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PREFATORY NOTE

THE papers comprised in these volumes were most of them given originally as lectures in the Sunday Afternoon Course at the South Place Institute, Finsbury, from 1895 to 1898, with the object of affording trustworthy information concerning the various colonies, settlements, and countries scattered over the world which go to form the whole known as "The British Empire." It was thought that a wider and deeper knowledge of the growth, present condition, and possibilities of each integral part of our Empire would tend to strengthen the sympathetic, material, and political ties which unite the colonies to the mother country.

The generous response to the invitation to lecture was very gratifying; travellers, natives, and those to whom had been given the onerous task of governing the various provinces of our Empire, vied with one another in their willingness to impart the special knowledge which they had acquired.

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ally where there was any great difference from those of the United Kingdom.

The task has demonstrated the many and various interests contained in this vast subject, and has far exceeded the original limit. It is, however, hoped that the wider public to which the articles now appeal will be as sympathetic as the original audiences.

WM. SHEOWRING,
Hon. Sec. Institute Committee.

South Place Institute,
Finsbury, London, E.C.

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INTRODUCTION

By SIR RAYMOND WEST, LL.D., K.C.I.E.

(*Lecturer on Indian Law, Cambridge University; Author of "The Bombay Code," "Hindu Law," &c.*)

It is chiefly as mistress of India that the greatness of England is measured by foreign nations. For ourselves, familiarity has dulled the wonder with which we should else regard the picture of our growth in empire and in imperial capacity. It has lessened the awe with which we face our task of government, if it has not impaired our sense of responsibility. It has given a faith strong, though unostentatious, in our national destiny, a reliance on what we deem fairness and sound principles, a disregard, if not disdain, for prophetic anticipations, and a too far-reaching policy which makes us content in a great measure to accept things as they are, to put troublesome problems aside and trust to the expedients which the future will suggest as sufficient to meet the difficulties it will bring. All the past in its marvellous unfolding seems natural and necessary because the immediate causes are discerned. The remoter possibilities, the influences by which they were directed to the precise ends of greatness and beneficence actually attained, are wholly or almost ignored. The practical man is content to accept the boons of Providence, the results of genius in statesmanship, without attempting to penetrate into their

hidden working, and to the "soul of the machine." Such resting on the surface comports well with the Englishman's general disinclination for abstract thought. It prevents some waste of energy in the pursuit of specious but only half-thought-out projects. But in the presence of any great moral movement, of any great disturbance of physical or economical conditions, it is well-nigh helpless. Its inductions are too meagre, its grasp of principles too weak, for aught but a repetition of processes which no longer suit the enlarged needs of a new generation.

The foreigner meanwhile, as he looks on the work achieved by our countrymen in India, is struck with a kind of bewilderment. The Englishmen he meets are too often rather narrow-minded, dogmatic, and disdainful of strange views, and creeds, and manners. Individually so poor as a rule in mental endowment, how have they as an aggregate risen so nearly to the height of their great destiny, succeeding so often when others seemingly more highly gifted have failed? The answer is to be found partly in that very narrowness which at an advanced stage becomes an embarrassment. The typical Briton is so little troubled with far-reaching speculations, that he can find a satisfying and intense interest in the work that stands immediately before him. In details that call for close and continued attention he is more patient and precise than ordinary men. The answer is to be found still more in his tolerance, his aloofness, and his general good faith. These qualities, as they have become historical, have become also, we may trust, more deeply rooted in the national character, and united with steadfastness of purpose, will long form a warrant for our imperial pretensions. But whereas in the past the necessities of our situation, and the impulses of a courageous temperament, have carried us on from point to point, in a half-blind, instinctive perception of what was

advantageous and practicable, we have now reached the stage at which a larger and deeper consciousness of individual and corporate life has been awakened in our Eastern fellow-subjects; and the moral as well as the physical problems that lie before us have become immensely more complicated than heretofore. The child we have reared, though not robust, has grown mature and active and exacting. The new conditions of existence require at least a partial readjustment of relations; the achievements by which we have built up a splendid fabric of civil freedom and material prosperity on the decay and chaos of a century ago, prove that our motives and methods have in the main been right. We must not halt in our onward march, or waver in that continual process of adaptation by which we have won, rather than commanded, co-operation and obedience. Our typical organisers have swayed the masses in India by wonder, fear, and sympathy. The wonder and the fear have diminished as novelties have grown familiar, and system has superseded personal greatness; but sympathy, the magic of influence, remains, and if to strength we add intelligence, we may still look for a blessing on our task of empire.

The articles which follow in this volume are evidence at once of the vast variety of the problems—physical, ethnological, and political—presented by India, and of the intense and penetrating interest which these excite in the men who have actually to carry on the work of government in that country. The essays, though somewhat unequal in range and grasp, are all animated with first-hand knowledge and observation. They picture India to us as it presents itself in kaleidoscopic variety to those who have given it their energies, who have guided its development, and lived in its life from the dim ages of antiquity down to the transformation scene presented by our present genera-

tion. The widely different standpoints taken by the several writers, their different experience and almost clashing purposes, have resulted here and there in just that want of harmony to which we are accustomed in the manifold views expressed at home of our own constitution, politics, and progress. Beneath such superficial discrepancies the thoughtful reader will discern the outlines, incomplete, but mightily suggestive, of a volume of marvellous amelioration spreading tentatively, yet with no lack of boldness, over the whole field of national evolution. If the result is to induce some hesitation in meddling with so complex a work, some misgiving as to the ability gained by ordinary experience for dealing with the science of Oriental administration, neither India nor England will suffer from this modesty. Yet ultimately the relations of Englishmen to the natives of India, the views they take of their duties, the theory of government, and the gradual relaxation of the bonds of tutelage—all must depend on the dominating ideas and feelings of the British public. This makes it immensely important that sound views should be diffused and accepted on all the chief elements of our future polity. There must be a recognition of the teachings of actual experiment, but especially of that greatest lesson—that disdain is the outcome and the sure sign of stupidity, that human nature is susceptible of amelioration and progress in the East as in the West, and everywhere so alike, that there is room for an infinite play of reciprocal influence in our progress towards a far-off goal of perfection. The English people cannot by mere indifferent quiescence, nor even by any single effort of the will, fit themselves for their part in this great co-operation; they must as occasion offers steep themselves in the manifold sources of knowledge and right-thinking laid open to them in such works as the present one. Thus they will acquire not only a store

of facts, but a turn of mind, a method, a sense of identity amid differences of detail, which may make the popular feeling—the common-sense of most—a kind of rightly-guided instinct in all that concerns our great dependency.

The British rule in India has been specially distinguished from all previous governments by the inestimable blessings it has conferred in security, justice, and material development. The lawless hordes who, as armies or as dacoits, once ravaged India almost from end to end, have been suppressed. The peaceful husbandman has no longer to keep his spear and buckler within reach while guiding his plough or reaping his crop. The vigilant watchman on a tower or tree prepared to give warning of the distant shimmer of lances is no more needed. The village walls with bastions and embrasures have become an anachronism to a generation whose grandfathers cowered behind them for shelter against Rohillas or Pindáris. Gone too is that worst of all forms of lawlessness, the reckless and too often homicidal caprice of the provincial governor, shedding human blood with callous indifference as though the sufferers belonged to an inferior species. Organised crime is met and repressed by a higher organisation, and responsibility, which human weakness cannot spare, asserts its control most wherever power and dignity are greatest. On some natures of the baser sort it may be surmised that the entire cessation of the excesses of personal power have had the effect of lowering their respect for authority; they could more readily worship the spirits of evil than of benignity. Such cases must be counted on; but they must also be a small minority. They are the survivals of a lower order of moral existence, just numerous enough to warrant, for some time yet, the retention of the system of local concentration of authority in a single representative of the government, which secures

vigour and consistency and deep-reaching influence, at the cost of free and manifold development.

The reign of law meanwhile has extended itself over new and newer regions. There are speculators in political philosophy to whom the proper and supreme aim of the state is the maintenance of the law. The purpose of the British Constitution, it was said, is to get twelve men into a jury-box. That is an inadequate conception; human development proceeds in many fields, and that which but defines and controls human relations in the coercive sphere must usually stand lower than the emulative, expansive, creative forms out of which those relations are ultimately formed. Yet to men in general, and most of all to men long trodden down by tyranny, there is something stimulating and elevating in the growth and dominance of law where mere force erewhile was supreme. It is a triumph of our higher over our lower nature, of intelligence over brute force, of benevolence over selfish passions. No wonder, then, that the most highly educated natives of India have been drawn in large numbers to the profession of the law. Here, in this sphere, they feel with a kind of unspoken joy the blended influence of innumerable currents of thought originating amongst themselves and their own people. Their instinctive craving for some standpoint of independence and free activity is in a measure satisfied. They can analyse, expose, censure the acts of the mightiest, and gain a consciousness of reflected greatness in appealing to the high standards and immutable principles which govern the interpretation of the law. Thus, in the practice of their profession, their own moral judgment is raised and refined. In appealing to the law they come to love the law; they transmit their feeling to the masses, and thus one great corner-stone of a future constitutional edifice gets firmly planted. English law and English men know virtually nothing of the *Droit Administratif* by which, on the

Continent of Europe, official acts are exempted from the influence of the nation's ethical development. In India, as in England, the executive is subject completely to the judicial authority. In this majesty of the law the people perceive something more than the dominance of an abstract principle. They dimly recognise in it an inscrutable but irresistible spirit immanent over their institutions and their social life, and penetrating all their interests and activities. This deity they know is often harsh and inexorable, yet they feel it is most moral when most pitiless: it brings home to them the penalties of sinking to a lower plane of self-respect and prevision. Those who emerge victorious from the struggle of life have grown more manly through the discipline, akin to that which the English themselves endure.

Such is the general effect, with many exceptions in detail, of the ever-extending reign of law under the *Pax Britannica*. Compare it again for a moment with the state of things at the beginning of the British rule. When the East India Company, invested by the Delhi emperor with the executive government of Bengal, resolved in 1772 "to stand forth as diwan," Warren Hastings's Commission of inquiry found that the "regular course of justice was everywhere suspended." Hastings and his colleagues set themselves to frame a scheme "adapted to the manners and understandings of the people and the exigencies of the country; adhering as closely as possible to their ancient usages and institutions." It was in pursuance of this object that they secured to Hindus and Mohamedans their own laws as to family and religious institutions; and that wise and tolerant system has never been abandoned. In all relations within the spheres of personal status and succession the native of India enjoys the benefit of his own sacred laws to a larger extent than his European fellow-subject. In the provinces of penal

law, and of contracts, where variations according to person could not but be pernicious, all have been placed on the same level. In penal procedure the European British subject still clings to some clumsy safeguards which the native does not desire, desiring only that the European should not have them. On the other hand, India at this moment presents the curious spectacle that from end to end of the country, outside the Presidency towns, the administration of justice in the courts of first instance is wholly in native and non-Christian hands. The Englishman who is involved in litigation must submit to have his case tried by a Hindu judge, and, except as a matter of favour, in the native language, and should he desire to appeal against the judgment, he has to procure a bundle of documents in Bengali, Tamil, or Marathi as the record of the proceedings. Equality, uniformity in such matters has appeared to the English as the natural and necessary course of things. To any other dominant people it would have been intolerable. The constitutional character gained by us through centuries of training is thus reflected on India, and the weakling pupil is led by a strong unwavering hand, along the path of self-assertion or submission as duty may command, towards identification of his own moral judgment with the behests of the legislature, and "perfect freedom in the bounds of law."

The common life and progress of a heterogeneous society depends on mutual forbearance, while new interests and traditions grow up to bind the jarring elements in a new organisation. In no way have the people of India gained more by the British rule than in mutual tolerance imposed on the adherents of different creeds. The flames of fanaticism and religious animosity are still always ready to burst forth. Hardly a year passes without some evidence of the internecine strife that would immediately follow the

substitution of native for British supremacy. A beneficent rigour saves the temples and the mosques from retaliatory desecration. New interests are allowed time and space to grow up, and community of work in great undertakings produces in those who are employed in them some growth of a sympathy and brotherhood that may in time burst through the severing barriers of scorn and hate. Under the Moghul government it was proclaimed as a glory of Alamgir's reign that "Hindu scribes have been entirely excluded from holding public offices, and all the places of worship and the temples of the infidels have been thrown down and destroyed in a manner which excites astonishment at the successful completion of so hard a task" (Mir-at-i-'Alam, p. 159). The Moslems fared hardly better at the hands of the Marathas when the chance arose. It was natural that each of these great elements of native Indian society should strive to assert itself. Their beliefs, principles, and aims being essentially inconsistent, it was inevitable that they should come into collision again and again, until the stronger organism of a well-ordered state reduced them both to submission. This end has in a great measure been attained, but the organisation by which it has been effected rests not on a Hindu or a Mohamedan basis. The visible approach towards harmony and individuality in the subordinate elements of the state is secured only by British predominance, in all its strength and with its inevitable flaws.

On the amazing development of India in the physical and economic sphere there is the less excuse for enlarging here, as the subject has been so amply dealt with from several points of view in the essays which follow. Practically a new world has been created, a new faculty conferred on the millions heretofore condemned to live and die in stagnation, prevented from gathering the riches of the teeming earth by

physical, political, and fiscal isolation. The intense interest and energy with which British administrators have thrown themselves into this work is sufficiently obvious from the descriptions which some of them here give of what they have seen and done. In the midst of this pæan over conquered nature a querulous note of complaint arises that the natives of India have not obtained a due share in the governing power, in the highest places and rewards of the state. The murmur is not unnatural; it is but analogous to the socialistic moan which forms the refrain of labour's psalm in Europe. It must be heard forbearingly, with sympathy even, since it expresses that impatience, that aspiration for a larger sphere in life without which progress is impossible. But from the practical point of view, past experience makes it certain that without European enlightenment and vigour the vast improvements we see would not have been carried through. Nor would they have been achieved at such a cost of toil and life unless the captains of labour and progress had worked with the stimulating sense that they were masters of the instruments they wrought with, that they had a commanding part to play, that the honour of high success was to their and their country's glory. The pride and sensibility of a natural aristocracy have thus far probably accomplished far more than could even have been aimed at by an Oriental democracy.

Industrial enterprise in India has now in many directions been fairly awakened in ways independent of Government guidance and patronage. The initiative has in almost every case of importance been English. Indigo, cotton manufacture, tea cultivation, all attest this, but in all native ability and capital are pushing into the fields thus opened to them. And the native of India being always "at home" in India, he works at such an advantage compared with strangers that the fortunes of the future are reserved for him. Already

in ordinary mercantile business the native merchants in the great towns have almost elbowed Europeans out of the market, and of the innumerable competitors who are coming forward some are certain to be found who will in no long time take the lion's share in all profitable undertakings. This movement is going on silently and almost imperceptibly, but it must by-and-by cause a great change in the elements of non-official society in India. The mercantile class of Europeans must by comparison grow less numerous and less important. This will be attended with some obvious disadvantages. The honourable traditions of the great British trading firms will not be preserved without difficulty. Independent European opinion will operate with less force on the governing class either as a check or as a stay. It behoves the leaders of the native communities to insist that, as their successful countrymen gradually take the Englishmen's place, they shall learn to conform to equally high standards of private honour and of public spirit and moderation. The forms of political and municipal life will be improved in the future as in the past, but they will be improved in vain if wisdom, loyalty, courage, and self-sacrifice be wanting.

The great economical changes that our generation has witnessed, though beneficial on the whole in the highest degree, have yet in some cases been attended with injury and suffering to particular classes. It was inevitable that a revolution in the modes of intercourse, the means of production and the methods of trade, should find some people unfitted by nature and habit for the new state of things. The Brinjári with his pack bullocks could not contend against the railway. The small local merchant has been in a measure ousted by agents of the great trading firms who go about buying up the exportable produce of the peasant farmer. The greater scale of business, and the greater stress of competitive contractual life, in contrast with

through the ages an increasing purpose runs," but also more and more that its realisation in any important phase transcends the limits of a generation. The reflection may act as a damper on selfish fussiness, but it is full of encouragement to those who, seeing the gradual amelioration wrought by innumerable exertions each small in itself, can live and die in the conviction that, the stream of tendency setting steadily from ill to good and better, their own small contributions to it will in no case finally be thrown away.

These considerations should make ardent reformers somewhat less exigent in their demands than they are wont to be. Previous reformers have sometimes urged the pace too much. The intellectual distance is enormous between the Hindu barrister and the village labourer. The native press must be less one-sided and uncharitable and self-confident if it is to afford real aid and win deserved confidence. And yet for the Indian Government and for England it would be vain to say that all has been done because so much has been done. The appetite for political life grows with what it feeds on. It is not serfs but freemen who make revolutions, says Tocqueville. The movement which it is our glory to have achieved we must not now attempt to turn back or to stay. We must lead still or we must some day be overwhelmed. Under our fostering care a social system has grown up to which the official system is no longer completely adapted. Adherents of the old policy, justly proud of what it has accomplished, protest or sneer at every suggestion of improvement; yet the success of the past was won not by a blind immobility, but a quick apprehension of existing needs and a skilful use of existing materials. Nowhere else has there been so continuous and so complete a blending of the old with the new. The latest land revenue systems have a basis and a sanction in the Code of Manu, and the Civil Procedure was foreshadowed in

the treatise of Vijnánésvara. The native panchâyat is the type of all truly helpful councils, bringing impartiality and territorial knowledge to bear on questions of conflicting interests without trenching on the range and vigour of the executive.

Here, then, we have safe and tried principles drawn from the past, from what has actually been done and recorded, to guide and encourage us in providing for the changing present and the uncertain future. There must be progress without haste, a progress founded on conviction and principle, not ungraciously yielded as a concession to necessity. It must include a generous appreciation of the intellectual wealth of the country, a free use of it, without any sudden abandonment of the methods, drawn themselves in a great measure from native example, which experience has shown to be locally the best. Britain must be the dominating partner, working necessarily in matters of high policy on British lines and with British hands; but she need not be a greedy, arrogant, or churlish partner. She must learn the truth of "Grasp all, lose all;" while her protégés in India, taking an ever-increasing part, though by measured degrees, in the work of empire, become more and more fitted to share the white man's burden, and more and more imbued with the imperial spirit of our race. The world seems contracting as the facilities of communication improve. The ambition and cupidity of powerful states grow hungrier. In such a state of things all the segments of the widespread British empire should be drawn closer together by a natural instinct in a community of patriotic feeling, in a readiness for mutual concessions and sacrifices, in mutual support, and a determination in every member to have a worthy part in working out the sublime, civilising, humanising task apparently assigned to us.

While, however, all the teachings of history, and especially of English history, point to a gradual levelling

up of the subject elements as the surest way of cultivating an indissoluble nationality, there is another aspect of the problem presented by India and its government, which calls for the most serious consideration on the part of men of light and leading amongst the native community. Such men, if they indeed need to be reminded, cannot read what this volume sets before them without being impressed with the conviction that the process of elevation and expansion which has effected so much in the past, is, if it be allowed to work itself out, still richer in promise for the future. The progress which, in spite of occasional checks, sound administration and sound ideas are making, calls not for peevish carping but loyal co-operation, and patience, and confidence in great principles. There is amongst too many of the educated classes in India a disposition to take all that has been done, all that has been conceded, as a mere matter of course, all that has been withheld as a just ground for discontent. Yet premature concessions are sometimes worse than none at all, as their failure provokes reaction. The habit of almost unvarying condemnation drives the governments to act quite regardless of native sentiment. The want of appreciation checks the self-devotion of many a generous nature, such as, more frequently in former times than now, was ready to expend all its powers in furthering the welfare of the people. Worst of all, there is a tendency amongst clever but feather-headed Hindus to deem lightly and speak lightly of their obligations as subjects and citizens of the empire. They fret like spoiled children at the restraints set on their weakness, and play at disaffection in a foolish way without any really malignant purpose, indeed without any active purpose at all, and without any sense of the wickedness of disloyalty. But these displays of mock independence or misguided patriotism every now and then set some excitable nature on

fire. Crime is committed, distrust and race hatred are stirred up, and the approach towards imperial union is postponed for many years. There are no doubt some real grievances to endure, and an education in English history and political ideas has perhaps unduly cultivated the freeman's sensibilities among those who have as a class still to fit themselves for constitutional responsibilities. In England itself there are many who feel they have grounds for complaint, yet remain loyal and patriotic subjects. Great political movements, however set in motion by some impulse of genius, must have time and space to grow and complete themselves as an outgrowth from the whole consciousness of the nation. If we had to accept the speculative notions, the personal grievances, of individuals as sufficient grounds for fundamental changes, then no system of religion, no form of government could have an abiding existence. Historical growth would be no more than a series of calamities; and political institutions a curse compared with anarchy. There are some who in theory, still more who in practice, are quite prepared to go this length. But, as Burke shows, the partnership of subjects in a state is not to be looked on as of a temporary, easily variable, nature. It is a partnership in the greatest of common ends, ends to be attained only by unity of feeling and purpose, and of effort continued through many generations. Thus loyalty and submission to incidental ills is a duty resting on supreme principles of morality as well as expediency. "This law is not subject to the will of those who by an obligation above them, and infinitely superior, are bound to submit their will to that law." There is a point at which the oppression of a government may become intolerable. It may disturb the foundations of religion and social order, and rob ordinary life of its appropriate incentives and rewards. Examples of this kind of rule have too often been seen in Oriental countries, and when

they occur they warrant resistance and rebellion as a moral duty. But when power is not thus abused, when life and property are guarded and the means of prosperity and comfort not destroyed, rebellion is the maddest of enterprises and sedition the meanest of crimes. Concurrence, co-operation, and a generous rational advocacy of every good cause in due season, within the bounds of zealous loyalty and devotion to the state—these are the duties of the patriotic citizen, the true and most effectual means of progress, the virtues which bring their own certain reward.

A true member of a state must be fitted by opinion and feeling—the discipline of his moral nature—for association with others like minded in accomplishing the ends of the state. If its central idea is religion he must hold its creed. If economical he must accept the pursuit of gain as the proper aim of a citizen—gain of material wealth in some shape, either for himself or for others within the state. If an intense sense of nationality—a tribal identification of each citizen with all and of all with each in relation to outsiders—if a close patriotism like this be the governing sentiment of a community, the central idea which makes or marks the soul of the aggregate, then the citizen who is to be truly such, who is to live in the life of the state while he contributes to it, must be substantially of the same stuff as his fellows. The centripetal force, the total constitution which makes him instinctively move and act with the mass of the nation in all matters that affect its higher interests, must completely overcome the centrifugal forces of selfishness, and the counter attractions of minor social interests. Of any great historical community it may be said as of nature, *Non vincitur nisi parendo.* The man of alien race who hopes to affect the convictions, will, and aims of the British people must first become at least quasi-British himself. He must cast aside some so-called religious

notions, many deep-seated prejudices, all that in his caste or class isolates him from the mass of humanity, or even from the mass of English-speaking people, before he can become a living part of the body in which he claims membership. And asserting his existence and influence as part of an organism, he must subordinate his own immediate advantage to the interest and the volition of the whole. That is the imperial spirit.

OUR GREAT DEPENDENCY:

A GENERAL VIEW OF INDIA AND ITS PEOPLE

By J. A. BAINES, C.S.I.

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THE first and main object of this paper, which deals with a subject of almost unlimited scope and variety, is to present a general view of Indian civilisation in some of its leading features, more especially those in which our Dependency differs most widely from the conditions with which we are familiar in our own country. In some respects, no doubt, long experience is, for the task in question, a drawback rather than a qualification, because impressions which were vivid enough when first received get deadened or obliterated in the course of detailed and comparatively intimate acquaintance. The points of contrast which would be most striking to a stranger become, after a quarter of a century, a matter of course to the man living in their midst, so that the much-abused globe-trotter, provided he maintains a modest reserve as to what lies below the surface, is in a position to bring the scene before his fellow-countrymen in the same colours and perspective as it might have appeared to their own eyes. An endeavour to emulate his treatment of the subject will accordingly be apparent in what follows this prologue.

Of all the general features of India the most striking is not its size or even its vast population. Its area is scarcely greater than that of Arabia. Comparing it

with a standard with which we are familiar, we may call it about twenty-five times that of England and Wales, a mere speck on the map by the side of the great peninsulas of Africa or South America. More respect is due, certainly, to its population, which is not less than a fifth of the estimated number of inhabitants of the world, and ten times that of this country. But in this respect, again, what is most worth notice is not the mass, but the extraordinary variety found within the country. Looking at the range of climate, the different geographical features, the number of different races inhabiting India and the Babel of languages they speak, we can well say that India is not so much a country as a small continent. As regards physical differences, though all India is either tropical or sub-tropical, in the south and along the coasts the people are certain of a hot but equable climate, with a more or less heavy rainfall once or at most twice a year. In the north, on the other hand, there is a fiercely hot season divided from a piercingly cold one by a few months of rain of uncertain intensity and duration. One part of India consists of vast plains of rice, another of small patches of arable land cleared out of the forest or terraced out of the steep hillside. Here, we find acre after acre of wheat, there, long stretches of prairie upland producing little but scanty crops of millet. In one tract nothing will come up except under canal irrigation; in another, canal water brings to the surface latent stores of alkaline matter which sterilise the soil. The life and customs of the people vary accordingly. In the matter of race, too, we range from the comparatively high type represented by the martial tribes of Upper India and by the Brahmans and chieftains of the central tracts, to the dark-coloured denizens of the hills and forests which divide the continental part of the country from the peninsula. All along the mountain belt, again, which

bounds India on the north, and in the lower ranges which separate it from China on the east, the predominant type is that of the yellow or Mongolian races, which is slow in blending with any of the rest. A very brief study of these types will serve to indicate the wide gaps which exist between the different sections of the community in their original purity of race, and also the extent to which the types have in many parts of the country been blended, to the disadvantage, of course, of the numerically smaller group.

A further cause of the want of unity in the population is the extraordinary variety of language, which of itself is a serious obstacle to the obliteration of social distinctions. In the census of 1891 no less than 150 different tongues were sifted out of the number returned as current in India, and recognised as worthy of individual mention in the tables. By grouping these under the heads of a wider classification, the formidable array was reduced to a more manageable compass. Nevertheless the fact remains that, what with real differences of language and local dialects of peculiar vocabulary or pronunciation, the native of any part of India cannot go many miles beyond his birthplace without finding himself at a loss in communicating with his fellows. Finally, India lacks that important factor in human cohesion—community of religion. It is true that, on paper, at all events, three-fourths of the people are nominally of one creed—that which we call Hinduism. This, however, is but a convenient term, covering any amount of internal difference, which deprives it of its most material weight as a "nation-making" characteristic. Then, again, the remaining quarter of the population left outside the general designation is not confined to certain localities, except in the case of the Buddhists, who affect Burma and the Himalayas, and

the Sikhs, who remain in the Punjaub, their birth-province. The bulk of those who are not Hindus acknowledge the creed of Islam, and are scattered all over the country to the number of nearly sixty millions. Our Empress, accordingly, owns the allegiance of the largest Musalman population in the world, and it is not irrelevant, in view of the present state of the Ottoman Empire, to remind those interested in India that the relations between Islam and Brahmanism in the latter country are much the same as those between Islam and Eastern Christianity in Armenia, though, fortunately, neither creed being in political power in our Dependency, the tension between the two is not made so unpleasantly apparent as in Asia Minor. Incidents, all the same, are constantly occurring which, though local and comparatively of a trifling character, are quite enough to make manifest to us in England what is a constant source of apprehension to those responsible for the peace of India in the country itself, namely, the smouldering fire of religious animosities, which is only awaiting a favourable opportunity to burst into open violence. Looking to the fact that two of the three parts of India where the two creeds are the nearest to numerical equality are the homes of the most manly and warlike peasantry of the Empire, it is to be regretted that, in connection with the unhappy condition of Armenia of late, language has been used by writers and speakers of some rank which may be construed, and not without reason, as implying a rooted hostility to Islam in general on the part of the Christianity which, without forcing itself upon its subjects, holds the scales even between Islam and Brahmanism in India. If a notion got abroad that this attitude of neutrality was about to be abandoned, or that the protection of the Musalman minority was to be diminished or withdrawn, there would be an end to confidence in British power

and good-will, and sectarian strife would be excited on both sides, from Comorin to Kashmir.

In order to appreciate fully the separative influence of religious distinctions in India, one must realise that religion is not there a matter of dogma or doctrine, or even of worship, as we understand the term. It enters into everyday life to an extent inconceivable to an Englishman of our day, and of which no adequate explanation can be given on the present occasion. It must suffice to mention that every detail of social intercourse, from the most important to the most trivial, is regulated by custom, which is enforced under a religious sanction. The caste system, in which this tendency is most easily perceived, is not confined to the religion of the Brahmans, out of which it was evolved and of which it is still the principal support. It exists in practice, though shrouded under different conditions, in other communities also. The excessive reverence for externals and customs which it inculcates tends to the isolation of the different divisions formed under it, and to a great extent prevents co-operation or the aggregation of these divisions into larger units. On the other hand, it gives no chance to the individual, since its essence is the exaction of conformity from all alike. Obviously, moreover, wherever the sanction of the popular creed is invoked, the inclination to change is at a considerable discount, and all institutions show a tendency to become stereotyped. The position, and in most cases the occupation, of each individual is settled by hereditary, not personal, qualifications, and lest there should be any innovation, every change proved to be really inevitable is justified before being carried into effect by reference to precedent, often imaginary, and evoked for the occasion. The prominence of the religious element in the life of the Indian masses is one of the most striking features of the country, and evidence of

it meets even the casual observer at every turn. The names of the majority of the people are those of some one of the gods popular in the neighbourhood. Every house has about it some appendage of repute in keeping off possibly malevolent supernatural wanderers. Indoors is the family god, duly swept and garnished every day by the women. Behind will be found a pot of the sacred Basil or other remnant of a primitive form of worship. Wayfarers will see outside every village some token of the worship of the lower classes, protective of the community at large against the deities presiding over malignant diseases, such as smallpox and cholera, who are deaf to the ministrations of the rest of the inhabitants. He can seldom pass along a road or by a copse without seeing the red paint smeared over a tree or stone out of which a god has been known to emerge before the eyes of a favoured rustic. Shrines, of course, are dotted all over the country, and are adorned with a rag or so, left to attract "spooks," or chance worshippers who are unwilling to leave their salutation unbacked by a material token of the act of faith. The temples of the Hindus vary in style and size, beginning in their simplest form with the village shrine of the local god, and the cave temple of the early Buddhists, advancing to the elaborately carved Kailas cut out of the solid rock, and the huge and grotesquely ornamented towers which crown the vast structures of Southern India.

The country is rich in building material, and the best available is devoted to the service of the divine. Stone of various colours, marble, and a durable and costly stucco are all represented. In the east and in Burma, where stone is rare or has to be imported from a distance, timber takes its place; or in the midst of the highly cultivated tracts, where trees have had to make way for the plough, the useful bamboo with the palm thatching lends a special feature to the architec-

ture. It may be observed in passing, that though the divinities in favour vary in each tract of India, there is a curious tendency towards simplicity in both temple and rites, as well as in the character of the god, amongst the more martial and hardy races; whilst among their opposites, fashion inclines towards elaborate and grotesque monstrosities in architecture, and a cruel and bloodthirsty deity indoors. A great feature in Brahmanic worship is the frequency and efficacy of ceremonial ablutions. These must be performed daily before food is taken, so that a large pond or reservoir is usually provided wherever practicable, unless a stream be within reach. The public bathing-places in the large cities are the centres of all gossip and lounging in the morning, and many of them possess considerable architectural merits.

Next to caste, it may be mentioned, the institution which holds the highest place in the popular mind in connection with religion is the pilgrimage, or visit to one or more of the shrines or temples traditionally recommended to the caste or neighbourhood, or, as in the case of those of Benares, Jaganath, Hardwar, Rameshwar, and several others, the goal or object of aspiration throughout the Brahmanic world. Every one of these is attached to a sacred river or other body of water, immersion in which is one of the chief duties of the faithful. All the main railways of India have fallen well in line in regard to this pious circulation of the masses, and adapt their trains especially to the pilgrim traffic at the time of the annual festival. The journey, accordingly, which used to be a matter of months, and cost a sum amassed only after years of saving, is now within the reach of nearly all, so that the attendance is not only larger, but is gathered from a far wider area. Thus science is enlisted into the service of religion. The Musalman influence upon the architecture of religious edifices in India is only prominent in

the north. As a rule, the mosque is a comparatively simple building, like the ritual of Islam, and it is only in a few of the large cities that this class of building is really beautiful and distinguished by its non-Indian character. The Jama Masjid in Delhi, for instance, is a marvel of imposing simplicity, and the Taj, though not itself a place of worship, is unique in its own style.

Passing now from the consideration of the reasons for the continued want of homogeneity in India, we come to a feature which is shared by every part of that country, and in regard to which it differs most remarkably from our own land. In England the rustic is numerically subordinate to the citizen, and between 50 and 60 per cent. of the people live in towns of 20,000 inhabitants or more. Agriculture, though still the most extensive occupation, is not the predominant one, and circumstances have during the past century been steadily tending towards the depression of husbandry and the exaltation of manual industry. Now in India it is just the reverse. The proportion of the population dwelling in towns of 20,000 inhabitants is no more than 5 per cent., and 90 per cent. is found outside towns altogether. Agriculture is not merely the prevailing means of subsistence, but it occupies or supports directly or indirectly more than three-fourths of the population. The movement in the direction of town life has always been weak and fluctuating. Before the advent of the British the only important towns were those which had sprung up under the protection of the Court, were supported by Court patronage, and decayed with the influence which had nurtured them. Foreign trade by sea was carried on by foreigners, who obtained native goods and disposed of their own through agents in the interior.

The state of the country was never encouraging, even under the best of the native or Moghal rulers,

to commercial enterprise. According to the Arabic saying, the King's arm reached only as far as the city wall, beyond which blackmail or plunder was the portion of the man with property. Even in the present day the only towns which show much vitality are, first, the great seaports, all of which are British creations of less than a couple of centuries; second, the inland market towns which happen to lie on a trunk line of rail, and are thus convenient collecting or distributing stations for the neighbourhood to a considerable distance; and thirdly, the places selected for the establishment of certain industries under European auspices. The older cities which, from the capitals of local chieftains, have now become British military centres, also share in the general expansion of trade, but, unless containing some independent source of attraction, they must be held to stand or fall with their temporary uses. It is well known that the standard of domestic architecture in the purely native towns is not high, whilst in the modern places which have grown up under European initiative, the tendency is to adapt, as far as possible, the style affected by the foreigner to the requirements of the wealthier natives. In old times, as we are told by contemporary historians, there was a very good reason for not exhibiting any superfluity of wealth either in the house or elsewhere, and the aim of the prosperous was to remain so by the affectation of poverty. The dwellings, therefore, of the chief and his nobles alone indicated rank and means. These were as often as not erected with a view to possible contingencies in the way of attacks or sieges, and are imposing, but not sightly. Round them clustered the town. The view of the chief street in Delhi gives an idea of the general meanness of the mercantile quarter, but the sack of this street by Nadir Shah, in 1739, produced probably the biggest "loot" known to history from so small an area. What a

native capital can become on the disappearance of the Court which sustained it, may be judged by the illustrations of the actual condition of the once renowned city of Vijyanagar, in the South Deccan, which is now scarcely to be traced except by a few patches of ruined temples and other buildings in the midst of a collection of boulder-strewn hillocks. It may be mentioned, by the way, that nature assists man very materially in India when the obliteration of the habitation of a rival is concerned, and the picture so graphically put before us by Rudyard Kipling of "letting in the jungle" can be vouched for as literally accurate by any one who has ever witnessed the process. Between desertion and obliteration but little time is allowed by the luxuriance of tropical vegetation. In connection with the sporadic and tardy growth of Indian cities, we must remember that the mineral wealth of the country bears but an insignificant proportion to the supply of cattle, timber, and agricultural produce available. The coal found is inferior in quality and in no great quantity, and iron, again, is neither abundant nor easily workable. Within recent years only have these products been brought into the market. Owing to this defect, the extension of British influence, although coinciding with the great changes in home industries, has been, as a rule, commercial rather than industrial. The rise of most of our modern towns in this country has been due to the invention of machinery and to the abundance of fuel which has enabled manufacturing enterprise to take advantage of it. All the available openings for labour have been in the occupations which have been specialised under the factory system, and which can only be carried out on a large scale under urban conditions. In India this attraction does not exist at present to any significant extent. In Bombay and Cawnpore the cotton industry, and in Calcutta the jute manufacture, have established them-

selves firmly, but employ collectively scarcely more than half a million hands. The cost of plant and fuel, of efficient superintendence, together with the climatic conditions, serve, no doubt, to handicap the great labour resources of the country and the low rates at which they might be utilised.

The life of India, then, is centred in the village, not in the town, and when we meet with such phrases as the "people" or the "masses" of India, we should bear in mind that nine-tenths at least of the so-called (unmeaningly) "teeming" millions are simple rustics, most of whom have scarcely set foot in a city in their lives. The village, therefore—its constitution, pursuits, and opinions—is what we have chiefly to consider in dealing with India; the town is more or less of an excrescence, with a separate existence. It is as well to understand, in the first place, what is meant in India by the term "village." It includes not merely the collection of houses which we associate with the name in England, but the land around them. In this respect it resembles our "parish," in that it is a definite area, occupied by people who live all on one site, generally in its midst, and not scattered about in detached farms or residences. In common parlance, the village is held to mean both the community and its land, and is the unit of economic life, as it is of the administration, of the country. It is, in fact, in the form it assumes throughout the greater part of India, a microcosm or little world, as complete in itself and as independent of outside support as circumstances will allow. The nucleus is the peasantry, which has a little hierarchy of its own, at the head of which stand the families descended from the traditional first occupants or settlers. Throughout the greater part of the country these peasants enjoy what is practically a fixed and hereditary tenure, subject to the payment of an annual rent-charge to the State, which is traditionally

the superior landlord of all the land in the country. Varieties of this arrangement exist, of course, and in many cases the prevailing tenure has interpolated a landlord between the cultivator and the State, so that the rent is received by the former, and the rent-charge assessed on it for the public treasury; but in all cases except in comparatively newly-settled tracts, like Bengal and parts of Oudh, even a tenant is entitled by popular usage to continue in possession as long as he pays up the customary rent.

The whole country, then, is under small holders, having a hereditary interest in their land, and varying in position from the substantial yeoman of our best counties, to the Connemara cotter, who holds on from generation to generation on the margin of subsistence. The rest of the village community group themselves round the landed classes, for whose convenience they were introduced, and to whose wants they are bound to minister. In a great many, if not most cases, the principal members of the establishment, wherever the system is in full vigour, are remunerated for their services by the assignment of a share in the village arable land, which they either till themselves at their leisure, or more frequently let out to others for a share of each crop harvested. Elsewhere they are paid by a fixed proportion of the harvest of every landholder. Cash rarely enters into the transaction, and where it does, the price is fixed as far as possible with reference to custom and precedent, irrespective of considerations outside the village. As a rule the artisans on the establishment are content with the patronage of their own community, and rarely work for a wider market. Competition, accordingly, is reduced to a minimum, and there is none of the clashing of the local interests of agriculturist and mechanic which arises where business is on a more extensive scale. In like manner, where all stand and fall alike with the harvest, there

is little room for co-operation. Guilds of both producer and distributer are found in the towns; but the caste is in the country the substitute for the trade union, and a very efficient one it is. It is obvious that such a state of things is only compatible with a very simple standard of life. Nature, in the first place, prescribes this simplicity. A tropical climate makes few demands in the way of clothing, and three long strips of cotton, with a blanket of coarse wool where the rain is heavy or the cold severe, suffice for either sex. For the same reason the diet is of the plainest, and is mostly "off the estate." The kitchen arrangements correspond, as caste demands that each family should feed separately, and often in a corner of the field where the work happens to be going on. The housing of the family is not of much more importance, and as a general rule the architecture is regulated by considerations of convenience, not beauty. In a region of heavy rainfall the roof is thatched thickly with grass or leaves, which are there abundant. In the dry plains, where heat and cold have to be taken into account, thick mud walls are necessary, not only for comfort, but by reason of the absence of other materials. The life of the family is spent in the open air night and day, except when rain or cold drives every one indoors. Furniture is restricted to a few rough bedsteads, and even these are considered superfluous in the middle and lower classes of the rural population. On a fine night in the hot weather, that is, for some three-fourths of the year, the lieges lie alongside of their houses, in the roadway or on their verandahs. House-rent is unknown except in towns, though a newcomer has occasionally to buy a site. But newcomers are comparatively rare, and only admitted with some searchings of heart on the part of the residents of long standing.

If we take away the manufacture at home of goods

for sale abroad, and add the religious prohibition of the worker to marry or stray beyond his caste or hereditary calling, the economy of the village is not unlike that which prevailed in rural England before the middle of last century and the application of steam power to manufacture. A strict and even primitive simplicity characterises the operation conducted by the Indian peasant and by the artisans he considers necessary to his life. The implements he uses in tilling his fields have probably been used in the same form since his family settled on the soil of India. At the first glance, agricultural experts who have travelled in the country to give hints for improvement, are inclined to scoff at the plough without share and the primitive sort of harrow. A little more experience, however, leads them to the conclusion that Indian soil is not the same as English, and that in the circumstances, a scratched furrow is as efficient as a turned one. So with many other processes of barbarous aspect. Generations of devotion to one pursuit under the same conditions are not likely to have left no trace in the methods adopted, although, of course, there is abundant room for improvement, even in the daily practice of the husbandman. Is it not so even in our own country? As to the cattle used by the Indian peasant, it will be noticed that, in place of horses, bullocks are employed, and in some places buffaloes. The former are also universally used as draught animals for transport; and the introduction of railways, instead of diminishing their value in this respect, has raised it throughout the radius of the principal stations, because the owners, when their field work is at a standstill, instead of letting their stock stand idle, yoke it to goods waggons and ply between the centres of collection of produce and the railway.

As with the husbandman, so with the artisan. The manufacturing plant is of the simplest. The

weavers may be seen at work on the clothing of the village, at home, on the verandah, or in the open street, the traffic not being so brisk as to be impeded by this traditional obstruction. The occupation of weaving is one of the largest in India, but has been from the beginning in the hands of one of the lowest castes. It has necessarily suffered from foreign competition, but in coarse goods, which form the bulk of the trade, it holds its own. Another of the lower village trades is that of the potter, who makes the earthen vessels used all over the country for household purposes. In and near the large towns the potter develops into a brick and tile maker, and greatly improves his position by the change. The oil-presser, again, is one of the semi-agriculturists who suffers from the competition of foreign goods. Mineral oil has only been in general use for some twenty years, but is now found in every market town. The maker of the vegetable oils, therefore, if he deals with only that used for lighting, betakes himself to the occupation of providing for the export trade the raw material he formerly worked up himself, and acts as collector or broker of the seed. We have next the important group of more honourable trades, which in some parts of India are considered as of equal rank, namely, the carpenter, blacksmith, coppersmith, mason, and, above all, the silver and gold worker. It may seem strange to find the last amongst the established members of a village community, but in India he plays an important part in domestic economy. In the first place, the peasant invests all his savings in the form of ornaments, which are not only easily concealed, but make a brave show at family or village festivals; in the next place, until the last two generations there was such a scarcity of cash in currency that on the few occasions when the peasant was called on to transact business otherwise than by barter, a supply of ornaments, in-

variably of the pure metal, obviated the difficulty both of the want of money and of the frequent fluctuations in the current value of coin. Partly on these grounds, partly, again, owing to the pardonable vanity of a people whose social system gives no other outlet for display of their private resources, ornaments of the precious metals form a part of every dowry, and a good deal of the indebtedness of the peasantry in India is attributable to heavy purchases which are considered necessary in anticipation of a betrothal, to sustain the reputation of the family. So widespread a sentiment is not, of course, confined to the village, and we find, accordingly, that the goldsmith is one of the few primitive handicraftsmen who has advanced in position equally with the growth of the towns. Here again one remarks the simplicity of the tools employed and the delicacy of the work turned out. One must notice, too, the evolution of trade from trade; as, for instance, the development of the carpenter into the woodcarver, though the latter has received his main stimulus from European patronage. The goldsmith, on the other hand, is always busy, even in the village, because, within certain prescribed limits handed down by ancestral tradition, the women are continually bringing their ornaments to be made up into different patterns. Where gold or silver are not within reach, the arms and legs of the wives and daughters of the peasantry are loaded with circlets of bell-metal, glass, bone, shell, or even lacquered wood. Some sort of armlet must be worn by the married woman, as a ring must be worn on the finger in our own country, and the armlet put on at betrothal is broken at the death of the husband. The same ornament occasionally disappears, however, in a less legitimate way, after a conjugal row, there being a universal belief in the female mind in India that powdered glass judiciously administered in the husband's food causes death. The wife, it must be

remembered, does not in that country presume to sit down to food until her lord and master has satisfied his hunger.

In addition to the artisans on the village establishment, we find a number of occupations connected with personal services which have been admitted long after the original constitution was fixed, but which are now almost as widely spread as the rest. Most of the household work is necessarily done by members of the family, and in the middle and upper classes the restrictions of caste entail the employment of poor relations or connections in such offices. There are some professions, however, which must be entrusted to outsiders. The barber, for instance, is a more important functionary than in an English village. He is, of course, the recognised gossip and tale-bearer, and, in addition, he officiates in some places as the go-between for arranging marriages. In others he bears the torch before strangers of distinction visiting his village, and is the surgeon in cases where the disease is not one which will yield to the charms of some spell-monger of local repute. The washerman, again, appears in some villages, but much more rarely than the barber. He shares with the potter the low rank which in India is associated with the use of the donkey as a beast of burden. Then we find the water-bearer, also a servant whose ministrations are more required in the artificial life of the town than in the village, except where caste is at a discount, as amongst Musalmans. Just as the barbers are divided into the superior grade which deals with men and women respectively (for the sexes do not employ the same person), and the man who shaves the superfluous hair off the young buffaloes, so the water-bearer may be the man of caste, who fills only metal and earthen vessels, or the man who makes use of the leather bag, polluting to all Hindus but the impure by birth. By a curious

combination of ideas, the former may rise to parching grain or pulse for food of the orthodox of small means, and from thence to be the purveyor of sweetmeats, and even the keeper of a town cooking-shop. In his native village, however, he remains the man who must carry water or catch fish, or ferry the village boat or coracle, if the river intervene between the peasant and his fields, but must not presume to let his ambition take higher flights. In different parts of the country, of course, modern life has allowed the incorporation of other castes into the village community, but those which have been described above constitute the nucleus round which the rest are grouped. There is one important functionary to be mentioned, and he, though never wanting in the village staff, is never allowed to dwell within the village precincts, but has to live in an adjacent hamlet. He is the village serf or menial, and is not only the guide and the guardian of the village boundary, but supplies most of the field labour, as well as monopolising all trades in which skins or hides have to be touched. There is no doubt from the position of this class, and the special functions they alone can perform with reference to certain local deities, that they are of the race dispossessed by the present occupiers of the soil, and kept on the land as hewers of wood and drawers of water. Their origin, functions, and development, however, are somewhat long and intricate subjects into which it is impossible to enter at present. It may be mentioned, however, that they are, notwithstanding their depressed social position, a power in the land, and no class has been more benefited by British rule than theirs, and it will be from them that any extensive industrial enterprise of the future will draw its labour supply.

Now, in this enumeration of the various members of our little village hierarchy no one will fail to notice the omission of, at least, three occupations which in

this country would be thought of some importance, and with which, in fact, in our present stage of civilisation we could not afford to dispense—the shopkeeper, the schoolmaster, and the minister of religion. Well, the first is indeed as often found in the village in India as in England, and the absence of any mention of him in the above sketch is due to the fact that he is not a member of the original or normal village community. This, as has been already stated, was founded on the basis of self-support, without need of supplement from outside. Villages were rivals, and if they exchanged goods, it was under a flag of truce in neutral territory. The surplus of local produce not required for home consumption was bartered at such meetings without intermediary. The people waxed fat, and of course the middleman came in as a matter of convenience, whilst further needs and aspirations were developed which he alone could satisfy. But he was never admitted into the hierarchy, though in the present day he is often the most powerful, but not the most respected, man in the place. His hunting ground is in the large towns, where there is no annual procession of the staff in order of precedence to proclaim his social insignificance; and wealth, under British protection, be it understood, is appreciated at its market value. The schoolmaster, again—though, as a rule, very rare—was not altogether excluded, but let in outside the ordinary and recognised community. He lived in, but not of, the village, chiefly for the benefit of the children of the Brahmans or shopkeepers who happened to have taken up their abode there, and until within the last half century his functions did not extend to the instruction of the masses. These last have never taken to acquirements which they hold to be unbecoming, or at least unnecessary, to an agriculturist. It is advisable in forming our opinion of the situation in India to realise the fact that the peasantry, the backbone of the

country, are almost universally illiterate. Taking the whole population together, there are but six in every hundred who can read and write, and the bulk of these belong to the towns and the literate classes, who have to look to book learning for a livelihood, and do not include the classes at the head of the society by birth or position, who despise books, or the masses, who are naturally prohibited by caste from aspiring beyond what they were born to. Still more significant is the fact that in the scraps of learning which are distributed to the meagre extent above mentioned, the share of the men comes to about eleven in the hundred, whilst the other sex is content with four in a thousand.

The position of the priest or religious functionary in a village is highly peculiar. It is unnecessary here to deal with any but the Brahman, who officiates for the great majority of the rustic population. The Brahman, merely as such, is entitled to the reverence of all other castes, and gets it without doing any more to deserve it than the French nobleman who, according to the story, "had taken the trouble to be born." He is not a priest in the sense in which the term is used amongst us, for it is only the lowest classes of Brahmans who engage in any ministerial functions in connection with a temple or shrine. Nor, again, is he required to give advice or instruction in matters spiritual where the popular creed is devoid of dogma and doctrinal subtleties. Then, too, he is in no way responsible for the public morals, for the standard is fixed and maintained, not by the priest, but by the caste. He possesses, however, the monopoly of the enunciation of the sacred Vedic texts which from immemorial generations have to be uttered at all important family ceremonies, such as births and marriages. It is by no means necessary that he should understand the meaning of these mystic deliverances in a tongue which became obsolete before the date conventionally assigned to the Deluge, but the

mere words, in the mouth of the Brahman, have acquired, in the popular estimation, such an efficacy in the scaring away of evil influences from the newly born or wedded, that no parent will dispense with their utterance. It is the hand of the Brahman, moreover, which has to complete the marriage ceremony by tying the happy pair together. This, it must be stated, is an actual performance, not a metaphorical phrase, since the body-cloth of the bride is knotted to that of the bridegroom before they can leave the wedding-daïs as man and wife. In the same capacity of spell-wielder, the Brahman is the person called in when the elements are unpropitious to agriculture, and his mediation has to be also secured in every case in which the malign influence of ancestors or deceased enemies is likely to be exercised. The essential feature, accordingly, in all such ceremonies is the feasting of a certain number of Brahmans, the more numerous the better the chance of success, though the rank and reputation of the recipients of the bounty are immaterial, so long as the caste is above reproach. It is not difficult, then, to see how a class endowed with these attributes wields immense power over an illiterate and custom-sodden people, nor is it unnatural that such power should be exercised almost invariably towards the maintenance of the hereditary principle involved in the system of caste, of which the Brahman is the apex. He reposes upon his birth, and would have all his fellows do likewise. The learning, of which he originally kept the key strictly to himself, is now no longer necessary to him, unless his ambition or inclinations take him to a professional career; and in the village, when book-learning or worldly wisdom is required to solve a difficult case, it is not to the Brahman, as such, that recourse is had, but to the official accountant attached to each community, who serves as the intermediary between the village and the Government, and is an offshoot of the

system, like the shopkeeper or washerman, and tailor, of comparatively modern growth. He may or may not be a Brahman by caste, according to the part of the country, but his office is often held hereditarily, like those of the more primitive staff of his community. In the north of India, however, it has been found that some more modern guarantee of efficiency in his duties is required. It is hardly necessary for me to point out that this estimate of the position of the Brahman refers only to the village community. In the college, at the bar, or in the service of the State, he shows different and very superior qualities, and his naturally acute intellect has adapted itself well enough to the conditions of Western instruction. But the results are confined to the head, and it is not by intellectual considerations that he will be induced to weaken a position he has occupied unchallenged for uncounted centuries among his fellows, in which he stands entrenched amidst all that sentiment, tradition, and religion can contribute to secure his supremacy.

