in England itself. It operates powerfully on the disposition of the Englishmen

engaged and employed in India, spurring the slothful, firing the ambitious, encouraging the dejected. It affects the sentiments of the Natives, causing them to believe that there exists in England a gracious Sovereign, an august senate, a sympathetic people. It makes them feel that there are, in England, many who care for their fellow-subjects in the East, who listen to the cry of the distressed, who attend to any grievance that may be reasonably urged, who burn for any wrong that may be done. This belief is growing stronger year by year in the Native mind, promoting its contentment, settling its convictions and establishing its loyalty.

The thoughts, then, regarding India, which are uppermost in the minds of Englishmen, relate to the progress of the Natives. Such progress is mental and moral, as well as material. It may be considered first in its material aspect.

The population of India is much larger than that of any nation in Europe or America, and exceeds the population of any country in the world except China. Hence anxiety is often felt lest the resources of India should some day prove unequal to so heavy a pressure and so severe a strain, lest the people should grow too thickly on the cultivable land, lest pauperism should arise and spread. For the due consideration of this problem, some knowledge is essential as to whether the population during the nineteenth century is greater or less than during the preceding centuries, whether it is increasing fast under British rule, whether it is likely to increase in the immediate future and whether, in event of such increase, it will readily find subsistence within the limits of the country. Unfortunately, statistics of the population were never collected by the Native rulers in any adequate manner; and no proper light is thrown upon this fundamental matter by the archives of Native rule. At the commencement of British rule, the primary importance of numbering the people was never perceived or was quite overlooked. Generation after generation of English officials passed away, without anything being recorded beyond vague or imperfect

estimates of the population. It was thought that to make a census of the empire, or even of a province separately, would excite the fears of a timid and suspicious people and might even cause some civil disturbance. The first steps towards making a census were taken twenty-five years ago in north-western India; the example was followed first by one province then by another; and in 1872 the first census of all British India was made. It was effected without any opposition on the part of the people. A retrospect of British rule during the nineteenth century causes us to wonder why so essential a measure was not adopted at an earlier time. Had such an enumeration been made in each province as soon as possible after its acquisition, and then for the empire as soon as the British conquests and dominions assumed imperial proportions, had also a fresh enumeration been made from time to time and its results compared with previous enumerations, so that errors might be detected, discrepancies reconciled and conclusions verified, we should at present possess a body of information valuable to the philanthropist, the administrator, and the economist. But in fact there are not in any large division of the country, excepting the North-western Provinces, and in parts of the Presidencies of Madras and Bombay, antecedent records with which the results of the recent imperial census can be compared with a view to testing its accuracy. A fresh census will shortly be taken, and doubtless the operation will be repeated after each succeeding cycle of years. This census may show that in some provinces the normal rate of increase has been arrested by the recent famines. A statistical basis having been obtained by enumeration, there will be a registration of births and deaths, so that the knowledge may be kept abreast of the progress of the population. Such a registration is attempted, and though very imperfect as yet, will improve year by year.

Recent enumerations have indicated little increase over the former statistics, in the provinces where the numbers had been well ascertained on former occasions, but a startling increase in

those provinces where the numbers had never been properly ascertained before, as for instance in Bengal, and in parts of southern India. In their grand total for the empire, the numbers far exceeded all previous estimates. The remarkable excess may have induced some thinkers to apprehend that the people are multiplying to a degree which the resources of the land can hardly bear. This apprehension rose to a pitch almost of alarm when the famine of 1874 overtook some of those North-eastern Provinces where the census had shown so great an excess over former calculations. The nascent alarm has subsequently yielded to sober consideration.

Still, the question, so frequently and anxiously asked, whether the population has sensibly increased or is increasing, remains for the most part to be answered by conjecture or inference. In north-eastern India the population has certainly increased largely within the last two generations; perhaps also in some few other portions of the empire. Whether it increases in most provinces, is more than the best judges can pronounce. It is slightly but not materially increasing, on the whole, according to the latest information. But the correctness or incorrectness of this information will not be ascertained until enumerations shall have been made on several future occasions. Just before the commencement of British rule the population may have, owing to war, revolution and devastation, become less than at any time for many ages. It may have, owing to the maintenance of peace under British rule, increased somewhat and recovered its former standard of strength, without as yet exceeding what was the normal complement of people in the land. Doubtless, it is seen to be very dense in many places. There are, however, remains and monuments to show that in bygone ages it must have been at least as dense, perhaps even denser, in those very places. On the one hand, some districts have, within the time embraced by authentic history, been reclaimed from savagery or have been peopled within the memory of living men. On the other hand, some districts now abandoned

to the wildness of nature, have indisputable marks and traces of a remote civilization which could be produced only by a flourishing people.

In a country where marriage is universal, where the ambition of raising up progeny is unchecked by those restraints which western civilization often imposes, and is encouraged by religious dictates, the children will be very numerous in the aggregate. But the marriages are too early to be perfectly fruitful, consequently the families are seldom large and often very small. Infantine mortality is occasionally deplorable, and the ravages of disease among the young children are almost constant. The death-rate among adults is higher than among European nations. In some of the most thickly inhabited districts, extreme damp, for several months in each year, reduces human vitality to a low ebb, and men sink away like candles burning to their sockets. The chilly damps of autumnal nights follow days when the pores of the skin have been kept open by heat. There are malarious exhalations when the air is hot, and the ground is still saturated with the moisture of the rainy season that has but recently ceased. Hence fevers prevail so largely that scarce a person in the whole population escapes. The accession of these fevers year after year must undermine the constitutions of many people. Crowds of pilgrims huddling together in a vast concourse at holy spots become infected with cholera, and fleeing in terrified bands, spread the pest far and wide. Though in some districts the population have pure water from streams for drinking and ample means for bathing, a great advantage in a hot climate, yet in many places their drinking-water is impure and directly provocative of disease, and their resources for bathing are scanty. Epidemics, varying in type from time to time, sweep away multitudes, and famines, more or less destructive of life, recur periodically.

Thus, as regards population, the existing influences tend in some respects towards expansion, and in other respects towards repression.

From the want of agricultural statistics at the outset of British rule, it is impossible to test the extent to which cultivation has increased within the nineteenth century. There is, however, a consensus of testimony as to the magnitude of the increase. The shrinking of the area, affording cover to wild beasts, has been noted in the traditions of one generation of sportsmen to another. Within the past forty years, the records of the settlements of the land revenue in many parts of the empire, and the known rent-roll of estates in other parts not subjected to settlement, have afforded positive evidence to the same effect. In some districts the latest settlement records prove that the increase has proceeded apace. The expansion of cultivation, then, clearly indicates increase of rural population. It has been said indeed that the land, becoming poorer, sustains fewer people, and that consequently an increase of population need not be inferred from an expansion of cultivation. But if the land has become poorer, as may be the case in some districts, still the deterioration must be very gradual, and not enough to affect any inference regarding the increase or decrease of population.

Inasmuch as, despite all drawbacks, many tendencies point towards improvement, the population may increase. Reflective persons will be anxiously considering whether the country can support a much larger people than that which it now contains. In respect of density or of sparseness, the population varies extremely in different parts of India. In some parts it is either full near to overflowing or is manifestly too full; in other parts it is thin or manifestly too low and needs recruitment. A comparison, of the total population with the whole cultivated area, would not be a satisfactory test in an empire so vast and so diversified. If made, it would show an average density, not excessive according to standards accepted in other parts of the world, and not beyond the sustaining power of the land. In general terms, India, though on a wide and general average fairly well peopled, is too thickly peopled in some parts and

too thinly in others. National benefit would arise if the people were to migrate from one centre of industry to another, according to need. But this would be an undertaking contrary to their disposition, and certainly beyond the power of any government. Though some classes are migratory, yet the people in the main are domestic and home-abiding. They are attached to their ancestral rights in land, are fond of the fields they till, and cling to the humblest of their homesteads. The subdivision not only of the property in the land, but even of its occupancy, is generally considerable and sometimes too minute, though as yet it has hardly anywhere passed the limits of reasonable endurance.

If, however, the people were stirred by the colonising impulse which moves hardier and sturdier races, there is still, within the bounds of India itself, a vast quantity of arable land awaiting the invasion of the plough. Some observers, noting the wonderful aptitude with which in many places the Natives of India utilise for cultivation every available piece of ground, may naturally conclude that culture has already approached its possible limit throughout the empire. In such places indeed this limit has been reached long ago. In other places, however, when enquiry is specially turned towards the cultivable waste, outlying lands are found, some here and some there, the grand total of which would be anticipated by few except statisticians or surveyors. Adjoining India and now incorporated in the empire, British Burma offers a practically immense scope for the immigration of farmers and farm labourers. Large numbers of agricultural labourers find employment in Ceylon. During the crisis of the famine of 1874 in Bengal and Behar, a consideration of the density of the population, subjected to danger, induced the authorities to take stock, as it were, of the available waste. It was soon perceived that within two hundred miles at the utmost, and often within a few miles, unoccupied land existed enough to afford an outlet for the overflow of people. There is a large expanse of cultivable waste in the centre of the Panjab; and similar instances might be readily adduced. If

then, any national peril of this nature should begin to threaten, there is a safety-valve within India itself. When, in any district or province, landed property is so much in demand that it cannot be bought, and tenants can no longer obtain fields, then the pressure of circumstances will drive agricultural capitalists and cultivators to the nearest of the untilled and untenanted tracts.

Irrespective of the land yet to be brought under cultivation, the land already cultivated may be made to yield much more than at present. In some respects, the skilful and elaborate husbandry of the Natives strikes competent observers with admiration. The manuring and preparation of their crops are sometimes found to be better than has been commonly supposed. The harvests, which in autumn and spring wave over the land in expanses apparently unlimited because unbroken by hedgerows, convey the idea of a natural fertility to which some justice has been done by industry and practical knowledge. The sight of hundreds of square miles of land, tilled and cropped without rest or cessation during many centuries, yet remaining rich and productive, seems to forbid the apprehension that any process of gradual exhaustion can be going on. Though most of the agricultural products are of ancient origin, yet many products are of comparatively recent introduction, and scarce a decade passes without some new product rising into prominence. The irrigation from the wells sunk deep into the ground, having ingenious water-lifting machinery which relays of men and bullocks ply day and night for many weeks consecutively, impresses the spectator with a notion that the bounties of nature are fully applied by art to the use of man. The canals for irrigation in India are magnificent, dwarfing by comparison the modern system of irrigation in any country of Europe, or of Asia, except perhaps China, and all the ancient canal systems save that of Mesopotamia.

Notwithstanding these favourable symptoms, however, it may be admitted that, in some parts of the country a slight deterioration of the soil is probably setting in. With many products

the crop is not nearly as heavy and valuable as it ought to be. Eleven bushels of grain per acre are produced in India as compared with thirty in England. Fresh examples are frequently observed of virgin soil yielding crops which are not equalled in succeeding years. Such facts indicate that the productive elements drawn away from the ground are not artificially replaced. The husbandry is in some respects, primitive and imperfect. The materials for manuring are often very defective. Despite the canal system, much rain-water, to be reckoned by millions of cubic feet, rolls year after year wasted to the sea. It is not mere dreaming to hope that practical and technical education will teach the husbandmen to improve their culture and will counteract the otherwise inevitable exhaustion of the soil, that new products will be introduced and irrigation extended, and that thus the land may be enabled to sustain even more people than the teeming millions of persons who now stand upon it.

The countries adjoining India, being poor and mountainous, cannot receive immigrants. But heretofore some of the colonies of England have offered a field for immigration, under climatic and social conditions favourable to the Natives of India. Thousands of Indian families have been willing to emigrate. The stream of emigration from India to the Mauritius, to Natal, to the West Indies, and to Guiana, began many years ago, and became quite brisk from 1873 to 1876. It subsequently slackened, partly owing to fluctuations in the sugar trade. The emigrants came chiefly from the mid valley of the Ganges, that is the provinces of Behar and Benares, and from the northern parts of the Madras coast. They appeared in numbers enough to stock the labour markets of the colonies, but not enough to produce any perceptible effect on a dense Indian population. Of those who emigrated, some stayed in their colonial home, but many returned to India greatly improved in circumstances. Much care was taken by the Government for facilitating emigration and for ensuring the welfare of the

emigrants. The matter really depends on the colonial demand for Indian labour. That demand is at present too fitful and uncertain to favourably affect the prospects of India. But if it ever shall be steady and continuous, and shall promise wages much higher than those of India, then there will be plenty of emigrants to found new Indian provinces in the tropical regions south of the equator, and even in parts of Australia. There is not, however, practically, any chance of emigration to the colonies becoming, even at the best, sufficient to relieve any over-peopled Indian province.

Irrespective of future contingencies, anxiety has been expressed lest the supply of food for this vast population should fall short on some dire occasion. Indeed in 1877, when it seemed likely that the Madras and Bombay famines would be prolonged over a second year and that a new famine would appear in northern India, a thought of this kind did flit for a moment across the minds of the authorities. The transient fear, however, passed away. Although the twelvemonth between the summer of 1877 and that of 1878 was the most formidable year in respect of famine that has passed over India during this century, there was not any protracted anxiety as to the food supply failing, nor was there any failure whatever. In 1874, when severe famine hung over many millions of people in Bengal and Behar, there was much exportation of food-grains from Calcutta; it was proposed that this should be prohibited, but the Government of India declined to issue such prohibition, and the exportation went on. In ordinary times, and even in times of partial famine, India is a food-exporting country, and nothing short of a general and severe famine would stop this exportation. Such a famine, though within the bounds of possibility, is unprecedented in the annals of calamity, and in reference to the several climatic zones and the many degrees of latitude and longitude comprised in India, is extremely improbable. When Bengal was afflicted in 1874, Madras and Bombay had propitious seasons; when Madras and Bombay suffered in

1877, Bengal was prospering. Under all circumstances, the coast provinces of British Burma and the delta districts of the Ganges, which regions export edible grains by hundreds of thousands of tons, have unfailing seasons. The area under irrigation from canals, though as yet insufficient relatively to the total area, is considerable and is nearly, though not quite, beyond the reach of failure. The internal grain-trade of the country proved most active during the crucial trials to which it was exposed in the middle of 1874, in 1877 and 1878; and there was not any deficiency in the total supply within the empire. The anxiety related, not to the quantities of grain available, but to the means of transporting it, and these means were for the most part supplied by the railways. There was indeed one notable exception when, in the beginning of 1874, the Government was obliged to despatch grain in vast quantities to north Behar. Even then, however, there was grain within the limits of the empire; the difficulty consisted in placing the food within reach of the famishing people.

The experience gathered during several generations, and the records now collated of many precedents of calamity, establish beyond doubt the periodicity of famines, not indeed in any fixed cycle or rotation, but of sure recurrence after intervals longer or shorter. Strenuous efforts have been put forth by the Government, with chequered success, for mitigating the consequences of these visitations. Doubtless, the lives of large multitudes have been thereby saved, and the sufferings of still larger multitudes have been alleviated. Notwithstanding these exertions, considerable mortality has occurred. In the face of these facts, few administrators will affirm that mortality can be, or will promise that it shall be, prevented. The strictest enquiry has been made regarding the practicability of such material works being undertaken, or such other measures being adopted by the Government, as may stop the accession of famines; but as yet no such possibility has been discovered. The material improvements which have been, or may yet be

introduced, can at the best only diminish the area, or mitigate the consequences, of drought. Even in prosperity, then, famine is like an apparition warning people of doom, and as a skeleton pointing its finger to apprise the nation of a danger which is ever impending and cannot be warded off.

It is often debated both by Europeans and Natives, whether the material prosperity of India is increasing or decreasing under British rule. Many educated Natives apprehend that it is decreasing, and probably notions to that effect find popular acceptance. Certainly any Native agitator would choose for his discourse some assertions of this description, as likely to be believed. He would also add another assertion, namely this, that the national wealth is decreasing partly because the English draw it away to England. This argument indeed is urged by some of the Native newspapers against the English Government and nation. Similar views, regarding the abstraction of wealth from India, seem to be held by some continental nations, and have been propounded by some English authorities whose dicta command attention.

Formerly it was believed that profits and indirect tribute were drawn from India by the East India Company. Since the assumption of the government of India by the Crown, attention has been turned to the annual payments made by the Government of India to that of England. To these payments the misnomer of tribute has been unfortunately applied. Coupled with these are the remittances to England of the savings made by officials from their salaries, and of the profits realized by merchants, bankers and traders in their business. The payments by the Government have, indeed, of late years grown to formidable dimensions and are still growing. But they are legitimate and natural, consisting of the price of articles imported into India by means of Government, which really pertain to the import trade, of the interest on capital which is fructifying within India itself, and of the remuneration of services rendered to India. In a country where the

Government, the administration and the trade are controlled and in part carried on by foreigners, it must needs happen that a portion of the income made by them in India will be spent out of India. Whereas, if their places were filled by Natives, the income made in the country would be almost entirely spent there. The pension system has been created, or at least greatly developed, under British rule. Thus the Native pensioners spend their pensions in India, while the European pensioners spend theirs in England. Under Native rule the social splendour of the places where the officials congregated, and where the courts and camps were formed, lives in the pages of many histories, and is exemplified in some degree at the capitals of the Native States nowadays. That splendour arose from expenditure incurred mainly, though not entirely, in purchasing indigenous articles, and in encouraging local manufactures. The modern capitals of the Viceroy and his lieutenants, of the Governors and administrators throughout the empire, are also splendid. But the splendour is of a different kind, and does not equally develop the Native industries. Consequently some, though not many, of the old Indian arts or manufactures, especially those of the more delicate description, have shrunk, decayed or perished. The labour of the persons, whose hands and minds were employed therein, has been turned into other channels. The employment afforded in older days to enormous numbers of soldiers, retainers, orderlies and dependants, is much reduced in these times. The drawbacks to the material progress of the Natives, which arise from these limited facts, may be admitted.

Under Native rule, the State expenditure was governed by ideas different from those which prevail under British rule. It was incurred largely for personal grandeur, lavish display and refined luxury; but seldom for purposes of general utility. It was usually devoted to the production of articles which were consumed once for all, and to things which did not lead to the production of wealth or to the accretion of capital. The

sovereign, his relations, his nobles bearing the proud title of his pillars of state, lived chiefly to while away time by every amusement which the culture of the age could suggest, and to enjoy life with every device which the resources of the country could afford. In their suite were many idlers, born only to consume the fruits of the earth. Numerous establishments were entertained to support an ostentatious dignity, and to employment for those who did not care to work in productive industries.

Under British rule, extravagance is curbed, and frugality, in matters relating to the pomp or circumstance of State, is carried so far as to constitute a political disadvantage in the eyes of many. Establishments are kept at the lowest scale consistent with the efficiency of the public service. Not a man is idle; on the contrary, every one is actively engaged in some pursuit, and the highest functionaries live a laborious life. Expenditure is applied by the Government, not to perishable articles of luxury, but to things of real usefulness, and to works, which, being remunerative, lead to further production. This policy induces people to save, and fosters the growth of capital, which widens the field for lucrative labour. Some Native States followed, in certain respects, a policy similar to that which the British Government adopts generally, and in so far as they did this, they were much to be commended. But the opposite notions, which have generally regulated the Native and the British systems respectively, must cause a difference to be perceptible on the face of the country. Such difference is not necessarily in favour of the Native system, but will be thought by many to be in favour of the British Government. Many of the educated Natives, however, who turn their attention to current politics, give scant credit to British rule for diverting expenditure from unproductive luxury to reproductive improvement. They will charge the Government with undue profusion respecting the very establishments and the very works, which European opinion usually indicates as conducive to national prosperity.

Such views will probably dissolve as the light of civilization advances.

Further, under British rule, the Natives sell to nations beyond the sea vast quantities of raw produce, and some manufactures, for prices which would have astonished the mediæval traders. In part return for these exports, countless articles of domestic use or consumption are imported, cheaper in price and better in quality than anything which could be made locally. Fresh products are introduced and raised in extensive areas; new manufactures are established, employing tens of thousands of families. Machinery is imported, multiplying the mechanical forces of the country and the motive power of the people. Capital, saved and accumulated in foreign countries, is employed to the amount of hundreds of millions sterling in India, affording to her an incalculable benefit which she could not possibly have obtained without the security of British rule. The unproductive multitudes of soldiers and retainers, once so overgrown, are reduced to the minimum of establishments needed for defence and administration, whereby untold numbers of men are transferred to employments producing national wealth. In these ways, the unavoidable disadvantages of foreign rule, in respect of material prosperity, are compensated by many advantages. Whether the loss is more than counterbalanced by the gain, is a matter for discrimination.

Thus it happens that the probability of the visible and tangible wealth of the country having increased or decreased under British rule, is a subject of frequent discussion both among Europeans and Natives. Such a discussion, however interesting, cannot be decided with the certainty that would follow a similar disquisition regarding some European countries, such as Great Britain, France or Belgium, where the immeasurable augmentation of wealth is manifest. For India, in her own fashion, has been wealthy during many ages. Her wealth indeed never has been, and is not yet, great relatively to her size

and to the numbers of her people, but is on the contrary small. It has, however, been regarded as great absolutely, and thus has struck the imagination of mankind. One reason for this is the peculiar aptitude, which she used to possess, for gathering her riches together at a few centres of attraction and so displaying it most effectively. The historical accounts of the plunder, realised after military or political catastrophes, may seem fabulous, but are nevertheless well founded, despite rhetorical exaggeration. There never has been a country where wealth was so much concentrated, or so little diffused, as the historic India. Hence the traditional ideas of eastern wealth have indefinitely exceeded the reality. Besides these central accumulations of goods and property, there must have been much wealth collected in divers lesser places. No economist can study the story of the Mahratta conquests, wherein statecraft was chiefly devoted to the organization of plunder with unparalleled skill and audacity, without wondering how the country could have endured visitations so long protracted and so oft repeated. Here is proof, however, of the national habit of collecting, hoarding and secreting property. Descriptions of accumulated wealth occur in the histories of the wars of the present generation, for example, the verified accounts of prize at Hyderabad in Sindh in 1842, at Delhi, Lucknow, Kirwi and other places during the war of the mutinies. During many years past, even up to this very day, the dacoities or gang-robberies which occasionally break out, tell the same tale of wealth collected in rural as well as urban homes, to an amount which might not otherwise have been suspected. Large amounts of gold specie or bullion are transmitted by the Natives through the Post-office. The circulation of notes has risen to many millions sterling, within a few years after the introduction by Government of a paper currency. The money-order system is extensively used, and the popularity of the savings-banks is rising. All these facts point to a like conclusion regarding the national wealth. At the modern capitals,

such as Calcutta and Bombay, the Native wealth, though much less dazzling and ostentatious than in the capitals of historic renown, is much more useful and substantial. It is devoted to plant, mechanism and machinery, instead of the brilliant trappings and luxurious articles of other days, and thus it may appear by comparison to be less than it really is.

But if the wealth of India be less concentrated now than formerly, and therefore not so easily measurable or computable, it is much more diffused. A signal proof of such diffusion is found in the almost universal substitution of metal for earthenware in the domestic utensils of most of the humbler classes within the last generation; the replacement of thatched roofs of the cottages by tiling; the use of foreign piece goods to some extent instead of the coarse country-made cloths; the employment of wheeled carriages instead of pack animals; the superior construction of the carts engaged for trade and agriculture; the improved breeds of draught cattle. The be-dizened equipages, caparisoned elephants and prancing steeds of the rich man are rarely to be seen. But the poor man, with his cart and pair of bullocks, rides to market as he seldom rode before. All this evidence, not flashing before the vision like the manifestations of former ages, but being obtained only by penetrating and far-reaching observation, perhaps receives less of popular consideration than it deserves, but will nevertheless be appreciated by the statistician and the economist.

The outcome of these complex considerations may be summarized thus. The growth of material prosperity among the Natives is not so great as might at first sight appear from the statistics of trade and production, if a comparison be instituted with former times. The national wealth, though real and expanding, is less discernible than formerly, being so much more diffused.

Touching the wealth of the Natives, there is the question whether capital is saved and accumulated, as much as might

be expected under the peaceful circumstances of British rule. Some authorities apprehend that the people have become too poor to save anything of material amount, or to accumulate much that would be worthy of the name of capital. It is remarked that the Natives do not subscribe largely to the State loans which are raised nowadays, nor hold any large portion of the public securities. Doubt is expressed whether the proportion of the national debt held by them is as great as it formerly was. There are, it is alleged, few objects, patent to European observation, which could be indicated as the points whereto Native capital is directed. The peasantry are said, in general terms, to have no capital. Such apprehensions, if substantiated, would give birth to misgivings in regard to the future of the country.

It must be admitted that the accumulation of capital among the Natives is far from being what economists would desire to see, or what statesmen might expect, after two generations of internal peace unbroken save on one great occasion, and after the introduction of so many material improvements. Nevertheless, there is some saving and accretion in progress throughout the country, and there exists an accumulated store, which is absolutely great, though small in relation to the numbers of the people. The Natives do not hold the stock of the Guaranteed Railway Companies, which is held by shareholders in England. Nor do they hold what is called the sterling paper of the Government securities, which is held by Europeans. But of the rupee paper, as it is termed, which is held largely, though not wholly in India, a considerable portion, about 18 millions sterling worth, is held in the names of Natives. In other words, out of the national debt of India, held partly in India and partly in England, which may be set down at 138 millions sterling in all, about 18 millions, or one-eighth, is held by Natives. This proportion is not very considerable; still the amount of eighteen millions is something absolutely. In the absence of detailed information for the earlier times of

British rule, there is no knowledge whether the proportion is materially less now than formerly; it probably is less, however. But inasmuch as in those days the debt itself did not exceed thirty millions, and as Europeans then held some part of the debt, it is clear that the Natives could not have held essentially more than they now hold. The reasons for Natives not holding more than they do, are these, that the rates of interest have been gradually lowered, and that Europeans obtain possession of the securities. The loans have been for the most part raised in England for many years, because the funds could be obtained more cheaply and advantageously there than in India. In other words, the Natives have been driven quite legitimately out of a part of this field by the competition of European capitalists. Some considerable portion of the municipal debentures, issued by corporations on the security of town revenues, is held by Natives. Some of the capital of the Presidency banks, which have special relations with the Government, belongs to them. The fact is that the Natives can find many safe investments which yield more than the 4 or 4½ per cent. obtainable from the public securities. In former times, it was hard to find any secure place wherein to put their money save in the Government treasury, but in these times there are many such investments. The Government, again, finding the money market in London so conveniently resourceful, resorted to it. Had there been no such resources available, then the Queen's Government on assuming the direct administration of India would have obtained money by loan from the Natives, in the same manner as the East India Company used to do, but upon less favourable terms, and at higher rates of interest. Still, with these abatements, money would have been forthcoming in India year by year, and in greater sums than in the time of the East India Company. Even now, this very course has recently been prescribed in the raising of loans for material improvement. It has been repeatedly ascertained that two to three millions sterling can be obtained

in this manner at comparatively cheap rates of interest. More could doubtless be obtained if higher rates of interest were offered. Up to a very recent date the financial credit of India, as indicated by the rate of interest on the national debt, has been one of the best in the world, second only to that of England herself. One reason, among many others, was this, that the London market furnished so much of the resources. Without these resources the Government must have paid a higher rate of interest, and according to this standard its credit would have stood lower in the financial quotations of the world.

Meanwhile the capital of the Natives has continued to increase, and questions arise as to the objects to which it is applied. In the first place, the external trade is partly in the hands of Native capitalists, though a large part is in the hands of Europeans, and the Native share of the trade requires a considerable amount of capital. In the next place, the internal trade of the country passes through the hands of Natives, and here again much capital is employed. In visible proof of this, there are the Native bankers of all grades, spread throughout the empire, leaving no place whatever in it unoccupied. There are the vast numbers of carts and draught-animals engaged not in agriculture but in transport, and the equally great numbers of boats for inland navigation. The capital thus employed must be held to have imposing proportions. The silver and gold coin in circulation, reckoned at many millions sterling, chiefly belongs to Natives. The large imports of gold and silver have mostly passed into their hands. The hoarded specie and bullion, also reckoned at many millions sterling, is in their possession. Of the Government notes in circulation, a portion is believed to be retained or secreted, and that belongs to Natives. The deposits in the State savings-banks amount to nearly two millions sterling, of which much belongs to Native depositors. To the Natives pertains a part of the capital employed in the local industries of cotton and jute, which are conducted after the European fashion. Lastly, since the recognition by the State

of a marketable property in land, an enormous amount of Native capital has been lent out on landed security ~~by~~ land-holders great and small.

The moneyed classes among the Natives are readily observable by Europeans, when a survey is made of Indian society. These classes exist everywhere, both in town and in country; they are said to be even elbowing the Europeans out of the trade at the Presidency cities. Their capital really represents a part of the savings of the nation, and they receive high rates of interest for their money as they lay it out. These rates used to be usuriously high under Native rule, 15, 20, even 25 per cent. and were in some degree justified by the want of security, or by the weakness of such security as was offered. They have become lower and lower since the introduction of British rule, owing partly to the improvement of securities, and partly to the competition of capitalists, great and small, among themselves. They are even now comparatively high, varying greatly according to circumstances or to localities, and ranging from 7 to 12 per cent., though they may sometimes be even lower, and not infrequently higher. It is reported that Native merchants now lend money to each other at 6 per cent. The fact of the rates of interest being occasionally high among the Natives, may perhaps be considered by some as an unfavourable symptom, indicating that the material welfare of the country has not been promoted, as much as might have been hoped, by the long peace under a settled Government. On the other hand, the circumstances that the rates have of late years been so considerably reduced, and have in some cases fallen to 7 and even 6 per cent., may be accepted as a proof not only that security of investment has improved, but also that the quantity of Native capital has increased.

It is thought by some authorities in England that the poorer classes in India are becoming gradually depressed, but this view would hardly strike employers of labour on the spot. Labour for private enterprises or for public works cannot always be

obtained ; it is comparatively abundant only in the hot season when domestic or agricultural work is slack. It is becoming more scarce than formerly, and has to be remunerated more highly. Even for service in the Native army, once the most favourite of all employments, it is becoming difficult to obtain recruits ; and one main cause of the difficulty is this, that the men are better off at home, and do not care so much as of yore for the military wage.

It has been thought by some that the cattle generally have decreased and are decreasing ; incidental dicta of eminent men have been cited to the effect that it is more difficult now than formerly to obtain good animals ; statistics of the settlement department are quoted to prove the fact of decrease in the Deccan of western India. These particular statistics in the Deccan have not, however, been accepted by the principal authorities on the spot, and their result is opposed to known facts which point to a decided increase. In the Deccan the cultivation has spread greatly and the local trade has expanded ; consequently the cattle both for ploughing and for drawing carts must have multiplied in an equal degree. The same consideration is applicable to most other provinces of the empire, and especially to the Madras Presidency. Therefore it is highly probable, indeed practically certain, that the agricultural cattle have largely increased almost everywhere. Similarly, the number of draught cattle must have risen in most districts, while in some districts, near the railway lines, it may have declined, their employment being superseded by the use of the rail. Trustworthy statistics of cattle can hardly be secured, and there are not sufficient data for making an exact comparison between the present and former times. Those who are best able to take a comprehensive view of the matter, will not believe that any decrease on the whole can possibly have occurred, but on the contrary will expect to find an increase. Of late there have been signal instances of draught cattle being easily obtained in large numbers. During the famine of 1874

there were 202,000 draught bullocks in excellent condition collected within six weeks in the northern districts of Behar and Bengal, for the transport of grain by Government. About the same time 10,000 draught bullocks were purchased for Government within a fortnight in the North-western Provinces for a similar service, and large additional numbers could have been immediately procured. In 1879, there were 9000 bullocks bought in Sind for military service at the shortest notice, and the people offered to produce any additional number that might be required. Regret was felt in Khandesh, near the Deccan, that distance from the seat of war prevented some of the purchases of bullocks being made there. Whenever animals are wanted for transport in war, it is notorious, that if camels and ponies shall fail, there is a practically unlimited reserve of bullocks.

Such expectation of increase, however, will relate only to the serviceable cattle. Among a Hindu population, averse to destroy these animals, numberless unserviceable cattle are preserved in ordinary times, and in seasons of drought are left to their fate. Thus, during the recent famines, many thousand head have perished, which were of no value except for their horns, hides and bones. The loss of such creatures, however, does not affect the agricultural or locomotive power of the country. The working cattle, being stall-fed, were preserved through the drought, as was proved by the briskness of the grain trade, and the undiminished area of cultivation, for all which things the labour of bullocks was essential, to a more than ordinary extent. Nevertheless, the condition of the cattle is far from being all that might be desired. From July to December there is plenty of herbage for grazing in the plains throughout the country. During the rest of the year, the grazing is scanty in those provinces to which there are no hills adjacent, and it is from such provinces that instances are drawn of cattle suffering in the hot season. The peasants do not indeed raise special crops, as they might, for fodder, but the stalks of several of the cereals supply a nutritious substance, which is carefully stored

for feeding the cattle during the dry season. But in the many provinces where hills are near, pasturage, often of excellent quality, is available, and the herds are sent periodically to the valleys for grazing. Still, it must be admitted that the increase of cattle is checked and the pastoral wealth, which naturally should belong to the country, is diminished by destructive murrain and epidemics.

In proportion to her size and population, India emphatically is a poor, a very poor, country, in one, at least, of the ordinary acceptations of the term poor.

The labour of the people is not strenuously nor successfully exerted, and man to man, an Indian does much less work in a given time than a European. Human employment is held cheap, and has heretofore been abundant, so the wages are low generally, though they have of late years risen in many places, and have doubled at some centres of industry. In rural localities, however, they are still very small and, where received in kind, may even be relatively less than they were. The average of food consumed per head is somewhat small in quantity and comparatively innutritious in quality; under these mild skies there is little craving for nutritious diet. The ordinary wants are simple and easily satisfied; the artificial needs are few, and those which exist are inexpensive. The climate does not, by augmenting the necessities of clothing, lodging and firing, drive people to self-help, therefore on the whole, the inducements to exertion are but weak. Consequently the average income is very small, and the margin of surplus, for anything beyond the wants of bare existence, is narrow. In Europe and North America the working power and motive force of the people are multiplied by mechanical means and scientific resources. But such appliances are as yet wanting for the most part to the Indians, who have been well described as being essentially un-mechanical. It comes, then, to this, that some two hundred and fifty millions of men in India work less, make less, produce less, indeed

very much less, than an equally large population in Europe. Let a certain result be assumed as a symbol of what is accomplished in a year by the whole people of India. Certainly half, possibly even one-third, of that number of Europeans would accomplish as much in Europe. Whether, however, they would accomplish the same in India is another question, regarding which doubt may be felt. But a consideration of the circumstances immediately shews that the Indians are, and must be for a long time to come, comparatively poor.

In another sense of the term poor, however, the case is different. Those who, having comparatively much, yet not enough for their wants, are said to be poor, and those who, possessing little, have yet enough for their slight and modest needs, are held not to be poor. In that view of the matter, the Indians are not so poor as might at first sight be supposed.

Apart from famines which occur periodically, the poor in India do not dread absolute hunger in ordinary times, nor do they suffer from rigours of climate, though many of them are but scantily fed. There is no hard winter before their eyes, no poor-law, no poor-rate, no call for the community being legally compelled to maintain the disabled and the destitute, nor any considerable pauperism. There is little of the slow-wasting penury, the cankering care, the sense of pinching insufficiency, which, irrespective of absolute destitution, are so often mentioned in the most advanced and civilized countries; a mouthful is somehow found for all. Some classes of indigent beggars by profession exist, quite apart from religious mendicants who form a large and anything but needy class. Infirm persons are to be seen among the villages, in numbers which range in a certain proportion to the population of each village. These are supported by private charity, of which the stream never runs dry in ordinary times, and which the villagers afford without the least difficulty. They are well known to the relief officers of the Government in times of famine, for they then fail to receive support from the villagers

who need all their little means for themselves. Thus, they are the first to come on the State relief. But as soon as the famine abates and some prospect appears of returning plenty, they are immediately thrown back on their villages or parishes, and receive the same voluntary sustenance as before. Here, then, is a sort of self-acting voluntary system, a creditable sign of the popular character, and a satisfactory symptom in respect to the circumstances of the country.

A proof of the comparative poverty of India is afforded by the experience of the income-tax. If such a tax of one per cent. were levied in the same manner as the English income-tax, touching the same sort of incomes in India as those touched in England, with as near an approximation as can be had relatively to the different circumstances of the two countries, the yield would not with careful administration exceed one million sterling. This at the best represents the income of the nation, assessable to income-tax, at one hundred millions sterling. Yet the corresponding income of the United Kingdom is several times as much, notwithstanding that its population is only one-fifth of the Indian population. But as Great Britain is abnormally rich, let a comparison be instituted on the same assumed data with any European country, and the comparative poverty of India will be apparent.

The feeling for art which characterizes even humble handicraftsmen in India is ascribed by Dr. Birdwood, one of the best authorities on this subject, in his recent work on the *Industrial Arts of India*, to the men being in easy circumstances. According to him, they know nothing of the struggle for existence, living in comfort and serenity, and are thus enabled to attend to their work with contented minds, taking in it that pride and pleasure which are essential to artistic excellence. He ascribes these happy circumstances to the landed tenures. And though evidently alive to any faults which may be found in the existing order of things, he concludes his description with the following picture, the truth of which will be recognised by all who know

the Deccan, and which may serve as a foil to the descriptions which represent the peasant's life as a round of grinding care. He writes thus,

"For leagues and leagues round the cities of Poona and Sattara there stretch the cultivated fields. . . . Glad with the dawn, the men come forth to their work, and glad in their work they stand all through the noon-tide, singing at the well, or shouting as they reap or plough; and when the stillness and the dew of evening fall upon the land like the blessing and the peace of God, the merry-hearted men gather with their cattle, in long winding lines to their villages again. . . . Thus day follows day and the year is crowned with gladness."

Critics sometimes fasten upon the poorest districts in the country and generalise therefrom; and it is well that the authorities should be reminded of the weakest parts in the beam of the State. Still it is desirable also to observe some of the finest parts of the country, such as the tracts around Dacca in eastern Bengal, the district of Calicut on the Malabar coast, the delta of Tanjore, the cream of the Gujerat province near Bombay, the valleys near Kangra in the Panjab, and many other places.

Having regard to the admitted poverty of the nation, some well-informed persons are beginning to express doubts whether the material improvements and public works are not being pressed on by the Government, at a cost which the people cannot bear, and at a pace in advance of the needs of the country. Certainly, monitions of this description are never misplaced, for there is ever a fear of embarrassment arising in a subject country from over-zeal on the part of the ruling race. It is necessary that the Government should shorten its improving arm, in reference to its own financial means and to the immediate needs of its people: But within the memory of many surviving administrators, a cry arose of an opposite description. The East India Company was charged with being, in its solicitude regarding military, political and administrative affairs, somewhat neglectful of material improvement, which was accordingly much urged on its attention by most organs of public opinion.

In truth the great Company did its utmost for material improvement, as for every other good thing, according to its lights, means and opportunities. Since its time, material improvement has advanced with a speed which, though creditable, is not at all great as compared with that of Western countries. There is now perhaps a tendency in public opinion to restrain the action of Government, lest a new danger should arise from too much forwardness. If, however, any signs of undue backwardness were to become perceptible, the same cry as of yore would probably arise, to the effect that justice was not being done by the Government to its vast estate and its noble heritage. In India there are still some who complain, with seeming force, of the insufficiency of existing improvements, advanced as they are, to meet the wants of the country.

Many thoughtful men, reflecting on the extinction of some Native industries as already mentioned, the partial substitution of foreign for indigenous manufactures, the augmented attention bestowed upon the raising of raw produce for exportation and, as a consequence, the increased dependence of the population upon the land, have therefrom derived anxious forebodings. The extinguished industries were chiefly, though not entirely, of a refined and delicate description, employing a number of hands, which, though large, was not important relatively to the population. On the other hand, employment is afforded to tens of thousands of persons by the new industries and manufactures, which have been, and still are being, introduced. The greatest of all industries next after agriculture, namely the industry which provides clothing for the mass of the people, is as yet almost intact, or but slightly affected, notwithstanding the importation of English piece-goods. The indigenous looms and spindles for the coarser fabrics ply as much as ever in every village, and in every town. The finer textile fabrics, if not quite what they once were, are still considerable and famous. The use of metal implements and utensils has enormously increased. While much of the material is im-

ported from abroad, these articles are largely, though not wholly, manufactured within India itself. Though the non-agricultural and industrial population in some of the old cities in the interior of the country has decreased, yet three great cities, Calcutta, Madras and Bombay, have been created, having an aggregate non-agricultural population of nearly two millions, and being as populous as any cities that were seen in the brightest days of the Mogul empire.

This brief account of the material condition of the Natives, while stating unreservedly every ground of apprehension, shews that there are yet many causes for congratulation. Though the average of sickness and death-rate is high, still the population has increased and is increasing. Though the people have grown in number and are generally poor, still they are neither pauperized nor unemployed. Their area of cultivation has expanded, their industry has developed itself, their trade, foreign and domestic, has advanced at a steady pace, and their spirit of enterprise has been encouraged. Though their needs are few and their condition humble, still their clothing, dwellings and domestic utensils have improved. Though the poorer classes depended for many weeks consecutively upon State assistance during famine, they shewed themselves, after the cessation of the calamity, to be superior to the temptation to pauperism. Though the manufacturing and labouring industries have, to some limited extent, declined in refinement, they have become larger in bulk. Though the national wealth is not so visibly concentrated as formerly, it is more diffused among the masses of the people. Capital, though accumulated less in a few hands, is saved as much as ever, and is scattered more among whole classes of the population. Though the agriculture is backward on the whole, still in several respects it is practically good. As the staple industry of the country, it not only feeds the teeming millions, but also enables them to store reserves of food, and to export in these times vastly more produce than at any previous era. Though large sums are annually

remitted to England, still India receives a price for what she sends away, greater than that which is paid for what she buys from other nations; and she has long enjoyed the benefit of foreign capital largely expended within her limits. Though there are dangers ahead, there are also springs of progress and elements of security. If taken all in all, the condition of the people is found to be improving materially, in a manner which may fall indeed to fulfil the expectations of Western economists, but is still in accordance with the best examples afforded in the East. The recent calamities of season have given a pale cast to the national thoughts and imparted a gloomy tinge to public opinion. But, when the natural bounties of rain and moisture shall be again vouchsafed, then will the land burst forth with fertility, and the people will press onwards in the path of improvement.

CHAPTER VII.

MENTAL AND MORAL PROGRESS OF THE NATIVES.

Effect of British rule on the character of the several classes of the people—
The peasantry—The aboriginal tribes—The temper of the Muhammadans
—The Parsis—The Native nobility—The landlord-class—The traders—
The priesthood—The educated classes—Their mental improvement, moral
conduct and religious belief—Their loyalty—And their political aspira-
tions — Native munificence — Culture of physical science — Vernacular
press and drama—Advancement of Natives in the public service—In
other professions—Good effect of Natives visiting England—State of the
Native mind and disposition generally.

THE mental and moral progress of the Natives is in part connected with the material conditions, which have been summarized in the preceding chapter. But it must also depend on divers circumstances, some of which are within the control of the British Government. The peace and security, introduced and maintained by the strong arm of power, afford, as it were, air, light and space for the growth of some of the best human qualities, and suppress or eradicate many evil habits which in troublous times spring up with rank exuberance. But the operation of the same causes must close many avenues against restless ambition, shut off many careers of enterprise and adventure, wither the self-reliance, stifle the aspirations, and deaden the energies of many. With such persons, a foreign Government is unavoidably unpopular, however much it may strive by far-sighted policy to avoid unpopularity. Their number, once great, is much less now-adays, but will still remain considerable, and must be reckoned among the motive forces of the country. Nevertheless, if it must be feared that rapine, violence and disorder during the

declining years of Native rule had a brutalizing and debasing effect on the national character, it may be hoped that peace, order and security under British rule have an elevating and humanizing effect. Heinous crime of all categories, though still too prevalent, has very much decreased. In many other countries it has been remarked that while crimes of violence decrease, crimes of fraud increase. Happily this is not the case in India; for, there the crimes under both these heads have decreased. But while the gentler virtues are fostered, the ruder merits are stunted. While ability is systematically cultivated, original talent is less developed. It must be remembered that a foreign rule, though conducted with the utmost liberality and enlightenment, cannot but exercise some depressing influence upon the character of the people. On the other hand, it may produce many vivifying and purifying influences, which can be perceived only by a review of the various classes into which the nation is divided, and such an examination, in brief, will now be attempted.

It can hardly be said that the effect of British rule upon the character and disposition of the humblest or labouring classes, in the rural or remote districts, has as yet been marked or decisive. These poor people have still the reserve, shyness, and undemonstrative habits characteristic of races long subjected to exaction, servitude, and the necessity of slavish obedience to the will of their superiors. But they are now free from the old exactions and from the custom of forced labour. They have the right to refuse their labour according to their own interest or convenience, and to demand for it its worth in wages. Their carts and cattle are not liable to impressment, save for war. They know that there are tribunals, before whom all British subjects are equal, and by whom oppression can be stopped. These immunities must impart to them some sense of free citizenship; some idea of the dignity of humanity. The invitation for their children to enter the State schools, and the attention bestowed inside the schoolroom upon the

poorest, as upon the more fortunate, child, must afford some encouragement.

Near the capital cities and the centres of industry, the labouring classes are no longer humble. On the contrary, they are becoming intelligently conscious of their improved status, independent in giving their labour, observant of the terms in their engagements, and tenacious of their claims to remuneration; and these qualities in them become more and more strongly marked according as their labour rises from unskilled towards skilled grades. They are growing in numbers and in strength year by year in every part of the country. Such growth is a thing almost unknown in former times, and is directly attributable to British rule.

The peasant proprietary and yeomanry of British India exist in all the divisions of the empire except the provinces of Bengal and Behar, and constitute a mainstay of the nation. They have from time immemorial evinced, under every form of trial and trouble, many distinctively excellent qualities, such as self-reliance, courage in defence of home and family, mutual dependence among brethren, aptitude for village or parish organization, fraternal cohesion among the members of communities, instinctive perception of the nature of property, tenacity in assertion of proprietary right, veneration for ancestral custom, endurance of hardship and enterprising industry. If it be held that the gold of these sterner and more robust virtues is best tried in the fire of war and revolution, there may be fear lest, during a time of peace and security, the character of this peasantry will not improve, and perhaps may even deteriorate. Still, many of their most useful qualities are preserved, under British rule, by the equitable settlement of the relations between the State and the peasantry as payers of the land-tax, by the recognition of a heritable and transferable right in landed property and by the record of all rights in the land.

In the peasantry there are to be included the cultivators and

tenants, who were all much oppressed and harassed in former times. Many among them have, under British rule, risen in status and condition, and feel a sense of security and comparative independence, which their forefathers never could have felt. Some among them, however, are still in an insecure and unsatisfactory condition; and in particular provinces, such as Behar, the whole class is in a depressed state.

It is from the peasantry that the armies of all Native Governments, and of the British Government, have been drawn. The peasants used to be proud and glad to enrol themselves for military service. Their martial impulse, aptitude for war, and readiness to serve under the standards, were once renowned. Within the last two generations, these qualities have much declined, though the men are still counted among the good soldiers of Asia.

The predatory spirit, and instinct for the fray, were once prevalent among them. These tendencies have been much repressed, but experience even up to recent dates has indicated that they would break out again, if the bonds of civil order were ever to become seriously loosened.

It must be acknowledged that the improved security of landed property has encouraged peasants to borrow and money-lenders to lend. This indebtedness, which was always common, has become more rife than ever. And in so far as it prevails, it saps away the manly sentiments, and fosters the extravagance to which, in their way, the peasants have ever been prone.

It is to the peasantry that the educational efforts of the State are largely directed. Some authorities advocate a liberal expenditure of public money on superior education among the middle and upper classes; others deprecate it. All authorities are agreed that there should be no stint of expenditure on the education of the peasant proprietors and of the cultivators. But despite all the benevolent efforts that have been put forth, the progress of education among these people is as yet

slow, the proportion of them who can read and write is small, and the great majority is still rude and unlettered.

As might be expected, so great a class comprises many of those castes into which the Hindu nation is divided. Under British rule so many tribes, formerly devoted to trade, military employment or mechanical industry, but not to agriculture, are now acquiring so much of interest or property in land, that in some districts statisticians find it hard to specify what should properly be termed the agricultural class. The mass, however, of the men, devoted entirely or almost entirely to agriculture, still belongs to the humblest of the four great groups into which Hindu castes are arranged. It was to this group that the hardy Mahrattas of Sivaji, and the staunch Sikhs of Ranjit Singh, belonged. The Rajputs were once potent and widespread throughout northern and central India, and extended even down to the south. Within the last few centuries, they have been sorely thinned in numbers, by reason of their patriotic resistance to foreign invasion, during which the stories of their self-sacrificing heroism are not surpassed by the annals of any nation. Higher in the scale are those Brahmins who follow secular pursuits, apart from their brethren of the priestly orders. Their influence in landed concerns is comparatively slight in northern India, but is considerable in eastern, western and central India and almost dominant in many parts of the country.

The peasantry also includes many aboriginal tribes, Gonds, Bhils, Kols, Sontals and others, inhabiting the mountainous tracts in the interior of the continent and peninsula of India, and not professing any formal religion, though following religious observances of a primitive description. These are excitable by nature, and ever ready to fight against any wrong that may be attempted or on behalf of any right that may be threatened. When thus excited, they swarm like bees after leaving the hives. They are gradually falling under the sway of Hindu, or rather Brahminical, proselytism. And they seem likely to become ere

long Hindus, unless in the meantime they shall, as appears possible, be converted to Christianity by the efforts of the missionaries. Large numbers of them, indeed, have already been thus converted.

Aboriginal races of a like character, Lushais, Nagas, Dufias and others, inhabit the forest-clad mountains on the north-eastern frontier which separates India from Burma and China. They frequently bring themselves into collision with British power, and it cannot be said that as yet any beneficial effect upon their character has been produced. The tribes dwelling in the Himalayan region are, with the exception of the sturdy and self-reliant Gorkhas of Nepal, Hindus of a mild type of character, flourishing under British auspices. On the great western frontier from Karachi to Peshawur, inhabited throughout by Muhammadans, the amelioration of the character of the tribes has been decisively marked in the southern or Beluch section, but is less perceptible in the northern or Pathan section, though even there, despite the frays, forays and internecine fights, much improvement has been effected.

A survey of the Indian peasantry would not be complete without some reference to the Muhammadan population. No eastern sovereign has so many Muhammadan subjects as the Queen-Empress of India. Of the Indian Muhammadans, the greater number live under the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, who alone has in his jurisdiction as many millions of Moslems as the Sultan of Turkey and twice as many as the Shah of Persia. The Indian Muhammadans are met with on all the coasts or in every port of India, and are emphatically the sailors of the Indian seas. In the interior of the country they are urban rather than rural, employed in some branches of commerce, in retail dealing, in skilled and refined industries, in the army, in public and private service; but seldom connected with agriculture save in the capacity of landlords. In Sind, however, the agricultural population is Muhammadan, both landlords and cultivators. In eastern and northern Bengal,

in the region comprising the basin of the Brahmaputra river and its affluents and in the united delta of the Ganges and the Brahmaputra, the tenants and cultivators are also Muhammadan, while the landlords are Hindu, with the exception of some prominent and meritorious gentlemen of the Muhammadan faith. These districts are among the most productive in the empire and export great quantities of raw produce. Several articles, much used in the manufactures of Great Britain, are raised by the Muhammadan hands of Bengal. By the same hands is the water traffic conducted in the wonderful network of Bengal rivers. These people were Hindus of humble castes, and have been converted within historic times to Muhammadanism. They have their religious services performed generally in the Bengali tongue, and have probably less acquaintance with the phrases of Arabic, the sacred language of their faith, than their fellow-religionists in any other country. Their social condition is so low that the institution even of matrimony is lax; endeavours have, however, been recently made by special legislation to give validity to their marriage rites.

Elsewhere in India, the Muhammadans, being scattered, do much to leaven the mass of Native opinion. Besides the discontent engendered among them by historic memories, there is one special circumstance affecting their contentment. Under Native rule they enjoyed a large portion, perhaps the lion's share, of the State patronage, and at the outset of British rule were found in the front everywhere, whereby they continued as before to be largely employed in the public service especially in its higher grades. But nowadays they are beaten by Hindus in the open competition of mind with mind. Their youths in the schools and colleges are surpassed by the Hindu youths and are consequently placed at a disadvantage when entering a profession or contending for advancement in public employ. It is to this that the Muhammadans themselves attribute the fact that they are falling in wealth and status while the Hindus are rising. Though not refusing to

join schools of Hindus and of mixed nationalities, they prefer to have institutions of their own exclusively, where Arabic and Persian literature constitute a prominent feature. The Government has of late co-operated with them in establishing institutions on this principle. Some Muhammadan gentlemen, for instance the late Nuwab Amir Ali, Nuwab Abdul Latif of Calcutta, Syed Ahmed of Aligarh, Muhammad Ali Roghè of Bombay, Synd Idrus of Surat, and others, have shewn an enlightened desire to imbue their countrymen with ideas of civilized progress.

The temper and disposition, politically, of the Muhammadans form one of the many sources of anxiety in India. Some years ago, the religious revival commenced by the Wahabis in Arabia, the breeze of fanaticism which ruffled the surface of the Muhammadan world, and other causes difficult to define, excited the Indian Muhammadans considerably. Plots were discovered and state trials instituted; some grave and melancholy events occurred which need not here be recounted. Within the most recent years, however, the Indian Muhammadans have become comparatively well affected. Be the reasons what they may, the symptoms of disaffection among them have of late abated.

The Parsis deserve some special mention; they maintain intact the religion of Zoroaster, and the social customs which they brought with them from Persia, after heroically resisting the Arab invasion. They preserve, unmixed by marriage with any other race, the qualities which carry them to the van in the march of life, and to the front in every arena which they enter. As men of business they are unsurpassed in India, and in many mechanical industries they are distinguished. Though they are still comparatively small in numbers, their importance must be measured rather by their resources and their capacity for work. They are loyal and devoted to the British Sovereign and nation, and there is no class more contented. Their influence, however, can not be regarded as national, as it would hardly be acknowledged either by Hindus or Muhammadans.

The great landlords of India (known by the names of Zemindar, Talukdar, and other titles) are chiefly associated in the public mind with the provinces of Bengal, Behar, Orissa, and Oudh. They are to be found, however, in almost all parts of the country, even in those parts where peasant proprietorship is the prevailing tenure. Some of these Native gentlemen apply capital to the soil, reclaim the waste, conciliate their tenantry and in all respects show forth a bright example. Others again, though falling short of this standard, exercise their territorial influence beneficially. In Bengal, if the landlord or zemindari tenure was created by the British Government in order that, among other things, capital on a large scale might be applied to the land, then it must be admitted that no such result has been attained. The principal Zemindars or landlords form a lettered and refined class, having a great stake in the country, possessing leisure which is much given to the consideration of political affairs, and exerting on the whole a salutary influence on Native opinion. There is probably no class in India more loyal than the Zemindars of Bengal, certainly there is none whose position rests so much on the stability of British rule.

During the long minorities, which occur frequently in estates of all sizes, the Government exercises its legal power of educating the infant heir, of placing him in the Court of Wards and of managing his property till he comes of age. The amount of business, thus undertaken by the State on behalf of the landlord class, is quite enormous. Many fine properties are saved from injury, debts and encumbrances are cleared off by good management during the minority, and many young landowners are inducted into their hereditary positions with all the advantages of nurture and instruction.

In many parts of the empire there is the scattered remnant of a Native nobility, consisting of men who are unavoidably in worse circumstances under British rule than under the preceding Native rule. Some of them are still able to maintain their

station, dignity and reputation. Many, however, are drifting into embarrassment, or sinking under the weight of trouble till an Encumbered Estates Act affords some relief from the pressure. Many of them still enjoy, by the grace of the British Government, a part of the emoluments they received under the Native rule in return for service, although they are now excused from serving. Such men, living in uncongenial quiet, cannot but meditate on the wealth, power and honour, which their immediate ancestors possessed two or three generations previously; and this brooding meditation must produce discontent and restlessness. They will chafe under the restrictions which a civilized system necessarily imposes. These disquieting reflections spread to their relations, retainers and dependants. The policy of the Government has been, by all the legitimate means in its power, to arrest the decadence of these old families, to prevent the disruption of their estates and to preserve their territorial influence. With this view several enactments for the relief of encumbered estates have been passed; but the process of decay can hardly be stopped.

The mercantile, trading and banking classes continue to show the enterprise, acuteness, methodical habits and business-like aptitude, for which they have been so long famed. Formerly they were much esteemed for rectitude, trustworthiness and fair dealing with all men, their credit standing proportionately high. Their name has of late years been occasionally tarnished by the failures, collapses and disasters incidental to an age in which speculation is so rife. On the whole, however, their reputation and credit are still good. They are ever ready, perhaps too ready, to lend money to the landowners great and small, and but too often draw intentionally or unintentionally, both gentry and peasantry into the vortex of extravagance and the meshes of indebtedness. Although, by thus affording credit, they provide a resource most useful in the transactions of the nation, they are often regarded as grasping and extortionate. In some places, odium

has been incurred by them as being indirectly the cause of civil troubles and disturbances. On such occasions they have been objects of exaggerated condemnation, and have been called the Shylocks of the age, or harpies preying on the vitals of the people. Their natural intelligence, transmitted through many generations, is still further fostered by education, and their sons are conspicuous for proficiency in all the educational institutions. Their profession is largely composed of Hindus belonging to the caste which is by the Hindu system devoted to this calling, among whom the Marwaris of Rajputana have always been eminent and are still growing in wealth. They also comprise several sections of the Muhammadan community, many of the Parsis and some of the Brahmins. They are amenable to many of the best influences of the English administration, and bear a hearty allegiance to the foreign Government under which they flourish. Having in their hands the capital and the financial sinews of the country, they constitute one of the bulwarks of British rule.

The priestly classes are still numerous throughout the empire. The Hindu priesthood includes only those Brahmins who follow religious callings, and not those who are engaged in secular pursuits, though a certain sanctity is attached also to them. The influence of the priesthood has among Hindus been as potent as in any nation of the world at any epoch. With the Mahrattas especially it is in full vigour, and is politically an element of unrest. It survives with the mass of the Hindus, who still flock in countless multitudes to hallowed bathing-places, still approach inner sanctuaries of idols with heartfelt awe, still load the shrines with offerings, still brave the toils and often the fatal hardships of their pilgrimages. With the worship and the observances in some places there are, no doubt, still mingled many of those practices which have been justly regarded by Western observers as immoral. In some parts of the country, among the establishments attached to the temples there are hapless classes living degraded lives. In

certain exceptional cases, the records of the courts of justice have contained surprising revelations of customs shocking to civilized humanity.

With the educated classes of Hindus, the priestly influence is sinking fast towards its final decadence. There remain indeed some Hindus of culture and learning, who stand by the ancient faith and its observances. But as a rule, educated Hindus pay little more than an outward respect to the forms and to the ministers of that national religion which is so intertwined with the social institutions and the civil laws of the people. Possibly, this effect is not as yet perceived by many of the lesser priests who officiate among the humbler orders of Hindus, nor by some of those priests who dwell in learned seclusion at the many holy places in the country. But it must surely be recognised by many of these keen-witted and clear-sighted men. Proud as they are of their race and lineage, strong in the faith of their divine origin, persuaded of their own sanctity, conscious of their own intellectual superiority, they cannot but regard with indescribable sentiments the new empire which crushes prejudices, superstitions and antiquated ideas, as the Jaganath car of their own traditions crushed its victims of yore. Still the aspect and bearing, the lofty brow, set features, imperturbable countenance and erect stature indicate a pride not to be lowered by outward defeat. Although defeated, they will not surrender to the victor their unconquerable will, for they look upon themselves as endowed with a nobility which worldly puissance cannot confer, nor modern civilization bestow.

The influences of the age tend to weaken the barriers which the ancient system of caste sets up between the several classes of the people, thereby restricting the mutual sympathy which ought to exist according to the dictates of nature. With many of those who have received a broad and liberal education, or travelled much by railways and steam-ships or visited foreign countries, the distinctive feelings which gather round the idea of caste have become deadened. Even they, however, are

usually obliged, on their return to India, to conform to the ceremonial procedure necessary for restoration to the status pertaining to caste. Some men, whose sense of the fitness of things rebels against the notion of caste, prefer to remain outside the charmed circle. But with the great majority of the people, the sentiments relating to caste still hold full sway.

The Jain religion, though at first sight apparently cognate with Hinduism, is separate and distinct. It has saints of its own, and promises an absolute repose approaching to annihilation, as the consummation of bliss. Its most salient feature is an excessive tenderness for animal life, carried to a degree of superstitious absurdity. A devout Jain will not harm even the smallest reptile; he fears lest he should inhale the minutest insect that floats imperceptibly in the air. This faith, however, has among its adherents many of the most hard-headed and actively business-like Natives in India; that is to say many of the traders and bankers of Rajputana, Gujerat and Cutch, and other members of the mercantile caste, scattered throughout the empire. Its devotees are strict and zealous; its shrines are among the richest in the country. Its adherents, though ready to defend their sacred places pugnaciously against encroachment from the Hindus, are free for the most part from fanaticism and are to be reckoned among the loyal and contented classes of the population.

The Lingayet sect is widely spread in the lower portion of the Deccan, and in southern India. It originally professed to constitute a reformation of Hinduism and to inculcate a pure morality in consonance with that of olden times. Its adherents are numerous among the commercial and agricultural classes and form one of the respectable sections of the community.

The Sikh faith always was in close relation with Hinduism. A man was admitted into the sect by special ceremonies, one of which was called the baptism of the sword; unless admitted by these means, he remained, as he was born, a Hindu. This faith,

originally promulgated with much simplicity and purity of doctrine, was subsequently established by force of arms in northern India. It had sacred books, a separate language, a learned priesthood, religious edifices, and somewhat fanatical devotees of its own. It numbered among its adherents many warriors and statesmen, and whole tribes of resolute and strong-handed men. It played a considerable part in the modern history of India and, but for the intervention of the British power, might have been dominant in other quarters of India besides the northern. While it was the representative of political force and the symbol of military power, not only were the sons of the old adherents admitted to the ancestral faith, but also fresh applicants for admission were numerous. After national triumphs in war and policy, the new disciples flocked to the temple gates for admission. Since the annexation of the Panjab to the British empire, these influences have disappeared, and the sect is probably not so large as it once was. Though fewer applicants may now be seeking admission, and though some Sikhs may not care to have their sons baptized into the faith, still the majority are steadfast, and the constitution of the sect is maintained. Sikhism, though quiet and loyal at present, is one of those inflammable things which a spark might kindle into fire. Its idiosyncrasy and susceptibilities are thoroughly understood by the Panjab authorities, and its fidelity to the empire is well preserved. It would stand proof against many trials and temptations, but if tried over much, it would reassert itself, and would assume the headship of a national movement. Meanwhile the priests, as a class, are well disposed, but outbursts of proselytizing zeal may occur from time to time, on the part of persons claiming saintly or prophetic functions, who are not really connected with the Sikh sect.

The fanaticism which smoulders in the hearts of some among the Muhammadan priesthood, like embers ready to be fanned into flame, is one of the great political forces in the country. Nothing that the Government can do will mitigate it, but many things,

which the Government might inadvertently do, would aggravate it seriously. In recent years it has been an element of mischief; at the present moment, however, it seems to be quiescent.

The educated class is drawn from the several sections of society which have been already mentioned. The education of this class is for the most part derived from the national instruction introduced by the British Government. There are, indeed, some educated men, whose instruction has been obtained purely from indigenous sources, independently of aid from their foreign rulers, has been kept strictly within the ancient grooves, has been conducted in rustic cloisters, monastic establishments or the shade of sacred groves, and is directed chiefly to religious objects. These men, though still numerous, must be decreasing gradually throughout the country. Men of business are still to be seen, who have been educated only in the old style, and whose practical talent and acuteness have not been developed by modern instruction. They are, however, becoming more and more rare, and will soon pass away without successors of the same type, for their sons are all educated in the new style.

Thus, the only educated class that need now be observed consists of men brought up under British supervision, for whose mental and moral condition the British Government is responsible. These men follow other professions besides the public service, such as the bar and other legal pursuits, private practice in medicine, commerce and banking, civil engineering, mechanical industries and the like. But many of them enter the public service in its various grades from the lowest to the highest. They thus become members of one homogeneous profession which equals, probably in magnitude and certainly in importance, all the other professions taken together. It is this dominant and leading profession which most readily admits of specific observation, and in which the results of the national education can be best tested.

That the natural intelligence of the educated men is sharpened

by rigid method, and that their mental stamina are strengthened by discipline, will be surely assumed. That their minds are opened to the reception of new influences, expanded into a larger growth, drawn towards wider spheres, raised into higher regions of thought, and fixed in grooves of stricter accuracy, may be reasonably expected. That they are steadier officers, cleverer men of business, abler administrators, better workers and apter learners, from being thus educated, is easily conceivable. The harder questions relate to the effect of the education on the conduct of these men, on their trustworthiness and integrity, their loyalty to the British Sovereign, their gratitude to their foreign instructors, their attachment to western civilization and their sentiments in regard to the existing order of things. The answers to such questions, if thoughtfully rendered, will be found quite as satisfactory as could be fairly anticipated.

In the first place, a due and proper standard of rectitude among the Native officials of the upper and middle grades has been obtained. Such men are now regarded as gentlemen in the best sense of the term, that is as men of honour. Their character is not impugned, their rectitude is trusted by public opinion, corruption on their part is not suspected. In this description, as in all general descriptions, there must be reservations and exceptions, but such is the tone pervading these bright parts of the picture. Of the numerous changes which have of late years arisen in India, this particular change is among the most noteworthy. For many authorities, still surviving, can remember the time when such Native officials were not regarded as men of honour, when their uprightness and integrity were constantly impugned, when their conduct was frequently distrusted, when imputations of corruption were bruited abroad. One cause of the moral improvement, now perceptible, springs from the better organization of the public service. The men are, by the concession of adequate salaries, placed in a position superior to temptation. They are embodied in regular departments, which have grades ascending like the

steps of a ladder, offer scope for ambition and open out prospects of promotion to be seen through the vista of coming years. Thus they are so situated that they shall have everything to gain by fidelity, and everything to lose by misconduct. Another and a higher cause of the improvement is traceable to the influences of Western education, the moral teaching imparted by European culture, the practical ideas of duty thereby infused, the virtuous principles thus instilled, the companionship of English instructors and the association with them in the daily life at school or college. It is to these two main causes that the Natives themselves attribute the amelioration which is happily perceived.

In the lower grades of educated Natives, however, misconduct is still common and but too frequent even in the middle grades. Still it will be found to exist almost exactly in proportion as the advantages, moral and material, allowed to these grades fall short of those beneficently granted to the upper grades.

Together with the public service, the profession of the law has advanced *pari passu*. This great profession is for the most part a product of British rule, and is divided, as in England, into two branches, like those of barristers and solicitors. Admission to the Native Bar is regulated by tests and examinations, which ensure the possession of high qualifications by those who apply for it. An almost equal improvement is visible in the Native barristers as in the Native judges, and a standard of professional etiquette prevails, formed on the English model. The standard was much lower in former days, when advocates but too often connived at or participated in malpractices and even in frauds. Any remnants of these evils, which may still linger in the profession, will ere long be eliminated. As now constituted, the Native Bar is fast becoming a power in the country; its independence of demeanour, freedom of speech and sympathy with the people, are raising it daily in public estimation. Its conduct fosters the salutary belief, which is settling down in the minds of the Natives, to the effect that the British system of

civil justice constitutes a real palladium of their liberties and privileges. Its loyalty will be true towards the Government which is its foster-father. Improvements, similar in kind but much less in degree, are taking place in the profession of the Law, which branch includes attorneys, solicitors and all other legal practitioners. These Native practitioners formerly had a very evil repute for stimulating wrongful litigation, promoting fraud and poisoning the moral atmosphere around the precincts of the Courts. Of this mischief, much has been removed by the improvements in the Native Bench and Bar, and by the operation of public opinion; but much, unfortunately, remains.

As an instance of the mental and moral progress of the Natives, the expansion of the Post-office may be mentioned. The Government has adopted the principle of all the reforms which have proved so successful in England. By amalgamating under one administration the imperial and local post-offices in the various provinces of the empire, postal facilities have been placed within reach of every large village throughout the country. The increase of letter-writing and of postal business has been remarkable. Within the last fifteen years, the number of Post-offices has increased from 2200 to 5500, the length of postal lines from 48,000 to 58,000 miles. The amount of receipts in cash from the public has risen from £401,000, to £660,000 per annum, exclusive of official postage; and the number of covers delivered from 59 millions to 131 millions annually. A portion of the increase in correspondence is due to the Government and its servants, also to the non-official Europeans; but the mass of it is due to the Natives, under the influences of education.

The foreign Government in India must be prepared to realise the fact that the hearts of educated Natives are deeply stirred by the Western education, and that an active process of mental fermentation is setting in. These men are from their youth instructed in matters concerning the rise, progress,

zenith, decline and fall of empires; the relative dimensions, population and resources of the several great powers of the world; the constitution, legislature and privileges of States monarchical, constitutional, despotic, republican; the territorial arrangements consequent on modern warfare; the various nationalities of which kingdoms are composed. It follows that they will observe current events whether peaceful or warlike with an appreciative insight, and will speculate on the effect which such events may produce on the fortunes of England. A competent knowledge of the recent history of their own country will shew them how often the commerce and the fortunes of India herself have been affected by events occurring in distant regions, for example by the civil contest in America, by the wars in the Crimea, China and Turkey. An extensive vernacular press is growing up which offers brief summaries of the political affairs and occurrences of the world. The English press in India presents daily, full extracts of all the best news and opinions of the press in England, together with comments suited to the currents of public thought in India, and is read by the English-speaking Natives with as much attention as by the English themselves. Native trading firms have their headquarters or their branches in the United Kingdom or on the continent of Europe, and will ere long have them even on the other side of the Atlantic. For these reasons, England must, whenever she engages in affairs of world-wide importance, be prepared to reckon with a mass of Native opinion instructed to a degree heretofore unknown. The lights are various in which Natives regard alternatives of peace or war. If in any conjuncture it should appear that, on a fair consideration of her own interest and honour, England ought to fight and yet holds back from fighting, then the Natives would be quicker than ever to draw the gravest inferences. If after anxious suspense, the English standard, ever to Eastern eyes the symbol of victory in the end, is unfurled, it is followed by the hopes and prayers of the majority of the Natives.

More than once of late, when the inevitable moment seemed near, utterances of loyalty and god-speed arose from the organs of Native opinion in all parts of the country. Still, as a rule the Natives raise their voice decidedly for preserving peace, not at any price, but at some sacrifice, rather than for incurring the risks of war, with the certainty of special taxation in the present and the probability of the public burdens being augmented in the future. They certainly are adverse to an aggressive, and favourable to a pacific policy.

The educated Natives are also moved by aspirations for self-government, for political power, and even for representative institutions, the concession of which does not at present fall within the range of practical politics. Such ideas have been mooted in former times, but have never been so fully defined, nor so openly declared, as they are at present. The reports of Parliamentary debates, concerning India and the East proximately or remotely, are scanned by the Natives with anxious interest. The utterances of English orators or statesmen vindicating the character, conduct, status and interests fiscal and financial, of the people of India, are welcomed by the Natives with a gratitude as deeply felt as it is fervently expressed. The name of any member of either House of Parliament, who by word or deed espouses the cause of the Natives, soon becomes a household word among them. Although benevolence is admitted by them to be a prominent feature of British rule, still after having been for so many centuries the sport of despots, the prey of conquerors and the victims of revolution, they have an ineradicable fear that the English nation may prove to be not wholly an exception to the rule of selfishness and harshness which has so often prevailed with foreign and absolute rulers. They seem always glad to be reassured by responsible and influential persons regarding the kind and good intentions of England, and such assurances cannot be too often repeated. There has been of late a tendency with some Natives to rely for sympathy and support specially on particular parties or sections

of parties among the politicians of England. But this tendency is deprecated by the best organs of Native opinion, on the manifest grounds that Natives are the very last persons who should encourage the notion of India ever becoming a battlefield for party strife in England, and that all political parties ought to be urged to co-operate for the object of benefiting their Indian fellow-subjects.

Thoughtful Englishmen may remember that self-government among the Natives is one of the goals to which many of the administrative arrangements of India are tending. Natives are appointed members of the legislative council of the Governor-General for all India, and of the local legislatures of Madras, Bombay and Bengal. They are honorary magistrates in the interior of the districts; they serve as jurymen, as assessors to aid the judges in criminal trials, as members of arbitration tribunals and of conciliation courts in civil causes. They take part in the administration of the funds raised by the road cess and other local cesses, in the management of schools, hospitals, dispensaries and other institutions. They furnish the great majority of the commissioners in the municipalities, which exist in the capital cities, and are scattered over the length and breadth of the empire. They thus become the responsible trustees, administrators or controllers of the rates for levying the local taxes. In Calcutta and Bombay especially, and in some other central places, they enjoy as ratepayers the electoral franchise for the election of members of the municipal corporations. The system whereby, in so many parts of the country, village communities are constituted, or village headmen are vested with petty powers in police matters, is the very embodiment of the principle of self-government in the rural districts.

Native associations are formed for the avowed purpose of representing their views, wishes or grievances to the authorities. Several of these bodies, such as the British Indian Association of Calcutta, the Anjuman of Lahore, the Sarva Janik Sabha of Bombay, can make their voice heard, not only in India, but even as far as England. Such societies are regarded by the

Government, as affording the means for legitimately and temperately representing or vindicating the opinions of the Natives. Their memorials and addresses, though sometimes transgressing the limits of propriety, are, as a rule, fully reasoned and moderately expressed.

Personal kindness and charity have always been among the most loveable characteristics of the Natives. These sentiments have induced men to support not only their female relatives and their aged or helpless connexions, which is well, but also their able-bodied and idle male relatives, which is not well. Many a rising man is weighted in his career by listless persons who hang about him, instead of shifting for themselves. This tendency, which has been heretofore excessive, is diminished by the influences of education. Virtuous and most commendable sacrifices are often made by Natives, who stint and pinch themselves in order to afford a good education to their young relations. The youths thus educated generally recompense their friends for these sacrifices, by evincing a resolute spirit of self-help.

The sympathy of Natives, also spreads beyond the circle of relations, friends or dependants. It extends to the miserable wherever met with, to the living community at large, and to the needs of posterity yet unborn. The charity of Natives is, indeed, often misdirected, but is generously profuse. Every Native, who makes a fortune, immediately gives away a part of it to works of public usefulness or charity. Every city in the empire is improved, endowed or beautified, by the benevolence or munificence of individual citizens. In prosperous years the sums, thus nobly dispensed, are enormous; and even in the worst years, the source of this bounty never runs dry. In the interior of the country, works of public utility, on the road-sides and in many other spots, attest the spirit of philanthropy which prevails among wealthy Natives. In many provinces the Government wisely publishes a list of the works of public utility constructed by individuals; these publications redound to the credit of those concerned.

The Government always delights to honour the Natives who thus devote a portion of their substance to the welfare of their countrymen. Patents of Native nobility are discriminately granted to meritorious persons. Successive Viceroy's of India have studied the unwritten rules which govern the constitution of Native nobility, and have granted Native titles judiciously and considerately to persons recommended for their good deeds by the several Local Governments; a moral force of some potency is thus exercised. British decorations of the Star of India are bestowed upon Natives; knighthood not unfrequently has been granted to them, and in rare instances a Baronetcy has been conferred; the new Order of the Indian Empire has many Native members. The effect of these measures upon Native sentiments is to encourage loyalty and public spirit.

Sound as the national education may have been in respect of history, literature, practical morality and political philosophy, it has been and still is defective in respect of the physical and natural sciences. Yet, scientific study, the value of which is now recognised in all countries, has in India a special importance. It qualifies the Native youth for professions in which they have hitherto had but little place. It diverts from the elder professions, namely the law and the public service, some of the students who would otherwise overcrowd those professions. It displays before the Natives fresh ranges of thought and new modes of thinking. It tends to correct some of the faults which are admitted to exist in the Native mind, while educating and developing many of its best qualities and faculties. In two of the most immediately important among the scientific professions, namely medicine and civil engineering, the Government has done for the Natives everything that could reasonably be expected. Hundreds of Native engineers, architects, physicians and surgeons have been and are being sent forth into the world. In respect of other sciences also something has been effected, but the greater part of what is needed still remains to be accomplished. The important step which the Universities

in India have recently taken, by granting degrees in Science, will essentially affect the standards and aims of the national education.

Reflection upon all these things will lead thoughtful persons to inquire what are the religious tendencies of the Natives. In the first place, the faith of the Muhammadans does not seem to have received any shock from Western education and civilization. Nor has the Hindu faith been shaken with the mass of the Hindus, who follow the ancestral idolatry with the same simplicity as of yore. The faith is dubious with Hindus who have some tincture of education and who probably regard their national religion with half doubt and half belief, much as the Greeks and Romans regarded the gods of their fathers. But among highly educated Hindus the faith is dead or dying. With some it has been shattered well-nigh to the very base, while from the minds of others it has already vanished like the fabric of a vision.

Many educated Natives have long cast away the last shreds of their belief in the mythology, the sacred story and the future world of Hinduism. But they do not become irreligious men, nor atheists, nor materialists. They believe in the immortality of the human soul, in the existence of abstract principles of right and wrong, in the omnipresence of a Supreme Being, who is the creator and preserver of all things, who is absolutely just and good, to whom all men are accountable after death for deeds done in this life. They adopt a morality resembling that inculcated by Christianity, and sometimes expressly derived from the Christian Scriptures. Occasionally they listen to sermons preached from texts in the New Testament. By some they would be called deists or theists. They call themselves Brahmos or Adhi-Brahmos, members of the Brahmo-Samaj or of the Prarthana-Samaj, and quite recently they have assumed the name of Theosophists. The spread of the Brahmo sect, first in Bengal and then in other provinces, is one of the phenomena of the time in India. Keshab

Chander Sen, a man of high qualities and gifts, is among the best known of its leaders. Its nomenclature signifies the believers in the one Creator of all men and things. Its growth is understood to have been recently checked by some internal dissensions, but is probably destined to expand further. Its marriage rites have formed a subject of special legislation. The divine origin of certain castes is discarded by it, and caste is regarded merely as a human institution, like the social grades of civilized countries.

But, with all these changes, it is remarkable that educated Hindus are bestowing more attention than has ever yet been bestowed in modern times on the ideas, ethics and primeval religion, which prevailed in the prehistoric period of their ancestry. They cast a reverential retrospect towards the dawn of Hindu time, when the dayspring of genius visited their race, before mists arose to obscure the truth, or fables were invented to mar the simplicity of natural religion, or errors grew up to mislead the conscience and to sully the intuitive perceptions of right and wrong. The writings thus studied are comprehended in the name of Vedic literature, which name has now to educated Hindus the same sacred significance that Scripture has to Christians. Thus, as a result of Western education, the later and more elaborate writings of the Hindu priesthood are disregarded, while the earliest literature of Hinduism is studied with renewed veneration.

There is frequent discussion in India regarding the operation of these influences, moral and mental, upon the loyalty of the educated Natives towards the British Government and nation. Fears have been expressed lest unsatisfied ambition, want of suitable employment and habits of criticizing unreservedly the existing order of things, should gradually undermine the loyalty and gratitude which these men ought to feel. Such fears, though not fully justified by the facts, have been aroused by divers symptoms deserving attention, and have been aggravated by the conduct of at least a portion of the Native

vernacular press, consisting of newspapers published in the various languages of the country.

Of the Native newspapers published in the English language, as yet few in number, some are distinguished by loyalty and good sense as well as by cultivated ability, and are creditable products of the new education; as for instance the 'Hindu Patriot' of Calcutta. Others are notable for a latitude of criticism which, though extreme, does not transgress the limits ordinarily claimed for journalism.

The vernacular newspapers, 203 in number, have a circulation of about 57,000 copies and exercise some influence. Of these many are signally and consistently loyal, while preserving independence in their thought and freedom in their criticism. Others again have been disfigured occasionally by writings which, though not actually seditious or treasonable, are objectionable in their political tendency and likely to have the effect of causing ill-feeling against British rule, whether that effect is intended or not. Some few contained treasonous passages calculated to excite hatred against British rule. It was the occurrence of these passages from time to time which induced the Government of India to pass the Vernacular Press Act, empowering the executive authorities to check the publication of such matter. This Act was generally, though not universally, approved by English opinion in India, was for the most part disapproved by educated Natives and was much discussed in England. It was not framed with any intention of repressing the free play of sentiment, fettering liberty of thought or preventing legitimate criticism of men and measures. Nor has it really been attended by any such consequence. The good sense of the Native journalists has generally spared the authorities the necessity of enforcing the Act, the procedure of which has been used only in one or two instances. The appearance of passages politically objectionable, indeed, has not entirely ceased, but has become rare and slight.

There remains, however, in too many Native newspapers a

disposition to find fault with everything and to be pleased with nothing under British rule, to form inflated notions and to ventilate impracticable suggestions. Such manifestation of discontent, though affecting the reputation of the Native press, though pointed at by its critics and regretted by its friends, should not be taken to mean more than it really does. Allowance must be made for some vagaries of thought in a nation which is being exercised in new ways of thinking. The state of the country and of the people often invites or demands criticism on the part of the Natives, it is in every way desirable that their sentiments and opinions should be unreservedly made known to the ruling classes, and such outspoken frankness should never be mistaken for disloyalty or disaffection. Though the Native vernacular press is in some degree important, yet its importance should not be exaggerated, for while it is read more or less by most of those who have any education, still its circulation is very far from reaching the mass of the people. The best and ablest Natives read chiefly the newspapers published in English.

The Indian drama is an ancient institution and still has a place among the popular recreations; though it has never obtained the same hold upon the minds of Hindus as upon the ideas of some Oriental races, the Burmese and others. There are Native theatres at the capital cities of the empire, and the plays are acted with some histrionic ability before large audiences. The pieces often relate to the classic times of Hindu history or legend. In 1876 some pieces were produced of which several portions were calculated to excite contempt for British people and disaffection against the Government. An Act was passed by the legislature empowering the executive authorities to stop the evil. The theatrical managers, however, ceased immediately from misbehaviour, and spared the authorities the necessity of putting the law into force.

There is danger of discontent being engendered in the minds of educated Natives if adequate and suitable employ-

ment does not offer itself to them in various directions. As all the arts and sciences, which have helped to make England what she is, are offered for, even pressed on, the acceptance of the Natives, it must be expected that those who do accept these advantages, will be animated by hopes and stirred by emotions, to which they were previously strangers. They will evince an increasing jealousy of any monopoly of advantage in any respect being maintained in favour of Europeans. They are already raising a cry louder and louder, the purport of which is India for the Indians. They discern, or think they discern, undue liberality in some, and unwise parsimony in other branches of the public expenditure, in reference to Native interests.

The fulfilment of these ideas is only in part within the power of the Government, being dependent on the progress of affairs in the country at large. In so far as its means permit, the Government is bound to attend, indeed has attended and is constantly attending, to this subject which is so essential to the mental and moral progress of the Natives. The most effective means at the present time consists of advancement in the public service. It is towards this that the ambition of educated Natives is too exclusively directed, and regarding this that complaints are too frequently preferred. No well-wisher of the Natives considers that the Government has yet succeeded in doing nearly all that needs to be done in this cardinal respect. Still, every candid observer must admit that the story of the measures taken by the Government for gradually improving the pay, promotion, privileges, pensions and official prospects of the Natives in all grades of its service, forms one of the brightest pages in the annals of British India. Natives have been raised to some of the highest spheres in the country, such as the legislative councils and the High Courts of judicature. The regulations have been improved, and the facilities enlarged, for their admission to that covenanted Civil Service, which is mainly filled by the highest class of European officials in the country. The improvement of the emoluments of Native officials must be gradual, and the

fact of its being so gradual may diminish the sense of its real magnitude. Some of it is due to the necessity which the Government felt of remunerating its servants more highly when the money value of everything rose, and when the remuneration of all sorts of private employment increased. There remains much, however, that is attributable to the well-meaning desire of the Government to do its duty by the educated Natives. The Government is not able to provide careers for all the Natives who become educated. There is danger lest the youths from schools and colleges should resort too exclusively to overstocked professions such as the law and the public service. Graduates of a University may be seen applying for lowly-paid appointments, wandering from office to office or struggling for the practice of a petty practitioner. It were better far that such men should make careers for themselves not only in trade, business or private employ, but also in other professions which spring from the applied sciences. Such professions are in India fast expanding in connexion with civil engineering, mechanical industries, medicine, practical chemistry, botany, arboriculture, horticulture, scientific agriculture, géology, art principles applied to manufactures, and the like. But for the successful pursuit of careers, in some of these departments, more educational facilities are needed than any which as yet exist. It is in the gradual supplying of such needs that the Government can best co-operate with the enterprise of individuals or with the collective efforts of the Native community.

All tendencies towards good are assisted by the private societies, such as the National Indian Association, which shew the Natives that they are cared for, and thought of, by benevolent people, ladies and gentlemen, in England. Lasting friendships are formed in English circles by Natives who visit England, and these men communicate to their countrymen happy impressions regarding society in the centres of English life. It is especially desirable that Natives should be encouraged to finish their education in England, and for such an

education the ancient Universities afford the best and highest opportunities. It was for this purpose that the Indian Institute has been recently established at Oxford through the kindly solicitude and the unremitting exertions of Professor Monier Williams.

Of late, certain symptoms of disloyalty manifested by some limited sections of certain educated classes, have caused reflections to be made against the effects of education upon Native loyalty. But that disloyalty was traceable to social and traditional circumstances quite apart from educational causes, and was checked, not fostered or encouraged, by education. There doubtless will be found disloyal individuals among the educated classes, as there are among all classes in a country subjected to foreign rule. Nevertheless, a well-founded assurance may be entertained that those Natives who have learned to think through the medium of the language, and are imbued with the literature and the philosophy of England, will bear towards the English nation that heartfelt allegiance which men may feel without at all relinquishing their own nationality. The Natives certainly are anxious to be considered loyal. Nothing wounds and irritates them more than imputations of disloyalty; and nothing gratifies them more than a frank and cordial acknowledgment of their loyalty.

This review of the mental and moral progress of the Natives shews many gleams of sunshine, as it were, in the national prospect. The peasantry retain the moral robustness for which they were famed in troublous times, have new virtues which are developed in an era of peace and security, and are, at least passively, loyal to the British Government. Some of the humblest classes are beginning to feel sentiments of independence unknown before. The trading and banking classes, though not always free from the charge of grasping usuriousness, are full of enterprising energy, and are actively loyal to the political system under which they thrive. Though, in some provinces, the upper classes are unavoidably depressed

grieving over the decay of their territorial influence and fretting under the restraints of a civilized administration, they yet form in other provinces a wealthy and lettered class, whose interests are founded absolutely on the stability of British rule. The moral effects of the national education are clearly perceptible. The educated classes are happily advancing in rectitude and integrity, and are striving for self-improvement. Though the field for their employment has not yet been widened so much as they may have expected, and though the existing professions are becoming over-crowded, still their status and prospects have been greatly improved, and new professions are arising in many directions. Many of these men have divorced themselves from the superstitions by which their race had been so long enthralled; and though their religious state is far from that which is to be desired, still they have not inclined towards infidelity or materialism. They are indeed moved by political aspirations, but still feel thankful for the many improvements already effected in their condition, and hopeful for future benefits. Though intelligently alive to the import of passing events among the great powers of the world, they yet trust in the might of England to preserve her empire. Though there are occasionally symptoms of discontent and disloyalty here and there, still there is every assurance that the great majority of the men, whose minds are formed by the language, literature and science of England, will remain faithful to the British Sovereign and nation.

CHAPTER VIII.

NATIONAL EDUCATION.

Educational policy declared in 1854—Present number of scholars considered relatively to the population—Educational resources financially, both private and public—Government policy regarding superior and lower education respectively—Primary schools—Village schoolmasters—Middle schools—Want of technical instruction—Normal schools—Vernacular literature—Superior education—Universities in India—Affiliated colleges—Characteristics, moral and intellectual, of Native graduates—Instruction in medicine—In civil engineering—Degrees in science—Agricultural instruction—Schools of art—Ethical teaching—Female education—Zenana missions—Education of European and East-Indian children.

NATIONAL education, in the English acceptation of the term, was scarcely known to the Hindu polity. Much public education, indeed, there was, but it related to the national religion or to legendary history and philosophy as connected with religion, and was managed by the priests. The antechambers of the temples, the cloisters of the monasteries and the sacred groves, all had their classes of students. Private education, also, existed for the sons of the rich in the courtyards of their fathers' mansions and for the young traders in the verandahs of the ancestral counting-houses. In some of the towns and villages, unlettered schoolmasters kept private schools. Under Muhammadan rule, similar circumstances existed; and in the precincts of every mosque, the Moslem youths were instructed in the formulæ of their faith. Muhammadan kings erected, in the plains of India, collegiate structures after the fashion of Baghdad or Isfahan.

The earlier educational efforts of the East India Company were wanting in definite aim. Among the pioneers, David Hare should be honourably mentioned; his philanthropic devotion

has caused his name to be a household word among the Natives of Calcutta. Formerly there was fear lest the British officers should work upon the old lines of Native education. This was dissipated by Macaulay's famous minute against the teaching of false science, false history, false philosophy. The first effective efforts to diffuse real education among the peasantry were made by Thomason, the Lieutenant-Governor of the North-western Provinces. It was, however, the despatch of Sir Charles Wood (now Lord Halifax) in 1854, which formally prescribed a system of public instruction, and which is regarded as the magna charta of national education in British India.