It is not, however, on any single class, distinguished as it may be, that our attention must be fixed, but on the immense mass of the people, and of them enough has, I hope, been said, to give, at all events, a general notion within the limits laid down at the opening of this paper. In forming our conception of the life of the inhabitants of our Dependency, we must not, in the first place, attach too much importance to the great intellectual gap between them and our own race. From a political standpoint, no doubt, this is a factor that would be the first to be recognised, but we are now dealing with their conditions as a whole. One sex, it is true, is entirely illiterate, and the other is but little better. This, however, does not justify the inference that, apart from other considerations, a people steeped in ignorance of the "three R's" is necessarily a barbarous people. On the contrary, India is the most signal

example we have of a civilisation which has deliberately and spontaneously placed a limit to its own development. The case of China is to some extent analogous; but there the embargo on change is absolute, whilst in India there is left plenty of opportunity for movement, though only within a definite range. The highly elaborate and complicated social system of India was in full vigour, much as it exists at the present day, long before the Britons had emerged from their forest savagery. Curiously enough, I may remark in passing, that the picture which Julius Cæsar has left us of the community under the Druidical system shows us that many of the germs of sacerdotal bondage were found there which, under the freer hand left in India to the Brahmanic order, developed into the artificial restrictions now observed. No serious attempt has ever been made to get rid of them, and to this day the chains are hugged with ardour and devotion. We may go so far, then, as to allow that institutions such as these must have corresponded to some extent with the circumstances in which they grew up, or they would have tended towards the degeneration of the community, not merely to its stagnation. I myself would go a step further, and point out that the course of Indian civilisation, though possessing unique peculiarities of its own, has not been, in its general character, unduly obstructed by its very artificial social and religious system, until, that is, within the last two or three generations. It is not sufficiently recognised that humanity in general is by no means progressive. The only communities to which that term can be correctly applied are those of Western Europe, including, of course, their offshoots in the New World and Australasia. Every advance in other countries has been, without exception, the result of intimate contact with Europeans. The weaker native systems fall before that contact, and it is the best proof of the quality of Indian

civilisation that in its essentials it has stood the shock unimpaired. Whether it will continue to hold out is a matter of conjecture into which it is superfluous to enter at present. Increased means and increased leisure, said Lord Beaconsfield, are the two great civilisers. As to an increase in leisure, the time has evidently not yet arrived when it could possibly be utilised by the masses. So far as our experience of material improvement has gone in the last forty years, which is all we have to judge by, the result has been rather to strengthen than to sap the two factors which may be considered essential to the present system.

Now, what are the two essentials to which I have just referred? From our present standpoint they are, of course, the caste system and the position of women. As a family cannot escape from its caste, it can only rise in the estimation of its neighbours by improving its position within the caste, and this is usually managed by stricter conformity to the regulations in the observance of which expenditure is entailed, or by adopting social customs previously current among the superior castes only. Unfortunately (from our point of view), the distinction between the upper and the middle or lower castes in India is nowhere so strongly exhibited as in the treatment of the women, the restrictions upon freedom of action being far greater in the higher classes. The first manifestation, therefore, of a rise in material prosperity on the part of a family of middle rank is that the women, who were accustomed previously to go about as they pleased, are clapped into seclusion, and enjoy the accession of dignity gained thereby. Then follows, first, the marriage of the girls before they reach womanhood, and the complement to this practice, namely, the prohibition of the marriage of those who have lost their husbands. Without entering into the effects of these changes, it is enough to mention that the two first are obviously fatal to the

instruction of the girls either before or after marriage, except where the family chooses to engage private women-teachers, and the tendency to this form of expenditure has hitherto been imperceptible among the masses. As to caste, a family which has adopted such customs necessarily tends to stand off from its former equals, and ultimately to form, with a few others similarly circumstanced, an inner ring or sub-caste, which in time refuses to give or take in marriage except among its members, a process by which one more is added to the social divisions of the country, and which may be traced in operation throughout India. One of the curious features about this transformation is the support given by the women themselves to the system under which they are disposed of by their male relatives. The isolated cases of revolt, of which a good deal has been occasionally made in this country, arise among small communities in the semi-Europeanised cities, unknown to the world beyond their walls, and where known, only regarded as warnings. While such devotion to an ideal adverse to progress prevails among the women, the prospect of an advance in line of the whole community is beyond the scope of practical consideration.

Quite apart from the social question as above described and the general dislike of innovation which pervades Orientals, the stationary character of Indian society may be inferred from the fact that amongst the masses no occupation except agriculture and the allied trades holds any place in public estimation. Agriculturists are proverbially deaf to reform, and of all agriculturists the peasant proprietor is the most distrustful of novelty as such. Nor is there much prospect of any substantial diversion of the attention of the masses from their traditional calling. The emblem of honour is the plough, which the peasant proudly scrawls as his sign-manual when-

ever he has to enter into any written transaction. If driven by temporary stress of circumstances to betake himself to some other occupation for a while, it is always with the intention of returning to till a plot of land in his own village. The obligations of caste prevent all but the lowest from engaging in the larger manual industries of India, and for the same reason foreign travel is closed to him. The emigrants from India to the plantations of the West Indies and Mauritius are a mere handful each year, in spite of the profit reaped by the few who make the venture. Even if the mineral resources of India were to be developed more than at present, caste would be found a great obstacle to the factory system which would have to be extended, as the different strata of society would not, except under dire distress, be induced to work together. On the other hand, the caste system is not without its advantages, and no one who looks to the general welfare of the community would think of encouraging the dissolution of its restrictions so long as nothing has been implanted below it to take its place. It upholds the conventional standard of morals, and is inexorable in its exaction of obedience. It has its obligations to the individual, though it does not recognise his right to independent action. Thus the care taken by each caste of its indigent or distressed members renders it possible to do without a Poor Law, and the aid of the State is invoked only in cases of widespread calamity, such as after a flood or fire, or when the drought has amounted to an entire failure of crops over a large area. Whether caste will ultimately move with the times is a question which is beyond our ken at present, and we can only recognise that it combines with the material conditions of India in preventing any general upheaval of industrial and social circumstances such as that which characterised the economical development of our own country on the

close of the Napoleonic wars. In the meantime, it brings prominently before us a problem to the solution of which the British Government of the Dependency has for some years been devoting its most serious attention, not without substantial success, though much remains which can only be effected by the co-operation of the people themselves. This problem is no other than the old one propounded by the King of Brobdingnag, of how to make two blades of corn grow where one grew before. A long period of peace and protection has stimulated an expansion of the population, the burden of which must inevitably fall almost entirely upon the land, in default of the extension of other means of livelihood. It is true that the growth of the Indian population is relatively not so fast as that of Germany, or even of our own country, but the food supply must be obtained entirely from an area which cannot be indefinitely expanded, and the produce of which cannot be exchanged for that of other countries through exports of manufactured goods, as in the West. I have used the term *relatively* in regard to this increase in the population in order to avoid giving an exaggerated notion of the movement; but lest the enormous mass of the existing population should be ignored, I must remind my readers that even at the above-mentioned moderate rate of growth a population equal to that of the whole of England or of Italy is being added every ten years to that of India. This is a solid fact which may appropriately bring this paper to a close, as it will afford ample food for reflection to those among my readers who may regard it as an indication alike of the magnitude of the task we have taken upon ourselves in our great Dependency, and of one, and not the least striking, of the results of our endeavours to fulfil it.

MADRAS

By the Right Hon. LORD WENLOCK, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E.

(*Governor of Madras*, 1891–1896)

Madras occupies, roughly speaking, the whole of the apex of the triangle which represents on the map the country of Hindustan. It was in Madras that British energy and enterprise first established a footing in India. In 1639 a grant of land was given to an individual named Day for the purpose of erecting and carrying on the business of what was then known as a factory, on the identical spot occupied by the present city of Madras.

The Presidency has some 1500 miles of seaboard; but from Bombay, running along the whole southern coast of India to Cape Comorin, and from there northwards to Calcutta, there is not a single natural harbour which can admit vessels at all times of the year to work their cargoes in actual safety. The Government of India has, it is true, spared neither money nor trouble in trying to make a good harbour at Madras, and at the present moment the work is actually completed. The two arms, both about 3900 feet in length, were finished in 1895, leaving an entrance of 515 feet; but so far the harbour has not been called upon to bear the fury of the cyclones which are liable to burst upon it at any moment. It must not be forgotten that the original harbour was completely wrecked by a cyclone in 1881. But the present one has been constructed specially to resist these convulsions of nature; the

engineers having learnt from experience what errors they should avoid, they are now fully prepared to guarantee the present structure against the most furious onslaught of the elements. But even now, whenever the readings of the barometer become threatening, warning is given to any vessels that may be lying in the harbour, and they have to go outside and fight it out with nature in the open sea. So far 127½ lakhs have been spent on the two harbours—the cost of the first, 65½ lakhs, having been written off, while the principal and interest on the second is being paid off every year out of the harbour dues. When this is done, and, as I sincerely hope, when docks shall have been constructed within the present harbour, Madras will be a cheap and a perfectly safe port.

Many other ports are dotted along the coast; but the same disadvantage is attached to them all. Vessels have to lie outside in open roadsteads, and frequently during the prevalence of the two monsoons, the south-west and the north-east, they have to suspend all operations. The harbour at Vizagapatam is, however, one which, by a large outlay of money, could be made into a first-class harbour, as the means exist there for constructing wharves and docks inland. If this port should at any time be connected by railway with the Central Provinces, and the whole trade of the new East Coast Railway concentrated there, such an undertaking might prove remunerative; while a very valuable dockyard for the Indian navy might be established there in the very centre of the Bay of Bengal, immediately opposite to Burma, and within striking distance of the mouths of the Hooghly, which, as the reader will be aware, constitute the sea approach to Calcutta, the capital city of the Indian Empire.

It would be tedious to survey in detail all the capabilities and positions of the various ports along the coast. They all serve more or less effectually

the requirements of the country in their immediate vicinity, and together do a very large amount of business. I cannot say that their lighting arrangements are as yet as perfect as they might be; but this subject has been carefully inquired into by a competent officer, and his report was being considered by Government when I came away.

I will now ask the reader to leave the sea and take to the land, and trace the main lines of railways with their branches—the arteries and veins along which the life-blood of the trade and commerce of the country flows. The Madras Railway converges at Madras, the upper section coming from the direction of Bombay and the north-west, and the lower from Calicut, on the opposite Malabar coast and the south-west. Due south from Madras runs the South Indian over 1000 miles of line, touching at all the ports dotted along the Bay of Bengal till it reaches Tuticorin, from which port the traffic to and from Ceylon is conducted. The ships calling here have to lie off from five to six miles. (I might here mention that at Masulipatam they have to lie off as far as seven miles.) Due north from Madras the new portion of the E.C. Railway is now being constructed to connect at Bezvada, on the Kistna River, with the existing portion of the railway—500 miles in length up to Cuttack. This line was laid for the special purpose of bringing grain to the ceded districts from the great alluvial deltas of the Godaveri and the Kistna—that is, from districts where the harvests never fail, to districts where the rainfall is very precarious.

A glance at the map will show this length of railway bridging over almost exactly half the space between Calcutta and Madras, leaving some 250 miles at each end. It has now been decided to finish off these ends, and I hope it will not be long before these two great centres are connected together by railway. The reader may, perhaps, have wondered why there should be so

few railways in India—why in this year of grace the whole length of line in this enormous country, with 300 millions of inhabitants, should be only about the same as it is in the United Kingdom. I take it the explanation is to be found in the fact that in India the Government commenced its railway work by guaranteeing a certain rate of interest, and the investing public, having once got used to that simple and pleasant method of doing business, refused to take up railway schemes unless these conditions as to interest were continued. Certain it is that it is now extremely difficult to get private capitalists to take up new schemes; and the Government, however willing, cannot itself undertake railway work on a large scale, as its establishment is limited, and is not adapted to any sudden expansion or contraction. However, railway extension is going on, though, speaking from a Madras point of view, I should like to see much more done in this direction in that Presidency than appears probable in the immediate future. I suppose each local government is urging its wishes on the central Government in this matter, and the Government has to discriminate between the various contending parties. It must also be borne in mind that all steel rails, girders, locomotives, and almost all the heavier iron and steel work have to come out from England, and the fall in exchange has seriously crippled India's purchasing power.

No wonder that her administrators are anxious to see the rehabilitation of silver. I would not here touch upon the intricate and thorny question of bimetallism; but, in my opinion, there is no doubt that if silver could regain its old position, India would be able to buy much more largely of us in iron and steel.

At the same time it must not be lost sight of that since the great famine of 1877 the Government has done much to extend the railways through the districts

most liable to famine in the south of India, and I can bear personal witness to their great utility in securing the main object for which they were constructed. These railways have been built on the metre gauge system, and although their original cost was less than it would have been on the broad gauge, I cannot help regretting that in a country like India two rival gauges should have been permitted to grow up side by side.

I ought now to mention another of the most important features in the country, the irrigation system, under which so much has been done to increase the food of the people. It should, however, be borne in mind that though under the large systems of irrigation the main crop is invariably rice, the great bulk of the labouring and agricultural classes depend for their daily food on what are known as dry grains, *i.e.* various kinds of millet, grown on the unirrigated lands in the form of dry crops. Of course, the revenue collected from irrigated lands is much larger per acre than that received for dry crops, the Government supplying the water as well as the land for the former, whilst in the latter case only the land is charged for. The proportion which the Government takes as its share is half the net produce calculated in money, by an elaborate system of survey and settlement, drawing out in the first instance the amount which should be paid on each separate holding. The assessment is fixed on the average price of grains for the previous twenty years, and is subject, generally speaking, to revision at the end of every recurring period of thirty years, the average of the price of grain during the previous twenty years being taken as the basis for the succeeding settlement, any improvements made by the tenants not being taken into account. Considering that the number of holders of land under Government amounts to some four millions, of which two millions pay less than Rs. 10 a year, while the average over the whole is

only Rs. 4, the collection of the revenue (over 600 lakhs a year) is conducted with remarkable ease. Against the accusation of rack-renting, often heedlessly advanced, I would point out that the percentage of lands actually brought to sale owing to default on the part of the tenants has, during the last five years of which I have the figures, amounted to 0.35 of the whole. Compared with forty years ago the area of irrigated land in Madras has increased 33 per cent.; land irrigated from State sources has increased by nearly 50 per cent.; while that brought under private wells, the most significant of all, has increased by no less than 150 per cent.

In Madras we have three of the largest systems of irrigation in India: the deltaic tracts watered by the Godaveri, the Kistna, and the Cauvery systems. The first two owe their great development and improvement to the engineering skill and ability of Sir Arthur Cotton, who is still alive, and their utility is even now being extended. Fresh cultivation is being expanded every year, while the height of their two great retaining embankments is being raised. In the Cauvery Delta, where about one million acres are under irrigation, the whole question of further improvement is being inquired into, and no effort is being spared by Government to extend the capability and the usefulness of these great works. Just before I left India I had the satisfaction of opening another large work, which will, I trust, be of enormous benefit to a hitherto barren and dry district. You will be aware that about the commencement of June one of the great periodic falls of rain is anxiously looked for throughout India. The south-west monsoon sweeping across the Indian Ocean first bursts on the range of hills running up the western coast, known as the Western Ghauts. It falls with great violence on the slopes of the Travancore Hills, and exhausts itself against their valleys and crests, but then

passes over the eastern side in dense masses of clouds, without sending down any more moisture. For nearly a hundred years the idea of banking up the waters on the western slope of these hills has been talked of, and delivering them by means of a hole bored right through the mountains down to the eastern plains, but it was left to the latter end of this century to see this somewhat visionary idea carried into execution. Under the able supervision of Colonel Pennycuick, an officer of the R.E., now Principal of Cooper's Hill College, this project has been successfully worked out. A huge dam of masonry and concrete 155 feet high has been thrown across a valley in Travancore, damming up the waters of the Periyar River, and when the water has risen 115 feet it reaches to the mouth of the tunnel which has been bored right through to the other side, over one mile in length. From there the water falls about 1000 feet down to the plains below, and is carried through miles of distributory channels to the scorched and thirsting lands. It is hoped that eventually some 200,000 acres will be brought under cultivation by this project.

I would here point out that nowhere else in the world does there exist such a fall of water so completely under the control of the hand of man, and if any one chooses to utilise it for the purpose of generating power or electricity, a splendid opportunity offers for the investment of capital and development of industries. The minimum quantity of water that will be available for industrial purposes is calculated at 600 cubic feet per second throughout the year, and the power which can be obtained from this head of water will be about 70,000 horse-power. You could create sufficient electricity for lighting many of the large towns in South India, including Madras itself, and you could provide motive power to move all the traffic for over 1000 miles of the South India Railway; and you

could also work aluminium or any other product requiring the presence of electricity. All the details connected with these suggestions were carefully gone into, and elaborated by a special committee of experts appointed for the purpose, and can be obtained from the India Office.

In addition to the work I have mentioned, irrigation is carried on by means of other projects, and by an enormous number of tanks which are dependent entirely on the rainfall; and considering the precarious character of the monsoons, it is easy to understand the anxiety with which the people and the Government watch for their advent.

And now for a few words as to the people living in these regions. They number about 36,000,000, of whom over 2,000,000 are Mohamedans, speaking Hindustani; some 15,000,000 in the south speak the Tamil language, another 15,000,000 speak Telegu, while the remainder consist of those who speak Malyalum on the west coast, Canarese in the regions bordering on Mysore, and Uriya in the far north. The officials and the professional classes almost all speak English, and I suppose there are altogether very many more natives of the country who speak and write English accurately in Madras than in any other part of India. Their best lawyers plead their cases in court, before an English judge, with great ability, as also before native judges, and the native bench and bar have produced men of very superior attainments. The great mass of the people are engaged in agricultural pursuits, and the prosperity of the country depends mainly on the rainfall.

There are very few manufactories in Madras, and these are connected with the cotton industries, which, again, are much affected by the rainfall. A large business is carried on in hides, and the tobacco industry is rapidly growi[redacted] the south. Sugar,

indigo, flax, rice, cotton, are largely grown in addition to the staple food grains; while in the hill tracts, and in the adjoining districts of Travancore and Mysore, tea and coffee plantations are rapidly extending — more especially tea, as in many cases the leaf disease has wrought great havoc among the coffee estates. Cinchona cultivation, which was at one time a most remunerative business, is languishing. Owing to the great competition of Java and other places, it can now hardly be carried on at a profit. The management of these estates is very much in the hands of Europeans, who have laid out large sums of money in bringing wild tracts of jungle into cultivation, and there is every reason to believe that their business will expand. As in other places, difficulties have arisen with regard to the labour question, but it is to be hoped that some arrangements may be arrived at which will be satisfactory to all parties, as not only is the extension of what is, comparatively speaking, a new industry most desirable, but its introduction has opened up new and most valuable outlets for the surplus labour of the country, at what is to those employed high rates of wages.

I would here bring before the reader the position of forest preservation in Madras. The general feeling of the Government of India is that the profit to Government from reservation should be subordinated to the benefit of the people; that the chief object of reservation throughout the greater part of the country should be the preservation of pasture, small timber, fuel, and leaves for manure or litter; or, in other words, the preservation of fuel and fodder reserves to be worked to meet the wants of the villagers, and not to be converted into close preserves for the growth of large timber. These principles are adhered to as closely as possible in Madras, and Dr. Voelker, in his remarks on this subject in his book on the improvement of Indian

agriculture, states that in Madras "more has been done than anywhere else to assist agriculture by means of forests." At the same time it must be admitted that this work is attended with considerable difficulties. The control of enormous areas of forest reserves, scattered all over the face of the country, has to be carried out largely by a numerous staff of low-paid officials, who are daily brought into contact with the people whose ancient privileges have to some extent been interfered with; but I believe the less short-sighted among the latter are beginning to recognise that the action of the Government must in the long-run be beneficial to them, and that proper control and management of these great reserves is absolutely necessary for the future supply of the wants of the people themselves. Without some such intelligent and carefully thought out system, I think it must be obvious that it would be only a question of time before the whole forest areas of India would be destroyed by the reckless and careless treatment to which they would be exposed. The controlling staff is composed of officers trained at Cooper's Hill, and in the Forest Schools of France and Germany, and under their skilful management a good work is being carried on, which will eventually result in adding enormously to the resources of the Government and the benefit of the people. In Madras the gross profits are now about 20 lakhs a year —net profit about five. A large amount of revenue to the Government is derived from the duty on salt. In Madras this amounts to about 180 lakhs a year, while the excise produces about 136, the greater portion of which is paid over to the Imperial Government. I should perhaps mention that the local government gives up three-fourths of its land revenue to the central Government, and of the taxes and general revenue which it collects keeps only about 30 per cent. for its own requirements. The Imperial Govern-

ment enters into a contract for a term of years with the local governments as to the proportion it is to receive from each of the various items of revenue.

And now as to the administration. The Government responsible for the issuing of final orders as regards the Presidency, consists of the Governor and two members of Council. These last, appointed by the Crown, are selected from among the senior and most experienced of the covenanted civil servants, assisted by secretaries in the respective departments.

There is a Chief Secretary, a Secretary in the Revenue Department, in the Public Works, in the Irrigation, and in the Railway Departments. In 1891, when I first went out, the Commander-in-chief of the Madras Army was also a member of the Council; but since the change in the military system, which places all the separate armies under the Commander-in-chief of India, the local commanders-in-chief are no longer members of Council, and the Military Secretary to Government has been dispensed with. From October to April the seat of the Government is in Madras; but as the hot weather draws on, the Government moves up to Ootacamund—situated at a height of 7000 feet on the Nilgiri Hills—and for the other six months of the year carries on its business from there. In matters of legislation the Governor is assisted by a Council, all, except certain ex-officio members, nominated by himself, although certain specified constituencies have, under the Enlarged Councils Act of 1892, the right of recommending certain non-official members to a seat on the Council. I may say that in Madras the new Council was working most satisfactorily when I came away.

Under the local government is a body composed of four senior officers, called the Board of Revenue, who are appointed specially to look after the details of work in the Land Revenue [redacted] and Settlement Forest, Salt and Exci[redacted] and below them, again,

come the main body of civil servants. Madras is divided into twenty-one districts, whose equipment in almost every instance is carried out in the following way: The head of the district is the Collector. He is responsible for the proper working of all the administrative and judicial functions of the Government in his district. He has carefully to watch and control every servant of the Government, examine all returns and reports of magisterial and judicial trials, and supervise the work done by the district medical and sanitary officers, the police, the forest officers, the jail department, and the collection of revenue of all descriptions, land, salt, excise, forest customs, and income-tax, &c.; and when I tell you that some of the Madras districts are quite 6000 square miles in extent, and contain over 2,000,000 inhabitants, you will understand that the Collector's office is no sinecure. The next official is the District Judge, of the same standing in the service as the Collector; *i.e.*, he receives the same pay, and the same man may be a judge one day and a collector the next. He has to transact the more important judicial functions of the district, and his decisions can be carried up on appeal to the High Court of Madras. The next in order comes the Sub-Collector, and below him the Assistant Collector, the lowest in rank among the covenanted civilians. Then there is the District Medical and Sanitary Officer, whose business it is to attend Government servants, to supervise hospitals and dispensaries, and to advise on all matters relating to the health of the people. There is the Forest officer, the officer in the Public Works Department and in the Salt and Excise Department, possibly a chaplain if there should be any troops quartered at the headquarters of the district, and there is the officer in charge of the jail. Below these, again, there is a numerous array of minor officials—almost entirely natives.

This gives a pretty good idea of the family party to be found in an ordinary district, and I may say from personal observation, that, making due allowance for human imperfection, these officers as a rule fulfil their duties admirably. But there is no doubt that, in many instances, in the heavier districts, certainly more work is thrown upon them than they can really get through with complete satisfaction. Population is increasing 15 per cent. every decade; education is advancing, and good though it may be, it gives more people the power of writing and making themselves heard; wealth, and with it the litigious spirit, is advancing; communications are being improved and are daily extending; and gradually more life and animation is circulating throughout the people—all of which tends to throw more work on public servants, who have daily to wade through larger and larger masses of correspondence brought by each morning's post, till the wearied and harassed official hardly knows how to keep abreast of his work. I do not say that this applies to all without exception—of course some posts are lighter than others—but I do not think I exaggerate when I say that the majority of Government servants in India are overworked. If you provide more of them you add at once to the expenses, which it is to every one's interest to keep down. True, something may be done by increasing the number of native officials in the higher ranks, but India generally is not ripe for a large extension in this direction. The experiment, though, is now on its trial, and if found to answer, can be easily extended. I have been informed, however, that in the strain on officials in the distressed parts of India there have been occasions when some Indians in responsible posts have shown lamentable weakness. There is no doubt that whatever is done in this direction must be done with every safeguard to insure that none but the best men are put forward. Again, there is the hope that

local bodies may develop that true spirit of self-government by which much of the ordinary daily work of public business may be properly carried out; but so far, I am afraid, I cannot speak with unqualified praise of the manner in which this work is now being conducted. In Madras we have fifty-six municipalities in the larger centres of population, and district boards, something like our county councils, in each district; but the municipal work has to be most carefully watched and supervised by Government, which possesses ample power for this purpose. I was asked not long ago by a non-official member of the Legislative Council whether Government could not issue orders for the Collectors of districts to take more personal interest in the work of the municipalities, and Government had to reply that such interference would be contrary to the whole spirit of local self-government. This question showed the diffidence which some, even of the most intelligent and enlightened men in the country, entertain of the capacity of municipalities to manage their own affairs. However, the movement is started and is progressing. It has only been in operation a few years, and it is hardly fair to expect too much from it in what may be considered its infancy, at all events as regards the work it is called upon to do now.

The district or rural boards are all presided over by the Collectors of the district. One of the most important and useful works which the municipalities are now taking up is the provision of water-works and drainage schemes. These schemes are first investigated by the sanitary engineer to Government, and when approved are put in hand by the Public Works Department. Owing to the insufficiency of local resources, it has been found necessary to supplement them by grants from the Government treasury. In most cases half the total amount has been given as a free grant

from Government; while the other half is lent on easy terms, and is repaid by yearly instalments of principal and interest. It is proposed to set aside a certain sum every year until every large centre of population has been provided with pure water and an efficient system of drainage. Madras city itself, containing nearly half a million of inhabitants, presents unusual difficulties on account of its low-lying situation. It has a fairly good supply of water, but its present system of drainage is very faulty. When I came away last March, a comprehensive scheme of improvement in both these particulars had been worked out, and I hope before very long an enormous advance will have been effected there, which cannot but prove of great benefit to the people.

I shudder to think what fearful devastation the advent of the plague would work in a large city like Madras in its unimproved condition. Sanitation in an Eastern country is up-hill work; it has often almost to be forced on the unwilling inhabitants—as witness the difficulty of closing the Mohamedan burial-grounds, situated in the midst of a teeming population. The work, however, is steadily going forward, and I doubt not that the appearance of this awful plague will serve as a useful object-lesson, and convince the most careless that the inscrutable ways of the sanitation department do really serve a wise purpose. One very good step which has lately been taken in this direction may be pointed out. Nearly two years ago, at the suggestion of Dr. King, the Government Sanitary Commissioner, a sanitary inspector class was formed in connection with the Medical College at Madras, to be attended by persons sent up by local boards and municipalities. No fees are charged for them, though they are for private students. The course extends over three months, and the students are required to appear for the intermediate technical examination in hygiene.

From the very first the class has proved an immense success, and cannot fail to be of widespread advantage.

I do not propose to weary the reader with statistics of the progress of education in Madras: the subject is one which receives the constant attention of the Government, which spends all it can spare on this important object. As in this country, so there, there is a loud demand for more assistance from the State, though there the cry is for grants in aid more of higher education than of primary, which has resulted in somewhat disproportionate help having been given to those who might reasonably be expected to contribute more to their own education. Government will have to consider carefully how to keep the balance even. As regards technical education, I would point out that even in that backward country the subject has received considerable attention. In 1893 a scheme was sanctioned, under which nine grades of technical examinations, elementary, intermediate, and advanced, have been provided. Examinations are provided in as many as eighty-five technical subjects. The candidates are prepared for about one-half of the subjects, and so far the results are satisfactory. Opportunity was taken to revise thoroughly the industrial standards provided in the Grant-in-aid Code, so that they might lead up to the amended technical examination scheme. The policy of Government has been to withdraw gradually from almost all State educational institutions, while it has done all it can to encourage the educational movement through other agencies. In connection with this I might here state that excellent educational work has been done by the various missionary bodies. I make no comment on their proselytising work, on the success or otherwise of their efforts to convert the natives to Christianity—with that the Government has absolutely no concern, and wisely holds aloof from it—but in their secular work their educational and civilising influences

have been of great service to Government, and their schools receive large grants-in-aid from the State. It must not be understood that the State has actually retired from carrying on the work of education in Government institutions; on the contrary, there are still three large Government Colleges. It has also Schools for the Training of Teachers, an Engineering College, a School of Art, a Medical College, a Law College, and a Veterinary School.

It seems unnecessary to our purpose to enumerate all the hospitals and dispensaries, or to give statistics of patients or statistics of vaccination; but in all these matters constant and regular advance is made every year. I might specially allude with satisfaction to the great progress which has been made in the way of giving medical relief and comforts, administered by women properly trained and taught, to the suffering women in Madras. Lady Dufferin, whose name will ever be held in loving and grateful memory by millions of the sick and distressed women of India, left behind her, in that country, work for those who came after her, which I am glad to think has been faithfully and loyally carried on; and it is a matter of special gratification to Lady Wenlock and myself to think that when we left Madras this work had not languished in our hands. I could not, even if I had space, narrate the horrible treatment and tortures to which so many poor women of that country have been subjected through the ignorance and carelessness of their attendants. But a gradual improvement is everywhere making itself felt, and every year that passes will, I truly believe, show a marked advance in this respect.

Just at this moment, when our attention has been so recently and anxiously drawn to the struggle in which the Government of India is engaged against the terrible visitation of famine in large tracts of that country, I might perhaps venture to touch on this question,

although I am thankful to say that at present Madras is almost entirely outside the affected area. The Presidency of Madras was saved, in the November preceding the famine, by an abnormal rainfall of fifty inches —which unfortunately, however, missed the northern parts of the province—this one month's rainfall actually exceeding the average rainfall of the whole year for Madras. This dread spectre of famine is, I may say, never absent from the thoughts and fears of all Indian officials. The prosperity or otherwise of almost all the inhabitants of this great country depends entirely on the rainfall, and although several years in succession may pass without any serious deficit, the past history of India exhibits a long series of failures of more or less severe intensity; so that I take it we may look upon it as accepted fact that we shall always have to face a certain number of lean years at recurring periods. I need hardly say that Government has no power over the elements; it can but do its best to minimise the evils of drought. The chief weapons for this purpose are undoubtedly the extension of irrigation and of railways. The larger the area you can bring under wet cultivation, of course the smaller is that under dry; but you will always have an enormous preponderance of the latter over the former. It must not be supposed that you can ever render the whole country secure against famine by irrigation alone; even if you had the water, the laws of gravitation are against you. Still, much has been done, and will still be done, in this direction. I sincerely trust that Government will never cease offering facilities for the construction of wells wherever feasible, for every well constructed is a barrier against future famines. As I have already pointed out, railways are an enormous boon to famine-stricken districts. They bring in grain to the doors of the starving people, and steady the price. I found in 1891–92—a period of great scarcity in Madras—how

invaluable the railways were in this respect. On that occasion it frequently happened that the grain merchants would form a ring to put up the price of grain in a particular locality; but then an outsider would order up a truck load on his own account, and down fell the price at once to the level of the rest of the country. My experience then was that there was plenty of grain in the land; and I am glad to see that up to now the Government of India is satisfied that the ordinary trade of the country can supply the requirements of the people without any interference on the part of the State. I always look upon such interference as more likely to do harm than good, and consider it should not be resorted to, save in the last extremity. The chief duty of Government now is to see that those in want are put in the way of earning sufficient wages to pay for their daily bread, leaving it to private individuals to supply the demand, while removing all obstacles which might retard their efforts. The system under which this is being done has been most carefully worked out, and I am convinced, by my own experience, is being admirably executed. The methods and plans of dealing with 1000 labourers can be expanded to deal with 10,000 or 100,000, always supposing you have sufficient supervising officers to cover the whole of the ground. Of course this involves the expenditure of a vast sum of money, but the Government can and will find all that is required for what I may call their first line of defence. After that there is ample scope for private charity.

BOMBAY

By LORD HARRIS, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E.

(*Late Governor of Bombay*)

I ESTEEM it a great compliment to have been asked to contribute a paper on Bombay, but I beg my readers will realise that I undertake it with a clear consciousness of my incapacity to deal adequately with the subject. I daresay they may think that, because I have been Governor of Bombay, and lived there for nearly five years, I must know all about it; whereas my feeling is, that an experience of that kind and length, whilst it has taught me much, has also shown me how superficial my knowledge is, compared with that of many men now in England who have spent the best part of their lives amongst the natives of that Presidency, and were every day in close contact with them. The reader will please understand, therefore, that my remarks are offered with the utmost humility. It would be, of course, impossible, within the space at my disposal, to give a thorough conception of the Bombay Presidency; all I can do is to try to instil some interest into a summary, a condensed recollection, of the many matters which occupied my attention for five very busy years.

To start with, every one knows the outline of the Presidency, it is only a strip along part of the western coast of India; but we who know Bombay think it a highly important strip in very many ways, and are not disposed to concede to any other province or Presidency a greater importance. The motto of the city of Bombay is *Urbs prima in Indis*, and, in my

opinion, you might include nearly the whole world, and taking into consideration everything that lends interest—its position, picturesqueness, trade, population, wealth, public buildings, municipal government, roads, and the activity, education, and natural intelligence of its inhabitants—and still Bombay would be first. There is a Hindustani word in constant use in India, "pucka," which I might translate "quite first-class," and both Presidency and city are "pucka."

Now, if the reader will look at the map, he will follow the four administrative divisions of Bombay. The most northern is Sind, next it is Guzerat, then the Deccan, and the most southern Canara;—whilst here along the coast south of Bombay is the Konkan, partly in the central or Deccan division, and partly in the southern, and these divisions lend themselves by differences of language to administrative division. People in England often talk loosely of "the vernacular," as if there were one for all India, whereas there are four main linguistic divisions in Bombay alone, which correspond to the administrative divisions. Besides which, there are variations, such as Konkanese, and a patois which is talked, I believe, by the native Christians in the fishing and farming villages round Bombay city, full of Portuguese phrases and words, relics of old Portuguese influence, and which is, I have been told, unintelligible beyond themselves to any one but a skilled interpreter specially engaged by the High Court. But one must not run away with the idea that all the land included in that area on the map is British territory; a good deal of it is Native State territory. Just below Sind is the territory of the Rao of Cutch, whose sea-coast subjects are bold sailors, voyaging across the Indian Ocean to trade with Zanzibar, and who enjoy the curious privilege, that when on land they are the Rao's subjects, and when at sea are British subjects; and just south of Cutch is Kathiawar

—a collection of Native States, each administered to a greater or lesser degree by its ruler, according to his efficiency. Sometimes you will find a British officer administering a State where the chief is a minor, or where he has proved his incompetency.

Then, dotted all over Bombay like plums in a cake, you will find bits of the great State of Baroda, whose chief is the Gaekwar, representing one of the great Mahratta offshoots from the Peishwa of Poona. Other offshoots are the Maharaja Scindia of Gwalior and the Maharaja Holkar of Indore, all of whom correspond directly with the Government of India; whilst further south, again, is the territory of the Rajah of Kolhapore, who is perhaps regarded by the Mahrattas as the first of the great Mahratta chiefs. There are many other Native States, too numerous to mention separately, for they number about 350, some Mohamedan, some Hindu Rajput, some Mahratta; whilst here, just below Bombay city, is the little State of Jinjiaa, whose ruler, the Nawab, is of Abyssinian origin, and whose ancestors, by their exploits on the sea, forced their services on the Mahratta rulers. The Habshi, as he is called, is the very reverse of a pirate now, and can claim that the condition of female education in his State is quite equal to that of the British territory which encloses him.

And now it seems best to begin at the north, and thus traverse briefly each of the territorial divisions.

The great Oriental traveller and writer, Sir Richard Burton, described Sind as Little Egypt, and the natural feature that justifies the title is the great river Indus. It flows away from the Himalayas through the Punjaub till it comes under the jurisdiction of Bombay some little way above Sukkur, where it is crossed by the great cantilever bridge called after the Marquis of Lansdowne; and I think a little information about the great river may be helpful.

HISTORY ABOVE AND BELOW. ALEXANDER THE GREAT. MIRS. MIR ALI MURAD. MIANI.

Now our common experience of rivers teaches us that they run in valleys, but the Indus does the direct opposite: it runs along the top of a bank, which slopes away very gradually on both sides; and, what's more, it piles up its own bank. Experience teaches us that a river is fed by streams, that is, that the streams flow into a river; but in Sind streams flow out of the Indus on both sides. The consequence of this is that man is perpetually fighting nature. Man wants the Indus water to flow over the land, for it brings with it a bountiful supply of manure in the form of silt; but man thinks it wise to regulate the flow to proper times and seasons and in proper quantity, and so he built banks, or bunds as they are called in India, to train the course of the river and keep it within bounds. We may instance the great Kashmor Bund, which protects all the country right away to Shikarpur from floods. But the river protests, and very vigorously too, against such regulations, and building up its bed higher and higher every year, and working away stealthily under the bunds, it manages every year to make breaches in the bunds, and flows away solemnly across the country, ensuring a splendid crop the following cold weather, but discouraging farmers, and doing in the long run more harm than good. Mending the bunds in flood time is terrible work in the intense moist heat that then prevails, but the officers who have to attend to these matters never flinch, though the duty may, they well know, cost them their lives. Upper Sind is about the hottest part of India. Europeans manage to snatch about four hours' sleep in the hot weather by putting

their beds on the roof, dousing them with water, and sleeping under a punkah.

It is said that a native judge who was sent there in the ordinary course of duty begged to be removed, as no one but an Englishman could stand such heat! Burton also calls Sind "the Unhappy Valley," and perhaps not inaptly, when one considers that there is another place in Sind where it is on official record that mosquitoes are so numerous and voracious that the horses have to be put under mosquito curtains.

I must mention one more curious thing about the old river. The reader will see on the map Sukkur, where the Lansdowne Bridge is: well, that is at the tail of a low range of hills, and the river has preferred to cut its way through that range to bending a few miles to the west and going round the tail; and if some day it took it into its head to do so, there would be the Lansdowne Bridge left high and dry as a warning that nature is stronger than man.

Those who have read Mayne Reid's stories of incidents by flood and field in America, will remember his interesting description of tracking — sometimes it is a horse, sometimes a wild animal—and how minutely he describes every little sign which the trackers take advantage of. Well, in Sind, and I daresay in other parts of India where the soil accepts and retains a clear imprint, trackers, or "pagis" as they are called there, are in common use for following up stolen cattle, horses, and camels, and for tracking criminals too; and such confidence is given to their proficiency and reliability that their evidence is accepted as circumstantial in the courts. I don't know how they would get on with booted feet, but they will pick out the impression of one pair of bare feet amongst a hundred others.

But I must not take up all my space with the Indus,

interesting though it is, save to remind you that when you read letters and articles about the advantages and benefits of irrigation as compared with those brought by a railway, you must not jump to the conclusion that all irrigation in India is similar to that derived from the Indus. We have laid out millions of pounds on huge irrigation tanks and miles of canals in other parts of India; but whereas, as I have said, the Indus brings down a wealth of manure with its waters, the waters of many of these lakes are what the natives call "hard," *i.e.*, they do not bear silt, and unless the land is highly manured artificially they soon impoverish it; and the native farmer, who, on the highest authority, knows his own business thoroughly well, will not use this hard water unless he is certain of being able to get plenty of manure. So averse are they from using it, that in one year when there was a famine they would not use it in many places where they might have, because their weather prophets—who proved to be false prophets—foretold rain on a certain day.

Now to the north-west of Karachi you will see Quetta, a great military station, holding the passes through which many of the greatest military invasions of India have come—to be superseded, we will hope, only by the peaceful invasions of the iron horse, which will link up Europe and India eventually—and away to the south Karachi, where man has done wonders in making a really useful harbour, and which is likely to become more and more important every year as the port for Northern India, and will be of the utmost value to India if ever it should be necessary to send out troops for the defence of the frontier.

And now to get away south to Kathiawar, the province of Native States. I have said that Bombay was "pucka," and here I may point out two noteworthy things she has done on quite different lines. She has sent the only natives of India who have suc-

ceeded in getting into the House of Commons, one as a Liberal, Mr. Dababhai Naoroji, who was born, I believe, in Baroda territory; the other as a Conservative, Sir M. M. Bhownagree, who was for some years in the Council of the Maharaja Bhaunagar. That is one remarkable achievement; and the other is that she has sent to England the champion batsman of 1896, Kumar Shir Ranjitsinhji, who is a cadet of the house of H.H. the Jam of Jamnagar.

It is quite impossible for me to explain to you the scheme of our relations to the Native States of India. Mr. Lee Warner, who in these volumes deals with Mysore, has written about these relations in his "Protected Princes of India," a book that should be read by those who wish to understand how tender is the touch we apply to the native princes of India in alliance with her Majesty the Queen. Their powers are, however, limited to those of administration and jurisdiction; they cannot make war, and they cannot make alliances with other States inside India, or powers outside of India. All of them are subject to the advice of the Government of India, and not all of them have full powers of jurisdiction; indeed, in some very small and unimportant States the powers of the chief are merely magisterial, and not so great as those of a petty sessional bench in England. Where this is the case, the British Government exercises the rest of the power through its officers. The highest British officer nearest to the State may, for instance, be the judge of the State, trying all the serious cases, and the Government of Bombay is the Court of Appeal. As I have said, there are three hundred and fifty Native States under Bombay, which give the Governor and his colleagues an enormous amount of work in settling disputes between State and State, generally about land, and in considering appeals against interference by British officers with the rights claimed by a chief; and these appeals are frequently

drawn up by very able lawyers, and are most voluminous. I remember one of fifteen hundred long paragraphs. I told the chiefs of Guzerat once that their appeals would be decided much more quickly if they could induce their advocates to be more concise.

On one occasion a horrible tragedy very nearly occurred in my time in a Native State under administration. Two men had been convicted of murder, but on appeal to the Government of Bombay their death-sentence was commuted to penal servitude. Time was getting short, and the respite was telegraphed; but the telegraph clerk sent the message to another town of somewhat similar name, and if it had not fortunately happened that no hangman was to be found, the respite would have been of no use.

The premier chief of Kathiawar is the Nawab of Junagad, a Mohamedan chief, a curious relic of Mohamedan rule, for nearly all the other chiefs are of Rajput descent. In Kathiawar there are many sacred shrines visited by thousands and thousands of pilgrims yearly, who put themselves to the utmost inconvenience, nay, almost torture, in performing them; however, the iron horse is helping pilgrims very much. Here in Junagad is a very sacred place, Prabhas Patan, where the Mohamedan mosques and the Hindu temples lie so close together that there are present all the elements of discord; and here occurred the serious disturbance which led up to the Bombay riots, in which eighty persons lost their lives and five hundred were wounded.

Junagad is almost the westernmost point of British India. Here, to their last hiding-place, have retreated the only remaining specimens of the Asiatic lion. There are men alive now who remember them as far east as Central India, but now there is not one left except here.

Well, if you went to Kathiawar you would find yourself able to run about it by rail easily enough; but

some of the chiefs have still to do journeys in bullock carriages, drawn by grand bullocks who swing along steadily at three miles an hour.

That wise man General Wellesley, afterwards Duke of Wellington, when he was handed over the command of the army of the Carnatic, the army that had crushed the power of Tippu Sultan at Seringapatam in 1799, recommended with all his powers of argument that the Mysore herd of draught bullocks should be maintained. His arguments were successful, and by the aid of that herd, the highest bred in India, which is as full of highly bred cattle as England is of highly bred horses, he was able to drag his artillery and his other impedimenta so effectively through the campaigns he fought in the Deccan and Central India as to have warranted his attributing his success very much to the speed and endurance of these plucky beasts.

India is very much like other countries in exhibiting specimens of migration; little human islands, dotted about, separated in some cases by a long way from their mainland. Here in Kathiawar, for instance, amongst others, you will find the Mianas, a wild, turbulent race, who have been only half civilised, and who are ready to go out into outlawry for what others regard as very trivial reasons. In many cases, I fear, it must be attributed to their adoration of the fair sex, and their jealousy if another is more favoured; then either the lady's nose is sliced off or the rival is murdered, and out goes the criminal into outlawry. Presently he is joined by other desperadoes, and a little gang is formed which goes up and down the country earning a precarious existence by highway robbery; much sympathised with by the villagers, passing easily across the borders of the States, so as occasionally to elude the vigilance of the active police of one chief, and live for a while under the tolerant apathy of another. Hundreds of police and troops are after them all over

the country. Eventually they dodge backwards and forwards across the Rann of Cutch out of one jurisdiction into another, sometimes audaciously stealing the chief's best horses, until at last they are cornered, and die fighting like brave men. Grand soldiers they would make if they would but put up with discipline, but they are difficult to manage in any occupation.

When we first asserted our influence in Kathiawar we found it absolutely chaotic as regards land rights and boundaries. It had been for years a case of "let them take who have the power, and let them keep who can." A brave man rose against the oppression and rapacity of his chief, fought his way to power, trampling on the rights of his neighbours as well as the chief he supplanted, and placed himself on the "Gadi" more or less securely. Such want of system going on for decades naturally obscured the customary rights of landowners; for much of the land law of India was not written, but handed down from father to son by word of mouth, and none the less accepted. By degrees a court, which we advised the chiefs to establish amongst themselves, has unravelled much of the tangle into which land titles and boundaries had got, and has settled amicably the disputes between the chiefs and their "Girassías," the landed gentry and yeomen of the country; but occasionally, indeed I may say pretty frequently, the Bombay Government is occupied with appeals from this court's decisions, and having given its decision, another appeal goes on to the Secretary of State. No litigant in India is ever satisfied until the Queen has herself decided his case; he will go on appealing until he has spent every penny he can raise on his property in lawyers' fees. To have a suit on hand is almost as necessary as, and a good deal more dignified than, his daily food. It gives him a position amongst his neighbours, and an inexhaustible subject of conversation. So Kathiawar is becoming very peace-

ful and highly civilised. A well-appointed railway train whirls you from British territory to Raj Kot, where the British flag flies over the Political Agent's house, and there you find a fine college for the cadets of the chiefs' houses, a splendid memorial hall, with pictures of the chiefs, and other signs of a combined interest in art and sciences. You will find electric light and telephones in some of the palaces, and, generally speaking, a savour of progress over the land; whilst, by way of contrast, you can still see occasionally great herds of Black buck close to the railways.

Well, much as I should like to linger over Kathiawar, for many of whose chiefs I have a sincere regard, I must nevertheless get on, and I come next to the northern division, Guzerat, a favoured land, seldom visited by want, capable of growing the best Indian cotton. Dholera and Surats are well-known names in the cotton market. We have tried very hard to introduce and keep permanent the cultivation of the long stapled cottons of Egypt and America, but the native plant growing alongside has managed to get its seeds wafted into the long staple and has adulterated it, and the Indian farmer, who, as I have said, knows his business thoroughly well, prefers to grow a big crop of short staple to a precarious one of long. In one corner of Bombay city you might think yourself in Manchester, so numerous are the chimneys of the cotton-spinning mills. Most of the Guzerat cotton goes there to be spun, though there are mills also at Ahmedabad, the capital town, Broach, and other towns. But Ahmedabad is famous too for its wood-work, which you see in the windows of mosques and temples, as you see marble-work in Rajputana and the North-West; noted too in certain wealthy circles in America for very beautiful and expensive carpets, some of them silk, and with the pattern on both sides. Guzerat is making its mark now in railways constructed, or to

be constructed, to a considerable extent out of money subscribed by natives of India. Hitherto most of the railway capital of India has been subscribed in England; but whether it be due to greater confidence amongst Indian capitalists, or to their having to be satisfied with lower rates of interest, certain it is that the little line from Ahmedabad to Prantej, and the longer one from Surat to Nandurbar, will be built out of rupees, not sovereigns. Surat was the chief factory of the old East India Company, and an important commercial port before Bombay attracted much notice. There you can see the old house where the Governor and the clerks lived, and which has stood a siege before now, and in the graveyard the tombs of many courageous Englishmen. Some of the tombs are Mohamedan in architectural character, curiously enough—whether due to the eccentricities of the architect or to a compliment to the ruling race, I know not. To Surat, too, or close thereby, first came the Parsis when they emigrated from Persia. Bombay has attracted them away, as it has also done, as the river Tapti became unsuited to modern ocean-going craft, the trade of Surat. Surat has been unlucky too as regards flood and fire. The Public Works Department will in time probably prevent the swollen Tapti making its way into the city; but fires there seem to be periodical.

One of the saddest sights I know of in India is the English Church at Kaira, in Guzerat. Still the headquarters of the Collector of Kaira, it is but for that no longer important. Earlier in the century it was important enough to have a fine English church built there, consecrated, if I remember right, by Bishop Heber; but almost immediately afterwards an English regiment quartered at Kaira lost more than half its strength. It ceased to be a military station, and now that church stands there desolate, almost deserted,

amidst the graves of the poor English lads who were swept away almost in a night by the ravages of fever and cholera.

Each of the administrative divisions of the Presidency has its special natural features to my eyes. Sind, its deserts, which can be turned into luxuriant farms by the wealth-bearing waters of the Indus; the Deccan, its rocks and its castellated hills; Canara, its forests; and Guzerat, its English park-like scenery. Splendid trees stand in the hedgerows or shade the little villages with their red-tiled roofs, and but for families of monkeys hopping away from the fences, pea-fowls strutting about the fields in perfect security, and flocks of great red-headed cranes, you might, as you whirl through the country in the train, or as you walk over the light dry soil, out quail-shooting at Christmas, imagine yourself in England. The bird life of Guzerat is wonderful. At Christmas, when all men, officials and merchants alike, take holiday, camps are formed all over Guzerat for quail, snipe, and duck shooting; and later on in the year the only pig-sticking meet of any importance in Western India is held at Guzerat. But as cultivation extends, grey old boars get fewer and fewer, and I fear the Guzerat Cup will not be run for many years more.

And now we must climb the passes, out of steamy Guzerat, on to the great table-land, 2000 feet above the sea, which slopes away from the western to the eastern coast, and is called the Deccan. Arid, rocky, accustomed to famine, scourged of old by war and oppression, but the home of a sturdy race, the Mahrattas. The mother of great rivers, venerated by all India, which rise in the Western Ghats and flow through many a mile right across the Peninsula to the Bay of Bengal. The Krishna and the Godavery are names familiar enough I doubt not; and if fortune ever takes the reader to Mahableshwar, the hill seat of the

Bombay Government in the hot weather, there he will find the source of the sacred Krishna; perhaps to become still more sacred to Hindus when the sanctity of the Ganges fades away, as it is said it will do in a few years. When that happens, as an old native friend of mine, a very holy Hindu who lives at Benares, assured me it would, I expect the Brahmin priests of Wai, on the Krishna, and of Nasik, on the Godavery, will make a strong bid for succession; for pilgrimages, besides bringing sanctity to the pilgrims, bring wealth to the temples and their ministers.

Now I have not troubled the reader with local Bombay history; I have always found it myself too complicated to be in general very attractive. Figures flit in such numbers across the stage through the mist of ages that one has to be content with the most prominent, and here in the Deccan you do find a very noticeable figure in Sivaji, the founder of the Mahratta Confederacy. It is claimed for him and the Mahratta rule now that he and his successors were good administrators — but that is somewhat difficult to believe when we read in the Wellington despatches, and in Mountstuart Elphinstone's letters, what the state of the Deccan was after a century of Mahratta rule: the country deserted save by bands of robbers, the land untilled, and merchants fearful of sending their goods about save under the strongest escort. Well, that was many years after Sivaji died, and at any rate we must do him, the mountain rat, as the great Aurungzebe the Emperor called him, the credit of having successfully defied the power of the Mogul. The hill tops were with a little cutting natural castles, and thither Sivaji would retreat in safety if hard pressed; at other times his Mahratta troops on hardy Deccani ponies cantered quickly from place to place, attacking and disappearing with their spoils before they could be caught as a rule; but capable of fighting a battle too. Sivaji was at any

rate a great commander, he enlisted enthusiasm, and he founded a kingdom, from which have sprung Gwalior, Indore, and Baroda. The Raja of Satara has disappeared, and his usurping minister the Peishwa of Poona, but Kolhapore remains. These remain, and nothing else, to mark Mahratta rule. They were not architects, and their public works were insignificant; whereas the Mohamedans have left us, for instance, the architectural beauties of Ahmedabad, and of Bijapur, where you may see one of the greatest domes in the world, and magnificent water-works, as at Ahmednagar. With all respect to them, I doubt if our hydraulic engineers are much in advance of the Mohamedan engineers, who knew how to catch every spring on the hillside and bring the water in cool underground channels to enormous populations. It is said, though it is hard to believe, that the population of Bijapur numbered at one time a million souls, and yet there is but little water to be seen on the black soil plain around. If they did supply such a population with water, then they did something more noteworthy than we, who have brought water from the Western Ghats some sixty miles into Bombay for some eight hundred thousand souls.

I have said the Deccan is subject to famine; so much so is it, that in four of its districts a special law exists as regards money-lending, and a special judge. There is a famous Indian map showing those parts most liable to want, and amongst the parts most darkly coloured you will find parts of the Deccan. At this moment the thoughts of those Englishmen who are interested in India, and conscious of our responsibilities there, dwell much on this subject. I had an experience, not a bad one I am happy to say, of a dearth of crops; and I feel sure you will like to know a little of how we are prepared to meet the foe. A code of rules has been prepared telling off certain depart-

mental officers to do certain work as soon as a state of famine is declared. It is for the local government to say when it considers that a dearth of crops exists so serious as to warrant the title "famine." Previous to this the weekly weather reports and the reports on the state of the crops have kept Government fully alive to the possibility of famine, and the Public Works Department has been warned, and has probably submitted its scheme of works for the district affected. This scheme is considered by the chief revenue officers who know the district best, and after careful consultation, Government decides what it will commence with, so as to assist groups of affected villages. Then when there is no longer hope of getting a winter crop, and no agricultural employment can be got, the works are thrown open. Provision is made under the codes for the able-bodied man, the skilled artisan, who has to take up a lower class of labour, for the weak-bodied, for the women, the children, the old and sick. Arrangements for cooking, for getting water, for washing, for a market, for a hospital, for infectious cases, for paying wages, and for the amount of grain to be given for a day's work—all these things have been provided for in the code. And as regards the system of grain wages, I had a curious experience in the small famine that occurred when I was Governor. The grain sellers, as usual, combined, and put up prices. The grain market in India is highly sensitive, and the moment other parts of India where there was plenty of grain realised that these high prices were to be obtained, their grain poured in in such quantities that the price soon dropped to the normal level of an average year. But the famine code never contemplated grain being so cheap; and its grain wages would not buy as much money as the labourer could earn in ordinary times, or in fact as much as private employers of labour were giving at the time, and we had to modify the code to suit this

novel state of affairs. The great difficulty in a famine is to get the people to concentrate at certain places where work and wages, and food and water, are alike easily distributable. A dearth of rain means a dearth of provender, and the people, having nothing for their beasts to eat, have to send them to the jungles to keep them alive. Their means of locomotion are therefore limited. They naturally don't like to leave their houses, or to move their possessions till the last moment; to many tradesmen it may mean the breaking up of their business. The Government officials and the grain dealers cannot get grain to every village, the means of locomotion and of traction are paralysed except on the railway, and so it sometimes happens that a family with sick or very old relatives, or for other reasons best known to themselves, move at last almost too late, and get to camp unfit to work, and in a condition fit for contracting any disease easily. In my experience, private employers, assisted by loans from Government, were an immense assistance. By a system termed "tuccavi," Government advances loans to substantial agriculturists at all times; and in my famine experience the benevolent and the shrewd alike came forward, borrowed money from Government, used it for making wells, private roads, and so on, thus giving labour in the villages, and helping people to stay there instead of moving. Some parts of Bombay had before this been very unwilling to take advantage of "tuccavi," and a rather humorous story is told of an old yeoman in the Southern Mahratta country. Soucar, you must know, means the money-lender, and Sircar the Government; and on being asked why he preferred borrowing from the Soucar at perhaps 10 to 12 per cent. interest to taking a loan from Government at 5 per cent., he said, "Ah, Saheb! the Soucar may die, the Sircar never dies." By which he hinted that at the Soucar's demise his books might be so confused that he might

escape repaying some of the capital; but there was no such chance with Government. In some parts I found that the able-bodied migrated to other parts of India where harvest work was to be got, and remitted their wages home to their families by postal orders. My experience was that a railway is a hundred times as useful as an irrigation canal. It brings you everything you want, and takes people, if necessary, out of the stricken area just when all other means of locomotion have failed. It serves millions where irrigation, if it is used, would only employ and keep thousands. I trust the Government of India may find, as I found, that the difficulty is to get people to the food, not in procuring sufficient food.

I must not leave the Deccan without mentioning Mahableshwar and Poona. Government goes to Mahableshwar, about four thousand feet up, for about two months in the very hot weather, but has to clear out when the rains commence. The Western Ghats run parallel with the sea, and are about there some twelve miles through from west to east. Mahableshwar is on the western edge and catches the full downpour of the monsoon—three hundred inches of rain; at Punchgani, on the eastern face of the Ghats, and only twelve miles off, only sixty inches fall, and that is bad enough. Mantilini's description of a body is quite applicable to one's condition at such times.

Poona is the capital of the Deccan, and the seat of government of the usurping Peishwar, the minister of the fainéant Raja of Satara. The Mikado and the Tycoon in Japan was a very similar case. It was from the Temple of Parbutti, near Poona, that the last Peishwar saw his cavalry swarm out along the hills towards Ganeshkhind, where stands now the fine palace of the Governor, to attack the British force on the plain of Kirkee, whither Mountstuart Elphinstone had had to fly, and saw them return a defeated mob. His

revenge came years afterwards through his adopted son, the execrated Nana Saheb. Then as he looked from Parbutti up the Mula River it would seem but a rocky torrent; now, by means of a retaining wall, three miles or so of beautiful river have been secured, a joy to all rowing men. Poona is the headquarters of the Bombay army; and you find here the complication of three local authorities in the Poona urban municipality, a suburban municipality, and the cantonment, and as funds are principally obtained by a system of octroi, you can imagine that a fine field for dispute exists. The native has a rooted antipathy to paying rates for his house or for water; at least the well-to-do native has. He is not a believer in free-trade or in food being too cheap. You hear occasionally a great outcry about the iniquity of the Government of India in putting a tax upon salt, and your native stump orator waxes specially indignant over it. Why, at a rough guess, I should say that the amount paid per head in octroi for the necessaries of life—sugar, grain, firewood, and so on—by the inhabitants of, say, Bombay city to the municipality, considerably exceeds what they pay per head to Government in the shape of duty on salt.

Of the four administrative divisions there remains the southern, chiefly noticeable perhaps for its valuable teak forests, the home of the tiger and the bison. The forest policy of the Government of India and of Bombay is constantly being attacked, and the forest officers have no easy time between the criticisms of the public upon their strict care of the jungles, which debars injurious depredations, and the criticism of Government upon their alleged tendency to treat land which is more fit for grazing than woodland as forest.

It is highly important that these forests on the Western Ghats should be strictly preserved for timber, and also because they attract moisture; and the system

of cutting, planting, seeding, fire-tracing, *i.e.* burning a broad edge all round a jungle to prevent a fire creeping along the ground in the dry weather and destroying miles of valuable wood, have been carefully worked out. On the hillsides there was formerly permitted a most wasteful system of cultivation. The hill tribes would cut the jungle year after year in different places, burn the wood, and grow their crops in the ashes. From Mahableshwar you can see many square miles of bare hillside due to this practice. We have put a stop to this, and by degrees are reclothing the hills. In other places the graziers were permitted to graze their flocks and herds unchecked in the forest, destroying all young growth. The theory of our system has been to grow sufficient grass to give the graziers what they want, and also to grow forest trees. Of course there has been dissatisfaction where a particular class has to put up with inconvenience for the good of the general public; but on the whole it seemed to me that our policy had been successful, and that in a short time those most affected would find their professional outlook improved. It is to the jungles of the Western Ghats that the cattle-owners of some of the famine districts drive their beasts to keep them alive, and on such occasions we have to give far greater licence in the matter of grazing than at ordinary times.

Now, having dealt with the four divisions, I must say a word about the system of land tenure, which affects them all very similarly. Over the great part of the Presidency the system is ryotwari, *i.e.* the ryot, the farmer, is supposed to hold direct from Government. He is a peasant proprietor, for, subject to paying an annual rent to Government, he is the proprietor; he cannot be turned out of his holding so long as he pays the rent, but he has the right to sell it. His rent is fixed, after the most careful inquiry, for thirty years. The inquiry includes the nature of the soil, the proximity of water,

the effects of climate, the neighbourhood of markets, and the assistance of roads and railways. The inquiry extends over a considerable number of villages, and in the course of it statistics are compiled as to the number of inhabitants of houses, of tiled houses, of cattle, sheep, horses, carts, and wells, as compared with what existed at the previous inquiry, generally some thirty years before.

The officer who conducts this inquiry is called the settlement officer, his figures and proposals are criticised by the collector, the chief revenue officer of the district representing the farmer's interests. His report is criticised again by the settlement commissioner, next the revenue commissioner reviews the whole, and finally Government examines all the papers and issues its decision. In the course of inquiry the farmers are informed of the figures, and can appeal to Government; and besides all this care there is a standing order of the Secretary of State limiting the percentage of increase of rent to certain fixed proportions. We are now approaching the time when we shall have been twice over all the agricultural land of the whole Presidency. When the original settlement of rent has been revised it is called a revision settlement, and henceforth the rent is not to be raised on account of improvements of soil or climate; though, of course, it might be, if land becomes very valuable for building purposes, or owing to a railway coming near it. It seemed to me about as good a land system as I have heard of, short of absolute freedom of ownership, but I am inclined to think that the best lands have been favoured by the Secretary of State's standing orders.

There are three other departments whose operations contribute largely to the revenue of India, and in which Bombay is largely concerned—salt, excise, and opium. Large quantities of salt are made in the Presidency, both on the mainland and in Aden—for

Aden and the Somali coast are under Bombay—whence it is distributed over India, and you can imagine that the excise system of Bombay is an important one when you remember that Nature herself gives you a fermented liquor. Draw off the juice of the Todi palm into an old earthenware vessel, and two hours after the sun is up the liquor begins to ferment; whilst you have only to sit down in the jungles, and with that liquor, or from fruit of the Mhowra-tree, or from rice, you can, with a chatty and a saucer and a bit of hollow reed, distil spirit. You can imagine that under such circumstances the excise system has to be pretty strict. They are pretty heavy drinkers in the swampy lowlands, and apt to protest very strongly if the system becomes too restrictive, and their protestation takes the form of illicit distillation if Government through its contractors runs the price of liquor up too high. Our object is to keep it at a price low enough to discourage illicit distillation, and high enough to discourage drinking; a very difficult *via media*, especially with interested parties appealing to the Government of India and the Secretary of State against one's orders.

Finally, as to opium, there is not a scrap grown on British territory, but only in certain Native States, and we have to regulate its admission into, its passage through, and its export out of the Presidency. Smuggling is fairly easy, and all sorts of dodges are resorted to; but rewards for detection are high, and on the whole I think we are fairly successful.

And now a few words, far too few for its worth, about the city of Bombay. Imagine a great city of 800,000 souls, lying on the shores of a beautiful sea, sparkling in the sunshine, glorious in the monsoon, backed by grand mountains with many a castellated peak, nestling in palm groves, with hundreds of sea-going and coasting merchant vessels anchored in its harbour, with two busy lines of railway piercing it,

with broad thoroughfares and grand buildings, with a most active and intelligent mercantile community both European and native, with its lawns crowded day and night with pleasure and leisure seekers, and its brightness added to by the most brilliantly dressed ladies in the world, the Parsis. Imagine it if you can. I don't think you can. I have seen many great cities of the East, and I have not seen one that could touch Bombay.

You know how it became British: as part of the dowry of Catherine of Braganza, who married Charles II. Previous to that Mr. James Douglas tells us that Cromwell had thought of laying hold of it, and that in those times our ministers were a little vague as to its whereabouts, for they described it as "near Brazil." And when we took it, it was a poor kind of place indeed: only a scrap of an island with the sea racing between it and other little islands which have since been connected; only a little fort with a few houses around it, and a population of about 10,000, mostly vagabonds. Pretty unhealthy too, smelling strongly of decaying fish; it killed off seven governors, an ambassador, and an admiral in three years. It does not sound much of a place to fight for, does it? But we had to, and we did. The Dutch banged at us from the sea, and the Mogul's admiral the Sidi of Janjira battered at us; but we clung on to it like grim death, sometimes short of men, sometimes of money, pestilence inside, bad times and enemies outside, conscious that as the Tapti silted up and the glory of Surat faded, Bombay, the one great natural commercial harbour of India open to the sea, must become a jewel in the British crown.

And one reason why Bombay is great is that we have respected every religion. Almost in the centre of the city is the chief Mohamedan mosque; one of the best sea-shore frontages is occupied by the Hindu

burning ground; the finest building site in Bombay is held by the Parsi Towers of Silence. Protestants, Roman Catholics, Nonconformists are all welcomed, and work very unitedly for the welfare of the natives. None has been forbidden, none molested, by reason of his religion, and her welcome has been repaid to Bombay a thousand-fold. The cleverest races of India have made it a busy mart, and the public-spirited and the philanthropic have spent their money in adorning and endowing her. They have started about a hundred cotton-spinning mills, which consume over 3,000,000 cwts. of cotton, and the port of Bombay has a sea-borne trade of about £100,000,000. You know what this means—employment of labour. She has three daily European papers and a crowd of weekly vernacular papers, a university, several art colleges, a veterinary college, a technical school and an art school, which latter has turned out most of the masons who have decorated her public buildings. High schools, elementary schools, charitable schools, boys' schools, and girls' schools in quantities. Clubs of all kinds, both native and European, social, yachting, cricket, football, swimming, hunting, and golf. Three fine volunteer corps, one mounted, one artillery, and one rifle. In fact, in every way you can think of, Bombay is as busy as it is possible to be, and in appearance magnificent. I may be a little partial, but I really do not know a sight more creditable to British capacity for administration than that of a cricket match on the parade ground at Bombay between the Presidency European Eleven and the Parsis. Splendid buildings frame one side of a triangle, the ornate dome of the railway terminus almost dwarfed by the size and chaster style of the dome of the municipal hall, whilst hospitals, colleges, and schools complete the rank. From ten to twenty thousand spectators preserve for themselves an orderly ring, watching with the most intense interest an

English game played between Englishmen and natives in a thoroughly good, sporting, gentlemanly spirit.

And what has produced such a sight, combining the employment of the most educated and cultivated labour in the designing, and abundance of manual labour in the building, of such edifices?—the legitimate inference, that such buildings must mean entire confidence amongst traders and a great demand for means of locomotion, and great confidence in the rulers that the ruled can manage their local affairs well, displaying a noble charity and a keen recognition of the necessity for education. All this you see in the buildings, and in the crowds a respect for authority and for order, and a growing love for a manly, healthy occupation. And all this has been produced by Pax Britannica; for, remember this, that India had not for hundreds of years known such peace as England has secured for her.

My thoughts linger on Bombay, and I would, if time permitted, dwell on the subject longer, but I must get on to my conclusion, and consider the system by which the affairs of eighteen millions of souls are administered. That is not a very easy or a very light affair. I daresay you think—most people in England do—that all a governor of an Indian province has to do is to entertain. Well, my experience was that it required from seven to ten hours a day at the desk every day in the week, including Sundays, all the year round, without a holiday for five years; and most Indian officials work the same, if not more.

First, of course, is the legislative machine, for the orders of the Executive Government should be based on law. There is a Legislative Council formed of some twenty-three members, nominated by the Governor in Council, eight of whom have been selected by certain elected bodies, such as groups of great landowners, the Administrative Divisions, the Municipality of Bombay, and the Chamber of Commerce and the University.

And when this Council meets, the members may ask questions after the manner of the House of Commons. The laws it passes have to be approved by the Government of India and the Secretary of State.

Having been approved, it is for the Executive Government, the Governor in Council, to set them in motion.

The Governor and two colleagues, members of the Indian Civil Service, who have equal powers with the Governor, except that he may overrule them, though I imagine he rarely does, form the Executive Government. They are assisted by departments headed by under-secretaries and secretaries. The Governor and his colleagues divide the work between them, and the secretaries have to see that important questions are settled by at least two out of the three. The Administration is divided into two main heads, the Revenue and the Judicial; but besides these there are many branches, far too numerous to mention, such as Medical, Educational, Political, Municipal, Military, Marine, Ecclesiastical, and Forests.

The chief revenue officers are the four Commissioners of Divisions. Then each division is divided into a number of districts, over each of which there is an officer styled the Collector. He is the most important link in the whole chain of administration: everything that happens in his district he has to know about and is consulted about. His collectorate may be as large as 1000 square miles, inhabited by a million and a half souls. He looks after the police, and the hospitals, and the schools, and the roads, and the buildings, and municipal government, and the collection of revenue, and the post office, and the telegraphs, and the forests; every single thing that affects the livelihood of the people in his district he has to know about. He is also the chief magistrate; and he may also be a Political Agent, and the Judge of a Native State.

He has, of course, subordinate revenue officers, an assistant collector, and one or two deputy collectors, the latter probably natives, and under them again officers over a group of villages, and under them again the village officers.

Then he is assisted by a police officer, a forest officer, a doctor, and a public works officer.

This is the chain of administration: the village officer, the Patel, reports to the Mamlutdar, the latter to the Deputy Collector, he to the Assistant Collector, or perhaps straight to the Collector, whence the report goes to the Commissioner, and so up to Government; but of course each has decisive powers more and more limited as you get lower down in the grades.

On the judicial side you have the High Court of Bombay, or the Judicial Commissioner in Sind, and then Judges, Assistant Judges, Special Judges, Small Cause Court Judges, and the Magistrates.

Aden—Somali Coast

I ought to describe these to you, for there are many interesting matters connected with them, but I have left myself no space. I have of course missed out thousands of matters of interest and importance: on each main head that I have taken I could have easily occupied the space allotted to the whole. I feel very conscious that I have treated it but feebly, but that the reader must attribute to want of capacity, not to lack of love of the subject, for to my dying day I shall be grateful that I had the chance of being employed on a mission so interesting and so important, and Bombay, and its peoples, and the officers, and the dear friends I made there, will always be in my affectionate recollection.

SIND

By ALEXANDER F. BAILLIE, F.R.G.S.

(*Author of "Kurrachee, Past, Present, and Future"*)

The nearest point of the Indian Empire to the mother country is the seaport of Aden. Geographically it is situated in Arabia, at the southern end of the Red Sea, but nevertheless it forms part and parcel of India, and is immediately under the Government of the Presidency of Bombay, from which city it is distant 1664 miles. Aden was acquired by purchase from the then ruling Sheik by the East India Company, but his son declined to carry out the bargain, and consequently a naval and military expedition was sent out, and captured the place in 1839. Aden was the first addition to the British Crown after the accession of her present Majesty; but in the same year we also acquired, without firing a shot, a miserable little harbour in India proper, called Kurrachee or Karachi, which under the fostering hand of the British Government has grown, during a period of about half a century, to be the third in importance of all the seaports of the Indian Empire.

At that time it had a population of 10,000 inhabitants; it now has 110,000. The total value of its imports and exports was then Rs. 1,200,000; the present value is Rs. 165,000,000. Such a rapid increase in population and trade is not uncommon in the United States and other parts of the American continent, or even in Australia, but it would be remarkable in Europe, and is unparalleled in India. It is

supposed to have been the first harbour in the Indian Ocean in which a European navy ever rode, namely, the fleet of Alexander the Great, which was ordered to proceed, in the year 326 B.C., from the Delta of the Indus to that of the Euphrates, under the command of Admiral Nearchus. Upwards of 2000 years after that event it had another distinction, namely, that of being the station from which the first telegraphic message was transmitted from India to England.

The general name Karachi includes the town of that name, and also the island of Keamari, with which it is connected by the Napier Mole or Road, the construction of which was conceived and partly accomplished by Sir Charles of that Ilk, the Conqueror and first Governor of the Province of Sind.

The town covers a considerable area, and comprises the old native walled "city," and the comparatively modern barracks, bazaars, and European cantonments. It possesses several handsome buildings, among which may be enumerated the Frere Hall, the Empress Market, the Sind Club, churches of all denominations, barracks, and schools.

The Frere Hall was opened to the public in 1865, and has been erected to the memory of the late Sir Bartle Frere, Bart., Chief Commissioner of Sind during the most important period of the Mutiny, and afterwards Governor of Bombay. He always took a lively interest in Karachi, and to his energy, following that of Napier, is in a great measure due the rapid advance of the town and harbour. His career is too well known to require any comments from me, but *en passant*, I may mention that Bartle Frere was the first East India Company's cadet who arrived in India by the overland route. This was in 1834. Frere Hall was designed by Lieut.-Colonel St. Clair Wilkins, and its style is Venetian Gothic. It is built of limestone quarried close to Karachi, and is occupied

by the General Library and the Museum, and contains a large hall or ball-room, which is frequently utilised for theatrical and other social entertainments. The Empress Market, designed in the domestic Gothic style by Mr. Strachan, municipal engineer, is a fine building, erected to commemorate the Jubilee of the reign of her Majesty the Queen and Empress. The clock-tower is 140 feet in height. As a market-place it is only second to that of Bombay, which is probably the finest in the world. The garrison church (Trinity) has a tower 150 feet high, while its nave is only 115 feet in length, but the tower is an admirable landmark for vessels approaching the coast. Government House is by no means an imposing building. It was originally the bungalow of Sir Charles Napier, and was purchased from him by the Government of Bombay. It has, however, attached to it a considerable area of land, and there is ample room for building, should Karachi be some day declared the capital of India, a by no means improbable event.

Before the construction of the Napier Mole, landing at, or leaving the town, was a most difficult and undignified operation. Owing to vast mud-banks the very smallest boat was prevented from reaching dry land, and all travellers, whether general officers or subalterns, judges or writers, were carried pickaback by the natives to and from the boats. A bar at the mouth of the harbour was a great impediment, and for a long time deterred owners from sending their ships to the port; but in 1852 the *Duke of Argyll*, a sailing vessel of 800 tons, carrying troops and coals, safely entered the harbour, and was the pioneer of an ocean trade that has steadily and rapidly increased.

The late General H. Blois Turner, of the Bombay Engineers, a very distinguished officer, deserves the credit of having adopted a course of action during the administration of Sir Bartle Frere which made the ques-

tion of harbour improvements at Karachi one of public interest. He recommended that the preliminary plans and estimates should be submitted to some one of the first engineers in England; and ultimately Mr. James Walker, who enjoyed the highest reputation, and had been for several years President of the Institute of Civil Engineers, was consulted. Under successive administrations the operations, commenced in 1860, have been carried on slowly but effectually; and the breakwater, that has been constructed under great difficulties, attracted a good deal of attention in the engineering world, and affords ample protection from the heavy seas occasioned by the south-west monsoon. At the present time there is sufficient depth of water to allow the largest troopship to enter the harbour without difficulty or delay, at all seasons of the year, and ample accommodation is afforded by a long line of piers and wharfage for the disembarkation of troops, and the unloading of cargoes.

I have mentioned that the capture of Karachi was effected without firing a shot; but the conquest of Sind, of which it is now the chief town and seat of government, was not so easily accomplished.

Our occupation of Karachi resulted from the military operations in connection with the Afghan war of 1838. Sind, though nominally independent, was subordinate to Cabul, and its Administration showed itself so extremely inimical to us that Sir John Keane, the Commander-in-chief of the Bombay Presidency, was instructed to send a force into the country. His first step was to seize upon Karachi, and this was effected by a naval force under the command of Rear-Admiral Sir Frederick Maitland on the 3rd of February 1839. In that same year Ghuznee, a strong hill-fort in Cabul, which has been the scene of several captures and recaptures, and was defended by a son of the redoubtable Dost Mahomed, was gallantly stormed by a small force

under the command of Sir John Keane, who, as a reward for his success, was created Lord Keane of Ghuznee.

The assault of the Cabul Gate at Ghuznee took place at a period before the recollection of most of my readers, but it was very similar in its brilliancy to the successful attack on the Cashmere Gate at Delhi in 1857, during the Mutiny, which some of us *can* remember, and both projects were successfully achieved by officers of the East India Company's Engineers.

In 1842 Sir Charles Napier was appointed to the command of the territories of the Lower Indus, and for some time conducted negotiations for a treaty as between two friendly Powers; but these negotiations fell through, and the first clash of arms occurred when Napier, with a small camel-mounted flying column, made a dash at a fortress called Imūmghar, in the great sandy desert, which was supposed to be impregnable, and captured it without difficulty.

This first exploit of Sir Charles Napier in Sind was characterised by the Great Duke as one of the most curious and extraordinary of all military feats.

Ultimately a treaty was signed, but its stipulations were suddenly subverted by events that quickly followed.

Hydrābād, on the Indus, not to be confounded with a city of the same name in the Deccan, was at that time the capital of the kingdom of Sind, and there we had a political representative. Suddenly, on the morning of the 15th February 1843, the Residency was attacked by some 8000 men of the army of Sind, and notwithstanding a very gallant defence, the British escort was forced to evacuate it after some hours of very severe fighting. The commandant of that escort was a Major Outram, who, after later glories, became Sir James Outram, Lieut.-General, G.C.B., and a baronet, at the foot of whose statue in Calcutta, erected to the memory

of "this faithful servant of England," are inscribed the words—

"In all the true knight,
The Bayard of the East."

Two days after this event a decisive battle was fought at Meeanee, between a British force of 2800 men with eight guns, and 22,000 Sindees and Belochees who formed the army of our opponents.

The Sindee is not a man of war. He is by nature quiet and inoffensive, and has been described by the late Sir Richard Burton, a great authority on the country, as notoriously cowardly and dishonourable, and there were comparatively very few of that nation in the force that Sir Charles Napier had to encounter; but their places were taken by paid levies of Belochees, mountaineers possessing great courage, warriors and plunderers from their birth, and naturally cruel and vindictive.

At Meeanee they fought with desperate resolution; for three hours and upwards the combatants struggled man to man with the greatest fury, and when at length the action ceased our opponents left 5000 men upon the field, while our own loss was computed at 250.

The victorious commander ascribed his success at Meeanee to the higher discipline of his forces, and to the superiority of their arms, and his assertion appears to be amply justified, for among the British and native troops who, in his own words, "advanced, as at a review, across a fine plain swept by the cannon of the enemy, and who marched up within forty paces of an entrenchment, and then stormed it like British soldiers," was the gallant "Twenty-second," now known as a battalion of H.M. Cheshire Regiment; and as regards the superiority of our arms, it may be mentioned that the action at Meeanee was the first in

which percussion-caps were used in place of the old flint-lock.[1]

About a month later another sanguinary action was fought at a place called Dābo, when the tide of victory again turned in favour of the invaders, and then the Sind campaign may be said to have ended. Nevertheless there was still work to be done in breaking up hordes of outlaws and mountain robbers, who recognised no authority; and to do this it was necessary to follow them into defiles so deep and narrow that daylight could scarcely penetrate into them. So terribly wild and desolate is the face of nature in the rugged mountainous district that our troops had to penetrate, that the sight called forth from a soldier on seeing it the strong but homely expression, "When God made the world He threw the rubbish here!"

Notwithstanding their ferocity and cruelty, these hill tribes possessed a certain amount of chivalry, and recognised at its full value the virtue of courage, even in their enemies. The most distinguished token granted to those among them who displayed remarkable bravery was a red thread or small bracelet fastened round the wrist. And on one occasion a small party of British troops had penetrated too deeply into the defile, and found themselves surrounded by overwhelming numbers of the enemy. Shoulder to shoulder, breasting their foes, bayonet and sword in hand, they met their death; but when their bodies, naked and mutilated, were discovered by their comrades, around the wrist of each of them was found that thin red thread of honour, a tribute to their gallantry from their ruthless opponents.

But Sind is not all wild, desolate, or mountainous. Sir Charles Napier reported that it was capable of producing an immense revenue, and that the soil was rich beyond description. "I am endeavouring," he writes,

[1] There is an oil painting by Armitage, in the Royal Collection at Windsor, of the life and death struggle at Meeanee.

"to control the waters of the Indus. This will, I hope, ere long be effected, and then the produce will be very great. The present want is that of sufficient population to cultivate the great quantity of waste land. The mines are supposed to be rich, and the fields of salt inexhaustible."

The vast quantity of waste land in a great measure arose from the fact that the Amīrs or Chiefs of Sind, our predecessors in the government, kept large tracts in a state of nature to form hunting preserves; but the greater part of these have since been brought under cultivation. A very thorough system of irrigation has been for a long time at work under British rule, and from districts which were formerly useless and barren the produce at the present time is very great, as Napier prognosticated would be the case. In those parts that are under tillage the land yields two crops annually: the spring crop consists of wheat, barley, millet, and several oil seeds, hemp, opium, and tobacco; the autumn crop, of rice, maize, cotton, sugar, and indigo.

The shipments of wheat through Karachi during the year 1894 showed that 77 per cent. of the total shipments from India passed through that port and amounted to 5,970,000 cwts., but that includes a portion of the produce of the Punjāb and other parts of Northern India.

The trade in wool is also very large, and continues to grow, recent yearly shipments being valued at upwards of ten millions of rupees.

Manufactures are carried on in several of the important towns, the natives being very ingenious as weavers, turners, and artisans in general. Hydrābād is celebrated for its manufactures of many coloured and tasteful Sindian caps, and of swords and knives and spears; Halla produces pottery remarkable for its shape and good bright colours; Koree and Shikarpūr supply paper of superior quality; and silk goods, cotton,

and mixed cloths are woven in every village, and beautifully dyed.

In the report of Sir Charles Napier, to which I have already referred, he mentions the inexhaustible fields of salt. Salt, as you are probably aware, is a Government monopoly in India, and the source of a great part of the revenue.

In Sind there are four bases of supply under the control of the Salt Department, and of these the most considerable is situated at a place called Maurypūr, in the neighbourhood of Karachi. It is a dreary, isolated spot in the desert, three or four miles from the sea-coast; but salt is so valuable that it is carefully guarded, and no strangers or caravans are permitted to remain within, or near the gates of the compound, or enclosure, after an early hour in the afternoon, for fear of robbery.

The works are salt fields divided into a large number of pans or squares of 25 feet each, with a depth of a few inches. These pans are filled with water drawn from wells ready at hand by means of the "picottah" or pump-brake, so well known on the banks of the Nile.

The water has percolated through the soil for a considerable distance, and thence arises its value at Maurypūr; for ordinary sea water, that is to say, the water left on the surface of the ground by floods or inundations, does not leave any amount of salt worth the trouble of collecting; but here, with a strong sun and a northerly breeze, each pan will yield from 10 to 20 maunds, or say 2½ to 5 cwts., in less than twenty-four hours. The cost of production is less than 1½d. per quarter; but the sale price, including the Government duty, is about 5s. for that same quantity. The stack or hill of salt, covered with tarpaulins, which stands in the middle of the compounds, and which usually contains about 3000 tons, is therefore of considerable value, and well worth carefully guarding.

While mentioning the surroundings of Karachi, I may call attention to a curious institution about eight miles from that town, the home of the sacred alligators. The place is really sacred to the memory of a saint whose sanctity has endured for many ages, and whose bones were interred under a mosque which over-stands a hot spring that flows in numerous rills to the surrounding gardens, and then seeks the low lands, forming a number of small swamps, in which dwell the alligators. The idea that they are worshipped by the numerous Mohamedans and Hindus, who alike visit the shrine, is quite erroneous, but it has been encouraged by the attendant priests, and numberless beggars who live upon charity.

The sight is very loathsome, not only because the reptile is ugly in itself, but also because almost the whole of those dwelling in the swamps of "Muggeer Pīr" are more or less maimed. They seem in a great measure to live upon one another; some have broken noses, some have lost a portion of the tail, others have been blinded of one or both eyes, and several are toeless.

They are stated by the priests to be very old, but my inquiries lead me to conclude that the alligator arrives at maturity at the same age as a human being, and that when once he has appropriated to himself some quiet pool where he has no worries or troubles, he may live the number of years allotted to man, but seldom exceeds them.

As regards the climate of the Province of Sind the Afghans have a proverb, "The sun of Scinde will turn a white man black, and roast an egg," and this latter statement has been proved by experiment. It is dry and sultry, with a very small rainfall, and the monsoons benefit it to a very small extent. But, of course, in an area of upwards of 5 degrees of latitude there are great variations in the temperature, and while in

Central Sind (in Sukkur, for instance) the mean in summer is about 100 degrees, in the north, at Multān, frost is not unknown, and at Karachi, in the south, the cold is sometimes very keen. There is a hot season of seven months' duration, and between it and the cold season the change is so rapid that spring and autumn are not experienced.

Naturally, under such circumstances the climate is not healthy, and fever and ague during the fall of the year are very prevalent; but epidemics, although sometimes virulent, such as cholera, are generally local and spasmodic.[1]

Animal life is very prolific throughout the province. Among the wild animals may be cited the tiger, panther, hyena, jackal, wolf, fox, antelope and many other kinds of deer, wild ass, wild pig, porcupines, hares, and other game.

Birds are in great variety; they comprise the eagle vulture, and several species of falcons and *hawks. Hawking* used to be the great amusement of the Amīrs or Princes of Sind, and to this day it is one of the few countries in the world where the sport is still maintained with all the ancient customs and usages of falconry. Rock grouse, florican, and quail are found on the hills, and wherever there is water, wild geese and ducks and teal are abundant.

Green long-tailed parrots chatter on all sides; pigeons and turtle-doves cover the roofs of buildings; crows pace the streets so tame that they scarcely move out of one's way; and sand-rails pirouette upon the floors of dwelling-houses, regardless of the occupants.

Of domestic animals, sheep and goats are numerous in Upper Sind; horses, though small, are well knit, and capable of undergoing great fatigue; buffaloes are found in large numbers, especially in the neighbour-

[1] This paper was written before the outbreak of the plague that devastated Bombay and Karachi in 1897–98.

hood of the river Indus, and are greatly prized, not only as beasts of burden, but also for the milk from which is made the *ghee*—a sort of boiled butter, which supplies the place of oil, and which is widely used throughout India, and largely exported.

But of all the animals in the province the camel is the most renowned, and undoubtedly the most useful. Without it many parts of the country would be impassable, for there are districts where the deepness of the sand absolutely prevents the passage of a horse. The Sind camel is of the one-humped species, and is not only valuable as a beast of burden, but also furnishes a rich milk, and hair for shawls and cloth. They are finer in the limbs than those of Arabia, but are better-looking animals from being better fed. Great numbers were sent to Egypt during the last campaign in that country, and their loss, for they never returned, has hardly yet been retrieved. More important still was the loss of the drivers who accompanied them; for a camel-driver is born, not made, and it is very difficult to replace him. This has been exemplified in the Australian colonies, to which of late years camels have been imported for travelling in the interior, and to which it has been found necessary to take also Afghans and Sindees as drivers, as otherwise the animals were unmanageable. The creature is probably the most ill-tempered and malicious animal in the world, and designedly so, for it possesses considerable intelligence; and if it thought that it could improve its position by displaying a little more amiability, undoubtedly it would change its habits; but it seems almost insensible to kindness, and it is very difficult to win its affections.

The natives in India are generally very cruel to the brute creation. They have very little mercy on the patient horse, the timid jackass, and the quiet bullock; but for the camel they have a certain amount of respect, and in Sind I have seen the drivers patting

them, and enticing them with some sort of delicacy peculiarly adapted to their taste, but they scarcely appreciate the attempt at familiarity. Hard swearing is what they seem to understand, and certainly a camel-driver is a past-master in the art of cursing and using profane language. The animals seem to retort in the same way, for when struck with the baton, or annoyed by a pull on the guiding-rein, the usual grunt is changed to a semi-scream that might well be an oath.

Rudyard Kipling, the versifier of Tommy Atkins' life in India, remarks very pertinently about this creature in comparison with other beasts of burden—

> "The 'orse he knows above a bit, the bullock's but a fool,
> The elephant's a gentleman, the battery mule's a mule;
> But the commissariat cam-u-el, when all is said and done,
> 'E's a devil an' a ostrich an' a orphan child in one."

But its value as a beast of burden and weight-carrying animal is very great, and an ordinary baggage camel will travel twenty-five miles a day with a load of 520 lbs. on its back, and a good riding animal will march at the rate of five miles an hour for a full day, without food or water during the journey.

The population of the province consists of several races, and probably it would be difficult to find a city containing a greater mixture of inhabitants than that of Karachi.

The original population of Sind was Hindū, but in A.D. 713 it was conquered and converted to Islamism by the Arabs. At the present time the Musalmans are in a majority of three to one throughout the province, and in Karachi itself greatly outnumber the Hindus.

Sindians are a mixture of Juts and Belochees, and in appearance are tall, well-made men, of dark complexion, but with good features, and the women are noticeable in the East for their beauty. I have already

mentioned that the people of Sind are not a fighting race; and, as a fact, those who lived long among them and knew them well, as, for instance, the late Sir Richard Burton, give them a very bad character, and speak of them as being ignorant, deceitful, mendacious, and avaricious. My own experience is nothing in comparison with that of Sir Richard; but from my knowledge of traders and shopkeepers of Sind nationality, I should say that they are not one bit worse than people of a similar class in other parts of India.

Of their jealous nature we had a strong proof during the early occupation of the country by Sir Charles Napier. At that time suicide among women was most prevalent, and their bodies were constantly being found in a state of suspension.

Napier gave this matter his very serious consideration, and soon discovered that the unfortunate creatures had been hanged by their husbands on the very slightest pretexts. He issued a proclamation in his own rough and unadorned language: "You are solemnly warned," he said, "that in whatever village a woman is found murdered, a heavy fine shall be imposed upon all, and rigidly levied. The Government will order all her husband's relations up to Karachi, and it will cause such danger and trouble to all, that you shall tremble if a woman is said to have committed suicide in your district, for it shall be an evil day for all in that place." They were, and still are, notorious gamblers. Before our time, there were licensed houses which yielded a large revenue to the native rulers. British morality swept away the gambling-houses and the tax; but gambling goes on in every town and village, and is said to be on the increase.

But besides the original Sindians, there is a large population who have emigrated from neighbouring districts and settled there. The Lohanas came from Ghuznee, in Cabul, and were the great carriers of the

Afghan trade to all parts of India, and they now form the greater part of the Hindus in Sind. There are also many Afghans, Rajputs, and Belochees, and a large number of Siddees, or persons of African descent; for in former days Karachi was a great slave market, and a valuable trade was carried on between that port and Muscat. The price at Muscat for a healthy black boy was Rs. 15 to Rs. 30, and at Karachi he fetched 60 to 100. An Abyssinian beauty cost as much as Rs. 500.

The usual dress of the male inhabitants consists of a loose shirt and Turkish trousers of blue cotton, with a coloured scarf and a quilted cotton cap; but the upper classes wear enormous turbans, and the Amils, who occupy the position of Government servants and clerks, and the Seths (wholesale merchants, bankers, &c.), use an extraordinary head-dress called a "siraiki-topi," which in shape has the appearance of our ordinary beaver or silk hat turned upside down, but is very different in colour.

In Karachi, the seat of Government of the province, there is a wondrous intermingling of people from all parts of the East and West. In addition to the resident inhabitants, who are themselves a very mixed population from all parts of Sind, you will encounter in a visit to the bazaars of this rising town, Arabs from Muscat and the neighbourhood; Persians who bring horses from the Gulf, and sheep with long and drooping ears like those of rabbits; Portuguese from Goa; Pathuns, wild and uncouth, from the hills; Armenian priests, with their tall figures and noble bearing, seeking change on the benignant plains of India from their monasteries perched on the lofty peaks of Persian mountains; and here and there an English lady doing her marketing in the early morning. Another class, not numerous, but very influential, is that of the Parsis.

They form in India a compact and self-supporting community of the highest respectability. There are no Parsī beggars, and no Parsī woman of questionable character.

They are endowed with great quickness of perception, and are animated with an insatiable desire to acquire wealth; but they are extremely charitable, and in Karachi, Bombay, and other parts of India, they have founded benevolent institutions of inestimable value.

Railways.

Among the gilt-edged securities which are negotiated on the Stock Exchange, and which are eagerly sought for as sound, though high-priced investments, there is one that will be found on the list of Indian railways, and which is entitled "The Scind, Punjab, and Delhi Annuities."

Just forty years ago a Company was registered in London to construct a railway between Karachi and Hydrābād, a distance of about a hundred miles; and two years later the same Company was empowered to maintain communication between Hydrābād and Multān, by means of a fleet of steamboats called the "Indus Steam Flotilla," and also to make a railway through the Punjāb from Multān to Lahūr and Amritzar.

The Steam Flotilla gave place to the Indus Valley Railways, and on the eastern side of India the line was extended to Delhi; and so by private enterprise a line of railway, 700 miles in length, connecting Karachi with Delhi, was completed under the title that I have already mentioned.

Nearly completed! for a link was still wanting, namely, a bridge across the river Indus at Sukkur.

In 1885 the Secretary of State for India exercised the power that he possessed and took over the railway with several of its offshoots, and in 1889 the missing

link was added, namely, a bridge, which has the largest rigid span in the world (there being 790 feet clear width between the abutments), and which was manufactured at the works of Messrs. Westwood & Baillie, at Millwall, not three miles from this spot.

The railway, when it became the property of the State, was re-christened, and is now known as the North-Western (State) Railway of India, and is in fact the Outer Circle on the western and north-western frontier of that Empire.

The main line, 1174 miles in length, leaving the ocean terminus at Karachi, passes through those districts to which I have referred in the earlier parts of this paper, the scene of Sir Charles Napier's campaign in Sind; it crosses the Indus at Sukkur, on the bridge that I have mentioned; it traverses Multān almost within sight of the great battle-fields of the Sutlej, Sobraon, Aliwal, Moodkee, and Ferozeshur, fought during the Sikh campaign of 1846, and it enters Lahūr, the old capital of the Lion of the Punjāb. Then it turns eastwards through Amritzar, "the fount of immortality," with its "Golden Temple" of world-wide fame, to which the setting sun adds beauty and embellishment as its rays fall upon the burnished roof, and amplify its sheen and glitter—past Loodhiana, and the junction for Simla, our modern capital during the hot months, and so into Delhi, the "city of the Great Moguls," the "true metropolis of India." The names of the places that I have mentioned recall anxious and troublesome days when our troops were engaged in a hand-to-hand struggle with the gallant warriors of the Punjāb, or were desperately fighting to overcome the Mutiny, and to maintain the autonomy of the Empire. Delhi is the terminus of the North-Western Railway, but from that point there is a network of lines which will take the traveller to the far-famed palaces of Agra, to those scenes of sorrow and of glory, Lucknow and

Cawnpore, or will carry him to Calcutta, or back to the western side of India, to the great city of Bombay.

From the Outer Circle extend branches, one of which, that from Sukkur, on the Indus, to Chamman, which traverses the dreaded Boland Pass, strikes into the heart of Afghanistan, and may be regarded as the first section of a railway to Kandahar; while the other, from Lahūr to Peshawur, brings us within reasonable distance of Cabul itself.

But not content with this Outer Circle, an Inner one is now being constructed. The Indus is again to be bridged at Hydrābād, and from that point a railway is to be made on the eastern or left side of the river to Khyrpur and Bukkur, and from Bhawulpur, on the north-western, another line, the Southern Punjāb, is to strike across India to join a line already made between Buttinda and Amballa.

I have perhaps dwelt at too great a length on the North-Western Railway, but I have done so with a view of submitting to you the enormous value of the addition made to the British Empire by the conquest of the Province of Sind and of the little muddy harbour of Karachi half a century ago; and in conclusion I will briefly call your attention to the vast importance that they may be to us in the future.

It is not necessary to suppose that the desire to make further conquest is likely to create difficulties between the British Empire and that of our great Northern neighbour, Russia, but it is well within the area of probabilities that at no very distant date, and under certain events, the two Powers must come into contact, friendly or otherwise, and let us hope that it will be the former.

The event to which I refer is a disputed succession to the throne of Afghanistan; and from the past history of that country it is an event very likely to occur on the demise of the present ruler.

BENGAL

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The Province of Bengal is bounded on the north by the mountainous regions of Nepal, Sikkim, and Bhutan; on the east by Assam and Burma; on the west by the North-Western and Central Provinces of India; and on the south by the sea. It is divided into four well-marked divisions, viz., *Bengal Proper*, *Behar*, *Orissa*, and *Chota-Nagpur*.

Bengal Proper

Bengal proper, in which the Bengali language is spoken, is a flat, level, and alluvial country, stretching from the lower slopes of the Himalayas to the Bay of Bengal. It has an area of over 75,000 square miles, and a population of nearly 40,000,000, partly Hindu and partly Mohamedan. The Ganges and the Brahmaputra flow through this region into the sea, and intersect it by their numerous branches. The Damodar, the Dwarkeswar, and the Cassye flood the western districts; while a great portion of the eastern districts is annually inundated in the rains by the combined waters of the Brahmaputra and the Ganges. The eye wanders then over vast expanses of water, broken here and there by raised village sites, with their trees and human habitations and cattle sheds appearing like islands in an inland sea. Bengal proper is one of the most fertile spots in the earth; and the

population, though physically weak, are patient and industrious, quick and intelligent. Bengal takes the foremost place in the progress which India has witnessed under the British rule.

Behar

Behar is the plain on both sides of the Ganges, lying farther up the river than Bengal proper. It has an area of 44,000 square miles, and a population of over 24,000,000. The people are mostly Hindus, speak the Hindi language, and are more sturdy and robust, but less quick, than the people of Bengal proper.

Orissa

Orissa is the great sea-board stretching north and south, along the western coast of the Bay of Bengal. It has an area of 24,000 square miles, but a population of less than 6,000,000, mostly Hindus, and speaking the Uriya language. Large portions of Orissa are under petty tributary chiefs, and many aboriginal tribes, like the Khands, live in these tributary States, and speak their native dialects. The Mahanadi, the Brahmani, the Baitarini, and the Subarnarekha flow from the western hills through Orissa into the sea, and not unoften in the rains flood the entire country, destroy crops, and sweep away human habitations. The people of Orissa are slower, poorer, and hardier than those of Bengal proper, and their land is famous for the finest specimens of ancient Hindu architecture (of the sixth to twelfth century A.D.) that can be seen anywhere in India.

Chota-Nagpur

Lastly, we have the undulating plains and hills of Chota-Nagpur, forming the western portion of the province, and lying between Behar, in the north, and

Orissa, in the south. It is the home of the backward and aboriginal tribes, such as the Kols, Santals, and Oraons, who have retained their ancient customs and languages, while the more fertile portions of the province have received the mantle of Aryan civilisation, religion, and language. Chota-Nagpur has a vast area of 43,000 square miles, but a scanty population of less than 6,000,000, most of whom still speak their aboriginal languages. The greater portion of this land is under direct British rule, but there are some small States under tributary chiefs.

It will appear from what has been stated, that when we speak of Bengal—of the province under the rule of the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal—we really speak of four well-marked regions, as distinct from each other by race and language as England and Scotland, Ireland and Wales were, centuries ago. Bengal proper, with its population of 40,000,000, and its Bengali language, takes the lead; Behar, with its population of 24,000,000, and its classical Hindi language, comes next; and Orissa and Chota-Nagpur, each having a population of less than 6,000,000, come last.

The history of this province begins with the advent of Aryan races and Aryan civilisation; and, as might be expected, Behar received the light of this civilisation earlier than the more eastern region of Bengal proper.

The Videhas (1200 to 600 B.C.)

Three thousand years ago, when the Kurus and the Panchalas were flourishing in Northern India, along the upper course of the Ganges, when the Kosalas were ruling in Oudh and the Kasis in old Benares, a great and eminently enlightened Aryan nation, the Videhas, had settled themselves in North Behar. Madhava Videha, the legendary father of this ancient race, is said to have travelled, according to old Vedic chronicles,

from the west to the east, and when he came to the Gandak River, in North Behar, he asked the god Agni or Fire, "Where am I to abide?" "To the east of this river be thy abode," replied Agni, and thenceforth the Videhas lived to the east of the Gandak River. Schools of learning and of religion, founded in this new and most eastern colony of the ancient Aryan Hindus, vied with the schools of the older States of Northern India. Janaka, King of the Videhas, figures as a great teacher and sage in those ancient and remarkable religious works of the Hindus known as the *Upanishads of the Vedas*. Janaka is also a principal character in the ancient Hindu epic the *Ramayana*, and Janaka's daughter, Sita, is the heroine of that epic, and is the most exalted conception of loving and faithful womanhood that human imagination has ever compassed. The priest of Janaka is also a conspicuous figure in ancient Hindu literature; and he is the reputed compiler of the *White Yajur-Veda*, and also of the elaborate commentary to this Veda, known as the *Satapatha Brahmana*. It is also notable that the first systems of Hindu philosophy, properly so called, were developed in North Behar; the *Sankhya Philosophy* of Kapila, which received as much attention in ancient Greece as it does in modern Germany, was proclaimed some seven centuries before Christ, and the *Nyaya* or Logic of Gautama was founded before Aristotle lived and taught.

The Magadhas (600 B.C. to 400 A.D.)

In course of long centuries, and after a brilliant record of achievements in letters and philosophy, the Videhas of North Behar began to decline as the Magadhas of South Behar rose to be the first power in India, and retained that supremacy for a thousand years. The rise of new States conceals in India, as it does in Europe, great movements among races and

nations, which are not always apparent to the eye of the student and the historian. The rise of Magadha in the sixth century has a significance of the highest importance. It marked the decadence of the Aryan states and colonies of Northern India, and the rise of an aboriginal nation which had received the mantle of Aryan civilisation, language, and religion. As Hellenised Macedon rose, after the decline of Greece, in order to spread Greek civilisation over the world, even so Aryanised Magadha rose, after the decline of the Aryan States of Northern India, in order to spread Aryan civilisation over the whole of India. And with the rise of this new power, the demand for a creed and religion on a popular basis was felt, and the silent protest against Brahmanical exclusiveness grew stronger. This explains the success of Buddhism, which also dates from the sixth century B.C.

Rise of Buddhism in Magadha

Gautama Buddha's maxims were pure and holy, and his creed was catholic and large-hearted. But such maxims and precepts had been preached in India before the time of Gautama by other leaders of Bhikshus or religious mendicants. The main reason which determined the success and spread of Buddhism was that from the sixth century B.C. the Aryanised people of India wrested the supreme political power from the hands of the effete Aryan states and colonies of Northern India; and the people wanted a creed less exclusive and more catholic than what the Aryan Brahmans had to offer.

Dynasties of Magadha

The Sisunaga dynasty ruled in Magadha from about 600 to 370 B.C. It was when Bimbisara of this dynasty was ruling that Gautama Buddha preached

his new creed and founded his Holy Order, the first monastic order in the world. Ajata-satru, the successor of Bimbisara, was a powerful prince, and extended the limits of the Magadha Empire. He beat back the Turanian invaders, the Vajjis, who had penetrated from the north; he founded Pataliputra or Patna on the Ganges; he annexed Anga or East Behar; and he also conquered Videha and other effete Aryan States on the west. The Nanda dynasty succeeded, and ruled in Magadha from about 370 to 320 B.C.; and Alexander the Great invaded the Punjab when this dynasty was in power. And about 320 B.C. Chandragupta founded the Maurya dynasty, conquered all the old and effete Aryan States, and *for the first time brought the whole of Northern India from the Punjab to Behar under one rule.*

CHANDRAGUPTA (320 TO 290 B.C.)

It was during the rule of Chandragupta that Megasthenes, a Greek ambassador, visited India, and lived in the court of Magadha. And it appears from the accounts left to us by Megasthenes that Northern India was then a flourishing country, well watered and irrigated, and producing abundant crops and fruits. Famines are said to have been unknown, and royal officers superintended not only trades and manufactures, industries and arts, but also agriculture and the condition of the peasantry of the land. The King is said to have had 600,000 foot-soldiers, 30,000 horse, and 9000 elephants.

ASOKA THE GREAT (260 TO 222 B.C.)

Asoka the Great, the grandson of Chandragupta, inherited the magnificent empire of Northern India, and added to it Bengal and Orissa. But his fame rests on his accepting the Buddhist religion, and sending his

missionaries to preach it throughout India, and far beyond the limits of India. The edicts which he has left us, inscribed on pillars and rocks, show that he made peace with five Western kings, viz., Antiochus of Syria, Ptolemy of Egypt, Antigonus of Macedon, Magas of Cyrene, and Alexander of Epiros; and that his missionaries were allowed to preach Buddhism in the countries of these potentates. Buddhism was thus preached in Syria over two centuries before the Christian era,[1] and we have no difficulty in tracing Buddhist thought and maxims, and Buddhist practices also, among the Essenes and Therapeuts of Syria and Egypt. The Maurya dynasty came to an end about 183 B.C. Two short-lived dynasties succeeded; and then the Andhras, from the Deccan or Southern India, came and conquered Magadha, and were the supreme power in India from 26 B.C. to A.D. 400.

It was during the reign of Asoka the Great, in the third century B.C., that Bengal proper and Orissa first received the light of Aryan civilisation. The conquests of Asoka meant the spread of Aryan influence, language, and religion. For long centuries Bengal proper remained in real or nominal subjection under the rulers of Magadha; but after the decline of the Andhras, and of the Gupta Emperors, who were supreme in Northern India during the fourth and fifth centuries, Bengal rose in importance and power. The whole country had by this time been completely Aryanised: the upper classes, the Brahmans, and Kayests, and others, were the sons of Aryan Hindu colonists who had settled down in this eastern region; the lower classes, the Kaibartas, and Chandals, and others, were the descend-

[1] "Buddhist missionaries," says Professor Mahaffy, "preached in Syria two centuries before the teaching of Christ, which has so many points in common, was heard in Northern Palestine. So true it is that every great historical change has had its forerunner."—*Alexander's*

ants of the aboriginal races who had embraced the Aryan religion and language, customs and civilisation, and were, in fact, completely Hinduised.

Bengal proper in the Seventh Century A.D.