Twenty-five years have since elapsed, during which time some considerable progress has been effected. There are now about two millions of scholars. This number, if taken by itself, may seem to represent a grand educational result. It is, however, found to be small, if compared with the number of those who must be of a schoolgoing age, in a population of 190 millions of souls. With the great majority of the present scholars, too, the instruction is only rudimentary.

The grant made yearly by the Government in India for education, amounts to £800,000, or about one-fortieth part of the net available revenues. This, however, by no means represents the total of expenditure incurred jointly by the State and the people for education. There are local cesses and rates levied for educational purposes, contributions by municipal corporations and other bodies, subscriptions and donations from private munificence, also the fees levied from scholars of all degrees. A considerable sum is exacted as the condition upon which the grants in aid are given by the State. The primary schools are in part supported by small subscriptions collected from the villagers; this private income may be small for each school, yet for so many schools, nearly 40,000 in number, it must be large in its aggregate. There are many schools, nearly 23,000 in all, which though inspected by public officers are not aided pecuniarily by the State, and for these

there must be a large expenditure of unknown amount. Lastly, there is much private tuition, of which no returns are received. Thus if the total expenditure, incurred by the State and the people together on education, be computed, its aggregate must be greatly in excess of the State contribution of £800,000 and may be nearly double that sum. Still it must, even if it should mount up to two millions sterling, be regarded as small for so great a country.

Encouragement may be derived from the fact that the numbers of schools and scholars has heretofore shewn a satisfactory and unflinching progress year by year. The progress has, however, been arrested in many provinces by the recent famine and pestilence, and is not likely to improve essentially for some time to come in those districts which have been so grievously distressed.

Much controversy has been raised respecting the relative claims upon the State, of primary and of high education. Many argue that it is the duty of Government to bestow its educational grants upon the humbler and more helpless classes, leaving the middle and especially the upper classes to defray their own charges for instruction. These regard with jealousy the sums spent on superior teaching, and would desire to see a part of them transferred to the primary schools. Many persons, including probably a majority of educated Natives, urge, on the other hand, that the grants allowed for high education ought not to be diminished. These expect that the enlightened few will scatter light among their fellow-countrymen, as the rays of the rising sun first touch the mountain-top and rest there for a while before penetrating to the dark valleys below. The Government, however, does not lean unduly towards one side of the argument or the other. It fosters all kinds of education, whether superior, primary or intermediate, according to the needs or circumstances of each. It considers that they are almost inter-dependent and that they should be made to co-operate and concur in action. Primary education

supplies material for secondary education which leads up to superior or high education, which again elevates the tone of everything below it, and supplies the fittest instruments for all other sorts of instruction. Indeed, without high education, it would be impossible to find the means of teaching efficiently the schools of the lower grades.

Doubt has been expressed in many quarters from time to time whether the Government in India is not relying too much upon its own direct efforts, and too little on the grant-in-aid system prescribed in Lord Halifax's despatch of 1854. Certainly the principle, of employing the State contribution as much as possible in the development of grants-in-aid, is fully understood by the authorities in India. The observance of it, in respect to the higher education especially, will be more and more complete as the Natives become better qualified for self-help in these matters. Meanwhile the agitation, which sometimes springs up respecting this subject, proves highly beneficial, as keeping the attention of the authorities fixed on the fundamental maxim laid down in 1854.

Objections come from the same quarters regarding the expenditure upon the upper grades of the educational establishments. Such outlay is, however, incurred chiefly for inspection by European officials, an object absolutely essential in the present condition of the national education. Without such inspection the schools would deteriorate and the teaching would lose its thoroughness.

The national education has three branches, I. primary, II. secondary or middle, and III. superior. As the State has accepted the responsibility of guiding the public instruction, its first duty relates to the determination of the standards for the three branches.

By the method known as "payments by results," both masters and pupils are induced to follow any standard which may be prescribed. If the master be a salaried servant of the State, he receives greater or less remuneration according as

greater or smaller numbers of scholars pass according to the standard. Thus the masters are obliged to attend to the scholars of moderate or indifferent ability; and the welfare of the weak pupils is guarded as well as that of the strong.

Scholarships are offered for competition among the scholars, which are stipends virtually affording to the holders the benefit of a free education, and which are tenable in schools of a grade superior to that of the schools in which they were won. Thus a chance is offered to a poor boy of genius to raise himself by power of mind, which was never afforded under Native rule. A gifted peasant-boy may, while in a primary school, win a scholarship tenable in a middle school, may there again win another scholarship tenable in a superior school, where he may acquire a stipend which will carry him through the University course.

Primary schools have now been organized in almost all parts of the empire. Generally there is a school of this kind for every large village, and in localities where the villages are small, for each little group of hamlets. Thus it may be said that a school exists within reach of nearly all the peasants. Nevertheless, a vast number of poor children grow up in ignorance, never entering a schoolroom; and in localities where one school is now to be found there ought to be several. Many well-informed and benevolent persons think that the Government should redouble its efforts in this direction.

Primary education, in its humblest form, should be adapted to the rudest minds among the peasantry, so as to gather into its fold as many hundreds of thousands as it can. As it takes root and grows, some additions to the instruction are cautiously made, enough to enable the children to improve themselves in their own sphere of life and to become more efficient in their humble calling, as they have but a short time, during their tender age, from their fifth to their twelfth or thirteenth year. Within that time must be learnt what they ever are to learn from books, before the day arrives when they go forth to help their parents in the daily toil.

But to impart even this small modicum of instruction, within so short a space of time, to young children of lowly capacity, there must be schoolmasters much better than any who can be ordinarily found in the Indian villages. Therefore the State undertakes the training of village schoolmasters, and insists on their possessing certificates of competent qualification. The rustic teacher in India represented a time-honoured institution, but he was dull and uninstructed. Nowadays the ancient office is filled by men of a new stamp, and the production of such men is among the first fruits of the British system.

The instruction in the primary schools is imparted solely in the vernacular. In the secondary or middle schools, it is imparted partly in the vernacular and partly in English.

These secondary schools exist for the middle classes of the people, including the small landholder who should learn mensuration in his fields and should master the village accounts, the trader who should be practised in arithmetical calculation, the clerk who should qualify himself for subordinate employment in a private or public office, the better sort of artisan who should acquire the knowledge necessary for success in his craft. These schools are in a tolerably satisfactory condition; and are regarded by the general public, probably also by the educational authorities, as the best among the British Indian schools.

Some technical schools have been commenced at different places in each division of the empire, where Natives may learn in their youth the theory and practice of useful trades, as young men are taught these things in Germany or Switzerland. Still, it is greatly to be regretted that so little has been done as yet in India for technical instruction. There are European manufactures, in which mechanical appliances are much used and for which a knowledge of mechanics is needed in the subordinate employés; there are railways where many subordinate places might be filled by Natives if they were technically educated; there are many scientific departments wher

Natives might be well employed if they were but qualified. All this ought to convince both the Government, and the Natives themselves, that if young Natives were to receive technical education they would find new employment, and that such employment would be developed from the very fact of Native talent becoming available. Of late years the Government has obtained a more practical grasp than formerly of this important subject, and in various parts of it progress is being made.

It is acknowledged that when English instruction is offered to the Natives, they should be thoroughly grounded in their own language. While many learn English, the more the better, still many can obtain their education only through the medium of their vernacular. Hence a new vernacular literature has to be created; and such a literature will be among the most enduring monuments of British rule. Some Natives make translations in the vernacular of the ancient Sanscrit poems; others compose original verses of considerable merit. On various branches of useful knowledge books have been, and are being, written in the vernacular languages, some of which are abstracts while others are translations *in extenso* of English works. Original works are brought out by Native authors, who, having mastered a subject for themselves, expound it in oriental mode of thought and expression, for the benefit of their countrymen. Another object, set before Native authors in the vernacular, is the preparation of text books in the physical sciences, and of science primers on the model of those which are prepared in England by some of the best living writers.

The normal schools, or training institutions for vernacular schoolmasters, form a part of the secondary education. These institutions become colleges for cultivating the vernacular languages. The resources of Sanskrit, the ancient language of India, with its copiousness, precision and flexibility, are adapted to the diffusion of modern knowledge among the Natives. The dead languages of elder times are used to preserve purity and expressive vigour in the living dialects. The Natives are taught that in order to speak and write their

own language well, they must have some acquaintance with the classic tongue of their ancestors.

Superior education, mainly in English, is controlled by the three Universities of Calcutta, Madras and Bombay, incorporated by enactments of the Indian legislature. An institution exists in the Panjab also, which exercises functions like those of a University, and to which the status of a University will probably be ere long accorded.

A University in India is a body for examining candidates for degrees, and for conferring degrees. It has the power of prescribing text books, standards of instruction and rules of procedure, but is not an institution for teaching. Its governance and management are vested in a body of fellows, some of whom are *ex-officio*, being the chief European functionaries of the State. The remainder are appointed by the Government, being generally chosen as representative men in respect of eminent learning, scientific attainment, official position, social status or personal worth. Thus the fellows, being a mixed body of Europeans and Natives, comprise all that is best and wisest in that division of the empire to which the University belongs, and fairly represent most of the phases of thought and philosophic tendencies observable in the country. The fellows in their corporate capacity form the Senate, a meeting of which is styled a convocation. The affairs of the University are conducted by the Syndicate, consisting of a limited number of members elected from among the fellows. The business of the Syndicate is performed by a certain number of Faculties, consisting of persons elected from among its members. The Faculties ordinarily pertain to the subjects in which degrees are conferred, namely *literæ humaniores*, law, medicine and civil engineering; a degree in natural and physical science has recently been added. There are degrees of Bachelor of Arts and Master of Arts, and corresponding degrees in medicine and civil engineering.

Although the University exercises the functions assigned to

it by law quite independently, still much influence in its affairs pertains to the Government. The head of the Government, its members and its principal officers being *ex-officio* fellows and all the remaining fellows being chosen by the Government, the governing body is necessarily in harmony with the policy of the State and in consonance with its principles. It is desired that shades of reasonable opinion should be duly represented in the body of fellows, and the relations between the Government and the several Universities are excellent.

Certain schools, some belonging to Government others to private bodies, are designated as qualified to prepare scholars for passing the examination for entrance to the Universities, and these are generally styled high schools.

Certain colleges, some maintained by Government others by private societies, are authorized by the Universities to prepare candidates for the examination for degrees, and are thence declared to be affiliated. There are several of such colleges in each division of the empire. An affiliated college may either receive undergraduates only, that is those who have passed the entrance examination of the University; or it may receive classes of scholars for other standards, in addition to the undergraduates. Thus some colleges are schools with college classes attached to them, that is, classes consisting of students for degrees: while some possess solely a collegiate character, having none but undergraduates. At the several capitals of the empire, the Government maintains collegiate institutions with principals almost always European, and professors partly European and partly Native, all highly qualified. The several religious communities, Roman Catholic and Protestant, also maintain excellent collegiate institutions, all, however, receiving grants in aid from Government. There are, as yet, no examples of collegiate institutions maintained by Natives without any assistance from the State.

The fact that the Government in India maintains colleges

of its own at all, is the subject of complaint in some quarters. It is urged that the efforts of the State in this direction should be confined to making grants-in-aid to the colleges belonging to private societies, that these private colleges are suffering from the competition of the Government colleges and that the Government colleges at the Presidency cities of Calcutta, Madras and Bombay ought to be closed. Doubtless the Government would gladly be relieved of the task of affording the higher kinds of education, as soon as the country could perform that duty for itself. The opportunity of such relief may arrive some day, but is apparently yet distant. Meanwhile, liberal assistance is given to the private colleges, missionary or other, which are both numerous and flourishing. It is not probable that the Government would be willing at present to close its colleges, some of which in the interior of the country occupy ground which would otherwise be vacant. The authorities at the Presidency colleges do not attempt to undermine the missionary colleges by charging lower fees, on the contrary they charge somewhat higher fees than those of any private institutions. The missionary bodies, together with other sections of the general community, are duly represented in the senates of the several Universities. Nothing can be more desirable than a liberal encouragement on the part of the State to all private institutions, including missionary colleges. The complaints made or the recommendations urged, in reference thereto, will prove beneficial, as causing the eyes of the authorities to be turned towards the changes which may be gradually introduced.

The number of the Natives who enter the Universities, after passing an examination, is satisfactorily large; but the number of the Natives who take degrees is unsatisfactorily small. It is considered by Natives that a man, who has entered the University, is fully a member of it, and that such membership is sufficient. The Government itself has often failed to discourage this notion, and has even sometimes en-

couraged it by according a certain status to those who have passed the entrance examination only. Of those who enter, not more than one-fifth prosecute their studies in order to obtain degrees. An intermediate examination between the entering and the taking of degrees, called the "First Arts examination," was instituted by the authorities with the view of testing the progress of the undergraduates after passing the entrance. Thereupon many Natives contented themselves with passing that examination alone, in the belief that by so doing they had taken a sort of degree. Still, many Natives yearly do take the degree of Bachelor, while a few only obtain that of Master. It is detrimental to the position of the Universities that their alumni should consist mainly of undergraduates. The authorities ought to insist that the ultimate object of these great institutions, namely the taking of degrees, shall be attained. If the fulfilment of this object shall continue to be delayed, the remedy is to a great extent in the hands of Government. Greater precautions than heretofore should be taken to prevent an educational status being accorded to undergraduates, and to reserve for graduates only (with certain specified exceptions) the admission to the higher grades of the public service. A policy of this description has to some extent been adopted, and if it be persevered in, a marked increase will ere long be observable in the number of candidates for degrees.

The intellectual and moral characteristics of the alumni of these Universities, who now form a numerous class in Native society, are worthy of observation. It is allowed on all sides that these young men possess refined faculties, retentiveness of memory, power of intense application, aptitude for receiving and expressing ideas. Above all this, they follow an improved standard of rectitude and integrity, as already explained in the foregoing chapter on mental and moral progress. But it is perceived by their critics and acknowledged by their friends that they have several salient faults, such as immaturity of

thought, fondness for rhetorical exaggeration, substitution of borrowed ideas for original reflection, subjection of the reasoning power to the imagination, inaccuracy of observation, and the like. These faults, which are common more or less to the youths of all nations in the world, have in India grown and expanded from special causes operating for a very long time, and will not be speedily cured. Consequently many persons apprehend that much of the higher education is superficial where it ought to be fundamental, and airy where it ought to be substantial. This apprehension probably renders employers of intellectual labour less anxious, than they might otherwise be, to have recourse to the young Natives who belong to the Universities. The authorities would do well to impress on the alumni of the Universities the conviction that a general education, if it be really efficient, should enable a man to apply himself to the acquisition of any sort of knowledge, however novel or alien it may be, and to assimilate into his mental system the ideas peculiar to any profession he may enter. If the young men will act up to these maxims they will be more competent than heretofore to turn their abilities to profitable account. But if they continue prone to imagine that, after having learnt so much at college they have little or nothing more to learn in life, they must fail to reap the fruits of their laborious education.

One of the means for correcting these faults is an increased attention in the Universities to pure science and applied sciences.

It is a happy circumstance that two of the sciences, medicine and civil engineering, have been successfully cultivated in all the Universities.

The three medical colleges of India, namely those of Calcutta, Madras and Bombay, are truly noble institutions, justly to be regarded with national pride. In the wards of the hospitals attached to the colleges, the clinical instruction is nearly all that can be desired, and the anatomical instruction is thorough.

The chemical instruction, though not enough to lead the student into the higher walks of the science, is practical so far as it goes. The botanical instruction is efficient in a like degree, and is given partly in botanic gardens. The instruction in ophthalmic surgery and in midwifery is given in wards specially constructed for these branches of the profession: Besides the theoretical physiology taught in the lecture-rooms, practical physiology is explained by trained demonstrators. Theoretical pathology is well taught, while practical pathology is in some of the colleges taught by trained demonstrators, but not fully as yet in other colleges. The Natives who pass through these colleges and receive university degrees, being styled licentiates, are medical men in the professional sense of the term.

Besides these fully qualified Native medical men from the medical colleges, there are Natives from the several medical schools who are certificated as hospital assistants. Several such medical schools exist in each division of the empire and they are very largely attended. The alumni are not indeed educated completely, but they are competently instructed up to a certain point and their professional training is so far efficient. They are grounded in surgery, medicine, and *materia medica*; and they have received clinical instruction. They are wanted as assistants to medical men everywhere, being especially useful in the interior of the country where medical men cannot be expected to reside, and where the sickness and the medical needs, in so great a population, exceed the powers of any medical staff that could possibly be provided. They can do much to dispense medicines for ordinary ailments among the rural poor, and can apply the known remedies which are needed when epidemics prevail or pestilence breaks out.

The Natives, both the medical men and the certificated hospital assistants, educated in the medical colleges and schools, have already acquired the confidence, and are still further rising in the estimation, of their countrymen. They are extensively

employed not only by the Government, but also by municipal corporations and local committees separate from the State. They are fast obtaining a private practice, of a large and lucrative character, superseding the ancient profession of medicine according to the Oriental method. There is not as yet any regulation prohibiting men from practising medicine unless they possess diplomas from British authorities, and thus the practitioners under the Oriental system are still free to practise their art. These indigenous practitioners, though generally unskilled in surgery and ignorant of anatomy, are often skilful in the discrimination of disease, and are always well acquainted with the uses of medicinal herbs.

In civil engineering also, the State education has met with considerable success. The extension of public works throughout the Empire has created a large demand for Native civil engineers, and also for engineering assistants and overseers. There are colleges and schools for civil engineering in every division of the empire. Among these is included the college at Rurki on the Ganges, named, after its founder and promoter, the Thomason College of Civil Engineering. The college of Poona, besides teaching all that relates to civil engineering, affords instruction in other scientific branches, and is fast becoming a college of science for Western India. These colleges afford excellent instruction for both the superior and the subordinate grades of the profession. Extensive workshops are attached to them, in order that the instruction may be practical. For the same reason, the pupils undergo much professional exercise in the field. The Natives prove to be competent surveyors and very good draughtsmen; in some of the higher branches of the survey department, they have acquired distinction. That they will be most useful as assistants to European engineers is already manifest. Some of them have become civil engineers in the best sense of the term. Others, again, have failed when tried by the hard and critical labours incidental to the construction of public

works. It would be premature to state the extent to which Natives will in the future be employed for the severer duties relating to these operations. They will certainly fill a place which, if not the highest or the most difficult, will be replete with opportunities of usefulness.

It has often been recommended that the Universities should confer degrees in other scientific branches, and should re-arrange the educational courses with this object. This view has at length found favour with the Universities, in which the literary and philosophic element has hitherto been stronger than the scientific. It was argued that a Native cannot do better than obtain at college a thoroughly good general education as a groundwork, that with this he may go forth into the world with his mind braced and disciplined, and may then prosecute with advantage any profession, scientific or other. In answer thereto it was urged that this system may doubtless be efficacious for some important professions, such as the public service, the law, and many sorts of private employment, but is not equally suitable for those who are to follow scientific professions, as botanists, chemists, mechanical engineers or scientific agriculturists. This would be proved by the analogy of the plan pursued with medicine and civil engineering; and if the future profession of the student is to be science in other branches, he must make use of his time in college for this purpose. The collegiate course, as prescribed by the Universities, comprises five years; under any circumstances these are the only years in a man's life which can be devoted to superior education, and much of them must be given to science if he is to become really scientific. This time is the spring season of his mind, when the faculties are most elastic and the memory most receptive, which should be partly employed in science and should be enjoyed while it lasts, for to him it will never return. In respect to the discipline of the mind, scientific pursuits afford an excellent general education, as training the faculties to habits of order, observation, method and classi-

fication. The dictum of Faraday may be quoted to the effect that "the study of natural science is a glorious school for the mind."

Instruction in scientific agriculture remains to be added to the system of State education. The Government of Madras has set an example in this respect, by employing a gentleman trained in the Agricultural Institution at Cirencester, Mr. Robertson, to found and establish an agricultural school for southern India. This school is furnished with apparatus and appliances, sufficient land is attached to it for experiments, and many students from the agricultural community are attracted to it. Some of the best students, who pass the examinations in this school, are appointed to be teachers in agricultural class rooms in other parts of the country. The Bombay Government has followed this example, by attaching to the scientific college at Poona a class for superior instruction in agriculture with suitable examinations, and by establishing classes for the same instruction in a lower degree at several places in western India. A department of agriculture has for some years worked well in the North-western Provinces, but does not seem to have attended particularly to agricultural education. Whatever steps have been taken in southern and western India, are but the small beginnings of what ought to be a widely diffused system. There is no branch of study likely to be so useful or so popular with the Natives. Interesting experiments in agriculture are made from time to time and prove futile; model farming is undertaken, and after a brief existence sometimes fails in a manner which discredits science and repels, instead of attracting, the attention of the people. These misfortunes arise because there are not enough persons to conduct the experiments, or the farms, to a successful result. Even if success were attained, the neighbouring peasantry would not be intelligent enough to appreciate it or to imitate its processes. The Natives themselves are awakening to a sense of the importance of improving agriculture, the staple industry of the country, and would

willingly follow the guidance of the Government in this direction.

Schools of Art for the Natives have been established in the several divisions of the empire, and have been superintended by competent artists obtained from England. This branch of education received a great impulse from the exertions of Sir Bartle Frere when Governor of Bombay. Many young men thus receive artistic instruction and some æsthetic culture, all which proves most helpful in several professions followed by them as portrait-painters, photographers, lithographers, engravers, wood and ivory carvers, ornamental designers and draughtsmen, and more especially as architects. Thus, the art class rooms are well filled. The instruction embodies the principles applicable to art in all climes and the practice most approved in European art; but does not disdain the Native art. It encourages the student to fix his gaze on the antique remains of Indian art, which flourished at times when the national imagination was in its prime and its finer faculties soared highest; when Asoka graved on the rocks the edicts of duty and the Buddhists hewed sacred chambers out of the strata on the mountain sides; when the Brahminists covered their fanes with carvings which make bygone races of men live again; when the Muhammadans reared the tall minarets for prayer and the domes in memory of the dead. It aims at explaining the causes of the surpassing beauty of these old works, so that the same principles may govern the efforts of the present generation. It recognises the fact that inferior European art has sometimes been incongruously introduced into India, the effect of which, though meant to be elevating, must really be debasing and injurious to the opening faculties of the Native mind.

Above and beyond all the sorts of instruction, which have yet been indicated, is the instruction in ethics, or the science of human duty. While the Native youths are taught human duty comprising the relations of man to man, they are necessarily

taught something of their duty towards God, although the teachers are precluded from adverting to religion. One of the effects of good teaching in history or literature must be to inculcate, always incidentally and often directly, much of the general duty of man. Thus, happily much is effected in this most important direction. The instruction might, however, be better systematized than it now is; sometimes text books are prescribed for it and sometimes not; in some institutions it is as an obligatory subject, in others it is optional. These variations in practice are found only in the Government institutions; the subject is obligatory in the missionary institutions. It were well if the several Universities should see fit to take up the matter in an uniform manner. Their action determines the teaching in the colleges and high schools, the example of these superior institutions is sure to be followed by the middle-class institutions, and ultimately by the primary schools, until a system of national instruction in ethics is established. The Natives will certainly be the willing subjects of such teaching. Many of them, while thankfully acknowledging all that has been done in this direction, do yet lament that a more systematic effort is not made to unfold before the minds of the young those eternal principles of right and wrong, which serve as beacons for the due conduct of life, and which ought specially to be included in an educational system that unavoidably excludes religious teaching.

Female education among the Natives is receiving much encouragement from the British Government; the matter is a delicate one, and any undue haste or even the semblance of pressure might, by rousing opposition, cause retrogression instead of progress.

Under the system of seclusion which has always been enforced in respect of Native ladies, it is difficult to ascertain what their intellectual condition is in the present, as compared with the past. By all accounts, they were generally uneducated in former times: some educated ladies there

doubtless were, but such instances must have been rare. Nevertheless, in historic times, queens and princesses have signalized themselves by patriotism, by heroism, and even by statecraft. The empress Nur Jehan, immortalized by the poem of Lala Rukh, was not a creation of fancy, but an important historical character. The Roshanara Begum, sister of an emperor, long exercised great influence over State affairs. The noble conduct of the princess Chand Bibi of Ahmednagar has been the subject of a historical romance. When the Rajputs died fighting for their country, the conduct of the women was as brave as that of the men. Among the Mahrattas, the women of rank were generally conspicuous in political affairs. For instance, the widowed mother of Sivaji incited her son to deeds of daring for the sake of the Hindu faith. In later days some of them were famed for charity and good works, for example, the princess Ahalya Bai in Malwa, a devout and benevolent lady. Recently in Bengal, the person foremost in good works, in the dispensation of the noblest charity, in liberal consideration towards tenantry, retainers and dependants, in times of difficulty, was a woman, the Maharani Surnomaye, who has been honoured not only with Native titles but also with a British decoration. The Muhammadan princess of Bhopal has in time of danger proved a loyal adherent of the British cause and in time of peace a capable ruler. Every British officer who is accredited to princely houses among the Natives, knows that in the palace there are Native ladies who, though unseen, exert a real influence upon all negotiations, and faithfully uphold the dignity and interest of the families to which they belong. In short, it is manifest that the women, though by the Hindu social code declared to be dependent, and by the Muhammadans hardly acknowledged, are yet almost as influential in India as in other countries, even though they be uneducated. And this reason besides all other reasons, points to the desirability of their being educated. The fact of so many Hindu widows (Satis)

having, up to comparatively recent times, immolated themselves on the funeral pyres of their husbands, a practice which would still be followed by many, were it not prohibited by British laws, proves a force of will, and a power of self-devotion to a principle, which may be productive of happy results if guided aright by education. As yet, the influence of the women has been but too often adverse to enlightenment, and favourable to retrogression. In most households, the female apartments are reputed to be the very home of ignorant superstition. The circumstance of a young Native having been brought up too much in the "Zenana," that is, under the tuition of his female relations, is proverbially regarded as a sign that he will prove illiberal and bigoted.

It is probable that a great improvement has taken place, in these respects, throughout Native society, and is moving onward with increased speed year by year. Instances are, probably, common of educated Hindus, whose mothers were quite unlettered, and whose wives can barely read and write, but whose daughters are being fully educated. In the upper and middle classes, the mothers of the last generation were mostly uneducated, those of the rising generation are educated partly, and those of the next generation will be educated altogether. At all the capital cities in the empire, there are female schools of a superior description, at which girls of the Brahmin caste attend, setting an example likely to be followed by other castes. The name of Drinkwater Bethune is honourably associated with an institution at Calcutta, for the education of Native girls. The Muhammadans as yet are less disposed to send their daughters to school. The Parsis, however, are zealous in this respect, indeed hardly less solicitous than Europeans. Among the Parsis, Mr. Manockji Cursetji has been most zealous in establishing the Alexandra Institute at Bombay. With all these institutions there are committees of Natives, gentlemen of various nationalities, whose social position carries weight with the community and whose presence proves that the move-

ment does not solely originate with Europeans. There is much private tuition, and in many houses instruction is being given at home to the girls who by social customs are prevented from receiving it in class rooms, or from joining any educational institution. It was to aid in this work that the Zenana missions have been established, in which many highly qualified European ladies are engaged. It is only by such agency that the quality of this domestic education can be improved or be prevented from degenerating into a formal and torpid state. The highest importance is attached to the enlightened efforts made by European Associations in this direction, without which many well-born girls in influential stations would remain without real education being extended to that age when the mind is most receptive of knowledge. Female schools are springing up in the interior of the country; there are, probably, few towns without a school of this description. These schools are attended in the first instance by girls of high caste, whereby popularity is ensured; if they had been attended only by girls of humbler castes, they would never have gained influence. Here again co-operation is obtained from Native gentlemen, who prove their sincerity by sending their own daughters to school. In the primary schools of the humblest description, classes are opened for peasant girls of a tender age; and although such instruction may not amount to much, it produces some effect upon the peasantry.

For the diffusion of female education, the first care of its supporters, with the countenance or assistance of the State, has been to found normal schools for the training of Native schoolmistresses. Some of these institutions are, with the help of private societies, proving very successful, and sending forth many mistresses yearly, whose services are immediately engaged on good salaries for schools at other places. The social or religious prohibition of the re-marriage of Hindu widows, which is not yet removed or has been but slightly relaxed, consigns to an aimless and objectless existence many women, who are

now beginning to find a suitable career in the educational profession.

On the whole, female education, though not as yet represented by large statistics and numbering only some tens of thousands of pupils, has made a real start, and will shew progress yearly. The happiest national effect has been produced by the example of those Native ladies who have individually evinced talent in general literature, and in poetic composition.

An equally potent influence is exercised by the European ladies who in their well-spent lives shew to their Indian sisters the visible blessings of enlightenment, and the elevation to which the female mind can rise when enjoying educational advantages. Prominent among these was Mary Carpenter, upon whose monument it has been written that "Taking to heart the grievous lot of Oriental women, in the last decade of her life, she four times went to India, and awakened an active interest in their education and training for serious purposes."

A review of national education in India would not be complete without some notice of the instruction which is being afforded to European and East Indian children. The introduction of railways and of various industries, in which many Europeans are employed, has caused the number of these children to increase greatly of late years. The parents often succumb to the illnesses incidental to tropical climates, as they are unable to obtain the changes of scene and air which prove so restorative to their more fortunate countrymen. Thus, there are many children, either orphans or bereft of one parent. A fatherless or a motherless European child in poor circumstances, if it cannot be sent to England, is, in India, exposed to grave dangers. The disadvantages which surround closer and closer the position of the East Indian section of the community, till it is quite beset with difficulty, have been already mentioned. Thus, there are several classes of Europeans or East Indians, who are domiciled in India, and must make it the home of their children, or who are unable to send them to England for educa-

tion, or who, for some special reason, prefer to keep them in India. Among the children thus situated, there are many helpless ones, who if not cared for by the State or by the public, would grow up in ignorance. If such cases were to become numerous, some discredit would be reflected upon the ruling race in the eyes of an alien population. Humane considerations have always prompted the Government and the British community to make provision for the education of those who, from their birth or extraction, have peculiar claims upon European sympathy. The several Christian communities, therefore, both Protestant and Roman Catholic, have established schools for the children of their members, whether boys or girls. Originally these institutions were placed at the capital cities and at the principal stations in the interior of the country, and most of them are still maintained there. At the instance of Bishop Cotton, schools were established at the European settlements in the Himalayas, such as Massuri, Naini-Tâl, Darjiling and elsewhere, so that the children might benefit by the cool climate and escape from the heat of the plains. A similar principle has been followed in the Presidencies of Madras and Bombay. The Guaranteed Railway Companies have also performed their share in the good work. All the institutions receive grants-in-aid from the Government. At the colleges maintained at Calcutta, Madras and Bombay, by private societies, Europeans obtain an excellent education and study for the University examinations. They are also admitted to the Government colleges, though these colleges are maintained for the sake of the Natives. At some places also, technical schools have been established where Europeans learn useful trades and handicrafts. Thus, there are many flourishing institutions, supervised by the clergy of all denominations, reproducing in a strange land the happy scenes so frequent in England. The untiring efforts and powerful advocacy devoted by Archdeacon Baly to this humane cause will long be remembered with gratitude.

Nevertheless, the future of the rising generation of the white

people in India and of the East Indian has moved the sympathy and excited the anxiety of many excellent persons, clergy and others, whose opinions are entitled to respect. Statistical enquiries have been made by the Government at the capital cities, and it has been found that although few children of pure European birth are absent from school, still a number of East Indian children are in a degraded and neglected condition, the parents belonging to very humble classes. The Government has taken the case of these children into special consideration and has urged the several communities of Europeans to supply the need, promising them grants-in-aid. It would be difficult for the State to directly undertake the gratuitous education of such children, as the social circumstances do not admit of rates being imposed and school-boards established after the English model. But the existing institutions belonging to private societies are, with the State assistance, able to provide education if the parents will but exert themselves to obtain it.

Thus, the natural education is exercising an almost universal influence over the upper classes of the Natives, is producing a considerable effect on the middle section of the community, and is slowly though surely spreading among the mass of the people. Still, the extension of primary education among the peasantry continues to be one of those needs which cry out for sustained efforts on the part of the State. The instruction in some branches of applied science is successful but in pure science is inadequate; while technical education is in its infancy. The English language is being spoken more and more by educated Natives with purity of pronunciation and colloquial fluency. The general education is yielding fruit in respect of rectitude in conduct, zeal in performance of duty, and faithfulness in loyalty. During the visit of the Prince of Wales, the Natives rendered the worthiest homage to the royal presence by founding, in various parts of the country, educational institutions in memory of that gracious occasion.

CHAPTER IX.

RELIGIOUS ESTABLISHMENTS AND MISSIONS.

The State Church in India—Maintenance of religion by Native rulers—Their religious endowments in part maintained by the British Government—Religious establishments of the Portuguese—Attitude of the British Government respecting religion—Christian missions in Native States—The Roman Catholic Church in India—Protestant missions—Unabated efforts of religious societies—Approximate statistics of results—High authorities in favour of missions—Character of Native Christians—Prospects of Native Church—Special missions from Oxford and Cambridge—Moral effect of missions generally.

FOR duly appreciating the religious establishments it is desirable to consider the position of Christianity in India, in comparison with that of other religions. Attention in England is sometimes drawn to the State Church in India, as being an institution maintained, for the benefit of Europeans, from the public revenues. It seems to be thought by some that the maintenance of the Church from these funds involves an injustice to the Natives. The Native rulers, however, always accepted the duty of giving substantial support to religion; each dynasty maintained its own faith, besides allowing maintenance to the other forms of faith it found existing in the country.

For the due discharge of its practical duties, the British Government is bound to care for the spiritual needs of its servants as well as for their bodily safety. Medical establishments are maintained, and that measure is always deemed to be right and needful. The ecclesiastical establishment stands on the same footing. The servants of the Indian Government are peculiarly situated; they are, for the most part, isolated, and are unavoidably migratory, being moved about from station to station according to the exigencies of the public service. It

would be impossible for them to sustain a religious establishment, and if that were not provided by the State, they would be left without any religious ministrations. Apart from the clergy who minister to the European troops and the military officers, the clerical establishments are on the lowest and most economical scale, compatible with supplying the wants of the European community even in the matter of marriages and baptisms. It would have been a scandal if the Government had omitted to provide facilities for the rites common to all civilized societies, which facilities cannot, under the special circumstances of India, be otherwise provided. The cost amounts to only £150,000 a year for the whole country.

Perhaps it is not sufficiently remembered that several religions have from time to time immemorial, received endowments from the Native dynasties, which endowments are in part maintained under British rule.

In ancient times the Buddhist monasteries of India, some of the most widely extended monastic institutions that ever existed in any age or among any nation, absorbed a large portion of the public revenues. When the Buddhist system was finally subdued, and superseded by the Brahminical system throughout the country, the religious property and the conventual wealth lapsed to the Brahmins, a priestly class with unbounded influence in secular affairs. The Hindus, having abjured Buddhism and embraced Brahminism, continued the practice of bountifully endowing the Hindu religion. Temples were raised in every quarter, with numerous establishments. These were supported in part by voluntary offerings of devotees, but in part also by public revenues assigned to them by the sovereign and derived from land. Ecclesiastical charity was dispensed to the destitute and miserable of all castes; but especially to the needy of the priestly caste. The duty of feeding Brahmins was incumbent on every pious Hindu; but it was among the most sacred of the kingly duties of a Hindu prince. For this purpose also public revenues were

assigned. Ultimately in every rich parish or village the revenues of some fertile fields, leviably by the State, were transferred to the priests. Thus it came to pass that a considerable amount of land revenue, the mainstay of the State income, was alienated in favour of the priests and the temples, avowedly as an endowment of religion.

The Muhammadans, on their conquest of India, respected for the most part the State endowments of the Hindu religion. Despite the Moslem hatred of Hindu idolatry, they dreaded the fanaticism and unpopularity which would be aroused among the idolaters by any attempt at interference. They sometimes did, however, commit deeds of violence against idolatry. In so far as they acted thus, they struck deep at the root of their own power. Then they proceeded to endow their own Moslem religion in the same manner; the mosques arose in all quarters with land revenue assigned for their support, by way of endowment. Then sprung up the adoration of saints and the canonization of royal and distinguished dead. Thus saintly shrines and domed mausolea arose; and these also were endowed with assignments of land revenue.

When upon the decline and decadence of the Mogul power the Mahratta empire arose, its founder Sivaji incited his followers by recounting such religious grievances as could be alleged on the part of Hindus, and promised them that the endowments of the Hindu temples should be augmented and that the State maintenance of Brahmins should be more liberal than ever.

The British Government, on its accession to power, found in existence a multitude of endowments, granted by its Native predecessors for the services of religion, and consisting mainly of assignments of the land revenue. It maintained these endowments, to some extent, regarding them as the property of religious institutions. It investigated the origin, the title-deeds, the method of management and application of the funds, in all these cases, so as to guard the State against fraud or imposition. This investigation was elaborate and embraced tens of thousands

of cases. Its result, as might be expected, was that some of the assignments were disallowed for want of sufficient authority, and others were contracted or reduced, as being in excess of the original authorization. Still, many of the assignments stood the test, and they now exist under British guarantee. For some time British officers continued to supervise the management of certain among these institutions, following the practice of their Native predecessors. But as such supervision was open to obvious objections, it has been discontinued. The conduct of the British Government in these matters was actuated not only by sound policy but also by a true spirit of Christian charity and toleration. Nor have its motives in this respect ever been misconstrued by the Natives, though many of them would doubtless be pleased if the Government were to do more than it actually has done in this direction.

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the Portuguese had in India flourishing settlements, where much wealth was accumulated in churches and in conventual establishments which comprised great numbers of persons, European, Native and half-castes. Some of these institutions were formally endowed, and much of their possessions partook of the nature of endowments. It is probable that if a European government, of a proselytizing disposition, had been permanently established throughout western and southern India, if it had invited the Natives to profess Christianity as the State religion, if it had endowed the Christian priesthood, churches and convents, and if missionaries had arisen of extraordinary zeal and energy like Saint Francis Xavier, a large portion of the Native population would have become Christian and would have remained steadfast in the faith.

This brief retrospect shews that there is nothing unusual in an ecclesiastical establishment being maintained by the British Government in India. The cost of this establishment is comparatively small annually, as already seen. The Government would have only been following the precedents of its

Native predecessors if it had gone further and founded some substantial endowments in favour of Christianity.

While previous rulers of India have promoted their forms of religion by endowment, the British Government has contented itself with providing for the spiritual necessities of its servants. It has scrupulously abstained from directly or indirectly inviting its Native subjects to profess Christianity, from offering inducements to any one in view of such profession, from conceding any peculiar advantages to professing Christians and from acknowledging any secular or temporal difference between Christians and others. It pursues this course not only from motives of worldly policy, but from its assurance that Christianity is of no avail unless embraced from pure and sincere conviction. It protects Christian missionaries and ministers when exercising their sacred vocation, in the same manner as that in which the ministers of all other religions are protected. It assists Christian Missions with grants-in-aid for educational purposes, under the same regulations as those by which similar assistance is given to all educational agencies whether secular or religious.

This example, too, is followed in the Native States, where Christian Missions receive the same protection as in the British territories. Indeed some of the most interesting among these missions are conducted under the very shadow of Hindu and Muhammadan rulers.

Under these circumstances the Christian Missions have become numerous and diverse, constituting in their aggregate, a noteworthy feature in the empire.

The Roman Catholic Church has real vitality in India and counts among its sons, not only Europeans and people of mixed blood, East Indians and Eurasians, but also Natives; many of the Europeans being of Portuguese extraction. Its work is extensive in the three Presidency cities of Calcutta, Madras and Bombay, at all the principal stations civil and military, in the empire, and in many rural districts. It has a hierarchy of

Archbishops, Bishops and Vicars apostolic and a numerous priesthood of various nationalities, French, German, Belgian, Dutch, Swiss, Italian, Portuguese, more than English or Irish. It possesses establishments of Lady Superiors, nuns and sisters. It has cathedrals, churches, chapels, convents, colleges, schools and orphanages, at the principal places in the country. It opens its collegiate doors and its class rooms to the members of all religions without distinction, and while preserving for its own members its services, ordinances and ministrations, it does not appear to press these upon others. Its education is afforded largely to Protestant Christians, boys and girls, and its attitude towards the Natives is very considerate. Its two Colleges dedicated to Saint Xavier, one at Calcutta, the other at Bombay, are among the best private institutions in India; they receive Europeans and Natives alike. Its principal orders are represented in India, especially that of the Jesuits. It has priests attached to many of the European regiments, and these ministers of the Roman Catholic soldiery receive salaries from the Government. The Roman Catholic priests bear a high repute in India, whether as ministers in their own religious community, as pastors among the ignorant, as teachers of the young, as instructors of the educated, as visitors of the sick, as dispensers of charity among the miserable. The best parts of the Roman Catholic system shine to special advantage in a country like India.

Nor has Protestantism, with its multiform development, been a whit behind in running the good race. The Church of England is represented by two of its principal religious associations, namely the Church Missionary Society and the Society for the propagation of the Gospel, both of which, though operating in many countries, have laid in India the scene of their largest operations. The Presbyterian community has contributed the missions of the Established Church of Scotland, of the Free Church of Scotland, of the American Presbyterians. In effective zeal and ability and in devotion to the cause of missions, no reli-

gious community in Christendom has surpassed the Free Church of Scotland. The Independent community has furnished the London mission; there are also the missions of the Wesleyans and the Methodists. The Baptist community was among the ablest pioneers of missionary enterprise and continues its exertions. The religious communities of Germany have sent forth several missions. Every one of these communities has according to its means and resources contributed munificently to the work, and has produced a roll of distinguished missionaries.

In the early part of the nineteenth century and even before that time, high hopes prevailed in the Christian world regarding the conversion of the heathen in India. Glowing visions floated before the imaginations of pious and enthusiastic men. It was with all the fresh bloom of such enthusiasm that many great missionaries, whose biographies now form part of the history of their age, entered on a life of labour in a strange land. Such men were Schwartz, Ziebenbalg, Carey, Marshman, Ward, Martyn, Judson, whose names are embalmed in the affection of all Christian men, and whose memory is enshrined even in the minds of the heathen.

It is now seen that the conversion of the heathen, though steadily continuous, will be comparatively slow, and that Christian teaching must, with education as its handmaid, wend onwards a persevering way, through not only the thick masses of heathenism, but also the new and many-sided beliefs which advancing knowledge and civilization may be expected to produce. Some disappointment has been felt by many, at the check which the progress of Christianity may seem at first sight to have suffered. Many persons looking to what they suppose to be the poverty of visible result, may have doubted whether the energies of the religious societies are not being wasted and their resources expended in vain. Some depression may have occasionally weighed down the spirits of the missionaries themselves. Adverse opinions and unfavour-

able anticipations have been declared by persons who had resided long in India, which declarations may tend to enable the force of sentiment in England respecting Indian missions.

The friends of missions have, however, rallied from time to time, both in England and in the East. Missionary conferences are held at home and abroad; the funds and subscriptions, though perhaps not increasing commensurately with the growth of the national wealth, are yet large and afford such an income as may prove a powerful engine for good. A comparison of the statistics of missions in the past and in the present, and a sober estimate of possibilities, convince the missionary societies that a blessing does rest upon their labours. Men in sufficient abundance for the work have come forward, and among them many have employed, in their Master's cause, talents and gifts equal to those displayed by their illustrious predecessors.

It is hardly possible to state precisely the total expenditure incurred by all the missions in India, but, computed from data of the known expenditure of some of the principal societies, it can hardly be less than £300,000 per annum. It may even exceed that sum, if the educational grants-in-aid, earned by the missions under existing regulations, be added. The results, measured by available statistics, are not incommensurate, according to the standard of comparison adopted in secular administration, though they may fall short of the hopes of earnest men. If the total number of labourers, of all nationalities, school-teachers, catechists, lay preachers, Native missionaries and others, with the reverend clergy, European and American, at their head, be reckoned up, it will not be less than five thousand. The number of Native Christians is not less than 400,000 souls, of whom a fair proportion consists of communicants. To these may be added, as coming under the influence of the missionaries, all the school-children who, though not professing Christianity, attend mission schools where Christian instruction is obligatory. This addition will raise the

total to between 500,000, and 600,000 souls. Nor has the number risen suddenly, and then stood still with tendency to fluctuation or retrogression; it has steadily and gradually moved onwards. A similar result in secular affairs obtained by like resources would not be regarded as otherwise than satisfactory.