When Houen Tsang, the eminent Chinese traveller, visited Bengal proper in the seventh century after Christ, he found the country divided into four large and flourishing States. *Paundra* was North Bengal, *Samatata* was the low and swampy country in the extreme east, *Tamralipta* was the south-western seaboard (and the principal seaport, which gave the name to the country, is still known as Tumlook), and *Karna Suvarna* was Western Bengal.

Pala and Sena Dynasties of Bengal

Between the eighth and tenth centuries after Christ there was another racial or national transference of power such as was once witnessed in the sixth century B.C. All the effete dynasties of India were swept away, and a new race, the modern Rajputs, conquered every State and filled every throne. It was the counterpart of the political events which transpired in Europe between the fifth and the eighth century, when young and vigorous German races issued from their wilds and fastnesses and conquered Western Europe from the nerveless hands of the last Romans. Bengal received a Rajput dynasty, the Palas, who ruled in the ninth and tenth centuries, and one of these Palas was ruling over all Northern India, from Kanouj to Behar, when Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni invaded Kanouj in 1017. In East Bengal, however, the Sena dynasty rose in power as the Palas declined or receded westwards, and the last Sena king was ruling Bengal when the Mohamedans, under Bakhtiyar Khilji, conquered it in the beginning of the thirteenth century.

Kesari and Ganga Dynasties of Orissa

In Orissa the Kesari kings have a long and brilliant history from 475 to 1132 A.D. The earlier kings of this dynasty built those fine temples at Bhuvaneswar which are still among the best specimens of pure Hindu architecture in India. Jajpur was another capital of these kings, and colossal statues, still visible in the place, attest to its former greatness. Cuttack, the modern capital of Orissa, was founded in the tenth century. In 1132 a new line, the kings of the Ganga or Gangetic line, succeeded to power, and they favoured the creed of Vishnu as the Kesaris had favoured the creed of Siva. The celebrated temple of Jagannath at Puri was built by these kings in the twelfth century, and they continued to rule Orissa till 1534. In 1560 Orissa was conquered by the Mohamedans.

Afghan Rule in Bengal (1204 to 1576)

It will thus be seen that Mohamedan rule was established in Behar and in Bengal proper early in the thirteenth century, and in Orissa late in the sixteenth century. From 1204 to 1340 the Afghan rulers of Bengal acknowledged the supremacy of the Emperors of Delhi; but later on, from 1340 to 1536, when the power of Delhi was at a low ebb, the rulers of Bengal were independent kings. In 1536 the able and famous Sher Khan conquered Gaur, the capital of Bengal, and he subsequently turned out Humuyan from Northern India, and thus once more united Bengal to Delhi. The Grand Trunk Road, running from Bengal to the Punjab, is a monument of his enlightened administration. He died in 1546; and thirty years after, Munaim Khan and Todar Mall,

generals of the Emperor Akbar, conquered Bengal from the Afghans, and brought it under the Moghul house of Delhi.

Moghul Rule in Bengal (1576 to 1756)

Man Sinha, another Hindu general of the enlightened Akbar, ruled Bengal from 1590 to 1604, and completed the conquest of the country from the Afghans. During the rule of Akbar's successor, Emperor Jehangir, his son, Shah Jehan, carried war against his father's forces into Bengal. When Shah Jehan became the Emperor of Delhi in his turn, his son, Sultan Shuja, was the ruler of Bengal for twenty years, from 1638 to 1658. The English had obtained a *firman* to erect a permanent factory at Pilpi, on the sea-coast, in 1634, and Sultan Shuja permitted them to erect factories at Hugli and Balasor, and to import and export goods free of duty. A rent-roll was drawn up for Bengal at the close of Sultan Shuja's rule, showing a total revenue of one kror and thirty-one lakhs of rupees = £1,310,000, taking ten rupees for a pound sterling. This was a considerable addition to the rent-roll drawn up by Todar Mall in the previous century. Neither in the one case nor in the other was the whole revenue ever realised from the landlords.

Sultan Shuja rose against his brother Aurungzeb, and perished in 1659, and Aurungzeb became the Emperor of Delhi. The English quarrelled with the Subahdar of Bengal; their factories at Patna, Malda, Dacca, and Kasimbazar were seized, and Mr. Charnock left Hugli and founded a settlement at Calcutta in 1686. The English trade was ruined in Calcutta for a time, but was revived in 1689; and they were allowed to carry on trade, free from all duties, on the payment of a *peshkash* of Rs. 3000 annually. Seven years after they were permitted to fortify Calcutta.

In the eighteenth century Murshid Kuli Khan prepared another rent-roll for Bengal, which showed the revenue at one kror and forty-three lakhs of rupees = £1,430,000. The English obtained new privileges and thirty-eight villages near Calcutta, and they induced the authorities to expel their rivals, the Germans, from their settlement fifteen miles above Calcutta. Ali Vardi Khan became Subahdar of Bengal in 1740, and was much harassed by the Mahrattas, to whom he at last surrendered Orissa, and agreed to pay twelve lakhs as *chout* for Bengal. Suraj-ud-dowla succeeded Ali Vardi Khan in 1756, and in the following year the English virtually conquered Bengal.

Bengal under Musalman Rule

Much has been said for and against the Mohamedan rule in Bengal by modern writers. Extreme views are generally erroneous, the truth generally lies midway. The Mohamedan rule in Bengal was not much better nor much worse than the rule of barons, and lords, and despotic kings in the Continent of Europe from the thirteenth to the eighteenth century. There was the same insecurity of life and property, the same oppression of the poor by the great, the same arbitrary and despotic system of rule. There was less resistance to the power of the rulers in Bengal than in Europe; but, on the other hand, wars were less frequent and less desolating, and the people were screened from the arbitrary acts of the rulers by their local chiefs and landlords, the zemindars of Bengal. The Subahdar ruled in the capital of the province, Kazis and Mohamedan officials exercised power in towns, and powerful Mohamedan chiefs and jaigirdars held large estates or jaigirs; but the mass of the agricultural population lived under their zemindars, who were mostly Hindus, and were scarcely conscious of any change in their

condition on account of the supreme power being held by the Mohamedans. We are told in the *Ayeen Akbari* that the Bengal zemindars, who were mostly Kayests by caste, kept 23,330 horse, 801,158 infantry, 1170 elephants, 4260 guns, and 4400 boats for the imperial service. While the political power was in the hands of the Subahdar, the real administration of agricultural Bengal remained in the hands of these Hindu zemindars. Their administration was somewhat primitive, and their methods were rough and ready; but it was never their interest to ruin the agriculturists from whom they obtained rents, and a feeling of kindness between the hereditary protectors and their peaceful subjects softened the conduct of the zemindars and ameliorated the condition of the peasantry. European travellers who visited Bengal between the thirteenth and the eighteenth century, Marco Polo, Nicolo Conti, the friar Manrique, the physician Nichola Graaf, the jeweller Tavernier, and the famous Bernier, speak of the prosperous agriculture of Bengal, of its rich manufacture and industries, of its large, flourishing, and wealthy towns, and of teeming villages.

Nor was intellectual progress unknown in Bengal during the five centuries of Musalman rule. The songs of Bidyapati of Behar, and of Chandidas of Bengal proper, composed in the fourteenth century, are popular to this day. Translations of the ancient Sanscrit epics, made by Kasiram and Krittivas in the fifteenth century, are still the national property of the people of Bengal. The religious reform inaugurated by Chaitanya in the sixteenth century had far-reaching and beneficial results. The narrative poems of Mukundaram and of Bharat Chandra, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, raised Bengali poetry to a high state of perfection. Hindu philosophy was cultivated with success by Raghunath and his successors in the schools of Navadwipa, and Hindu law and customs

were explained and codified by Jimutavahana and Raghunandan. The five centuries of Musalman rule in Bengal, in spite of all that has been said against it, promoted agriculture, manufacture, and the national industries of Bengal; secured perfect autonomy and self-government under zemindars and village elders; and witnessed literary, religious, and social results, evidencing a healthy progress and culture of the national mind.

Rise of British Power—Clive

The story of the rise of British power in Bengal is well known, and need not be told again in these pages. The capture of Calcutta by Suraj-ud-dowla and the tragedy of the "Black Hole"; the doings of Clive and the battle of Plassy; the election of the effete Mir Jafar at Nawab; the election of Mir Kasim and his war with the British; the re-election of Mir Jafar and subsequent events—all these are well known to English readers. At last, in 1765, Lord Clive came out again as Governor of Bengal, and the East India Company was formally made the Diwan or revenue administrator of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa.

Early Mistakes of British Administration

The administrative scheme adopted by Lord Clive failed. Under his system the administration of law and justice, as well as the collection of revenue, was left in the hands of the Nawab of Bengal and the two Deputy Nawabs of Murshidabad and Patna; and the revenue when collected was made over to the Company. In the meantime the Company's servants were busy with the Company's trade and with making colossal fortunes by private trade, wrongfully ousting native traders from their markets. This dual system of rule could not succeed, and did not succeed. The Nawab

and the Deputy Nawabs felt that they were collecting revenues for the Company, and were unconscious of the responsibilities of real rulers; while the Company's servants felt that the Nawab was responsible for the administration, and they had nothing to do but to look after their trade. The responsibility which is felt by a ruling power for the good of the people was felt by neither party, and the people of Bengal were more grievously oppressed in the first years of the British rule than they had ever been under the Mohamedan rule. A terrible famine, such as India had perhaps never witnessed before, occurred in 1770–71; one-third of the population of Bengal was swept away, and the sites of many villages relapsed into jungle.

Warren Hastings

In 1772 Warren Hastings was appointed Governor of Bengal, and two years after he was made Governor-General under the new India Act, called the Regulating Act. It is needless for us in these pages to narrate the story of his rule in India, which is so well known to English readers, or even to refer to those well-known acts which formed subjects of the historical impeachment against him on his return to England. It would be more profitable for our purposes to review his administrative work in Bengal. He totally upset the system of Lord Clive, and went to the opposite extreme. He arrested the Deputy Nawabs, made a judicial inquiry into their conduct, and abolished their authority for ever. He removed the central revenue offices to Calcutta, and placed them under English officials under the name of Board of Revenue. He abolished the judicial powers of local zemindars, and appointed an English officer in each district to discharge the functions of Civil Judge, of Collector of Revenues, and of Criminal Court. He drew up regu-

lations for their guidance, and established two Sádr Courts of Appeal in Calcutta. These measures indicate the energy and vigour of Warren Hastings, but they also evidence that contempt for native co-operation which has always been the most serious blemish in British rule in India. When the zemindars were deprived of all power and responsibility for keeping the peace, the unaided English district officer, with his unscrupulous police and his corrupt subordinates, failed to perform that work. Crime multiplied all over the country, and organised robbery increased to an alarming extent. The ruin of the hereditary landlords brought about the sale of the defaulters' estates, and the oppressiveness of money-lenders and speculators, who became auction-purchasers and set up as landlords, added to the misfortunes of the people.

Lord Cornwallis

On the 13th August 1784, Pitt's Bill for the Better Government of India was passed. Warren Hastings left India in 1785, and was succeeded by Lord Cornwallis. The name of Cornwallis is associated with the first successful endeavours to reform British rule in India. He forced the Court of Directors to grant adequate pay to district officers, and he abolished the various additional and irregular incomes which those officers used to make in various ways. He limited the powers of the district officers to revenue work only, and appointed magistrates and judges for the performance of judicial work. And he raised the position and secured the permanent well-being of the landed and agricultural classes of Bengal by permanently settling the land revenues of that province. The assessment was extremely heavy, being £2,680,000, *nearly double* of Murshid Kuli Khan's assessment made only seventy years before; but this revenue was fixed for ever.

Those who judge the policy of Indian rulers merely by the amount of revenue which it brings to the Government have condemned this permanent settlement of land revenues made by Cornwallis. Those who judge it by the happiness which it secures to the people have held that no single measure of the British Government has been so beneficial to the people, and has so effectually secured their prosperity and well-being, as this settlement. As the Government asks for no increase of revenues from the landlords of Bengal, they have by three subsequent Acts stopped the landlords from obtaining enhancement of rents from cultivators, except on the most reasonable grounds. And the Bengal cultivators to-day are more prosperous and self-relying, more free from the grasp of the money-lender, and better able to protect themselves against the first onset of famines, than cultivators elsewhere in India. It is necessary to add that Bengal proper, which suffered from the worst famine in the last century, has known no real famine since the permanent settlement. And even in the congested districts of Behar the famines which appeared in 1874 and in 1897 were milder and less destructive than famines in Madras and Bombay, in the North-West and Central Provinces of India.

The close of the eighteenth century was clouded by wars in Europe and in India—in Europe from 1793 to 1815, in India from 1798 to 1818. The wars of the Marquis of Wellesley and the Marquis of Hastings against the Mahrattas and other powers have been frequently told in works on Indian history. Bengal remained in peace during these troublous times; but it was a long time before the administratiou of the country became thoroughly efficient. Robbery was still rife all over Bengal in the early years of the present century, and the Governor-General, writing in 1810, recorded: "The people were perishing almost

in our sight; every week's delay was a doom of slaughter and torture against the defenceless inhabitants of many populous countries." It was then that the wisest servants of the Company perceived how hopeless it was to successfully administer a civilised country without the co-operation of the people themselves. Sir Henry Strachey, Judge of the District of Calcutta, declared: "In a civilised, populous country like India, justice can be well dispensed only through the natives themselves." And Colonel Monro, of Madras, declared: "If we pay the same price for integrity, we shall find it as readily amongst natives as Europeans."

Lord William Bentinck

These liberal ideas gradually took shape in Bengal, specially under the administration of Lord William Bentinck, who was Governor-General of India from 1828 to 1835. Appointments in the subordinate judicial and executive services were thrown open to the natives of Bengal, and their pay and prospects were improved so as to secure the services of an upright and deserving class of public servants. The result was not only a great improvement in the administration of the country, but also a reduction in the expenditure; and Lord William Bentinck changed the deficit of a million into a surplus of two millions before he left India. Lord William Bentinck also abolished the inhuman practice of the self-immolation of widows, known as *sati;* he suppressed the perfidious system of murder known as *thagi;* and he declared the English language to be the official language of India. The dawn of a liberal and an enlightened administration in Bengal stimulated intellectual progress; the Hindu College founded in Calcutta in 1817 sent out its annual harvest of young men trained in Western

learning; and Raja Ram Mohan Roy, the most brilliant product of Western influences on the Indian mind, established a Theistic Hindu Church in 1829, and was also the creator of the literary prose style of Bengal.

The East India Company's Charter, which came for renewal every twenty years, was renewed in 1833, on the condition that the Company should give up its trade, and should henceforth stand as rulers and administrators, not as traders, in India. A Legal Member was added to the Council of the Governor-General, and Lord Macaulay, the most eminent Englishman who has ever been to India, went out as the first Legal Member. And it was at the instance of Lord William Bentinck himself that it was enacted on this occasion that no native of India "shall, by reason only of his religion, place of birth, descent, colour, or any of them, be disabled from holding any place, office, or employment." It cannot be said that England has acted in the spirit of this pledge, given to the people of India over sixty years ago, for high administrative posts are still kept in India virtually as a preserve for Englishmen. Sir Charles Metcalf acted as Governor-General for a short time after the departure of Lord William Bentinck, and granted liberty of the press to India.

Lord Canning—Mutiny—Company Abolished

Then followed another unfortunate period of wars for India, 1836 to 1858. The Afghan wars of Lord Auckland and Lord Ellenborough, the Sikh wars of Sir Henry Hardinge and Lord Dalhousie, and even the Mutiny of the Sepoys which was faced and put down by Lord Canning, scarcely affected the peaceful population of Bengal, and do not require narration in an account of Bengal. The Mutiny sealed the fate of the

East India Company. The Company ceased to exist by the new Act of 1858, and on the 1st of November in that year it was proclaimed at a great *darbar* at Allahabad, and at smaller *darbars* in all district towns in India, that her Majesty the Queen had assumed the direct government of India. The present writer recollects the *darbar* which he attended in a district town in Bengal; thousands of men welcomed the message that the great Queen had assumed the government of the country, and Brahmans held up their sacred thread, and uttered a blessing which has come to be true: "*Maharani Dirghajibi Haun*," *i.e.* "May the great Queen live long."

It was on this occasion that the memorable words of the Sovereign were proclaimed from one end of India to the other, "That no native of the said territories, nor any natural-born subject of her Majesty's resident therein, shall, by reason only of his religion, place of birth, descent, colour, or any of them, be disabled from holding any place, office, or employment under the said Government." Every schoolboy in India learns and knows these gracious words by heart; and yet it cannot be said that, even after forty years from the date of the proclamation, the pledge and the promise made therein have been redeemed. Natives of India are still virtually excluded from nearly all the higher appointments in India, not only in the judicial and administrative services known as the Civil Service of India, but also in the education and engineering services, in the medical and police services, in the forest and jail services, in the post-office and telegraph services, in all services which offer pay which a European cares to covet. No royal commission has sat within these forty years to inquire if the royal promise made to the people of India has been redeemed.

The legislative work of Lord Canning was worthy of the first Viceroy appointed under the new Act. The

Indian Penal Code was passed, and the Civil and Criminal Procedure Codes were drawn up. Even more important than these is that great Rent Act of 1859, by which he gave substantial protection to the cultivators of Bengal against the demands of landlords, even as Lord Cornwallis had given protection to the landlords from the increasing demands of the Government. Once more a marked intellectual progress was manifest in Bengal. The great reformer and scholar, Vidya-Sagar, undertook those social and literary reforms which have endeared him to his countrymen; Madhu Sudan Datta composed a noble epic in Bengali; and Rama Prasad Roy, son of the eminent Raja Ram Mohan Roy, was appointed Judge of the newly created High Court of Calcutta. The Civil Service of India was thrown open to competition; the first batch of young Indians who competed for the service left India during Lord Canning's administration, and one of them succeeded in the examination held in 1862.

Lord Ripon

Lords Elgin and Lawrence, Mayo and Northbrook, followed in the footsteps of Lord Canning, and devoted themselves to the interests of peace and wise administration. Lord Lytton followed a different and an unwise policy, and entered into the costly Afghan war of 1878, which was concluded by his successor, Lord Ripon, shortly after his arrival in India. And Lord Ripon proved himself in other respects a wise, liberal, and benevolent ruler, by conceding some measure of self-government in local matters to the people, by allowing the people to elect their representatives in local boards and municipalities, and by permitting municipal corporations to elect their own chairmen. He proceeded a little further in the same path of progress which had been laid down fifty years before by

Lord William Bentinck; he was actuated by the same desire to repose trust and confidence in the people and to carry on administration with the co-operation of the people; and his name is lovingly cherished in Bengal and in India as the name of no other Englishman of our generation is cherished in that country.

Lord Ripon was followed by Lord Dufferin, who annexed Upper Burma; and, as usual, the cost of this extension of the British Empire in Asia was unjustly charged to India. Lord Lansdowne succeeded Lord Dufferin, and was in turn succeeded in 1894 by Lord Elgin, and both these Viceroys followed the unwise and expensive forward policy on the north-west frontier, ending in a war with the frontier tribes in 1897.

Lieutenant-Governors of Bengal

Since 1854 the administration of Bengal has been placed under a special officer, known as the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal. Sir Frederick Halliday was the first Lieutenant-Governor, and was succeeded by Sir John Peter Grant, who proved himself a friend of the Bengal cultivators at a time of their sorest need. His successor, Sir Cecil Beadon, was a benevolent ruler, but was blamed for his inadequate preparations to meet the great Orissa famine of 1866. Sir William Grey succeeded in the following year, and was a friend of high education; and Sir George Campbell, who followed in 1871, did much for the spread of primary education among the masses. He imposed a cess on lands for the construction of roads and bridges; and one of the unfortunate results of this new impost has been that the grants previously allotted by the Government for such public works have been partly withheld, and diverted to other purposes. Sir Richard Temple superintended the famine relief operations in 1874, and succeeded as Lieutenant-Governor, and he

made himself popular by granting to the ratepayers of Calcutta the right to elect two-thirds of the commissioners entrusted with the management of that town. His successor, Sir Ashley Eden, was a strong ruler; but he supported the Governor-General, Lord Lytton, in passing an Act to gag the vernacular press of India, an Act which was subsequently repealed by Lord Ripon. He also imposed a fresh cess for "public works," the main object of which was to pay the interest of the vast capital unwisely sunk on unremunerative canals in Orissa. Sir Rivers Thompson succeeded as Lieutenant-Governor in 1882, and gave effect to those wise and liberal measures which were conceived by Lord Ripon's Government. He was succeeded by Sir Steuart Bayley, who made a popular and sympathetic ruler; and he was followed in 1891 by Sir Charles Elliott, a strong and energetic ruler, but without much sympathy for the political advancement of the people over whom he ruled. His successor, Sir Alexander Mackenzie, ruled only for a brief period, and has retired in the present year (1898). The famine of 1897, which was severe in other provinces, was not severe in Bengal, and Sir Alexander took adequate measures to prevent loss of life. But the support he gave to the Government of Lord Elgin to pass two unwise Acts to gag once more the press of India made him unpopular; and he also introduced a Bill to take away the powers hitherto wisely exercised by the elected Commissioners of Calcutta. The year 1897 has been the worst year for India since the Mutiny—a year of wars, famines, and plagues, and of retrograde legislation.

Bengal Council

The Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal is assisted by a Legislative Council in making laws for the province, and by the India Councils Act of 1892 some of the

members of this Legislative Council are elected by the people or their representatives. The Council, however, enjoys no real independence in the work of legislation. All proposed measures receive the sanction of the Viceroy or of the Secretary of State for India before they are introduced in Council; and the members of the Council have therefore only the humble duty of discussing and modifying details and passing Bills according to the mandates of higher authorities.

Executive Power

In the exercise of his executive power the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal is not assisted by any organised popular body, and this is a source of real weakness in the administrative system of India. Large measures are proposed and discussed by Government officials and in Government bureaus, and the people of the country, who by their education and aptitude for work ought to take a share in such discussions, often know nothing of these measures till they come before them as a surprise and as an accomplished fact. "No intention, however sincere," says John Stuart Mill, "of protecting the interests of others can make it safe or salutary to tie up their own hands," and this truth is continuously illustrated in the administration of India. No foreign Government in the world is animated by a sincerer desire to effect the good of the people than the Indian Government; and yet the interests of the people are, as a matter of fact, continuously sacrificed, because the people have no real hand and no real voice in the administration of their own concerns. The question of constructing fresh railways in India by the Government, with the people's money or under guarantee of profits given out of the people's money; the question of maintaining special and penal laws for the supply of labour in tea gardens in the interests of tea

planters; the settlement of land revenues in large districts and estates; the lowering or raising of the salt tax; the extension of irrigation canals and the excavation of irrigation wells; the methods of internal administration in districts; the proposed reforms in the police; the increase or reduction of drink-shops in India—all the important questions which vitally affect the welfare of the people are determined by officials, without any adequate consultation with the people, without any adequate deliberation with their representatives. More than this, British manufacturers and merchants, capitalists and planters, have the means to press their demands, because they have votes, and the people of India have none; and it is as impossible for the best intentioned Government to hold the balance evenly between parties so unequally situated, as it is impossible for a judge to come to a right decision in a cause if he hears only the plaintiff and not the defendant. This is the weak point of the Indian Government; this is the true cause of its inordinate expenditure, its imperfect administration, its needless unpopularity, of the continuous increase of the public debt, and of the impoverishment of the agricultural classes. There is a penalty which the most benevolent form of despotism has to pay, for it is not possible to safeguard the interests of any community in the world, if you silence the voice of that community, and "tie up their own hands."

Divisional Commissioners

Under the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal there are nine Divisional Commissioners, who superintend the revenue, criminal, and executive administration of their respective divisions. Five of these divisions are in Bengal proper, two in Behar, one in Orissa, and one in Chota-Nagpur. The local knowledge acquired

by the Divisional Commissioners renders them able and useful advisers to the Central Government; while they are also entrusted with the responsible duty of controlling and directing the administration within their vast jurisdictions, and of enforcing therein the orders emanating from the Central Government.

Each division comprises a number of districts, answering to the counties of England; and the executive officer of each district is known as the District Officer, the true successor of the district officers created by Warren Hastings over a hundred years ago. The District Officers are under the control of the Commissioner within whose division their districts are grouped, but exercise in their respective districts a variety of functions which it is difficult to describe.

District Officers

A District Officer is, for instance, the head policeman, the head prosecutor, and at the same time the chief magistrate, in respect of all criminal cases in his district. As the head policeman he directs police inquiry and receives police reports and forms opinions on them; as the head prosecutor he appoints officers to conduct the prosecution in important cases; and in violation of all maxims of modern law and equity he as the chief magistrate tries those very cases himself, or has them tried by his subordinates. If the subordinate who tries such cases is what is called in India a second-class or third-class magistrate, the District Officer hears appeals from him; and when a sentence of imprisonment is confirmed, the District Officer again, as the head jailor, superintends the work of the prisoner in jail. Generally District Officers in Bengal are men of ability, education, and good sense; but an angel from the skies could not discharge the functions of a policeman and prosecutor, judge and

jailor; and the dissatisfaction which is growing under this archaic grouping of powers in the hands of the District Officer is likely to grow into a political danger before long, unless the arrangement is altered. It is necessary to add that the District Officer is also the collector of revenues and taxes; he looks after schools and hospitals, roads and bridges; he is the head engineer and the head sanitary officer of the district; he organises famine relief; and he sends out pills and doctors when there is an epidemic. Such a grouping of powers was perhaps necessary in the early years of the century; the continuance of the arrangement strangles the natural progress of the people, and makes British rule more despotic and unpopular in India at the present day than it need be.

Judges and the High Court

Generally there is a Judge in each district, and it is the function of the Judge to try only those serious criminal cases which are committed to the sessions. The Judge also tries all civil cases, mostly referring them to his subordinates for disposal. The High Court of Calcutta controls and supervises the work of Judges both in the civil and criminal sides as well as the criminal work of District Officers; and the High Court also has original jurisdiction within the limits of Calcutta in reference to civil cases above a certain value.

Police

It has been stated before that each District Officer is the head policeman in his own district. Under him there is an officer called the Superintendent of the Police, who controls and manages the police force. The inefficiency and the corruption of the Bengal police give much concern to the Government and

dissatisfaction to the people. Thefts and burglaries are often undetected, organised robbery has not yet been stamped out, and false cases trumped up by the police against innocent persons are by no means infrequent. The fact that the District Officer is the head of the police emboldens the ill-paid police subordinates in their dishonesty to an extent which would be impossible if the judicial and police functions were not so unwisely combined. The miserable pay of the subordinate police is another reason of its dishonesty; and though some improvement has been made in recent years in this respect, more is needed. And it is scarcely possible to effectually improve the police and to introduce needed reforms in the judicial administration of the country under the present financial arrangements between the Provincial Governments and the Indian Government. Good administration in the Provinces is starved for obtaining an ever-increasing share of the revenues for frontier wars, military works, and other measures, in which the Indian Government concerns itself.

Public Health

There is a Civil Surgeon with his staff of medical subordinates in every district, and dispensaries and hospitals have been established at convenient centres for the treatment of the sick. The people of Bengal have faith in European medicines, and specially in European surgery; but in old and chronic cases they still prefer the slower and milder methods of treatment of their own experienced physicians, the *vaidyas* and *hakims*. Cholera epidemics break out now and then in crowded and unhealthy spots, and specially along the route of pilgrims who resort by tens of thousands to great temples like that of Jagannath in Orissa, and who suffer untold privations and often live on the coarsest food. But more fatal and in-

jurious than these occasional epidemics is that insidious malaria which prevails over one-half of Bengal proper, and is spreading to Behar. For it not only claims thousands of victims every autumn, but enfeebles and prostrates a hundred thousand for every thousand that it kills. The real cause of the Bengal malaria is the same which operated in England in the early part of the century, viz., the bad drainage of the country. In Bengal the drainage has been seriously disturbed in recent times by the action of rivers. The Ganges has virtually left its old bed by Murshidabad and Calcutta, and discharges the volume of its water into the sea by way of Goalundo and East Bengal. It flushes and sweeps through East Bengal, which is therefore comparatively healthy, though damp; while all creeks and channels are silting up and obstructed in West Bengal, which is the home of the present malaria. An attempt was made by Sir Charles Elliott, then Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, to induce local bodies to rectify the drainage in the worst localities by raising rates among themselves. But the people, who already pay the "road cess" and the "public works cess," are unable to bear fresh burdens. The drainage of the country is really an Imperial question; and the malaria-stricken population of Bengal look up to the Government for such large works of drainage as are needed to improve the health of the population. Great drainage works have been executed by the Government of Bengal for the reclamation of land on commercial principles; and the cost of such works, together with the capitalised value of the cost of their future maintenance, have been recovered from the landlords whose lands have been improved. Equally large drainage works are needed in Bengal for the improvement of the health of the people, and the cost of these should be met by the Government from the Imperial revenues. The cost

of one frontier war, devoted to this end, would permanently improve the health of millions of the suffering population of Bengal.

Railways, Canals, Public Works

There are two great systems of railways in Bengal, one from Calcutta towards the north-west, and the other from Calcutta to the eastern districts. A third line from Calcutta southwards towards Madras is now in progress. These lines supply the requirements of the people and of the country's trade; but pressure is constantly brought on the Government to open other and minor lines in the interests of particular communities or capitalists, and the Government does not find it an easy task to resist such pressure. We assert without hesitation, from our experience of the needs of the people of Bengal, that it is unnecessary for the Government which represents the interests of the people to open any fresh lines in Bengal out of its own revenues or under a guarantee of profits. If such fresh lines are likely to be remunerative, private companies should undertake them. If they are not likely to be remunerative, it is a betrayal of the interests of the people to undertake them out of the revenues, under pressure from parties however powerful in their votes, and however great in their wealth and influence. It is just and it is necessary that the representatives of the people of India should have some voice in sanctioning or rejecting such and all other great schemes, creating liabilities which the people will have to meet. A great part of the money which comes to England annually as "home charges" is interest for capital already spent on Indian railways, and the Government of the day would be morally wrong in adding to these liabilities without consulting the people whose money they spend.

The irrigation canals in Bengal are not many.

The Sone canals irrigate a large area of country in Behar, the Orissa canals irrigate portions of Orissa, and the Midnapur canals irrigate fields in that district. There is no doubt these canals are most useful and beneficial works, but it is necessary to add that they are worked on commercial principles, and the water-rates levied are often inordinately high. Two years ago the present writer considered it his duty as Commissioner of Orissa to point out to the Government of Bengal that the water-rate in Orissa often came up to about one-half the rental. Such an oppressively high water-rate, unknown in England or in any other part of the world, is an infliction on a poor peasantry, and the result is that the cultivators often decline to use the canal water or to pay the water-rate. Year after year they depend upon the uncertain rainfall, while the water of the canals, constructed at vast expense, remains unused by the majority of the people. The engineers who manage the canals know this, and they generally decline to supply water for irrigation in years of drought unless the villagers will bind themselves for five or six years. There was a notable instance of this in 1896. The rains ceased early, but large bodies of cultivators in Orissa still declined to use the canal water, hoping for the last autumn showers. The showers never came, and then there was a rush of applications for canal water. The applicants bound themselves to use the canal water for the next five or six years, and then obtained water in that year of drought. Such details illustrate how administration in India often fails in its purpose because the people have no hand and no voice in their own concerns. In no other part of the world would the water-rate be allowed to remain so high, compared to the rent; and nowhere else would useful irrigation works be allowed to remain to a large extent unused by reason of a demand so exorbitant in view of the condition of the people.

The late Sir George Campbell, sometime Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, has pointed out that the canals of Orissa were first started by private enterprise. The Government unwisely took them up, under pressure from the capitalists, and when they failed to pay, the Government imposed a tax on the people, the "public works cess," mainly for payment of the interest of the capital spent. The engineers have charge of these canals, and the rates they levy on boats are prohibitive, and virtually defeat the object of the canals. It is an instance of how unwisely the resources of India are sometimes spent on what should be useful protective works.

The "road cess" is older than the "public works cess," and was imposed to create a fund for the construction of roads, bridges, and tanks in villages. But, as has been stated before, it helped the Government to divert from public works some grants which used to be originally made for this purpose, and the people are not much better off for roads and communications after the imposition of this tax than they were before.

District Boards

When this tax was imposed in 1871, Sir George Campbell, then Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, organised a committee in each district, composed partly of representative Indian gentlemen, to manage the fund and spend it on the improvement of roads and bridges. Later on, under the Government of Lord Ripon, these committees were enlarged into district boards, and some of the members were elected by the people. Hospitals, primary schools, and ferries were placed under their management, and allotments for the maintenance of these institutions were added by the Government to the funds originally raised and allotted for roads and bridges. The work of district boards, presided over by the District Officer, is yearly becoming more and more

important, but their usefulness is greatly restricted by the poverty of their resources. The want of good drinking water is specially felt in Bengal villages; zemindars are no longer as liberal in the construction and cleansing of village tanks as they were before the imposition of the "road cess" and the "public works cess," and there is not a District Officer in Bengal who does not feel that the needs and requirements of his district in communications, water-supply, primary schools, and hospitals, are starved for want of adequate funds.

Municipalities

Lord Ripon also allowed the tax-payers of advanced rural municipalities to elect their representatives on the municipal board, and these advanced representatives elect their own chairmen. The duty thus imposed on the people has been faithfully and efficiently discharged. Towns in the interior of Bengal districts are as ably and efficiently administered by non-official chairmen as they were administered by official chairmen in olden days. Taxes are collected with regularity in most self-governing towns, sanitary improvements are effected, and drainage and the supply of drinking water looked after. A thorough drainage of Bengal towns is, however, beyond the resources of most towns, and the question is one which the Indian Government will have to face some day in a liberal spirit.

Agriculture

Agriculture is the main industry of the people of Bengal, and nearly four-fifths of the population depend directly or indirectly on agriculture. Fortunately agriculture flourishes in every part of Bengal; the rice crops are abundant, wheat flourishes in Behar, and the growing demand for jute since the Crimean War has

led to a large extension of jute cultivation, specially in eastern districts. For nearly three years, from 1887 to 1890, the present writer was the District Officer of the great jute-growing district of Mymensingh, having an area of six thousand square miles and a population of over three millions, and the demand for jute was so great that it supplanted rice in nearly one-half of the district. Flourishing jute mills have been started in Naraingani and Serajganj and other places. Cultivation has largely extended since the permanent settlement, the profits of this extension have remained with the agricultural classes, and the position of the tenant has been secured by three several rent laws against unreasonable evictions and enhancements by landlords. It can be said of the Bengal cultivator, what can be said of probably no other cultivators in India, that he is fairly well off, not much indebted to the money-lender, and not much subject to harassment by the zemindar; that he is self-relying, resourceful, provident, and capable of tiding over a bad harvest or a great calamity. Every Bengal administrator can call to mind instances of the self-reliance of the Bengal cultivator. To cite one instance, when a great cyclone and storm-wave from the sea completely destroyed the crops of the south-eastern coast of Bengal in 1876, the present writer was sent as an executive officer to an island in the mouths of the Ganges which had suffered most. For ten months after the catastrophe the people of the island supported themselves on imported grain purchased out of their previous savings, and then they obtained a good and plentiful harvest. No relief was asked for, and no relief was given, except to a limited number of orphans and helpless widows. A catastrophe like that in Madras would have been followed by a famine; in South-Eastern Bengal there was hardly any distress. The permanent settlement of

[redacted]ual competition with the steam and machinery of England; and that the increase in the value of exports from India means that vast quantities of food and raw material have to be sent out from India to pay for imported European goods, as well as for the "home charges" of the English Government, which amounts annually to about twenty millions sterling.

Education

The results of English and vernacular education in Bengal have, on the whole, been satisfactory. There are several successful colleges in Bengal, some of which are conducted by British missionaries or by native Indian gentlemen, and a large number of graduates are turned out by the Calcutta University year after year. Most of them settle down to the practical work of life, and are fairly well equipped for their work by the education they receive; while a few have distinguished themselves in literature, science, and law. Among those who have within recent years won a name for themselves in Bengal may be mentioned Baukim Chandra Chatterjea in literature, Rajendra lal Mitra in philology and antiquarian research, Keshab Chandra Sen in religious reform, Dwarkanath Mitra in law, Jagadish nat Bose in science, and Surendra nath Banerjea in his eloquence and life-long work for the political advancement of his countrymen.

There are schools in every district which are affiliated to the Calcutta University, and teach up to the matriculation standard, and thousands of young Bengalis matriculate year after year. In every important village there is a vernacular school, called a *pathshala;* and in some of the more advanced districts nearly a third of the boys of the school-going age attend school.

Female Education

Female education is not making very great progress, judged by any European standard; but considering the customs of the East, the results are not altogether unsatisfactory. Girls in Bengal are generally married between the ages of ten and thirteen, though among the Musalmans of East Bengal and among the people of Orissa they may remain unmarried till they attain their womanhood. In a country where early marriage is almost universal, anything like a thorough education in schools is impossible; but, nevertheless, the number of girls who receive elementary education between the ages of seven and twelve is steadily increasing. Nearly all women of the upper classes read and write at the present day, their education does not by any means end with their marriage, and some Bengali ladies have even distinguished themselves in poetry and fiction within recent years. For the rest, women in Bengal, as in England, are the great readers of poetry and fiction; every meritorious work, as it issues from the press, is taken up by them, and every novelist looks to them rather than to men for the sale of his works. We are no doubt old-fashioned in India, judged by the European standard, but every word has a relative signification, and the "new woman" in Bengal is the subject of as much criticism and of satire as her more advanced sister bearing the same title is in Europe.

Marriage Laws and Social Reforms

Polygamy, though allowed both by Hindu and Mohamedan laws, is rare among the educated classes, and is also rare among the labouring and cultivating classes. The remarriage of widows, permitted among the Mohamedans, is disliked by the Hindus; and though

a law has been passed to sanction it, instances of such remarriage among Hindus are of rare occurrence. On the other hand, marriage is an obligation which custom imposes on all, and practically all men and women in Bengal marry. This custom has its advantages as well as its disadvantages. All women are cared for and provided for; all women have their well-defined position in society and their work in families; and the aimless lives of old maids is not observable in India. Nor does the universal obligation of marriage produce the results that might be apprehended by theoretical thinkers; and population in Bengal and in India does not increase at a faster rate than in England, or even as fast. The alarm felt by the alleged rapid increase of population in India is dispelled by statistics. When men compare the population of British India in the present day with the population of British India half a century ago, they generally forget that British India now comprises new and large provinces which were outside British India in the forties. And it can be proved by figures that within the same area population does not increase at the same rate in India as it has done in England. Famines in India are not due to increase in population; they are mainly due to excessive land-assessment, as stated elsewhere.

The rules of caste among the Hindus are being gradually relaxed through the healthy influences of modern education and the requirements of modern civilisation. Boys of all castes receive their education in the same schools, all men travel in the same steamers and railway carriages, work side by side in the same offices, take part in the same social, religious, and political movements, and often have their meals together, as they never did in olden times. The influx of young men to Europe for education has further loosened the hold of caste rules; and the social work of the Brahmo-Somaj, the Theistic Hindu Church of Bengal, has fur-

thered the cause of social progress. Nevertheless, caste still lives and will live for a long time yet, and inter-caste marriages are rare, except among the limited population who belong to the Brahmo Church. Progress is slow in India; but, all things considered, slow progress is always the safest progress.

Results of British Rule in Bengal

On the whole the British nation has reason to congratulate itself on the results of British administration in Bengal and in India generally. British rule has maintained peace in the country, and has conferred on the people a fair degree of security in life and property. It has bestowed on a quick and intelligent nation the blessings of Western education and a knowledge of Western civilisation, and it has sown in the country the seeds of Western institutions. On the other hand he is no true friend to England or to India who hesitates to point out the blemishes of British rule in India, while recognising the blessings it has conferred. The first great defect of British administration is its *expensiveness*, the second great defect is its *exclusivencss;* and in both these respects the civilised rule of England compares unfavourably with the ruder systems of administration which prevailed in India before the British conquest. The extravagant and ruinous military expenditure of India, and the annual drain on her resources by reason of the "home charges," need to be curtailed and reduced if British rule is meant to be a blessing instead of a curse; and the fetish of unbending despotism in the administration of districts and provinces requires to be replaced by some degree of popular control and popular representation if the administration is meant for the good of the people. Administrators who have been trained for generations in the exercise of absolute power believe that an auto-

cratic system of rule, which concedes no real share of work to the people, and listens to no word of advice from the people, is the saving of India. On the other hand, the leaders of the people themselves demand and expect that the rights and privileges now enjoyed by English citizens are to come to them, all at once, like Minerva out of the forehead of Jupiter. The true path of progress lies midway. Progress—slow, cautious, and real progress—is both inevitable and necessary for the purposes of good administration. The statesman who seeks to revolutionise the country by forced progress really throws the people backward in their path of advancement. And the statesman who seeks to block the political advancement of the people by coercive measures and retrograde legislation is preparing the way to violence and disturbance, forcing the people to lawless methods for gaining their purpose, and thus gradually converting peaceful India to what Ireland was, not many generations ago.

ASSAM

By H. LUTTMAN-JOHNSON

(Late Indian Civil Service)

The north-western frontier of India has always attracted the interest of the English public. The expansion of our Indian Empire in this direction has involved us in bloody and expensive wars—in battle, murder, and sudden death—things which in themselves excite our enthusiasm and our sympathy. Then in the north-west of India we have had some compensation for our sacrifices in the annexation of a populous and rich province, the Punjab. More recently our wars with the Afghan tribes have been fierce and hazardous, and have teemed with thrilling episodes. The idea that when we have to fight our European neighbour, Russia, we shall allow this distant and somewhat inaccessible frontier to become the field of operations has, during the last thirty years, added a new interest to it. So much has the north-west frontier absorbed public attention that the expansion of our Indian Empire in the north-east direction has proceeded almost unnoticed. But the causes which led to expansion in the one direction are equally operative in the other. Just as misgovernment, anarchy, and aggression led to our interference in the Punjab, and later beyond the Indus, so on the north-eastern frontier we could not afford to leave the adjacent valleys of the Brahmaputra and the Surma (or Barak) to barbarism or the Burmese. Having occupied the valleys, we found ourselves compelled to

interfere also with the wild tribes which surrounded them. Similarly our great competitor, Russia, driven by similar causes and with similar motives, has spread herself over the whole of northern Asia. It is my object in this paper to describe as briefly as possible the expansion of our Indian Empire in the north-east direction.

Description of the North-Eastern Tract

When the English, in the year 1765, obtained full control of the huge province of Lower Bengal, that is, of the districts forming the delta of the Ganges and Brahmaputra rivers, a large tract to the north and east of the delta, bounded on the north by the Himalayan mountains and on the east by Burmah, remained unexplored and unannexed. This tract comprises the Brahmaputra valley on the north, running some 450 miles east to west at the foot of the Himalayas; the Surma, or Barak valley, on the south, parallel to the northern valley, but only some 150 miles long; and a central zone of mountainous country some 4000 feet high, lying between the two valleys. The two valleys debouch at their western extremities on the fertile delta of Bengal. Much of the southern valley is but a continuation of that delta, and owes its fertility to the deposit of silt. The tide of the Bay of Bengal extends to it in the dry season of the year. Besides this there is an extensive mountainous tract running from north-east, where it branches off from the Himalayas at the eastern end of the Brahmaputra valley, to south-west, along the borders of Burmah. From this tract the central zone above noticed gives off on the west.

The area of this north-eastern tract is some 45,000 square miles. The climate is exceedingly damp. The rainfall on the southern face of the central range

reaches 500 inches, generally it exceeds 100 inches. If the heavy rainfall makes the tract damp and unhealthy, it has its compensations—famine is unknown and tea flourishes.

While in India generally the population is Dravidian or indigenous, with a large admixture, especially in the north, of Aryan blood, in this north-eastern tract, though there is still a small Aryan overlayer, the main stock, except in the southern or Surma valley, is Mongolian or Indo-Chinese. Lying on the confines of Tibet, China, and Burmah, it has been the meeting-place of the Aryan and Mongolian stocks. In its multitude of tribes and tongues it presents a fine field for ethnological and philological study. While the cow and its product, milk, are looked on in India as almost divine, a large proportion of the population of this tract eschew milk as a species of excrement. In India generally the people live on millets and pulses; here, as in the delta of Bengal, they are rice-eaters.

Previous History of the Tract

The expansion of India in the north-east direction is not a new thing. That Buddhism found its way to these parts is attested by a large figure of Buddha carved in the rock on the bank of the Brahmaputra at Gauhati, the chief place in the northern valley. A temple in the same neighbourhood, now Hindu, which the Buddha is believed to have visited, and which still contains an image of him, is a place of pilgrimage to pious Buddhists. Occasionally a Chinaman finds his way to this temple through Tibet and the passes of the Himalayas. Tibetans come to it in numbers. That the inhabitants of the northern valley, so far as they are Hindu, are largely of Vaishnava persuasion, and have established Vaishnava monasteries after the manner of Buddhism, is also evidence that that religion, or at

least its ideas, penetrated to this region. Brahmanism was, no doubt, introduced into both valleys at an early period. The present Brahmans differ so widely from Brahmans in India that we must assume that their ancestors left India before the existing Brahmanical customs had become established. For instance, many of these north-eastern Brahmans sell their daughters in marriage, a custom abhorrent to orthodox Hindus. Besides these early immigrants, other more orthodox Brahmans have come in from time to time. Besides Brahmans, other Hindu natives of India of Aryan stock no doubt migrated to these valleys. A large portion of the inhabitants claim descent from such immigrants. But it is doubtful how far this claim can be accepted, at any rate in the northern valley, where the professional castes of Hinduism are still non-existent. Generally the migration from India, both in the northern and southern valleys, has been of the indigenous rather than of the Aryan stock. In the northern valley this migration has mingled with the original Mongolian stock, and it is not easy to decide where the Indian stock ends and the Mongolian stock begins. That the original autochthones have many of them become Hindus—that is, have adopted, so far as they can, some form of the Hindu social system—increases the difficulty of distinguishing the two stocks. If the habit of opium-eating is considered a test, then the Mongolian stock extends into the north-eastern corner of the Bengal delta. If physical appearance is relied on, the result is the same, though the Mongoloid features disappear rapidly when the Brahmaputra valley is left behind. If religion and language are to be our guide, then the Indian element is much stronger than the Mongolian. But to this day we see the indigenous people becoming Hindu, and we know that the process is no new one. With the adoption of Hinduism, the Indian-derived language, very near akin to the languages

of the Bengal delta, is adopted. Then the Indian stock has been more constantly reinforced by immigration, especially in recent years. Though the Indian-derived language is now predominant, the names of rivers prove the primitive population to have been Indo-Chinese. The Mongolian stock has also had important reinforcements. At the beginning of the thirteenth century the Ahoms, a tribe of Shan origin, of the same stock as the Siamese, invaded and conquered the Brahmaputra valley and ruled over it until quite recent times. The valley became known to the natives of India as Assam, a name perhaps derived from this tribe. This name has always been one of mystery and terror to the natives of India. Besides the Ahoms, who still number some 150,000, there are a few other immigrants of distinctly Shan extraction.

The Mussulman rulers of India reached north-eastern Bengal in the beginning of the fifteenth century. They first invaded the Brahmaputra valley in the beginning of the sixteenth century, but were unable to effect a permanent occupation. A few Mussulmans were left behind, whose descendants are called Goria to this day, because their ancestors came from Gour, the then capital of Bengal. In 1663 a more determined attempt was made by Mir Jumla, then governor of Bengal, Aurungzib's famous general. He penetrated almost to the upper end of the valley, but was obliged by sickness and the difficulty of obtaining provisions to retreat after a short stay. The Mussulmans, however, in this century established their control over the indigenous native princes at the lower or western end of the valley, and received a tribute of elephants from them.

The southern or Surma valley was invaded by the Mussulmans about the year 1400 A.D., under a religious fanatic called Shah Jelal. As in Bengal, a large proportion of the inhabitants, among whom Hinduism had made

little progress, were converted. The petty indigenous princes appear to have been maintained for a time, paying a tribute of boats and other things. Though later on they were reduced to a subordinate position, and a Mussulman official appointed, the district always remained a border one. Lands were allotted to the military for the defence of the frontier. When a land-tax was eventually imposed, it was collected in cowries (small shells), which then formed the currency.

Our First Connection with the Tract

In 1765, with the government of the Bengal delta, we took over such control as the Mogul Government had established in this north-eastern tract. We continued to receive a tribute of elephants from the princes who ruled over the western end of the Brahmaputra valley. In the southern valley we collected a land-tax of shells, and established an administrative district not unlike those we established in the Bengal delta generally. We left the hill-tracts and the native princes of the valleys, whom the Mogul Government had not subdued, to themselves. The kingdom which the Ahoms had established in the northern valley still existed, but in a decrepit state. In the upper part of the southern valley were two small semi-Hinduised states, Jaintiah and Cachar, while beyond them, on the borders of Burmah and in the Irrawaddy watershed, was the petty hill-state of Manipur. The Ahom princes had become Hindu about the year 1700. The prince of Manipur was converted about the same time. The Cachar king, who only descended into the plains from the central mountain tract early in the eighteenth century, held out until 1790, when he was reborn a Hindu out of a copper effigy of a cow. The Jaintiah prince was also a recent convert. Though the princes, and following them many of the higher classes in

these states, professed themselves Hindus, and adopted to some extent Hindu laws and customs, the main body of the people remained outside the pale of Hinduism. The Hindus of India never acknowledged their border relations. Only the other day the prince of Tipperah, a small state lying to the extreme south of the north-eastern tract, failed to obtain recognition as a Hindu from the Brahmans of India. The Mogul part of the southern valley had, as I have said, become Mussulman like the adjoining country of Bengal. The rest of the north-eastern tract was peopled by aboriginal tribes in a very primitive state, professing religions which, for want of a better term, we may call animistic.

In the year 1792 we were obliged for a time to renounce our policy of non-interference. The Ahom king in the upper Brahmaputra valley had been deposed, and had fled to us for protection. The valley was overrun by adventurers from India, for whose crimes we were responsible. A small expedition was sent up the valley, which reinstated the king, and to some extent restored order. Having performed our task we decided to withdraw, and to leave the valley to anarchy and civil war.

In 1816 the Ahom king, being hard pressed, invoked the aid of his neighbours, the Burmese. For ten years the Burmese harried the country, especially the two valleys. The memory of their atrocities is still vivid in the minds of the people. At length they transgressed our borders both in the Surma valley and further south in the district of Chittagong. The first Burmese war was the result, in the course of which we completely cleared the north-eastern tract of the invaders. At the end of the war the Burmese relinquished all claim to the tract, but the Government of India was still strongly averse to taking absolute possession of the country. For the maintenance of

the necessary protective forces, a large part of the lower Brahmaputra valley was annexed. Both in the upper Brahmaputra valley and in the southern valley the native princes were reinstated. This arrangement did not last long. The Jaintiah prince was found to connive at human sacrifices. As the persons sacrificed were kidnapped from our territory we could not put up with this, and deposed the erring potentate. The Cachar prince was assassinated, and left no heirs. We still left the hills part of his dominions to a native chief. The Ahom king of the upper Brahmaputra valley was quite unable to control his subjects. Things went from bad to worse, and at last, in 1838, in the interests of humanity, we were compelled to relieve him of duties he was perfectly unfit for. No doubt the fact that they were under our protection weakened the authority of these princes. Thus the whole of the two valleys came under direct British administration, and was attached to the Government of Bengal. The northern or Brahmaputra valley was of sufficient importance to form a local division of administration, called Assam, from the native state of that name; the southern or Surma valley was annexed to the adjoining Bengal Division of Dacca.

Our Policy towards the Hill Tracts

Meantime there was little interference with the hill tracts. The petty hill states of Tipperah and Manipur survived, the former to the present day. The Garo hills, at the extreme western end of the central range where it juts out into the plains of Bengal, was nominally British territory, as it had been nominally Mogul territory, but no control was exercised over the inhabitants. The murder of two British officers who were road-making in their hills led, in 1830, to a con-

flict with the Khasias who adjoin the Garos on the east. When order was restored, though a British officer was stationed in the hills, the Khasias were left to their native rulers, and continue independent of all but political control to the present day. The tribe next to the Khasias, on the east, the Syntengs, were included in the kingdom of Jaintiah, and were annexed with that kingdom. With these exceptions the hill tracts, with their very primitive inhabitants, were left severely alone; where, as in the sub-mountain tract below the Himalayas, the hill tribes had exercised some rights, we commuted them for a money payment. In some cases we even continued the payment of the subsidies which the tribes had been able to exact from the weakness of the native rulers.

Our policy of non-interference was not altogether successful. The hill tribes made constant raids into British territory. We had numerous frontier posts manned by police and military to protect the plains people, but they proved ineffective. The speed with which these half-naked hill people traverse the jungle is marvellous. They can walk round any frontier post. We responded to raids with counter-raids. In 1850 a strong force with guns was sent from the Brahmaputra valley into the hill tract between that valley and Burmah, inhabited by Nagas. The strong mountain village of Konomah was reduced after a hard fight. And there were many other small punitive expeditions. When the local officers, much pestered with raids, advocated a more aggressive policy, the great Lord Dalhousie wrote, in 1851: "I dissent entirely from the policy which is recommended, of what is called obtaining a control, that is, of taking possession of the hills and establishing our authority over their savage inhabitants. Our possession would bring no profit to us, and would be as costly as it would be unproductive."

The native chief, to whom we had left the hills part of the dominions of the Cachar prince, offered but a feeble defence against the invasions of the neighbouring Naga tribes. When he died in 1854, a European officer was stationed in the hills where he had ruled, at the eastern end of the main central range, with a view to protecting the inhabitants from their more eastern neighbours, the Nagas. But raids continued, and in 1866 this officer was moved to a post further north-east, from which he could prevent raids on the Brahmaputra valley, as well as those on the Surma valley. The Garos at the extreme western end of the central range continued to afflict their neighbours in the plains, until at last, in 1866, it was found necessary to station an officer in their hills. The difficulties attending the policy of non-interference, the continued aggressions on the plains, led at length to a reconsideration of that policy. In 1872 it was decided that we must gradually obtain political control and influence over the tribes without any assertion of actual government. In accordance with this policy, in 1873 the Garos were at length brought under complete control, though that control is still exercised through their petty chiefs. In the wide hill tract lying between the Brahmaputra valley and Burmah, to the borders of which an officer had been advanced in 1866, a more forward policy had been rendered necessary by the aggressions of the petty hill-state of Manipur, whose ruler asserted a claim to the whole tract. On the borders of Bengal and Assam, under the Himalaya mountains, the Himalayan tribe of Bhuteas held a large area in the plains. The raids and aggressions of these people led to a little war in 1865, and to the annexation of their territory in the plains.

System of Administration

When we finally took over the administration of the two valleys, we did not carry out the system in force in the adjoining province of Bengal, litera[redacted] The instructions were to adopt the spirit of this syst[redacted] and in accordance with these instructions various r[redacted] were made, suited to the circumstances of the diffe[redacted] populations. The northern or Brahmaputra valley[redacted] very thinly populated. Many of the inhabitants[redacted] not reached the stage of fixed cultivation. They cultivated for two or three years in one place, and when the soil was exhausted transferred themselves to another location. There was much more cultivable land than was required, therefore no one cared to pay rent. Under these circumstances the native princes had raised little revenue in money or produce. Instead of taxes the people gave labour, the whole [redacted] being divided into companies and sections of[redacted] The lowest unit consisted of three men; [redacted] worked for the state, the other two supp[redacted] In return for this labour the three were [redacted] certain area of land free of rent. The [redacted] was in force in the little state of Manipur; and also probably in Cachar and Jaintiah. High officials were rewarded by grants of labourers, who worked for them instead of for the king. This was a mild form of slavery. Besides this, however, regular slavery was a recognised institution.

It is noteworthy that we found no traces of village communities, properly so called, in this north-eastern tract. Still, there were villages or collections of homesteads, which, though much scattered, formed a social unit. In the Surma valley we found communities of cultivators, who were jointly and severally liable for the land-tax. These may have been survivals of the forced

labour system, or a natural development of new settlement. New settlers in the wilderness may have found such association necessary for protection and for reasons of economy. While some remained behind and provided means of subsistence, others went forward and cleared new lands.

In the neighbouring province of Bengal we had fixed the amount of land-tax the people should pay permanently, not with the actual occupants but with the tax collectors, or other persons through whom the tax had been paid. Unfortunately we extended this system to the undeveloped tracts lying at the western ends of the two valleys, which we had inherited from the Mogul Government. We commuted the tribute of elephants paid by the border chiefs into a small money payment, and then fixed this for ever. We commuted the payment of shells into a payment in rupees, and then fixed this permanently. Fortunately we made this latter arrangement with the actual occupants of the [illegible]. Nevertheless by thus restricting the tax in this [illegible]ly-populated and undeveloped tract we lost some fifty lacs of revenue.

For the rest of the Brahmaputra valley we arranged with the actual cultivators that they should commute their labour for a money payment, according to the area they cultivated each year. To this day the people are averse to contracting for a longer period than a year. In the Surma valley the position of affairs was very different. There the people had long ago reached the stage of fixed cultivation, and many rights in land had been established. Accordingly we fixed the land-tax there for a term, generally twenty years.

We abolished slavery in both valleys without compensation. While we thus greatly improved the position of the lower classes, the upper classes were much reduced.

found the inhabitants of the northern valley,

who, as I have said, are largely of Mongolian or Indo-Chinese origin, much addicted to opium and strong drink. After some years' experience we ventured to abolish the cultivation of the poppy. In place of the indigenous drug we supplied opium from India, to be sold only at certain places and at a certain price. We have not allowed the holders of the licenses, as has been done in this country, to acquire a proprietary right in them. This restriction of the consumption of opium has proved as beneficial to the finances as to the opium-eater. We have also, as far as possible, restricted the consumption of hemp and of distilled liquors. We have not ventured to interfere with the brewing of beer at home for domestic use. The use of distilled and fermented liquors is restricted automatically by the conversion of the people to Hinduism, abstention from such liquors—teetotalism—being a condition of conversion.

The Tract becomes a Separate Province

This outlying tract remained for many years under the Government of Bengal. Until the year 1872 the actual extent of that government had not been accurately known. In that year, for the first time, a census was taken, and it was found that the governor of Bengal ruled over sixty-six millions of people. Kings and governors, even of small states, are usually assisted by councils, to the members of which certain departments of the administration are entrusted. The governor of Bengal had no such council. The north-east frontier tracts, differing, as they did, not only in themselves but also from Bengal generally, brought to the overburdened governor more work than they were worth, and he had no councillor to whom he could transfer the burden. It was obvious that the governor of sixty-six millions must be relieved. Various pro-

posals in this direction were considered, and eventually it was decided to remove the north-eastern frontier tracts from his jurisdiction. Since 1874 these tracts have formed an independent province, with a governor (called a chief commissioner) of its own. The new province received the name of Assam, from the native state of that name, which had formerly existed in the Brahmaputra valley. The headquarters was fixed in a central and healthy but rather inaccessible spot in the main central range of hills. Calcutta being as much the natural capital and business centre of the north-eastern tract as it is of Bengal, the transfer from Calcutta of the headquarters of a tract so much dependent on business and British capital for its development was a dangerous experiment. The chief commissioner has, however, been able to keep himself in touch with the forces on which the development of the tract depend by frequent visits to Calcutta. The constituents of the new province are so heterogeneous that it has been found impossible to administer it on any common system. The northern valley is many hundred years behind the southern, and the hill tracts many hundred or thousand years behind both. Each different unit is still administered on its own merits.

The Hill Tracts

As we had found ourselves compelled to assume the general control of this north-eastern tract when we drove out the Burmese, as that control had been more strictly enforced as time went on, till in the plains districts it differed little from the control we exercise in other parts of India, called regulation districts, so since 1874, when the tract became a separate government, we have been obliged to proceed on the same lines: that is, where we had no control, we have under-

taken it; where we already had control, we have extended and regulated it. The part still remaining for exploration was the extensive hill tract running from north-east to south-west on the borders of Burmah. In furtherance of the policy more lately adopted, several friendly expeditions and surveys had been made in this tract, both on its northern and southern confines, without mishap. The same policy was continued under the new régime, but with unfortunate results. Early in 1875 Lieutenant Holcombe's party was surprised near the northern limits of the tract. Armed hillmen had been admitted within the camp, who, on a signal being given, attacked and killed the leader and many of his followers. This led to a punitive expedition against the offending tribe. Early in 1876 Captain J. Butler was killed while leading a survey party in the same hills farther south. Later on we pushed the post which had been established on these hills in 1866 a good deal forward. The officer in charge of this post, Mr. Damaut, was shot while entering a neighbouring village early in 1878. This again led to a punitive expedition, in the course of which the strong hill village of Konomah was again taken and some valuable lives were lost. The Nagas replied by raiding on a tea-garden in the Surma valley, where they killed the manager and many of his labourers. The net result was that in the course of twenty years from 1874 the Naga tribes inhabiting the northern part of this border tract had been reduced to subjection.

In the southern part of this tract, between the Surma valley and Burmah, inhabited by Kuki tribes, though there were frequent raids, events moved more slowly. In 1885, in consequence of raids having been committed by the Kukies, not only on the Surma valley but also farther south, on the borders of the Chittagong district, it was considered advisable to establish posts in these hills. The murder of an officer,

Lieutenant Browne, attached to one of these posts led to reprisals, with the result that within a few years the whole tract was brought under control.

MANIPUR

The little hill-state of Manipur, already referred to, survived until 1891. This state occupies an upland valley some 2500 feet above the sea, midway between the eastern end of the southern or Surma valley and Burmah, and between the Naga tribes on the north and the Kuki tribes on the south. Its area is about 650 square miles. We had rescued this little state from the Burmese in the first Burmese war. The people, who are probably a mixture of Nagas and Kukis, owing to the fertility of their valley were much further advanced in civilisation than their congeners of the surrounding hills. They had become Hindus with their prince early in the last century. Many of them had migrated to the Surma valley during the Burmese invasion, where they formed, and still form, perhaps the most industrious part of the population. They were our most obedient servants, and no one dreamt that they could ever give serious trouble. Ever since our first connection with this little state there had been constant troubles among the members of the royal family, intrigues, and palace émeutes. One of these having occurred in 1890, early in 1891 the chief commissioner, under the orders of the Government of India, proceeded to the spot to procure the banishment of the successful intriguer. The chief commissioner took a strong guard with him, but no guns. Unfortunately his guard came into collision with the people in an attempt to arrest the successful intriguer. The people having got the best of the encounter, the chief commissioner and four other officers entered the palace with a view to conferring with the Manipur leaders.

Here they were deliberately executed. This sad event ended in the execution of the intriguer, the deposition of the reigning prince, and the temporary occupation of the little state during the minority of his successor. Though we have declined to annex it, we have not left this little oasis in the hills to anarchy and civil war.

Annexation of Upper Burmah

In 1885 we annexed Upper Burmah, which marches with the north-eastern tract of India on the east. This annexation naturally affected our policy in the north-east of India. As long as the subjugation of the hill tribes, lying between us and Burmah, was likely to result in our coming into collision with that country, it was our interest to avoid advancing far into the hills. With the annexation of Upper Burmah, a no-man's-land on the border became not only unnecessary but positively mischievous.

Sub-Himalayan Tribes

The whole southern face of the Himalayas, on the northern confines of this north-eastern tract, is occupied by hill tribes in a more or less primitive state. As beyond the Himalayas lies Tibet, which is subject to China, we have carefully avoided encroachments on these hill tribes, though they give us great provocation by raids and by their insolent behaviour when they visit the plains. In 1866 we had a fight with one of the more advanced of these tribes, the Bhuteas, which was called a war, and ended in our depriving the tribe of a fertile sub-mountain tract which was subject to them. Since a separate government was established on the north-east frontier in 1874, we have made many counter raids against these Himalayan tribes, but we

have, so far, not attempted to bring them under control. The disintegration of China may compel us to adopt a different policy.

I have thus rapidly sketched the territorial expansion of our Indian Empire to the north-east. Generally, the extension of our authority over the whole tract is due to the incompatibility between civilisation and barbarism. These barren and thinly-populated tracts can never be made profitable, though they may become self-supporting. Our advance has been obviously contrary to our immediate interests. Yet here, as on the north-west frontier, we have continuously advanced in spite of ourselves.

But the expansion of the Indian Empire, that is, of the British Empire, is not merely territorial. I shall now proceed to show what other advances have been made in this north-eastern frontier tract since we first occupied it between sixty and seventy years ago, and especially since it became a separate province.

Increase in Taxation

When we first occupied the Brahmaputra valley, after driving out the Burmese, the people, or as many as remained of them, were in a miserable plight. It is said that thirty thousand of them had been carried off as slaves to Burmah. Many had been slain, not only by the Burmese, but in the troubles which preceded the advent of the Burmese. Those that remained had, to a large extent, given up cultivation, supporting themselves on jungle roots and plants. From the remains of cultivation and habitations found scattered about in the jungles, and from the embanked roads and ways which are common in the upper part of the valley, it has been thought that it was at one time fairly thickly populated. But it must be remembered that primitive peoples do not cultivate permanently;

they are constantly changing their locations, so that a small number in a few years leave remains at many places. The chiefs were in the habit of making embanked ways through the jungle from one location to another. The people, having no money for the payment of taxes, gave labour instead. This labour was used for constructing these embankments, and also for digging large tanks. When the Mussulmans invaded the country in 1663, they found, certainly, some cultivated tracts, and were struck by the prolific vegetation in these tracts, but they also had to march through much jungle, in which the savage inhabitants afflicted them sorely.

An early estimate of the population of this valley, some fifteen years after we had driven the Burmese out, gives some 850,000. The land revenue was only some 5½ lacs. Ten years later the land revenue had increased to 7½ lacs. The first regular census was taken in 1872. The population was found to be 1,900,000, more than double the estimate of thirty years before. The land taxes had by this time increased to 22½ lacs, though, as already explained, a large area in the western end of the valley bordering on Bengal yields practically no land tax. Regular, and probably more accurate, censuses were again taken in 1881 and 1891. The population of the valley is now returned at 2,450,000. The increase is largely due to immigration, the natural increase in this valley being very small. The land taxes now produce 47½ lacs. If we had not made the unfortunate arrangement above alluded to, regarding the land tax of the part occupied by the Mogul Government, they would amount to at least 60 lacs. Unfortunately where we get no periodical increase of land tax we have no statistics of cultivation. In the rest of the valley cultivation has increased from 1600 square miles in 1840, to 3400 square miles in 1896, or by 112½ per cent. Thirty

years ago the average consumption of excise opium was 1700 maunds in this valley, and we derived a revenue of 11 lacs from this source. We have reduced the consumption to 1200 maunds, while we have raised the revenue to 17 lacs. We have largely reduced the number of licenses for sale of the drug, while we have increased the duty on it.

The southern or Surma valley does not show so much advance. The people had settled down to fixed cultivation, and had generally adopted the more advanced religions of India long before we were heard of. A settlement of the land tax of the part of this valley which had been administered by the Mogul Government, was made towards the end of the last century, after rough survey, in the course of which a census was taken. According to this the population was then about 500,000, or if the native states be added, some 600,000. This estimate is supported by the fact that at this time the land tax amounted to some 3 lacs only, and the cultivation to only 380,000 acres. By the resumption of the petty states of Jaintiah and Cachar the land tax was increased to 5 lacs or so. The first regular census, in 1872, produced a total for the valley of 1,925,000. The land taxes were then only some 6 lacs. The population is now about 2,525,000, while the land taxes have risen to 13½ lacs only. Had we not commenced our régime by fixing the land tax over a large part of this valley in perpetuity, it would now yield in land taxes 50 instead of 13½ lacs; and we should have had reliable agricultural statistics. As it is, I can only say that the area cultivated has probably increased since our occupation in the same proportion as the population, that is, by 300 per cent.

We have occupied the hill districts in self-defence, and perhaps partly for humanitarian reasons. We do not expect them to yield revenue or any monetary

return for what we expend on them. Still, in the latest returns they appear with a population of 500,000, and a revenue of half a lac. With peace and order guaranteed, the primitive populations of these tracts will, no doubt, gradually take to fixed cultivation, increase in numbers, and develop new wants, which they will try to satisfy.

Taking the whole province, we find that in the last twenty-five years the population has increased from 4,120,000 to 5,320,000, the land taxes from 29 to 60 lacs, and the excise from 12½ to 28 lacs. The stamp revenue, chiefly court fees, has increased from 5 lacs to 9 lacs.

Forests

As I have stated, a large part of this north-eastern tract has not yet been subdued by man. It is not altogether primeval jungle, because primitive man has pursued his wasteful system of fitful cultivation over it from time immemorial, roaming from location to location as he exhausted the soil. But much of it still contains fine timber. This is not of much present value, the cost of removal to market being, except in favoured localities, prohibitive. But unless some substitute for wood is meantime discovered, the forests will become very valuable as means of communication improve. Forest preservation only dates from the formation of the new province. Now, 3600 square miles of forest are protected from fire and other damage, such as cultivation, while 11,600 miles are less strictly preserved. Of course the people have, to some extent, suffered by the stricter preservation of forests. That they enjoyed the use of all forest produce free of charge is described in early reports as a great advantage. The forest department now yields a surplus income of 1½ lacs. Care is now taken that forest preservation shall not impede the extension of settled cultivation.

Education

Though school-going is not yet compulsory, as it is with us, advance has been made in the education of the people. In 1874, out of a population of 3,800,000 in the plains districts, only 28,000 children attended school, of whom 500 only were girls. In 1897, out of a population of 5,000,000 in these districts, there were 97,000 children at school, of whom 8000 were girls; that is, some 20 per cent. of the boys of school-going age are taught, of the girls only 2 per cent. In the hill districts, among a very primitive people, there would be little education but for Christian missionaries. The Welsh Calvinistic Methodist Mission educates some 4000 children of the hill people in its schools in the Khasi hills, which is some 12 per cent. of the children of school-going age. Other missionary bodies educate some 2000 children.

There is no religious teaching in the public schools. This is left entirely to the parents, who are not very keen in the matter. The Mussulmans only have schools for religious teaching, such as our Sunday schools. All attempts to set apart special hours for religious teaching in the public schools have failed, because the parents do not actively support them.

Literature and the Press

Though education has made a good deal of progress, literature does not flourish—only five books were published in 1874, and only thirteen in 1897. Bengali is the literary language of the southern and more advanced valley, and is well understood in the northern valley. Books therefore in this language, published in the adjoining province of Bengal, supply the wants of the small reading public of the north-eastern tract.

The same remark may be made of the press—only three newspapers are published in the province. The Calcutta newspapers, both English and Bengali, hold the field.

Administration of Justice

As in other parts of India, as indeed throughout the British Empire, wherever we have undertaken the government of subject races, it is in the administration of justice that our success has been most conspicuous. In the lower parts of the two valleys, where we succeeded to the Mogul Government, the system in force in Bengal was introduced in the last century. In the parts which remained under the native rulers the administration of justice was most primitive. Human sacrifices caused our interference in the southern valley. In the northern valley punishments were very barbarous. Retaliation was the principle adopted. An early writer enumerates "whipping, branding, the pillory, amputation of limbs, mutilation of the nose, ears, and lips, plucking out the eyes, tearing off the hair, grinding the offender between wooden cylinders, sawing him asunder, application of red-hot iron to different parts of the body, together with numerous other modes of punishment still more repugnant to humanity, and far too abominable to be mentioned." In this respect the semi-Mongolian inhabitants of the Brahmaputra valley contrasted unfavourably with their milder Indian neighbours. Bad as the administration of justice was, and always had been, under the native rulers, we should not probably have interfered had those rulers been able to maintain their authority. The decay and weakness of that authority finally compelled our interference. For a long time we administered justice under rules, made specially to suit the exigencies of each acquisition, in the spirit of the laws in force

in the neighbouring province of Bengal. Later on, when these laws were codified, we had made so much advance that we were able to introduce the codes. Both on the criminal and civil sides we have a regular system of subordinate and superior courts, culminating in the High Court of Calcutta, which is the supreme court of appeal. In the northern valley trial by jury is in full swing in the superior criminal court. And among this ingenuous people this primitive system of deciding cases has proved a success, while in the adjoining province of Bengal it has generally been a failure.

Crime

The number of offences reported in the two valleys has increased from 20,000 to 32,000 since the new province was formed, and the number of persons under trial from 14,000 to 24,000. This does not mean that real or serious crime has increased, but that petty offences are better reported. The administration has become more elaborate, and acts are now punished which were formerly taken no notice of; as, for instance, municipal offences. Though the accommodation in the jails has been extended and improved, their daily population remains what it was twenty-five years ago. In some parts the rate of crime reported to 10,000 of the population is from 30 to 50, in others from 100 to 125, mainly due to the fact that in the former part much petty crime does not come before the courts.

The number of civil suits instituted in the courts has increased from some 20,000 to some 30,000. It is perhaps too much to say that this is an advance—an improvement. Yet it is, no doubt, a sign of progress, of development, of higher civilisation.

Post and Telegraphs

There has been wonderful expansion of postal and telegraph business. Post-offices have increased from 55 to 319, articles passing through the post from one and three-quarter millions to eight and a half millions. When the new province was formed, there were only 356 miles of telegraph line in it, and seven telegraph offices. This has been increased to 2252 miles of line and 186 offices. No doubt the presence in the province of a business population of Europeans has contributed to this marvellous development; but all the inhabitants benefit by it.

Tea

So far the story of the expansion of the empire in the north-east corner of India has not presented very special features. It has been a story which might have been told of many other parts of India almost in the same words. The special feature of the north-eastern frontier is the tea industry. The tea plant was discovered in the Brahmaputra valley about the time when we drove the Burmese out of the country. The use of tea was known to the Shan people of the extreme eastern end of the northern valley, and they produced a small quantity for their own consumption. In 1854 the plant was discovered in the southern valley also, and its cultivation was commenced there. In 1834 a Government committee was appointed to inquire into the subject. In consequence of this inquiry, the Government commenced the experimental cultivation of the plant, and produced some small parcels, which were favourably reported on. In 1839 the first tea company was formed, called the Assam Company, and took over the small cultivation commenced by the

Government. Small progress was made for some years. In 1853 only nine tea gardens were in existence. As the people can have land for the asking in the Brahmaputra valley, subject only to the payment of the land taxes, they will not work for wages. They naturally prefer to support themselves by cultivating their own land. So all labour for the cultivation of tea and for other purposes is imported from other parts of India. This difficulty also occurs in the southern valley. The people are too well off to care to work for wages. In spite of this initial difficulty, the cultivation of tea in both valleys now proceeded apace. In order to encourage the industry, the Government gave special facilities for acquiring land on easy terms for its prosecution, and also passed a compulsory Labour Act, by which labourers imported at great expense to work on tea gardens can be compelled to perform their contracts. In 1863, as so often happens when prospects in a new industry are favourable, speculation set in. The company promoter came upon the scene, and companies were formed to purchase valueless properties. It takes some years to make a tea garden. Extravagant expectations not being realised, shareholders took alarm, and there was great depression of tea property. But the business was intrinsically sound. It survived these troubles, and in 1874, when the new province was formed, 626,000 acres, or near 1000 square miles, had been taken up for tea cultivation, of which 100,000 acres, or 150 square miles, was under cultivation. At the present day the area held solely for tea cultivation is 968,000 acres, about 1500 square miles. The area actually cultivated is 292,000 acres, or 456 square miles.

The tea industry and its extension is, as I have said, a very special feature of this north-eastern tract. Its influence would not have been so important if managers and labour could have been found on the

spot. Its influence would not have been so far-reaching had the natives of Bengal and of other parts of India embarked in the enterprise as managers or even as proprietors. Enterprising and industrious as many of the natives of India are, especially natives of Bengal, they missed the opportunity which the discovery of the tea plant gave them of improving their fortunes, while they benefited their country, just as they have so largely missed railways, cotton, and jute manufactures. The captains of industry required for the management of the tea gardens came from Britain. The capital which supports the industry is British; the machinery with which the tea is made is British. The labourers employed on the gardens come from other parts of India—only the soil and climate are local. Economically the industry would have proved as valuable whether worked by natives or foreigners. It is the fact that it is worked by people of British origin which gives it its importance as a moral and civilising influence.

The number of Europeans in the north-eastern tract by the last census is 1687. This includes European officials and missionaries. The number does not appear large to us here in England. It would not constitute a very large village. But it must be remembered that this European element in the population is scattered in twos and threes over the whole area. The two or three Europeans on a tea plantation, with their families, surrounded by their native staff and labourers, are in a conspicuous position, and exercise a great influence not only within their plantations but also outside them. So predominant is the European element, though so small numerically, that this north-eastern tract has been likened to a British colony.

Immigration

Connected with the tea industry is the subject of immigration. In the Brahmaputra valley alone, besides some 1500 miles of forest at present, as explained above, reserved from cultivation, there is some 13,000 square miles of cultivable waste capable of supporting a population of 8,000,000. In fact, this valley could support some 12,000,000 where it now supports only two and a half millions. There is probably room for another half million in the southern valley. The Mussulman population of Bengal, which is very prolific, will probably complete the conquest it has carried so far in the last hundred years in this valley. But it makes very little impression on the Brahmaputra valley. It has advanced, and has filled up the country just outside the mouth of the valley. It has tried to advance from this but has failed. There is a certain tributary of the Brahmaputra beyond which it is said they cannot live. As a matter of history, where they have settled to the east of this river they have died out. No doubt the fact that this part of the valley is held by a few landlords descended from the old petty border chiefs who paid tribute in elephants to the Mogul Government, and that therefore immigrants cannot take land direct from Government, has had something to do with this, but climate has done much more. It was thought that when communications were improved, immigrants would pour in from the congested districts of India. Communications have been greatly improved, but immigrants do not come to stay. They only come as pilgrims to the holy places, or as traders. In connection with the tea industry, however, large numbers of immigrants arrive yearly. This industry is almost entirely supported by imported labour. The tea-planters recruit their labour

force in the districts of India where the best class of labour is to be found, and import it at their own expense. There are now nearly 600,000 of these immigrants and their children on the tea gardens, of whom 325,000 are in the Brahmaputra valley. At the time of the census of 1891 it was found there were 425,000 of such immigrants in the province. In 1874 the total was 70,000 only. In that year only 22,000 persons were imported. In 1896 the number imported had increased to 80,000. This large imported population not only affords a ready market for agricultural produce, but many of the immigrants remain in the province when they leave their service on the tea gardens. All authorities are agreed that few return to their homes. The census of 1891 supports this view. We know of 60,000 having taken up land under Government. Besides this, some have taken land under private landholders. They also take to other avocations, becoming petty traders, cartmen, &c. The settlement of these time-expired labourers in the country has increased greatly during recent years, and may be expected to increase further in the future.

Trade

The tea gardens again make a large proportion of the trade of the province. Of the exports, tea forms more than two-thirds. Owing to this industry the exports exceed the imports in value by some 50 per cent. Then the tea gardens import machinery, stores, &c., and in the Brahmaputra valley rice. Fertile as this valley is, the people cannot manage to supply the tea gardens with rice. Our occupation of this tract has made trade in other directions. Large quantities of mustard seed are now grown and exported, because when the land tax was raised, the people took to the cultivation of this staple with a view to paying it. The

cultivation of jute has extended of late years from Bengal. Were the people of the Brahmaputra valley more energetic, they might grow the best of jute and reap large profits. The Province still imports gram, pulses, sugar, and tobacco, though all these are produced within its limits.

The trade of the Brahmaputra valley was estimated at the beginning of this century to be worth about 3½ lacs. In 1840 it had risen only to five or six lacs, though we had been some years in occupation of the richest part of the valley. There was in those days much more trade in the southern valley, which is more easily accessible to boats. This valley supplied and still supplies Bengal with lime. Reliable statistics of trade have only been available in recent years. In 1880–1881 the exports of the Brahmaputra valley were valued at 230 lacs, and the imports at 79 lacs. In the same year the Surma valley exported goods to the value of 128 lacs, and imported 89 lacs' worth. In 1896–1897, the exports of the northern valley had increased to 370 lacs, and the imports to 241 lacs; those of the southern valley to 282 lacs and 196 lacs. There had meantime been great extension of tea cultivation, especially in the southern valley.

The trade of the Brahmaputra valley is largely in the hands of temporary settlers from Rajputana in the west of India. They have done almost as much for the trade and development of the valley as the European settlers to whom I have already referred.

Except with Bengal on the west, there is very little trade. On the north this north-eastern tract marches with Tibet. Lhasa, the chief place and abode of the Grand Lama, lies only some 350 miles north of Gauhati, the chief place in the Brahmaputra valley, by a fairly easy pass. The Tibetans come down to us to trade and as pilgrims. Their dead bodies in time of flood come down our rivers. But we may not go to them. They are

the greatest tea-drinkers in the world, and would gladly drink such tea as we could make out of our prunings, but we may not supply their wants. A couple of companies of our native soldiers, with a mountain gun or two, could soon reduce the whole territory, and establish the "open door." But the policy of non-interference is now in the ascendant.

Communications

The subject of trade introduces that of communications. The Ganges has always been a useful trade route to Upper India, because at certain seasons an easterly wind prevails which may be relied on to help the laden boats up stream. In the eastern valleys no westerly wind can be relied on for any length of time. Perhaps the slow progress of the northern valley may be attributed to this cause. Poling and tracking up stream is exceedingly slow and laborious work. In old days the journey from Calcutta to the upper end of the Brahmaputra valley took as long as that from London to Calcutta in a sailing ship. Letters took a fortnight overland. The traffic on the smaller rivers of the southern valley was always much easier. Steam, under the fostering care of British capital, has changed all this. Steamers can ply all the year round up to the end of the Brahmaputra valley, but except in the rainy season they can only proceed half way up the Surma valley. They made their appearance on these rivers at an early date, but as late as 1853 there was no regular service. When the new province was formed in 1874, there was a weekly service on the Brahmaputra, and a fortnightly one on the Surma. These services were extremely slow. The passage from Calcutta to the upper end of the Brahmaputra valley took a month or more. Though the improvement of these services at once occupied the attention of

the chief commissioner of the new province, it was not till 1882 that one of the steamer companies started a daily service carrying the mails, in consideration of a subsidy of a lac of rupees from the Government, who saved some 60,000 rupees by the closing of the overland mail line. Hitherto it had been thought necessary to provide European commanders and engineers on river steamers. The new service could not afford this, and was therefore entirely conducted by native commanders and engineers on small salaries, all Bengalee Mussulmans. A short experience proved that this new departure was a success. The experiment was soon extended to the rivers of Bengal, which are now covered with small but very commodious steamers, commanded and engineered by natives, doing an enormous passenger business. Thus came about one of the most unexpected — one of the most interesting — business developments which India has seen.

Railways

In spite of this almost marvellous development of the steamer traffic, there have been many schemes for connecting Assam with Bengal and Calcutta by a railway. The numerous waterways of the Bengal delta are an insurmountable difficulty. If the channels were permanent, and had solid bottoms, bridges could be built across rivers of any breadth. These conditions unfortunately do not exist in the delta. It might be turned by a line running along the foot of the Himalayas, but that would be a very circuitous route. It has been decided to cross the riverine system of the delta by a ferry, and to build a line from this point up the Surma valley, and across the central range into the Brahmaputra valley. The line, which also connects with the small port of Chittagong, in the north-eastern corner of the Bay of Bengal,

has already been opened to Cachar, at the eastern end of the Surma valley. It will doubtless prove a successful competitor with the waterways in that valley, which are only open during four months of the year. What part it will play in the further development of the Brahmaputra valley remains to be seen. Railways and waterways without minor ways, either water or land, to lead to them, and supply them with passengers and freight, are not of much use. In the new province, as in India generally, we have perhaps rather neglected these subsidiary arteries of traffic. At great expense we made a trunk road all the way up the Brahmaputra valley. This road carries no through traffic, but is very useful for local traffic here and there. Meanwhile, the roads to the steamer landing-places carry a large traffic, often more than they can bear. In two cases only have these roads been replaced by small railways. The Surma valley is even worse off in regard to local roads. Here again a trunk road, east-west, parallel to the waterways, gets little traffic.

Coal

The existence of coal on the western face of the range which separates the Brahmaputra valley from Burmah, and on the main central range, has long been known. Soon after the new province was started, special surveys were undertaken of the coalfields, which were computed to contain 40,000,000 tons. The coal was found to be of excellent quality, superior to Bengal coal. In 1881 a company, backed by a liberal subsidy, was formed for the purpose of working the coal at the upper end of the Brahmaputra valley. A railway, some eighty miles long, from the coalfields to the bank of the Brahmaputra, was opened in 1884. This railway serves also as a feeder to the steamer traffic on the Brahmaputra river. Like the pioneers of the tea

industry, the company has had to contend with the labour difficulty. All labour is imported at great expense from India. In spite of this, its operations have proved successful. In 1896–97 the output of coal had reached 175,000 tons. Formerly steamers brought coal up the river to the end of the valley for use on the journey down stream. Now they are able to take coal down stream for use on the journey up.

Petroleum

After many efforts the company have at last found mineral oil in the neighbourhood of the coal mines, but till lately, though many borings had been made, the yield had not been large. In 1896–97 only 240,000 gallons were extracted. By latest accounts the wells are spouting more vigorously.

Medical Relief

The advantages of civilisation in the abstract, the mitigation, that is, so far as human science can mitigate them, of the troubles which the struggle for life involves, may be questioned, but when the case is put in a concrete form no question arises. Before we occupied Assam medical science was unknown. In the early years of our occupation little progress was made. European medical men were attached to some of the districts, but native medical men with a knowledge of European medicine were unknown. The practitioners of medicine after the native method were ignorant, even as compared with practitioners in India. So lately as 1874, when this tract came under a separate administration, there were only fifteen public dispensaries, treating some 20,000 patients, of whom 2200 were treated indoors. Only 45 major operations were performed. In 1896 there were 101 dispensaries,

at which 6500 indoor and 560,000 outdoor patients were treated. The major operations rose to over 1000, minor operations to over 12,000. If we had done nothing more than this for the inhabitants of this north-eastern tract we might still claim their thanks.

Missionary Enterprise

Primitive people with their animistic beliefs readily accept the more advanced religions. The north-eastern tract, where nearly a million of people in the last census admitted they were neither Hindu, nor Mussulman, nor Christian, offers a wide field for missionary enterprise. Among the people who entered themselves as Hindu in the census papers are a large number who are still on the borderland between Animism and Hinduism, and therefore obnoxious to conversion. The success of the Hindus in this field has been marvellous, especially in the Brahmaputra valley. The Gosains, or religious heads of the various Vaishnava monasteries, depend on the number of their disciples for their income. Every convert means an annual fee of a shilling or more. The Mussulmans have no organised system of proselytising. They pick up a few converts among Hindus who have lost their caste. The peace and order maintained by the British Government have no doubt assisted this development from Animism to Hinduism. It is a development from a lower to a higher civilisation, for which I am afraid we can claim little credit. Similarly, under our protection, but without our active co-operation, Christian missionary enterprise is making fair progress among this primitive animistic people. The Welsh Calvinistic Methodists have made the Khasias of the central hill tract their field of labour. The American Baptists devote themselves specially to the Garos of the central hill tract. This society has also mission

stations in the Brahmaputra valley and among the Nagas. The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel competes with Hindu proselytism among the animistic tribes of the Brahmaputra valley. The Christian missionaries do a great work in education and medical relief, and may well be claimed as one of the principal civilising influences of British rule.

Natural Calamities

Both valleys are much subject to destructive floods, which make road-making difficult and expensive. The flood of 1782 is said to have wiped out one-third of the population of the southern valley. Earthquakes are common, and are occasionally very destructive. They greatly add to the difficulty of road-making. But our great enemy—the great obstacle to progress—is the climate. In the Brahmaputra valley war and bad government have no doubt done their work. But the main reason why man has not yet conquered the jungle in that valley is the climate. The birth-rate is fairly satisfactory, but the death-rate is almost as high; consequently the natural increase in the population is very small. The people themselves say it is opium which enables them just to hold their own. Cholera outbreaks are of almost annual occurrence, but the chief cause of mortality is malarial fever. A virulent form of this disease, which appeared in the lower Brahmaputra valley some fifteen years ago, has decimated the population, and is still raging and progressing up the valley. In the ten years ending 1891, the natural increase in this valley was only 4 per cent., in the Surma valley it was 8 per cent. The high death-rate is no doubt due, to some extent, to preventible causes; but the people are not more uncleanly in the northern than in the southern valley. In both cases, in spite of our teaching, they will not adopt the most elementary sanitary

precautions. By their good luck milk will not keep unless it is boiled, so they are protected from one great source of disease. And many of them do not touch milk. We cannot yet claim a victory over filth.

Finances

If we cannot make India pay its way without taxing the people above their means—if we cannot make each province pay its way—we must admit failure. No blessings of civilisation can atone for this fundamental delinquency. This is the bed rock of administration. I have already shown how the revenue has increased, chiefly by the enhancement of the taxes, partly by the extension of cultivation. Unfortunately, the expenditure has also increased. In the first year of the new administration, 1874–75, it amounted to 38 lacs only. In 1880–81 it was 46 lacs. It has now grown to 80 lacs. What the expenditure was before the new province was created it is impossible now to determine, but obviously it was less than 38 lacs, because the formation of a local head-quarters must have entailed some extra expenditure. Under public works the expenditure has increased from some 10 to 27 lacs; under police, from 6 to 15 lacs. Probably the extension of our authority over the hill districts has led to much of this extra expenditure. An increase of 5 lacs under education and medical relief requires no apology, if it can be afforded. An increase of 6 lacs, from 13 lacs to 19, in administration, including land revenue and justice, is very suspicious. In administration proper the increase is 2 lacs. Generally, as the present Secretary of State for India lately complained, there is a tendency among Indian officials to increase in writing. As the officers who do the work also describe it, that is, report their doings, there is a tendency to sacrifice the work to its

description. Writing in a comfortable office, especially in a hill climate, is not an unpleasant pastime; work, which largely consists of travelling and inspecting, is extremely laborious and trying, especially in a tropical climate. Generally the larger the supervising establishments, secretaries, heads of departments, &c., the more time the local officers must devote to writing as distinguished from working, in order to answer their inquiries and supply them with writing. In so far as the increased expenditure means an increase in this class of official, it might probably have been spared. The headquarters staff of 1874 was probably ample for a province containing only 5,000,000 people. Generally it is the people who give the work, not the acres. But the area is also important if communications are bad. The administrative districts were arranged when the journey from station to station took days, or even weeks. The same journey now takes hours. This economy of time should much reduce the cost of administration, if the time saved in travelling is not devoted to writing.

The revenue of the province is now over 120 lacs, as compared with 55 lacs when it was formed in 1874. This is in both cases exclusive of customs duties, realised in Calcutta, of which the principal is that on salt. These duties must give some 20 lacs more. The expenses of the Government of India, outside of provincial administration, on the army, the railways, interest, pensions, &c., are so heavy, that a province can hardly be reckoned profitable unless it contributes two-thirds of its revenues to the maintenance of that Government. The province of Assam contributes only some three-sevenths of its revenues to imperial services. Looked at from this point of view it hardly pays its way; but when we look back twenty-five years we find it contributed only 30 lacs where now it contributes 60 lacs to the central Government. Therefore,

though it may be it is saddled with an administration rather above its needs, and there is room for economy, it cannot be denied that it costs the other provinces less than it did. Like Bengal, it labours under what is in an Oriental country a very grave disadvantage, in that some 50 lacs of its land taxes have been thrown away.

Conclusion

The conclusion of the whole matter is that in our territorial expansion in this little north-eastern corner of our Eastern Empire we have been compelled by causes over which we had really little or no control. The law of progress, of the evolution of the higher from the lower civilisation, has been too strong for us. I do not stop to inquire whether the higher—the more advanced civilisation—is better than the more primitive. Personally, having seen with my own eyes what the primitive life is, I prefer civilisation. What I insist on is that

> "There's a divinity that shapes our ends,
> Rough hew them how we will."

And I claim that in working out this law of nature, which, like other natural laws, does not usually attain its end without much suffering, we have, so far as was possible, mitigated that suffering and have brought the people to whom we were sent to a position of great comparative comfort and prosperity.

THE NORTH-WEST PROVINCES OF INDIA

By J. KENNEDY

A GREAT alluvial plain, once the bed of a pre-historic sea, separates the massive buttresses of the Himalayas from the volcanic plateau of the Dekhan. The upper portion of this plain is known as the Punjab, the lower part is Bengal, while the central area forms a single province, generally termed, on account of its early history under British rule, the North-West Provinces of India. It has an extreme length of 480 miles from Dehra Doon to Ghazipur, and 210 or 220 miles is the average breadth between the Himalayas and the Vindhias. The province includes the whole of the upper valley of the Ganges, and a considerable portion of the Himalayas, extending beyond the outer range of snows to the borders of Tibet. The Himalayan districts, the mountains of Kumaon and Garhwal, are covered with forest, cultivation is confined to the valleys, and the population is scarce. The alluvial plain, on the other hand, is traversed by the Ganges, and is one of the most fertile in the world; it rises to an average altitude of about 600 feet above sea-level near Delhi, and slopes with a scarcely perceptible fall to the south-east. The Ganges carries with it the waters of numerous great tributaries, of which the Jumna, the Gumti, and the Gogra are the most famous, and in the rains it is swollen to thirteen times its size during the hot weather. The country is above all things agricultural. All the cold weather through, one hears the creaking of the water-wheels and sees the bullocks drawing water from the

wells. Wheat, millets, sugar-cane, and cotton are the staple crops, and the land yields two harvests in the year. The towns are, many of them, among the oldest and most famous in Indian history; they are chiefly to be found on the banks of the great rivers, and they are densely crowded. But the agricultural population outnumbers the urban population ten times over, and in the eastern districts it far exceeds in density the rural population of the richest parts of Europe. The landscape is rarely broken by undulations or by sandhills, and is always over-canopied by an immense expanse of sky. The earth teems with life of plants and reptiles, of birds and beasts, and men; and the sun and the sky are the lords of the land.

If we exclude the Himalayan region which we took from Nepal in 1816, and include Delhi and the surrounding country on the right bank of the Jumna which originally belonged to the province, but was transferred to the Punjab after the Mutiny of 1857, we have the Hindustan of the Indian chroniclers. It forms a unity distinguished by its history, by its language, by the character of its inhabitants, and by its physical aspects, from the steamy rice lands and bamboo clumps of Bengal on the east. On the west its history and its physical features serve to distinguish it from the bare red hills and sandy deserts of Rajputana; while the Sikhs and the Pathans of the Punjab have a different religion and another tongue. But in the heart of the province, between the Ganges and the Gogra, and ringed round about by it on almost every side, there lies what was once the Kingdom, and is now the Chief Commissionership, of Oudh—a historical creation dating from the first half of the eighteenth century. The area of Oudh is less, and its population somewhat more, than one-third of the North-West Provinces; the country and the people are essentially the same, and both have been placed since

1878 under the same Lieutenant-Governor; but the disintegration of society has been arrested at one stage in Oudh, at another in the North-West Provinces. The systems of land revenue, of landlordism, and of tenant right differ greatly in the two, and such differences mean in an agricultural country like India different courts, and officials, and rules. Oudh and the North-West with cognate populations form different administrations.[1]

It will be seen, then, that the term North-West Provinces is, geographically speaking, a misnomer; they are the North-West Provinces of the Bengal Presidency. Their earliest official designation used to be "the Ceded and the Conquered Provinces," and the history of their acquisition is the history of the way in which Hindustan proper was added to Bengal.

When the province was first formed in 1803 it included Delhi and it excluded the Himalayas. I have said that this region corresponds with the Hindustan of the Mohamedan historians, and presents a certain unity. It is peopled throughout by what is now a nearly homogeneous race. A single language —the Hindustani, a compound of Persian and the vernacular Hindi—is spoken everywhere; its grammar is Hindi, its vocabulary largely Persian. In the countryside the villagers use a Hindi dialect which is fairly pure; but the dialects are numerous, and differ considerably in different parts of the country. I propose first to say something of the history and

[1] I subjoin a few statistics. There are thirty-seven districts in the North-West Provinces, with a total area of 83,286 square miles, and a total population of 34,254,254. The rural population numbers 804 per square mile in Azamgarh, 805 in Ballia, and 816 in Jaunpur. Oudh is divided into twelve districts, with an area of 24,216 square miles, and a population of 12,650,831. The Oudh districts are not quite so large as those of the North-West, and the population, whether urban or rural, is not so dense as in the most populous parts of the older province. The total area under the Lieutenant-Governor amounts to 107,502 square miles, and the total population to 46,905,085, giving an average density of 436 persons to the square mile.

ethnology of the province, and to describe the composition of the population. I shall then sketch the history of our administration and the way in which it has affected the different strata of society.

I

To write the history of the province is almost equivalent to writing the history of India. All the most famous cities of Indian history or myth are found within it. Hastina-pura, the scene of the immortal combat between the Pāndavas and the Bhāratas, was somewhere in the neighbourhood of modern Delhi. Mathura was sacred to the amours of Krishna before the days of Alexander the Great, and before Hellenic colonists had settled in it. Kanauj formed the capital of a great kingdom during the first twelve centuries of the Christian era, and the renowned Siladitya held his court there. Benares, the holy city of the Hindus, was equally *sacrosanct* five centuries B.C., when Buddha taught in the deer-park at Sarnath. Almost every Hindu town and sacred spot in Upper India, Hardwar, Allahabad, Chitarkot, Ajudhia, boasts of an immemorial antiquity.[1] And yet everything seems modern. A few monuments on the fringe of the province or in places difficult of access like Mahoba, and some solitary pillars of Asoka transported from their original sites, are almost the sole remains of antiquity that meet the eye. Everything else is buried in the earth, or has been employed by Mohamedan conquerors in the construction of such magnificent mosques as those at the Kutb, Jaunpur, and Kanauj. A similar fate has overtaken the early history of the people: it is buried out of sight. Brahmanism sprang up in the north-west, and Buddha lived

[1] Lucknow and Cawnpore are the only great towns in the North-West Provinces or Oudh which have sprung up within the last 120 years.

in the north-east of the province, and the distinction between them somewhat corresponds to a difference which still exists between the inhabitants of the Doab and of the Benares division; but Buddhism is extinct, and the land of the two rivers knows the Manavas no more. The real history of the province commences with the rise of the Rajput clans in the seventh and eighth centuries A.D. It is they who have more than any others determined the present constitution of the population. Mediæval history begins with them, or rather modern history, for society has scarcely even yet emerged beyond the mediæval stage. In the eighth century A.D. the Hindus were masters only of the towns and the great river valleys. The interior of the country was occupied by aborigines, who had their own forts and kings, but were either not at all or very slightly Hinduised. In the west there were Meos and Ahirs; the Bhars occupied the centre of the country; the east was inhabited by Cheros and Domras. All these were set in motion, overthrown, confused, broken up, and Hinduised by Rajput clans in search of new settlements, or individual Rajput leaders bent on fresh conquests. The tribes that escaped conquest assumed the style and privileges of Rajputs. The commotions that ensued when Kanauj and Delhi fell before the Mohamedan invaders still find an echo in the traditions of the people. To these Rajput conquests and migrations must be ascribed the spread of Neo-Hinduism and the present constitution of caste; and the process did not end until the fourteenth or fifteenth century A.D.

The establishment of Neo-Hinduism is the first great historical factor in the present life of the people. The Mohamedan conquest is the second. From the conquest of Delhi by Kutb-ud-din in 1191 A.D. down to the advent of the English—a period of 600 years—the Mohamedans were the rulers of the land. Their rule was coterminous with the province, and it was the

only part of India permanently held by them. Mohamedanism, like Christendom in the Middle Ages, was a separate world: it brought with it a civilisation—a system of religion, laws, government, and arts—which was its own. The Mohamedans of Hindustan formed the most eastern portion of this great community. The slave kings of Delhi, and their contemporary namesakes, the Mamelukes of Egypt, had the same methods of government, the same professed appeal to the Koran, the same magnificent tastes, the same admixture of barbarism and splendour. The civil and military institutions founded by the slave kings, the earliest conquerors, have become permanent: they have been systematised, elaborated, developed by their successors, Firoz Shah, Sher Shah, Akbar, and Aurungzebe; they have worked themselves into the habits of the people, and profoundly influenced society; they have produced village communities not to be found elsewhere in India, and they are the basis of the English administration.

Neo-Hinduism and Hindu history profess to be very old: they are old, and yet in many respects they are very modern. A similar enigma puzzles us when we turn to the ethnology of the province. Hindu society professes to be founded upon purity of blood; and yet it is essentially a homogeneous, although a hybrid race, allied to, but physically distinguishable from, the aborigines who live on the skirts of the province. Two races have gone to the making of it—the Aryan or European, and the Dravidian or Negrito. To these we must add a considerable infusion of oval-faced Kolarians in the east, and some tribes of Scythian origin—the Jats and Goojars, on the western border. The intermixture of Aryan and Dravidian is the prevailing one. We have everywhere the dolichocephalism of the Negrito, and a relative fineness of features which is characteristic of the European and the Scythian. But although the population is homogeneous as a whole,

we find many shades of distinction between different sections of society, and the differences are reflected more faithfully in ideas than in physique. Many sections of the Brahmans are physically as distinct from the lower castes as the latter are from the aborigines; but they differ still more markedly in the position of the Family. The Dravidians are patient and laborious, keen traders; they act in masses, and are strongly monarchical. The family life is little developed; their unit is the village. The Kolarians, small in physique, and loosely organised in small communities, have also a very elementary family system. They are great worshippers of ghosts and trees and local deities. The Aryans formed the conquering and the formative element. Their great institution was the joint-family, their chief worship was given to Agni, the god of the sacred fire upon the hearth. The Aryans were exogamous, and freely took the daughters of the aborigines to wife. The Dravidians and Kolarians were endogamous; and there came a time when aboriginal blood and aboriginal ideas began to tell. The Hindu has sprung from the intermixture. But to this day the higher the caste, the more will the Aryan type of the joint-family be found prevailing; and the lower the caste, the more strongly will it be monarchical.

The Middle Ages of Europe present the nearest analogy to the present constitution of society in the North-West Provinces. Society in both is founded on the basis of religion. We have the same tendency to the formation of local groups, the same distinctions between the nobles and the serfs, the same predominance of personal law. In almost everything that does not concern a man's relations to the State—that is to say, in many business transactions of life, such as the purchase of a neighbouring estate, in marriage, inheritance, social intercourse, and food—a man's life

is regulated by his status; and formerly this rule extended even to his dress. And a man's status is primarily determined by his religion. Every man is either a Mohamedan or a Hindu.

Although the Mohamedans form in most respects a single body, they are divided, by history and descent, into three great communities—the Pathans of the south-eastern districts, the Moghals in the Upper Doab, and the Afghans (who also call themselves Pathans) in Rohilkhand. The Pathans of the south-east represent the earliest Mohamedan invaders, the companions and soldiers of the Pathan kings of Delhi (1191–1526 A.D.). Their leading families are old, and used to be powerful. They were always in antagonism to the Moghals, and under Sher Shah (1542–1545 A.D.) they drove the Great Moghal from his throne. The term "Moghal" is a political rather than an ethnological designation. It includes not only the Moghals proper (the countrymen of Baber, the first Moghal Emperor of Hindustan, 1526 A.D.), but also the whole motley crowd of adventurers from Persia and Khorasan who found employment in the Moghal court and armies. The Rohilla Afghans are the latest comers, and they managed to establish a more or less independent rule throughout the country north of Oudh, in the eighteenth century. These three classes have always supplied the Mohamedan aristocracy. But the poorer and more fanatical Mohamedans who form the mass of the true believers, come of Hindu origin; and their ancestors were slaves, artisans, or retainers of the nobles, and converted by interest, persuasion, or force. In order to realise the land revenue, governors had frequent recourse to forcible circumcision and conversion; it was a recognised method of dealing with default; and several noble families who were at one time Rajput Rajahs have in this way been turned into Mohamedan Nawabs. There are also the Rangar clans in the north

of the Doab, who were Rajputs; but quarrelling with their countrymen, joined the invaders, and became voluntarily Musalman. They have changed their creed, but they retain their social habits and their ancient turbulence. Lastly, some of the lowest classes—the scavengers and weavers—have entered the Mohamedan fold, attracted thereto by their love of theological speculation; but their religion is in reality a jumble of wild crudities—neither Mohamedan nor Hindu.

The ethnical Hindu element being so large, it is not wonderful that Indian Mohamedans should have adopted many Hindu notions and usages. But in general there is a profound difference between Musalmans and Hindus. They differ markedly in two respects.

First. The Hindu is usually an agriculturist or a trader. Hindus have always been the great bankers and merchants of the country; and by far the greatest part of the land is tilled by Hindus. The Mohamedans have supplied the governing class; they have always been connected with the court, the administration, and the army; they have lived as officials, pensioners, or landholders; and the poorer Mohamedans have been hangers-on and artisans of the great families. The Mohamedans are therefore essentially an urban, and the Hindus a rural, population. Even when the Mohamedans have settled in the country they have formed little towns, such as abound in the Meerut and Rohilkhand divisions.

Second. The Mohamedans have a sense of unity which is utterly foreign to the Hindus. They consider their co-religionists to be a single body; religious speculation is confined within the narrowest limits; a difference in the mode of pronouncing "Amen" has sufficed to create a riot. Their devotions are regimental; their observances are fixed. They have a profound sense of religious equality, for their religion does not admit of priests; but they are Orientals,

accustomed to the absolute rule of a single leader, and their safety has always consisted in obedience, and union against the overwhelming numbers of their enemies. Among the upper classes one may find dignity, learning, enlightenment, and imperial ideas; but the common people are fatalists in creed, absolutists in temper, and profoundly imbued with sentiments of equality, fraternity, and tyranny.