That the standard of personal worth, merit and capacity among the missionaries has been adequately maintained, will be manifest on recalling the names of those who have laboured in India within the present generation—the names of French, Sargent, Caldwell, Speechly, all four of whom have been raised to the office of Bishop; of William Smith, Leupolt, Thomas (of Tinnevely), Bailey and Baker (of Travancore), Pfander, Welland, Hughes, Clarke, James Long, Vaughan, Mullens, Sherring, Wenger, Alexander Duff, John Wilson, Hislop, Nesbitt, Anderson, Murray-Mitchell, and others. Some of these, like William Smith, have become household words throughout large districts as teachers and evangelists. Some, like Pfander, have been distinguished scholars. Some, like Alexander Duff and John Wilson, as authors, as speakers, as authorities upon all Indian questions, have been among the foremost men of their day at Calcutta and Bombay and have left much posthumous fame. Some, like Hislop, have been cut short in the midst of a career bright with the prospect of usefulness.

No doubt, some Englishmen in India of long experience and much information, dispute the usefulness of Christian missions, and deprecate the devotion of so many energies and resources to labours which will bear little or no fruit. It does not, however, follow that local English opinion in India is adverse to missions. For the English in India subscribe considerably to the missions; appeals to their religious liberality always meet with response; and in proportion to their means they contribute as much as their countrymen anywhere. It is true also that some high functionaries have felt themselves unable to believe in the utility of missions, and

their view ought to be taken into consideration by those who desire to master all the bearings of the case. On the other hand, nothing can be more emphatic than the testimony repeatedly given in favour of the missions by some of the very first among Anglo-Indian authorities, by such men as John Lawrence, James Thomason, Bartle Frere, Robert Montgomery, Donald Macleod and William Muir.

Sometimes blame has been cast on the missionaries for interfering in secular matters beyond their proper sphere and for taking part in popular agitation; and high authorities have occasionally considered that such blame has been in some measure deserved. On the other hand, a missionary is so situated that he has better means than any one else can have of knowing the real sorrows and anxieties of the people; and such knowledge conduces to lively sympathy. Thus a mutual confidence exists between him and his Native neighbours, who will open their hearts and lay bare the realities of their lives before him, with a frankness which they would not adopt in conversing with an official person. In representing these matters to the proper authorities he may possibly be accepting too unreservedly the points raised by the people, but will probably be urging considerations which no wise administrator would disregard, and affording information which the ablest officers would be thankful to receive from so trustworthy a source. Many a timely warning has thus been given, and many an evil has thus been seasonably brought to light, which might otherwise have remained undiscovered till it broke out in some worse form. If any oppressor or evil-doer among the Natives shall have been thus unmasked, he, and others like him, will condemn the interposition of the missionaries, which, however, will be regarded with gratitude by the majority of the humbler classes. On the one hand the missionaries should be watchful to inform themselves regarding the inner life of the people among whom they conduct their ministrations, and should be fearless and instant in apprising the authorities of impending evil. On the other hand, they

should be on their guard against falling into error from hearing only one part of a story without its counterpart; and should be cautious in not lending themselves to the aggravation of popular excitement.

The character of Natives converted to Christianity is generally good. Though they do not possess all the Christian graces that might be desired, still their new religion does exercise a decisive influence on their life and conversation. Though they may not display all the firmer virtues of Christianity they must have some of such virtues. For they must have cast out with an effort many superstitions deeply imbedded in their mental constitution, have dedicated their thoughts to truth alone, have broken some of the ties which are dearest to humanity, and have borne the reproaches of those from whom reprobation is hardest to bear. Despite many temptations, the instances of apostasy have been very rare. On the other hand during times of rebellion and danger there have been instances of courageous adherence to the faith notwithstanding the severest threats.

Such difficulties, however, no longer exist for those Native Christians who have been born in the faith and nurtured by parents themselves sprung from Christians. Of these the number is considerable and constantly increasing, especially in southern India. With them the faith has become hereditary, and is held with some of that pride and tenacity with which Natives cling to everything ancestral. They are beginning to evince a laudable willingness to render their Church self-supporting, to sustain a Native ministry, and to bear some of the burdens incidental to ecclesiastical organization, according to their humble means. It was the growing need of episcopal authority and supervision for the admission of a large number of Native candidates to the ministry in its several grades, that caused the governing authorities to nominate three Missionary Bishops in southern India. There is much in the bright and happy condition of Native Christian villages in southern India,

which makes the names of Tinnevelly and Travancore sound pleasantly in the ear of Christendom, which animates the breasts of all well-wishers with hope and thankfulness and which is fraught with auspicious augury for the future of the Native Church in India.

Many missionaries have done much for Oriental literature and for the enlightenment of public opinion regarding the nature and essence of Oriental religions, thus labouring in the closet and in the chamber, as well as in the schoolroom and in the thoroughfare. Most of them are nowadays engrossed in the administrative business which the ever-widening operations of the missions produce. They have by elementary instruction to prepare the minds of a large number of simple people for the reception of truth, and to maintain the moral discipline of the pastorate among large flocks. Thus their leisure and their opportunity for abstruse study are becoming less and less. Nor is the study of the subtle parts of the Oriental religions always necessary, as such matters are beyond the comprehension of the humble classes which form the mass of Native Christians. The qualities most needed for ordinary missionaries are an adequate knowledge of those religious points which can best be argued before Natives of plain minds and of average intelligence, a power of bringing truths home to the hearts of men, and an aptitude for establishing a moral control over multitudes, together with a trained faculty of insight into the mental standpoints of a strange and alien people. It is the consciousness of possessing such qualities that probably induces young men in England to offer themselves for mission work, and it is in regard to such capacities that they are chosen by the missionary societies. The missionaries do by their proceedings prove themselves to be thus qualified at least, while many of them evince additional qualifications.

The missions have by their religious preaching, in combination with the State secular education, and with the progress of

general civilization, contributed to the overthrow of the Hindu religion among the majority of educated Hindus at the chief centre of Hinduism. These Hindus, when abandoning their own religion, do not generally embrace Christianity, but fly off to various kinds of philosophic belief. Their conduct no doubt influences large numbers of their fellow-religionists, whose faith has been shaken, and who might otherwise be looking to the Christian Bible for religious guidance. Thus there has arisen a leading and enlightened class of men who are Hindus in nationality only and not in religion, who not only fail to guide their less enlightened countrymen towards Christianity, but actually draw them away from it and towards other paths of belief. They believe that original truth was revealed to men on the banks of the sacred Ganges. They remember that there the religion of Brahma arose; that thence sprang the religion of Buddha and spread till it overshadowed India, Ceylon, Siam, Thibet, China and Japan, and that these two cognate religions have had more adherents than all the other religions in the world taken together and have been followed by seven hundred millions of souls. They apprehend that the Hindu religion is declining because it has been encumbered with mythology, overlaid with superstitions and defaced by corruption; and that if the Buddhist religion shall fall it will owe its decadence to the same causes. They gather from their historical studies that Christianity has been endangered by similar lapses and errors; and that it has been sometimes so disfigured as hardly to be recognised as the religion delivered to mankind by its Founder. Therefore they strive mentally to retrace their erring steps towards the undefiled sources of primæval truth, and aim at restoring the religion of Brahma and of Buddha in its pristine purity. Such is probably the main line of their thoughts, though there may be other lines parallel or divergent; and it is hard for foreigners to probe accurately the delicate and sensitive minds of men like these. Thus, in this increasing class, the missionaries find new opponents, more subtle and

more formidable than any yet encountered, whom also the missions themselves have helped to raise up. If the encounter is to take place with any chance of success on the Christian side, it must be conducted by missionaries specially skilled and learned who shall be relieved from the public teaching, the school work and the administrative business, ordinarily undertaken by their missionary brethren.

Such missionaries are those who have been despatched by the Cambridge mission to Delhi, and are being despatched by the Oxford mission to Calcutta. They will meet with Natives highly educated in the Western manner, into the recesses of whose thoughts some entrance must be won by a careful and gradual approach. They may set forth the broad facts of the first spreading of Christianity, not only among wild races, but also among nations possessing some of the finest forms of philosophy that ever emanated from the human brain. They may shew how Christianity has shed its improving influences abroad, until the nations professing it have become the most civilized yet seen on earth. They may indicate how manifold corruptions, of which the existence must be acknowledged, have been removed in parts of Christendom, so that the real beauty of Christianity may be unveiled for worship. They may prove that, besides giving the highest conceivable sanction to the abstract principles of right and wrong, Christianity establishes relations between man and his Maker, and the personal accountability of every human individual to an omniscient Judge for the issues of this life and of eternity. They will have to vindicate these all-important positions in the face of acute and polished criticism.

The argumentative difficulties will be even more severe if Muhammadans as a body shall begin to cease believing in their own religion. There are no present signs, however, of that conjuncture arising; though there are some eminent Muhammadan converts to Christianity. Some Moslem priests do endeavour to answer the missionaries with argumentative

skill. The Muhammadan generally, if pressed, would point with much effect to some portions of his religion, for example the definition of the attributes of God, as being of indisputable excellence. Whether that religion was better than the religions of Brahma and of Buddha, when originally promulgated, may be a matter for discussion; perhaps it was better. Certainly it has been much less corrupted; and being more definite in its dogmas and more specific in its commands, it is more likely to retain the allegiance of robust and vigorous nations.

The fact that the need of these special missions has been so practically recognised by the two ancient Universities of England, is of some importance in the history of Christianity in India.

There is often discussion as to whether the effect of religious missions in India is good, and if it be, then in what respects. It may be pronounced really excellent, with only such a minimum of drawbacks or abatements as must be incidental to all human arrangements. The Natives will regard the missions as proving that despite the allurements of temporal success, the temptations of imperial ambition, and the distractions of national life, the ruling race is still devoutly loyal to its own religion. They will expect that a race, which is loyal in this cardinal respect, will be just, faithful and honourable in all other respects. They feel no jealousy of the attitude thus assumed by the ruling race, seeing that the power exerted is from private societies and not from the State, and that a change of religion from secular motives is contemned as worthless. Thus the reputation of the British nation is raised in their eyes; a fact of moral value and of political moment. The Natives must inevitably perceive some alloy in British virtue; there is much which they think blameworthy in British conduct. It is well that in the religious missions they should behold something of which the merit is unalloyed, and with which no fault can reasonably be found.

The missionaries themselves display an example the bright-

ness of which is reflected on the nation to which they belong. They are to be heard preaching in every city, and almost in every large town, throughout the empire. They are considerably attentive to every enquirer and listener. They are held to be among the best teachers and schoolmasters in the country, even at a time when the educational staff of the Government affords a model of organization. They receive heathen children in the mission schools, not withholding Christian instruction, and yet retaining the unabated confidence of the heathen parents. They are trusted as benevolent advisers by their Native neighbours. They are known as friends in need, and as being ready to advocate temperately the redress of wrongs or the removal of oppression. In seasons of pestilence and of famine, they have been vigilant in forecasting evil consequences and instant in dispensing aid. They have been among the foremost in the voluntary bands of relief. They have often afforded to the Government and to its officers information which could not have been so well obtained otherwise. They have done much to elucidate before their countrymen and before the world, the customs, the institutions and the feelings of the Natives. They have contributed greatly to the culture of the vernacular languages. Many of them as scholars, historians, sociologists or lexicographers, have held a high place in Oriental literature and have written books of lasting fame and utility. They have, with the co-operation of their wives and daughters, accomplished much towards establishing and promoting female education, and have exemplified before the Natives the sphere of usefulness that may be occupied by educated women. They have enabled the Natives to note the beauty of British homes, which shed abroad the light of charitable ministration and diffuse the genial warmth of practical philanthropy.

CHAPTER X.

LAW AND LEGISLATION.

Constitution of Indian Government by Parliamentary enactments—Sacred character of Hindu and Muhammadan law—Administration of justice under British rule—English law in India—Councils in India constituted for legislation—Law Commission in London—Civil courts in interior of India—Their popularity—Public confidence in the High Courts of Judicature—Special legislation regarding indebtedness of the peasantry—Arbitration—Patriarchal rule—Non-regulation system—Answer to charges of over-legislation—Need of continuity in administration.

A COMPLETE stability belongs to the fundamental institutions of British India. They have a legal status which was conferred not by any authority in India, but by Parliament in a long series of statutes. The Supreme Governments, the Local Governments, the several Executive and Legislative Councils, and the Covenanted Civil Service derive their constitution from Acts of Parliament. The origin of the judicial system has a parliamentary charter. These statutes have been enacted by a chain, as it were, of legislation, each link connected with the other; and they were passed on the recommendation of committees of both Houses made after taking the evidence of the most experienced experts.

With the people of India, whether Hindu or Muhammadan, the national laws had for the most part a sacred origin derived either from the code of Manu and other scriptures or from the Koran. Obedience to them was not only enforced by the secular arm but also was constrained by the fear of divine authority. No ancient writing indeed has the absolute sanction for Hindus as being the word of God, which the Koran has for Muhammadans. Nevertheless there is a body of Hindu writings which, on the whole, are considered to have a religious sanction.

Under Native rule there were Hindu law officers and Muhammadan law officers to whom reference was made for deliverances on difficult points of their respective systems of law. These deliverances were regarded with much popular veneration, but the degree of respect, accorded practically to them by the executive power in a Native State, depended on the condition of the State itself. The restraint of law was faintly acknowledged by the sovereign and but slightly felt by those who conducted the administration even at the best, while at the worst it was ignored altogether.

Therefore the Natives admired the spectacle of the British Government binding not only its subjects, but also itself, by positive enactments, establishing courts of justice in which persons, considering themselves aggrieved, might bring suits against their fellow-subjects and against the Government, and where the acts of the very highest functionaries of State might be reviewed by judicial officers of comparatively humble grades. The admiration may have abated from subsequent familiarity with the system. But the confidence in British justice thus engendered still remains with the mass of the people, and lies close to the foundation of that regard and respect which cause acquiescence in, and acceptance of a foreign rule.

Originally the main objects of the regulations of the East India Company were to lay down an exact system of civil procedure for the guidance of the courts, to provide for the judges having recourse to the Native law officers in matters touching the social institutes of the country, and to leave matters not embraced by these institutes, to be determined either by the analogy of English law or by equity and good conscience. The Supreme Courts, separately established in the three Presidency towns, Calcutta, Madras and Bombay, administered the English law, which law came thus to have an important influence on civil justice, as so many important causes arose in these three towns where the trade of the country centred. Still

at each Presidency town, and also in the North-western Provinces there were superior Courts, styled Sadar, in which the Indian regulations were observed, and which supervised all the civil courts in the interior of the country.

In this system, several defects were found to exist after the experience of two or three generations. The regulations, though prepared with the utmost care and with anxious thought for substantial justice, were drawn up by administrative and executive officers, and not by men who had in England made the law their profession, nor with the assistance of any regular draughtsmen. The civil procedure proved to be tedious or over-elaborate and failed to keep pace with the progress of legal science. There were in each division of the empire two tribunals of the highest authority, the Supreme or English Court, and the "Sadar" or Company's Indian Court. The Hindu law, which still governed all matters relating to the social institutes of the people, was found to be often conflicting, indeed consisting of several different schools of legal doctrine. That great division of law which relates to mercantile affairs and to dealings between man and man, was imperfectly comprised by the Hindu and the Muhammadan law, and was yet increasing constantly in size and importance, consequent on the growth of the country in wealth and civilization. It was deemed hardly practicable, and certainly inexpedient, to apply to India, in all cases except certain categories relating to Native institutes, the system of English law absolutely, a system which has its difficulties even for the English people, and which would be too difficult for such a people as that of India.

These faults have nearly all been remedied of late years either by the Government of India, or by the controlling authorities in England, or by the British Parliament.

The Government in England determined in 1833 that, besides the judicial system already established, a body of substantive law, criminal and civil, should be framed in a manner suitable to the people of India and conformable to the

best notions of jurisprudence. A high commission for this purpose was appointed to sit in India and a law member was added to the Council of the Governor-General. At the head of this legislative department was placed Mr., afterwards Lord, Macaulay. The first fruit of the labours of himself and his colleagues was the preparation of the Penal Code, which after many years of consideration was passed into law. In 1853, a Legislative Council was formally constituted in India consisting entirely of servants of Government. In place of this, one supreme legislature for all India, and several legislatures of secondary rank for certain divisions of the empire, were established in 1861. These consist partly of Government servants and partly of non-official gentlemen, European and Native, nominated by the Government. The supreme legislature is the Council of the Governor-General, legislating for all matters which affect the Indian empire at large, and for all provinces save those under the Local Governments of Madras, Bombay and Bengal, which have legislatures of their own. The secondary legislatures are the Councils of the Local Governments of Madras, Bombay and Bengal, which legislate for all provincial affairs within their respective territories.

In 1861 a Commission was appointed in England to prepare drafts of law for the assistance of the legislature in India. It consisted of men high in position and authority, Lord Justice James, Justice Romilly, Justice Willes, and Mr. Robert Lowe (now Lord Sherbrooke), and sat from 1861 to 1870. It prepared drafts of several important and comprehensive Acts, such as the Civil Procedure, the Criminal Procedure, the Succession Act, the Contract Act, the Evidence Act, the Negotiable Securities Bill, the Transfer of Property Bill. Recently a commission has been appointed in India to consider further the Bills regarding negotiable securities and transfer of property; also to report upon Bills which have been framed regarding alluvion (land thrown up from rivers), master and servant, easements and trusts. A complete law of torts is by common consent

considered necessary and will doubtless be framed. An excellent law of limitation has been passed. With these measures, and some few others which may be devised, there will be ultimately a code of substantive law for British India, scientifically constructed with all the light of the age, and so comprehensive in its scope as to be a boon to the empire and a standard of national ethics.

In addition, there has been much legislation for the many matters which arise in so extensive and diverse an empire. The old regulations have for the most part been superseded by Acts scientifically drafted. Respecting several important subjects, the many scattered laws have been combined into single consolidated laws resembling codes. This process of consolidation or codification will probably be continued for some time.

The legislation, thus produced, may claim a high degree of excellence according to the standards prevailing among the most advanced nations. It is the joint work of English lawyers, Anglo-Indian administrators, non-official Europeans residing in India and Natives chosen for character and intelligence. It embodies the best principles of English jurisprudence with adaptations suitable to the peculiarities of India. It is adjusted to the general wants of the empire and to the particular needs of provinces. It is conducted with long deliberation and with due regard to public opinion, European and Native. Some of the enactments passed by the Government of India are, as pieces of legislative workmanship, equal to the best achievements of the kind in any country.

A legislative department has been established as an integral part of the Government of India. It collates information from every part of the country regarding law and legislation. It causes professional reports to be made of the leading cases decided in the chief courts of justice. It has been presided over by English lawyers and jurists of eminent position. The names of Henry Sumner Maine, of James Fitzjames Stephen, of Arthur Hobhouse; constitute the highest guarantee to the public for the

excellence of the legislation, and command the entire confidence of the community in India. Whitley Stokes has rendered service to the country by drafting the laws so clearly as to be understood by the Natives, and yet so accurately as to stand the test of practical use.

The Hindu and Muhammadan codes of law are still observed in all matters relating to marriage, inheritance, adoption, partition of property, testamentary disposition, management of religious institutions and the like. It is impossible to overcome the difficulty arising from the various and sometimes conflicting precedents and rulings of the several schools of Hindu law. Much more attention is, however, devoted now than formerly by the English and Native judges to these abstruse matters; exclusive reliance is no longer placed on the legal dicta of Hindu and Muhammadan law officers.

The functions of some of the ancient executive officers of the Native law officers, such as the Kazis, around whom so much of popular reverence and of ancient tradition is gathered, are carefully maintained respecting the solemnization of marriage, obsequies and other social rites.

For the administration of the laws, thus enacted, the judicial system has been improved and rendered uniform in principle for the whole empire, though there are some differences in detail as between the several provinces.

To ensure unity in the supervision of the civil justice, whether at the Presidency towns or in the interior of the country, the old Supreme and Sadar Courts have been amalgamated and formed into the existing High Courts, in which the Chief Justices and some of the judges are English barristers, while the other judges are members of the European judicial services of India, or are Natives selected for character and ability.

In the interior of the country, the object has been first, to place courts at all the principal points, so as to be within a few miles of the homes of the great majority of the people, next to

render the proceedings inexpensive to the suitors and the decisions speedy. The administration of justice can be secured only by laws being judiciously framed, and by competent judges being appointed. The Government has done and is doing, its utmost in both these respects. The Natives shew acumen, discrimination and carefulness as judges; they are considered to shew more natural aptitude for the judicial department than for any other. Their high repute, in the present time for uprightness and integrity has been already described in a previous chapter on mental and moral progress.

There have been discussions whether civil justice, as now administered, can properly be deemed cheap and speedy. It has sometimes been reprobated as costly and slow. Still, on due allowances being made, it may be considered as not unduly expensive, nor for the most part tardy. The expensiveness is partly under the control of the State, which does its best on behalf of economy by simplifying the procedure and keeping the stamp duties moderate. It is partly beyond the control of the State, and is in the hands of the public, in so far as it consists in the remuneration of lawyers and advocates.

The profession of the law which formerly had an unfavourable repute, has grown and is growing, both in moral worth and in mental capacity. The Government cannot control or influence the emoluments of a profession which has its value in the market of intellectual labour. But the Government can provide that if the people do pay highly for legal advice, the advisers shall be persons of trained qualifications. This provision is effectually made by the tests to which men are subjected before admission to either branch of the legal profession. The character and status of the Native Bar has also been mentioned in the previous chapter on mental and moral progress.

It is difficult to ascertain whether suits are on the average of long or short duration, because in most provinces some few causes from special circumstances, sometimes preventable and

at other times unavoidable, remain pending for an extraordinary length of time; a few such causes make the average swell so much that any conclusions which may be drawn from it become invalidated. If such cases be excerpted, then the average duration of ordinary suits will in most provinces, be found moderate and in some provinces satisfactorily short.

One reason of expense and delay in the final disposal of cases is the privilege of appeal which has been formerly much abused, which has in some respects been judiciously modified, but to which the Natives still cling pertinaciously. The importance of an appeal is not always to be measured by the value of the property in dispute, because a question of small pecuniary amount may involve a principle of consequence. After allowance has been made for this consideration, it will still be found that many trivial appeals, preferred from litigiousness, are occupying the time of highly paid and dignified tribunals. A considerable remedy has been applied by the establishment of Courts of small causes throughout the empire. These tribunals, despite their name, hear causes of certain kinds for large amounts, and with them the right of appeal is strictly limited. Additional limitations of appeal, in other kinds of cases, have been under the consideration of the legislature. And if appealing is yet regarded as an evil by some European authorities, it arises from the disposition of the people, and not from the policy of the Government. Any attempt to suppress it or to impose limitations, essentially stricter than those which now exist, would be very unpopular.

The popularity or unpopularity of the Courts in the interior of the country has been the theme of frequent controversy. That the Courts were formerly unpopular with many classes of the people may be admitted. They are still disliked by some classes, landlords and others, who after making undue use of their landed security to run into debt, find themselves confronted with their creditors before the judge. They are yet condemned by many executive authorities who find themselves

checked by judicial action, and even by some non-official Europeans. There are some eminent persons who, notwithstanding all recent improvements, believe that those who thought to establish a system of civilized jurisprudence in India, have actually planted an Upas tree. Some Natives also may share this opinion, and the Courts may be less esteemed in some provinces than in others. Nevertheless, those who are cognizant of Native opinion as a whole throughout the empire, doubtless perceive that the Courts are, despite their shortcomings, amongst the most popular and most trusted institutions in the country. In some provinces they are more esteemed than any other department or authority whatever, and are regarded as the embodiment of what is best in British rule.

The Europeans at the Presidency cities and at other great centres, and the Natives also, regard the several High Courts with sincere respect and implicit confidence. Indeed there is nothing in the empire to which all classes, Europeans and Natives, are more attached than these august tribunals, though even in them practical defects are known to exist.

The Natives of India are, as a people, litigious; many of them seem to find in litigation under a settled rule that excitement for which under an unsettled rule they would seek in contests of other kinds. In reference to the probable wealth and resources of the country, the number of suits is large and their aggregate value considerable.

In the procedure, the most marked defects during recent years have been the difficulty in obtaining a proper execution of decrees. Often the interposition of delay and obstruction has been harassing and vexatious. Sometimes property has been sold inconsiderately without proper precautions for realising its value, in satisfaction of decrees for comparatively small amounts. These faults will be fully remedied if the provisions of the recently amended civil procedure are duly carried out.

In the dispensing of justice one fault has been the manner in which bonds which, though duly executed, were

manifestly given by ignorant debtors the victims of usurious creditors, were admitted by the Courts as conclusive without sufficient cognizance of the original merits of the claim and of its subsequent augmentation. A well-meant and carefully considered attempt has been made by special legislation to remedy this fault in the province where it most prevailed, namely the Deccan. It remains to be seen whether this legislation has been sufficiently thorough to prove successful; and it were vain to suppose that the same defect does not continue to prevail in several other parts of the empire.

The ancient "Panchayet," which means an arbitration court consisting of five members, has for the most part vanished into the past, from which it will but rarely emerge to revisit the land. Nothing would have pleased the Government better than to maintain, develop and dignify this institution, if the people would but acquiesce, but they will not. In the Panjab persistent efforts were put forth to naturalize this institution under the British arrangements and to induce the suitors to resort to arbitration, but the people would not have it. Their preference for standing tribunals, with judges appointed by the State, is remarkable. The law provides for suitors resorting to arbitration, and they do resort to it occasionally, but not often. In some places, such as Poona in the Deccan, an arbitration court sits regularly, and affords satisfaction to the public. Elsewhere such an arrangement, whenever practicable, receives encouragement from the Government. But the substitution of arbitration for regular judicial trials would in most parts of the empire be unpopular, and could not be attempted in the present temper of the people.

For the prevention of forgery, fraud or fraudulent alteration of papers, it is essential to establish a system of public transfers by means of registration. The practice of tampering with unregistered documents of private transfers has been a blot on the social life of the Natives, and though probably much diminished, it still exists. The authorities have still to be

on their guard against it. They have therefore long looked towards the excellent models of public transfer afforded in some of the countries of continental Europe. In respect of real property the land revenue administration supplies, as will be seen in a future chapter, almost as perfect a registration as could be devised for landed tenures, and for mutations of ownership and occupancy, by succession and by transfer, for most provinces of the empire. Beyond this, no adequate measures for notarial registration generally were for some time undertaken. Since 1867, however, a department of registration has been legally constituted and completely organized throughout the empire. Registry offices have been established in every town, and are gradually being extended to the villages, so that the facilities for registering may be augmented. Muniment rooms are provided in every office for the safe keeping of documents. Besides the registering clerks, there is an inspecting staff, and in every division of the empire a responsible functionary is at the head of the department, so that the Native public may feel confidence in its management. Fees are levied on the registration, enough to defray the cost of the establishments and of the management. The scale of fees is arranged in order that the department may be self-supporting, but not with a view of its yielding any fiscal profit to the State. The law renders the registration compulsory for certain sorts of documents, such as those relating to immovable property beyond a certain value. For other documents, notably those relating to wills and to personalty, it leaves the registration optional. The tendency of legislation is to enlarge the category of the documents in which the registration is compulsory. Meanwhile the country is studded with notarial offices; and numbers of documents to be reckoned by hundreds of thousands are registered year after year. The result must be to clear and purify the moral atmosphere in many social quarters.

“ Patriarchal administration ” and “ personal rule ” were once phrases of much currency in India; they embodied ideas which

had practical effect at one time, but which have now, however, disappeared. Men of eminence and ability may be met with who deplore the gradual, and now complete, substitution of the reign of law for the reign of individuals. Still every nation, as it advances in wealth and civilization, demands to be ruled, not by the will of persons, who however able and well-meaning will be sure to differ one from the other in a manner sometimes seemingly capricious, but by a fixed system to which all men can steadily look, and on which they can reckon when forming their plans. India constitutes no exception to this tendency, which is indeed irresistible. Although the Natives are apt somewhat inconsistently to speak of over-legislation, they yet desire that there shall be laws for almost every matter, to which they can appeal either as against the executive or in conflict with their neighbours. They have a dread of the unrestrained eccentricities of authority. On the other hand, the scope actually afforded nowadays to executive authorities, though different perhaps from what it used to be, is yet very great. The executive heads of districts and of provinces still wield enormous powers for good or for evil.

Sometimes it has been imagined that in the Native States substantial justice is more successfully dispensed than in the British territories. This view will be entertained only by those who are better acquainted with the flaws and shortcomings of their own system than with those of the system in foreign territories. It will not be held by those who have acquaintance with affairs in the interior of the Native States.

The name of the "non-regulation system" still haunts the memories of many whose experience and knowledge deserve every respect. It originally meant this, that into some newly annexed or freshly conquered provinces, the regulations pertaining to the older provinces of the empire were not introduced, while instead of them executive orders were issued by the authorities on the spot. These executive orders differed indeed from the regulations, were somewhat more simple and followed

better the light of recent experience. But they were just as well considered, as precisely drawn up and as strictly prescribed for observance, as the regulations of the older provinces. The result, then, was merely the substitution of one set of rules, perhaps an improved and simplified code, for another set. The provinces thus governed, of which the Panjab was the chief, were styled "non-regulation," in contradistinction to the old, or "regulation" provinces. As laws, with scientific legislation, came to be passed for the "regulation" provinces, they were one after another ordered by executive authority to be observed partly or wholly in the "non-regulation" provinces. Some important laws were passed by the legislature for all the provinces of the empire without exception. Then legislative acts were passed for each of the principal "non-regulation" provinces, specifying what particular laws or parts of laws, and what executive orders, were to be legally regarded as having force within it. In each province a chief tribunal was appointed, of which the judgments would be independent of the executive government, as in other countries, and which would supervise, according to law, the proceedings of all the subordinate courts. Unless specially enacted otherwise, or ordered otherwise under authority of law, the Acts now passed by the legislature are operative in all provinces alike. Thus the reign of law has irrevocably spread to the "non-regulation" provinces, nor would the mass of the population in those provinces desire to revert to any former system.

Still, the Government has power by statute to remove any tract from the operation of the laws, and this power is occasionally exercised in the case of wild and uncivilized territories.

It is feared by many that a strong current of opinion has set in against scientific and systematic legislation for India. Nevertheless, the more thoughtful persons, European and Native, are convinced that there must be such legislation. The ancient laws and prescriptive rules leave unsolved countless matters which arise nowadays between man and man. The establish-

ment of a foreign rule, the diffusion of trade and the infiltration of new ideas by means of education, must cause the oldest things of the former civilization and the newest things of the modern, to be placed in juxtaposition. For most of the cases arising out of such conjuncture the indigenous system cannot possibly provide, and new phases of contention appear. A sense of being wronged arises among the Natives, who are quick to feel injury and urgent in obtaining redress. If the jurisdiction, under which they live, proves so defective as to leave them smarting and brooding under a consciousness of injustice, they will even shed the blood and burn the houses of their fellow-subjects the oppressors. If the judges are to follow justice and equity they will find it hard to determine what is just and equitable in complex cases. In the absence of legislation there will be gathered together a mass of judge-made law. The judges will themselves deprecate the virtual formation of law by such a process. They know that with it the establishment of principles must be casual, that under it a comprehensive view of social expediency can hardly be taken, and that by it doctrines become declared with much delay and great cost to the suitors, which ought to have been declared beforehand by the State. The only remedy for this is legislation. Then, the legislation must be scientific, representing the best moral thoughts and social ideas of the nation which is being developed under British rule. The language, while indisputably clear and easily intelligible, ought to be formal. Otherwise there will be an ambiguity about fundamental terms which is specially embarrassing, and the law will be more intricate and bulky than it need have been.

Complaints are loud in India regarding the evils of quibbling, chicanery and misplaced ingenuity. These evils are caused or aggravated by an indefinite condition of the law, and the only remedy for them is definite legislation. As Sir James Stephen said, "To try to avert these evils by leaving the law undefined and by entrusting judges with a wide discretion is to try to put out a fire by pouring oil upon it. Leave a judge with only one

of those leaden rules which may be twisted in any direction and every sort of topic is left to the advocate. Homœopathy is the only system by which the malady of litigation and quibbling can be treated. The real antagonist of the pettifogger is the legislative department."

The Natives well know that the profession of the law must exist, unless the Government is to be conducted by sheer physical force, and according to the arbitrary will of the ruler of the day. They have been instant in remonstrance whenever by any project of law it has been proposed to transfer a matter from the judgment of tribunals to the discretion of the executive authorities. They object to those Acts which contain only general provisions and empower the Government to make rules for practice, on this ground that such Acts delegate to executive discretion what ought to be prescribed by law.

Again, if recourse were not constantly had to legislation English law would gradually creep over the country, like ivy over a wall, entwining itself with all social affairs and relations. In doubt as to what they should do, or how they should decide, the judges would follow the precedents or analogies of that law, the English, to which they could most readily refer and in which the chiefest among them had been trained. Thus a nucleus of judge-imported law would be formed, around which a mass of decisions would gradually be gathered. This very consummation was at one time likely to be brought about, as a consequence of British rule, and was averted only by the legislation which has been undertaken.

The law in India declaring the liability of debtors for their debts has often been reprobated. Its abolition has even been recommended as a panacea for much suffering. The idea of such legislation is apparently supposed to have been borrowed from English law. It is as old, however, among the Hindus as their ancient lawgivers, and is a part of the prescriptive law of the country. Among Muhammadans it is as definite as in any civilized nation. Its importance has been augmented under

British rule by the growth of transactions, commercial and other, in number and magnitude.

It is sometimes urged that a centralized system of legislation for so wide an empire will cause undue interference with the customs and unwritten laws of the Natives, will injuriously affect the constitution of Native property and will subject the inhabitants of one part of the country to laws unsuitable to them, though suitable to the inhabitants of other parts. As already shewn, it is amply provided that the Natives shall have the benefit of their own law in all the departments of social life to which they will naturally desire its application. So far from overlooking the constitution of Native property, the English officers have investigated it with infinite pains and evince a jealous care to vindicate and conserve it. They have formed a voluminous literature on the proprietary tenures among the many nationalities of India. Now that men are entering more and more into transactions ramifying through several divisions of the empire, it is necessary that the subordinate contracts should be governed everywhere by the same law and procedure. In many branches of substantive law, therefore, the legislation must be uniform and centralized. For those matters where peculiarities exist, extending to certain provinces or localities, provincial legislation has been provided, as already seen, by the establishment of local legislatures.

In short, the objects of the legislation have been elucidation and simplification. No law has been passed without necessity, or before it was necessary, therefore there has not been anything which could be justly described as over-legislation.

The principle that all rules for the governance and administration of the country shall be fixed by legislation, is vitally important to the good government of the Indian empire at the present time. By these means the vagaries to which even the best and ablest men are liable, are stopped, and there is no possibility of radical changes being made without due deliberation and without adequate demonstration of their expediency.

After the experience of three-quarters a century, crowded with discussions, experiments and revisions, an administrative system has been formed, sufficiently uniform for imperial necessities and yet sufficiently variable for provincial peculiarities, securing the confidence of the people who desire to live and labour under a settled system, preventing the abuse of power by those whose well-meaning zeal outstrips their discretion, and yet affording room for the exercise of all the talents which even the ablest men can display. The improvements, suggested from time to time, ought to be sanctioned and defined by the legislation, for which several legislatures have been established on the spot. Under any circumstances there are matters which legislation cannot reach, but which executive authority can control. But if individual administrators were allowed to modify fundamental or widely important principles according to their personal judgment, then confusion, perhaps even disaster, would arise. Such men will generally be energetic, and will have independent and resolute minds. Then they will necessarily differ in opinion; one man would move the hands of the national clock rapidly forward, the next man would put them back again. In paraphrase of the classic proverb, they would pull down and build up, they would change square things to round. Continuity of principle, practice and conduct is essential in the position at which the empire has now arrived; a continuity not too rigid to be slightly diverted or deflected, according to expediency, but still strong enough to preserve the general line of its direction. The ship of State may tack about, she may heave to, she may be driven about by the winds of circumstance, but her general course should be determined, and she should steer upon it as much as possible.

CHAPTER XI.

CRIME, POLICE AND PRISONS.

General character of crime in India—Good conduct of the people—Thagi, its horrid characteristics, its repression—Self-sacrifice of Hindu widows by burning, its suppression—Female infanticide—Regulation of marriage expenses—Political import of dacoities in Deccan—Gypsy tribes—Occasional occurrence of serious riots—Penal code and criminal procedure—Regular police—Its former faults—Its reorganization—Condition of village or rural police—General regulations regarding arms—Prisons under British rule—Recent improvements therein—Juvenile reformatories—Convict settlements.

THERE are some peculiarly dark deeds which have disfigured the Indian annals, otherwise the crimes of India do not essentially differ from those of other climes. Possibly the people of India, having, with some exceptions and reservations, a sober, orderly and law-abiding character, may be compared favourably in respect of crime with the people in more advanced countries.

The rise and spread of Thagi has left a stain upon the history of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in India. The crime was in its perpetration simple, it consisted of the waylaying and strangling of travellers on lonely roadsides for the sake of the money and valuables they carried about them. Its dire characteristic was the secret formation of gangs banded together for its purposes, operating by combination in widely separated parts of the country, maintaining complete inter-communication, obeying leaders of various degrees, having formulæ for the admission and the swearing in of members, enrolling them as the devotees for life of a murderous profession, and possessing a vocabulary of watchwords. It attracted to itself a superstition amounting to

a horrid and unnatural religion. It arose from the disregard of human life, caused by scenes of incessant bloodshed during wars and revolutions, and from the demoralizing effects of the ruthless system of spoliation established by the Mahrattas and continued by the Pindaries. Though its existence was suspected, yet its real proportions and its shocking extent remained long unknown. Its discovery was followed by repressive measures, which ended successfully after a comparatively brief time, through the unaccountable readiness with which so many of the Thags became approvers and informers. The information given by them would have been incredible but for the subsequent verification of particulars, whereby certainty was obtained regarding the distressful numbers of the victims, and the extraordinary accumulation of murders committed by individual murderers. The fulness of their disclosures would almost indicate that they were conscience-stricken, were it not for the callousness of their demeanour when recounting the damnatory narratives. The psychology of these criminals is worthy of study, because it shews that there are some baneful tendencies inherent in the Native mind, which will not be eradicated in one or two generations, and would surely manifest themselves again, if repressive action were to be relaxed.

Sometimes instances of the systematic poisoning of wayfarers have given warning to the magistracy that Thagi under another form is ever ready to spring into life again. The cases of other dark murders now and then point to the same inference.

The old crime of Sati, whereby Hindu widows were burned alive on the funeral pyres of their husbands, has ceased long ago throughout the British territories. The ideas from which it sprang have no longer any hold upon the minds of the highly educated classes. Possibly the practice would revive among the less educated classes if the British prohibition were withdrawn. The monuments always erected on the spots, where the dread rite has been observed, are regarded with

popular reverence. The same prohibition exists generally in the Native States and is fully obeyed; if any instance occurs in these days, it must be very rare.

Female infanticide has been largely practised among certain tribes of Rajputs, who are imbued with an austere pride in their lineage, who find it most difficult to provide for their marriageable daughters in any manner consistent with the rules of their caste, and who regard an unmarried daughter as a slur upon their family. The Government has for many years set itself to suppress this most inhuman practice by various measures legislative and executive, with some considerable success at least, though probably not without some failure. Perseverance will doubtless conquer this crime ultimately, but it is extremely difficult to reach either of the two roots of the evil, namely, the pride of caste and the excessive scale of marriage expenses. It is probable, however, that the undue expenditure on marriages has been somewhat reduced.

Some Native reformers have formed associations for the regulation of expenditure on marriage solemnities, an expenditure which is the fruitful parent of many evils besides infanticide. In this way some effect has been produced on public opinion among the Natives, in respect to matters where interposition on the part of foreign rulers might do more harm than good.

Dacoity or gang-robbery has always been reckoned among the plagues of India. It has thriven by reason of the fierceness and audacity which distinguishes some classes and the timidity and submissiveness which characterize so many other classes. It has been always one of the first evils with which the British Government had to cope. In Bengal proper, especially, it was a crime with an extensive organization, having professional ringleaders followed by gangs of enrolled men. This organization was encountered by a still stronger administrative machinery under British authorities, and so became broken up and dispersed. The crime continues, however, to break out from

time to time in a milder form in several provinces, and many persons are still at large whose chief occupation is the planning of overt robbery, with more or less of violence according to the resistance which may be offered. It is one of the earliest symptoms of impending scarcity, political excitement or any social trouble.

Gang-robbery assumed an ominous shape and troublesome dimensions in the Deccan near Bombay during 1879, by reason of the ferment in the public mind during a time of war, following a long protracted series of hard times. The services of two regiments of Native infantry and one regiment of Native cavalry had to be employed in its suppression, by reason of the difficult ground in the midst of the Western Ghat mountains where the events took place. The trouble lasted for three months, despite the efforts of the authorities to terminate it speedily. Considerable amounts of property were robbed, with much violence, in villages lying within a short distance of the mountains. The robbers used to betake themselves with their booty to mountainous positions difficult of access, and shewed resolute courage when attacked by the Native soldiers and the police. The plague would have spread indefinitely, if the Government had not taken numerous precautions and availed itself of many means of repression. The Brahmin leader and his immediate adherents were avowedly forming a conspiracy against the Government, though his followers were actuated by the ordinary desire for plunder. Some of his colleagues in mischief probably entertained political views of some sort. The number of men engaged in these plundering gangs was quite small, but a nucleus was formed by them, around which badly-disposed persons might gather. Their proceedings were watched with a strange interest by some sections of the Native community and with an equally strange apathy by others, while among some classes a lively alarm was excited. An incendiary fire in the old palace of the Peshwas at Poona was lighted about the same time under suspicious circumstances.

In the prompt suppression of this evil, Major Daniell, of the police force, signalized himself by his skill and vigour. Though the attempts thus made by evil-minded persons proved futile and abortive, and though any exaggeration of the importance of such silly and clumsy designs ought to be avoided, still these occurrences demand the thoughtful attention of politicians.

Rioting and disturbance are uncommon in India, but occur now and then, as if to warn the Government of the many dangers which lurk in so vast and varied a country. In 1872 an attempt was made by fanatical means to stir up rebellion in the Cis Satlej territories of the Panjab. In 1873, a serious conflict occurred between the Parsis and Muhammadans in the city of Bombay. In 1873, some agrarian disturbance, not severe, occurred in North Eastern Bengal. In 1875 the Sontals, who had broken out in rebellion, caused some trouble in the heart of the Bengal territories. In 1878 some serious riots, not destitute of political import, broke out in the city of Surat on account of the licence-tax. In 1879 there were some troubles in the hill region of Rampa in the Madras Presidency. Events of this nature shew that even in a time of general peace, the authorities must preserve a vigilant attitude and be prepared to enforce order on the instant that necessity arises.

There are in most parts of the country certain persons who live without any ostensible means of livelihood, who abide sometimes in one village for a time, and sometimes move about from village to village, and who are well known in the neighbourhood to be thieves by profession. The villagers, with that feebleness of public spirit which is unfortunately common, refrain from disturbing these people, so long as the depredations are carried on elsewhere. The palpable existence of this evil has induced the legislature to arm the magistracy with a stringent power for calling upon such suspected persons, when duly brought up by the police, to shew that they have some means of livelihood, and, in default of that, to give security for good

behaviour, detaining them in custody until the security is given. The power needs to be sparingly and cautiously exercised, lest an undue power should be indirectly placed in the hands of the police. It is exercised, however, in many cases greatly to the benefit of rural society.

In several provinces there are nomadic gypsy tribes who, having a quiet demeanour externally, are yet skilful and daring thieves. They wander about, and settle down like a small flight of locusts, on any piece of waste ground that may be available; and the neighbours soon find their property slipping away from them bit by bit. Here again the legislature has wisely empowered the executive to take effective steps for restraining these criminal tribes, for reclaiming them from predatory habits which they follow because they know no better, for settling them down in fixed dwellings on cultivated lands and for practically teaching them the lessons of honest industry. These measures have already been blessed with some results, and may with considerate persistency be crowned with full success ultimately.

The kidnapping, purchasing or otherwise obtaining of children of both sexes for vicious and wicked purposes, being discovered to prevail in some places, the Government and the legislature were constrained to adopt special measures for eradicating or at least for checking this hateful evil.

Forgery was once a common crime, and was regarded by Natives as comparatively venial. It still exists, though doubtless diminished, as improvements in the judicial and executive administration restrict the opportunities for its commission. Of late years extensive forgeries of the Government currency notes have been perpetrated with extraordinary skill and boldness.

Adultery among the humbler classes is not uncommon, and is punished by the criminal law under British rule, but not with the same severity as under Native rule. Probably the Natives blame the Government for not inflicting severer

punishments, forgetting that excessive severity is seldom efficacious in offences of this description. The revengeful anger aroused by conjugal infidelity, leads to many murders, more perhaps than any other cause.

In places where the herds graze loose and wander over extensive tracts of waste, cattle-stealing is rife, as might be expected, and is one of the plagues of rural society. Necessity of detection produces a race of professional trackers, who, with acuteness almost equal to an instinct, will hunt the tracks of stolen cattle for many miles, judging from marks not distinguishable by the ordinary eye.

Perjury was formerly a flagrant evil in the courts civil and criminal. It is still very frequent but will gradually decrease as the social standard, and the administration of justice, improve. The curious ordeals and forms of oath which used to be practised have been stopped.