The Mohamedans are most numerous in the north of the province, in the Meerut and Rohilkhand divisions. Elsewhere they are chiefly to be found in the great towns—Agra, Cawnpore, Allahabad, and Jaunpur. In the outlying districts they are scarcely to be met with. Taking the province as a whole, the Hindus outnumber them by seven to one; and the Hindus differ from them more profoundly in religion and social organisation than they do in dress and outward appearance. If Mohamedanism represents unity, Hinduism represents fluidity. Hinduism as a religion, or rather a religious system—for it embraces a thousand religions—is vague, multitudinous, intangible, varying from the grossest fetish worship to the most abstruse or nebulous speculations. Its social structure professes to be immutable and fixed. It is for ever changing, and, in Sir A. C. Lyall's happy phrase, essentially fissiparous. Variety, multiplicity, incoherence are everywhere visible. But Hinduism is all-receptive, all-embracing; and if its genius is averse to combination, it rarely retrocedes. Such is a theocracy founded upon caste.

Hindu society is founded upon caste, and caste is founded upon marriage. But a caste itself is a generic term; it may include many communities, differing from each other in origin and blood, which do not intermarry. These greater subdivisions are ordinarily territorial; and each subdivision is split up into a multitude, sometimes several hundreds, of septs; and a Hindu marries outside the sept, and within the sub-

division. But the real caste community has very little to do with these divisions. It is formed by the union of all the septs of the same caste resident within some traditional area under the rule of a single Punchayat or council of elders. These elders represent a group of villages—usually 84, or 42, or 25, or 12½, but the number is never exact—and the local community they rule is practically independent of every other one. Every caste in a village has its own Punchayat; so that society is everywhere split up into a multitude of little communities, separated from each other, in the first place, by caste, and, in the second place, by locality. The Punchayat decides all questions among its caste-fellows, and enforces its decisions by fine, boycott, or expulsion. Disputes between the members of different Punchayats are usually settled by a sort of general council; but sometimes two different castes boycott each other. I once knew a vigorous quarrel break out between the barbers and washermen of certain villages, and for years the washermen would not wash for the barbers, or the barbers shave the washermen. The dispute had arisen over the cutting of a bride's toe-nails.

A traditional occupation is ascribed to every caste; but in the higher castes it is seldom followed. Agriculture and war are open to all; and, generally speaking, the higher the caste the greater is its liberty, provided the occupation be honourable. It is only the lower castes which are strictly limited to a few occupations; and this leads me to remark that the chief division of castes is into the pure and the impure. The impure can never hope to rise. Among the rest there is no hierarchical scale: each local community rises or sinks according as it complies with or neglects the rules of ceremonial purity; and a caste which has a bad name in one locality may have the odour of sanctity in another.

Of the two hundred and odd tribes and castes

enumerated at the last census of the province, two deserve special mention. The Brahmans number somewhat more and the Rajputs somewhat less than one-tenth of the Hindu population. The Brahmans are a sacred but not a priestly caste. The respectable gods of the Hindu Pantheon are served, it is true, by Brahmans, but these Brahmans are in small repute; and the majority of the gods have to put up with the interested devotions of the Mali or the drunken contortions of the Ojha. A Brahman is himself divine. His blessing is fruitful, his curse is fatal, his presence avails to consecrate every memorable event in the life of a Hindu. Even the Maghia Domras, the lowest of the low, the filth of the Hindus, criminals from their birth, cannot return from jail to their fellows and their pursuits without the intervention of some disreputable Brahman. A Brahman's suicide brings an eternal curse upon the cause of it. A famous legend of the country-side tells how a Brahman slew himself and became a god, in order to take vengeance on a wicked Rani and her miserable husband. But to tell the truth, although the Brahmans of Benares and Mathura have well-nigh a monopoly of all the Sanskrit learning and philosophy in the province, and although the Brahmans supply directors of conscience and educators of youth to every passably respectable Hindu family, the great majority of Brahmans are engaged in purely secular pursuits. They have always been extensive land-holders in the Central Doab and throughout the Ganges valley below Allahabad; Brahmans were at one time numerous in the army; and a Brahman servant gives an aristocratic air to many a plebeian family.

The Rajputs profess to be descended from the ancient warrior caste, and are impatient of Brahmanical superiority; but it is doubtful if the Rajputs of the province, if we except the clans in the Doab, are, as a rule, true Rajputs at all. It is certain that they

do not differ physically from other Hindus. But in one respect they are markedly different—they have retained their tribal organisation. Instead of being interspersed with others in small fractional communities, they are settled in large masses, and each tribe occupies a great stretch of country. The tribesmen owe a feudal devotion to the person of their chief; but they are his brethren, holding their lands by a title equal to his own. In former days they were the chief landowners of the province; all the Rajahs were of Rajput lineage; bards celebrated their adventures in love and their prowess in war; and Rajput clansmen often resisted, not unsuccessfully, the attacks of the Musalmans. But now the Rajputs of the North-West Provinces are for the most part simple-minded cultivators, and the glory and the power of their Rajahs is departed.

Two classes of men are exempt from caste—kings and ascetics—and both are credited with something of a supernatural power. In former days kings conferred caste upon others, and there is an authentic instance of the last century when a Rajah created a number of Brahmans to celebrate his wedding, the number of orthodox Brahmans present being insufficient for his dignity. The life of an ascetic is open to every one, and it attracts men of every rank. I knew a youthful Rajah, a rider and a sportsman, the possessor of many horses and many wives, who turned a Jogi. The ascetic may take up his residence in a monastery, or he may join a wandering confraternity, or he may become a solitary hermit. The monastic bodies are fairly rich; they possess splendid buildings, and own numerous villages. The abbot is a despot; but he is generally something of a man of the world, manages the monastery's possessions with prudence, and when he dies his body is not burnt, but interred, and a cenotaph erected over him. The wandering confraternities were

in former days the curse of the country, and ate up villages like an invading army. The solitary ascetic is oftentimes a dreadful sight; his body is covered with ashes, his hair is matted, and his eyes glow with intoxication or insanity. Each and all of these are seekers after supernatural power; some have attained it, and all pretend to it. Some thirty years ago a Jogi was said to have crossed the Ganges on a bridge of sand, and multitudes went to see it. A native gentleman of the highest reputation told me a story (and he firmly believed it) how a holy man had turned spirits into milk in the presence of his farm bailiff. There were many miracle-workers and saints, he said, and many impostors, and the whole difficulty was to distinguish between them. Some ascetics profess to have discovered the philosopher's stone, and they have many secret pupils, even among the godless police.

II

The conquest of Bengal involved the occupation of the North-West Provinces. Bengal formed the richest part of the Moghal Empire; but the valley of the Lower Ganges has no natural military frontier, and is open to every invader from Hindustan. On June 23, 1757, Clive overthrew the youthful Nawab of Bengal on the classic field and amid the mango groves of Plassey. Seven years later the English had to defend themselves on the borders of the province against the Emperor Shah Alim himself, and his ally and master Shujah-ud-dowlah, hereditary Grand Vizier of the Empire and the virtual King of Oudh. Sir Hector Munro routed the confederates at Baxar, on October 22, 1764, and the fruits of his victory were inferior only to those of Plassey.

First. The Emperor at once joined the English and gave them a legitimate title to Bengal, while they in

turn undertook to pay him a stipulated revenue and to maintain him by force of arms in his possession of the Lower Doab. Shah Alim, amiable, but adventurous and weak, set out after a few years to recover an empire, and to find a prison, at Delhi. One half of the treaty was rescinded, the other half remained. The English, from 1765, kept military possession of Allahabad and the Lower Doab.

Second. Balwant Singh Rajah of Benares, and an aspiring land-holder, had long tried to make himself independent of the Nawab Vizier. He also straightway joined the English after the battle; and the English, in order to protect him from the Vizier's ill-will, took possession of Benares and Ghazipur, the districts more immediately in charge of the Rajah. The Court of Directors, who desired not territory but dividends, disapproved of the arrangement, and the districts were restored after a year to the Vizier; but the arrangement did not work, and by a fresh treaty they passed finally to the English in 1775. They were the first part of the North-West Provinces to be brought under English civil rule.

Third. The Nawab Vizier entered in 1765 into an offensive and defensive alliance with the English, which lasted as long as Oudh remained a kingdom. The borders of Oudh were at that time ill-defined. It extended on the east to Behar, and on the south to the hills and jungles beyond the Ganges. On the north the Vizier exercised a precarious authority over the Rohillas, and he had seized a portion of the Central Doab.

In order, therefore, to protect ourselves in Bengal, we advanced far beyond its frontiers. From 1765 onwards English troops occupied strategic points along the Middle Ganges—Benares, Chunar, Allahabad, and Bilgram (Cawnpore took its place in 1774), as far as Fatehgarh. Oudh became a protected buffer state.

Outside these limits there was perpetual turmoil—Mahrattas, Jats, Rajputs, and Pathans in constant war, making and unmaking coalitions, fighting with the aid of mercenary troops whom they could not pay, and all aspiring to be masters of the Emperor and of Delhi. Within our frontier there was security against external foes, Bengal was free from invasion, and Oudh was misgoverned by the Nawab Vizier.

This state of things remained unchanged for nearly forty years. The country governments were too weak to interfere, and the English were fully occupied with Hyder Ali and Tippoo in the Dekhan. But Seringapatam had no sooner fallen than we began to consolidate our power in Upper India.

First. The Oudh troops, no longer used to war, and employed only in exacting revenue, had become utterly inefficient, and the military defence of the kingdom fell entirely on the British. For these British troops the Nawab Vizier was bound to pay, and he was hopelessly in arrears. To discharge his debt Lord Wellesley obtained from him in 1801 the cession of all his outlying (which were also his worst cultivated) dominions. These were termed the "ceded" territories, and comprise the greater part of the North-West Provinces.

Second. In 1803 the great Mahratta confederacy undertook to drive the English into the sea. Sir A. Wellesley overthrew them at Assaye and Argaum, in the Dekhan, and Lord Lake in a brilliant campaign drove them out of the Doab and took possession of Delhi. At the conclusion of the war we retained all that we had not previously acquired of the Doab, together with the country around Delhi, and this formed the conquered province.

The territory therefore which was afterwards to form the North-West Provinces was acquired at three different times: first, by the cession of Benares and Ghazipur in 1775; second, by the cession of Rohilkhand in the

north, and of all the land west or south of the Ganges and east of the Gogra and Gumti belonging to Oudh, in 1801; third, by the conquest of the Doab, and of the country on both sides of the Jumna, in 1803. This immense area, amounting in round figures to 70,000 square miles, and with a population perhaps one-fifth of its present figure, was added to the Bengal Presidency, and divided for administrative purposes into seven huge districts. The same area is now divided into thirty-four.

The province has since then undergone many changes. First, the Himalayan tracts of Kumaon and Garhwal were added to it in 1816, the Narbada District in 1818, and Jhansi in 1853. Each addition, except the last, marks the close of a war. Jhansi lapsed to the English on the decease of the last Rajah. In 1853 the Narbada District was made into a separate Commissionership, and in 1858, after the Mutiny, Delhi, with its dependent territory on the west of the Upper Jumna, was transferred to the Punjab. All these alterations took place on the skirts of the province, and none of them seriously affect its character except the last. Second, the North-West Provinces were administered directly by the Governor-General, like Bengal, and with Bengal they formed a single Presidency. In 1835 the North-West Provinces were made a separate Government under a Lieutenant-Governor of their own, and Oudh was placed under him in 1878, although in most other respects it is a distinct province. Finally, under Sir A. C. Lyall, in 1886, the united provinces attained to the dignity of a separate Legislature and university.

At the present day few parts of India are so well cultivated as the North-West Provinces, and in many places cultivation has seriously encroached upon the pasture. But at the commencement of the century the population was scanty, and large tracts of country were

desolate. If we wish to understand the social and economic revolution that has occurred under English rule, we must study the condition of the province and the mode in which it was administered a century ago.

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the Subahs or Provinces of Agra, Oudh, and Behar had been noted for the richness of their cultivation, and the country around the great capital of Delhi had always been exceedingly populous. Large tracts of forest or grass jungle extended through the districts at the foot of the Himalayas, and the Moghal Emperors kept great hunting preserves in Budaon and elsewhere; but the wide plain of the Ganges valley was cultivated by a populous, hard-working peasantry. Even during the early part of the eighteenth century the country appears to have been fairly flourishing. Its decline was rapid. War, anarchy, and fiscal exactions were the causes of its ruin. In 1765 the Government of Bengal reported that Oudh was thinly peopled; and the outlying districts, which were afterwards to form the greater part of the new province, suffered greatly during the thirty-five years that followed. The terrible famine of 1783 almost annihilated the population of the country between the eastern borders of modern Oudh and Behar. This immense tract is now divided into the districts of Azimgarh, Gorakhpur, and Basti, and supports a population of six millions. In 1803 scarcely any population was to be found at all except along the banks of the great rivers; miles of grass jungle separated the villages from each other; the forest extended to the environs of the chief town, Gorakhpur, and spread over the interior of the country north of the Gogra; in other words, the larger part of the area was either woodland or waste. Famine and oppression had reduced the east of the province to a wilderness; the ruin of the Central Doab was due to the ravages of war. A traveller from Bengal who visited Delhi at the end of last century,

reports that beyond Fatehgarh the greater part of the country was untilled; the inhabitants lived in large walled villages, and cultivated with their arms at their side. He found only two villages between Agra and Mathura, a distance of thirty miles, and in a country which is now everywhere richly cultivated. An immense stretch of *dhak* jungle extended from Mainpuri to Meerut; it was the favourite haunt of robbers, who made even the suburbs of Delhi insecure. On the whole the country below Allahabad was the best cultivated in the new province. The districts of Benares and Ghazipur, which we had taken over in 1775, are reported to have been better than the rest; but even here the condition of things was far inferior to Bengal.

The first English administrators were especially struck with the martial character of the inhabitants and the strength of the village communities. These things were due partly to the genius of the people, and partly to the system of government. The Moghal government, like all Mohamedan governments, was a system of absolute government and of personal rule. The Emperor was the proprietor of all the land, with some insignificant exceptions; he was also the natural heir of all his subjects if he chose to be so. His power was delegated, with few limitations and scarcely any check, to the Provincial Governors, and they in turn delegated their powers to their subordinates. These subordinates included the headmen of every village, of every guild of traders, of every group of artisans. From the Governor to the meanest *chowdrie* there was personal rule; every one was responsible for the revenue and police of the community placed under him; and every one could be instantly dismissed at the will of his superior. The Government was a military Government, and the civil administration was merely a subordinate branch of it, limited to the realisation of revenue and the suppression of crime; it was

carried out by officials with military rank, and enforced by soldiery. Civil justice was at all times of little importance, and in the eighteenth century it was in practical abeyance. The most important branch of the Government dealt with the exaction of the land revenue. The Government, being the universal landlord, was entitled from immemorial times to a certain proportion — usually one-third or one-half — of the crop, and theoretically it dealt with every cultivator. In practice it made the village collectively responsible through the headman. As both the cultivated area and the value of the crop varied yearly, and the villagers resisted all attempts at measurement, the amount of land revenue was a matter of yearly bargain, and this bargain was embodied in a written engagement, and realised by every means, from the blockade of the village to the sale of the defaulter's children. Near the Emperor's or the Governor's headquarters, and where his power could be felt, the village was the revenue unit. But there were many Rajahs who had at one time been practically sovereign princes; they kept large bodies of armed retainers, and were sufficiently powerful to preserve their own territories from direct interference, and to make their own annual bargains with the Governor. Lastly, the outlying tracts, where the Governor's power was precarious, were farmed, and the farmers recouped themselves from the peasantry by means of an armed following. Under this system the principle of collective responsibility was everywhere enforced, and it everywhere evoked a system of joint-resistance. The necessity of joint-resistance was still further developed by the events of the eighteenth century.

In 1737 A.D. Nadir Shah sacked Delhi, and destroyed the power and the wealth of the Central Government. Every Provincial Governor aspired to make himself independent, and for this purpose he

collected mercenaries. To maintain them he had to redouble his demands, and the more the country was impoverished the more cruelly did he make his exactions felt. Only the largest village communities could withstand him; the others placed themselves under the protection of some ambitious Rajah, or farmer turned landholder, who by turns resisted and compromised with the Government.

The village communities themselves were usually one of three kinds. They were either composed of clansmen, Rajputs, or Jats, who had divided the land between them, but retained their tribal combination; or they were brotherhoods cultivating part of the land themselves, and part through joint-tenants of the village; or they were merely a community of cultivators temporarily grouped around some headman, who usually acted as the agent of some Rajah or farmer. It is the second group of villages — the villages of the joint-brotherhood—which has given a peculiar character to the revenue system of the North-West Provinces, and which is to be found only within the territory permanently administered by the Mohamedans—that is to say, from the Eastern Punjab to Behar.

Such was the condition of the province at its first formation. The English Government introduced two principles which profoundly modified the constitution of this society. First, it renounced the proprietary title to the land, and turned the payers of Government revenue into landlords. With this gift there came the power of public and private sale—a power which was formerly unknown. Thus there arose the possibility of change, and the substitution of a moneyed class for the ancestral leaders of the people. Second, the new Government gave security. The amount of land revenue was no longer annually variable. It was settled at first for three, then for twenty, and at length

for thirty years. At first the effect was slight, for the demand was not appreciably reduced, and the revenue was realised with unheard-of regularity and vigour. But in process of time society became differentiated into three distinct classes which were practically new.

First. The landowners had acquired a proprietary interest, which developed into one of great value. But the change was more beneficial to the peasant proprietors than to the nobles. The latter had generally managed to retain the greater part of the rents under native rule, and the burden of the revenue had fallen on the weakest communities. The English administrators assessed the land more equally, and the great landlords therefore paid more heavily. And other causes have helped to reduce their importance. At the beginning of the century the great houses of the North-West Provinces much resembled the Talukdars of Oudh in number and position. But several lost their estates through revolt during the first two decades; others were sold up after the famine of 1837, or turned rebels in the Mutiny, and debt has led to the transfer of many properties. The number of noble houses is still considerable, but peasant proprietors own the largest part of the land.

Second. The cultivators originally differed little from the small proprietors. There was an abundance of waste, and any one who could reclaim it became at once the proprietor, if he chose to be so. Indeed he had no option if the revenue collectors discovered him; and many existing villages have been founded by squatters, turned into proprietors much against their will. On the other hand, the cultivator was necessary to the proprietor in order to meet the Government demand, and so he was protected and well treated, and supplied with advances of money and food. But now that all the land is cultivated and population over-

flowing, the two classes have become distinct, and their interests often clash.

Third. The agricultural labourer was practically unknown at the commencement of the century, for every one who desired land to cultivate obtained it. The agricultural labourer is the creation of our system: he is the residuum.

These three classes — landlords, cultivators, and agricultural labourers — embrace about 70 per cent. of the total population; and of the remaining 30 per cent., village artisans and other rustic hangers-on form the larger part. The landed proprietors number about one-tenth, and the cultivators about one-half, of the purely agricultural population; the rest is composed of labourers. And if we further inquire how far each class has thriven in material prosperity, we shall find that, as was natural, the landowners have improved their position immensely. The cultivated area throughout a great part of the province has increased probably sixfold in extent and tenfold in value. The cultivators have also greatly thriven; the quality and value of their crops have altogether changed; and instead of paying one-half or one-third of their produce in rent, they now rarely pay one-fifth. But what the cultivator has gained in wealth he has partially squandered in extravagance, and he has multiplied exceedingly. The agricultural labourer alone lags behind; he is miserably poor; and until within the last twenty years he received the same pittance of grain that he received at the commencement of the century. But wherever railways have come they have quadrupled the labourer's wages, and he enjoys at present a prosperity to which his youth was a stranger.

The two other great departments of government are the preservation of the public peace and the administration of civil justice. Civil courts are in reality a creation of the English rule. They were of little

importance even in the best days of the Moghals, and became practically extinct in the confusion of the eighteenth century. The study and administration of private law has always been regarded by Mohamedans as a branch of theology, and the business of religious doctors, who seldom had the means of enforcing their decisions. In a country where every one's rights are determined by his private status, most disputes are settled by the family, the guild, or the community. Outside these limits civil wrongs seldom have a remedy. The immense multiplication of civil actions under British rule may be attributed to three causes—first, the definition and record of private rights; second, the great extension of the power of contract and sale; third, the substitution of the civil courts for private warfare. This last is perhaps the most powerful reason. The cultivators no longer carry the buckler and the sword; they carry instead a sheaf of papers in their waistband.

Although native Governments made little reckoning of civil law, they paid much attention to the punishment of crime. The Governor was responsible for the criminal as well as the revenue administration, and the landholders in turn were responsible for the crime as well as the revenue of their villages. The early English administrators were especially struck with the contrast the North-West Provinces presented to Bengal; gang robbery, by which they meant attacks of robber bands on villages—the chief form of crime in Bengal—was almost unknown in the North-West Provinces. The village communities had grown too strong for the attempts of such marauders. On the other hand, there were great and obvious evils to contend with.

First. Lawlessness everywhere prevailed. Armed resistance to the exaction of revenue was of common occurrence. Many Rajahs retreated to their forts and defied the authorities. Such resistance had never been

deemed rebellion; it was the usual method of arriving at a compromise. But we treated it as a revolt. The forts were perched on lofty mounds, high above the plain, and exceedingly strong. We bombarded them with cannon—seventy pieces of artillery were collected for the siege of Hathras—and the recusants were driven into exile. Village communities were as ready as the Rajahs to fight. Down to 1820 I believe the Collector of Fatehgarh led two companies of infantry annually across the Ganges to collect the Government dues.

Second. Murders had been at all times extremely common, but they excited no alarm, for they were due to jealousy, revenge, or other private motive, and the perpetrators were known. The number of such murders is decreasing, but the process is slow.

Third. The strength of the village communities enabled them to resist external attack and to punish murderers and thieves. But strangers and travellers had no protection. If they could not protect themselves they became the prey of robbers and of thugs. The thugs came from every part of the country, but more especially from the country west of the Jumna, and when thugee was suppressed the villages between the Jumna and the Chumbul were no longer able to pay the Government revenue. The robber bands made regular campaigns, and they were joined by vagrants from every section of society, who sometimes formed new castes. They were sometimes strong enough to attack escorts of Government treasure; while one party attacked the soldiers in front, the others stole the treasure behind. These bands have been suppressed, or have melted into the ordinary criminal classes; but the wandering criminal tribes who vary robbery with burglary and theft are still a perplexity to the Government and a curse to the people.

When the English assumed the government of the country they retained the criminal law, but altered the

procedure. So far as the substantive law went, their regard for native prejudices was extreme. The magistrate of Gorakhpur, hearing of a case of infanticide, summoned the offender. The man at once admitted the charge; in fact, the native law officer certified that in that family it was the proper thing to kill the female infants. The puzzled magistrate referred the matter to the Supreme Court; and the Supreme Court wigged him for his pains, and forbade him ever again to meddle with native usages.

But the criminal procedure introduced by the English was unintelligible and distasteful to the natives. Native justice was always summary, and punishment immediate. Our formalities, our delays, our demands for evidence, and the dragging in of witnesses unconcerned with the issue, formed a startling contrast, and our administration of criminal justice has never been popular. Moreover, we started by a blunder: we separated the executive and the judicial branches. Thirty years' experience convinced us of our error, and the superintendence of the police, the control of the magistracy, and the charge of the revenue are now concentrated in one person. Indeed the present tendency is to unite more and more all the threads of the local administration in the hands of the district officer, making him a Lieutenant-Governor in miniature.

The Mutiny of 1857 forms a landmark in the history of the province; it is the demarcating line between the old and the new. In 1857 the province was garrisoned almost entirely by native troops, scattered, according to the old native fashion, in single regiments or fractions of regiments at the headquarters of each district. They were therefore masters of the situation, and when they mutinied the whole province was in a blaze. With the military aspect of the Mutiny I have nothing to do. Among

the civil population the more turbulent characters naturally rose. Goojars and Rangars fought against the English, and the Jats, whom they attacked, took the English side. There were also adventurers who tried to establish principalities for themselves. But the mass of the people remained indifferent. They had their own feuds, suppressed but not forgotten, to fight out, village against village. Everywhere the old proprietors who had lost their estates strove to eject the moneyed men who had supplanted them.

The suppression of the Mutiny was followed by the disarmament of the population and the purgation of its more lawless elements—an inestimable blessing. But the Mutiny is a creative era to date from on account of two things.

First. It has been followed by an immense development of material prosperity. The reform of the currency, the multiplication or rather the creation of roads, and the development of the river navigation, had laid the foundations of material prosperity in the first half of the century. The two great canals of the Upper Doab had also been constructed. But since the Mutiny an immense amount of capital has poured into the country. Railways now traverse almost every district in the province, a network of roads connects them with every village of importance, new manufactures have been introduced, new trade centres have sprung up, and canals irrigate the greater part of the Doab and large parts of Bundelkhand and Rohilkhand. The increase of wealth, the movements of the population, travel, and education are putting an end to local isolation and ignorance and prejudice; and new wants, ideas, and ideals are fermenting in the popular mind.

Second. There has been a corresponding increase in the power of the Government. It has become much more centralised, much more able to bring its power to bear at any given point. Along with this there has

gone a corresponding increase in the administration of details. Every little village is looked after in a fashion scarcely known outside a petty German principality.

Perhaps few of the other provinces could have combated the famine of 1897 with so little dislocation of the administrative organism. But with all this there has necessarily gone a decline of personal rule. The district officer's initiative is as great as ever, but the impression of his personality has vanished. The heroes of popular tradition are the first founders of our rule, Duncan in Benares, Trail in Kumaon, Metcalfe in Delhi, Bird in Gorakhpur.

Who can say whither these things will tend? But some points are evident.

First. The older communities were based on a collective resistance to external pressure. We have substituted individualism for it: the clash of personal interests and the antagonism of classes are disintegrating the former fabric of society. It is true that caste remains untouched, and in some cases it has shown a wonderful power of adaptation; but the horizon is widened, new ideas and new interests are springing up, and caste is being relegated to a secondary place—it is becoming a mere matter of marriage, and of kinship and of food.

Second. The growth of individualism favours the growth of nationality. The feeling of nationality is only beginning to awake. Among the Hindus it chiefly shows itself in extravagant laudations of a golden age that never was, in exaltation of everything especially Hindu, and in antagonism to the Mohamedans and the English. The rivalry between Hindus and Mohamedans is by no means dead: it is accentuated rather, for it is passing from the lower to the upper classes.

The spirit world embraces the Hindu upon every side; the gods are innumerable, and they are strong.

Religion attends upon every act; it is the basis of the family, of caste, of society. The influence of Western thought upon Hindu belief is immense, but it is confused and blind. All attempts at a conscious reconstruction have been based upon imitations of the West, whether friendly or hostile. They have taken the Vedas for their Bible, but the Vedic religion died long ages ago, and these attempts are necessarily failures. None the less is felt the influence of the Western ideas. They make in a blind way for spirituality and morality. Hinduism has always had an ample provision for esoteric religion, and within its genial fold it is ready to include almost every manner of belief. The enlightened may attain a purer faith, the vulgar become more superstitious, but the signs are not yet visible.

The East lies buffeted and overwhelmed by the arms, the science, the ideas, the unconscious insolence of the West. It cannot renounce itself; it cannot merely imitate, even if imitation were possible or desirable. That way lies death. But the Oriental genius has always been adaptive rather than creative. If a breathing space be granted, it will reconstruct itself. What forms it will put on, what Avatar it will assume, these things are hidden in the womb of Time.

THE PUNJAB

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When I tell my readers that the subject of my paper is a country about three times the size of England, excluding Wales, and that it has a population of twenty-five millions, they will understand that within the space at my disposal I can only deal with it in a very incomplete way. The Punjab is one of the five great Indian provinces which have local governments for the civil administration of their territories, and for the political control of Native States attached to them. At the head of these local governments is an officer appointed by the Queen, with the rank of Governor or Lieutenant-Governor. He is assisted by a very large staff of officers, English and native, including judges and magistrates of various grades, secretaries and heads of departments, commissioners and collectors of revenue and excise, engineers of public works of all kinds, medical officers, police officers, forest officers, sanitary inspectors, &c.

In the towns there are municipal committees, and in the districts, which answer to our counties, district boards; these are mainly composed of non-official persons appointed by popular election to assist in the management of local business.

The boundary of the province is shown in the map by a dotted line. Beluchistan and Afghanistan border it to the west, Kashmir and Chinese Tibet to the north, other provinces of India to east and south.

The name "Punjab" means "Five Waters," and is taken from the five great rivers which flow down the centre, and unite into one before they join the Indus. This name does not properly apply to that corner of the province which consists of the Delhi territory and the Ghaggar valley. It is the rest of the province which has been called Punjab from ancient times, and is now distinguished as the Punjab proper. The city of Lahore has always been the capital of the Punjab proper, and is now that of the whole province; though Delhi, so long the capital of India, is larger and commercially more important. Amritsar is also larger, and is the sacred city of the Sikhs. I will now make some remarks on the history of the province. They apply particularly to the Punjab proper as distinct from the Delhi territory.

There is a peculiarity in the situation of the Punjab which has given to its history and population a character somewhat distinct from that of the rest of India. The western side of the Punjab is the only point at which India is dangerously open to invasion by land. On all other sides India is protected by sea, or by mountains and deserts impassable to large bodies of men. The Punjab, therefore, has had to bear the brunt of all the ancient tribal migrations and military invasions directed from outside against India. All the collision and mixture with rough foreign nations from outside, incident to this situation, have made the Hindu of the Punjab more manly, less priest-ridden and superstitious, and more careless about the ceremonial of caste and religion, than Hindus to the east are. A passage in the Code of Manu, which was written about 600 B.C., shows that this was the case even in those days. Time after time, as history and tradition show, invading hosts have tramped across the plains of the Punjab, to conquer and stay, or plunder and retreat. Many were led by men whose names are now entirely forgotten;

others by men whose names are still known to the whole world, like Alexander the Great of Macedon, who conquered the Punjab in 325 B.C., or Tamerlane the Tartar, who sacked Delhi in 1378. Others were led by men whose names are still great in the history of India, Persia, and Central Asia, like Mahmud of Ghazni, who began in A.D. 1001 the long series of Mohamedan invasions of India, and Babar, who founded in A.D. 1526 the Mogul dynasty, from which our Government took over the Empire.

History tells us that the Punjab was often annexed to Afghanistan and detached from the rest of India both before and after the Mohamedan occupation began. We also know that the Punjab remained without a break under the rule of Mohamedan dynasties of foreign extraction from the beginning of the eleventh century till the latter half of the eighteenth century, when the Sikhs revolted and established Sikh rule. Foreign dominion is therefore no novelty in the Punjab. The only peculiarity of our dominion is that it is European and that we do not settle in the country. These general remarks are all I have space to give regarding the older history of the Punjab.

As to the modern history, I must content myself with explaining as briefly as I can how and when the different parts of the province became British territory.

You must read histories of India if you want to know how the Mogul Empire gradually declined, and how it came to pass that by the end of the eighteenth century the Emperor at Delhi was a mere puppet, imprisoned in his palace by a Hindu power known as the Mahratta Confederacy. At that time the Sikhs held the Punjab proper, and in the rest of India the real dominion belonged either to ourselves or to the Mahrattas. In the war between them and ourselves, which was inevitable, we were victorious, and in 1803 we took from them the Delhi territory. We left the

puppet Emperor of Delhi in possession of his palace, and conferred a very large pension upon him, but we kept the Government of the Delhi territory in our own hands. Soon after this, in 1809, we took under our protection a number of Sikh chiefs who held the country between the Delhi territory and the Sutlej River. These chiefs willingly assented, because they were afraid of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, who had gradually subdued his brother Sikh chiefs to the west of the Sutlej, and had made himself king of all that part of the Punjab. Till his death, in 1839, the Sutlej remained our boundary to the west. His death was followed by a short period of internecine strife. All power passed into the hands of the Sikh soldiery, who were suspicious of their own chiefs and of our defensive preparations. The Sikh army crossed the Sutlej to oppose us, and this led to a very bloody war, in which we defeated them with much difficulty, and occupied Lahore in 1846. We then annexed the country between the Sutlej and the Bias Rivers to our dominions. Kashmir and other adjacent Himalayan country, which had been conquered by the Sikhs, we granted to Raja Golab Singh, one of Ranjit Singh's generals, to hold as our feudatory. The rest of Ranjit Singh's kingdom we gave to his infant son, Dulip Singh, to be held under our tutelage as a protected Native State. All this was very galling to the pride of the Sikhs, and two years later, in 1848, the greater part of the Sikh army, led by many of the leading Sikh nobles and officials, rose in insurrection, and fought two stubborn battles before they gave up the struggle. We then annexed the whole of Dulip Singh's territory, and made it, with the rest of the Sikh country, into a British province, under John Lawrence, who was made Chief Commissioner of the Punjab. At this time the Delhi territory was under the Lieutenant-Governor of the North-West Provinces, and not included in the

Punjab. When the great Indian Mutiny and Rebellion broke out in 1857, Sir John Lawrence showed great vigour and firmness, and was very well backed by most of the English officers, civil and military, who were serving with him. The result was that the native troops in the Punjab were all disarmed or dispersed before they could do much harm, and the people, Hindu, Sikh, and Mohamedan, were generally induced not only to remain quiet, but actually to take our side. Large numbers of them, including a great many of the old soldiers of the Sikh army, were enlisted and rapidly formed into cavalry and infantry regiments. These were marched down, under British officers, to help our British soldiers to fight the mutineers and rebels at Delhi and elsewhere. They performed this duty splendidly. When peace was restored, Delhi and its territory were added to the Punjab, which was then made a province of the first rank, Sir John Lawrence becoming its first Lieutenant-Governor. The titular Emperor of Delhi was, at the same time, deprived of his rank and deported to Burma for complicity in the rebellion. The last vestige of the Mogul Empire in this way disappeared.

I will now say something as to the surroundings of the province, as our political relations with Afghanistan and Beluchistan have greatly changed in the last few years. In many maps the Punjab is still shown as the extreme north-west portion of the Indian Empire; but since the last Afghan war, part of Beluchistan is British territory, and the rest, which extends to Persia and the Indian Ocean, is, like Kashmir, under the complete political control of the Government of India. Even the Amīr of Cabul is not entirely independent. He is bound by treaty to conduct his relations with foreign States through the Government of India, and, in return, has a subsidy and promise of protection. Again, there was till lately between the territory actually in the

Amīr's possession, and the formal boundary of the Punjab, marked in the map by the dotted line, a large and long strip of mountainous country, which was not controlled by either Government. It was inhabited by warlike and unruly Afghan tribes, who from time immemorial had plumed themselves on their independence, and who, like the Scotch Highlanders of old days, had lived partly by plundering raids and forays on their neighbours. The Amīr has lately been induced to renounce in our favour his claim to the suzerainty of this strip of country, and though not yet formally annexed, it is now more or less completely under our military and political control. This has not been achieved without many military expeditions into the hills and much hard fighting. The Punjab is therefore no longer the true border province which it was when I first knew it. That very inaccessible and inhospitable country known as Tibet is the only country it touches which is still entirely independent.

I will now try to give you an idea of the aspect and climate and products of the province. The map shows that about a third of its area lies to the north of the Himalayan foot-hills and the Salt Range. This tract is very broken and mountainous. The rest of the province consists of one immense expanse of plain, sloping gradually from the hills to the south, but perfectly level to the eye. This great plain, twice the size of England, is evidently part of the ancient bed of a sea. It is not very easy to describe in a vivid way so featureless a country as the plains of the Punjab. There must be many thousands of its inhabitants whose only conception of a hill is the mound which marks the site of some deserted village. The monotonous expanse is broken only by the wide but shallow beds of the great rivers, and it is a long day's ride to get from one of them to another. The soil varies from sand to hard clay, but is almost everywhere culturable

if water is available. Except in three or four isolated places where a few low rocky hills crop up, not a rock or a pebble is to be found, and away from the great rivers you cannot rely on finding water anywhere except in the wells. But for one fact the whole of this great plain would have much the same aspect and climate: this one fact is the difference of rainfall, which in the extreme south averages only about four inches in the year, and rises progressively as you go north, till it attains at the head of the plain, near the foot of the Himalayas, to nine times as much, or about thirty-six inches. It is roughly true that some cultivation dependent on the rainfall is to be found in all parts of the upper or northern half of the Punjab plain in favourable years, but that the lower or southern half is a country like Egypt, where cultivation is to be found only on river-side lands moistened by floods, or by canals or wells. In this southern half of the plain you see fringing the rivers green strips of such cultivation, dotted with villages and groves of date palms and other trees; but between the fertile fringes of one river and the next, you have to cross great tracts of desert waste, thinly sprinkled with bushes and dwarf trees, sometimes as much as fifty miles broad by a hundred miles long. Herds of cattle and camels, and flocks of sheep and goats, roam over these wastes, going where the drovers or shepherds hear that a shower has fallen and grass has sprung up. In the northern half of the great plain, villages and cultivation begin to extend, as you go north, in a scattered way into the country between the rivers. Here most of the cultivation is assisted by waterings from wells worked by Persian wheels; without such assistance it is exceedingly precarious. Finally, as you approach the extreme northern edge of the plain you come to a belt of country some fifty miles wide, the average rainfall of which is from twenty-five to thirty-

five inches. This you find to be an almost unbroken sheet of careful and generally luxuriant cultivation, dotted with numerous villages and frequent groves of fine trees. I have tried to give you an idea of the aspect of the plain; but to complete the sketch some description of the villages is necessary. They are as monotonously alike as the country which surrounds them. They consist of a varying number of flat-roofed houses and cattle sheds, built of clay or sun-dried brick, closely clustered together wall to wall, and penetrated only by very narrow lanes. In the bigger villages a few houses of burnt brick, two or more storeys in height, will often be seen. These mark the residence of a banker, or other person of more than common wealth. The other houses belong to the peasant proprietors of the village, and to the agricultural tenants, field labourers, village artisans, and petty shopkeepers, who are dependent on them. The whole village community may number anything from 100 to 5000 souls, but all live packed together. This custom is due to the ancient insecurity of the country. Each village had to defend itself in former days, not only against hostile neighbours and robbers, but also against small bands of foraging soldiers. A village which could not resist any force, however small, would soon have been wiped out.

The climate of the Punjab plains is one of the hottest in India from May to September, and in the southern half you miss terribly at that season the temporary relief from glare, heat, and dust, which the summer showers give in the north. The only substitutes are occasional dust storms, which cool the air a little, but make it as dark as a London fog. The wind in this warm season is generally as hot to the cheek as the air from an open oven, and sometimes for a week or two it is as hot by night as it is by day. In the winter half of the year, however, the climate of the Punjab plains is very cool for India. There are

often sharp frosts at night, and days when the wind blows cold, even at noon. The principal crops on the plains are wheat, barley, various kinds of oil-seeds, beans, and pulses, which are harvested in the spring; and maize, millets, rice, cotton, sugar-cane, and indigo, which are harvested in the autumn or winter. Wheat is far the largest crop of all, and is grown annually on between seven and eight million acres. A considerable portion of the arable land is made to bear two crops in the year; off some manured and irrigated land three or four crops are often taken in the twelve months.

I now come to the mountainous part of the province. I cannot describe it without dividing it: (1) the country between the Salt Range and the Afghan Hills; (2) the Himalayan country; (3) the trans-Himalayan country.

The first is a mixture of very rugged, barren-looking hills, and some comparatively open valleys and plateaus. The annual rainfall only averages about fifteen inches, and cultivation which depends upon it is very precarious; but many of the fields are protected by irrigation of some kind. Large quantities of rock salt are found close to the surface in some of these hills. The climate does not differ materially from that of the plains.

The second or Himalayan tract includes the low hills, and high ranges up to the southern slope of the inner Himalayan range. The high ranges of this part are very like the Swiss Alps, but the level where forest ends and perpetual snow begins is about twice as high. The forest runs up to about 12,000 feet, and contains pine, fir, cedar, horse chestnut, ilex oak, maple, birch, and rhododendron. Above the forest come steep slopes of bare rock, for most part of the year clothed with snow. The highest summits are so clothed all the year, either up to 7000 or 8000 feet. Fields are

terraced out of hillsides wherever soil and slope admit. The low hills contain much diversified and very pretty scenery: rock, wood, and hill-stream mixed up with green fields and cottages shaded by fine trees. In all this Himalayan tract, high or low, the average annual rainfall is abundant, varying from thirty-six inches to over a hundred, according to locality. Tea is grown by European and native planters in a few places, but the climate is for half the year too dry and cold to well suit the industry. The climate varies with the elevation, but is nowhere unpleasant, and at between 5000 and 8000 feet it is, all the year round, one of the pleasantest in the world. But neither here nor in any other part of the Punjab is there any opening for European colonisation. The mountains are, for their capacity, very densely populated, and the low valleys and plains are too hot and unhealthy. In the labour market native labour is so cheap that Europeans could not compete.

The third or trans-Himalayan tract lies in the extreme north-east, behind the inner Himalayan range. It is a very elevated and thinly inhabited tract, and belongs rather to Tibet than India. I will give you some details about that part known as Spiti, where I have twice stayed for several weeks at a time. The snow-clad mountains which shut in the valley of Spiti on three sides have an average height of over 18,000 feet. The highest villages are 14,000 feet above the sea, nearly as high as the top of Mont Blanc. The upper ends of all the lateral valleys are filled with great glaciers. The scenery is grand to an oppressive degree; but there is beauty in outline, and colour contrast of dazzling white of snow peaks and warm reds and blues of rock strata. There are no trees and few bushes, and the grass is too thin to hide the colour of the soil. The average annual rainfall does not probably exceed five inches, and almost all of this

falls in the winter in the shape of snow. There is unbroken fine weather in the summer, and this gives warmth enough to grow, even at 14,000 feet, good crops of barley and peas. But in the absence of rain every field has to be irrigated by small canals. Even in the height of the summer the wind is always cold in the shade. By the end of September the night frosts begin to freeze rapid streams solid, and later on the snow is often for months at a time deep enough to keep the people and their cattle closely confined to their houses.

Having described the whole country, I will now give some account of the population of the province. The people divide themselves into numerous clans or castes, distinguished by separate religious or social rules and customs, which more or less prevent intermarriage or eating or drinking together. Real differences of race generally underlie these divisions, and each division has its peculiar type of face and figure and character. The high-caste people have generally fairer complexions and more regular features than the lower castes. Some are not darker than Spaniards, but the general tint is from light to dark brown. The great bulk of the population is agricultural and rural; the part which resides in towns, and lives only by trades and manufactures, is comparatively very small. There are very few big landlords in the Punjab; almost all the land is owned in small holdings by peasant proprietors, who cultivate most of it themselves. All the dominant races belong to this land-owning class. The soldiers in our native army belong to it, and go back to live on their land when they leave the service. As to religion, about half the population is Mohamedan, and the other half Hindu or Sikh. The Buddhists, Jains, and Christians together only number about 100,000. The Queen has many Mohamedan subjects in different parts of the world, but the Mohamedans of the Punjab are politically much

the most important of them. The Mohamedans and the Hindus have alternately had the upper hand over each other in the Punjab, and the jealousy between the two creeds is very fierce. If we were out of the way the quarrel would have to be fought out at once.

I will now mention separately four of the dominant races which have at some time ruled the whole country or part of it, and still own most of the land. These are the Jats and Rajputs, and the Pathans and Beluchis. The Jats or Rajputs come first, as they are the most numerous. I put them together, as they are generally believed to belong to the same original stock, but they now differ considerably in manners and appearance. The Rajput, however poor, thinks himself a gentleman, and won't let his women work in the fields, nor will he plough himself if he can help it. The Jat is thicker built, with coarser features; but he is a better farmer and man of business, and more enterprising and prosperous. I believe that these Jats and Rajputs are the lineal descendants of the military clans which the Indian chiefs led against Alexander the Great when he invaded the Punjab in the year 325 B.C. The Greek historians of that time described these people as eminently brave in war, and tall and graceful in build. That is still true of the Jats and Rajputs of the Punjab. In the Sikh wars of 1845 and 1849 they opposed us in the hardest and best contested battles we ever fought in India; and since then, in the Mutiny, in the Afghan wars, in Abyssinia, and in Egypt, they have fought under our colours, side by side with the British soldiers, with valour second to none. Among the Jats, those who are Mohamedan have not generally so much military spirit as the Hindu Jats, but by far the most martial class are those Jats who live in the centre of the Punjab and belong to the Sikh religion. It was the Sikh Jats who in the latter half of the eighteenth century gradually overturned the Mohamedan Govern-

ment of the Punjab. Ranjit Singh, who was for the first forty years of this century the well-known ruler of the Punjab, was a Jat Sikh. The Jats always greatly preponderated in numbers in the Sikh sect; but a great many Rajputs and other Hindus joined them in upsetting the Mohamedan Government, and some of these became Sikhs. The Maharaja of Kashmir is the grandson of a Rajput gentleman who was one of Ranjit Singh's generals.

As the Sikh religion is peculiar to the Punjab, and has had so much influence on the history of the province, I think I ought to give a brief description of its nature and origin. It was started about four hundred years ago by an earnest but free-thinking Hindu devotee, much given to friendly association with pious but liberal Mohamedans. He was discontented with the priestcraft and superstition which prevailed both in his own and the Mohamedan creed, and ended by preaching a pure deism. He recognised the unity of God, forbade the worship of idols, and repudiated the particular claim of the Brahmans to priesthood and sanctity. Nevertheless his preaching remained in close sympathy with Hindu ideas and sentiment in many matters. Two hundred years later his tenth successor, as Sikh Pontiff, Guru Govind Singh, in reply to Mohamedan persecution and oppression, instituted a rite of baptism by sword and water. By this a military signification was given to the religion, which became directed against the Mohamedan power, and inspired its disciples for a time with great enthusiasm and fighting spirit. Since then you may know a true Sikh by his long beard, and long hair tied up in a knot on the top of his head. He is bound by his baptismal vow never to cut or clip hair or beard, and not to smoke tobacco. Guru Govind Singh also taught the doctrine of abolition of caste, and social equality between the four great caste divisions of

Hindus. But the sentiment of caste is overpoweringly strong in India, and if the Sikhs in time shook it off in part, they have practically relapsed into it, though they are still not so particular as other Hindus. It may be remarked that the Buddhist religion, which for some centuries replaced Brahmanical Hinduism in most of India, was in the end overthrown, no doubt because it was against caste. So also the Mohamedan religion in its extension to India has had to recognise many caste rules, and there are caste Christians in the south of India. Caste restrictions have their useful side in India in preventing insanitary habits and promiscuous marriages. The lowest races in India are very low, and any superior race which marries promiscuously rapidly deteriorates.

I now come to the Pathans and Beluchis, who are all Mohamedans, and not indigenous to India. The proper home of the Pathans is in Afghanistan, and Afghan is another name which includes their race. Their native language is called Pashtu, and is quite distinct from the Indian dialects.

The scattered villages or communities of Pathans to be found all over the Punjab were established at various times by men who came in as soldiers or officers of the Mohamedan chiefs who from the eleventh century invaded India. Pathans of this class are much like other Indian Mohamedans, though still proud of their race, and generally fairer than most of their neighbours.

Another class of Pathans is to be found along the Indus River from Hazara to Dera Ismail Khan. They are very numerous on the right bank, where they hold almost all the land. It is known that these Indus valley Pathans migrated from Afghanistan within comparatively recent times. They came in bodies as clans on the move, and appropriated large tracts as clan property, after forcibly expelling the former

owners; just as the tribes of Israel invaded and occupied Palestine. Most of these people are still, like their brethren in the hills of Afghanistan, a fine race of men, tall and strong-limbed, with hooked or aquiline noses, and hard, fierce countenances. A few have grey eyes and brown hair—a very rare thing in India. They are of a jealous and democratic spirit, and revengeful in temper; murders in open affray or by secret assassination are terribly common among them, and lead to blood feuds between families or groups of kinsmen which last for generations. A large number of these Pathans now serve in our Native Army, and make good officers and brave soldiers, but they are not so susceptible of discipline and attachment to their colours and officers as the Sikhs and Rajputs. They have, however, greater natural intelligence, and some who are educated rise high in our Native Civil Service and Police. But with some exceptions they are fanatical Mohamedans, not quite content in their hearts to serve what they consider to be an infidel Government.

The Beluchis have migrated into the Punjab from the hills of Beluchistan. They are found lower down the Indus in tribal settlements like the Pathans. Some of them conquered Sind, and established there the feudal dynasty from which we took that country in 1843. The Beloch differs much in appearance and character from the Pathan. The Beloch is as brave, and more chivalrous, but he is not so practical or energetic as the Pathan. He is much less democratic in his ideas; but he is even fonder than the Pathan of his personal liberty, and so seldom cares to submit to the discipline of our services. He is seldom fanatical: on being reproached for being lax in saying his prayers, he has been known to reply that it was unnecessary, as his chief said them for the whole clan. He wears his hair hanging in long curls on to his

shoulders, and is fond of riding good horses gaily caparisoned.

There are two high-caste Hindu races which ought to be mentioned, though they have never been dominant or very numerous. These are the Khatris and Kashmiri Pandits. They generally reside in towns, and earn their living in the Civil Service of the Government, in the learned professions, or in commerce. Under the Sikh and Mohamedan Governments they held most of the civil offices. They have a special aptitude for education, and in mental ability and industry are not, I think, inferior to ourselves, or to any race in the world.

One only other race I shall mention is the Mongolian. We took over the Empire of India from a Mogul dynasty, and besides that family, other conquerors of Mogul or Mongol race have invaded India. But these Moguls have left few descendants who can be distinctly recognised. There is, however, one tract in which the indigenous population is all Mongolian. This is that very elevated country which I described as the trans-Himalayan tract. The people of the part named Spiti are still pure Mongolians, and only speak Tibetan. At first sight of them you perceive that you have left India, and are among a Mongol or Tartar race. Their figures are short and stout; their complexions of a ruddy brown; their faces broad, with high cheek-bones and oblique eyes; their noses flat, with wide nostrils. The only redeeming point in their faces is the look of honesty and smiling good-nature. The turban and cotton clothes which are the common dress in India disappear, and the people of both sexes wear long and thick woollen coats, and boots with cloth tops fastened below the knee. They are all Buddhists, most of them very devout. Many always carry a prayer-wheel in their hand, which they twirl even as they talk. Larger prayer-wheels perpetually turned by

water are to be seen near some of the villages. They are a very truthful, honest people, not given to crime or revenge; very conservative, but ready to assert their rights; fond of their religion, but not priest-ridden. The priests are celibate monks called lamas, who live in monasteries. These are large and ancient buildings picturesquely situated on hill-tops or on ledges on the side of high cliffs.

Apropos of these monasteries I must mention a very curious custom of inheritance and land tenure which prevails in Spiti. Owing to the necessity of irrigation, and the difficulty of providing it, the extent of arable land is small. This has led to all the arable land being divided into small estates capable of being cultivated by one family. These estates have descended for generations from father to eldest son by the law of primogeniture. The families do not increase in number, as the younger brothers have to become monks in the monasteries. Each land-holding family has its particular hereditary cell in some monastery, and to this its younger sons retire when they become monks.

In all the rest of the Punjab, a few great families excepted, the custom of inheritance is the exact opposite. It is the old Saxon custom known in England as gavelkind, by which an equal share in his father's holding or estate goes to each son, and no share to a daughter. Even in the absence of sons the estate goes to the next of male kin, and not to a daughter or sister's son.

This custom has produced a form of tenure and a state of society extraordinarily unlike anything we see in England at the present day. In giving you a sketch of the appearance of the plains I described the villages, large groups of houses close together, wall to wall, inhabited by peasant proprietors and their dependants. Each of these villages is situated on its village estate, which in the fully cultivated tracts commonly runs to

from 500 to 3000 acres, but is often much larger in the dry tracts, where the people depend mainly upon cattle-farming. The proprietors of these village estates will generally be found to be a group of kinsmen or cousins, all descended in the male line from a common ancestor, and keeping up an accurate knowledge of their pedigree and degrees of consanguinity. The common ancestor some ten or twenty generations ago founded the village in the waste, or refounded it after war, famine, or pestilence had depopulated it. Ever since, the ownership of the land has remained vested in his male descendants, according to ancestral shares, by the law of gavelkind which I mentioned just now. From time to time the different branches of the family have divided the arable land, wishing themselves to cultivate their own shares. But as each branch has to take its share of the better and worse soil, or of the nearer and more distant, every man has, as a rule, fields in all parts of the estate. In old-established villages in healthy tracts the number of separate adult shareholders is very great. They may be 300 to an estate of 1000 acres, or little more than three acres to a family, not enough to give a decent humble subsistence. In such cases many will be temporarily absent in the army or police, or some other employment; but the wives and children of these absentees will be found in the village, drawing the rents which the other shareholders pay for cultivating the absentees' land.

You will see that this is a very curious state of things from an English point of view. Fancy all the male descendants at the present day of some John Smith of Plantagenet times living closely packed together in one group of houses in the middle of an ancestral estate shared by them all; all men of one name and one family type, jealous of each other, but ready to unite ardently against the similar neighbouring settle-

ments of the Jones and the Robinsons some mile or half-mile distant.