The penal or criminal code is in full operation throughout the empire. It is declared by one of the highest of living authorities, Sir James Stephen, to be the best system of criminal law in the world, and it adds renown to the illustrious name of Macaulay. It is supported by an equally excellent criminal procedure, which has been revised from time to time, and is worthy of the great repute of Sir Barnes Peacock and others who laboured for its design and completion.

The police of India has from time immemorial been divided into two parts; first, the regular police, appointed and paid by the State and in all respects forming a part of the civil establishments of the country; secondly, the rural or village police, holding office by a quasi-hereditary tenure, not appointed by the State, but recognised by authority, and paid, not from the public treasury, but by emoluments drawn from the villages, and constituting a local institution of great antiquity throughout the empire. The police has been maintained in this double form under British rule.

The character of the Indian regular police for inefficiency and

corruptness was, for many years, the subject of constant regret and anxiety to conscientious Englishmen concerned in the administration of the country and interested in the welfare of the Natives. With Englishmen, outside official circles, it was a theme of reproach against the Government. The Natives lamented the evil, which was a matter of common notoriety, but were more sparing in their reproaches. They had never known any higher standard for comparison, and were better acquainted with one of the principal causes of the evil, namely the timid unresisting disposition of their own people ever ready to offer encouragement to corruption and temptation to inefficiency. Despite the improvement in its organization during recent years, the police is still very far from being what it ought to be. On the introduction of British rule the Government formed its police on the model of that existing under Native rule, which would, it was hoped, prove suitable to the peculiarities of the country. In fact, however, police administration was one of the weakest parts of Native rule, and the instrument, formed on its pattern, broke to pieces in the hands of the British magistrates. Service in the police has always been unpopular with Natives of superior stamp, and men of character avoided entering it. Men of ability rarely entered it, except with the intention of making an unlawful fortune within a short time, risking the chance of such detection as would lead to personal punishment, but quite prepared for dismissal. The chances were that when a man had reaped gains during a brief sunshine of impunity there would be enough of detection to warrant his discharge from the service on moral conviction of dishonesty, but not sufficient proof for bringing him to judicial punishment. When the heads were thus evilly inclined, the body of the police was corrupt throughout, each man being bad after his kind. They committed divers acts of oppression, and they sometimes extorted confessions by torture. The scale of pay was low, being much the same as that which had prevailed under Native rule. It was not sufficiently remembered that if

men of inferior status possess power and are lowly paid, they are sure to eke out their income by illicit gains.

There were but very few European officials in the country, and it was impossible to detach any of them for the supervision of the police alone. Elaborate rules were framed for regulating the conduct of the police in the repression and detection of crime. But such codes of rules were like skeletons, destitute of any capacity for vital efficacy; it was impossible to make these dry bones live. In a large and populous district there were one or two European magistrates who had a general supervision over the police administration among many other things; they did their best, but that was little indeed under the circumstances. The people were apathetic in demanding redress for injuries, in reporting crime and in bearing testimony. They would condone even grievous wrongs, disavow the losses of property which they had suffered, and withhold all assistance from their neighbours in similar plights, rather than undergo the trouble of attending at police offices and criminal courts. A similar disposition was evinced by the landowners, who were specially charged by law with the duty of assisting the regular police and without whose support it was difficult to enlist the hearty co-operation of the village police. During the troubles through which the country had passed antecedently to British rule, the landowners would first band themselves together to resist robbery and plunder. Next they learnt to regulate the mischief, to take it into their own hands and to become abettors, protecting themselves, but conniving at the spoliation of the general public. These habits, even if checked on the introduction of a settled rule, still survived for many years. The British officers found that criminals had friends not only among the police but also among the landowners. Some crimes were so overt, like murder in broad daylight, or the descent of armed ruffians upon a village, that they could not fail to be reported. In various ways much crime was brought to light, and of that a certain proportion was proved and duly

punished. Many criminals were brought to justice, enough to fill, even to crowd, the jails. At the best, however, much crime was undetected, many criminals were at large, and many bad characters with no honest livelihood, and no profession except that of crime, lurked about all parts of the country. Many an earnest English officer, struggling in vain to rectify these evils, felt like a buffalo ramming its horns against a wall, or a bird beating its wings against a cage.

The first efforts at reform in organization were made in the cities of Calcutta and Bombay. European officers of status and capacity were appointed to the sole duty of supervision; superior grades of Native officers were instituted, and a complete constabulary was organized. The area under the city police is limited in extent, but is densely peopled; affairs are conducted very much under the public eye, and are exposed to the gaze of enlightened criticism. Hence, the conduct of the police is tolerably good, and its administration comparatively satisfactory.

A reform on a large scale, however, was made by the Madras Government, who organized the police for the whole of their territories after the best English model, appointed a Native constabulary with superior grades, and placed European officers to command them in every district. In these proceedings Mr. (now Sir William) Robinson took a distinguished part. Subsequently in Oudh similar steps were taken under the active supervision of the late Colonel Herbert Bruce. Then a commission was appointed to sit in Calcutta, consisting of selected officers representing every division of the empire, to prepare a scheme for the reorganization of the police everywhere. There were discussions whether the new force should not be independent of the magistrate of the district, but the police was ordered to be a department, separate indeed, still under the control and at the command of the magistrate. This system has been for some years in force throughout the empire. The regular police is a constabulary with much the same designa-

tions as those current in England. It is a department with many European officers, one or two of whom are stationed in every district. The magistrate has thus at his elbow a qualified European officer, whose attention is devoted to police affairs, and who can proceed instantly to the scene of every grave occurrence that may be reported. It is the presence of the officer on the spot immediately after the events, which ensures detection and prevents malpractices. The superior grades consist of Native officials well trained, fairly educated, and comparatively highly paid, who look to promotion, have character and repute to maintain, and dread losing their places. Below them are grades of Natives, among whom the best men have some motive for serving well and faithfully, namely the hope of being chosen for advancement to the upper grades. When the superior Native officials are comparatively free from corruption, the subordinates become so of necessity.

The general character of the police force is not at all military, and the authorities have been anxious to maintain its civil status. The men are subjected to some sort of drill and wear uniform but do not usually carry arms, some of them, however, are regularly armed, and guard jails and treasuries. At some points on the frontiers there are special bodies of police with a military organization. In the country generally the police cannot be depended upon to fight, when any serious disturbance threatens, and on such occasions some troops must be called into action.

Although much improvement has resulted from the new organization, it were vain to imagine that the old evils and objections, already described, have disappeared; they have, in fact, been only mitigated. The pay of the constables, though not liberal, is yet as much as can be afforded in reference to the pay of the Native soldiery. The salaries of the superior Native police officers, though much better than formerly, are not sufficient to procure Natives of the best type for the work. The service in the police is not so much esteemed as that in the fiscal and administrative departments. The Native police

officers, though much raised above the former standard, are not yet equal in character and status to the corresponding grades in other civil branches. Although some meritorious Natives have received considerable promotion in the police, the superior appointments demanding the exercise of promptitude and energy, must for the present, as a rule, be filled by Europeans.

The village police or watch was not for the most part so innately vicious as the old regular police. Being men of the villages and holding office usually by an hereditary tenure, the watchmen had some understanding with, and some fellow-feeling for the villagers. But they sometimes became the actual agents in crime when the landholders being badly disposed began to collude with criminals. In such cases the village police were nothing but an additional evil to a much vexed neighbourhood. Their dues were imperfectly regulated and their little income was precarious, so that they were obliged to eke it out by other work, to the detriment of their proper duties. Often their subsistence depended on a piece of land, allotted to them in virtue of their office, and much of their time would be spent in cultivating it. Thus the police service rendered by them was often little more than nominal. On the whole, this rural police, though of ancient origin and containing the germ of a valuable institution, was for many years inefficient. During recent years, however, measures have been taken to remedy these defects in the village police in every province of the empire, and to place it by law on a permanent basis and in a state of efficiency. Its emoluments are fixed and secured, its duties are defined; it is kept separate from the officials of the regular police, but is bound to fulfil their behests, and to co-operate with them in every possible way. It is required to make reports of every crime or unusual occurrence with due punctuality. Though very far from the degree of efficiency which might be desired, it is still much improved. Its conduct is of much importance to the well-being and comfort of the rural population.

The British Government in India has always found it necessary to regulate the possession, manufacture and ~~importation~~ ^{sale} of arms, in its own territories, for obvious reasons relating to the public safety. On the conquest or annexation of provinces, one of the first measures usually adopted was a requisition to the people to give up their arms, which they did without demur. The disarming, as it was termed, has been effected with tolerable completeness throughout the empire. Many arms are, however, still secreted; they are occasionally forthcoming, though rusty from disuse, whenever trouble threatens, and would be largely produced if any general disorder came to pass. No restrictions are imposed in the Native States, save such as may have been arranged by diplomatic negotiation. Many Natives of rank, British subjects, are licensed to carry arms; many also of humble station are allowed arms for destroying wild beasts. Europeans, sportsmen and others, have arms in India as elsewhere. Under all these circumstances, it became necessary for the Government to carefully revise the law respecting the importation, the transport and the bearing of arms.

The importation of European arms into India by sea, for Native States, involved several serious considerations. Those Native States, which require such armament, have to make special arrangements with the British Government. All those who need firearms, for legitimate purposes, can obtain them without difficulty. The revised legislation seemed at the time to excite some dissatisfaction, but at present no particular complaint arises. The Government desires to take only such precautions as are necessary, and to carry out even those with all the considerateness that can reasonably be expected.

Reference having thus been made, first to the prevailing crimes, next to the police agency for the repression and detection of crime, it remains only to follow the convicted criminals to their prisons.

The institution of prisons in the modern sense of the term

was but little known practically under Native rule. Many Native States nowadays have prisons in imitation of British rule. But few States, if left to themselves, would have any prison worthy of the name, though they might have dungeons or bastilles. Indeed, resort was had as little as possible to long-termed imprisonment as a form of punishment for ordinary crime. Short confinement with flogging, fines of various sorts, compensation to relatives of murdered men, and mutilation in cases of grave robbery, were the descriptions of punishment usually in vogue. Capital punishment, though not unknown, was seldom inflicted.

On the introduction of British rule, a prison was established in every magisterial district, and was constructed according to the lights of that time, much on the model of Native houses and structures which always are wanting in ventilation. The prisoners were received into what seemed better accommodation than free men of their class possessed, and their diet was fully equal to that of the ordinary poor. Fetters and shackles were used to prevent them from overpowering the scanty guards. They were brought daily beyond the prison precincts in gangs, to work in road-making, and for many years the local roads near the principal towns and stations were maintained by prison labour. In the arrangements for cooking and for messing a reasonable consideration was shewn to caste prejudices. There was no special sanitation, yet there was neither misery nor squalor. The magistrate of the district was solely responsible for the prison, but no professional and scientific supervision was undertaken. Little was attempted in the direction of the numerous humane refinements and reforms, which are now deemed indispensable in the management of prisons. There was nothing to cause scandal, and there was no distressful hardship beyond that which is incidental to crowded and ill-ventilated wards in a hot climate. Life prisoners were transported across sea to the straits of Malacca and other settlements beyond the confines of India. The voyage across "the black-water," as the ocean is

called, had for many years an ominous though salutary sound to the ear of the evil-doer.

Gradually public opinion, in India as elsewhere, awoke to the belief that for prisoners something more than mere incarceration is morally obligatory. And within the present generation, reforms have been introduced into the prisons of India, which, though still lagging behind, are advancing towards the same end as that to which prison reformers in England and elsewhere look forward. The district prisons have been improved in construction, especially as regards ventilation. Many central prisons have been erected on the best-known models, and to them have been drafted from the district gaols all prisoners save those sentenced to short terms; some of these prisons may be fairly designated as fine structures. The outdoor labour on the roads was considered injurious to the health and discipline of the men, liable to petty abuses, and wasteful in respect to the labour of the guards with the scattered gangs, therefore, indoor labour within the prison precincts was substituted. The men were concentrated upon organized industries and upon manufactures by hand or by machinery according to opportunities. At most of the prisons the entire clothing of the inmates is now made; many useful articles, not ordinarily produced in the neighbourhood, are manufactured for local consumption, and even for exportation. The prison-made carpets, for instance, both of the rougher and of the more ornate sorts, have some reputation in the market. In some of the larger central prisons, machinery is extensively worked for manufactures in cotton and other fibres; printing, lithography and other practical arts are carried on. The sale proceeds of prison-made articles defray a considerable portion of the expenses of the prisons. Next, the scale and composition of the diet were further improved, and a liberal allowance of warm clothing, to obviate the effect of the chills and the changes of temperature incidental to hot climates, was ordered. The rules for ironing and fettering were revised in a considerate spirit. A careful distinction was observed between those sentenced

to hard labour and those not so sentenced, and a partial attempt at classification of the prisoners was made, in order that persons imprisoned for light offences might not be made worse by contact with hardened criminals. Rules were made whereby the prisoners might, by good conduct, obtain a slight reduction in the terms of their imprisonment and so have some motive for self-reformation. Arrangements were made to afford elementary education to all prisoners who could in any way be made to learn. A complete system of sanitation was enforced and medical officers were placed in executive charge of the prisoners under the supervision of the magistrates. In every province of the empire an Inspector-General of prisons was appointed to ensure uniformity of practice.

The prisoners, sentenced to transportation for long terms or for life, are now concentrated at the settlement of Port Blair in the Andaman islands in the Bay of Bengal. From the first, arrangements were made in that convict settlement to afford the men some opportunities for colonizing in the island. It became apparent, however, that the conditions of colonization were being rendered too easy, and were liable to abuse, as impairing the deterrent effect of transportation. Special measures have subsequently been taken to ensure that the men shall undergo a course of complete discipline as prisoners, before being admitted to any privileges.

Reformatories are established at central places for the moral reformation of juvenile offenders who have been sentenced to terms of imprisonment. But the further and equally important principle that the magistracy should have the power of taking up and sending to reformatories, children of the class known as "street arabs," who are without parents or relatives or ostensible guardians and are manifestly growing up in vice and crime, is not practically carried out, though in theory its justice and expediency are recognised.

There are, however, many faults, still perceptible, which must be removed before the prisons in India can be approved by

reformers. In many of the prisons the mortality is occasionally lamentable; in few would the sanitary returns and the statistics of sickness indicate permanent salubrity; and the general death-rate among the prisoners in the aggregate must be regarded as high. The ventilation, despite all the attention which has been bestowed upon it, is still defective in many prisons; the sleeping wards are generally too full at night and sometimes are quite overcrowded. The classification of the prisoners, according to the character of their crimes or offences, is carried into effect during the night in the wards, but not during the day when the people are at their labour, or at the best is observed imperfectly during the working hours. Solitary confinement is but rarely enforced as a necessary part of the course to be undergone; though it is sometimes ordered as an additional punishment for breaches of prison discipline. It has not as yet been found possible to provide that the prisoners shall sleep each man in a separate compartment. This reform was earnestly advocated by Mary Carpenter during her visits to India. Though many prisoners, while in prison, learn much that may be useful to them in leading an honest life after their release, still the arrangements for their education and their moral discipline are defective. At the best their physical condition will not appear good, if judged by the standards prevailing in advanced countries. While many prisoners gain in weight and strength during their incarceration, many on the other hand languish and sicken under the sense of constraint and confinement, so distressing to their nature.

CHAPTER XII.

LAND-TAX AND LANDED TENURES.

Nature of land-tax—The tax is a portion of the rent, and a percentage on gross value of the produce—Immense work of field survey and record of rights—Property in land created or recognised by British Government—Value of such property—Fee-simple estates belonging to Europeans—Permanent settlement in Bengal and elsewhere—Importance of village communities in northern India—Tenures in Madras and Bombay—Antiquity of village officers—Indebtedness of peasant proprietors in some districts—Tenant-right—Privileges of occupancy tenants—Tenants at will—Protection accorded to cultivators.

THIS main branch of the Indian revenue embraces questions of interest, social, moral or economic, which may be discussed quite apart from fiscal details.

Controversy still hovers round the definition of the land-tax. After protracted discussion whether this tax is of the nature of rent or of revenue, and after disputation affecting the nomenclature more than the essence of the case, the best opinion is that the tax really consists of a certain portion taken by the State from the rent. The accepted definition of rent is the profit of the cultivation after the cost of husbandry has been defrayed, and after the subsistence of the cultivator and his family has been provided. Thus out of the rent there is a portion taken by the State, usually much the smaller, while the remaining portion, usually much the larger, remains with the people. That portion which is taken by the State may be regarded as revenue. The same principle doubtless obtained in theory under Native rule and in well-ordered Native States received observance. But in many of such States, as foreign or intestine troubles caused depletion of the treasury, the ministers would absorb more and more of the profit or rent, till nothing but

bare subsistence was left to the landowner. Whatever may, or may not, be the shortcomings of the British Government, it has set up on unshakeable foundations the principle that the land-tax shall absorb only a moderate percentage of the rent or profit of the cultivation. In the vast majority of instances this principle has been followed; there may yet be some instances where too much of the rent is taken for the State; but such instances when discovered are gradually rectified.

Calculations have been made which tend to shew that too narrow a margin of profit remains to the peasant proprietor. It is difficult to frame detailed calculations of this nature, which involve so many small particulars of peasant life. But revised calculations indicate that the proper margin must really exist. The value of the produce of the different sorts of land is known; and a reference to this and to other broad considerations shews that the land-tax represents but a small percentage of the proceeds. The following table, taken from a recent publication by Mr. H. S. Cunningham, embodies the best information recently collected.

Provinces.	Percentage of land revenue on estimated gross value of crops.
Panjab.	5.6
North-western Provinces and Oudh	7.8
Bengal	3.9
Central Provinces	3.8
Behar	4.6
Bombay	7.6
Madras.	6.3

In all the provinces of British India excepting Bengal and Behar, the Government has undertaken to make a detailed settlement, consisting of an assessment of the land-tax either upon every field separately, or upon each village or parish after a detailed examination of all the fields in it. For this purpose a scientific survey has been executed of the outer boundaries of every village or parish and of all physical features within it. Further, a survey has been executed of

every field, in some provinces rough but approximately accurate, in other provinces with something near scientific accuracy. Regarding every field, there are entered in a register the names of the owner, the occupant, the subowner, the lessee, or any one who has an interest in it, superior or inferior, also the rent, and the revenue if separately assessed. Regarding every village or parish there is a summary or abstract of the tenures, the rights, the customs, the rent-roll, the land-tax. This minute and comprehensive operation is termed the "Record of Rights;" it shews varieties according to diversity of circumstance in the several provinces, but in its main features it is uniform for them all. It is thus the Domesday-book of British India; its proportions and details probably exceed those of any similar work undertaken by any Government in any age or country, so vast is the cultivated and cultivable area to which it relates, so numerous is the population which it affects. It constitutes the most laborious of all the tasks essayed by the British in India, and this enormous work has been accomplished within forty years, that is between 1835 and 1875, or in a space of time hardly exceeding one generation of men. To it has been devoted some of the best civil talent at the disposal of the Government, and its successful accomplishment sheds lustre on the memory of several eminent men departed, on the names of Mertins Bird, Thomason, Lawrence, Wingate, Goldsmid, Priestley.

Not only has the initial work of the field survey been so vast, but the keeping up of such a survey, and the revising of it yearly according to the personal changes of ownership or occupancy, to the reclamation of the waste or to other changes in the cultivable area, even to modification in the boundaries of fields,—represent a never-ceasing round of work. Thus the constituted village accountant is the notary for all transfers temporary or permanent and for all devolutions of property in land. The village accounts revised annually and filed in several public offices constitute a notarial register for

every village. From this system, however, are excepted the territories of Bengal proper and Behar where landed property is very valuable, and where transfers offering temptations to fraud are often effected.

It is upon a consideration of all the circumstances, elucidated by this field survey, that the land-tax has been assessed. The assessing officer duly considers the varieties of soil so numerous and yet so well known to the peasantry, the crops raised in rotation upon every plot of ground, the value of the produce according to the average of yield and of prices, the presence or absence of artificial irrigation, the distance or the proximity of markets, the advantages or disadvantages in respect of roads and communications, the fiscal history of the neighbourhood, the habits of the people, the bearing of the calculations thus deduced upon the previous assessment, with the view of determining whether the landowners can, or cannot, bear enhancement and whether they are, or are not, entitled to reduction.

There may be discussions whether the technical designations of the various forms of property which exist in the empire have been rightly rendered under given circumstances, whether the British Government is correctly or incorrectly styled the universal landlord, in all the provinces with some exceptions, whether it has inherited from preceding dynasties a manorial and seignorial position or whether it has receded from such position. There is no doubt, however, that the Government has either conferred *de novo* on the people or else recognised authoritatively as belonging to them, something which is equivalent to property in land. There may be dispute whether under Native rule such a property did exist, or whether if existing it was formally recognised. Certainly it was but too often beaten down, battered and defaced in troublous times, like standing crops by hail or thunderstorm. Still the best opinion is that it struggled on with an unbroken though a precarious existence. At all events under British rule it has been either created afresh, or confirmed by a recognition which has resuscitated a more than

pristine vitality. Throughout the empire the land is possessed by men who can inherit, lease, transfer, sell or otherwise dispose of it, subject only to one condition, namely that of paying the land-tax. The property, with its privileges and liabilities, then devolves on the transferees, without any question on the part of the State. So long as the people pay the tax, which is payable in cash, they are absolutely free from any interference on the part of the State respecting the raising, reaping or storing of the grain, and they make their own arrangements uncontrolled. They have the benefit of any improvements effected, or of any capital laid out by themselves. They present the money due from them and no enquiries are made regarding their affairs.

Certainly, their land is liable to be sold by the State in order to meet arrears of unpaid land-tax or other cesses upon the land. But, after all, this is no uncommon proviso, for in the case of other taxes, the property taxed is liable to seizure in event of default. Sale of the land is, however, enforced only in the last resort; personal property, excepting always the implements of agriculture, is first attached, temporary leasing to another party is tried, so that the property may have a chance of recovering itself, in practice sale is very rarely ordered. When the process is adopted, it is fenced round with numerous provisions, prescribed by law, and framed in order to ensure that the owner shall receive due notice, and shall be otherwise protected; and he has his legal remedy if any one of these provisions shall be neglected.

Notwithstanding the creation or recognition of such property, the arrangement may be vitiated if the land-tax be fixed so high as to render the property valueless, or even to impair its value. But the land-tax is not so fixed; on the contrary it is assessed at such rates as leave a margin of real profit to the owner. If by any chance it is found to have been fixed too high according to this principle, steps are always taken for its reduction.

Although the generic features of landed property, as above set forth, are much the same throughout the empire, there are yet several specific varieties. The most perfect form is that which has been accorded by the State to European owners in the Himalayas and in the Nilgiris, tea-planters, and coffee-planters. In these cases the land-tax is either "redeemed" by the owner, that is, compounded for, on the payment of a certain sum down, or else is fixed in perpetuity at what is called locally a "quit-rent," that is an almost nominal rate. The owner then considers himself to have what is called locally the "fee-simple." These designations are here given as they are actually used, without reference to their correctness, or otherwise, according to the English law whence they are drawn. There may be other varieties in this tenure; but on the whole the European owners will probably admit that they have a complete and satisfactory title.

The next tenure is that where the land-tax is fixed for ever, without any possibility of enhancement, by what is termed locally, "the perpetual limitation of the demand." This prevails throughout the provinces of Bengal, Behar and Benares. With it also may be classed the separate "Zemindaris," or estates existing in several parts of the empire. The owners, who hold under this tenure, resemble landlords in the United Kingdom. Their land-tax is generally light and their property is valuable, being made the subject of large pecuniary transactions, in the same way as in the most advanced countries. It is by means of such transactions that European indigo-planters have become possessed, either by ownership or by long leases, of so many extensive estates. As the families of the Native landlords have increased, and as subdivision is still the prevailing rule of Hindu inheritance, primogeniture being the exception, the allotment of shares among the members has often proved difficult and troublesome. The process is known locally by the name of "partition," and has formed the subject of elaborate legislation. Where, as in parts of eastern Bengal

and northern Behar, the tax, originally moderate, has become extremely light when spread over the cultivation which has increased within the limits of the estates, these tenures are but little inferior to the "fee-simple" tenures just described. The landlords have under them tenants with many varieties of tenancy.

Resembling them in most respects, save one, are the landlords of Orissa, of Oudh, of Sind, of the Central Provinces, and of other "Zemindari" estates in several parts of the empire. The point of difference is this, that the land-tax is fixed not in perpetuity but for a long term of twenty or thirty years. The landlords of the Central Provinces are for the most part petty in degree, though still above the rank of peasant proprietors.

The next tenure is that of the peasant proprietors of the greater part of the North-western Provinces and the Panjab, whose land-tax is also fixed for long terms of twenty or thirty years. In their case there is a peculiarity in that they are, for the purposes of land revenue, grouped together in villages or parishes. As the men are usually descended from a common stock and form a cousinhood, they are legally held to be a "village community," or a "coparcenary" consisting of "copartners," or, as they call themselves, a "brotherhood." The manner in which this form of society arises in India and in other countries is described in Sir Henry Maine's work on village communities. The village was originally the proprietary unit throughout India; though in some parts it has subsequently disappeared. The compact front it presented to martial invasion and to armed spoliation has been the theme of much eloquent description. The State assesses the land-tax upon the village in the aggregate; the members of the brotherhood then assess upon themselves their quotas of the assessed amount, each man according to his share or holding, with the sanction of the assessing authorities. If any member shall thereafter fail to pay his quota, the other members are liable for it, with the proviso that they may take up the holding of the defaulter.

There is thus a solidarity between all those who belong to the fraternity; and this is the arrangement so well known in northern India by the name of "joint responsibility." It is condemned by some, as leading to hardship and other complications. By other authorities the hardship has been denied and the advantages to the brotherhood have been urged; the practice is defended in respect of these considerations and in deference to established usage. It has the effect, among other consequences, of keeping the lands of each village in the hands of a certain clan, and renders the ingress of strangers very difficult. In many places the communities will not allow any of their members to transfer holdings to strangers, while transfers to members of the village clan or of kindred clans are common. Nevertheless, holdings have often been transferred to strangers, especially Native bankers who acquire possession under mortgages; and sometimes such transfers give birth to feuds. On the whole, the property is effectively valuable, in proof of which, among other signs, may be adduced the fact that moneys, large in the aggregate, are advanced, year after year, by Native bankers to these landowners on the security of their proprietary tenure. The men are peasant proprietors cultivating a part at least of their holdings, leasing the remainder to cultivators as tenants.

Each of these village communities has a quantity of waste land included in its area, which waste is the property of the brotherhood. Every member of the brotherhood has an interest in this common waste according to his share or his holding. In the densely peopled parts of the country, as the territory between the Ganges and the Jamna or the upper part of the Panjab, the waste entirely belongs to the village communities. In other territories, as the central Panjab, where the waste is extensive, the communities have a liberal allowance of such waste made to them; and the remaining waste is reserved to the State.

Resembling these northern proprietors in many respects, are

the men who hold under the ryotwari, or ryot's, tenure in the Presidencies of Madras and Bombay; in which category also may be included the landholders of many parts of British Burma and of Assam. The "ryot" of the State, as he is technically termed in Madras and Bombay, is virtually a peasant proprietor of the land he holds. He cannot be interfered with in his tenure while he pays his land revenue, and he has a heritable and transferable right therein. He may have some waste land also allotted to him; he has facilities for giving up to the State any field he does not care to keep and for obtaining fresh plots from the State; otherwise the unallotted waste belongs to the State. Lands are, however, assigned by the State to the ryots, as grouped into village communities, for pasturage and for woodcutting. The land-tax is assessed not on the village in the gross, but upon every field or upon every holding in detail. Each "ryot" pays separately his land-tax to the State, without any concern in the affairs of those who own lands in the same village with him. That the tenure amounts to property in land and comprises a valuable security, is in the Bombay Presidency attested by the fact of large sums of money being lent by Native money-lenders and bankers to the "ryots" on this security, which practice has grown greatly during the present generation since the introduction of the current settlements made for thirty years, and has in part conduced to the indebtedness of the peasant proprietary of the Deccan.

In northern, western and southern India, alike in those provinces where "joint responsibility" prevails and where it does not, the ancient organization of the "village" is preserved. There is the village headman, who is the medium for collecting the quotas due from each landowner in the village, who in some districts is vested with petty police powers, whose office is usually hereditary, whose position is officially recognised, and who has legally defined responsibilities for the reporting of crime and for assisting the police. There is the village accountant, much better trained and educated at present than

he ever was under Native rule or during the earlier times of British rule. There is the village watchman forming part of a rural constabulary of which the status and emoluments have been much ameliorated. There are also village servants, the blacksmith, the shoemaker and harness-maker, the weaver, the barber, the potter, who are members of hereditary trades, and are very interesting to all who study the industrial arts of India.

The indebtedness of the peasant proprietors in some parts of the empire has caused and still causes anxiety. Nothing can be more disappointing to those who have done their best to assess the land-tax moderately, and have so assessed it according to all available data, in order, among other things, that the peasant proprietors may live in manly independence, untrammelled with debts, than to find that these men are nevertheless but too often burdened with these obligations. At first sight it will be inferred that the land-tax must be too high, but enquiry generally fails to shew that such is the case. The fact is that many of these men have a thriftless and improvident disposition. On occasions of marriages and social festivities they habitually incur expenses beyond their means, and the village-banker is at hand to offer temptation. The commonest experience in the world shews that any one may become involved in debt if once he begins to incur charges which he cannot immediately defray. It is in this way that these men become indebted, once they yield to the seductions of the money-lender. In seasons of drought, they may reasonably obtain assistance and then the money-lender exercises a useful function; and at most times they may reasonably obtain some accommodation, the amount of which is speedily cleared off. But once they go beyond this point, they are snared in the toils of the money-lender's books, and as he prefers to keep them there, he takes care that they shall not easily escape. He charges interest simple and compound till the victim becomes confused, and signs a fresh bond for the renewal of the debt,

principal and interest together, with but little insight into the method by which the account is made up.

In the Deccan, the peasant proprietors having been first rendered somewhat extravagant by some seasons of inflated prosperity and then reduced by some unpropitious years, ran largely into debt from which extrication was difficult. In their embarrassment they turned violently upon the money-lenders as the authors of their misfortune, and some disturbance ensued. Enquiry, by a special commission, shewed that the evil had not proceeded to any irremediable length and that not more than one-third of the peasantry had become seriously involved, two-thirds being still comparatively free. Legislation was undertaken for removing the evil which, after all abatements, was proved to be considerable. Additional facilities are afforded for the settlement of the debts; conciliation courts and arbitration tribunals have been established. Authority is given to the judges to examine, more closely and equitably than before, the particulars of which the debts were composed, to separate the principal from the interest, which is to be reduced to a fair and moderate amount. Those peasants who became seriously involved, have suffered much misery which has evoked the kindly sympathy of philanthropists and reformers in England, and has been eloquently described by Florence Nightingale.

The regret felt respecting the indebtedness would be mitigated if the debts had been incurred for agricultural improvements, such as the construction of wells for irrigation; but they are generally not incurred for such purposes. The Government, however, has always made advances in cash to peasant proprietors for the construction of wells, and other small works of irrigation. The people do not largely apply for these advances in ordinary times, but whenever they do receive such accommodation they are punctual and honest in repayment. In times of drought, however, they are forward and eager in applying for advances, which are readily granted by the authorities. Some thousands of wells, in various parts

of the empire, have by these means been constructed during the recent famines. Recently there has been legislation for the purposes of facilitating the grant of advances by the State for agricultural and other material improvements, upon a large as well as a small scale. In some cases landowners have availed themselves of these advantages, but generally the landholding community has been backward and hesitating in this respect.

The liability to enhancement of the land-tax, after the expiry of even a long term of years, does detract somewhat from the value of the property. Lands of which the tax is settled for thirty years, though valuable, are not nearly so valuable as lands where it is settled for ever. Still, the landowner, seeing the carefulness and moderation with which the assessment has been made, and understanding the data on which it is founded, feels confidence that the same principles will be observed at the next assessment. He knows, indeed, that after enjoying for at least the term of settlement the entire benefit of all improvements he makes, he may have to surrender some portion of it to the State at the next settlement in the shape of enhanced assessment, still he is assured that the greater part will be left to him. Nevertheless, there are undoubted evils in the system of periodical revision; as the end of a current settlement draws near, the people are anxious and doubtful, and their energies are somewhat impaired. The progress of improvement is retarded for a time, as the outlay of agricultural capital is postponed till the new assessment shall have been completed.

These and other considerations have moved the Government to debate whether the principle of the permanent settlement of Bengal should not be extended to some parts of northern India. At one time a measure of this character seemed very near to promulgation; the Government paused, however; arguments on the other side were urged; and the prospect of any such extension seems now to be remote. It is felt that in some parts of Bengal and Behar the permanently settled land

revenue has become extremely light and almost nominal, having been assessed for ever on lands then imperfectly cultivated, but subsequently brought under complete cultivation. A rate of incidence, which may have been reasonable at the time, is now unreasonably light; thus it is felt that there has been an unwarrantable sacrifice of the State income. This is no reason for infringing upon the permanent settlement, which is inviolable wherever it has been made. But it is a reason for hesitating to introduce such a settlement into any tracts, save those which are cultivated to the utmost, so far as can be reasonably foreseen. The question then arises as to whether any, and if so, what, lands are thus cultivated at present. There may indeed be few or none such, regard being had to the effect of railways and other works of material improvement. Hence the Government may doubt whether, having respect to the imperative interests of the public revenue, it can afford to extend the permanent settlement, much as that extension might on other grounds be desired. Endeavours, however, have been made, perhaps are still being made, to educe some principles whereby the future revisions of assessment shall be regulated, so that the landowners may know as nearly as possible beforehand what to expect on these occasions.

Tenant-right, by which is meant the status of the occupant or cultivator, below the grade of peasant proprietor, has formed a vexed question in several parts of India. The permanent settlement in Bengal is held by some authorities to have made either no provision, or very inadequate provision, for the status of tenants, occupants or cultivators subordinate to the landlord. Under the circumstances of Bengal there long existed a body of opinion adverse to tenant-right, though this feeling has probably abated of late years. In the North-western Provinces and in the Panjab there has always existed a sentiment in favour of tenant-right. In Oudh the question has been keenly contested and, after some controversy, much has been done for the tenantry. In the Central Provinces, their

position has been gradually improved step by step. In Sind their status is still under consideration with a view to improvement. In the southern and western parts of the empire, that is in the Presidencies of Madras and Bombay, no very large questions of this nature have arisen, except in the Concan, where the disputes between the Khote landlords and their subholders have been recently determined by legislation.

In Bengal twenty years have elapsed since a legislative enactment was passed, with which the name of Edward Currie will ever be honourably associated. Thereby the principle was established that a tenant, who had been uninterrupted in occupancy for twelve years, shall not, in the absence of specific agreement, be liable to have his rent arbitrarily or summarily enhanced, and that if the landlord shall demand an enhancement to which the tenant does not agree, such enhancement shall not be enforced without an order of a court of justice. In other words, a landlord cannot ordinarily enhance the rent of such a tenant without bringing a suit; and this necessarily operates as a check upon the landlord and a protection to the tenant. It is theoretically possible for the landlords to evade this enactment by not allowing any new tenant to remain as long as twelve years, or by removing tenants as their respective terms of years approach termination, but practically this, if it has happened occasionally, happens rarely. Generally the landlords allow their good tenants to run on undisturbed, and thus to rise, one after another, from the status of a tenant at will without rights to that of an occupancy tenant with rights as above described. Already the number of such occupancy tenants in Bengal is considerable, and will increase from time to time.

In Behar, the same law prevails; the people, however, avail themselves of it but little. From various local causes, the tenantry though physically active and industrious, are morally depressed; they probably have not the spirit, certainly not the power, to assert their rights. Among these causes are the density of the population, and the multiplicity of the people demanding to

cultivate upon any terms, however meagre, which they can obtain. Thus the peasantry in Behar are for the most part tenants at will, without any rights; their condition is not worthy of the fertile and thriving territory which is cultivated by their industry, and has called forth indignant remarks from some officers of much local experience. The circumstance has caused anxiety to the authorities; improvement was retarded by the famine, but some measures of amelioration will doubtless be found practicable, though the evils, however manifest, are difficult of speedy remedy. Beneficial changes, however, in their condition have of late been brought about.

In the North-western Provinces and in the Panjab, when the settlement of the land revenue was made for terms of twenty and thirty years and when the rights of all the proprietors were recorded, special consideration was given to the status of the tenantry, who form a considerable class, notwithstanding that the country there is so largely held by peasant proprietors. The tenants were broadly divided into two main classes, first those who had rights on the presumption of their having had possession for a long time, or from father to son, whence they were locally called "hereditary;" secondly, those who had not such a status, who were tenants at will, being locally called "non-hereditary." The "hereditary" tenants were held to possess much the same rights as the occupancy tenants above described, and they comprised a large proportion of the entire tenantry. Subsequently, questions having arisen regarding the operation and the validity of these settlements in the Panjab, an enactment was passed by the legislature which virtually confirmed these arrangements. Laws of a similar nature regarding the relations of the agricultural classes towards each other have been enacted for the North-western Provinces and Oudh. But in Oudh it seems to be held by some authorities that there yet remains more to be effected before full justice is done to the peasantry.

Thus, the position of a considerable portion of the tenantry

in northern India has been hedged with many safeguards. The occupancy tenant is effectually protected against undue exaction and from interference or eviction, so long as he pays the customary or the stipulated rent. It is generally admitted that he may inherit the lands, but not that he may improve, sell, transfer or sublet them without the consent of his landlord. Custom, however, varies in many localities, and instances may be found where he can do all these things, and where he differs but little from a sub-proprietor. Probably, as time advances, these several points will be cleared up in his favour; and the logical sequence will be to promote him gradually to the position of a sub-proprietor who may do what he sees fit with the land, having the benefit of all improvements, so long as he pays the stipulated rent, the landlord retaining a voice in all improvements or alterations, lest the land should be in any way injured. In any case, it appears to be necessary that the superior proprietor should have at least this much of concurrent authority over his own land.

There remains, however, for the "occupancy" tenants a difficult question which seems to be still far from solution, namely this, can the landlord enhance their rents? and if he can, then what principle is to guide the enhancement? In some places, for instance eastern Bengal, these tenants once affirmed that their rents should not be raised. They even stirred up agrarian disturbances and agitation, in support of claims which really were to that effect. The landlords claimed, and will probably continue to claim, some share in the proceeds of the increased value and yield of the produce of their estates, which is locally termed "the unearned increment." Such disputes may be carried before the courts of justice; but the judges can decide only by the custom of the neighbourhood, often a moot point, or by other dubious data. It is much to be desired that some principle should be evolved, commanding the acquiescence of all concerned, and be embodied in a legislative enactment. The Government in Bengal has

for some years been engaged in paving the way for such legislation.

Whether the measures in favour of occupancy tenants be considered sufficient or not, there remains a class of tenants, numerous in many provinces, and numerically preponderating in some provinces, who are tenants at will, in the technical sense. In some places such men are of long standing on the estate; in many places they are migratory persons who do other work besides cultivation, and who are free to move and to change. Even their position, however, has been guarded by many just provisions; their rent may be enhanced indeed, but not during the currency of the agricultural year, nor without adequate notice. If they are to move, timely notice and warning must be given them; they may be evicted for failure to pay rent, but the eviction must be regulated by a procedure framed for their protection against oppression. If process of distraint or attachment be issued, their implements and plough-cattle are exempted.

Under Native rule the rent was very often paid in kind, because the revenue itself was so paid; where the revenue was paid in cash, rents came to be paid in the same way. Under British rule rents are still sometimes paid in kind, but more often in cash, and the tendency towards this mode of payment becomes strengthened from time to time.

Opinions will differ regarding the merits or demerits of what has been, or is being, done regarding tenant-right. At the greatest centre in the empire, Calcutta, the landlord influence, both European and Native, is strong. Many of the Native landlords have evinced a considerate and conciliatory spirit towards the tenantry. Those who incline towards the landlord's view, will probably deem that the law has done enough in this direction. Irrespective of them, however, the majority of the Native community will probably be in favour of the tenantry, and would perhaps welcome any further legislation in the direction of tenant-right. Official opinion may not be

unanimous on the subject, but would probably support the same view. Some European officers, of ability and of special knowledge, consider that all the cultivators, now regarded as tenants at will, should have their rents determined for a long term of years and should not be liable to eviction so long as they duly pay such rent. In Mr. Irvin's interesting book upon rural affairs in Oudh, recently published, and entitled 'The Garden of India,' opinions of this tendency are fully explained and vindicated. It is possible that opinions of this nature may find acceptance more and more, and that the tendency of future changes and of coming legislation will be in this direction.

The Indian Famine Commission in their recently published report clearly indicate an opinion that further legislation is required for the better protection of both occupancy and non-occupancy tenants.

On the whole, the management of the land-tax is the most satisfactory, as it is the most important, part of the administration of British India. Whatever faults may exist in it, they are slight as compared with the merits; whatever shortcomings may still be perceived, they are small relatively to the vast and undoubted achievements. Property in land has been recognised throughout the empire with a practical efficacy unknown before. It has been rendered valuable by equity and moderation in taxation; its devolution has been secured by all the forms and processes exemplified in the most advanced nations. Tenant-right has been established for the better classes of husbandmen, and has been so dealt with that its growth and diffusion among the humbler peasants may be promoted. Thus, the landed system becomes a mainstay of the national stability, and a foundation of popular contentment.

CHAPTER XIII.

REVENUES.

Land revenue—Average rates of its incidence—Tributes and contributions from Native States—Excise—Assessed taxes—Customs—Abolition of import duties on English piece goods—The salt tax—English salt imported—Opium revenue—Objections to it discussed—Stamp revenue—Total of general revenues—Government receipts as contradistinguished from revenue proper—Taxation for local and municipal purposes—Projects for new taxes deprecated.

THE nature of the land revenue has been explained in the preceding chapter. Its average yield may be set down at 21 millions sterling per annum ; though in some years, owing to recovery of arrears, its receipts have exceeded this sum. Its incidence per acre varies considerably, as might be expected, in different provinces, but averages in most parts of the empire, $1\frac{1}{2}$ rupee or 2*s.* 6*d.* per acre unirrigated, and 4 rupees or 8*s.* per acre irrigated. The best calculations shew that it falls at the rate of four shillings per annum per head of the landowning population.

Some authorities have apprehended that it is a heavier burden in the present, than it was in the past, generation, and in proof of this, the fact is adduced that its total amount has nearly doubled during this time. Had such an increase occurred with the same population and the same cultivated area, it would indeed be remarkable. But during the time, fresh provinces, with 36 millions of people and 242,000 square miles of territory, have been added to the empire, to which circumstance alone 6 millions sterling of land revenue are attributable. The area of cultivation generally is ascertained to have increased by more than 50 per cent., while in some provinces under the Madras Government it has amounted to 100 per cent. ; and the prices of

agricultural produce have risen. To these causes some legitimate increase may be ascribed, but in no instance is any increase due to an augmentation of the share claimed by the State in the rent or profit of the cultivation. On the contrary, the share thus claimed has everywhere diminished, and in some provinces, especially the North-western, the diminution has been remarkable. In the Panjab the lightness of the British land-tax, as compared with that of the Sikh Native Government, is notorious and has brought about a great increase in the value of land. Calculations have been made which seem to shew that when the Permanent Settlement was made in Bengal, the total rental of the Zemindars amounted to only a few hundred thousand pounds annually and that it now amounts to several millions sterling. In the Bombay Presidency the area of cultivation has so greatly expanded that, notwithstanding a reduction in the rate of assessment per acre, there has been a considerable augmentation of the land revenue. Thus the best information goes to prove that the land-tax is becoming relatively lighter. Certainly the Government and all its officers earnestly desire that this tax should be really moderate, believing that such moderation affords the surest basis of popular contentment under British rule. Except in seasons of drought, the demand is punctually paid and easily collected.

It has been sometimes suggested that the British system of collecting this tax is too rigid and unbending and that a greater degree of elasticity and flexibility of method is needed, according to circumstances of drought and other calamity. Now, British rule is more rigid in this respect than Native rule; there must necessarily be more of such rigidity on the part of the British, between whom and the people a settlement or compact has been made, than on the part of Native rulers, between whom and their people no such arrangement had been effected. The essence of a settlement is that the people should, in the main, take the poor years with the good. In bad years, however, the British authorities invariably shew consideration, notwithstanding the

settlement, giving the men time to pay, suspending the demand till the seasons improve, and sometimes remitting a portion of it altogether. These lenient measures are adopted to a large extent in all provinces.

Some authorities have thought that in certain places, or under certain circumstances, the Government might advantageously revert to the old Native system of collecting the land revenue in kind, instead of the existing system of collecting it in cash. But the prevailing opinion would be wholly adverse to such a measure which would be regarded as retrograde. Such a method of collecting is contrary to the genius of British rule. It would give rise to the inquisitorial interference which British policy has been so careful to avoid, and it would impair or destroy that sense of manly independence and spirit of self-help which the British administration has striven to foster in the people. It would resuscitate a host of abuses which the British system has extinguished, and it would, in all probability, prove unpopular in practice.

The tributes and contributions from Native States amount, on the average, to nearly three-quarters of a million sterling. They represent an item of income which, in times free from political disturbance, may be regarded as fixed and certain.

The excise amounts, on the average, to upwards of two millions and a half sterling; if perfectly well managed throughout the empire, it amounts to three millions sterling. It is levied on spirits made locally from various sources, the wild fruits of trees and the like; and on drugs, prepared from the opium poppy, from some sorts of hemp, and so on. It is not liable to evasion on any of the items of which it consists, except opium.

As a tax upon opium grown and consumed in the country, it is quite distinct from the revenue derived from the opium exported to China. It is subject to evasion because, in the province of Behar and in Central India, great quantities of opium are produced for exportation. But while the exportable opium pays its full duty without any unlawful abatement, the

persons concerned in the production of the drug contrive to secrete a certain proportion, small doubtless as compared with the total quantity produced, but enough for the private consumption of themselves or their neighbours, sufficient also to affect the yield of the local excise. In the province of Gujerat, in the peninsula of Kathiawar and on the western coast, adjoining the opium-growing districts of Central India, there is a large consumption locally which for the most part evades taxation. Some progress has, however, been made towards prevention; and constant attention is directed to the subject.

There have been doubts felt regarding the moral effect of the system of excise on spirits. Farming this branch of the excise, does indeed prevent evasion, for the farmer and his servants become ex-officio preventive agents with vigilance stimulated by self-interest. On the other hand it sustains a class of influential publicans who have every incentive to encourage drinking among all those who are inclined to this indulgence. At one time the farming system was found to be coincident with aggravation of drunkenness among some of the mountainous tribes, and a modification of that system was followed by moral amelioration in this respect. In several provinces the system has been re-arranged so that it should be freed from any possible reproach on the score of encouraging intemperance. There is indeed in the great capital cities, the large central stations, and many other frequented places, an excess of drinking, which might not perhaps excite surprise in northern climes, but which is more than would be expected in warmer latitudes. The sight of this may give to some observers the impression that under British rule drinking prevails more than under Native rule. Wider observation will, however, prove that the Indians, if judged by the standard of advanced nations, are sober and temperate in the main; and that despite any defects which may still lurk in the excise system, the British taxes do operate as some check upon insobriety.

The assessed taxes at present consist of a licence tax on trades imposed since the famine of 1877, with a view of ensuring a surplus of income over expenditure, and so enabling the State to execute works of material improvement for the prevention of famine. It is held that the mercantile classes are but little taxed otherwise, and bear less fiscal burdens than other classes of the community. This licence tax is not assessed upon a consideration of the income of each taxpayer, like an income tax. The taxpayers are grouped into classes, according to incomes above and below certain amounts, and for each class one rate is fixed for all who are placed therein. The tax may therefore be described as a rough income tax upon traders, without the inquiry into the affairs of individuals which is apt to be unpopular in India. If not so productive as an income tax, it is considered to be less objectionable. It cannot be said to have escaped unpopularity, but it has been collected without difficulty and with as little discontent as could be expected. There have been proposals to extend it to professions, and so to bring it still nearer to the principle of an income tax; these met with some disfavour at Calcutta but with some favour at Bombay and Madras, they have not, however, been carried into effect. If financial requirements necessitate the imposition of direct taxation, then a licence tax on trades with an approximate and easy assessment upon graduated classes, is much the best, or the least objectionable, form of tax. Such a measure does tend to remedy the acknowledged flaw in the fiscal system, namely the fact that the mercantile classes for the most part escape taxation by the State; they pay municipal taxes, indeed, but no appreciable taxes to the Government. In England it were easy to show how the merchant contributes to the public revenues; but it would be difficult to prove anything of the sort in India, in the absence of any assessed taxes. If the measure, however, goes beyond a rough licence tax on trades, it must gradually grow or merge into an income tax.

There would be grave objection to the re-imposition of an income tax at the present time, if that could possibly be avoided. A few years only have elapsed since the Government of India, after long and careful discussion, decided to abandon this tax. There was much to be said both for and against the tax, all which was urged publicly and officially. The decision for relinquishment, having been formally taken, ought to be respected and not disturbed except under overwhelming necessity. The arguments for the tax were much the same as they are in England, save that in one respect they were stronger, inasmuch as, in India, the measure embraces taxable classes otherwise little included in taxation, while in respect of productiveness, they were weaker. The objections against it were much the same as in England, save that they were stronger in respect to the facilities for evasion, and much stronger in respect to unpopularity. It was the comparative unproductiveness on the one hand, and the inevitable discontent on the other hand, that weighed so much with the Government of India, when, on striking the balance between conflicting considerations, the abandonment of the measure was determined.

The Customs have yielded in recent years two millions and a half, even two millions and three-quarters sterling; but are yielding less now, and are likely still further to be diminished. One principal heading in the import tariff, namely the duty on English piece goods, is seriously attacked, and may be abolished altogether. One large item in the export tariff, namely the duty on grain, is held by some to be not sound in principle, incapable of standing against the objections which might arise from any change in the rice markets of the world, and likely to last only so long as the Indian rice maintains its present position in the European trade. The list of dutiable exports has been rendered short: but the list of dutiable imports, though reduced and modified from time to time with the view of saving trouble to the trade and to the people, is still long; all its items, however, are levied without causing difficulty or discontent.

The question of abolishing or retaining the import duties on

English piece goods has excited and still excites much discussion in India. The duties on the particular articles in this category, which were most immediately exposed to competition from Indian manufactures, have been abolished, while the remaining, or most of the remaining, duties are indicated for abolition as soon as the financial circumstances of the country may permit. For the abolition it is argued that there is a growing competition between English and Indian manufactures respecting many of the articles which constitute the clothing of the population of India. The margin is becoming more and more narrowed which determines whether the British manufacturer or the Indian manufacturer shall obtain the custom and patronage which such a population can bestow. The import duty may be light, still it becomes important where the trader's profit is so slender as to be appreciable only when the trade is large, and where so slight a difference in price may turn the scale for or against the circulation of the English goods in the interior of the country. This competition, is intensified by the fact that while the mass of indigenous fabrics is still made by hand without the advantages of steam and of machinery, some of these fabrics are now being made on the spot, at Bombay and elsewhere, with all these very advantages and often with English capital and under European supervision. It is natural that the British manufacturers should look upon the import duties with jealous eyes, and should apprehend that they are protective of indigenous, to the exclusion of English, manufactures. The very fact that those who produce manufactures on the spot with machinery, are opposed to the abolition, shews that they believe the duties to have a protective tendency. The circumstance that the importation of those piece goods on which the duties have been remitted, has proportionately increased since the remission, affords proof that the duties did operate protectively.

These and other similar views find some echo in India, but are there frequently controverted. Stress is laid on the fiscal loss which at present the finances cannot properly bear; while the loss caused to the English producer by the retention of the

duties, and the gain to the Indian consumer by their abolition, are held to be less than has been often supposed, and too slight to be really appreciable. The cause of English piece goods not making their way into the interior of the country, is not the existence of the duties, but the fact that they cannot be laid down in India as good in quality for the same price as the indigenous goods. The repute of the English goods, it is said, has been injured by sizing and other questionable processes. The English manufacturers would do better, it is argued, if they attended to maintaining a good quality at a cheap price, rather than to agitation against the duties. The welfare of India is so much bound up with the State finance, that whatever is financially injurious operates directly on the condition of the people.

The salt tax yields on the average nearly seven millions sterling, and is one of the few taxes, perhaps it is the only tax, affecting all classes. Though imperceptible to the upper and middle classes, it is in some degree felt by the poorest classes, but then it is the only tax they pay, and represents the only contribution which they make towards the expenses of the State which protects them. Its incidence per head of the population is computed at 7*d.* per annum. It used to be designated a monopoly of the East India Company; and the general rule still is that salt shall not be manufactured in India except by the agency, or under the supervision of, the Government. The whole seaboard of the empire, including the Malabar and Coromandel coasts, the deltas of the Ganges and Indus, the shallow and nearly dried arm of the sea named the Rann of Cach, the Salt range of the Panjab, and the salt lakes and saliferous basins and tracts of Rajputana and Central India, produce salt enough for the vast population of the empire. All these tracts are still made to yield salt, except the delta of the Ganges and the upper coasts of the Bay of Bengal. In these excepted tracts, the manufacture of salt, once so extensive, has been suppressed in order that an import duty might be levied on the salt imported from England, and the expenses of local

manufacture be saved ; thus the salts of Droitwich and Chester alone are seen in the markets of Calcutta and of Bengal.

The people of Bengal proper have long borne, without murmuring, a high rate of salt tax, higher than that of any other part of India, nor have any striking facts been elicited to shew that the tax appreciably affects consumption. At one time the rates in the Presidencies of Madras and Bombay were much lower ; of late they have been raised, though they are still lower than that of Bengal, which, on the other hand, has been slightly reduced. In the North-western Provinces, and elsewhere also, there have been signs indicating that the tax, if raised too high, would affect the consumption of salt by the people and would deter them from giving it in sufficient quantity to their cattle.

In northern and central India a remarkable change of system has been recently introduced. Formerly, the salt, made in the jurisdiction of the Native States of Rajputana, used to be despatched by a long land transit to the markets of the North-western Provinces and of the Central Provinces, and was taxed on crossing the British borders. For the purpose of this taxing, a preventive line, manned with Native sentinels at intervals all the way, under the command of European officials, stretched for about two thousand miles, beginning from near the Satlej in the north, and passing through Central India down to the Godavery in the south. This line was indeed necessary so long as no other means could be found of protecting the salt revenue. Still it represented a waste of power ; also it inevitably operated as a trouble to the people and an impediment to trade. But, with the loyal and praiseworthy co-operation of the Rajput States, the management of the salt-works in their jurisdiction has been entrusted to British supervision, and the railway passes by the works on its way to the British territories, so conveying the salt to the marts. Thus, the salt being controlled at the very source of supply, the preventive line can be spared. The line was accordingly abolished at a great saving in cost of establishment and to the satisfaction of all concerned.

Together with the salt tax, duties used to be levied on this same preventive line, on sugar chiefly indigenous, and were relinquished when the line was abolished.

The opium revenue fluctuates considerably according to the ranges of prices in the Chinese markets. It yields on the average upwards of nine millions sterling gross and upwards of six millions sterling net, after defrayal of all expenses. It is levied in two ways; one, on the eastern or Bengal side, by opium, made in State factories from poppy cultivated under State supervision, and sold by auction at Calcutta on the State account to merchants who export it to China; the other, on the western or Bombay side, by an export duty levied on opium made by private manufacture from poppy grown in Native States.

Objection has been raised to the method adopted on the Bengal side, as directly connecting the Government with the manufacture of a drug which is regarded by many as deleterious. These operations are, however, undertaken by the Government only as a means of securing the revenue. It would be possible to substitute for them the system which prevails on the western side, and which would be free from this particular form of objection. But as the Bengal system has been long established and is thoroughly understood by the numerous persons concerned in it, the authorities have hesitated to make any change, lest some loss should thereby accrue to the revenue. Nor is the argument really affected by the fact that the opium department makes advances in cash to the cultivators who raise the poppy. For the cultivation would exist equally whether the Government supervised it or not; its profits would immediately attract the capitalists who abound in that part of the country, and in the absence of the Government many others would make the advances. Whichever method be adopted, the eastern or the western, the opium will be exported to China.

The real and important argument is that which attaches blame to the Government of India, because opium is exported

from India for the consumption of the Chinese. Now, in effect the Government of India adopts towards opium the same attitude which the Government in England and in other countries preserves towards spirits, that is, it taxes the drug heavily. If opium flourishes in India, when thus weighted, it would flourish as much or more if lightened by the relief from fiscal burden. There cannot, then, be any objection to the taxation, as it falls upon an article which is a luxury and which, if it be useful in extreme moderation, is most deleterious if used in excess. To abandon the taxation would be to injure the treasury, leaving no check upon the consumption of the drug, but rather giving some encouragement thereto. Whether those, who object to the existing opium system, would go so far as to recommend the absolute suppression of poppy cultivation may be doubted. Inasmuch as the culture is very profitable to thousands of cultivators, and as the exportation is still more profitable to traders and capitalists, any attempt on the part of the State at suppression would be futile, and would only lead to dangerous abuses. Nor do the British territories comprise the only area fit for poppy culture, for as already seen much of the best soils for the poppy are in Native States. The question, too, is not confined to the opium exportable to China; the Indians consume opium to some extent, though much less than the Chinese. At present the drug is taxed for the Indians as for all others, a check being thus imposed on the local consumption. In this respect, then, the Government plays, as levying a tax, the same part in respect to its own subjects as the Chinese. There remains, then, only the moral question as affecting the Chinese, which is very difficult of adequate discussion in a work relating to India. In China there are apparently two parties to be considered; one the people or consumers, the other the State. In respect to the people of China, there are certain broad considerations which must be as applicable to them as to all other nations. They are evidently fond of the Indian opium, are determined to procure it if they

can, and are willing to pay a very high price for it. Nor is their desire at all lessened by the circumstance that their own Government is understood to be opposed to the use of the drug. They grow great quantities of opium at home for their own consumption, notwithstanding the efforts which their Government is understood to make occasionally for the suppression of the culture. Nevertheless, the Indian opium continues to be consumed in China as much as ever, because it is of a quality much liked by some classes, is not equalled by the indigenous drug, and therefore still commands a high price. It is not found, then, on examination that the Indian revenue from opium does any harm either to the Indians or the Chinese. On the contrary, the levying of this revenue must effect some good indirectly in checking the consumption of the drug. It seems, however, to be held by some authorities that the Chinese Government, objecting on moral grounds to the consumption of opium, desires to prohibit the importation of Indian opium into China, but is prevented from so doing by the existing commercial treaties and other arrangements with England. This is a point hardly to be discussed in a work relating to India. It is manifest, however, that if the Chinese Government shall ever attempt to prevent the importation of an article of luxury much desired by the people, it will be essaying a task which has rarely been undertaken by any Government with success anywhere, and which the Government in most civilized countries does not attempt. There may be other important points relating to China which can be best explained by the authorities who are cognizant of its affairs, and whose views will doubtless be received with due deference. The only object of the foregoing remarks is to explain the conduct and the position of the Government in India.

The stamp revenue now yields three millions sterling, and its growth has for many years been steady and satisfactory. It is a fiscal heading new to India since the introduction of British rule, and its profitable character is often a marvel to the Natives, who regard it as an instance of Western ingenuity.

Although objections are raised against some parts of it, still on the whole it is far from being unpopular. The stamps are grouped under two categories, namely those which are levied on judicial documents and those on commercial documents. The judicial stamps are free from evasion, and are realised easily. They are by some condemned as being taxes on justice; this objection is not indeed destitute of weight, though it is counterbalanced by the fact that litigation flourishes, and that the petty classes of suits are specially numerous with a slight tendency to increase. The commercial stamps are rarely made the subjects of complaint; but they are probably evaded to a great extent, notwithstanding all the precautions which the authorities can take; but, persevering vigilance will gradually prevent this evasion, with a corresponding advantage to the revenue.

The several heads of revenue thus described make up on an average a total of $43\frac{1}{2}$ millions sterling thus,

	Millions sterling per annum.
Land	21
Tributes	8
Excise	$2\frac{1}{2}$
Assessed Taxes	$\frac{1}{2}$
Customs	$2\frac{1}{2}$
Salt	7
Opium net	$6\frac{1}{2}$
Stamps	3
Total	$43\frac{1}{2}$

This total of $43\frac{1}{2}$ millions may be regarded as the revenue proper of the Government of India, a sum much less than the totals which appear rightly in the published accounts on the receipt side. The total of receipts stood at 50 millions sterling some years ago, then it rose to 55, and now stands at 65 millions. Nevertheless, the revenue proper is not more than $43\frac{1}{2}$ millions really; and by some authorities has been reckoned at even less. The fact ought indeed to inspire the authorities with a spirit of caution, and prevent them from being led away by the thought

that an empire, of which the annual accounts shew receipts of 65 millions sterling, must be able to afford a liberal expenditure.

There is a difference between receipts and revenue, as technically understood. While the Government possesses a large revenue proper, as already described, it has also large receipts which must, under a sound system of national account-keeping, be entered in the same statement and on the same side with the revenues. There would be danger in having two accounts, or in allowing the financial authorities to decide on their discretion what items should be included or excluded, and whether headings of revenue should be exhibited gross or net. The rule followed is this, that on the receipt side all bonâ fide receipts from whatever source shall be fully exhibited, also all items of revenue gross, and not net, no abatement being made for expenses; that all bonâ fide charges for whatever purpose, whether for defence or administration, for concerns managed by the State, or for the raising of the revenue itself, should be exhibited on the expenditure side. Thus the fact that while the revenue proper stands at 43½ millions only, the revenue and receipts amount to 65 millions, represents no discrepancy and involves no error whatever.

On the principle above explained, it comes to pass that the land revenue is shewn gross; a large expenditure is indeed exhibited against it, 2½ millions sterling, much of which is really devoted to the administration of the affairs of the land. The opium revenue is also shewn at 9 millions gross, although in the total of 43½ millions given above, it is shewn net at only 6½ millions. There are some departments instituted for special purposes of administration, which yield receipts indeed, but have a large expenditure; such as the receipts of the forest department which is established for the preservation of the forests; of the post-office and the electric telegraph, which are established for the sake of postal and telegraphic communication. There are recoveries in some of the greatest of the spending departments, as receipts from sale of stores, and various dues,

in the departments of the army, the marine, the public works, the State education. Lastly, there are large receipts from national concerns, in which the State has incurred a great outlay, or for which it has advanced considerable sums of money, or on account of which it has heavy liabilities to discharge. Such receipts are the interest on loans and advances, the income from canals, the earnings from State railways, the net traffic receipts from the guaranteed railways. There are other items of receipt, which it would be tedious to specify, and which contribute to swell the grand total of receipts. It is further to be noted that while from one period or one decade to another, the total of receipts including revenue shews a continuous and considerable augmentation, this result is largely due to the growth of the receipts as distinguished from the revenue proper. There has been augmentation also of the revenue, but that is partly due to the increase of taxation.

There have been a natural growth and a spontaneous expansion of the revenue itself also; all the branches of revenue may so far be described as prospering. Still there is, at the best, but too much ground for the apprehension, so often expressed by some authorities, that the revenue is not elastic in the English sense of the term, for it seldom grows with any rapidity and it never springs forward.

It is to be remembered that besides the taxation for the purposes of the State, there are rates levied on the land for local purposes, amounting to $2\frac{1}{2}$ millions sterling annually.

Octroi or town duties are also levied in most of the municipalities throughout the county. In many places these duties were found to operate as transit dues to the injury of trade, and the requisite remedy has been applied.

Of the total of the revenue proper as above shewn, $43\frac{1}{2}$ millions, only $36\frac{1}{2}$ millions are really paid by the people of British India; of the remainder, $6\frac{1}{2}$ millions are paid by the Chinese and $\frac{3}{4}$ million by the Native States. The sum of

36½ millions sterling distributed over the 190 millions in British India would give an average of 3s. 9d. per head per annum, which will doubtless appear very small. The average is, however, too general to be very suggestive. The real incidence of taxation on the several classes of British subjects has been well described thus by a recent writer, Mr. H. S. Cunningham :

“ The landowner pays for land revenue, an amount ranging from 3 to 7 per cent. on the gross produce of his lands, and a further fraction by way of provincial rates. If he goes to law he may contribute something to stamps; if he drinks, to excise; and if he prefers English to native cloth, to customs; but when he has paid his land revenue, his only imperative tax is 7d. (per annum) for salt. . . . The owner of personal property, though a millionaire, may under like conditions of abstinence from the luxuries of drink, litigation and English cloth, contribute nothing but the 7d. for salt, to the expenses of the State. . . . The artisan's position is the same. The trader when he has paid his 7d. on salt and, if his gains are over £50 per annum, his licence tax, may go free of further taxation. The only imperative tax on the agricultural labourer is the annual 7d. for salt.”

It would be difficult to shew how the people of British India are to be taxed at rates more moderate and light than these, if they are to be taxed at all.

There have been schemes devised at various times for raising additional items of revenue, such as those relating to a tax on tobacco, to fees on the solemnization of marriages, to a rate on houses. But the prevailing opinion has been, and is, adverse to fresh taxation, if it can possibly be avoided. The popular contentment, resulting from lightness of taxation and ease in the collection of the revenue, has long been regarded as one of the many pillars supporting the fabric of British rule. The Government in its capacity of paramount power has induced the Native States to forego vexatious imposts, and transit duties hampering commerce; having itself first set a good example in this respect. The grace of this policy would be marred, if the Government were to strike out a fresh line of fiscal development, in the very direction which it had previously deprecated.

CHAPTER XIV.

CANALS AND IRRIGATION.

Canals for navigation and for irrigation—Canals in Asiatic countries adjacent to India—Irrigated and unirrigated tracts in India—Irrigation from wells—Native works of irrigation—British system of canals—In Hindostan—In the Panjab—In Behar—In Orissa—In the deltas of the Godavery and the Kistna—In Tanjore—From the Tumbadra river—From the Indus in Sind—Lakes for irrigation in the Madras Presidency—In the Bombay Presidency—Principal rivers from which canals have been drawn—Rivers from which canals remain to be taken—Different plans of constructing canals—Proportion of irrigated or protected lands to the whole cultivated area—Canal water-rent—Financial returns from the canals—Indirect benefits—Navigation of the canals—Immense value of canal irrigation to the country.

THE term canal signifies to the ear of an Englishman a means of navigable communication and to the ear of an Indian a means of irrigation. In the thoughts of Indians and Anglo-Indians canals are associated partly with navigation, but mainly with irrigation. Some authorities have indeed recommended that, even for communication, reliance should be placed mainly on canals to the supercession of railways, but such views, however, have not prevailed nor are likely to prevail. Still, in India, although irrigation is regarded as the primary work of a canal system, it is recognised that a good canal ought not only to supply the fertilizing element for production but also to bear on its bosom the freights of produce for distant markets. Many of the largest irrigating canals are designedly adapted for navigation; and in some of the best irrigated districts they render service to communication as well as to production.

Some Asiatic countries adjacent to India, such as Persia, have from time immemorial depended on irrigation conducted from springs by ingenious contrivances (called karizes). The ancient canal system of the Tigris and Euphrates has shrunk to

a scarcely recognisable likeness of its original self. The irrigation in Central Asia survives, impaired, indeed, but still effective, after so many political revolutions. Some of the territories to which the eyes of statesmen turn, such as Bokhara, or Khiva, are really oases of canal irrigation in the heart of desert steppes; like jewels set in the midst of sand. There the fierce and rude races have no rains in due season whereon to depend; their irrigation is their staff of life, without which they could not hold their native country for a single twelvemonth; if an enemy obtained possession of the canal sources and heads, the inhabitants must surrender at discretion.

In India, however, irrigation, though very important, does not possess such overwhelming importance. Whole regions, such as the Gangetic delta, the littoral region of the western coast or the inland valley of the Nerbadda, have an abundant average rainfall on which mainly their agriculture depends. The inhabitants of the fluvial districts of Bengal, like the people in England, sometimes dread immoderate rain rather than drought, and their anxiety is not so much for irrigation as for drainage. The great rice harvest, the jute fibre and the safflower of Bengal, most of the cotton and millets of Hindostan, are produced without artificial irrigation. In most parts of the country, too, where irrigation more or less prevails, there are extensive crops, raised from the rainfall alone, and called the "dry" crops, in contradistinction to the "wet" crops raised from irrigation. In the oft-recurring times of drought, these "dry" crops are the first to wither, still, they seldom fail, save in extraordinary seasons. And in every cycle of years there are copious and seasonable showers which render the "dry-crop" lands excessively productive, bringing the cheaply cultivated soils into temporary competition with soils cultivated at considerable expense, and sometimes even causing the markets to be glutted with grain.

In ordinary language, the term irrigation is probably connected with canals and watercourses only. In Europe, a well is

mentioned only in reference to purposes of drinking. But in India, irrigation is conducted from wells as well as from canals. In the villages there are some wells for drinking only, but the vast majority of the tens of thousands of wells in India, though they serve for drinking, are sunk mainly for the purpose of irrigating. It is to this well-sinking that the peasants in most parts of India devote some of their little capital, not caring generally to seek assistance from the State in this respect, save in times of famine. The well-irrigation is considered to be supplementary to the rainfall and is needed, in the case of many products, to render the yield abundant and profitable. For instance, the wheat of Northern India, the poppy of Behar, the sugarcane and the vegetables in most parts of India, are grown with the essential aid of irrigation from wells. Some of the very best, though the most expensive, cultivation in India, such as in several of the northern districts of the Panjab, is from wells.

The works of irrigation represent so ancient an institution in India, and the Natives have often shewn so much cleverness in constructing such works, that a reproach has sometimes been unjustly cast against the British Government as being inferior to its Native predecessors in this matter. In truth, however, the English have entered, and are entering, the lists in this noble contest, renovating or enlarging the best of the old works, compassing new works, and overcoming difficulties which no preceding Government could have attempted to encounter.

The Muhammadans constructed many water-works of beauty and celebrity, but these were undertaken for conducting the water to parks, pleasure grounds and palaces. They did not usually in India bend their constructive genius towards agricultural irrigation, as they so often did in other lands with such masterly effect.

The Hindus have fairly established a claim to historic fame by reason of their exertions in this beneficent line. Commencing

in the lower Himalayas, the earliest Indian domicile of their nation, they stemmed and deflected the mountain streamlets and babbling brooks, so as to lay them all under contribution for the wealth in water. As they spread southwards into the mid-continent of Central India, where mountainous ranges ramify in all directions, they searched out the valleys embosomed in the hills, where the rainfall of the wet season can be gathered together by closing up the natural outlets of the drainage, and so stored in reservoirs, which, though partly natural, are mainly artificial. Thus, by erecting dams of massive masonry, firmly welded together with structural skill, they formed reservoirs, which, though bearing the modest name of tanks, are really lakes, and which by their picturesque beauty, their historic interest, and their economic value, have challenged the admiration of many generations. Each of these works gives life and wealth to many townships, sometimes to scores of villages. Such favourable sites, arising from extensive geological formations, are discovered not singly but in groups and series. Consequently, if one lake is successfully completed, others will be constructed in the neighbourhood, and thus the district or province, which has been adorned by these works, is correctly called a lake region.

Migrating further southwards to the southern peninsula, they still constructed lakes and tanks in the same fashion. They also essayed bolder efforts in construction, and grappled with some of the large rivers which, rising in the Western Ghat ranges, run due eastwards to the Bay of Bengal. These rivers they stemmed at points where the waters first begin to divide themselves into deltaic ramifications. The dams thus built were named "anicats"; and the name "anicat" has become classic with British engineers. Above the "anicat" the river waters are stopped so that canals may be taken therefrom, and conducted over the surface of the country like veins and arteries charged with the very life-blood of prosperity to whole districts.

At first the British Government was too much busied in the consolidation of its conquests to take up so difficult a matter as the origination of a canal system. But for many years before its abolition, the East India Company gave its best attention to works of irrigation on a great scale, and with some success. Since that time, that is for nearly one generation, these beneficent operations have been prosecuted, and the result is that the canals of India are now amongst her most remarkable characteristics.

The canal system which the British Government in some degree adopted from its predecessors, but in the main originated and worked out for itself, may be described in this wise.

In northern India, one great canal is drawn from the Ganges at Hardwar, the point where the river debouches from the Himalayas, and another from the same river lower down its course. Thereby a part of the available water supply of this great river will be carried off for irrigation during the summer and autumn, and nearly the whole supply during the winter when the crops greatly need water. From the river Jamna the old canal constructed by the Muhammadans on the right bank for the sake of the imperial demesne at Delhi, has been improved and enlarged for the sake of irrigation; and another canal has been drawn from the river on its left bank. From below Delhi, a new canal from the same river has been constructed, running towards Agra. By these means, the available supply of the Jamna water, in the cultivating season, will be diverted for irrigation. Thus the middle of Hindostan, the very heart of India, ever regarded as the empress province, is now an extensively irrigated tract.

In Rohilkhand some lesser canals have been projected or constructed, from the rivers which issue from the Himalayas to join the Ganges.

In the Sirhind district of the Panjab, from the point where the river Satlej debouches from the Himalayas, a great canal

is taken, drawing off nearly all the winter supply of water from that river for irrigation. From the river Ravi north of Lahore, another great canal has been taken, utilizing the winter supply of the water, for irrigation in the country around Amritsar, the home of the Sikh nation. Further south, in the territory between the Satlej and the Ravi, many lesser canals are drawn, watering comparatively rainless tracts down to the vicinity of Multan; also in the Derajat territory, trans-Indus. These are called locally "inundation" canals, because they receive their supply of water when the rivers rise during the summer and the rainy season.

In the province of Behar, a great canal is taken from the Sone river, for irrigation in the territory near Patna. In the district of Midnapur south of Calcutta, a lesser canal has been constructed which, though drawn from a small river with a comparatively scanty supply, is yet very useful.

In Orissa, the river Mahanadi, after leaving the Eastern Ghat mountains, is dammed up at a suitable point near the city of Cattak, whence the stream is diverted, supplying considerable canals on both banks of the river. Near here, the Muhanadi has branches forming its delta; other rivers flow parallel with it from the Eastern Ghat mountains to the sea: from which canals may be taken in a series connecting Orissa with the districts around Calcutta.

Southwards on the east coast, at a point where the river Godavery debouches from the Eastern Ghat mountains, the river is dammed by a mighty dyke or "anicat," whence is drawn a series of canals covering with a network of irrigation the rich deltaic district to the seashore. Further south, the river Kistna or Krishna issuing from the same range, is stemmed in a similar manner, whence a like system of canals is derived, for irrigating the delta of Masulipatam.

Below Madras, in the southern peninsula there are drawn from the rivers Cavery and Colerun near Trichinopoly, large canals which, running eastwards, have many branches near

Tanjore, and intersect that district with numerous channels, causing it to be regarded as the most richly watered region in the empire.

From the Tunga-badra, or Tumbadra, river which divides the Nizam's dominions from the Madras Presidency, a large canal has been commenced and conducted for some distance but not completed.

The province of Sind, with a population of two millions of souls, depends, for its cultivation, upon the Indus, as Egypt depends upon the Nile. The irrigation is drawn from numerous canals, which were constructed by the Muhammadan rulers, but have been improved and enlarged by the British Government.

In the Madras Presidency, many large artificial lakes for irrigation have been constructed by the British Government, of which the enumeration would be tedious,

Several similar lakes have been constructed in the Deccan districts of the Bombay Presidency, from which much irrigation is derived. The masonry dam of Lake Fife, near Poona, is one of the finest in the world. Some minor canals have been constructed, in the Deccan also, from the upper courses of the rivers Tapti and Kistna or Krishna, and a canal is being constructed from the river Nira.

Canals have been proposed or projected in general terms or designed more or less in detail, but not yet undertaken, to be derived from the following rivers,

the Chenab in the Panjab,

the Sarda in Oudh,

the Gandak in Behar,

the lower part of the Pennar on the east coast north of Madras,

the Periar stream which issues from the Travancore mountains near Madura in the southern peninsula,

the lower part of the Tapti, on the west coast north of Bombay,

the lower part of the Nerbadra in the same quarter,

the Wardha, the Wynganga and lesser streams in the province of Nagpur,
 the upper course of the Mahanadi in the eastern extremity of the Central Provinces,
 the Chambal in Central India,
 the Betwa and the Kene in Bundelkhand, and
 the Jamna to carry off surplus water of the rainy season towards the arid tracts east of the Satlej.

Artificial lakes and several canals, greater or smaller, have been projected in the Deccan districts of the Bombay Presidency, which works have, however, not yet been undertaken. There are probably other projects or proposals in different parts of India, for thoughtful officers are constantly busying themselves with plans, whereby the drought so much dreaded in most parts of the empire may be averted.

From this review it will be apparent that the following great rivers have by the British Government been placed under contribution more or less, for the fertilization of provinces or districts in India,

the Ganges,
 the Jamna,
 the Sone in Behar,
 the Satlej,
 the Ravi in the Panjab,
 the Indus,
 the lower part of the Mahanadi and some lesser streams in Orissa,
 the lower part of the Godavery on the east coast,
 the lower part of the Kistna or Krishna,
 the Cavery and Colerun in the southern peninsula,
 the Tunga-badra or Tumbadra in the Deccan,
 the upper courses of the Kistna and the Tapti,

and many other lesser rivers and streams, for the formation of artificial lakes, which it would be tedious to enumerate.

The following rivers are known to be capable of affording water for irrigation, but remain yet to be dealt with for this purpose,

the Gandak in Behar.

the Sarda in Oudh,

the Chenab in the Panjab,

the lesser rivers in Orissa,

the lower part of the Pennar near Madras,

the Periar river near Madura,

the lower part of the Tapti on the west coast near Bombay,

the lower part of the Nerbadda on the same coast,

the several rivers in the Nagpur province,

the Chambal in Central India,

the Betwa and the Kene in Bundelkhand.

There are lesser rivers and streams from which reservoirs may be formed for irrigating the Deccan districts of the Bombay Presidency. The only remaining rivers of note are the Jhelum in the Panjab, from which a canal might perhaps be taken; some smaller rivers which flow through Native States and of which the capabilities are not known; the rivers in the humid regions of lower Bengal where it is drainage that is wanted rather than irrigation; and the Brahmaputra river and its affluents, the Megna and others, which are not likely ever to supply canals for irrigation.

In the construction of these works two main principles are adopted, which differ from each other according to the variety of physical circumstance, and which have at times been subjected to much professional controversy.

In the north, the rivers are fed from sources arising in the perpetual snows of the Himalayas, and have in the winter season, generally called the cold weather, a volume of water which, though much shrunken in comparison with the summer supply swollen with the rains and the melted snow, is yet considerable. It is this volume of water which the engineers desire to carry off almost in its entirety for fertilization, using

only a portion of the summer supply according to convenience. At the points where the river issues from the mountains and enters upon the plains, the ground is undulating, or even somewhat hilly and often has a rapid slope. Unfortunately for the engineers, the Himalayas have not great lakes at their base, like the Alps on their Italian side, which serve as natural reservoirs of water whence canals can be drawn. Therefore the engineers excavate the channel in the steep banks and sides of the rivers, carrying it across the rugged beds of tributary torrents. These operations relate to what are called "the head-works." The river is thus led into its new channel, which, passing through the rough ground for some miles, enters at last the more level portions of the plains. Then branch channels begin to be constructed in order to distribute the water for irrigation. As may be imagined, these head-works present very striking features. The channel is conducted by tunnels and by viaducts, sometimes above, sometimes below, the torrent beds, sometimes piercing, sometimes rounding, the spurs of the hills.

All this occurs in localities where the surrounding scenery adds the beauties of nature to the wonders of science. The "heads" of the Ganges canal at Hardwar, of the Satlej canal at Rupar, of the Ravi, or Bari Doab, canal at Madhupur, are almost as interesting to the artist and the tourist as they are to the engineer. In the foreground are the massive stone works, the noble arches and piers, and the canal flowing clear as crystal, in the middle distance are the lower hills looking purple in the eastern atmosphere while the horizon is bounded by the everlasting snow. For the first few miles of its course, the Ganges canal consists of a series of works which are triumphs of skill and science. There are few localities in the whole empire whence more pleasure and instruction can be derived than from the course of the Ganges canal, between Hardwar, the celebrated place of pilgrimage, and Rurki, where the engineering college and workshops are established.

Experience shewed, however, that the Ganges canal had been

constructed at too steep an incline in the lower part of its course and was beginning to tear up its bed and banks; this defect has been remedied, though at great cost. Insalubrious swamps were formed from the obstruction of the surface drainage by the canal works, and the public health was consequently affected in several places; endeavours are being made to remedy this defect also. The subsoil percolation, near the course of the high-level canals, causes a saline efflorescence in some places, which is detrimental to cultivation; for this, too, remedial measures are under consideration.

In the south, and with all the rivers except the Himalayan, the waters are not snow-fed, but are sustained by the moisture of the rainy season. There is an overwhelming volume of water in the summer, but in the winter scanty streamlets meander over broad expanses of sand and debris. Some suitable locality is chosen at the head of the delta, often near the base of a mountainous range, where, by the construction of dams or dykes, of great dimensions, the waters of the rivers can be stopped, and diverted so as to supply large canals on both sides, with subsidiary channels ramifying over the deltaic region, much like the branches of the rivers themselves.

There is also the practice already mentioned, whereby the volume of streams is dammed up and collected during the season of floods, so as to form artificial lakes to be used as reservoirs whence canals can be drawn. That which nature has done for the Italian engineers by the lakes at the southern base of the Alps, science effects for the English engineers in southern India. Every Englishman who travels in India must be struck as he beholds the lakes near Poona, near Arcot, and at many other places, filled to the brim with summer floods, where engineering science has followed nature's truest model. Nor is the visitor astonished by only a few artificial lakes of unrivalled proportions; for almost the whole of the Madras Presidency is studded and dotted over with lakes large

and small, attesting the ability and resources which the Madras Government have applied to this subject, so vitally important to the people.

With the northern practice the name of Sir Proby Cautley will be handed down to the grateful remembrance of posterity, and with the southern practice, that of Sir Arthur Cotton. Of the many benefactors of India in recent times, there are few who have done more material good than Sir Arthur Cotton, during this generation. Both he and Sir Proby Cautley have raised, or contributed to raise, a school of hydraulic engineers, whose deeds have shed lustre on the public service in the Presidencies of Bengal and of Madras. Also the name of Fife is similarly associated with the irrigation works of the Bombay Presidency.

Notwithstanding the magnitude of this system of irrigation from canals, the greatest of its kind in the world, the proportion of the whole cultivated area in the country, thus protected from the effects of drought, is not so considerable as might be at first sight expected. Some deltaic districts such as those of Tanjore, Kistna and Godavery, are for the most part well protected even in seasons of drought, some outlying tracts only remaining unprotected. In most of the districts in the Madras Presidency, too, a considerable part of the cultivated area is irrigated in ordinary seasons. But in seasons of great drought the lesser lakes, and even some of the larger lakes, fail altogether, or lose a part of their supply. Thus, while the best of the irrigation works can be depended upon in time of famine, many of the second-rate works cannot, though they render assistance more or less; and at the same time many of the lesser works must be expected to fail partially at least. In the Bombay Presidency the area thus protected is relatively very small, and the works are subject to the same conditions as those of Madras. An exception is formed by the province of Sind, which is almost entirely irrigated, and where the anxieties arise not from drought but from floods. In the north, the great canals can be depended

upon in time of famine; but the tracts protected by them form only a small percentage of the total cultivated area. Still this percentage comprises the very cream, so to speak, of the territory, and those lands which are the most productive, yielding much more than any other land. Consequently where ten per cent. or even five per cent., of the land, can be thus protected, that protection is a very much larger factor in the national welfare than would appear from a mere consideration of the percentage.

The State, having constructed the canals, receives water-rent from those who benefit by the irrigation. The mode of assessing the water-rent varies in different provinces, but is everywhere regulated with scrupulous regard for the convenience of the people, so that they may have every facility for ascertaining what will be due from them. Sometimes the amount is fixed for long periods, together with the settlement of the land revenue. Where one person is the owner, and another person the cultivator, the water-rent is levied, partly from the owner by what is termed the owner's rate, and partly from the cultivator, by what is termed the cultivator's rate. Where the same person is both owner and cultivator, he pays a combined, or consolidated, rate.

It may seem strange that in some parts of the country the people should at the outset hesitate to make use of the water from the canals for irrigation. In the south, where irrigation has been practised for centuries, and where the British system is an expansion or development of pre-existing Native systems, the people make full use of the water, being willing to pay for it, and anxious to obtain it at the price fixed. But in the north, the husbandmen previously unaccustomed to canals, often regard the canal water only as a last resource in time of drought to save the crops, and not as a permanent means of preserving and also of improving the cultivation in ordinary years. When drought threatens, they will defer incurring the cost of taking the water, in the hope that, after all, the rain will

descend in time to save the harvest; and such postponement is often so protracted that the opportunity is lost. After hesitating for weeks, they are sometimes seized with panic and press in multitudes at the gates of the canals, like terror-stricken creditors making a run upon the banks. In Orissa, where the rainfall happened to be unusually copious and seasonable for several years after the opening of the canal, this unwillingness has been especially manifest, but will gradually be overcome. It has appeared also in northern India and in the Bombay Presidency. Whenever drought occurs, there is a sudden expansion of canal irrigation which shrinks again when the danger is overpast, but of which a part remains and forms a permanent augmentation of the irrigated area. These circumstances tend to prove that there was unnecessary dilatoriness on the part of the people in availing themselves of the water. Thus it comes to pass that their lives and property are protected against destructive drought, by means of works constructed by the State, at a cost which falls not upon those who are specially protected but upon the whole community. In other words, these people are furnished with an important and costly insurance at the expense, not of themselves, but of their fellow-subjects. It may be argued that if canals are vitally important, if the State cannot afford to construct them unless it recovers from the people enough receipts to defray the interest charges on the outlay, and if the finance of the canal system is to be placed on a sound basis, then those people, who might take the water and yet fail to do so from their own default, ought nevertheless to pay some special rate or cess to defray the cost of the insurance by which they benefit. These considerations have induced the legislature in India more than once to enact that such a rate or cess shall be imposed on those lands which are proved to be well within reach of the canals. But such measures have always been opposed, as constituting a dangerous precedent. Some official authorities, notwithstanding the cogent arguments in its favour,

feel repugnance to a compulsory rate upon people for canal irrigation of which they have not seen fit to avail themselves. The Natives especially object to any plan of this description, alleging that it encourages the Government to embark on comparatively unremunerative projects, in the assurance that in any event there will be receipts from the special rate or cess. In the end, the opposition has prevailed and the legislation has been disallowed by the controlling power in England.

There has been unavoidably some room for difference of opinion as to what are, or are not, the *bonâ fide* receipts of the State from the canal irrigation, irrespective of the land revenue. The difficulty of discriminating between the water-rent and the land revenue has been enhanced by the arrangements, made to save the people from inconvenience, whereby the payments on both accounts have been settled together, or else virtually consolidated. In some provinces the barest return of water-rent has been taken, without allowance for the improvement in the land revenue by reason of the irrigation, and the financial return from the outlay on canals seems unduly low. In other provinces, besides the water-rent, the greater part of the land revenue has been taken into account, and the return seems perhaps excessively high. After making all due abatements for these several considerations, it may probably be said that in the south the canals yield a large return for the outlay incurred on them, exceeding the interest chargeable on their capital, and that they will ultimately pay off the capital itself. In the north, they are slowly and gradually beginning to yield returns equal to the current interest on their capital account, while they have much retrospective interest to defray on account of the years when they yielded but little. In some places, as Orissa, in the Sone valley, and parts of the Deccan, they have hardly begun to defray even the current interest, though they do yield something. On the whole, the financial returns, recently revised, shew that the net income from the

canals more than covers the current interest on the capital outlay, and that in the aggregate the canal system of British India is paying six per cent.

The canals in India are mainly for irrigation, and although after satisfying the needs of such irrigation they have sometimes but little water to spare for navigation, still they are generally constructed so as to be navigable. In the north they are navigated to some appreciable extent, and in some of the canals between Calcutta and Orissa the navigation constitutes a large item in the business. In the south the canals are largely navigated; the same channels which cause the produce to be raised, serve to carry most cheaply and easily that same produce to market, the double duty thus enhancing the beneficence of the work. A really admirable project for canal navigation in the upper part of the river Godavery, which would have connected the Central Provinces with the Bay of Bengal, was undertaken by the Government and prosecuted to a considerable length, but was afterwards relinquished, as some think unadvisedly and unfortunately. Some authorities observing the advantages of inland water traffic have urged the Government to construct canals for communication, instead of railways. But such proposals are deemed by other authorities to involve extremely difficult questions of hydraulic engineering, and have not generally found favour. For the main lines of communication in India, railways are still preferred.

At one time endeavours were made to introduce important canal projects into India by means of private enterprise conducted by companies. The Madras Irrigation Company was thus formed for the execution of canals on the Tumbadra and Pennar rivers and still exists, though, after performing much excellent work, it has had to contend with many financial difficulties. The canals in Orissa were commenced by a company which afterwards transferred its rights to the Government by whom the operations have been continued.

At the head-works of the canals, and at other suitable places,

the engineers have established extensive workshops where technical instruction is afforded to Natives, and sometimes to Europeans and East Indians.