In describing the Pathan clans, I said that when they migrated into the Indus valley they forcibly appropriated large tracts as clan estates, often many miles in extent. Some of these present still more astonishing examples of the same tenure, due to the jealous democratic spirit of Pathan clans and their sense of the importance of preserving clan unity for fighting purposes. All the members of a great clan may be found holding a tract many miles in extent as one estate, divided up on ancestral shares in a most complicated way, but so divided that no individual member can cultivate more than a fraction of his own land.

It may occur to some of you that the custom of groups of kinsmen living apart from other people of their class in their own particular villages, generation after generation, must lead to breeding in and in to a dangerous extent. This is not the case, owing to the strict custom of exogamy, or marriage outside the family, but inside the caste, which prevails among Jats and Rajputs, and most other superior races indigenous to India. A man's female cousin on his father's side, however remote, is a kind of sister, with whom he cannot marry. It is as if it was the custom in the Scotch Highlands for a farmer to marry another farmer's daughter; but not, if his name was Campbell, any lady of that name, even though the connection of kin might be too remote to be proved. He might, however, marry a Miss Macgregor, though on his mother's side she was his near cousin.

I might by the way have mentioned, while I was speaking of land tenures, that in the Punjab, as in most other parts of India, all landed estates pay land-tax to the Government. Under our rule this is now assessed at half the full rental value of the land. Under the native Governments which preceded us something

nearly approaching to the full rent was taken, if the Government was strong. The land-tax is in all Indian provinces the main source of public revenue. The land is also rated for local purposes. The other more important heads of revenue are stamps, excise, and salt. Apart from the land-tax, which is really rent due to the State, there is no country so lightly taxed as India.

The principal trade with England consists in the export of grain, oil-seeds, and cotton, the produce of the country, and the import of cotton cloths and iron. The export of wheat to England and Europe has been very large in some recent years, but it fluctuates greatly. This year, owing to the failure of rains and famine, it has stopped entirely.

The manufactures are almost entirely of articles for home use, such as coarse cotton cloth made by hand-loom, leathern shoes, pots and dishes of brass or earthenware, and other domestic and agricultural tools and utensils. Some good shawls and carpets are made, most of which are exported to Europe.

I will now give you some account of what our Government has done for the country, but I must begin by describing its previous condition. When we took over the Punjab from the Sikhs the country was in a very primitive condition. The Jat Sikhs and Rajputs called themselves men of the sword, and, like the fighting class in Europe in the Dark Ages, had a contempt for the use of the pen, which they left to clerks and ecclesiastics. They themselves were, with very few exceptions, entirely illiterate. Even the King of the Sikhs, Ranjit Singh, in passing the accounts of his Chancellor of the Exchequer, made his notes by notches cut in a stick with his dagger. The Sikh Government was a kind of military and feudal despotism of the roughest kind. It did nothing but collect taxes and maintain armies, which were constantly

employed in putting down revolts and in conquering new territory. There were no lawyers, or police, or regular courts of justice. The King himself, and the feudal chiefs and governors of outlying parts, dispensed a rough kind of justice occasionally; but most disputes were settled by the people themselves, by juries or by retaliation. There were no maps or records, no roads except rough tracks. Quiet people did not think it safe to travel from one town to the next, except in large parties, and with fighting men to escort them. Highway robbers were numerous. Cattle theft was a sport in which all the bolder races of the peasantry were constantly engaged.

We had to begin by disbanding the Sikh armies, turning some of the men and officers into police, and sending the rest to their homes in the villages. The whole country was then divided into civil districts, like counties, over each of which was an English district officer, in whose hands all authority—revenue, police, public works, magisterial and judicial—was concentrated. Under him was a staff of assistants and lower subordinates, nearly all of whom were natives. Above the district officers were commissioners of divisions containing three or four districts; and above them, at Lahore, were a financial and a judicial commissioner, who, under the Chief Commissioner, superintended work of all kinds and heard final appeals.

A rough criminal code, suitable to the country, had to be at once invented for the repression and punishment of crime.

In matters of civil rights the custom of the country was declared to be the law, to be supplemented by the general principles of equity where the custom was indistinct or clearly against good morals.

This rough form of government lasted for a good many years, and from it has been gradually evolved the present highly organised machinery of civil govern-

ment, which I briefly described in the opening words of my paper. I have no space to describe its form or functions fully, or to say all it has done. High-roads extending over 26,000 miles, and for the most part bridged and shaded by avenues of trees, have been made. Telegraph lines connect all the chief towns. Courts of justice, jails and hospitals, colleges and schools, have been built all over the country. Crime and disorder are as well repressed as in most European countries. The civil courts are open to all, high and low, and every man can sue the Government itself, or any of its officers, if he thinks his rights invaded. English barristers and well-trained native lawyers practise before all the courts.

The whole country has been scientifically surveyed, and field maps and records have been prepared for every village, showing the landlord and tenant's rights to every field in the country, and the rent and land-tax that has to be paid. All these measures have greatly promoted and extended the agriculture and commerce of the country, and the comfort and enlightenment of the people. In spite of their rapid increase in numbers, due to their universal habit of marriage at an early age, the masses are better off, and dress and feed better than they did formerly. A considerable number of the upper-class people are now what may be called highly educated, and speak and read English, and rudimentary education is getting common. Every one now knows that he is a free man, and the popular ideas of morality are in most respects higher than they were. Without asserting that the transition has been in every respect for the better, it may be safely said that we have done our best, and that the general result has been good.

There are, however, two great and important works which our Government has effected, which are, without doubt, unmixed benefits to the country. These are the great irrigation canals and the railways.

I shall not say much of the railways, as they are, of course, just like our English ones; and the map shows their number and extent better than I can do it in words. By facilitating the transport of grain they immensely protect the country from famine in years of scarcity like the present. Some new lines are now being commenced, to provide employment for sufferers from the scarcity. The iron bridges which carry the railways over the great rivers are the most striking works connected with them. Some of them are over a mile long.

The great irrigation canals we have made were urgently required in the Punjab to make crops sure and heavy, where they were formerly precarious and light, and to enable crops to be grown in the wastes to the south, formerly unculturable for want of rain or other water-supply. Irrigation canals are unknown in England, so you may wish to have a general idea of their form.

To get the water out of the rivers and distribute it safely and properly, long and deep channels have to be dug, and huge masonry weirs have to be built across the rivers below the canal heads, to hold up the water when the rivers are low, and force it into the canal mouths or heads. The heads are guarded by regulating bridges which admit or shut out water by numerous sluice openings guarded by iron gates. A great many other massive works and elaborate contrivances of various kinds have to be constructed, to protect the canal and control the flow of water into and along it. Only those who have seen these great rivers in flood can appreciate the skill required to construct head-works strong enough to control them; and their maintenance against the incessant attacks of the river is a long exercise of watchfulness, ingenuity, and perseverance. They are managed by a large staff of European and native engineers and other native

subordinates. The magnitude of these canals may be realised by saying that the larger ones carry at full flow from three to four times the ordinary amount of water in the Thames above London, and carry it to distances of 150 to 225 miles.

Some of these canals have been extended into the great wastes between the rivers towards the south, which I mentioned in my description of the plains. Here we had not only to make the canal, but to simultaneously colonise the desert tracts which it was intended to fertilise.

A volume would be needed to describe with what exertions and precautions this has been safely accomplished. Peasants from the over-populated districts, where their holdings have grown too small from subdivision, were induced to emigrate. Large populations, with their houses surrounded by fields producing all kinds of corn, cotton, and other crops, now live in comfort and plenty in tracts which I knew a few years ago as almost absolute deserts.

A text from the Bible once came to my mind in seeing the new canals traversing these tracts. "Then shall the lame man leap like a hart, and the dumb man sing a song; for there shall be rivers in the wilderness, and running streams in the desert."

I will now give some figures from the Irrigation Report for the year 1894–95 which will show you what a big business the canal engineers control. These figures are exclusive of many other smaller canals made in our time, but controlled by district civil officers or by private owners.

Length of Channels made and maintained by the Irrigation Departments.

	Miles
Main canal channels	4388
Distributory channels	9130

Area irrigated thereby in 1894–95.

	Acres
Paying revenue to Punjab Government .	2,781,663
Paying revenue to Native States owning shares in the canals	149,387

Estimated value of the year's crop on 2,762,112 acres out of the above, which are in British territory and for which we have statistics, Rs. 74,299,588—more than 74 millions of rupees, or, at the old value of the rupee, nearly 7½ million sterling worth of produce. In the present year the area irrigated has been much in excess of these figures; for owing to the failure of the rains, the people have been everywhere anxious to take as much canal water as possible, and every drop has been used. Owing to high prices the value of produce will this year be also much greater. In a time of famine and scarcity like that from which India is suffering this year, the value of these canals cannot be exaggerated. It has been estimated that one of the largest will alone produce this year enough grain to give twelve months' bread to the population of the province. The irrigation canals are, I consider, our greatest achievement in the Punjab, greater even than the railways, though both must go together. They are recognised as proofs of skill and good government, and works of beneficence, even by those natives who are warm admirers of the past, and are disposed to find as many faults in our system as possible.

Fifty years ago it was said that if our rule in India were to come suddenly to an end, the only trace of it left in a few years would be fragments of bottles and tin cases. A glance at the map will show how little true this is now in the Punjab, where our canals and railways throw their huge masonry weirs and long iron bridges across the largest rivers, which no former Governments thought it possible to control,

and bring life and movement into tracts which were formerly mere scrub jungle or bare desert.

All this progress, and the expansion of population which goes with it, depend for very life in the Punjab upon the maintenance of a strong and highly organised government. If English rule ceased, the inevitable conflict of races and creeds would produce anarchy, and the greater part of the irrigation of the province would speedily become a thing of the past, as has happened in Mesopotamia, where vast tracts once highly irrigated are now a desert.

CENTRAL PROVINCES OF INDIA

By SIR CHARLES GRANT, K.C.S.I.

(*Late Acting Commissioner, Central Provinces, for* 1879)

It is now pretty generally understood that India is not a single homogeneous country, inhabited by a people more or less uniform in language, religion, and descent; but is rather a continent, occupied by races differing as much from each other in habits as the nationalities of Europe, and more widely separated than they are in origin. Still, even in minds to which these facts are admitted as items of general information, there yet lingers a traditional image of India as a low-lying, flat country, thickly clothed with tropical forest, in which palm trees everywhere occupy the foreground. This picture, first drawn from our early experiences as traders planted on the coast lands and river deltas, has been, of course, largely qualified to the many travellers who now make the Indian tour in the pleasant winter months; but the course of their wanderings lies mainly to the historic cities of the North—Delhi, Agra, Lucknow, and the rest—in the great Gangetic plain, where the life of the country has most strongly throbbed, and where its chief monuments lie; and Upper India, however widely it differs in its smooth, brown expanse from the tropical sea-line, stands even farther apart from the inland region of rock and valley now known as the Central Provinces.

The name is not inappropriate, as they lie almost in the centre of the Peninsula, having the Upper Indian Provinces (separated from them, however, by a belt of native states) to the north, outlying portions

of the great province of Lower Bengal to the east, the Madras Presidency and the wide dominions of the Nizam of Hyderabad to the south, and the same prince's province of Berár and the Bombay Presidency to the west. Historical continuity might perhaps have been better served by reviving the old name of Gondwána—the country of the Gonds—one of the most powerful and numerous of the so-called aboriginal tribes, whose home, as far back as history goes, has been in these hills and valleys. Even before our era, probably, settlers of the higher Aryan races had begun to press upon the Gonds from the north, and by the eleventh century—perhaps before then—had established themselves, under princes of their own blood, in parts of Gondwána. These dynasties could not stand against the powerful Mohamedan states which sprang up in Central and Southern India after the Central Asian Mohamedans began to establish themselves in India; and they in turn gave way to the Imperial power founded by the great Moghal dynasty at Delhi in the early part of the sixteenth century. In the Moghal era the Gond chiefs appear as tributary princes of the Empire—a position which they retained for some two centuries, eventually giving place, in the middle of the eighteenth century, to the Maráthas, a western Hindu race, who from obscure beginnings rapidly rose to prominence, and in the decay of the Moghal Empire overran great part of India. Their progress was checked by the rising British power, and in 1818 the northern part of Gondwána fell to us, followed in 1854 by the rest of the province.[1]

From its secluded position and the inaccessibility of parts of the country, our new acquisition was little known outside its own limits, even in the half-century in which we are now living. So lately as 1853, when

[1] The historical details in this paper are chiefly drawn from an official publication by the same writer.

the great Trigonometrical Survey of India had been at work for some fifty years, Sir Erskine Perry, addressing the Bombay branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, wrote: "At present the Gondwána highlands and jungles comprise such a large tract of unexplored country that they form quite an oasis in our maps. Captain Blunt's interesting journey in 1795 from Benares to Rájámandri gives us almost all the information we possess of many parts of the interior." In this fascinating blank, imagination found a fertile field; old maps marked the southern forests as inhabited by men who lived in trees; and official reports brand large sections of the population with cannibalism. Now that the searchlight of prosaic inquiry has penetrated into these dark corners, the tree-dwellers have vanished into the region of myths; and of the cannibal tribes, one, which is described as disposing of old relations by destroying them and eating their flesh, is found to have earned its reputation by a harmless, if singular, taste for monkeys; whilst another race, described by the British Resident at Nágpúr as "hunting for strangers at certain times to sacrifice to their gods," are now known to be nothing worse than dirty, amiable savages, who must certainly on occasion have witnessed human sacrifices at state ceremonials conducted by their princes, but against whom nothing more damaging is known.

All these wild regions have now been brought under every-day official supervision; the tribes which inhabit them are on easy terms with district officers, and have been reported on by ethnological committees; their languages have been classified, and they have been included in the network of administration which covers the country, simplified, however, to meet their wants and habits. In the more settled portions of the province, which have in many cases been occupied for centuries by peaceable agricultural

immigrants, mainly from the north and west, and have been regularly governed since they became British territory, that is, from half a century to more than three-quarters of a century ago, railways have been made through the great river valleys, and have even commenced to cross the high plateaus, so that the principal cities, Nágpúr, Jabalpúr, and Saugor are now not unfamiliar names to any one who has a general acquaintance with India. But the inner features of the country, lying apart, as it does, both from the main currents of modern traffic and from the more absorbing vicissitudes of Indian history, have not even yet awakened much curiosity outside the little circle officially connected with the administration.

Although, judged by the large Oriental standards of area, the Central Provinces rank low among the component portions of the Indian Empire, yet, compared with European states, they would take a good place. They are set down by the most recent accounts as extending to 115,887 square miles, almost exactly the size of Austria proper, but with not much more than half of its population—some thirteen millions of souls as against twenty-four millions. Indeed, many parts of the country are but ill fitted to support human life. Its main feature is a high, central table-land, known as the Sátpura plateau, which, running from east to west nearly six hundred miles, may be regarded as the barrier between Northern and Southern India. To the north lies the rich valley of the Narbada, and still beyond are two outlying districts on another and somewhat similar plateau formed by the Vindhyan hills. Southwards, again, of the Sátpura lie the valleys of the Wardha and Wainganga, forming part of the Great Godávari basin, in which are the districts forming the old province of Nágpúr, and eastwards of that, in the basin of the Mahánadi, is a lowland tract, known as Chattísgarh, or the land of the thirty-six castles.

Even the valleys and so-called plains are broken by isolated peaks and straggling hill-ranges, so that scarcely anywhere is there room for a really dense population. In the best districts the rate is under two hundred to the square mile, whilst in the wilder regions, even of the plain, it falls to between sixty and seventy.

Thus guarded by natural obstacles, the country was in old days a great fastness, having the central plateau as its citadel, with its outworks in the outlying hill-ranges; and sources of defence, rather than means of access, in the rocky beds of the encircling valleys. When the earlier semi-savage tribes were forced back by the Aryan inflow from the north, they retreated into the highland country, where drivers of the plough did not care to follow them; and even when the vanguard of the higher race—impelled, as has happened elsewhere, by religious devotion—penetrated these then unknown regions, they found the so-called aborigines confident enough in their strength to receive them rather as butts for rustic practical jokes than as dangerous invaders. In the Rámáyana, the great Indian epic, written probably in the fifth century before Christ, the sufferings of the Aryan hermits are thus described: "These shapeless and ill-looking monsters testify their abominable character by various cruel and terrific displays. These base-born wretches implicate the hermits in impure practices, and perpetrate the greatest outrages. Changing their shapes, and hiding in the thickets adjoining the hermitages, these frightful beings delight in terrifying the devotees. They cast away their sacrificial ladles and vessels, they pollute the cooked oblations, and utterly defile the offerings with blood. These faithless creatures inject frightful sounds into the ears of the faithful and austere eremites. At the time of sacrifice they snatch away the jars, the flowers, the fuel, and the sacred grass of these sober-minded men."

The pre-Aryan settlers are at this day represented chiefly by the Gond people, which even now, not including the considerable fraction of their body that has disavowed its origin and assumed a place among the higher races, numbers some two and a quarter millions, and thus constitutes almost a fifth of the population of the province. In appearance they are of the so-called Turanian type; and, with their flat features, thick lips, and dark skins, they might still seem "ill-looking monsters" to a well-bred Hindu of the present day, particularly if, like his ancestors, he found himself in a minority amongst them. But that disability did not make itself felt long. Dynasties of the royal Rájpút race established themselves early in our era throughout Gondwána; and a curtain is drawn for a time over the people from which the country drew its name. However, we know but little more about their rulers, for the history of those far-off centuries travels down to us only in an occasional broken message from monumental inscriptions. We read (to quote the local gazetteer) "how these unknown princes shamed the king of heaven by their prosperity — how their beneficence made earth better than Elysium—how the world trembled at the march of their elephants, and the seas were swelled by the tears of the queens whom their conquests had widowed." These portentous achievements raised no echo beyond the forests of Gondwána, and not improbably the affairs of the local princes have attracted more attention, in this last half of the nineteenth century, from zealous antiquaries, than they ever gained from the larger contemporary states to the northwards, then no doubt intently watching the commencements of the Moslem invasions which eventually dominated the whole country.

As time went on the Gonds again got the upper hand, to the extent, that is, of supplanting their foreign

rulers by princes of their own race. The first incursions of Islam from the north had been followed by the establishment of Mohamedan kingdoms in Central India; and these again had declined when the "Great Moghals" set up a strong imperial dynasty at Delhi, from which they made their hand felt throughout the continent. The decadence of powerful local rivals and the tolerance of a great central power left the field open for the Gond chiefs, who now emerged from their long obscurity as feudatory princes of the Moghal Empire. The best known of their dynasties was that of Garha Mandla, which in the sixteenth century occupied the Narbada valley, together with a portion of the Vindhyan plateau to the north, extending as far westwards as the modern principality of Bhopál and the eastern part of the Sátpura highlands, including the present districts of Mandla and Seoni. Further to the west, on the Sátpura plateau, were the headquarters of the Deogarh line, which extended itself southwards, and established its capital at Nágpúr. Southwards, the Gond principality of Chánda lay even farther apart from the main currents of Indian history, and is best known now by the long battlemented stone walls of its capital, its royal tombs, and the fine artificial lakes which stud its territory.

The rule of these aboriginal princes seems to have been easy and unambitious; for, after the first establishment of their power, they appear to have made no sustained efforts to extend it. They accumulated treasure and kept up considerable forces, but evidently rather in self-defence and for occasional predatory raids than with any fixed purpose of enlarging their dominions. Thus Játba, of the Deogarh line, towards the end of the sixteenth century is recorded in the imperial chronicles of Akbar as maintaining an army of 2000 cavalry, 50,000 infantry, and 100 elephants; whilst Bábáji, of the Chánda dynasty, is similarly

credited with a force of 40,000 footmen and 1000 horsemen. For military purposes they largely employed their own tribesmen, who had a high reputation for bravery. Captain Blunt, the traveller quoted on a previous page of this paper, says that "the Maráthás considered them as better soldiers than even the Rájpúts." They have not lost their character for fearlessness, but they are probably too low in the scale of civilisation to acquire the other virtues which go to the making of a good soldier. Thus, when a Gond battalion was raised for service in the critical times of the mutiny of 1857–58, though not wanting in courage and coolness, they were found scarcely capable of taking a sufficiently high polish for the purposes of discipline and order. However, even in these days a good use has been found for their valuable qualities, and in the coal-mines of Mohpáni, in the Narbadá valley, a large number of the miners are, or till recently were, Gonds, who seem absolutely unaffected by the terrors which dark, underground work has for the more highly-strung and imaginative Hindus.

No doubt this military service was a great protection to the Gond peasants in their struggle to hold their own against the flowing tide of Hindu immigration. In every other element of the race for life the Hindu settlers were their superiors. But for the immigrants the country would still be forest, and Sir William Sleeman, the distinguished extirpator of the Thuggee system of murder and robbery, who began his official career in the Narbada valley, writes of the Gond chiefs that "the countries which they hold for the support of their families and the payment of their troops and retinue were little more than wild jungle, and we may almost trace the subsequent encroachments of cultivation by the changes that have taken place in their residences, retiring from the plains as they were brought into good tillage, and taking shelter

in or near the hills. . . . Not only were groves, temples, tanks, and other works of ornament and utility not to be found in the different villages of a Gond chief's estate; even his residence showed no signs of such improvement, and scarce anything less than the capital of a large principality possessed them. . . . On the contrary, the new families possessed superior knowledge, enterprise, and industry; and their imaginations were excited by what they had seen or heard of in their parent country; and they exerted themselves in such a manner as to render every tolerable village superior, in works which they esteemed useful, to the capital of a Gond chief."

Sleeman writes only of the country which he knew best—the Narbada valley and its surroundings; but his account may probably be taken as applicable to all the Gond principalities; for although, as has been noticed for instance in the case of Chánda, the greater Gond chiefs adorned their capitals with creditable buildings, it is well known that they had the aid of Hindu advisers and artificers; whilst the lakes which embellish and improve their country must have been the work of foreign settlers. Indeed, Sleeman, in the paper already quoted, says that he had never been able to discover a well or a tank dug or a grove planted by a Gond village headman. Still, a dominion, under which a country so changed its face for the better, cannot have been a harsh or an unjust one. An anonymous member of the Asiatic Society, described only as "eminent for his extensive acquirements in every branch of Oriental literature and science," who travelled from Mirzapúr in the North-Western Provinces to Nágpúr in 1798–99, writes of the country that "the thriving condition of the province, indicated by the appearance of its capital, and confirmed by that of the districts which we subsequently traversed, demands from me a tribute to the ancient princes of

the country. Without the benefit of navigation—for the Narbada is not here navigable—and without much inland commerce, but under the fostering hand of a race of Gond princes, a numerous people tilled a fertile country, and still preserve in the neatness of their houses, in the number and magnificence of their temples, their ponds and other public works, in the size of their towns, and in the frequency of their plantations, the undoubted signs of enviable prosperity. The whole merit may be safely ascribed to the former government, for the praise of good administration is rarely merited by the Maráthá chieftains."

If the yoke of the Gond princes sat easily on the country, and let industry prosper, they certainly reaped their reward in a flowing revenue and full treasure-chests. So far back as the fifteenth century, we read in Firishta, a Persian historian of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, that the King of Kherla, who, if not a Gond himself, was a king of the Gonds, sumptuously entertained Ahmad Sháh Wali, the Báhmani king, and made him rich offerings, among which were many valuable diamonds, rubies, and pearls. Under the Garha-Mandla Gond dynasty the land revenues of the Mandla district—a wild forest tract which, so lately as 1870, paid with difficulty 50,000 rupees a year—amounted to twice that sum. When the castle of Chauragarh, on the hill-range bounding the Narbadá valley southwards, was sacked by one of Akbar's generals in 1564, the booty found (according to Firishta) comprised, independently of the jewels, the images of gold, silver, and other valuables, no fewer than a hundred jars of gold coin, and a thousand elephants.

The easy, unenterprising Gond dominion was too loosely organised to survive in the disorders which sprang from the decay of the Moghal Empire. The rise of that power, and the consequent fall of the

small Mohamedan kingdoms, had made room for the Gond principalities, which were just strong enough to hold their own when there was no one much interested in subverting them. Secure in the tolerance of the distant emperors, and untroubled by jealous neighbours, they amassed wealth from the payments of the industrious Hindu farmers, who were in return left unharassed to prosper on the best lands, driving before them the Gond peasants into the highland forests. Probably, however, the humbler Gonds had their part in the accession of wealth to their princes, who had now means to maintain large bodies of followers in semi-idleness, and who, indeed, judging by the treasures which they accumulated, must have found their revenues more than enough to maintain them in such rude state as satisfied their ideas of dignity and luxury.

Towards the middle of the seventeenth century the balance of power in India, which had for long been weighed down by the Mohamedan invaders, shifted again to the Hindus. Their champions were the Maráthas, a then little-known race of peasants in Western India, who were brought into prominence by the enterprise of their prince, Sevaji. Under his successors his predatory policy was expanded and deepened by the counsels of the state ministers, men drawn from one of the astutest Brahman communities of India, who eventually superseded their sovereigns in the leadership of the Maráthas. Thus inspired and guided, the peasant armies overran large territories in the south; and by the middle of the eighteenth century they had, among other conquests, subdued the greater part of Gondwána, though it was not till thirty years later that they effaced the last trace of Gond dominion. In the south the Gond principalities fell without a struggle, having indeed invited their fate by appealing for aid in family disputes to Raghojí Bhonsla,

the Marátha prince of the neighbouring province of Berár. He ingeniously took advantage of the summons of the Deogarh prince to acquire his territory as a protectorate, still nominally under Gond sovereignty, thus not only softening the blow to the Gonds, but putting his own authority on a footing independent of the paramount Marátha power under which he held Berár; and, in recognition of this arrangement, it was provided that each of his successors should, on accession, receive investiture at the hands of the then representative of the Gond line, to the maintenance of which ample revenues were assigned.

These formal concessions, however soothing to the Gond princes and useful to their supplanters, could have had no effect in mitigating the effects of the change to the population of Gondwána, which soon found that it had changed King Log for King Stork. In the wilder districts the petty Gond chieftains still held out; and Captain Blunt, already quoted, mentions that "the Gond Rájá of Malliwár threw down and spat upon the Maráthá *parwána* (pass) which he sent him for inspection, saying, 'I am not in Nágpúr, and I fear nothing from the Rájá of Berár.'" But where their power penetrated, the Marátha system, according to the same authority, was "to keep their peasantry in the most abject state of dependence, by which means, as they allege, the *ryots* (peasants) are less liable to be turbulent or offensive to the government." Their dominion once accepted, however, the earlier Bhonsla princes did not show themselves unsympathetic rulers—at any rate to the agricultural classes. Sir Richard Jenkins, who was British Resident at the Court of Nágpúr in the early part of the present century, says of them that "they were military leaders with the habits generated from that profession. They never left the plain manners of their nation, and . . . being born in the class of cultivators, had a here-

ditary respect for that order. Though not restrained by it from every degree of cupidity and rapacity, yet they were seldom cruel to the lower classes."

The same writer gives an interesting account of the manner in which public business was transacted by the second of this line. The king did not spare himself. Early in the day he appeared in an open veranda looking on to the street, and there, sitting in soldier-like fashion with sword and shield before him, he gave ear in person to the complaints of his subjects. He received every stranger of rank almost as an equal, rising to accept his salutation, and to embrace him in return. At ordinary receptions "the Rájá was not to be distinguished from any other individual, either by his dress or by his seat." Justice was well administered according to the standard of those times; the revenues came in freely; and salaries, both civil and military, were regularly paid. On the other hand, the very simplicity which dispensed with superfluous court ceremonial, degenerated into want of dignity in the pursuit of gain. "No means of making money by traffic was deemed disgraceful, and the revenues of the government, as well as the interests of the industrious classes of the population, were sacrificed to give the Rájá and his followers monopolies in the various articles which they chose to deal in. Whole bazaars in the city were the property of the Rájá himself, his ladies and his ministers, with various privileges and remissions of duties totally subversive of free trade."

These were the good days of Marátha rule, when the position of the princes was secure, their purses were full, and camp virtues had not worn out. Before the end of the century a change set in for the worse. Three or four generations of luxury had converted the Bhonslas from plain soldiers into princes of the lower Oriental type; and their heavy losses of territory after the second Marátha war, in which Wellington defeated

the Marátha armies at Assaye and Árgon, so straitened their means that they laid aside all scruple in supplying their needs. The cultivating peasantry, hitherto to some extent spared, were their first and easiest prey, not only by means of direct exactions, but by taking advantage of the necessities thus created to lend them money at high interest. A similar system was applied even to the troops, whose pay was kept back in order to force them into recourse to usurious banks maintained by the state. When payment could no longer be withheld, it was doled out partly in the shape of clothes, delivered from the royal stores at exorbitant prices. Other means failing, housebreaking expeditions were organised against the hoards of men who were reported by the Rájá's spies to be wealthy, and who, in the words of Sir Richard Jenkins, "had declined the honour of becoming his Highness's creditors."

The confusion of the times, arising from the general break-up of the established political order, generated a fresh scourge for the unfortunate peasantry, in the shape of the Pindháris—flying bands of marauders, whose operations were conducted rather on the scale of state warfare than of ordinary robbery. The strength of their expeditions usually amounted to 2000 or 3000 armed horsemen, besides mounted followers, so lightly encumbered that they could advance at the rate of forty or fifty miles a day; or retreat, if pressed, by marches of more than sixty miles, over roads almost impracticable for regular troops. Their chief centres were in the wilder parts of the Narbada valley; and, according to Sir John Malcolm, who is the chief authority for that period of Central Indian history, "their wealth, their booty, and their families were scattered over a wide region, in which they found protection amid the mountains and in the fastnesses belonging to themselves, and to those with whom they

were either openly or secretly connected; but nowhere did they present any point of attack, and the defeat of a party, the destruction of one of their cantonments, or the temporary occupation of some of their strongholds, produced no effect beyond the ruin of an individual freebooter, whose place was immediately supplied by another, generally of more desperate fortune, and therefore more eager for enterprise."

The Pindháris were, however, more or less openly countenanced by the neighbouring rulers; and their two main divisions bore the names ("Holkar-Sháhi" and "Sindia-Sháhi") of two of the chief Marátha princes. Their leaders had estates at various points in the Narbada valley; they bore titles and marks of distinction; and they even professed sufficient religion to provide for initiatory rites wide enough to include men of all sects and classes. In such times it was easy enough to find recruits, for it was better to be with the Pindháris than against them. According to Malcolm, they had been "brought together less by despair than by deeming the life of a plunderer in the actual state of India as one of small hazard, but of great indulgence." So it may have been until the British Government took it in hand to suppress them. Malcolm thus records their epitaph: "There remains not a spot in India that a Pindhári can call his home. They have been hunted like wild beasts; numbers have been killed; all have been ruined. Those who adopted their cause have fallen."

Their punishment was not beyond their deserts. The plains of Berár and the valley of the Wardha—separated from the old Pindhári lairs by a hundred and fifty miles of hill and forest—still wear a semi-warlike appearance from the mud-forts erected in every village for protection against the Pindhári raids; and it is said that there are places where, until quite recently at any rate, the shopkeepers, influenced by some

lingering tradition, shrank from exposing their wares publicly for sale. They knew by experience that, when the Pindháris came, they would not only (to quote Malcolm again) "make a clean sweep of all the cattle and property they could find," but would at the same time "commit the most horrid atrocities, and destroy all they could not carry away." The sufferers could look for no protection from their government; for, even if their rulers were not in collusion with the Pindháris, they almost rivalled them in cruelties and exactions. In one instance at least (in the Jabalpúr district in 1809), the peasants actually called in the aid of the Pindháris to protect them against their Marátha governor, so far gaining their point as to frighten him, for the time, into good behaviour; but in the end worse befell them, for the plunderers are reported to have "appropriated all they could seize, insulting the temples of the Hindus, defacing the images, and committing outrages and excesses such as will not readily be forgotten, or the horror excited by them be buried in oblivion."

These were not the only dangers which beset the unfortunate peasantry. The Marátha armies marched and counter-marched, eating up the country, and, even when they did nothing worse, breaking the water-courses with their elephants, and trampling down the standing crops. In the intervals of the Pindhári raids, they had to be on their guard against the incursions of the wild tribes from the hills; and in places such little tillage as could be attempted had to be carried out by moonlight. Wide tracts of country were thus ruined, and remained, to use the expressive phrase of the people, "be-chirágh"—without light or fire. When we acquired the country in 1818, the condition of the once flourishing Narbada districts was desolate beyond description. In parts of Hoshangábád and Nimár cultivation had disappeared, leaving no trace; and in

one division of the latter district the distress was forcibly expressed in the popular saying—"there is not a crow in Kánápúr Beriá." But the people had no choice except to cultivate or starve, and the large farmers and middlemen, through whom the rents were collected, took advantage of their necessities to cajole them into taking leases of their village-lands. Sir William Sleeman, a distinguished revenue official, who has been already mentioned, writes that "dresses (of honour) and titles were liberally bestowed, and solemn engagements entered into at very moderate rates of rent, which engagements were assuredly violated at the time of harvest, when the whole produce was at the mercy of the jágírdár (assignee). . . . Thus he proceeded from year to year, flattering the vanity of the *málguzárs* (farmers) with dresses, titles, and other distinctions, and feeding their hopes with solemn promises, till their capitals were exhausted."

It was not quite so simple to get at the hoards of the townspeople, which could be concealed more easily than standing crops or flocks; but the means found were almost equally efficacious. The list of regular taxes was in itself sufficiently comprehensive. To quote the *Central Provinces Gazetteer*: "No horses or slaves or cattle could be sold—no cloth could be stamped—no money could be changed—even prayers for rain could not be offered, without paying on each operation its special and peculiar tax. In short, a poor man could not shelter himself, or clothe himself, or earn his bread, or eat it, or marry, or rejoice, or even ask his gods for better weather, without contributing separately on each individual act to the necessities of the state." Failing orthodox taxation, various devices were invented to get at concealed property. One plan was the establishment of adultery courts, furnished with guards, fetters, stocks, and ready-made witnesses, at which rich men were held to ransom; and, as such a

charge was then held to reflect on the whole family of the accused, his relations were generally ready enough to pay for him; or, if they were indifferent to his disgrace, he was put into the stocks till he found means of persuading them. In other cases the purses of the victims were directly attacked without any pretence of justification. Thus the accounts of one of the Marátha governors (in the Narbada valley) show such entries as these:—

A fine on one of the Kánúngos (government accountants) found in good condition R1000
A fine on Bhagwant Chaudri, who was building a large house R3000
A fine on Mehronpuri Gosain, who was digging tanks and building temples R6000

When we took charge of the Narbada country in 1817, two of the first questions which the British officers were called upon to decide were whether widows should still be sold for the benefit of the state, and persons selling their daughters should not continue to be taxed one-fourth of the price realised. The answer was, of course, in the negative, and there is an entry in the records ordering the release of a woman named Pursia, who had been sold a few days before for seventeen rupees.

During these times of stress and misrule we hear but little of the aboriginal tribes. By the deposition of their princes they had lost a fruitful source of support, and they had little else left to lose. However, they did not on that account escape the attentions of the tax-gatherer; for the Maráthas admitted no show of independence in their territories, and one of their chief ways of asserting their authority was the levy of tribute. "The attention of the *súbadárs*" (district governors), writes Blunt, "is chiefly directed to levying tributes from the *zamindárs* (landholders) in

the mountainous parts of the country, who, being always refractory, and never paying anything until much time has been spent in warfare, the result is often precarious, and the tribute consequently trivial."

Thus, constantly harassed and pillaged, the hill Gonds took to marauding on their own account, and, by general report, went to work very thoroughly. Those of Blunt's followers who, overcome by the privations of a very severe journey, lagged behind, were cut off and seen no more. When at last he reached a haven in settled country, the Marátha governor congratulated him on escape from the mountains and jungles in which "so many of his people had been lost, and never more heard of. Even the Banjáras,"[1] he said, "who never ventured among these Gonds until the most solemn protestations of security were given, had in many instances been plundered." As soon, however, as the heavy hand of the Maráthas was removed from over them, they settled down again, and recovered their character. A striking example is to be found in the rapid pacification of a tract once bearing the ill-name of "Chor-Málini" (Málini of the robbers), regarding which Mr. (now Sir Charles) Elliott quotes the following remarks from a report of 1820: "The capture of Ásír . . . and the perfect tranquillity that prevails in Málwa, have made an impression on these savage and intractable foresters which I hope will last . . . till they become gradually susceptible of the habits of civilisation." Mr. Elliott adds: "The phrase, 'savage and intractable foresters,' seems to us now ludicrously inappropriate to the timid and docile creatures with whom we have to do. . . . At present nothing is so remarkable in them as their ready obedience to orders." Writing as far back as 1825, Sir William Sleeman said of men of the same class: "Such is the simplicity and honesty of character of the

[1] A tribe of carriers and traders.

wildest of these Gonds that, when they have agreed to a *jama* (revenue assessment), they will pay it, even though they sell their children to do so, and will also pay it at the same time they agreed to. They are dishonest only in direct theft, and few of them will refuse to take another man's property when a fair occasion offers, but they will immediately acknowledge it."

In the northern part of the province, to which these remarks refer, the British power had been established, by cession from the Maráthas, in 1818; but, in the Nágpúr territory and its dependencies, the Marátha dynasty survived until 1854, when it lapsed for want of heirs. In 1861 the component portions of the old country of Gondwána were reunited under a single administration, and styled the "Central Provinces." Since then they have been governed by a Chief Commissioner, who is in direct relations with the Government of India. At first the British officials found it a difficult and anxious task to restore order. But confidence was soon created, and by degrees they felt their way, not without mistakes and shortcomings, to adjusting the necessary burden of administration to the circumstances of an impoverished and disheartened people. Justice and security they gave, by the admission of all men; and, as they gained experience, they greatly lightened taxation. Had it been possible to stay their hands at this point, it may be that the people would have asked no more. But, fatalism and apathy notwithstanding, the children had to be taught; pestilence had to be combated; and—even if only for the sake of safeguarding the rainfall—the forests had to be preserved. Education has been pretty generally accepted, though not seldom as a necessary evil; and there are now at work some 2500 state colleges and schools, with 150,000 pupils, of whom perhaps 12,000 belong to the Gond race. Pure water, which is provided in all the principal towns by means of storage

schemes, and which has already been found valuable in keeping cholera at arm's-length from the protected places, is on the whole welcome, though the superior claims of dirty tank water, which, being softer, is more serviceable in cookery, are still a common article of belief. In other respects, sanitary reform is still, as elsewhere in India, thoroughly uncongenial; and the utmost to be hoped for the present is that, with the help of discretion on the one side and good-nature on the other, the people may be coaxed out of providing nutriment for diseases which are dangers to all the world as well as to themselves. Forest conservation will always be another difficulty, particularly among the wilder tribes, who live in and by the forest; but they are a docile race, and readily respond when consideration is shown to them.

Behind all these more or less tangible sources of irritation, there no doubt lurks in many minds the universal sentiment for the past, which is particularly vivid amongst Eastern races, softening its asperities, and dressing out its picturesque qualities in rich colours. It would be scarcely natural not to contrast the days when the hill-castles poured forth trains of caparisoned elephants and gaily-hued retainers, with the spectacle of the little plastered police-posts, tenanted by three or four blue-coated constables, which now take their place; or to force an interest in the prosaic doings of town-councils without a regretful glance backwards to the armed princes who sat in state before their palaces to give ear to the poorest of their people. Prosperity is, however, an excellent solvent for more vital grievances than these; and there is reason to hope that the country is generally tending towards a higher level of comfort than it has yet attained. Its material condition depends largely on the value of the agricultural produce which it can export, and for many years back the extension of

roads and railways has enabled it to pay for its imports by a steadily diminishing tale of its produce, thus leaving to the inhabitants an increasing margin for wants and even for luxuries. All branches of revenue show a steady upward tendency; and though the land-revenue assessments move with the discretion of the assessing officials as well as with the progress of the country, and do not therefore supply an infallible test, the excise and stamps fluctuate more or less automatically, and an increase in them may fairly be taken as indicating some power of indulging in superfluities, for there are as many who find their pleasure in the contests of the courts as in the consumption of stimulants. On the whole the general outlook is promising: the devotion and ability of the officials are questioned by none; a few decades of their work has accomplished more than all the previous centuries; and the points open to criticism are, perhaps, such as are inseparable from any attempt to put new wine into old bottles.

BURMA PAST AND PRESENT

By Mrs. ERNEST HART

(*Author of "Picturesque Burma"*)

By the conquest of Upper and Lower Burma, a country four times as large as England was added to the British Empire.

Burma is a land of great natural wealth. The forests abound in teak; rubber, mahogany, cutch, and other valuable products might also be cultivated. The plains give heavy crops of rice, and the famous mines yield rubies and other precious stones. Petroleum, amber, nitre, wood-oil, coal, and, it is believed, gold, are among the natural products of Burma, while the soil is so rich that it is averred that almost any tropical or sub-tropical plants can be profitably cultivated. It is, however, not only from the commercial point of view that Burma is so great an acquisition to the British Crown, for it is also a land of unique interest from the historical, archæological, ethnological, artistic, and ethical points of view.

The Geographical Position of Burma

A glance at the map will show that Burma occupies a remarkable geographical position. Bounded on three sides by India, China, and Siam, it has an unbroken coast-line extending for several hundred miles along the north-east of the Bay of Bengal. This coast is indented by the estuaries of the Irrawaddy, the Salwen,

and Sitang Rivers, which form natural harbours of great commercial value. On the north the country is protected and bounded by a prolongation of the vast Himalayan range, in the snows of which the Irrawaddy takes its rise, and flows thence for a thousand miles through the entire length of Burma. This noble river is said to be the largest body of melted snow in the world. As a waterway traversing the heart of the country from end to end, its value cannot be overestimated. After the rains of the early summer the Irrawaddy overflows its banks, flooding the country for miles, and giving rise, on its return to its banks, to the malaria which has won for the climate of Burma so bad a name.

The First Burmese War and the Conquest of Arakan

The gradual extension eastwards of the borders of our Indian Empire brought us at the beginning of this century into direct and often difficult and strained relations with the neighbouring kingdom of Burma. When subsequently France, by the conquest of Tonquin, began to push westwards towards Yunnan and Burma, it was felt by the Indian Government that the possession of Burma—which would give a settled and well-governed State on the borders of Bengal, instead of a turbulent, aggressive, and intriguing neighbour, which would probably open up to Great Britain the rich trade of Burma, and would give possession of harbours such as the whole coast-line of India did not furnish—was an object greatly to be desired. It took, however, over sixty years and three wars to achieve the complete conquest and subjugation of the ancient kingdom of Ava. War between Burma and Great Britain broke out first in the year 1824, and was the direct consequence of raids and counter-raids across the borders

of Arakan and Chittagong. The Burmese king of that time was a monarch of unparalleled ferocity and arrogance, and as he had treated the envoys of the Indian Government with marked discourtesy, it was thought well to teach him a lesson. War was formally declared. British troops were landed at Rangoon, only to find that city deserted. A campaign followed, in which the invading forces suffered severely from sickness and privation. On the Burmese General Bandula being killed by a stray cannon shot, the Burmese lost heart, and allowed the British to pass up the Irrawaddy almost to the walls of Ava. Some resistance was made at Pagahn, where the Burmese forces were completely routed. To save his capital and the ancient kingdom of Ava, the King reluctantly signed the Treaty of Yandabo, by which Assam, Arakan, and Tenasserim were ceded to the British Government. By this treaty the coasts of Arakan and Tenasserim, including the harbour of Akyab and the natural harbour at the mouth of the Salwen, where Maulmain was founded, became a valuable and important extension of the Indian Empire.

Burmese Misgovernment and Arrogance

The Burmese king learnt nothing, however, from losses and defeats, but continued to pursue as heretofore the same course of cruelty and tyranny at home, and of arrogance and insult in his relations with the British Government. The conduct of King Tharawaddy was so outrageous that in 1840 the British Resident was withdrawn from Ava, and from that time till 1852 there were no official relations between the Indian and Burmese Governments. Pagan Men succeeded his father in 1846, and followed closely in his footsteps. "He began his reign by making a holocaust, to the number of about a hundred persons, of

his brother with his family and all his household; and he devoted himself henceforth to gambling, cock-fighting, and debauchery. Nothing can exceed the outrages and violence, the barbarities and heinous cruelties, the tortures and murders, the lawlessness and insurrections, which disgraced the reign of this prince." For insults offered to two British captains at Rangoon, redress was demanded by the Indian Government. It was refused, and further insults were offered to British officers and officials. An ultimatum was then sent to the King of Burma by the Government of India. It was rejected, and war was declared.

The Second Burmese War

An expeditionary force was despatched from Calcutta in April 1852. The campaign lasted eight months. First Rangoon, then Bassein, Prome, and Pegu fell into the hands of the British. In spite of the fact that half of the kingdom of Ava was irrevocably lost, the King of Burma refused to sign any treaty ceding the lost provinces. Notwithstanding, Captain Phayre arrived in Rangoon in January 1853, with the proclamation of the Governor-General of India annexing Pegu or Lower Burma to the British dominions in the East.

By the annexation of Pegu the power and wealth of the kingdom of Ava were effectually destroyed, for the British Empire had thereby obtained the whole of the coast-line from Chittagong to Mergui, the valuable estuaries of the rivers Irrawaddy and Sitang, and the harbours of Bassein and Rangoon. Ava was completely shut up between British territory on the south and west, the Himalayas on the north, and China on the east, and she had no access to the sea except across her lost provinces, now in British hands. Indeed, the loss of the rich rice lands of the delta, and of the

outlets to the Bay of Bengal by the great arterial rivers, gave the death-blow to the once powerful kingdom of Burma.

A Period of Peace and Prosperity

To war succeeded a term of peace for nearly thirty years. The Burmans, weary of cruelty, rapine, and murder, rose up and dethroned Pagan Men, and put Mindohn Min on the throne. Mindohn Min was a mild, beneficent, and just ruler. He earnestly desired the friendship of the English. Missions from the Indian Government were received by him at Ava with marked courtesy and respect, a treaty of commerce was concluded, and a British Resident was received at court. At the same time Pegu, which had been so long harassed by war, and which had been ruined by bad government, began to recover under the firm, just rule of its conquerors. The city of Pegu was rebuilt, Rangoon became a prosperous port, the neglected land was cultivated, life and property were made secure, justice was administered, education was encouraged, and the long neglected and much oppressed mountain tribes were reclaimed and civilised.

King Theebaw and his Intrigues with the French

The peace and prosperity of the kingdom of Ava came to an end at the death of Mindohn Min in 1878, and on the ascent to the throne of King Theebaw and his notorious consort Supuyah Lat. Theebaw resorted to the traditional course of murder to get rid of possible aspirants to the crown, and revived the barbaric customs and government of the old kings of Burma. While compelling the British Resident to withdraw from his court at Mandalay by reason of his insolent

exactions, he began, on the other hand, to coquet with the French at Tonquin, with the object of obtaining concessions from them; but on learning the nature of these the British Government promptly declared they could not be tolerated.

The position of a king of Ava on bad terms with the British Government was obviously one of extreme difficulty and danger. Shut off from all access to the sea, the outlet of the great waterway of the country in the hands of the invader, unable to obtain war material except by the good-will of the conqueror, his people dependent in a great measure for their food supply on the rice harvest of Lower Burma, and hedged in on three sides by hostile and raiding mountain tribes, it cannot be a matter of surprise that King Theebaw and his ministers, failing to agree with the British Government, should look to France to rescue them from an intolerable and dangerous position. France had pushed up her Tonquin possessions to the borders of the tributary Shan state of Toung-Kiang, and she hoped thus, by the aid of the Burmese king, to be able to control the rich trade of the Yunnan, the land of promise both to England and France. It was therefore proposed that a railway should be made from the frontier to Mandalay, at the joint expense of the French Government and a Burmese company, which line should become the property of the Burmese Government at the end of seventy years, payment of interest to be secured by the hypothecation of the river customs and the earth oil of the kingdom; also that a French bank should be established in Mandalay, managed by a French and Burmese syndicate, which should issue notes and have the control of the ruby mines and the monopoly of pickled tea.

If these proposals had been carried out, they would have given the French Government full control over the principal sources of revenue in Upper Burma; the

trade by steamers or boats on the Irrawaddy; the only railway line in Upper Burma in direct communication with French territory; and the only route open for traffic between British ports and Western China.

They were obviously inimical to British interests in the far East. Whilst granting that the existence of a great and increasing empire may necessitate an aggressive policy on the part of the British Government, we can, on the other hand, scarcely condemn the Burmese Government, which, finding itself quite unable to wrest its lost provinces and ports from the hands of the British by force of arms, sought to find a way out of an intolerable position, and one of great weakness and imminent danger, by an understanding for mutual benefits and a commercial alliance with the French.

In the great game of international politics, this sly move on the part of the Burmese king was watched with extreme interest by the Indian Government, and it was determined not only to checkmate it without delay, but, if necessary, to crush the king of Burma. Opportunities were not long wanting whereby to inflame the passions of the Anglo-Indian public. A massacre in a gaol at Mandalay, and a trade-dispute between the Bombay-Burma Co. and the Hlwotdaw or Burmese Executive Council of State, raised public indignation at Rangoon to war-fever heat. Meanwhile, the French Government officially declared that France did not desire political predominance in Burma, and that English influence would not be questioned by the Government of the Republic. This disclaimer did not, however, allay public apprehension in Rangoon, and the fear that Theebaw's intrigues with France would jeopardise, or perhaps ruin, British trade in Burma grew to be an overmastering motive. Thus avowedly the misdeeds of King Theebaw, but secretly the desire to possess Upper Burma and to keep out the French, became sufficient *casus belli*.

The Third Burmese War

An ultimatum was therefore prepared by the Indian Government and sent to King Theebaw. In this he was called upon to receive a British Resident at Mandalay, to give protection to foreign traders, and to submit his foreign policy to the Government of India. The King was given only four days in which to consider the conditions proposed, and to send his reply. Inspired by Queen Supuyah Lat, the King sent a refusal to the ultimatum. Meanwhile British troops had been massed on the frontier at Thayetmyo, and the day after the reply to the ultimatum had been received, General Prendergast invaded Upper Burma with a well-equipped army of 11,000 men. The opposition made to the British force by the Burmese was feeble in the extreme. The King was persuaded by his ministers that the British never meant to take Burma, but that they would enter Mandalay, demand certain treaties and reforms, and would then replace King Theebaw on the throne and withdraw. The King, thus advised, sent an envoy to the British commander with a flag of truce, and offered an armistice in which to consider the terms of peace. The General demanded the surrender of the King's army, of the city of Mandalay, and of King Theebaw in person. These demands were conceded, the forts of Ava on the river were surrendered, and the Burmese troops were ordered to lay down their arms. The invading army marched on to the royal city of Mandalay, where the King, incredulous of his threatened fate, repaired with his Queen to the summer house in the garden of the palace to await the British commander. General Prendergast and his troops passed unopposed through the stockade of the palace, and within sight of the golden throne, where all had been obliged to approach

knees and elbows on the ground, he presented the final ultimatum of the British Government to the King. This required that in twenty-four hours King Theebaw should give up his crown and his kingdom, and place himself unreservedly in the hands of the British Government. Resistance was impossible, the King was a prisoner, and the palace and city were in the hands of the invader.

The next day, King Theebaw and Queen Supuyah Lat were hurried in a bullock gharry from the palace to the river, put on board a steamer, and conveyed as prisoners to Rangoon. Thence they were taken to Madras, where they have been kept ever since as prisoners of State. Thus the royal city of Mandalay and the great kingdom of Upper Burma fell into the hands of the British almost without a blow being struck in their defence.

The Attempt to Govern Burma on Burmese Lines

The King of Burma was, and had been for centuries, the corner-stone of the structure of Burmese government; with his removal the whole government of the country suddenly fell to pieces. The soldiers of the disbanded Burmese army became dacoits and joined marauding bodies, whose hands were as much against their own countrymen as against the foreign invaders. The most acute distress prevailed throughout the country, and the condition of universal insecurity paralysed trade and industry. "The population is reduced to extremity by hunger and fear, and the whole country is turning to dacoity," wrote a careful observer and recorder of events. The Burmans were forbidden to carry arms, and extreme measures were taken for the suppression and punishment of dacoits, with the result, however, that a sullen spirit of national resistance was called into existence. In the meantime, Colonel Sladen, who

had a lively sympathy with the Burmans, and understood their language, character, and modes of thought, was appointed Resident Commissioner. He at once set to work in an earnest effort to govern the Burmese according to Burmese methods and ideas. He re-established the Hlwotdaw, or Executive Council, with himself as president, and from this body the governors of provinces and the heads of villages accepted their positions of authority anew as from the king heretofore, and there seemed some possibility of seeing the interesting experiment carried out of governing the country on Burmese lines, under British superintendence. Colonel Sladen's views, however, were not shared by his superiors in authority. The Chief Commissioner, Mr. Bernard, on his arrival at Mandalay had the Tynelah, the ex-War Minister of King Theebaw, arrested and deported in spite of the protests of the Hlwotdaw.