Although many of the existing canals, and some of the projects yet to be undertaken, may yield a good financial return, the hard question with new projects is how to frame them so that they shall yield at least a sufficient income, that is enough to cover the interest payable by the State on the money to be borrowed for the outlay. Few pursuits are more fascinating to the mind than to visit localities where, in the bosom of the hills, lakes can be formed by arresting the torrents in their headlong course, and then to imagine how these stores of water shall confer fertility on arid lands, diffusing life and civilization around. But to these glowing reflections there always succeeds the chilling calculation as to whether these stores of water can "command," that is, be made to reach, sufficient areas of productive soil to make the storing worth the cost in money. Disappointment is frequently felt on the discovery that the projected works, if executed, would not reimburse the State for the interest on the outlay. The question then arises whether the State can afford to incur the cost. This question ought to be borne in mind by those who, with humane intentions, looking on vast volumes of water annually wasted, and on unused sites for storage, thereupon urge the Government to continue undertaking works, without, perhaps, sufficiently weighing the financial incidents.

A summary of the length, in miles and round numbers, of the canals will present some idea of the magnitude of the canal system of British India. This subject is set forth in Buckley's recently published work on the finance of each one of these irrigation works in detail. The total length of the main canals and branches (exclusive of distributories) in the Presidencies of Bengal, Madras and Bombay amounts to 4900 miles. In this the canals of the Cavery or Tanjore system

are not given ; their length, however, cannot be less than 700 miles. To these are to be added the inundation canals of the Panjab, 1550 miles, and the canals of Sind, 5600 miles. Thus there are 12,750 miles of canals greater and lesser. The total length of the distributing channels is not known ; but in northern India alone, it amounts to 8300 miles. The area now irrigated amounts to 1,900,000 acres in Madras and Bombay, 360,000 acres in Behar and Orissa, 1,450,000 acres in the North-western Provinces, 1,350,000 acres in the Panjab and 1,250,000 in Sind ; in all 6,310,000 acres ; or nearly six and a half millions of acres. The area irrigable by the canals is yet considerably greater than even this large total ; so that the existing system is still capable of development. The capital outlay by the State on this canal system may be set down at at 20½ millions sterling, on which the net returns yield an interest of 6 per cent. These facts shew why the system claims to be the finest of its kind in the world. All this, too, is exclusive of a great number of petty irrigation works in many parts of the country, from Rohilkhand in the north to Tinnevely in the south, of which the statistics would be tedious.

Apart from the direct receipts from the canals, there are many indirect benefits which accrue in all cases. These benefits are represented by the security afforded to agriculture, the insurance provided for the people against the extremities of drought and famine, the protection of the land revenue, the instruction of the husbandmen by the example of the superior husbandry established, and the introduction of superior products. The value of the canals during the recent famines has been inestimable ; without the irrigation, these calamities, great as they were, would have been indefinitely greater. The value of the produce which the canals saved in order to feed a famishing people, equalled the capital outlay on their construction.

CHAPTER XV.

RAILWAYS AND ELECTRIC TELEGRAPHS.

Lord Dalhousie's design for railway system—Line from Calcutta to North-west frontier—From Calcutta to Bombay—From Bombay to Madras—From Lahore to Karachi—Projected extension to Candahar—Line from Bombay to Agra—In Rohilkhand and Oudh—In Behar—In Bengal—In Central India—In Berar and Nagpur—In Southern India—From Goa to southern Deccan—In Burma—Railways of two kinds, Guaranteed and State—Advantages of the Guarantee system—Passenger traffic—Goods traffic—Rolling stock—State railways—Capital furnished by Native States for railways—Broad and narrow gauges—Railways in time of war and of famine—Introduction of electric telegraph—Lines belonging to Guaranteed railway Companies—And to the Government—Telegraphic communication between India and England—Also between India and other countries.

THE railways of India have advanced, are advancing, and will ere long comprise a total length of nine thousand miles; possibly this length may be exceeded by some hundreds of miles in the course of a few years. Such a total mileage is considerable in itself, no doubt, and will be regarded as remarkable in reference to the distance of India from England, whence all the resources for the construction of railways have to be drawn. It is to be remembered that in Europe and America, the works were constructed at home in the midst of resources, close to the very centres of industry, in the native air of the engineers and artificers, in the land of their professional practice, and with every possible advantage of circumstance, climate and labour. Whereas, the works in India were completed at a vast distance from home and from the sources of supply, under many disadvantages of climate, with a scanty labour market and untrained labourers. Again, in India the engineers were landed in a country with circumstances novel to all their professional

and practical experience, and began their work often in a malarious climate and occasionally in localities dangerously insalubrious, frequently suffering in health and sometimes losing life. For India, the rails, girders and engines had to be sent round the Cape in sailing ships, or by the Suez Canal and the Red Sea in steamers.

Thirty years have elapsed since the East India Company undertook the construction of railways in their vast territories. Lord Dalhousie was the Governor-General who first laid out a comprehensive scheme whereby the length and breadth of the land might be permeated by railway communication; and this national design will constitute one of his many titles to post-humous fame. The main idea, then formed, has been subsequently enlarged, but its principal features have been preserved.

The scheme was, and is, to connect Calcutta with the North-west frontier by a trunk line 1500 miles in length, having its terminus at that port and capital, and proceeding to upper India through Allahabad, with a short branch to Delhi, then passing through Lahore towards the north-west extremity of the frontier, and ultimately crossing the Indus at Attok and entering Peshawur. This railway was to have a chord line across, the eastern end of the Vindhya range near the coal fields, and a loop line along the bank of the Ganges. It was to run up the whole valley of the Ganges; crossing the river Sone once and the Jamna thrice; then it was to cross all the five rivers of the Panjab and lastly the Indus. It was to traverse for the most part a champaign country, consisting of the plains of upper India, or Hindostan, and of the Panjab, till it approached the Jhelum river, when it would enter very rugged ground continuing nearly to the terminus at Peshawur. Although there were no difficulties in respect to the crossing of mountains, the viaducts must be of the very largest character. There is a short branch from Jhelum to the salt mines.

From this main line at Allahabad, another line of about 700 miles was to be taken, surmounting the low hills of Bundelkhand

and thence running down the Nerbadda valley from Jabulpur, passing through a gap in the Sâtpura range into the valley of the Tapti, and descending the precipitous side of the Western Ghat mountains to Bombay, with large viaducts over the Nerbadda and the Tapti, and with a mountainous incline of great difficulty. Thus the two capitals Calcutta and Bombay were to be connected by rail.

Then from Bombay, there was to be a line of about 800 miles, ascending the Western Ghat mountains near Poona, crossing the great plateau of the Deccan, entering the Madras Presidency, and so approaching the Eastern Ghat mountains which it would descend on its way to Madras. It would have a chord line joining in Khandesh the trunk line to Calcutta; also a branch to Hyderabad, the Nizam's capital in the Deccan. There would be viaducts difficult in character though not of great size; but the crossing of the mountains would demand works of magnitude and difficulty. Thus railway communication was to be established between the two Presidencies of Madras and Bombay.

These are the primary lines of railway communication; but besides these, there are several lines of much importance.

From the trunk railway at Lahore, the capital of the Panjab, there runs a line down the valley of the river Ravi, past Multan, crossing the Satlej and entering the valley of the Indus, crossing the Indus at Sakar, and passing along the right bank of that river, surmounting the low range of Laki hills which impinge upon the river bed, and then proceeding to the seaport of Karachi. The country, with the exception of the Laki pass, is flat; but the bridging of the Satlej and of the Indus is very formidable. Thus railway communication is maintained between the sea and the Panjab, and between the mouths of the Ganges and of the Indus; the route also between England and the north-west frontier of India is considerably shortened.

From Sakar, where the line crosses the Indus, a temporary line has been carried to Sibi near the Bolan Pass, and an extension towards Candahar has been projected.

From the harbour of Bombay, a line is carried along the west coast in the province of Gujerat, having branches into the peninsula of Kathiawar, crossing with large viaducts the Tapti and Nerbadda near the mouths of those rivers; then entering the hilly country of Rajputana, but avoiding any difficult passage over mountains, till it reaches the Jamna, which river it crosses near Agra and so joins the trunk line of upper India; this railway carries the cotton of Gujerat to Bombay for exportation. Thus, northern India, already connected by rail with the seaport of Calcutta, will be similarly connected with the seaport of Bombay.

There are cross lines running through the fertile plains of Rohilkhand and Oudh, between the river Ganges and the Himalayan mountains, connecting these territories with the main trunk line of northern India. These lines have viaducts over the Ganges at Cawnpore and at Aligarh; there will also be a viaduct over the same river at Benares.

Similarly, there will be cross lines through the rich territories of north Behar at the foot of the Nepal mountains.

From Calcutta, a line runs through eastern Bengal, and thence through northern Bengal to the foot of the Himalayas at Darjiling, over a level country, but having many bridges, and requiring a viaduct over the broad and shifting river which is a continuation of the Ganges, if such a work shall be found practicable. There is to be a short railway in Assam from the Brahmaputra to the coal mines of Makum.

At a point on the trunk line from Allahabad to Bombay, in Nimar north of the Sâtpura range, a line is conducted up the lofty sides and spurs of the Vindhya range, with works of some magnitude, to the plateau of Malwa to join the railway from Bombay to Agra. From near Nimar, also, there is to be a branch to the capital of the Bhopal State. Again, from Agra there is a branch to Sindhia's city of Gwalior. Thus Central India is connected with the seaport of Bombay and with the inland region of Hindostan.

At another point, on the same trunk line but south of the Sâtpura range, a line has been taken eastwards to Nagpur, and is now being extended further on the east towards Calcutta. This line carries to Bombay, for exportation, the cotton of the provinces of Berar and Nagpur, and will, if ultimately extended, give a straight route from Calcutta to Bombay, instead of the existing route above described which is slightly circuitous.

In the southern peninsula there is a connected series of railways. One trunk line stretches from sea to sea, from Madras on the Coromandel coast to Beypore on the Malabar coast, crossing a gap in the Nilgiri mountains. From one point on this line there runs a branch to Bangalore in Mysore; and from another point there begins a railway to Negapatam on the Coromandel coast. Again from Madras, a line starts southwards, nearing Pondicheri (to which place there is a branch), passing to Tanjore and then from Trichinopoly southwards through Madura and Tinnevely in the neighbourhood of Cape Comorin. These railways run through a generally level country (except in the neighbourhood of the Nilgiris and Mysore) without any extraordinary difficulty.

From Goa, on the west coast south of Bombay, a railway is projected under the joint auspices of the British and Portuguese Governments, which ascending the Western Ghat mountains, is to pass through Hubli near Dharwar, the mercantile capital of the southern Deccan, and afterwards to join the trunk line between Bombay and Madras. There will ultimately be a branch from Hubli to Sholapur in the Deccan.

A line has been projected to commence from the railway already mentioned in Gujerat, to skirt the Sindh desert, to enter the valley of the Indus near Hyderabad and to join the railway already described as running down the valley of the Indus.

From the seaport of Rangun as a terminus, there is taken a line to Prome, in the mid-valley of the Irawaddy, thus connecting the littoral province of Pegu with the regions of Ava and upper

Burma. A line has also been projected from Rangun to Tonghu in eastern Burma.

There are, or will be, branches in lower Bengal, in southern Behar, in the middle of Hindostan, in parts of the Central Provinces, in the Presidencies of Bombay and Madras, and in some of the Native States of Central India.

The above sketch comprises the existing system of Indian railways; most of them have either been or are being constructed. The total length of the lines, open for traffic, amounts to 8611 miles. This total is being gradually increased year by year; additional lines are proposed, with a total length of 1850 miles.

The railways in India are constructed and managed under two different systems, one that of the Guaranteed Companies, the other that of the State. The capital expended on all the railways up to April 1880 was £123,124,514. Of this sum, £97,327,851 had been expended on Guaranteed lines, £24,403,797 on State lines, and £1,392,866 on lines in Native States. Of the total mileage, 8611 miles, shewn above, 6073 miles belong to Guaranteed Companies, 2363 to the Government, and 175 to Native States.

A Guaranteed railway Company is one to which a certain rate of interest on the capital outlay is guaranteed by the Government; with the proviso that if the profits after defrayal of working expenses shall exceed the rate guaranteed, which has generally been five per cent., such surplus profits shall be divided between the Government and the Company. The Government in the first instance pays the interest on the capital to the shareholders, chiefly English as the funds were raised in England, and the earnings of the railways in India are paid into the State Treasury. Under this system, the Government has considerable powers of control over the amount of capital raised, the selection of the line, the designs of the works, the strength of the establishment, the rates and the fares. It appoints a Government Director, with the power of vote at the

Board of Directors in England, and engineer officers in India to guard its interests. It grants land for the line, the stations and appurtenances, free of charge. In other respects a guaranteed Company is like an ordinary Company; with the concurrence of the Government Director it appoints all the persons employed on the line, it selects on its own judgment the chief officials; and they are all its servants. The railway stock, thus created, has always stood high in the English market, somewhat higher than the securities of the Government itself, by reason of the prospect of surplus profits accruing. After the opening of the lines, the net earnings defrayed only a part of the interest on the outlay, the remainder thus becoming a charge upon the Government. For many years, the guaranteed interest formed a large heading in the State expenditure. The total of the sums thus paid by the Government amounts to nearly 27 millions sterling. This is regarded by many as a reasonable price for the advantages obtained by the country from the railways. Of the several Companies, the principal one has of late been generally defraying the charges for interest and has occasionally divided a surplus profit with the State. Other Companies have sometimes been able to accomplish a similar result; some, again, have not been able to effect this, though it is hoped that they will do so in time. The several Companies are designated thus: the East India, the Eastern Bengal, the Oudh and Rohilkhand, the Sind, Panjab and Delhi, for northern India; the Great India Peninsula, the Bombay, Baroda and Central India, for the central and western parts of the country; the Madras railway, and the South Indian, for the southern portion of the empire.

Notwithstanding the results attained by this system, some authorities have believed that at least equally great results might have been secured by the State operating through its own agency directly, and at a less cost. They see disadvantages in such important public interests being entrusted to private Companies, which, by reason of their dividends being guaranteed up

to a profitable rate, have not the same incentives to exertion which ordinarily are present with railway companies. The Government, they say, despite its large powers of control, has not the real check upon extravagance and the actual means of enforcing economy which ought to pertain to the authority upon which the ultimate responsibility devolves. The State, it is alleged, could have borrowed the capital at a cheaper rate than that of the guarantee, and could have managed the lines more efficiently and economically.

On the other hand, the system of guaranteed railways has been followed in India by many consequences of signal value and importance. It secured many years ago a separate financial basis in England for the railways. That basis was independent of the difficulties which beset novel undertakings in distant regions, and was free from the uncertainties attending a large outlay by Government in such a country as India. The constructive operations proceeded steadily and uninterruptedly, without cessation in consequence of other pressing calls, and without any want of funds. During the same period, State works of material improvement were occasionally stopped by reason of military or political contingencies, and were frequently retarded from financial deficits. In the troublous years, when the greater part of the country was convulsed by the war of the mutinies, the railway works were carried on, while almost all public works belonging to the Government, except military buildings, were unavoidably suspended. The guarantee system appealed to other investors besides those who ordinarily invest in Government securities. It thereby developed fresh resources from which funds could be obtained for material improvement, thus relieving the strain upon the credit of the State. It induced the English capitalists, and the moneyed classes generally, to take an interest in the advancement of India and to lend a moral support to its administration. It infused new blood into the profession of civil engineering in India, introducing men of high capacity, and of experience won in the best schools in Europe.

It gave to India the services of ready-made administrators for the working of the railways. The names may be recalled of many men, engineers or administrators, who have become distinguished under this system, Stephenson, Turnbull, James Berkley, W. P. Andrew, French, Mathew, Prestage. Thus new strength and experience were added to the administration of India. The experience, too, was of a kind which the resources of Government, abundant as they were in talent, could not at that time have supplied. The work of the Companies has been most ably seconded by the late Sir James Cosmo Melvill, by General Sir William Baker, R.E., and by Mr. Juland Danvers, gentlemen in the service of Government, and by the consulting engineers in England, Sir John Hawkshaw, the two Rendels and Mr. George Berkley. The abilities and resources of several well-known English contractors have been called forth in the service of India; such men as Brassey, Wythes, Henfrey, Glover, Faviell. In short, the guarantee system afforded several essential advantages which could not otherwise have been procured. Without it, the country would not have obtained the national benefit of railway communication within a reasonable time. It deserves, therefore, the ungrudging acknowledgment of all who have at heart the welfare of the country.

The existing arrangements, however, between the Government and the Companies are for a limited period only, and can be terminated on certain conditions. With most of the Companies there is a considerable portion of this period still unexpired. In the case of one Company, however, the East India, the Government has exercised its power of acquiring the property of the railway, but has leased to the Company the management of the line, which arrangement is a recognition of the merits of the guarantee system.

The Guaranteed Companies, represented by boards of Directors in London and by Agents in India, have generally maintained excellent relations with the Government, and in times of emergency have devoted themselves to fulfilling the behests of the

State with the same degree of zeal as that displayed by public departments. On several great opportunities of famine or war, they and their servants have won the emphatic thanks of the Government. On some State occasions, such as the tour of the Prince of Wales, and the Imperial assemblage at Delhi, the railway officials have vied with the officers of the State in loyalty and activity.

The Companies, though to some extent employing Natives, endeavouring to train them as guards, as locomotive mechanics, even as engine-drivers, and engaging them largely as station masters, do yet employ Europeans for a great part of the work that requires technical training and steadiness of nerve. Consequently the number of European employés, thus introduced into the country, is considerable. For them every possible advantage socially is provided by the Companies, namely churches, clergy, ministers, hospitals, medical attendance, schools for boys and girls, reading-rooms, recreation grounds and gardens. They are encouraged to organize themselves by forming clubs, and associations for various excellent purposes, especially for volunteering. Indeed, the volunteer movement has been very successful among the servants of the Companies, and produces a force equal to three battalions of infantry. At many points of the lines, such as central workshops, changing stations and the like, well-ordered settlements of European employés exist, resembling little colonies. The men being volunteers, can defend themselves and their stations in event of need.

The passenger traffic is that branch of the business which develops itself more speedily, and overcomes competition more entirely than any other. The Natives were supposed to be indifferent regarding time; but they do not manifest any such indifference in this case. On the contrary, they instantly appreciate the ease and speed of this mode of travelling, which they liken to reclining on a couch borne on the wind with the speed of lightning. They flock in multitudes to the stations,

waiting for the trains; though habituated to walking for long journeys, they never walk now, when they can afford to travel by rail. The fares, being at the rate of about $\frac{1}{2}$ d. a mile, are so moderate that the poor can afford to travel thus. The great bulk of the passengers are booked for the third class; the carriages of the first and second classes are but little used by the Natives. Although the virtue of a pilgrimage has been heretofore held to consist partly in the labours of the footsore pilgrims, nevertheless pilgrims in tens of thousands crowd the railway stations, to such an extent that pilgrim trains have to be specially arranged. The necessity for men of all sorts and conditions to ride in the same third-class carriage is believed by some to be softening the hard distinctions hitherto maintained between caste and caste. As the trains running daily are not numerous, it has often happened that the crowds of Native passengers have been more than the railway officials could arrange comfortably at the moment. Such instances, however, are rare nowadays, and the multitudes of Native passengers find their way into and out of the trains, with as much ease and order as could reasonably be expected. Special facilities are afforded for the conveyance of Native ladies of all classes; and of Native princes travelling with retinues. On the whole, the railways are popular with the travelling classes of the Natives. The number of passengers in a year amounts to 43 millions at the present time.

The goods traffic, though successful and popular, has, as compared with the passenger traffic, risen with slower degrees to its present position. However embarrassing the multitudes may be, the passengers must be sent on and conveyed somehow; but if the goods come in overwhelming quantities, they will be detained more or less. If such detention becomes lengthened, as it sometimes has become, it affects the repute of the railways in the estimation of the Native merchants. It even tempts some of them to intrigue with the subordinate employés of the railway for obtaining unfair priority in despatch, and thus leads

to divers abuses. Notwithstanding these occasional drawbacks, vast quantities of merchandise, amounting to 8 millions of tons in a year, are sent by rail, for which advantage the people are glad to pay 7½ millions sterling annually. The saving to the country of time and cost, which really represents value, is a set-off against any charges incurred by the public treasury on account of the railways. There have been sometimes doubts whether the rates are sufficiently low; the traffic managers naturally desire remunerative rates; on the other hand, it is urged that the best way of rendering the railways useful to the country is to have the minimum of charge upon the maximum of traffic. The Companies have made reductions, and are quite alive to the necessity of rendering the fares very moderate. Such a disposition is strengthened by the serious facts of the competition from the river boats, plying in tens of thousands on the lower Ganges and the rivers of Bengal, and in thousands on the Indus; and from the seagoing Native craft which sail past the western coast of Gujerat.

However valuable the services of the railways have been in every emergency, whether of war, famine or commercial pressure, and however strenuous are the efforts of the railway officials on these grave occasions, still anxiety arises in consequence of the rolling stock being insufficient, and especially of the engines being inadequate in number. This defect has been partly remedied of late, but as rule a considerable reserve of engines ought to be maintained in India, ready for emergency. There is this reason, among others, that owing to the difference between the Indian and the English gauges, engines cannot be obtained ready-made in the yards of the great builders in England, but have to be made specially on requisition; and the making of them in any considerable number may occupy several months, while the most pressing need is being felt in India.

The several guaranteed Companies and the State possess extensive locomotive workshops at the principal termini of

their lines. Though engines cannot be made in India they can be repaired very well; and when sent out from England in pieces they can be "erected," or put together.

The State railways are making considerable progress, but as yet play a part much smaller than that of the Guaranteed railways. Entering the field later, they have been able to profit by the experience which the guaranteed lines afforded. It was hoped that they would shew cheapness in construction and improvement in management. Though they have avoided the extravagance perceptible in some parts of the guaranteed lines, it is doubtful whether, on the whole, their construction has been essentially cheaper, upon a full comparison being made of all the circumstances and of the topography of the country traversed. Though they are well managed, it is also doubtful whether their administration is better than that of the guaranteed lines, except, perhaps, that their fares for goods traffic have a greater tendency to moderation. At all events, the fact of there being two patterns of railway management in the country, one by the Companies, the other by the State, must cause a salutary emulation whereby the public at large is benefited.

It is noteworthy that Native sovereigns are beginning to invest money in railways constructed in their dominions with the aid of the British Government. In this matter the Nizam, Sindhia and Holkar have set an excellent example, and the Begum of Bhopal is adopting a similar policy.

There has been in India, as in some other countries, a battle of the gauges. The guaranteed lines were constructed with an intermediate gauge of 5 ft. 6 in., which is less than the English old broad gauge and more than that of the English standard gauge. This intermediate gauge is now termed the Indian broad gauge. When the State railways were commenced, a proposal was made that they should be constructed on a gauge considerably narrower than the English standard gauge, namely that of the metre, 3 ft. 3 in., which is now termed the Indian

narrow gauge. The guaranteed railways' authorities and the majority probably of the mercantile community, some also of the highest official authorities, are opposed to this narrow gauge. It is likely, in their view, to impede traffic by causing breaks of gauge. It diminishes the interchange of rolling stock, engines, carriages, wagons, in the working of through lines, and it is insufficient for the growing traffic in goods especially. It produces inconvenience, without an appreciable saving of expense either in constructing or working the lines. These views are often supported by the military authorities, with the additional argument that the break of gauge in time of war will be injurious to rapidity in the movement of troops.

On the other side, it is urged that economy is important with railways, as with everything else in India. A narrow-gauge railway, being a smaller thing than a broad-gauge railway, must cost less to build and less to work. Even though the expense be not quite so low as might be expected in proportion to size, still it must be less considerably. In many parts of the country the narrow gauge is large enough for the traffic. The break of gauge, though disadvantageous, is not so seriously inconvenient as to prevent the lines from conferring great benefit upon the trade. Notwithstanding such break, troops and material of war can be conveyed promptly. In time of war the difficulty and the delay are not on the railway line, but on the lines of military transport after the terminus of the railway has been passed. It was contemplated in 1871 and 1872, that, for the most part, the lines in the Panjab, and in Sind, that is in the valleys of the Indus and its tributaries, in Rajputana and Central India, should be constructed on the narrow gauge. The project provided a considerable length of railway uniformly on this gauge, connected and interdependent, thus allowing interchange of engines, carriages and wagons. That part of the project which related to the Panjab and the Indus valley was soon afterwards abandoned, the railways in that quarter having been all constructed on the broad gauge. But that portion of the

project which related to Rajputana and Central India has been, or is being, carried into execution, and in this quarter there will be a considerable length of narrow-gauge railways. In the southern peninsula, also, there is a continuous series of narrow-gauge lines near Tanjore and Trichinopoly, extending to the neighbourhood of Cape Comorin. Some other separate State lines, and most of the branch lines yet to be undertaken, have been, or are to be, constructed on the narrow gauge. In reference to the importance of keeping down the capital account of the railways, which is really a part of the national debt, economizing the current expenses so that the net earnings shall represent a profitable rate of interest, and husbanding the limited means of the country for the completion of much extension still needed,—it is earnestly hoped that the narrow-gauge railways will be so managed that they shall answer the economical expectations with which they were introduced.

The potent accession, which the railways have brought to the military power of the Government, has been proved on many occasions of late years. The proof has been signal during the recent campaigns in Afghanistan, and will be still more emphatic as emergencies in the future may demand supreme efforts. The military advantage alone might be held to justify any financial sacrifices which may have been incurred for the sake of establishing communication by rail over the wide area of the Indian empire.

Even more remarkable is the advantage acquired in coping with famine, a fell foe whose attacks are of periodical recurrence. If public opinion in England demands that when millions of Indian people are threatened with starvation, the Government shall leave no saving remedy untried which the science of the nineteenth century can devise, then this task cannot possibly be fulfilled without the possession of railways throughout the length and breadth of the land.

The introduction of the electric telegraph into India may be appropriately mentioned in connection with railways. All the

railway lines, whether belonging to the guaranteed Companies or to the State, have their electric telegraphs, which besides performing the railway business, despatch many messages for the public.

Separate from these is the Government telegraph, which was introduced into India in 1853, at the recommendation of Lord Dalhousie and carried out mainly through the exertions of Sir William O'Shaughnessy. It has since that time been extended to all parts of the empire and has been carried across valleys, along mountain-sides or over rivers of great breadth, in a manner reflecting the highest credit on the skill of the officers concerned. The cost of the lines amounted in all to $3\frac{1}{2}$ millions sterling, their total length is represented by 19,100 miles, and $1\frac{3}{4}$ million of messages, public and private, are despatched annually. In times of famine, the telegraph has been rapidly extended into the heart of the distressed tracts, and has been of the utmost assistance to those engaged in the work of relief. In time of war, it follows the armies in the field with much regularity and constitutes a real military resource, and in every sort of emergency it has added much to the power of the Government. It is largely used by the officers of the Government, and greatly facilitates the despatch of affairs in an empire where the postal distances are so great. The European non-official community have used it greatly from the first, especially those engaged in trade. The Natives were somewhat slower in making full use of its advantages, but the Native merchants now avail themselves of it as much as the European. Its use has not, however, yet spread to the middle and humbler classes corresponding to those classes which resort to it in England, probably by reason of the minimum charge of one rupee (two shillings) for a message. If a reduction in the charge shall be found practicable, there will be an increase of messages. The messages are transmitted with satisfactory accuracy; in a manner which is creditable to the management of the department and commands the confidence of the public. For some time the receipts did not cover the

expenses; they are now, however, beginning to exceed the expenses and to yield a moderate net income.

There are two lines of telegraphic communication between India and England. Of these, one runs by a submarine cable across the Indian Ocean to Aden, and thence by the Red Sea to Egypt; it belongs to a private Company. The other runs along the coast of Beluchistan to the mouth of the Persian Gulf, then passes up the Gulf by a submarine cable to Bushire, thence by land across Persia to Tehran, where it joins the European system; it belongs to the British Government. With these two lines, the telegraphic communication is safe from interruption. The value of such communication for State purposes is manifest, and the utility to merchants is equally great, most of their important business being transacted by these means. The expense of transmitting messages over a line of such length deters individuals from using it largely; but to those who do employ it for some important personal concern, its usefulness is beyond description. To the general community, in respect of news, it is most convenient; the arrangements for telegraphing public information of importance and interest, are complete. Whatever happens in England, Europe or America, whatever is said by statesmen or written by publicists, is known a few hours afterwards throughout India. The correctness with which the messages are transmitted over several thousands of miles of land and sea, is honourable to the officers and employéés of the departments concerned. The accuracy with which cypher messages are transmitted, by this long line through so many countries, is remarkable. The Indian Empire is now in telegraphic communication with China, Australia and South Africa.

CHAPTER XVI.

ROADS AND EMBANKMENTS.

Roadmaking under Native rule—Under British rule—Principal lines of British roads—Their value and character—Their noteworthy features—Bridging and metalling—Pack-bullocks in part superseded—Carts with draught-bullocks substituted—Embankments in Bengal, Behar and Orissa—In the valley of the Indus.

ROADMAKING was from the earliest ages neglected in India to a degree which would hardly be conceivable by any Englishman who had not travelled in the East. The Buddhists and Hindus who hewed spacious chambers out of rock-formations, the later Hindus who dammed up rivers with dykes to form reservoirs for irrigation, the Indian Muhammadans who in structural design and architectural conception have not been excelled by any modern race of men, seem never to have bent their minds to the subject of roads and communications. In some few provinces, highways for warlike bands or for peaceful caravans, were marked out but not constructed. It was often deemed sufficient to indicate the route by minarets at fixed intervals of distance, and by commodious caravanserais for wayfarers at every stage. Here and there, bridges were constructed, solidly massive, indeed, and well founded, but clumsy and unpractical, and affording by their ruins and remains a strange contrast to the other surviving structures of that period. Not only in the rainy or close season were ordinarily-sized rivers impassable (as might be expected), but also their passage even in the fair, or open season, was equal to a day's march. In the champaign districts, strings of carts could, though with difficulty, drag their length along. But in the hilly districts, which comprise so large a part of the area of the country, wheeled traffic

was impossible. There the laden-pack animals and other beasts of burden climbed or struggled, as best they might, up or down the steep and rugged tracks. The shortcomings in respect to roadmaking, however, arose not only from ignorance and apathy, but partly also from design. Every Native sovereign and chief dreaded incursions from his neighbours, and regarded the impassability of the country, from wants of roads, as a sort of natural defence. None will be so obtuse respecting the advantages of roadmaking as those who, in their shortsightedness, wish not to make roads. Ofttimes a British officer, when urging on a Native chief the expediency of constructing such and such a line of road, has been told, in diplomatic terms, that roads for guns and for material of war were being advocated under the guise of roads for peaceful traffic and for commerce. Whenever a Native empire like that of the Moguls, or that of the Mahrattas, arose, its energies were too much absorbed in military and political combinations, for attention to be paid to roads and communications.

Similar preoccupations befell the British empire also, after its first consolidation; English officers were too much engrossed in the pacification of their districts to take up what would then have been regarded as so secondary a matter as roadmaking. The East India Company, so keenly sensitive to all that concerned the welfare of the people under its charge, was at first less alive to the need of roadmaking than it afterwards became; it was only abreast, and not in advance of its time. Within the last thirty years of its existence, however, it turned to roadmaking that far-seeing discernment and that comprehensive grasp, which had procured for it victorious success in so many fields of action. Lines of road, partially bridged and macadamized throughout, were undertaken, from Calcutta to Delhi a thousand miles, and prolonged hundreds of miles further as the frontier advanced; from Bombay to Agra, a distance of nine hundred miles; from Madras to Bombay, a distance of eight hundred miles. These represent only some of the prin-

cipal among the trunk lines which were begun in province after province and in season after season. The lines of road not only traversed the open steppe-like tracts of the country, but also marched right at the mountain ranges, or made straight for some of the most arduous passes. There was no want of ingenuity in avoiding difficulties, but the contour of the country presented obstacles which had unavoidably to be encountered.

These lines rendered to the country the services which the railways are now rendering far more completely. For many years before the introduction of the railways, the line from Bombay to the north and from Bombay to Madras served for the purposes of military communication and of trade. During a whole generation, the trunk road of the North-western Provinces was the main artery of communication between Calcutta and the north-west frontier. In these several trunk lines the most noteworthy points are, the section through the rugged tracts between the rivers Jhelum and Indus, where the roadway sometimes consists of a continuous series of cuttings and embankments; the roadway along the spurs of the Vindhya mountains near Indore; the passage of the Western Ghat mountains by the Thal pass between Khandesh and the coast, which is perhaps the best instance of roadmaking to be found in the empire; the similar passage of the same mountains by the Bhere pass between Bombay and the Deccan; the line through the Eastern Ghat mountains between the Balaghat districts and the Madras coast.

Besides the trunk lines there are many other roads, of remarkable construction, in all parts of the empire; for instance in the Himalayas, the roads from the plains of Rawal Pindi through the hill district of Hazâra, from the military cantonment of Ambala to the sanitarium of Simla; from Simla towards Chini; from the region of northern Bengal to the station of Darjiling and the tea district of Sikhim; from Mirzapur on the Ganges to Jabulpur in Central India and thence across the Sâtpura

mountains to Nagpur; the several passes whereby the Western Ghat range is pierced, such as that near Mahableshwar, near Kolhapur, near Karwar, near Kompta, near Cannanore, near Calicut and Beypur; the line from Poona to the southern Deccan; the ascent of the Nilgiri mountains from the plains of Coimbatour to the sanitarium at Utacamand; the passage of the Eastern Ghat mountains between the coast and the districts of Caddapa and Karnul. Many portions of the mountainous ranges of the empire, such as the Western and Eastern Ghats, the Vindhya and the Sâtpuras, the Aravalis, yet remain to be penetrated by the roadmakers.

In the passes the roads are usually made complete, with bridges, zigzags, parapets and revetments. In the plains they are partly bridged; and many fine bridges have been erected in different parts of the empire. They are often, however, very imperfectly bridged, or not bridged at all. The trunk lines are usually metalled or macadamized; the materials for metalling are abundant in northern, southern and western India, but deficient in eastern India, especially in Bengal, where they have to be supplied by brickmaking. In several provinces there are still many branch roads quite unmetalled, and these prove very heavy and troublesome for traffic.

The difference, caused by these roads, in the modes of communication and in the habits of the people, is always strongly marked. The pack-bullocks driven by strange tribes, resembling gypsies in some respects, but endowed with uncommon hardihood and perseverance, are superseded, and carts with draught-bullocks are substituted. The carts are not of the inefficient and antiquated build previously in vogue, but are of an improved structure and greatly enlarged capacity; the bullocks are of taller, stouter and stronger breeds. In some, perhaps in most seasons, it is the custom to perform the stage between sunset and sunrise; and along the mountain passes the creaking of the cartwheels and the shouts of the cartmen may be heard resounding all night long. The pack-bullocks, having their gipsy-like drivers,

will continue to graze in vast numbers on the mountain plateaux, and will not find their occupation gone, until that yet distant time shall arrive when the road system of the empire approaches completion.

Thus, not only has the professional skill of engineers, but also some of the best talent of civil administrators, been directed to roadmaking, which has in the course of a quarter of a century made gigantic strides. Nevertheless, although the empire can no longer be considered to be roadless, as it was once described, and although the complaints regarding a want of roads are much less heard nowadays than they used to be, it is doubtless held in commercial circles that very much, in regard to roadmaking, yet remains to be done. If thousands of miles have been finished, still thousands of miles have to be undertaken, before the empire can be placed on a par in this respect with any advanced country in Europe. Some of the trunk roads are used less now than formerly, by reason of the introduction of railways. But the opening of railway stations often brings fresh roads into existence as tributaries, or "feeders" as they are now called, to the railway. Here, again, the authorities of the railways will doubtless consider that much more yet needs to be done.

The finance of roadmaking generally, in the empire, has been of late years entrusted entirely to the several Local Governments under the system known by the name of Provincial Services. The central Government of India undertakes to provide funds only for a few lines mainly or solely required for military purposes. The several Local Governments receive annually, from the Government of India, certain aggregate grants for provincial services, among which services roadmaking is included. They may apply to roadmaking such portion of these grants as they deem fit, and to these funds they may add the receipts of local rates imposed by law for roads. With the resources at their disposal, they may construct such roads as are practicable; they being answerable to the public for the result,

and not being entitled to apply to the Government of India for any additional funds.

Tramways have been introduced into the city of Bombay by American enterprise, and are managed with that skill which Americans everywhere bring to bear on this subject. They are very successful and carry many thousands of passengers daily, European and East Indian as well as Natives. There is a good tramway in Calcutta along the Strand, belonging to the Port Commissioners, but the attempts made to introduce tramways into other parts of the city have not yet succeeded.

It is difficult to give the total length of the roads which are metalled or macadamized throughout and partially bridged, but it is not less than 20,000 miles for the whole empire.

In previous chapters so much stress has been laid upon the need of irrigation and protection from drought, that it might perhaps be supposed that the opposite difficulty, namely that of drainage and protection from floods, hardly exists. In some provinces, however, protective measures against inundation have long engaged the solicitous care of the Government and the people. In Bengal, Behar and Orissa these operations, on the banks of the Ganges and its tributaries, have been repeatedly subjects of legislation. To one of the laws on this subject there is attached an interesting schedule setting forth a statement of embankments under State control, some old, others new, of which the total length amounts to 1170 miles. The river Gandak in Behar presents a remarkable instance of embankments, broad and high, constructed on both sides for a length of 130 miles, on the efficient maintenance of which depends the safety of districts with a population of not less than two millions. In Orissa there are extensive embankments of ancient date on the sides of the Mahanadi, the Brahmini and other rivers. In northern Bengal there are swamps of many square miles in extent, which at some seasons of the year resemble lagoons. In 1875, the Bengal Government estimated the area under swamps, needing drainage and

reclamation, at full half a million of acres. In the valley of the Indus near Bahawalpur, in the southern portion of the Panjab, there are extensive embankments on the bank of the great river. Near Sakar in Sindh the embankments extend for 150 miles on one bank and 50 miles on the opposite bank, protecting the whole of Upper Sind from the devastation which the floods of the Indus would otherwise cause. Indeed, the canal system in that region, the land revenue, the towns, and the line of military communication with southern Afghanistan, partly depend for their safety on the stability of these embankments. There is, however, much difficulty in rendering these works secure against the violence of the Indus when in flood. Improvements in construction are being constantly made, and, when fully completed, the Indus embankments will form one of the finest systems of the kind in any country.

CHAPTER XVII.

PRODUCTS, NATURAL, AGRICULTURAL AND INDUSTRIAL.

Comparison of Indian products with those of other countries—Tea—Coffee—Tobacco—Cinchona—Cotton—Indigenous staple—Local manufactures of cotton by steam machinery—Factory legislation—Production and manufactures of jute—The forests—Destruction in past times—Present conservancy—Climatic importance—Preservation of pasturage—Communal forests—Forest laws—The forest department—Conduct of the people in relation to forests—Mineral resources—Coal—Iron—Gold—Precious stones—Industrial products—Still flourishing on the whole—Exhibitions of art and industry—Effect on Native taste—Merits of Native art.

INDIA will, on a comparison of her raw products with those of other nations, be found to exhibit only a second-rate quality in many of those articles, for the production of which she has long been famed. For instance, her raw silks are not equal in excellence to those of China or Italy. Her produce of sugarcane is inferior in richness to that of Jamaica; her spices have less pungency than those of Ceylon, the West Indies, or the islands of the Eastern Archipelago. Her cotton is far surpassed by that of the United States, and her tobacco by that of South America. Though some kinds of her rice, grown in limited quantities, are of unsurpassed fineness, still the quality of her abundant sorts is excelled by that of the Carolina rice. Her maize is below the standard of southern Europe; her wheat, though beginning to be esteemed and exported, cannot rival in quality the wheat of Great Britain or of the United States. Her indigenous vegetables and fruits cannot be compared with those of European countries; nor her dates with those of Mesopotamia; nor her betel-nut with that of Ceylon; nor her figs with those of Asia Minor. Her vines are inferior,

not only to those of France and Germany, but even to those of Afghanistan and Persia. Notwithstanding great efforts in the culture of the febrifuge, her Cinchona cannot be made to match that of Peru. Her wool cannot compete with that of Australia or of Thibet. Her horses, even on her own ground, cannot vie with those of Australia, Arabia or Persia; her bovine breeds are outstripped by those of European countries; and her camels by those of Central Asia. Her mineral wealth, though consisting of coal, iron, copper, borax, manganese, gypsum, and many other things, must be placed in a comparatively humble rank.

The merit of India consists in this, that she produces all these things cheaply, abundantly and passably good.

It is remarkable, too, that the parts of India, which raise some articles in a small quantity, produce them better than those parts which raise them in abundance. For instance, Bengal and Burma produce rice very much, the Panjab very little, but that little is by many degrees superior. Many other provinces have sugarcane besides the Panjab, but the Panjab sugarcane is the best, though limited in quantity. Again, Indian corn or maize is grown largely in the plains of India, and only sparsely in the Himalayas, but the Himalayan varieties are the finest.

Still, there are some articles in the production of which India is at the head of all countries, or is not surpassed by any country. Her tea has of late years been so rapidly rising in repute that the people of China will some day be obliged to look to their hitherto unquestioned supremacy in this respect. In quantity the Chinese tea is still surpassingly great; but as to quality, it is to be noted that the Indian tea is used in the English markets chiefly for flavouring Chinese tea, and this may be regarded as a sign of superiority in favour of India. The quality, and the astonishing increase in the quantity, of Indian coffee are fast causing the Arabian coffee, so famous of old, to be superseded. The indigo of Bengal and Behar has been unapproachable as yet, though

its position in the markets of the world is threatened by new dyes chemically extracted from other substances. Still, no plant yet discovered in any clime can rival the dark blue dye of the Indian plant in permanence or in colour, and no dye surpasses the scarlet of the Indian lac. The opium-producing poppy of the mid-Gangetic basin, and of the Malwa uplands, is in quality unequalled. The Chinese have, apparently despite the prohibition by their own Government of the culture, grown the poppy over an extensive area, still their variety is nowhere near that of India in quality. Though the cocoa-nut is a most highly esteemed product in many eastern countries, yet nothing beats the cocoa-nut of the Malabar coast of India. This tree is truly said to furnish all a poor man wants, his food, drink, clothing, utensils and the materials for his house. From one end of India to the other, the introduction of the potato has been most successful, and the root bids fair to become an article of large consumption. The mango-tree is among the most useful of the Indian trees; its wood is turned to many purposes; its fruit is an article of sustenance for the poorer classes, and with the highly cultured varieties, ranks high among the fruits of the world. The teak wood of Burma and of Malabar has such a high merit that it is largely used by the British Admiralty. The cedar is regarded everywhere as one of the queens of the forest, but nowhere is it found richer in quantity, or finer in quality, than among the Himalayan mountains. The ebony of Africa and the india-rubber of South America have long been celebrated; but they may be rivalled by those of Eastern Bengal and other parts of India. The *Eucalyptus globulosa*, introduced from Australia, has been naturalized successfully in the Nilgiri mountains. Horns and hides are things in which quantity is the main object, and in this respect India with her countless cattle has a vast resource. Her oil-seeds, flax and hemp occupy a high place; her jute fibre which enters into so many manufactures, has, as yet, no competitor anywhere. Her oranges, naturalized by the Portu-

guese on her soil, rival those of southern Europe; but her plantains are not equal to those of equatorial regions. Some of her flowering trees, such as the Champa, the Magnolia, the Asoka, the Lagerstræmia, the Bauhinia, the silk-cotton tree, the Kachnar, the Poiniana, display great beauty. The rhododendrons of the eastern Himalayas are superb, and as tree-shrubs are among the glories of the mountains. The European flowers when cultivated in some parts of India, such as the Nilgiri mountains, under European supervision will soon enter into rivalry with those of Europe itself; the superiority or inferiority is only a question of capital and skill.

From amongst the many products, a few may be selected for brief notice here.

The production of indigo, once so large in Bengal, has become contracted of late years. The cultivation of the plant ceased twenty years ago to be remunerative to the peasants, who consequently refused to continue it. The European planters held the peasantry to the contracts which had been made for producing the plant. The validity of these contracts was disputed and some agrarian troubles, even disturbances, ensued. Concessions were offered, but the terms, which the planters could afford to give, the cultivators could not afford to take. Ultimately the planting concerns succumbed for the most part, and indigo ceased to be an industry of any consequence in Bengal.

Similar circumstances have arisen, or threatened to arise, in Behar, where the plant is largely produced, but the planters have from time to time been able to make concessions which the cultivators have accepted for the present. Thus the industry has been saved from extinction, and continues to flourish; up to the most recent dates additional concessions are being made by the planters. There is hope that the planters may yet preserve to the country this useful product, remembering that it must decline and fall, unless it can be made remunerative to the peasant who is the original producer.

The tea is mainly a product of the southern slopes of the

Himalayas, of Assam or the upper valley of the Brahmaputra, and of the western slopes of the mountains which bound Bengal on the east. Its increase is among the economic events of the time; in thirty years it has risen from nothing up to thirty-four millions of pounds annually, valued at three millions sterling. Many of the earlier European planters struggled towards the goal of this great success through a maze of difficulties, errors, and disappointments. They thus lost much capital, which has been replaced by capital generally yielding good returns. Their more fortunate successors form a regular profession of specially trained and qualified men. The tea-gardens are now scientifically managed, improved processes are adopted in the factories for the preparation of the leaf, and steam machinery is beginning to be used.

The coffee-planting has an earlier origin, and is carried on amidst the beautiful valleys and hills of Curg, the Nilgiris, Wynaad and Travancore. As a business, it has sometimes suffered from the want of professional knowledge, and it is somewhat subject to vicissitudes of season, to the ravages of insects and to specific diseases. Its production within this generation has greatly increased, and amounts on the average to 350,000 cwts. annually, valued at 1½ million sterling. The coffee-planters also have become a highly instructed profession; their plantations are finely situated and present a gay sight when the trees are in blossom.

Tobacco is largely cultivated for local consumption, but is not exported in any appreciable quantity. Many people are sanguine that with scientific treatment it may be placed in competition with American tobacco. With this view some important experiments have been made in northern India, with assistance from the State and apparently with success.

The Cinchona-tree has been for some years assiduously cultivated by the Government both in the Nilgiri hills and in Sikhim. The plantations are extensive and thriving, and include several species of the tree. Chemical experiments have

been made in order to extract from the bark a febrifuge which shall be sufficient and yet so cheap as to be purchaseable by the poorest people; considerable quantities of this useful medicine are being produced.

Silk was once among the most prosperous of Indian products, especially in Bengal proper. The mulberry-gardens, with the trees trained as bushes for the worms to feed upon, afford an interesting sight. The price commanded by the Indian silk in foreign markets, and the exportation, depend much on the yield in China and in Italy, and are therefore somewhat precarious. The production is, however, maintained in Bengal and in many other parts of the empire, and excites much attention. A full account of it will be found in Mr. Geoghegan's elaborate report. Great interest is felt by many people in the production of the "Tusser" or wild silk, produced by worms which feed, not on the cultivated mulberry, but on the trees of the forests. The substance thus produced is thought to be well suited to many kinds of European fabrics; machines for it are being devised and hopes are entertained of its becoming a valuable export. Reference may be made with advantage to Mr. Wardle's very useful treatises on the subject.

Cotton received much attention, both from the Government and from the public, for several years after the American civil war. Much salutary influence in this direction was exerted by the Cotton Supply Association formed in England. Special officers were appointed by the Government to guide the efforts of the people in improving the staple. Dr. Forbes in Bombay and Mr. H. Rivett Carnac in Upper India rendered much service in this way. Strenuous exertions were put forth, by improving the indigenous species, and by naturalizing foreign varieties, to produce a fibre which should be as suitable as the American fibre to the English machinery. These proceedings have been attended with partial success; but all parties concerned, whether the State, the trader, or the cultivator, are oppressed with the conviction that India cannot in this respect compete with America, now

that the crop of the Southern States is as large as ever, despite the social changes consequent on the civil war. The interest in improving the staple, once so warm, has inevitably become cool, among the Natives at least. For some years after the war, India, though ceasing to export the abnormal quantities which used to be despatched to England during the blockade of the American ports, continued exporting annually quantities much larger than those she had exported before those events. The exportation has of late been decreasing, though it will doubtless remain considerable. Meanwhile the cultivation of the indigenous species is flourishing, and is stimulated by the establishment at Bombay of factories for the manufacture of cotton goods. The demand for raw cotton is brisk in all the marts; special regulations are made by law to stop the frauds and adulterations whereby foreign substances were mixed with the fibre, and the repute of the Indian staple lowered.

The local manufactures of cotton by steam machinery in India have been much noticed of late. Some twenty-five years have elapsed since the first attempt was made at Bombay, in this direction; a great impulse was imparted to the movement when the cotton trade became so inflated after 1861. There are now 53 spinning and weaving mills in India, of which 41 are in the Bombay Presidency and 5 in Calcutta. These mills employ 10,500 looms and 1½ million of spindles. They mostly belong to private companies, though some of them are owned and managed by individuals. Of the capital, a part belongs to Europeans, the greater portion of it is, however, in the hands of Natives. The owners and managers are generally Natives, though Europeans are sometimes employed as foremen. The concerns have suffered all sorts of mishaps from speculation, misapplication of capital and errors in practice, still many of them have been placed on a sound footing, and on the whole they are very creditable to Native enterprise. The workpeople are Natives of both sexes, including adults and children. The goods produced by the mills are good, serviceable, and free from

adulteration. To a limited extent they compete successfully with English-made goods, and with the indigenous goods turned out by hand-loom. They cannot, however, at present compete with the better kinds of the English manufactures, though the chance of their competing in future is gradually becoming stronger.

The growth of these and other manufactures at Bombay and at Calcutta, and the large numbers of Native hands employed, have caused the Indian legislature to undertake legislation for restricting the hours of work in the factories, and to enact other humane provisions on the model of the English legislation in these respects. Some moderate restrictions and provisions are required in a hot climate where, for the sake of good wages in hard times, the Native workpeople are apt to over-exert themselves. In justice to the managers it must be said that the management is generally popular with the Native labourers and their families; and that care is bestowed on the women and children in the factories.

There are other fibrous substances such as coir, which is obtained from the husk of the cocoa-nut, which furnishes excellent material for cables, and which is exported in some quantities. Flax can be produced in large quantities; but the production of it is comparatively small, because the linseed plant, from the stem of which the fibre is obtained, is cultivated for the sake of the oil-seed and the oil, rather than for the sake of the fibre. Several good varieties of hemp are grown and afford capital material for cordage; this article, raw and manufactured, is exported in considerable quantities.

Among the most important of the fibrous substances of India is jute, an article which has come into prominence since the war in the Crimea. This staple is grown on the banks of the Brahmaputra and of its branches, in eastern Bengal. It is cultivated partly for consumption in manufactures within India itself, and partly for exportation. The quantity exported, which is sent chiefly to the United Kingdom, amounts annually to nearly 5 millions of cwts., valued at 3 millions sterling. The

jute manufactures in India itself are valued at $\frac{1}{4}$ of a million sterling yearly. They are carried on at Calcutta, where the factories and the tall chimneys remind the spectator of some of the manufacturing centres of Europe. They consist chiefly of bags for corn, rice, seeds and wool, which are sent to the United States, Australia, Egypt, and to England also. They employ many thousands of Natives of both sexes and all ages.

Among natural products, the forests claim a prominent place.

The forests of India were vast according to tradition, and have been considerable even during periods of authentic history. During some few centuries, they have been shrinking in size and importance, until they are at present inconsiderable for so great an empire as India, which possesses so many ranges of mountains and hills. If the hill-sides generally had slopes which could be cultivated, then the forests, as they were gradually cut down and uprooted, would give place to crop-bearing fields. But the hills are steep, the soil, lying upon rocky strata, is thin, and is speedily washed away by the rains descending violently at certain seasons. The forest is destined by nature to bind the soil with roots, and so to support the lesser vegetation on the ground. Consequently, when the hill-side is denuded of trees, the shrubs, plants, and herbage fail to sustain themselves, and barrenness ensues. The unrestrained clearance of the forests has affected the climate unfavourably, and lessened the supply of moisture in a country already subject to aridity. It has caused wood, a necessary article, to become dear and scarce, and compelled the people to use for fuel substances which ought to be used for manure. It has reduced to a low ebb some valuable portions of the national wealth, and cut off beyond recovery some branches of the imperial resources. For many generations, the forests have been felled whenever firewood had to be gathered for the consumption of the villagers, or new lands reclaimed from the hilly slopes, or towns built with styles of architecture in which wood is largely used, more particularly when cantonments for troops had to be formed,

or civil edifices constructed. The felling used to be carried on indiscriminately, without any thought of leaving some parts of the forests, or even a few trees here and there, for reproduction in the future. This destructive process was continued under British rule, and became even aggravated under various circumstances. Timber was needed for the roofing of barracks, and the officers of the public works department used to make contracts with capitalists for its supply. These officers were unwilling to interfere with the operations of the contractors who, having no abiding interest in the forests, cleared them to the last logs, without regard for the consequences of such denudation. The forests had been so little explored that the local authorities seldom became aware of the mischief which was being done. When railways began to be constructed, sleepers were not, as they now often are, obtained from northern Europe, but were procured from local forests, through the agency of contractors, who denuded the forests according to the custom which had unfortunately been established in such cases. The Government theoretically deplored the evil so far as they knew its existence; but its real magnitude remained long unknown by reason of the ignorance which prevailed in respect to the sites, value and stock of the forests.

Within the present generation, scientific attention has been awakened, the Government has bestirred itself, and an effective system of forests has been inaugurated. Mischief, practically immense, has been done already, of which some parts are irreparable, or can be repaired only after the lapse of a long time, while others may be remedied within one or two generations. Of the primeval forests there remain several, still intact, enough to constitute a national resource.

In the lower ranges of the Himalayan mountains, in central India, in the valleys of the Vindhya and Aravali ranges, in the northern and western portions of the Deccan, in many districts of the Madras Presidency, the forests have been for the most part so long destroyed that their restoration is hardly to be anticipated.

But in the higher ranges of the Himalayas, in the central tracts of the Panjab, in the Sâtpura range, in that hilly region where the Vindhya and Sâtpura ranges join, in the Eastern and Western Ghat ranges, they are either preserved, or else but partially destroyed, and may still prove very productive. In some parts of the Bengal Presidency, and in many parts of the Presidencies of Madras and Bombay, the remnant of them is still being invaded bit by bit. Many authorities apprehend that the western and southern provinces of India are, owing to the destruction of the forests, threatened with a danger which is feebly checked, and which, if not arrested, may seriously affect the best interests of the country.

The woods and forests of India from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin comprise, as might be expected, trees of European kinds, the cedar, the pine, the fir, the mountain cypress, the juniper, the yew, the oak, the ilex, the elm, the ash, the maple, the plane, the holly, the laurel, the birch, the walnut, the alder. The Asiatic sorts are the acacia, the terminalia, the ebony, the ficus order including the banyan and the india-rubber tree, the mango, the sandal-wood, the cane, the bamboo, the toon, the neem, the blackwood, the sâl; and greatest of all, the teak. To these should be added the palms, including the feathery date-palm, the palmyra with its fan-like leaves, and the betel-nut palm. The lesser products of the forests, such as myrobalams and other articles, are also considerable.

Many believe that the rainfall is copious and seasonable, or otherwise, according as the woods and forests, and the vegetation subsidiary to them, are preserved or destroyed, while others disbelieve this view, which at all events must admit of much qualification. But, after all due abatements have been made, the view is generally held to comprise some truth. The total rainfall of the whole country cannot possibly be affected by the existence of forests. The average quantity of vapour must come from the ocean and must be condensed somewhere; if it be not changed into rain as it passes across the

plains, it will pass on to the mountains and be transformed there. This, indeed, is a matter of common experience; moisture-laden clouds float over the Deccan, leaving it arid, and move on to the Sâtpura range, and, being condensed there, fill the torrent-beds with rain-water which rushes into the rivers and returns ultimately to the plain in the form of inundations. Similarly, clouds sweep over the thirsty plains of Hindostan, and, being condensed in the Himalayas, produce floods in the great rivers. The hope is that, if forest tracts were distributed over the plains, there would be cool surfaces to attract the clouds and to arrest them, as it were, on their way. There are many tracts where forests, if preserved, would grow up within a short time. Thus it is anticipated by many that the climate would be improved, and that the early and the late rains would descend more seasonably than at present. It is remembered that, throughout the world, those regions which possess rich vegetation receive abundant rains, while those which are denuded of vegetation are rainless. It is remarked, too, that those regions in India, which ordinarily receive rain but have been parched by a long drought, are plagued afterwards with immoderate rain.

At all events the forests, and their subsidiary vegetation, husband and store by a natural process the exceeding moisture of the rainy season, for the benefit of the country during the dry season. The streams become better filled and more available for the use of the people; the springs are less likely to run dry, the wells less liable to failure. This consideration becomes peculiarly important in those regions where the canals for irrigation are drawn from rivers having their source in mountains which depend on the annual rainfall for moisture. Near the springs, and along the upper courses of these rivers, the vegetation needs especially to be preserved for the sake of the canals.

The economic considerations relating to the forests are manifestly important, as wood is used largely in the construction of the houses and cottages in most parts of the country. In

northern India, where trees are few, the earth, indurated by the sun, affords good material, and the earthen walls are durable, but elsewhere the earth does not always possess a like degree of consistency. For these reasons it is essential that the timber markets should be well supplied. Without interposition by the State, the wood and timber would become scarcer and dearer from time to time, as the forests became exhausted. As coal is not available, the people require wood for fuel; if they cannot obtain wood, they will use cowdung-cakes for burning. The practice of consuming for fuel that which ought to be used for manure, in a country, too, where artificial manure is not available, extensively prevails, is most injurious and tends to exhaustion of the soil. The only means of lessening this practice, is by preserving the forests to provide a cheap and plentiful supply of wood for fuel.

Again; some of the woods and timbers, and many articles of spontaneous production in the forests, are exported largely; and under an adequate system of forest conservancy would add to the trade of the country.

Connected with the forests is the supply of grass for the pasturage of cattle. In times of drought the animals perish in great numbers for lack of fodder; in ordinary times they wander as they graze, and tread down much more than they eat. Conservancy of vegetation would save the woods, the brushwood and the grass simultaneously.

Some authorities consider that in the treeless parts of the country, woods and covers might be planted and reared near every village, to be called "communal forests," for the supply of fuel to the villagers, and for ensuring at least a limited area of vegetation, where the growth of grass would be preserved in the hot season for the cattle, which suffer so much at that period from want of fodder. This project is well worthy of a careful trial in many parts of the country.

Thus the policy of preserving the forests rests upon two grounds, first the improvement of the climate and the retention

of moisture, secondly the husbanding of the national resources in timber and fuel for the use of the people. This policy, then, is of much consequence to the well-being of the country and the nation.

The Government of India has enacted a law regulating all matters connected with forest conservancy, and the provisions of this law are being carried into effect by the several Local Governments. The forests are divided into two categories; first, those which are "reserved," being preserved and worked through State agency, in the most complete manner; secondly, those which are "protected," being preserved less thoroughly. The best timber-markets are mainly supplied from the "reserved" forests. Care has been taken to determine what tracts shall be "reserved," or "protected," and to mark off their boundaries. The area thus defined in the several provinces already, or likely to be defined ere long, will prove to be hardly less than eighty thousand square miles for the whole empire. The primary object of the administration is to preserve the forests for the sake of the country. Due attention is also given to the financial out-turn, much income is already secured, the expenditure is over £500,000 annually, but the receipts amount to nearly £700,000, and in time the forest department will have a prosperous revenue.

The superior officers of the department are for the most part British, trained in the forest schools of France and Germany. The Inspector-General of forests with the Government of India is Dr. D. Brandis, whose services to the empire have been conspicuous in organizing a system of forestry, which is sound and scientific, and is yet adapted to the circumstances of the country. Instruction in forestry is afforded to Natives also; forest schools are established for them, and in time they will take a large share in the administrative work.

As might be expected, the system of forest conservancy, though generally accepted by the Natives who dwell near the "reserved" and the "protected" tracts, is sometimes opposed by them. There must always be some danger lest the foresters should, in their just zeal for conservancy, infringe upon the pre-

scriptive rights of the inhabitants. The local civil authorities are vigilant and prompt in asserting or vindicating the rights of the people in this respect, for the recognition of which rights, indeed, ample provision is made by the law. They should, however, be careful to support and encourage the forest officers in the execution of duties which are of the utmost consequence to the welfare of the country. Many of the hill tribes habitually burn patches of valuable forest, in order that the ashes may so fertilise the virgin soil as to render it capable of producing a crop without tillage. Having reaped one harvest, they leave the spot marked by charred stumps of timber trees, and move on to repeat the same ravage elsewhere. This barbarous and wastefully destructive practice is gradually and cautiously checked, by reclaiming these people from agricultural savagery, and by inducing them to plough lands, and raise yearly crops by ordinary husbandry.

According to the latest returns there appear to be 29,600 square miles of demarcated reserve forests, 3500 square miles of protected areas, and 35,000 square miles of unreserved forests; or 68,100 square miles in all. This appears a comparatively small area for so large an empire, especially when it is remembered that of this not more than one half is effectually preserved. Some extensive forest tracts exist, however, in the Madras Presidency, of which a return remains to be rendered. There are, further, 31,000 acres of plantations in various districts.

Among the mineral resources of India there are a few articles deserving notice.

Coal-beds having a considerable yield, though not of the best quality, exist in many parts of India. The largest are those which have been opened out among the hills flanking the western side of Bengal, and with these there is complete railway communication. There are good seams, successfully worked, on the northern side of the Sâtpura range, overlooking the Narbadda valley through which the railway runs. A considerable bed is being worked in the valley of the Wardha river near Nagpur, and to that point a branch railway has

been constructed. Some coal-beds have been found in upper Assam; and a short railway is to be made to them from the bank of the Brahmaputra. The Indian coal is largely used by the railways, the steamers and the factories; the total consumption amounts to half a million of tons annually; and the possible output of the collieries is reckoned at a million of tons yearly. The industry affords employment to upwards of 50,000 men, exclusive of their families. Still, some quantities of English coal and coke are imported amounting to 600,000 tons annually. Other coal-beds are known to exist in the Salt range of the Panjab, in the province of Berar, and in the Palamow extremity of the Vindhya range.

Iron is found in most parts of the empire, and is used in many places for small local industries. It is seldom worked on any large scale, by reason of the want of available fuel, among other reasons. In the undulating country on the west of Bengal, some extensive mines are being worked by a private company with a fair measure of success.

India is one of the oldest gold-producing countries in the world, but during recent ages the supply has been small. Of late some auriferous veins have been discovered in the southern portion of the Malabar coast region, especially in the Wynaad hills, and in the Mysore plateau near Bangalore. Companies have been and are being formed for working the ore; concessions of many square miles have been obtained for this purpose; and sanguine hopes have been raised in the minds of many well-informed persons. The matter is undergoing scientific enquiry by professional experts and trials are being made. There are traces of operations in ancient times, whence it is probable that the most readily available supplies have been worked out. The gold which still remains must apparently be "won," by processes of crushing and reducing. Questions, too, will arise regarding water-power and fuel resources. If mining for gold in this quarter should prove successful, the economic result to the Indian empire would be important.

The supply of precious stones in India is but little now as

compared with what it was in former times. There are still, however, diamonds in Bundelkhand south of the Jamna river, rubies in Burma, and pearl fisheries near Tuticorin in the Southern Peninsula. Among Indian products are included the pearl fisheries of Bahrein in the Persian Gulf, of which the produce is chiefly sent to the Bombay market.

The natural and agricultural products having thus been mentioned, the industrial products claim a brief notice.

It seems to be held by many that the ancient manufactures of the Natives have been largely supplanted by British manufactures, or extinguished under the social changes wrought by British rule, and that consequently a depressing influence is exercised on the national wealth and energy; but this opinion has less foundation than is commonly supposed.

The virtual extinction of the industry, represented by the muslins of eastern Bengal, may be cited as an instance. These delicate fabrics can be made cheaper, though not better, elsewhere, and the fastidiously refined classes who were wont to use them have dwindled away. The number of hands employed in this industry was never very great. Some instances might be adduced, where arts, of extreme beauty but of limited application, have perished, by reason of their being confined to small guilds or to a very few families. Revolutions stopped for a moment the demand; the little bands of artists were dispersed; as individuals died, their skill vanished with them. Such circumstances, however lamentable from an æsthetic point of view, have not produced any effect upon the people, as the number of persons concerned is relatively so small.

The armourer's trade, which once reached an excessive growth in an empire where for some centuries warfare was almost universal and incessant, necessarily languished on the establishment of peace under a settled government. Armoury as an industry once employed large numbers of persons, and as an art was carried to a high degree of beauty. But its gradual cessation in the British territories at least, is hardly to be regretted.

On the other hand, many ancient articles once extensively

made, are still produced largely, though perhaps in somewhat diminished quantities. If the purely indigenous industries of the higher sorts in India, as they now are, could be compared with those which existed in the palmy days of the Mogul empire, some decline would doubtless be perceptible. But if the industries of the coarser and commoner sorts were thus compared, expansion rather than contraction would be observed. If the total number of persons engaged in all kinds of industry, other than agriculture, in 1880 could be compared with that of 1680, the time of the emperor Arungzeb, or of 1580, the time of Akber the Great, it is probable that British rule would not suffer by the comparison, but would rather gain. Those who consult the splendidly illustrated work by Dr. Forbes Watson on the textile fabrics of India, the review by Dr. Birdwood of contributions by India to the Paris Exhibition, the recently published book by the same author on the Industrial Arts of India, and Mr. Baden Powell's Handbook on the manufactures and arts of the Panjab, will see that the country still produces, in great quantities and of excellent quality, nearly all the beautiful articles for which it has ever been celebrated. The people at large, even if they have not increased in numbers, must be at least as numerous as ever, and their clothing constitutes a mighty factor in the national industry. It is notorious that British industry has long been striving, as yet with but moderate success, to supersede this indigenous industry, which still for the most part remains in the hands of Indians. On the other hand, the mining or metallurgic industries of India have been fast increasing under British rule. Several new industries have arisen, so well known in connection with cotton, jute, indigo, silk, tea and coffee. The works of material improvement now executed, to an extent not equalled by the architectural or structural efforts of former dynasties, have developed a new series of mechanical industries affording much occupation to the working classes. Thus a detailed survey of the whole field would probably shew that, in respect

of economic effect, the arts and industries of India are more important than they ever were, and employ a greater number of hands. It is true that numbers of persons, once otherwise employed, have during the last two generations been thrown back upon agriculture. Such persons, however, will be found for the most part to have come, not from the industrial classes, but rather from the classes formerly engaged in the defence and administration of the country.

On a review of the Indian Museum in the art department at South Kensington, and of the several illustrated works which have been published, it will be apparent that India still has the taste and the faculty necessary for the production of works of industrial art, that her handicraftsmen still have the leisure and the inventive power which signalized them of yore, that her chiefs and upper classes still appreciate and encourage the production of really beautiful things in the utmost variety. The gold and silver plate, the metal work in brass, copper and tin, the damascened work, the trappings and caparisons, the mother-of-pearl of Ahmedabad, the inlaid work of Agra and of Bombay, the work of Vizagapatam, the sandal-wood carving, the carved ivory horn and tortoise-shell, the lac work, the cotton fabrics, the gold and silver lace, the embroidery, the carpets, the pottery, and most of all the enamels, worthily represent the work of these times, in comparison with former ages. The art of enamelling is in the first rank of the handicrafts of the world, and is pursued in India to the highest degree of perfection yet known. It cannot at any previous epoch have been more successful than it is now, and probably it is carried on with a greater variety of device and of method than ever.

When the Native princes and chiefs of the empire attended the Imperial Assemblage at Delhi, the mass of articles of luxury and adornment, then collected, probably equalled anything ever seen in the camps that were marshalled, or the courts that were held, by the Moguls. The presents offered to the Prince of Wales, during his visit to India, by the Natives in

order to illustrate the arts and industries of their territories, probably rivalled in taste, beauty and variety any offerings ever laid at the feet of a Mogul emperor.

Although the Indian manufactures may be regarded as comparatively satisfactory in respect of number, variety and quantity produced, they have been passing through a critical period as regards artistic quality. The good principle, upon which fine art exhibitions were instituted in Europe, asserted itself in India. Similar exhibitions were held in many provinces of the Indian empire, and from India were sent extensive contributions to the exhibitions held at Kensington, at Vienna, and at Paris. The British Indian section in the Paris Exhibition of 1878 was specially notable for the effect it produced on the minds of European spectators, by whose means a knowledge of the industrial arts of India was disseminated throughout Europe. The interest of the section was heightened by the consideration that therein were included the presents proffered by the Natives to the Prince of Wales during his visit to India, which were graciously lent by His Royal Highness for the purposes of the Exhibition. This unique collection of presents, illustrating the whole field of Indian art and industry, and so replete with instruction, has been most considerately placed by His Royal Highness's desire temporarily at the disposal of the local authorities at many places in the United Kingdom and the Continent of Europe, for the inspection of all lovers of industrial art, and for the information of the public respecting the progress and condition of India herself.

The proceedings at these exhibitions doubtless drew European attention, in a much greater degree than formerly, to the productions of India, and augmented the demand for them in the markets of the world. The Native mind, too, was enlightened in respect to the practical application of European art. The Natives were stirred with a sense that their works were being noticed in European circles. At the same time, however, another effect of a dubious character was produced, as the Natives began

either to imitate European models absolutely, or to engraft, upon their own works, accessories borrowed from European styles. In all cases of such imitation or admixture the result was unsatisfactory, and conduced to the vitiation of the Native taste. As an instance, the recent circumstances of the Cashmir shawl manufacture may be recalled. These shawls were esteemed not only for their matchless colouring (due to the peculiar qualities of the air and water of that wondrous valley of Cashmir) but also for the appropriateness of the peculiar elaboration in the designs. Imitative fabrics were commenced in the Panjab with the aid of skilled workmen from Cashmir, but never equalled the superb originals. The demand becoming brisker in the Parisian markets, French agents came to purchase in India. In course of time the shawls began to be made more and more after European designs, and to lose their characteristic loveliness. Again, the Indian pottery, from Sind and elsewhere, began to be admired, and came into demand. For a moment there was fear lest it should be spoiled by the imitating of European designs; fortunately this error was averted.

It is to be hoped that these and all similar mistakes may be avoided, as the real merits of indigenous Indian art become recognised. This art, formed through the labour of many centuries, and never obscured by the shadow of even the darkest adversities, like a marble monument retaining its beauty despite the stains of time and the rough usage of barbarism, seems now to be appreciated more and more by artistic judges, and to be the subject of æsthetic culture. It has been produced by generations of hereditary artists, who from father to son dedicated thereto their hearts and minds. Its forms, arising from sound and exact ideas originated by nature herself, are worked out with tasteful and fitting detail. Its colouring, sombre yet rich, with blended tints, softened hues and modulated effect, relieved with just enough of chastened and harmonious brightness, is admired by all those who love to see true principles applied to human industry.

CHAPTER XVIII.

COMMERCE, EXTERNAL AND INTERNAL.

Foreign trade of India in former times—The “East-Indiamen” ships—The “Green’s” ships—The Peninsular and Oriental Company—The Suez Canal—Direct dealings of India with the Continent of Europe—Africa, Asia and Australia—France—The United States—Italy—The Mauritius—Particulars of trade with United Kingdom—Shipping for the most part British—Coasting trade—Balance of trade—How adjusted—The Home remittances—Value to India of her export trade—Food-supply generally sufficient—Internal trade of India—Registration of it—Land communication—River navigation—Tendency towards equalization of prices.

THE foreign commerce of India has always been surrounded by a strange and marvellous interest, has been the theme of essayists and antiquarians, and has even inspired the verse of poets. In recent times it has attracted the severer scrutiny of economists, and has been regarded by some inquirers with misgivings. It forms one of those beacon-lights to which all the believers in the progress of the country triumphantly point. It binds England to her eastern dependency with ties of mutual interest, which are important apart from the higher considerations of policy.

The “East-Indiamen” ships that once bore this commerce have passed into that domain of history, which comprises the maritime annals of Britain. They were succeeded by a class of sailing vessels, rounding the Cape of Good Hope and carrying passengers as well as freight, of which ships many were called after the surnames of the ship-building firms to whom they belonged. The name of a “Green’s ship” sounds to Anglo-Indian ears as a synonym for speed under canvas, and for skilful seamanship in tempests. These ships, too, were once freighted with the despatches narrating the momentous events

in the East. For those who are habituated to the regularity of postal communication in the present day, it is difficult to realise the anxiety with which the arrival of these vessels used to be awaited in India. The importance of the sailing ships was much diminished by the establishment of the Peninsular and Oriental Company, which carried by the overland route through Egypt all the mails and the treasure, most of the passengers, and some of the most portable and valuable articles of trade. Still, however, the mass of the trade, consisting of cheap and bulky articles, continued to be carried by the sailing vessels round the Cape. Their importance then received another and a heavier blow from the opening of the Suez Canal to maritime traffic.

Before the Suez Canal had been actually tried, it was known that the Red Sea could be navigated by steamships only and not by sailing ships. It was supposed that the freight charges on steamships would be so much dearer than those on sailing ships, that steam-navigation in the Red Sea would be virtually excluded from competition with the sailing ships round the Cape, for the bulky articles composing the greater part of the trade. This supposition was certainly justified by all antecedent experience of the relative character of the two kinds of ships. But since the Canal has been tried, the steamers are becoming more and more able to compete with sailing ships in respect to freight charges, and draw to themselves increasing cargoes of cheap and heavy goods. The sailing ships still ply round the Cape, though with diminished freights, but time is against them, as an insuperable difficulty. The electric telegraph between England and India has affected mercantile transactions in many respects. In a few minutes intelligence is flashed across the intervening oceans and continents, deciding the profit or the loss on critical transactions. Under such urgency, becoming yearly more frequent, the merchants employ even at some sacrifice the steamers which can carry the produce to England up the Red Sea in four weeks, instead of sailing-ships

which can carry it round the Cape in four months. Consequently there lie along the quays of the river Hûghli at Calcutta, or in the broad waters of the Bombay harbour, fleets of steamers of great length and of narrow beam, arriving from, or departing for, the Suez Canal. The traveller nowadays wonders at the lines of steamers passing to and fro, by the once dreaded, and still anxious, navigation of the Red Sea. But the exigencies of the navigation in the Suez Canal and in the Red Sea, and the necessity of cheap construction, of speed and of economy in fuel, have caused a new style of ship-building to be adopted for the steamers, which is regarded with some doubt by many seafaring men. The Suez Canal has realised already a success equalling the most sanguine anticipations of its designer, and is destined to achieve still further triumphs. A chorus of satisfaction rose from all India when Ferdinand de Lesseps was decorated by the British Sovereign with the insignia of the Star of India.

The statistics of the external commerce are published in the greatest detail annually by the Government of India, together with a general review of the principal headings by Mr. O'Connor.

In round numbers, on an average of recent years and with due allowance for fluctuations, the foreign trade of India may be valued at 110 million pounds sterling yearly. Out of this amount, 60 millions represent exports, and 36 millions imports, of merchandise; while $3\frac{1}{2}$ millions represent exports, and $10\frac{1}{2}$ millions imports, of treasure. This sum total would be regarded as very important in any country of the world except Great Britain, and is even in Great Britain deemed considerable. Towards this water-mark, as it were, the tide of trade has been mounting for many years, the rise being satisfactorily perceptible decade after decade. In 1860 James Wilson, the then Finance Minister and one of the most scientific economists that ever landed in India, declared the progress of the trade to be among the most conclusive proofs of the prosperity of the country under British rule, and among the most hopeful omens for the future. The trade continued to rise for several years till it received, first a sudden development, and

then an equally sudden check, from the events of the American civil war. Afterwards it seemed to oscillate between amounts somewhat above and amounts somewhat below, one hundred millions sterling. It did not sensibly retrograde by reason of the famine of 1874 in Bengal. It was rising favourably (mainly by reason of a quickened demand in Europe for Indian produce) just before the outbreak of the famine of 1877 in Madras and Bombay, when it reached the sum of 124 millions, the highest point ever gained. It then suffered depression, when this famine lasted into 1878, and extended to parts of northern India. This depression became aggravated during 1879, in sympathy with British trade all over the world. It has risen, again, to 120 millions for the last official year, and is still rising. Symptoms of improvement are now visible; their continuance or disappearance must depend on the propitiousness or otherwise of the seasons in India after such grave vicissitudes, and on the revival or stagnation of trade in Great Britain.

Formerly, the trade of India with foreign countries used for the most part to pass through England. Receiving all these commodities in the first instance, England used to retain what she required for herself, and distribute the remainder among her neighbours according to their needs. But of late India has begun to send, direct to the ports of the Continent of Europe, the commodities required by European countries. The commercial intercourse is growing fast between Calcutta and Bombay on the one hand, and Marseilles, Genoa, Venice, Trieste, Havre and Hamburg, on the other hand. India, also, is trading more and more with America, especially with California; and San Francisco is becoming a familiar name to the dwellers in Calcutta. The trade with China has long been, and still is, considerable, though limited in its scope, consisting of opium and cotton goods from India, and silver from China, leaving a large trade balance in favour of India. The transactions with the Australian colonies are growing apace, partly by reason of the demand for Australian horses, and will further increase if

the Indian people are sufficiently enterprising to send the most attractive of their wares to exhibitions at Sydney and Melbourne. The suppression of piracy by the Indian Government has caused much extension of the trade along the coasts of the Siamese Peninsula and of the neighbouring islands; and especially on the East Coast of Africa, in the sea of Oman, and in the Persian Gulf. Much commerce, centred at Baghdad, which once passed by Aleppo to the Mediterranean, now passes down the Tigris to the Persian Gulf and to Aden.

The most considerable dealings of India with any foreign country are those which she has with France, and their value has averaged as much as five millions sterling annually. She sends to France oil-seed, cotton, indigo, raw silk and shawls, which constitute the greater part of the trade; and receives in return a small quantity of apparel, silk goods and wines.

The United States are beginning to have a considerable intercourse with India, an intercourse probably destined to attain vast growth in the future. Besides the jute, both raw and manufactured, as already mentioned, India sends to the United States linseed, saltpetre, hides and skins, receiving in return large quantities of kerosine oil and some cotton goods. The importation of cotton goods from America is a noteworthy circumstance.

The trade with Italy has not as yet grown to the extent anticipated on the opening of the Suez Canal, still India exports to Italian ports more than one million and a half sterling worth of cotton, oil-seeds, raw silk and hides, importing small quantities of wines, silk goods, Neapolitan corals and glass beads.

While receiving some moderate quantities of sugar from the Mauritius, in some years, India has sent as much as three-quarters of a million sterling worth of rice annually to that colony.

In these and in other various ways, nearly 40 per cent. of the external trade of India is with foreign countries, an important fact shewing among other proofs the extent of her direct relations with all quarters of the world, and the means she possesses of

adjusting the balance of her trade accounts. The proportion as shewn by this percentage is likely to increase, as ocean communication by steam becomes more fully opened.

The remaining 60 per cent. of the trade of India, in merchandise, is with the United Kingdom. The export division of this trade shews a long list of articles, indicating the productive power of the Indian people, despite their comparative poverty. The catalogue comprises cotton, jute, rice, wheat, tea, coffee, sugar, oil-seeds, spices, indigo, lac dye, silk, wool, hides and skins, and other things, worth on the whole 28 millions sterling annually. The imports include cotton manufactures, woollen and silk goods, salt, coal, hardware, metals, machinery, railway plant and rolling stock, and a great variety of manufactures, in all worth, on the average, 30 millions sterling per annum. Of all nations, India has long been among the best, and is now perhaps the very best, customer for the manufactures of Great Britain.

The shipping which carries this sea-borne trade consists, on the average, of 12,500 vessels, with a total tonnage of $5\frac{1}{2}$ millions of tons; steamers and sailing vessels included. Of this number one-sixth consists of steamers, which include upwards of 2000 vessels, with a tonnage of $2\frac{1}{4}$ millions of tons, nearly one-half of the whole, indicating the progress made in the employment of steam power. Of the steamers, two-thirds come and go by the Suez Canal, and the remainder by the Cape of Good Hope and by other routes.

Of the total shipping, sail and steam, about 12 per cent. is foreign, the remainder being British; in other words, 88 per cent. of the shipping is British. The foreign shipping numbers, on the average, 1300 vessels, with a total tonnage of three-quarters of a million of tons, of which, however, many are Arab. As compared with the several thousands of British ships with a tonnage of several millions of tons, the number of the ships belonging to the mercantile marine of Europe and America, and engaged in this trade, will appear very small. For instance, there are only 244 French vessels, 99 German,

134 Italian, 29 Austrian, 36 Norwegian, 15 Swedish, 20 Russian, and 122 American.

There are also about 4000 vessels which ply between port and port, on the east and west coasts of the country; they are entirely of indigenous construction and are called country craft.

For many years a remarkable characteristic of the external trade has been this, that India sells much more, by many millions sterling worth, to England and to foreign nations, than she buys from them. In other words, her exports are valued at a far higher sum than her imports; and of the imports, again, some part consists of machinery and material belonging to the Government. Thus during recent years, that is since 1868, the value of the exports has exceeded that of the imports by 16 millions sterling per annum on the average. This phenomenon has frequently caused men to wonder how the account of the national trade can properly be adjusted. It has rendered economists apprehensive lest this condition of things should prove inconsistent with the permanent safety of the Indian empire; the country being drained yearly of so much of its produce and receiving so very unequal an amount of produce in return. The account is adjusted largely by the amount which India has to remit to England on the Government account for the "home charges;" and by the sums remitted to England by individuals, whether in the public service or in private employ, or by corporations, banks and others, as their savings or their profits. In other words, England owes India a large amount, the balance on the trade in merchandise. On the other hand, India has to transmit to England, or owes to England, large sums on the account of the State or of private concerns. Moreover, India has, as has just been shewn, many balances or debts, due to her from China and other nations, all which she can, if desired, transfer to England to be used in the general adjustment of trade accounts. In various ways, then, there are abundant means of settling these large trade balances.

India remits a large sum annually for "home charges," at present amounting to nearly 17 millions sterling, the people have to pay the land revenue in cash, and export much produce with a small return of merchandise imported. These facts seem to cause alarm to some economists, and to suggest particularly the thought that India is thus virtually forced to send away her produce. It would, indeed, be more natural and satisfactory if India were to import larger quantities of British manufactures in return for the produce she exports. The magnitude of the remittance for "home charges" has a serious import; it is extraordinary, perhaps even unique, in the annals of the relations between one country and another. It is a pressing matter of policy to reduce, if possible, the amount of the home remittances, or at least to prevent their increasing. For all that, the exportation of Indian produce is a pure source of satisfaction. The people are glad to dispose thus of their property for a valuable consideration; they must be the richer for so doing. If they receive other products in return, well, their artificial wants multiply; if they receive treasure in part payment, the money is doubtless very acceptable to them. If they have a large debt to discharge annually to England, their surplus exportable produce furnishes a resource for this purpose. Whether they had to make a large remittance for "home-charges" or not, and whether they had to pay land revenue in cash or in kind, they would still export as much produce as they could spare, or as much as foreign nations could be induced to take for valuable consideration. As they do not at present require an equivalent in kind in the shape of British merchandise, there might be room for speculation as to how the account would be adjusted if there were no remittances for "home charges" or on other accounts. Some means would doubtless be found, in the settlement of the concerns of the trade between the various nations. At all events, the exportation would be continued and would be one of those satisfactory proofs of the wealth and industry of the people which can be

opposed to several unsatisfactory conditions that are admitted to exist.

It may be thought by some that the exportation of so much edible grain, rice, wheat and some other articles, must reduce to a dangerously low ebb the stores of food in an empire so much exposed to famine. It seems clear, however, that the country can dispense with the quantities exported. For, during times of partial scarcity, there always are abundant stores somewhere in the country, though at a distance from the scene of suffering. Even in 1874, when the Government had to import food into distressed districts, the supplies came, not from foreign regions, but from British Burma, which is an integral part of the empire. At that time, too, and during most of the time while the famine of 1877 and 1878 lasted, the exportation of food-grain from the country proceeded briskly.

In further explanation of the balance of trade, the following passage may be quoted from the recent report by the Indian Famine Commission.

"The period from 1854 to 1869 was the time when the capital for the guaranteed railways was being raised, . . . and there was hardly any surplus of exports at this time. In 1869, the construction of guaranteed railways was coming to a close and the system of construction by the State was beginning, and from that time India instead of drawing large sums of capital from England for investment had to pay many millions a year as interest. The great rise in the export trade dates from that time and for the last ten years the excess of exports has averaged about 16 millions sterling (annually). . . . So far as the excess of exports is due to the investment of English capital in India, it is difficult to conceive conditions under which the remittance of interest on foreign capital, judiciously applied, could be less onerous to the country which pays it, for the investment must have led to the outlay of a larger sum than the interest sent away, and the balance of what is thus produced remains in the country. Thus in the case of the guaranteed railways, 100 millions of capital have been raised and spent in India, and 5 millions a year have to be paid in England as interest on that capital; the railways pay these 5 millions by earning a gross income of 10 millions, 5 of which are spent in wages and afford occupation. The people who voluntarily pay the 10 millions for the use of the railways are themselves largely benefited by them."

Besides the external commerce, there is a vast inland or in-

ternal trade between the various divisions of the Indian empire. During recent years, many judicious steps have been taken by the several Local Governments to prepare commercial statistics, and to register the trade passing not only across their outer borders, but also between the different territories comprised within their respective jurisdictions.

The interchange of products between the distant provinces of the empire, also the flux and reflux of treasure, have been greatly promoted by British rule and are nowadays much larger than in former times. Communications by road, river, rail, and canal have been improved materially and rendered secure, and the people avail themselves of these facilities abundantly. Many millions sterling worth of products, natural, agricultural and artificial, thus change hands month by month. If a computation could be made of the value of this inter-provincial trade throughout the empire, the sum total would be enormous for the year. The stations for registration of the trade on the sides of roads or on the banks of navigable rivers, would shew tens of thousands of laden carts running backwards and forwards, and even a greater number of boats plying up and down stream. Those which are set on suitable points of the navigable canals would note thousands of boats; those which are established at the gates of towns and cities would supply evidences of trade yielding large octroi revenues. Those which exist on the margin of the great harbours would return a surprising number of country craft, working in the estuaries, creeks, arms of the sea, between the inland provinces and the shore. In the suburbs of the cities throughout the empire, the ever-flowing stream of trade, great and small, imparts to the observer an impression of national vitality bursting forth in every quarter from the humblest to the highest. A potent stimulus has been afforded by the railways; and their goods traffic, though partly maintained by the external, depends partly on the internal, trade. The interchange of the fabrics between the industrial centres, situated at long distances from each

other in so large an empire, is greatly promoted. In times of scarcity, the movement of food grain is to be measured by millions of tons. It is to be expected that many of the roads will be occupied by the traffic to and from the railway stations; many trunk roads, however, are crowded at some seasons with traffic which never finds its way to the railroad at all.

Despite the development of land carriage everywhere, the river navigation continues to flourish. The navigation of the upper Ganges and of the Jamna has declined, but that decrease is owing partly to the water of these rivers being diverted to irrigation. It remains to be seen whether the water traffic, which has heretofore been so considerable on the Indus, will be really affected by the railway running along its bank. The navigation of the Brahmaputra and its affluents, of the lower Ganges and its many branches, is quite magnificent, and offers probably one of the finest spectacles of its kind to be seen in the world. The statistics of the boats are difficult to collate and may not yet have been completely collated. Not only every trader and landholder keeps many vessels, but every cultivator and peasant has his boats and almost every labourer his canoe; thus the boats may be reckoned by hundreds of thousands. At several points on the great rivers, the vessels congregate for several months consecutively and form floating cities and marts, where many thousands temporarily dwell, where much barter of produce takes place, where monetary transactions are arranged and banking business done; the concerns being conducted afloat. Often in the daytime the horizon is whitened by the swelling sails of the numerous flotillas. At eventide in sequestered creeks and coves, sheltered by umbrageous groves and feathery bamboos from the blasts and squalls which sweep over the expanses of the broad rivers, there lie moored under the banks many rows of these vessels with their forests of little masts. These craft have various builds, forms and styles adapted to the characters of the various rivers. There are many changing stations, where the lesser boats from the upper basins

and valleys tranship their freights to the larger boats able to brave the broad estuaries which oftentimes surge and heave with waves like the sea. The many building-yards, at divers points on the banks of the rivers, where these vessels are built, will be found full of activity and bustle and belong entirely to Natives. The quantities of timber required for boat-building are so vast, that the maintenance of an unfailing supply from the forests of the country is becoming a matter of anxiety to the State forest department. The amount of Native capital engaged in the building of the boats, and in the traffic which they carry, must be very considerable even if judged by the standard of advanced nations.

Among the effects of the development of internal trade is the tendency towards equalization in prices. In former times it used to be proverbially said that in one quarter the food grain might decay and perish, while there was want or hunger in another quarter. Even in quite recent times there has been a glut of grain with very low prices in some districts, while in other districts, not very distant, scarcity and very high prices prevailed. The possibility of such a state of affairs has now for the most part disappeared; though perhaps a few instances of the sort may exist here and there. Despite this levelling and equalizing tendency, however, there is still a considerable difference in prices in various parts of the empire, which though less perceptible now than formerly, will probably last for some time to come. In northern India grain used to be superabundant and extremely cheap, so much so that landholders experienced difficulty in realising money for their produce in order to pay their land revenue in cash. Comparative cheapness still reigns there, except at times of exceptional drought. In eastern and southern India moderate prices have generally prevailed, save during times of famine; but in western India dearness has been for many years prevalent generally, intensified in times of famine, and seldom relaxed materially even when plenty smile around.