The Hlwotdaw Suppressed and Annexation Proclaimed

A few months later, when Lord Dufferin, the Viceroy of India, visited Mandalay, the Hlwotdaw was suppressed, and the building in which it sat was razed to the ground. The policy of annexation was subsequently proclaimed, and in February 1886 it was announced that the whole country should be at once placed under the supreme and direct administrative control of British officers.

The Result of Twelve Years of British Rule

It is now twelve years since Upper Burma passed under British rule. In that time dacoity has been suppressed, and life and property have been made secure. A traveller can now traverse Burma in every direction with safety. The railway has been carried

from Rangoon to Mandalay, and is being extended to Bhamo, the frontier town. Trading vessels pass daily up and down the Irrawaddy and its tributary the Chindwin River. The valuable forests are protected from destruction by fire, the output of rice has greatly increased, and the secular education of the people has made distinct progress. The influence of British rule on the border tribes tributary to Burma has been entirely good. The Shan States have been rendered friendly, their princes aided in the task of government, and their people encouraged to pursue their natural taste for trade. The Chins, who inhabit the mountains between Arakan and Burma, are being gradually tamed, and are prevented from marauding the lowlands. As the Chin country is being gradually opened up by military roads, and the people are taught and civilised, it is believed that this intelligent mountain race will eventually furnish native soldiers as hardy and dependable as the Goorkhas. The Kachins, inhabiting the mountains to the north and east of Burma, are a more difficult people to deal with, but are being brought under control.

There can be no doubt that British rule has given peace, security, and good government to Upper Burma; that the light should throw shadows is unpreventable in things mundane.

British Rule in Lower Burma

Lower Burma has been nearly half a century under British rule, and here the influence of our presence and the results of our government are more plainly visible than in Upper Burma. Lower Burma has proved to be the most profitable province of the Indian Empire, the receipts from taxation being largely in excess of the expenses of government. The trade of the country has made immense progress in the

last forty years, of which fact the growth of the city of Rangoon gives the most striking evidence. Before 1850 not more than 125 vessels cleared out of the port of Rangoon, of which only twenty-five were European ships. In the year 1894–95 it is officially reported that 6335 vessels, of a total tonnage of over 3,000,000, were engaged in the seaborne trade of Burma. The total value of this trade is estimated at Rs. 222,000,000. Most of it passes through Rangoon, but large shipments of rice are also made from Akyab and Bassein, and of rice and teak from Maulmain. Government and vernacular schools have been established everywhere, first for boys and latterly for Burmese and Karen girls, who have eagerly taken advantage of these opportunities to learn. Railways have been run to Pegu, Prome, and Mandalay. Travellers can pass all over the country with perfect safety. Justice is administered and the country peacefully governed by English officials. The immigration into Burma of Chinese and Madrassees has been encouraged, but with them have been introduced the evils of opium-smoking and money-lending. On the other hand, the missionaries have done admirable work in redeeming the Karens from barbarism. In a few words, the British conquest and occupation of Burma have been followed by peace, by the suppression of dacoity, by good government, by increased trade, and by the control and partial civilisation of the border mountain races. The shadows in the picture will be seen after considering the character and the ideas of the conquered people.

Buddhism of the Burmans

In estimating the Burmese national character it must be always borne in mind that the Burmans are essentially Buddhistic. Buddhism in its purest and

most spiritual form is the religion which influences them from their early youth, it moulds their views of life, defines its aims, gives motive to endeavour, and reveals the great hereafter. The Buddhism of the Burmans has not been degraded into a debasing superstition, nor has it degenerated into an idolatrous practice, but it is in essence an ideal, ethical, and spiritual faith, overladen in some degree by Natt worship, and burdened by the superstition of pagoda building.

Pagoda Building and Winning Merit

Everybody who visits Burma is at once struck by the enormous number of pagodas in that country. From the great gold-encrusted cupola of the Shway Dagohn, which is the first object seen on approaching Rangoon, to the 9999 pagodas of Pagahn, every form and variety of pagoda may be seen in traversing Burma. Every little village by the river side shows its cluster of white cupolas, and from every cliff and mound flash the golden htees which surmount the glistening pinnacles. The building of a pagoda in memory of the great teacher, Buddha, is believed to be an act of "merit" which will free the pious founders from some of the weary rounds of existence which are necessary before heaven can be reached. For it is an essential doctrine of Buddhism that the soul must be purged by an enormous number of transmigrations from every stain of selfishness or self-love before heaven can be entered, and that the highest heaven can only be reached by absolute self-abnegation, by the loss of even the desire to possess an individual life. Then is Nirvana attained, for it is only when self is lost that eternal life begins. To abrogate, not to attain; to have peace, not to possess this world's goods; to overcome, not to indulge sensual passions, are the aims of the Buddhist. The good we do is for him the sole thing that exists, it

is "karma," the record of which is kept by the Natts or angels. The evil we do must be atoned for by suffering in this and in a future existence. Thus, if a man is rich, clever, or happy, he accounts this not to be due to himself or his endeavours, but to the karma of a past existence; if he is poor, unfortunate, and miserable, he is deemed to be atoning for past misdeeds. Some sins, such as cruelty, oblige a soul to be re-born on a lower scale of existence, probably as a dog or cow, from which the return to the ranks of humanity is by long and laborious steps and by the slow accumulation of merit. Hence the universal Buddhistic law against the destruction of animal life, inasmuch as the creatures, however lowly, may be the habitations of souls undergoing penance. Salvation is by righteousness and by self-abnegation, and is within the reach of all; but every soul must tread the difficult path to heaven alone. In Buddhism there is no God to save, there is no priest to help. The door of the kioung or monastery stands wide open to every man, and he can enter to follow the life of austerity, poverty, and celibacy which give insight, peace, and holiness, and to meditate on Buddha's teachings, which lead to Nirvana and eternal life.

The Kioungs and Phongyees

The kioungs are, however, not only the homes of the celibate monks, they are also the training religious schools of the youth of Burma. Here the village boys learn how to read and write, and to recite in sonorous Pali the moral precepts of the great teacher; and here also every Burmese boy is obliged to pass a term, however short, as a novitiate. On a lad attaining the age of puberty he is ceremoniously conducted to the kioung, where his head is shaven, and he dons the yellow robe and takes the solemn vows of a novitiate. He usually remains a year in the monastery, either more

or less. On reaching the age of twenty-one he may if he choose join the brotherhood of monks. The vows are, however, not for life, and the phongyee may at any time quit the kioung and return to the world; but as long as he remains an inmate of the monastery, the vows of chastity and poverty are strictly enforced and implicitly obeyed. To enable the outside world to exercise the virtue of charity and attain merit, the yellow-robed monks turn out of the kioung at dawn of day and patrol the streets and lanes with bowed heads and eyes cast down, and bearing black alms-bowls in their hands. Into these the charitable housewife places her daily gift of rice and vegetables, looking not for thanks for her charity, but is instead grateful to the silent phongyee for thus giving her the opportunity of winning merit. In England the donor is thanked for his charity; in Burma the donor thanks the beggar for enabling him to show charity. The belief that to give, to give all one's possessions, will win merit and enable the donor to escape the repetition of existences on earth exacted by lapses from the eternal moral law, is the reason for the existence of the splendidly-carved kioungs, gilded sometimes with gold leaf to the topmost pinnacle; of the rest-houses for travellers near the great pagodas; of the numerous and immense statues of Buddha, and of the numberless temples and fanes which make of Burma a very land of pagodas. It explains also the Burman's lack of business enterprise, his contentment with poverty, and the lavish spending of his substance in providing amusement and enjoyment for his neighbours.

The Free Women of Burma

But while the Burmese man has, by force of the combined influences of Buddhism and climate, become either an indolent, harmless monk, or an easy-going,

amiable, pleasure-loving countryman, the Burmese woman, influenced in a far less degree by religion, untrammelled by convention, and gifted with freedom of action from her earliest youth, has developed into an individual of marked intelligence and strong character. The women are the traders of the country; with them large contracts are often made by Government officials. They keep the stalls in the bazaars, and they aid their husbands in the sale of the paddy harvest. Denied education in the past, Burmese girls are now beginning to avail themselves eagerly of the Government schools for women established by the English.

Marriage in Burma

Marriage is in Burma an absolutely free contract, in which the position, the obligations, and the rights of the two contracting parties are equal. This is particularly shown in the disposition of property. All property belonging to a woman before marriage belongs to her absolutely, but all bequests made at the time of marriage, or profits arising from the investment of property of either husband or wife, or the earnings made by business or labour, constitute "joint property." Neither husband nor wife has the absolute control of the joint property, which cannot be dealt with nor alienated without the consent of the other. Even if the wife earn nothing she is considered to fulfil her part of the partnership by bearing the children and attending to the house, and she still keeps her control over the joint property. Marriages in Burma are love matches, and are contracted while the parties are often mere boy and girl. If the husband is unable to provide a home for his wife, the parents of either the bride or bridegroom find room for the young couple. The Burmese are kindly and affectionate in their domestic life, and children are adored, so that marriage,

though only a civil contract and easily broken, is perhaps happier than in countries where the wife is absolutely in the power of the husband. Should, however, a married couple desire to separate, divorce is easily obtained. Each party then takes his or her separate property, and the joint property is equally divided. The father takes the male children, and the mother the female. Each party is then free to marry again, and no disgrace nor scandal has been incurred.

But though absolutely free and independent, the women of Burma do not resign their privilege to charm. To look pretty, to be gay, attractive, and debonaire is their avowed aim, and I know few things in humanity more charming than a group of Burmese girls, clad in rainbow-tinted tameins and white jackets, with sweet-scented flowers stuck jauntily in the heavy coils of their black tresses, laughing, chatting, and even smoking big white cheroots as they mount the pagoda steps, to pay their offering of prayer and praise to the Great Teacher of pity, unselfishness, and purity of life.

Powés and Music

As a result of the belief in "karma" and that life is controlled by an inevitable fate, insouciance is characteristic of the lay Burman, and hence his determination to make the best of life by freeing it of care and by laughing the years away. Thus music is his solace, and powés or plays his particular delight. If any piece of good luck befalls a Burman, if his harvest is sold, or a son is born to him, or his daughter is married, he summons the musicians, dancers, and actors to give a powé. But it would be against both custom and religion for him or his personal friends to enjoy it alone, the pleasure must be shared with his neighbours; so a temporary stage is erected in the street, and all night long the simple people squat on their heels listening

to the interminable drama in which figure fairies, kings and queens, watching the graceful and rhythmic contortions of the dancers, or laughing at the jokes of the clown.

Space forbids me to tell of the many quaint customs of the Burmans, of the ear-boring ceremony by which a girl attains womanhood, of the tattooing of the legs of the boys, of the festivals and boat races, and of the ideas and superstitions which make the mind of a Burman almost a closed book to the practical Englishman; nor can I tell of the gilded palaces of Mandalay, of the temples of Pagahn, of the ruined city of Amaurapoora, and the wonders of the world-renowned Shway Dagohn; and I must leave undescribed the natural beauties of the great Irrawaddy, the wonders of the forests, and the splendours of the sky at sunset hour; for it is indeed impossible to give any but a slight idea of Burma and the Burmese within the space at my disposal.

The British and Burmese

For good or for evil the Burmans have now passed under the strong rule of the British. No two peoples could show stronger contrasts than the British and the Burmese. By the conquest, the Burmans, loving ease, believing in the irresistible decrees of fate as the result of accumulated "karma," delighting in colour, gaiety, and fun, holding possessions to be a curse and wealth a burden, are suddenly brought face to face with a people who delight in strenuous effort, who cannot rejoice in colour and beauty even when they see them, who are grave and serious, who believe money and commerce worth making any sacrifice to obtain, and who understand above all other nations how to govern and rule justly.

By our government and missionary schools we are

gradually but surely changing the old order of things; young Burmans are receiving a literary and commercial education, and are being turned out as clerks in shoals, and the principles of commerce and competition are being inculcated in the place of the lofty precepts of Buddha; "in the place of placid content we have given the ambition to better things; in the place of the belief that to possess nothing is the highest good, we are implanting the faith that to gain money is the worthy aim of endeavour, and we are naturally enforcing the British view that to strive, to succeed, and to obtain is right and lawful, in the place of the Burmese belief that to share is better than to hold, to dance happier than to work, and to be content holier than to strive." But on the other hand, in the place of the rapacious cruelty of tyrants, we have given just government, and in the place of decimating war and civil strife—peace, security, and protection.

The Future of Burma

Burma and the Burmans are fated to undergo considerable changes; the great waste rich lands of the interior will be cultivated, the towns will be developed, the border tribes will be civilised, the dominant Burman race will become consolidated with the once subject races of the Karens, Shans, Kachins, and Chins, and with the Chinese immigrants, who largely intermarry with the Burmese women. European civilisation will become engrafted on Oriental customs, and British energy will banish to some extent Burmese indolence. It cannot but be good for the Burmans to undergo the discipline of British rule; but still we should regret to see the Burmese type a thing of the past, and the unique Burmese personality lost in a British imitation. In these days of the subjugation of the weak to the strong, and the levelling of all

to a money-making, industrious, and commonplace type of mankind, we can ill spare the loss of a personality so unique, of a moral code so pure, of a fancy so poetic, and of a life so simple as that of the Burman. As long as the Burmans remain Buddhist to the heart's core, and as long as every boy passes into manhood through the portals of the kioung, the people will retain their characteristics, their ideas and customs; and in the far future they, having learned the art of government from their conquerors, may, I trust, recover their lost nationality, and give a world condemned to commerce and competition in the race for wealth, and to military aggrandisement in the desire for power, the example of a people who can enjoy life without desiring to possess, and who by renunciation achieve peace and contentment.

THE NATIVE STATES OF INDIA

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THE most casual glance at the map of India may suggest a fear that the subject of my paper is too large and unmanageable for the short space at my disposal, but it will certainly make the reader feel that an article on the Native States is an essential part of the study which the projectors of this Series have suggested. The territories included in India, but excluded from the title "British India," cover no less than 595,167 square miles, without computing the Shan States, and they contain a population well over 66,000,000. In area alone they are nearly five times as large as the United Kingdom, or nearly three times as large as the area of either France or the German Empire. Their population exceeds that of the United States of America. Two single States, Haidarabad and Kashmir, have more than 81,000 square miles apiece, being nearly as large as Italy without Sicily or Sardinia; and Gwalior and Mysore are each of them larger than Greece. States not only form huge blocks of territory under a certain ruler, as in the cases mentioned, to which Jodhpur and Bikanir might be added, but they also form large clusters of contiguous principalities under different rulers. Thus Rajputana, with its ten States, fills 130,268 square miles, almost the size of Prussia, and Central India under native rule takes up 77,808 square miles. Outside these larger States or blocks of States there are hundreds of scattered principalities

of every size, ranging from an area of about 20 square miles to 8226 square miles (Baroda), which honeycomb every province of British India with patches of foreign jurisdiction. Each of these conditions presents dangers of its own. Large States may have control over large armies; clusters of States are near to combine or to quarrel; and numerous little patches of foreign territory interfere with British administration. The first thought which must arise in looking at the map is surprise that the rising tide of British conquest did not submerge the greater part of these States and incorporate them, or at least the isolated patches of them, in the British Empire of India. That it has not done so is assuredly not due to want of power, or to temptation (for some, like Baroda or Mysore, are very fair and rich), or to opportunity, but solely to resolute fidelity to the principle that "it is not by the extension of our Empire that its permanence is to be secured, but by the character of British rule in the territories already committed to our care, and by practically demonstrating that we are as willing to respect the rights of others as we are capable of maintaining our own." Other writers will have told about the character of our rule in the territories administered by British officers, and I propose to say what I can about the respect we have shown for the rights of India's own rulers, who conduct the administration of more than one-third of the whole area of India.

You must begin by forming a general idea of what a Native State is. In a Native State, large or small, the Queen's writ does not run; that is the main point: it is foreign territory in the midst of the Queen's dominions. There is no supreme federal court in India, as there is in America, whose decisions are binding on the States; there is no uniform currency throughout them; and the British Government has, as a rule, bound itself not to interfere in their internal administrations, whilst

it has pledged itself to a desire to perpetuate the governments of the several princes and chiefs of India. There are no British police in the States, and there are but few military cantonments in them garrisoned by British troops. We have therefore on the spot no British force to command respect and obedience to Imperial policy. British supervision is represented by a single political officer, whose moral influence is the slender thread that ties the State to the suzerain British power. I have met many foreigners travelling in India, and I have generally heard them cite the transformation of such elements of disorder as the Native States were in time past into loyal and peaceful allies of Government as the most striking proof of our capacity and moral power which they had witnessed in their tour through the Empire. I hope that I shall be able to convince you that this praise is deserved, especially when you recollect that Rome in her days of glory, and ourselves in modern times in dealing with the Highland chiefs of Scotland, found no satisfactory means of maintaining foreign jurisdictions in their respective empires.

You will be in a better position to realise the difficulty of the task which the British Governments of India undertook to accomplish if you look back at the unpromising elements which have been transformed into what the East India Company called "royal instruments of power." One's first idea would be that the Company found in India old established dynasties which commanded the respect, and perhaps the affection, of their subjects, and whose strong alliances secured for the British merchant-princes the goodwill of the nobility and the population of the Native States. Such was not the case. Except where nature, as in the deserts of Rajputana, protected old families from attack, the rest of India was the theatre of civil war and private plunder, when the Company was striv-

ing its utmost to avoid being entangled in the affairs of the Indian chiefs. The general situation was one of the break-up of the empire which Akbar had bequeathed to unworthy successors; and as the imperial power got paralysed, first at its extremities, and ultimately at its centre in the north, its viceroys revolted, and soldiers of fortune sprang up to seize what they could get.

The British standard was hoisted on the banks of the Hugli in 1690, and it was not until after the capture of Seringapatam in 1799 that the British Government found itself compelled to intervene, and by stopping further fighting, to give to the chiefs who were at the moment in possession a title which they lacked. A few examples will illustrate the position. In Mysore the Hindu ruling family had been evicted from power by one of its Mohamedan generals, Hyder Ali, and his son Tippu. In Hyderabad the Emperor Aurangzeb had sent a distinguished soldier to rule the Deccan, whose sons succeeded, through stormy scenes, in laying the foundations of the premier State in India. The founder of the Sindhia family who are rulers of Gwalior was a commandant of the body-guard of the Peshwa, to whom Sindhia's son paid only a nominal allegiance. The first ruler of Indore was also a soldier who won his possessions by the sword. The rulers of Bhopal are sprung from an Afghan in the service of Aurangzeb, who was sent as a provincial governor, and seized the opportunity of the wars of succession to establish himself. On the coast, as Lord Harris has mentioned, the Abyssinian admirals of the empire preferred a rule on shore to the pursuit of pirate fleets. At Poona a Brahman minister thrust aside to Satara his lawful sovereign, and there enfeebled him with riotous living. In short, in all parts of India disorder rang its changes, and lands went out of cultivation, whilst the few patches which were tilled were cultivated by

armed peasantry, who between the harvests went off on plundering excursions. The land was desolated with civil war by gangs of murderers and plunderers. A story is told of one village in which all the villagers perished in the flames kindled by themselves to escape a worse fate.

The Company was forced to intervene, and when at last it did so under the government of Lord Hastings, all these heterogeneous elements of disorder were thrown into the alembic, and transformed into the protected princes of India, charged with the orderly administration of the States which at the moment they chanced to rule by the sword. Men who had fought hundreds of battles, and never learned to read or write, were required to sheathe their swords, and protect, instead of molesting, their subjects. Old scores were still due to or by them; many a rancorous hate, many a usurpation, many an injustice survived—ay, and still festers. But the British Government undertook to arbitrate and settle disputes without allowing to the chiefs an appeal to force. I hope I have said enough to enable you to draw for yourselves the picture of Indian society at the beginning of this century. During a period of intense suffering, strong men of arms from all countries, Rohillas, Afghans, Pathans, Beluchis, Persians, and Abyssinians, as well as Indians, had fought for spoils, when suddenly, as if by magic, the spoilers of the moment, fresh from the battlefield, arose, dubbed lawful rulers and protected princes of India. Can you wonder that the task of dealing with them and saving them from annexation has proved very difficult?

In order that you may understand how necessary it was to impose certain checks upon their use of the powers of rule with which they were entrusted, I propose now to give two practical illustrations of the difficulties which ensued. The first is an instance of the perils we once encountered, and might again

encounter, if the armies of the Native States were too large for their internal purposes, or were allowed to dictate to the State authorities. The ruler of Gwalior died in 1843 and left no sons, but only a widow aged thirteen. A competent regent was appointed by the nobles to conduct the administration, whilst the child widow on her part adopted a son aged eight to succeed her late husband. The British Government recognised the regent, and shortly afterwards a palace intrigue induced the Maharani to support another man as regent in place of the person recognised. The army, which consisted of 30,000 infantry, 10,000 cavalry, and a considerable force of artillery, was at the time in a state of mutiny, committing disorders on our frontier, and threatening an attack on the State of Tonk. The Governor-General ordered the removal of the new regent; but he intercepted the letter, and, supported by part of the army, refused to comply with the wishes of the Government of India. You can judge of the state of disorder which prevailed when I say that one brigadier, who had been plundering the people to pay his troops, was summoned to headquarters to explain, and he appeared at the head of his troops. The British agent was withdrawn, but it was not until a British force advanced to restore order that the usurping minister was surrendered. In order then to negotiate measures for a settlement, the Governor-General summoned the Maharani and her chief supporters to an interview, but they never appeared. There was no other alternative but to order an advance of the British forces, which was made both from the north and the south. But as Sir Hugh Gough proceeded with 12,000 of the Company's troops from the north, without due appreciation of the opposition which he would encounter, he was attacked at Maharajpur by 14,000 of the Gwalior troops, and he only won a victory after sustaining heavy losses. On the same

day a bloody battle was fought on the south of Gwalior, at Punniar. The result was that Gwalior lay at the feet of the Company. But the British most magnanimously did not annex the State. They merely reduced the army, and imposed a treaty upon Sindhia; and to relieve the discontent they even enlisted some of the troops who had fought against them in the Contingent which they then formed. It was this Contingent which, fourteen years later, mutinied against its officers and marched off to Cawnpore, and joined in the horrible scenes of murder of children and women which disfigured the Indian Mutiny. I think that this page out of Indian history is sufficient to illustrate one of the dangers arising from the Native States with which the British authorities have had to deal.

I will now give you another illustration of a class of administrative difficulties inseparable from the proximity of the Native States to British dominions. As I have said, the British Government does not interfere directly in the administration by their own rulers of the States. When it must secure their co-operation in some beneficent measure introduced into British India, it has recourse to engagements, and by advice and argument persuades its allies to adopt the necessary scheme. Even then it has to rely upon the officials of the State, who are not under British control, for the proper execution of the agreement. A Christian civilised Government, however anxious it may be not to interfere with native creeds, cannot tolerate many Indian customs which Hinduism permits, and even approves. Thus sutteeism, infanticide, hook-swinging, barbarous punishments, and slavery have all in turn been prohibited by law or regulation in British territory. But the law would be practically inoperative in many parts of the Empire if we could not persuade our neighbours to put down these practices in their adjoining territories. Otherwise widows would be

burned on their husbands' pyres, female children put to death by their parents, and human sacrifices offered by the simple process of stepping across the frontier. The evasion of the law would be only one, and perhaps the least, of the resulting evils. More troublesome in its effects would be the maintenance of a corrupt standard of morality, and the approval by public opinion on one side of the frontier of horrible practices condemned by what would be described as the law of the foreigner on the British side. Accordingly, in the case of crimes which obviously sin against the law of nature, the British Government is obliged to insist upon the native rulers taking common action with it, as in the suppression of suttee. But in many other matters where the crime is less heinous or the connection with crime more remote, the unwillingness of the Native States to keep in line with the moral advance of British India has to be overcome by consent; and this tedious process constitutes a very practical difficulty.

There are, alas, cases in which the Native States will not follow our lead. In what is known as the Age of Consent Act, under which in British India the premature marriage of girls under the age of twelve years has in recent years been made illegal, hardly a Native State has followed our example. We have not pressed it upon their unwilling agreement. So, too, the Hindu who becomes a convert to Christianity loses in the Native States the protection which British law gave him in British India more than thirty years ago.

We have not forced our view of religious toleration upon the States. But there are other cases in which humanity would justify us in taking a stronger line, and I propose to give you an illustration of our difficulties in such a case.

In 1870 a Bill was introduced into the Legislative Assembly for the prevention in British India of female

infanticide. Its published statement of objects showed that in 1795 and 1804 regulations were passed with a similar object, but they had proved so ineffective that they were repealed in 1862. It was publicly admitted that the "crime is terribly prevalent," and the law quite insufficient. An instance was given of seven villages in the Basti district of British India with 104 boys and only one girl in them, and for the ten previous years only one girl had been married in them. Ten other villages were mentioned in which no one living had ever known a case of the marriage of a girl. The cause of the crime was said to be twofold—the enormous cost of marriage ceremonies falling upon the bride's father, and the vicious influence of immemorial custom. The Act passed by the Government of India was designed to enable local governments to make rules for regulating expenditure on marriages, and for introducing a system of registration of births and marriages into tainted areas. When the Act was passed, the Government of Bombay wished to apply it to certain villages in Kaira and Gujerat near the frontiers of a native state, Baroda, where the following state of affairs existed. Some fifty-six villages, inhabited by peasantry, were regarded as aristocratic or "kulia," thirteen of them being the very cream of rural aristocracy; and it was a rule of honour with the less aristocratic villagers—akulia—to marry their daughters into families in these villages. The kulia bridegroom being at a premium, the akulia bride's father had to pay a large dowry and to spend a ruinous sum upon marriage expenses. Rather than admit his poverty, and because the Hindus believe that no greater disgrace can befall a family than to leave its daughters unmarried, the father of a female child had only two courses open to him, personal ruin or infanticide—in fact, either to sell all that he had and win for his child-daughter a child-husband of the kulia class, or else

put his child out of the way. Thus in the akulia villages the female children either were put to death, or, if they lived to be married to a kulia husband, they became the cause of ruin to their parents. With the kulia villages the case was hardly better. Since no aristocratic peasant could allow his daughter to make a degrading marriage with a plebeian peasant, whilst his kulia neighbours reserved their valuable sons for more profitable marriages, the kulia daughter must also needs be put out of the way. Finally, the kulia husband learnt bad ways, for he put away his wife when he had squandered her dowry, and he married another.

To meet this insane competition, attempts were made by our officers to get the akulia people to agree not to marry into kulia families, or else to contract such marriages on the principle of "give and take," *i.e.* an exchange of a son for a daughter. But the pride of the most favoured villages, some of which lay just over the British border in Baroda territory, and the force of fashion, defeated the attempt. At last the majority of the people, under the good advice of Mr. Shepherd, came to Government some twenty years ago with a request that Government would make rules under the Act prohibiting extravagant dowries and marriage expenses. Then the difficulty with which I am dealing had to be faced, namely, the limitation of our legislative powers to a fraction of the villages affected, since some lay over the border out of British jurisdiction; and so it was not till 1889 that rules regulating marriage expenses amongst the Lewa Kunbis were published. How they have worked under a dual administration is another matter.

I do not propose to enter into that inquiry, because my object is merely to give you a peep into some of the administrative difficulties which perplex the British rulers of India by reason of the proximity of the Native

States to British districts. There were many thoughtful men fifty and seventy years ago who predicted that the maintenance of foreign jurisdictions in the midst of British territory would be impracticable. We have proved so far that it is practicable, but I must admit that it has entailed enormous difficulties, and if ever the Native States should adopt an uncompromising attitude the predictions might be verified. Consider, for instance, how numerous are our points of contact. As communications improve, the escape of fugitive criminals becomes easier, and we should never be able to stop organised robberies or the trade of the professional poisoner if the States did not readily assist by promptly giving extradition. The head works of our most important canals often lie in Native State territory, or else the canals pass through them. When a famine visits any part of India it affects both Native States and British territory, and in times past a terrible exodus of the population of the States into British India has occurred, leaving the route marked by thousands of corpses, and disorganising our own schemes of relief. Very often our sanitary measures are defeated by the neglect, over the border, of measures for checking the spread of smallpox or cholera, which the rulers of the States have refused to take. From all this you can conclude that it is absolutely necessary for us and the States to have some clear understanding as to their duties as well as their rights. A policy of entire non-interference is impossible. Happily wise and gentle methods have been devised which have formed British territories and Native States into one combined political system, and the latter have agreed or been required to surrender certain rights in return for the protection which they enjoy.

I must describe to you what powers the States have so surrendered. In the first place, they have no relations of any sort or kind with foreign powers or with

other States. To whisper to you the words Transvaal, Egypt, and Madagascar, is quite enough to make you realise how dangerous is the gift to a weaker nation of powers of negotiating with more powerful neighbours. Suppose a ship from Kutch got into trouble in a foreign port, then if the Rao of Kutch were to be in a position to conclude engagements with foreign powers, can one doubt that soon he would be entangled in alliances or obligations that might not suit either him or us? You have read, no doubt, accounts of the days when French officers commanded troops in Hyderabad, in Mysore, where to the present day a village is called "French Rocks," and in Gwalior; and how the Sultan of Mysore was anxiously awaiting help from Napoleon when the Battle of the Nile interfered with French plans. I need not therefore dilate further upon, or justify, the rule that the Native States of India must have nothing to do with foreign powers or other Native States, and that outside nations and States have nothing to do with them. The British Government exclusively manages all that concerns their external relations for them, and saves them from the dangers of a foreign policy.

The next limitation upon their powers is a natural corollary. As their foreign affairs are managed for them, and as the British Government is their protector, the States cannot declare war, and they do not require large armies for offensive purposes. A limitation upon the forces they may maintain is therefore reasonable, and it is equally reasonable that they should give to the Government which undertakes their defence any military facilities in the establishment of cantonments, fortresses, and communications, or in the arrest of deserters and the furnishing of supplies, that it may require. Apart, however, from these diplomatic and military obligations, the States have a very free hand in the conduct of their internal administration.

Their rulers are responsible for the peaceful government of their States, and no desire to make them adopt British methods is allowed to weaken that responsibility. Obviously the necessity for preserving the integrity of the States compels the suzerain power to prevent either the dismemberment of the States, or such a vicious course of gross misrule as must lead to rebellion and anarchy. The continuance of the State may at times require the removal of a particular ruler; but even when a British resident was murdered at Manipur, and another at Baroda was believed to have been the subject of an attempt to poison, the interference of the British Government went no further than the deposition of one ruler in favour of another. The British Government has also stepped in when necessary to check infanticide, to suppress sutteeism, to stop impalement, mutilation, and other barbarous practices, and to secure religious toleration. But beyond this it limits its action by the terms of its treaties and engagements, and resists resolutely all temptation to exercise a right of authoritative interference by reason merely of its commanding influence in the political system. No doubt, amongst nearly six hundred chiefs there are a few who, if unchecked, would render British forbearance and the maintenance of the Native States impossible; but I cannot recall a single instance of the punishment of a chief or a State which has been inflicted without good reason, and without infinite patience and reluctance.

So much for the relations of the States themselves with the British authorities in India, and you will now be inclined to ask how their systems of internal administration, in which they are left such a free hand, differ from those which we adopt in the provinces under British rule. The personal element, so prominent in India and in its own rulers, is the first great distinction. The British Government is imper-

sonal, subject to law, and controlled by public opinion, a free press, and authority at home. The Indian ruler, or, where he leaves everything to his Dewan, the Indian Dewan, is autocratic. The native chief spends much of his revenues on himself and on his retinue. He lives and moves in great style. He is the highest court of appeal, and can reverse any judicial sentence (except in the few States where, after a long minority, the British Government has altered the native system). His orders are as good as laws, and he has no separate legislative assembly to discuss them. His servants, who generally combine executive and judicial functions, are protected from legal process. He takes care that no press shall trouble him, and he is very sensitive to criticism. I remember one chief who was about to commit one of his subjects to prison because he had complained to myself that the decision of one of the chief's courts was "unjust." Without laying stress on the impropriety of punishing a lawful appeal to the British authority for intervention, I comforted the chief with the assurance that I could hardly recollect a case in which I had ever decided against a man's claim to land in which my elaborate attempts to explain my decision to the unfortunate claimant had not provoked the reply, "Dad lagat nahin," *i.e.* "There is no justice to be had." Nothing strikes one more in passing from British India to a Native State than the absence of the local and municipal boards with which we have studded our territories, the silence of the press, and the absence of political organisations. This is the more marked because some of the most autocratic chiefs are patrons of Poona societies.

There are here and there make-believes of municipalities, but they have no powers. In Mysore, the best administered Native State in India, the rural boards have no money at their disposal to spend. Even the great elected "representative assembly" has not so

much as a shadow of power. It meets by order, it departs punctually and after no long delay by order, it never votes, it listens, and it asks questions; but it cannot vote a farthing, or pass a law, or, in fact, do anything except listen. The assembly has its merits, but it is not as powerful to act as the smallest municipal board in British India. In our territories there is the reign of law, but in a Native State you have the personal autocratic rule of the old type, checked and mellowed by the influence of the Political Agent, but without much regard for the rights of the people, as we in Europe understand the phrase. Indeed, so long as the religious systems of India, and the social organisations, *e.g.* caste, based upon them, continue unchanged, there is no place for the great mass of the people in the systems of administration followed in the Native States.

To all who believe that constitutional rule is better than autocratic rule, the British administration must be preferable; but there is another side to the question. I recollect a Judge of the High Court of Bombay, a Brahman gentleman, talking to me one day on this subject, and expressing the opinion that the Peshwa's Government, bad as it was, was much more popular than the British Government. In explanation, he told me a story of a Brahman who conceived that he had been unjustly treated, and who therefore entered the palace and appropriated a gold plate off which the Peshwa ate. Asked for a reason, he said that it was not fair that the Peshwa should feast off gold when his subject was dying of injustice and starvation. The speaker admitted to me that only a Brahman could have taken the liberty, and he treated the rights of the lower castes as of no consequence. To us, therefore, the story loses much of its point. But I do believe that the Native States' administrations appeal more to Asiatic imagination and the poetic side of their nature

than our cold system does. I remember once that, when a rich British municipality demurred to make a grant of the rates for the public reception of a distinguished visitor, the chiefs of the States spent lavishly on fireworks; and one Raja in particular, not being content with the presents which he was allowed to make to a royal guest, affixed a diamond of great value to a garland of common roses, which he put round the neck of his Royal Highness. The diamond was returned, but the chief correctly appreciated native sentiment when he applied his public revenues to the object stated. Extravagance even at the cost of the tax-payer is always popular.

The second feature which distinguishes native rule is that of parsimony in the public administration outside the personal wants of the ruling family. The most casual traveller knows by the jolts of his vehicle, by the absence of travellers' bungalows, the state of the roads and bridges, and the character of public offices, when he has entered a Native State. Except in two or three Native States there are not even asylums for the insane, and hospitals, if any, are of recent construction. What is spent on public works is spent at the capital; on irrigational works or reproductive works of public utility, little is spent. Good schools are hard to find. The chief minister probably has a large income. The salaries of magistrates and other public servants are far below what, by experience, we have found to be necessary for competent and honest officials. The people are not less taxed than in British India. On the contrary, they pay more, especially the poorer classes. The richer classes, and notably the priestly classes, are favoured, and the taxes are frequently farmed, so that much of what is paid never reaches the treasury.

Judged by our standards the fiscal and revenue systems of the Native States are very inferior to our

own. But the people are used to them, and often ignorant of where the shoe pinches. I once induced a Native State to abolish fifty taxes which were crushing trade in all directions, and some of which produced less than the cost of collection. There was a fish monopoly, which brought in Rs. 32 a year; a tax on people changing their villages, which produced Rs. 12; and another on Dhangar's (*i.e.* grazier's) blankets, which produced R. 1. Industries had been crushed by oppressive and injudicious taxes. There was a heavy tax on widows' remarriages, and of course taxes on shopkeepers and artificers, besides house-taxes and market-dues. In British India the taxes are few, and, where possible, graduated according to means of payment. In most Native States everything is taxed, and the weight falls heavily on the poor. If, however, you were to read the native press of British India, which is conducted by the high castes, you would be assured that the British system was the less popular of the two systems. There is, I believe, some truth in this view of popularity, for the Indian hates direct taxation and does not mind indirect burdens, whilst the upper classes, who voice public opinion, detest paying their proportionate share of taxation. It is no consolation to them to be told that the British Government aims rather at raising the moral standard of its subjects than at popularity. Another feature of native rule is the declared partiality of the Government for, and favour shown to, its chief's religion.

I read recently a very curious document which was published in the Madras papers, in which the Government of Mysore vindicated its high priest against a charge preferred by the Lingayats against him of improper entrance into one of their shrines. In British India the matter would have been left to the law courts. Again, the law of British India protects from loss of his rights a convert to Christianity. Quite re-

cently the highest court of one of the best-governed Native States in India has held that the pervert from Hinduism is, under the ancient laws of Menu, deprived of all civil rights, and in the particular case then before it, unable to claim the custody of his children. I remember once in another State arranging with the villagers that the low caste population should draw water from a large lake into which the village donkeys, and even pigs, went for drink, but from which members of the low castes, who had helped to make the reservoir, were excluded. My well-meant settlement was on the very next day upset by a high Brahman official.

Like the other features of native rule which I am describing, this favour shown to the religion of the ruling family has its advantages. The constant religious disputes which, under British protection, rage in our large cities about matters of food or drink, rarely arise in the Native States, where it is well known that official support will be given to one side. Terrible riots and murders have, of course, occurred at times in Native States, but generally where the ruling family's religion has been opposed to that of a large local majority. Where the parties are evenly balanced, State influence represses one of them. In British India a tolerant strong Government allows all parties their legal rights. Our declaration of tolerance and respect for law emboldens the weak. You observe the difference. In the Native State the influence of the ruling caste is on the side of its own religious party. The other religions dare not assert any rights in a way to offend the court religion. In British India the Executive is strictly impartial, and protects legal rights. But the law is strong, and the minority has its legal rights as well as the majority. Hence the minority will not be put down without an appeal to law, and this very appeal to law provokes the intolerance of the

majority. Thus the reign of British law and its equal protection of all legal rights, coupled with the impartiality of the Executive, induce the Mohamedan, for instance, to eat his customary food, notwithstanding the objections of the Hindus to the eating of beef. In a Hindu orthodox State, on the other hand, the killing of cattle is visited with severe penalties, and in some States the East India Company even recognised by treaty an obligation to act accordingly. The Bhuj Treaty of 1819 has an Article (21) which runs thus: "It being contrary to the religious principles of the Jharejas and people of Kutch that cows, bullocks, and peacocks should be killed, the Honourable Company agree not to permit these animals to be killed."

Having noticed some of the leading distinctions between the Native States under their autocratic rulers and the British system of administration, I propose to place side by side the advantages which the chiefs of India derive from their union with the British Empire and those which we derive from it. Obviously the States gain enormously. Without contributing anything material to the cost of our armies and navy, to the extension of British railways, or to the peace which we maintain on their frontiers, and even, when necessary, in their own territories, they reap the advantage of our costly system of government. They gain more than this. Their own native public servants and ministers are generally men who have been educated and trained in British India. From time to time there is a long minority in the succession to a State, and then the whole administration is reformed, and, at the cost of our unpopularity with the upper classes, who benefit by irregularities and vicious systems of land settlement and taxation, we introduce the needed change of system. We are always standing by to see fair play and settle disputes. One chief encroaches upon another, and in an instant we intervene, and, without heavy cost or fee or

personal advantage, settle the question, and enforce our decision. Then, again, a chief dies suddenly, and the sons of several wives dispute the succession. We allow no appeal to force. We hear both sides, and decide who shall succeed. These are advantages to the chiefs of incalculable value. Again, if a chief wants a very unpopular but sound measure carried out, he borrows a British officer for the job. If he wants a new law or a difficult knot disentangled, he requires no trained lawyer or expert. He simply takes a whole law out of the British Statute-book, or a whole Famine Relief Code, or a collection of rules which it has cost the British Government much time and expense to elaborate, and he declares that the law or rules apply *mutatis mutandis*. His subjects have to decide what that means.

I look upon the loan of trained British officers to the States as one of the most valuable advantages which they derive from us. I believe that the native chiefs generally cordially appreciate these several benefits of the union.

On our side the list of benefits is not so long or weighty, but it is substantial. In the first place, we get variety instead of one dead level of British administration, and in course of time we may obtain here or there an example worth following. Meanwhile, India, under its own rulers, affords a contrast, and a contrast is sometimes as good as a comparison or an example. I have never known the native press in British India free from the most exaggerated denunciations of British wrong-doing. Comfort then may be derived from looking both on our border and across our border. I have had to do with several cases of proposed rectification of the British frontier. I can quote scores of instances of villages asking to be added to the Empire. I know none of a British village not protesting against its proposed transfer. I have repeatedly had to take part in assessing the land revenue

in Native States. I know that its pitch is higher than in British India, and I shall never forget the laughter which a mob orator from Poona provoked at Kolhapur when he lectured upon our oppressive revenue system before the State officials, who knew that their rates were the heavier. In inspecting schools or colleges I have never been obliged to blush for the British institutions. To a population of millions of an alien religion and different habits from their rulers, actual experience of how things are managed on our side and on the other side of the border is a political lesson of value to ourselves. This may seem to be a selfish view of the case. You will, however, agree with me that it is good for us to learn what the Indian populations like, and to be able to guide our steps by the pace at which progress naturally advances in the best Native States. We appreciate, then, the immense conservatism of the Indian people, and realise that constitutions are not made, but grow, and that what will grow in free England will not always take root in India. Then, again, it is advantageous to us that the chiefs of India and their subjects should look upon us with friendly eyes. In the stress of the Mutiny, no doubt, some friendly States failed to control their mutinous armies, and some few unfriendly chiefs plotted against us; but the mass of them stood firm, and their attitude determined the conduct of millions of our own subjects. The fact that the advantages of the alliance, whether financial or administrative, had for many years been greatly on the side of the Native States, then proved to us an overwhelming weight in the scales when our Empire was in the balance, and the States, appreciating the value of our protection, proved themselves breakwaters to the rising tide of rebellion.

Let me here give you a short account of the State of Mysore, as illustrating what a State may owe to the British Government, and I will only add that I believe

that every one in that principality, from its Maharaja to the poorest subject, appreciates the fact. This beautiful country, rich in gold and coffee, besides the ordinary products of agriculture, embraces some 28,000 square miles, with an annual revenue of 178 lakhs of rupees. Ruled by the Cheras, the Cholas, and then the Ballala dynasties in succession, it naturally attracted the cupidity of the Mohamedans after the battle of Telikota in 1564. The Mohamedans, having acquired it, gave it to the Marattas, who, however, preferred Tanjore to Bangalore, and thus the Wadeyars (or lords of thirty-three villages), the present ruling family, had time and opportunity for consolidating their power. Raj Wadeyar, a local noble, obtained possession of Seringapatam early in the seventeenth century, and his family began cautiously to build up its power. A windfall came to them by purchase. A Mohamedan general thought that Bangalore might be worth a ransom, and as he happened to be in the neighbourhood with a force, he captured it and sold it for three lakhs to the Wadeyars. The next turn of the wheel of fortune was not so satisfactory. The Wadeyars had a very promising officer in their service, who added Dewanhalli and other acquisitions to their territories. He was rewarded by the gift of Bangalore; but this did not satisfy him. He proceeded to intrigue with the Mohamedan power of Hyderabad; and in the end, with the army at his back, threw over his Hindu sovereign. This was the great Hyder Ali, who, with his son Tippu, fought many a desperate encounter with the British Company's armies. In the end he was defeated, and the British then restored the Hindu dynasty. Nor did the services rendered by us to Mysore end there. The Maharaja fell into bad ways, and the country was so misgoverned that we put him on one side in 1831, and for half a century we governed the State, making it one of the best administered provinces in India

When we intervened its revenues were 55 lakhs; when we restored the native government they were trebled, and are now 173 lakhs. The country is valuable in gold, coffee, and other productions. Its climate is excellent. Strictly interpreting our engagements we might have retained it, but in 1881 we restored the State to the adopted son of the Maharaja whom we had deposed. This son, full of promise and greatly loved by his people, died two years ago, and during the minority of his son we are taking measures for his education, and for the moral and material development of the State until he is old enough to administer it.

Mysore is a striking instance, but after all only a fair type, of the benefits which the British Government confers upon its allies the protected princes of India. But if the States are to be preserved for another century in the enjoyment of the rights and privileges which have been so carefully safeguarded by the British Government during that century now drawing to a close, they must pay more deference to the demands of public opinion. Christianity has sensibly affected the views of civilised countries as to the responsibilities of rulers, as to the equal protection of the law, and as to religious toleration. The expansion of communications has thrown a new light upon the pages of Indian history.

From the Indian vernacular press the rulers of India are not likely to derive much help. Indeed, the Indian newspapers increase the difficulty of advancing essential reforms. Here is an extract from a Bombay newspaper, the *Gurakhi*, of the 26th of October last, which a friend has sent me: "Of all the various departments of government, the Political Department is the most despotic, cruel, and unjust. It exists solely for the annexation of the Native States. The ways of that department and of a common thief are exactly

similar. Both thrive by plundering and robbery. The aim of the Political Department is to exterminate all the Native States in the country." Assuredly such preposterous language does not help to promote a friendly understanding. In answer to the allegation, I need only recall your attention to the policy laid down by Sir Charles Wood, and to the fact that there exist to-day more than 600 Native States in India, and I cannot recall a single instance of annexation, despite severe provocation, during the last thirty years. Every effort has been made to educate young chiefs for the discharge of their high positions, and if you want to know the spirit in which that duty has been undertaken, read the lecture delivered by the late Mr. Chester Macnaghten, the single-hearted earnest principal of the Chiefs' College at Rajkote. This is what he, a servant of the British Government, and servant, too, of a higher Master, wrote to the Maharaja of Idar when he left college to rule his State: "The life which is opening before you is a great one. But greatness and glory are not born of ease, and in proportion to your high responsibility will be the height and breadth of your duty. It is not easy, or perhaps wise, to give maxims of general behaviour, but there are in the Old Testament of my Bible a few short sentences which to me appear to suggest all that is best for my pupils in this college. I do not think you will value them less on account of the source from which they are taken. 'The Lord hath showed thee, oh man, what is good: and what doth the Lord require of thee, but to do justly, to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God.' That your future life may be a noble and a good one, and therefore a happy one, is the sincere wish of your college friends, and of no one more truly than myself."

Are these the words of a man employed by Government to undermine the Native States, and to plunder

and rob them? Has the account I have here given given ground to make you doubt the sincerity of the British Government, or its fidelity to the directions of the Secretary of State, whose words I quoted at the beginning of my paper? I have no fear as to the honest reply to those two questions.

ANCIENT INDIA

By TRIMBAKRAI JADAVRAI DESAI

(*Of Limbdi State, Kathiwar*)

I do not propose in this article to write a history of ancient India. Mr. Romesh C. Dutt, in his two volumes on "Civilisation in Ancient India," has narrated that history from the earliest times to the advent of the Mohamedans. I propose only to give an abstract of the admirable work of Mr. Dutt, and to condense in one short article all that I can from what has been written by him.

He divides the history of ancient India into five periods. The Vedic period extends from 2000 B.C. to 1400 B.C.; the Epic period from 1400 B.C. to 1000 B.C.; the Rationalistic period from 1000 B.C. to 320 B.C.; the Buddhist period from 320 B.C. to 500 A.D.; the Purânic period from 500 A.D. to 1000 A.D.

We quote below from Mr. Dutt's book a table of dates for the different epochs, premising that the dates should be taken as only approximately correct, and that the earlier dates are supposed to be correct only within a few centuries.

Epoch I.—Vedic Period, 2000 B.C. to 1400 B.C.

Aryan settlements in the Indus Valley; composition of Rig Veda Hymns, 2000 B.C. to 1400 B.C.

Epoch II.—Epic Period, 1400 B.C. to 1000 B.C.

Aryan settlements in the Ganges Valley, 1400 B.C. to 1000 B.C.

Lunar Zodiac fixed, astronomical observations, compilation of the Vedas, 1400 B.C. to 1200 B.C.
Flourishing period of the Kurus and the Panchâlas, 1400 B.C. to 1200 B.C.
Kuru-Panchâla war, 1250 B.C.
Flourishing period of the Kosalas, the Kâsis, and the Videhas, 1200 B.C. to 1000 B.C.
Composition of the Brâhmanas and the Âranyakas, 1300 B.C. to 1100 B.C.
Composition of the Upanishads, 1100 B.C. to 1000 B.C.

Epoch III.—Rationalistic Period, 1000 B.C. to 320 B.C.

Aryan conquest of all India, 1000 B.C. to 320 B.C.
Yâska, ninth century B.C.
Pânini, eighth century B.C.
Sûtra Schools, 800 B.C. to 400 B.C.
Sulva Sutras (Geometry), eighth century B.C.
Kapila and Sânkhya Philosophy, seventh century B.C.
Other Schools of Philosophy, 600 B.C. to the Christian Era.
Gautama Buddha, 577 B.C. to 477 B.C.
Bimbisâra, King of Magadha, 537 B.C. to 485 B.C.
Ajâtasatru, 485 B.C. to 453 B.C.
First Buddhist Council, 477 B.C.
Second Buddhist Council, 377 B.C.
Nine Nandas, Kings of Magadha, 370 B.C. to 320 B.C.

Epoch IV.—Buddhist Period, 320 B.C. to 500 A.D.

Chandragupta, King of Magadha, 320 B.C. to 290 B.C.
Bindusâra, King of Magadha, 290 B.C. to 260 B.C.
Asoka, King of Magadha, 260 B.C. to 222 B.C.
Third Buddhist Council, 242 B.C.
The Maurya Dynasty in Magadha ends, 183 B.C.
The Sunga Dynasty in Magadha, 183 B.C. to 71 B.C.
The Kânva Dynasty in Magadha, 71 B.C. to 26 B.C.
The Andhra Dynasty in Magadha, 26 B.C. to 430 A.D.
The Gupta Emperors, 300 A.D. to 500 A.D.
The Bactrian Greeks invaded India, second and first centuries B.C.
The Yu-chi invaded India, first century A.D.
Kanishka, the Yu-chi King of Kashmîra, founded the Saka Era, 78 A.D.

The Shah Kings ruled in Saurâshtra, 150 A.D. to 300 A.D.
The Kambojians invaded India, third and fourth centuries A.D.
The White Huns invaded India, fifth century A.D.

EPOCH V.—PURÂNIC PERIOD, 500 A.D. TO 1000 A.D.

Vikramâditya of Ujjayin and Northern India, 500 A.D. to 550 A.D.
Kâlidâsa, Amarasinha, Vararuchi, &c., 500 A.D. to 550 A.D.
Bhâravi, about 550 A.D. to 600 A.D.
Âryabhatta, founder of modern Hindu Astronomy, 476 A.D. to 530 A.D.
Varâhamihira, 500 A.D. to 550 A.D.
Brahmagupta, 598 A.D. to 650 A.D.
Silâditya II., Emperor of Northern India, 610 A.D. to 650 A.D.
Dandin, 570 A.D. to 620 A.D.
Bânabhatta and Subandhu, Bhartrihari and the Bhattikâvya, 610 A.D. to 650 A.D.
Bhavabhûti, 700 A.D. to 750 A.D.
Sankarâcharya, 788 A.D. to 850 A.D.
The Dark Ages in Northern India, 800 A.D. to 1000 A.D.

FIRST EPOCH (2000 B.C. TO 1400 B.C.)

The *Rig Veda* has frequent allusions to the Aryan settlements on the banks of the Indus and its five branches. Like all conquerors, the Aryans were full of youthful vigour. They worshipped nature, and fought many a hard fight with the natives of the soil, whom they drove before them. There was no caste at this time, no temples, and no idols. Sacrificial fires were kept in every household, and oblations offered to the "bright" gods. Chiefs of tribes were kings, and had professional priests to perform sacrifices and utter hymns for them; but there was no priestly caste, and no royal caste. The people were free, enjoying the freedom which belongs to vigorous pastoral and agricultural tribes. Among the warlike kings of the age, Sudas finds a prominent mention in the *Rig Veda*, and he defeated the Bharatas and other allied tribes who came to attack him.

Second Epoch (1400 B.C. to 1000 B.C.)

The Aryans, after the occupation of the Punjab, marched onwards towards the valley of the Ganges. Powerful kingdoms were formed. The Kurus ruled round modern Delhi. The Panchâlas settled round modern Kanouj. The Kosalas ruled in the spacious country between the Ganges and the Gunduck, which includes modern Oudh. The Videhas lived beyond the Gunduck, in the modern Tirhut. The Kâsis settled round modern Benares. The kings and warriors formed into a caste, and so did the priests. The Brâhmanas and the Kshatriyas took rank above the mass of the people known as the Vaisyas; the aborigines formed the fourth caste of the Sûdras. During this period sacrifices became more pompous, and elaborate ceremonials became the fashion. The four Vedas were arranged and compiled. The *Brâhmanas* and the *Âranyakas* were also composed. The former related to sacrificial rites, and the latter to forest rites. And lastly, bold religious speculations, apparently started by Kshatriyas, are known as the *Upanishads*, and form the last portions of the literature of this period, and close the so-called *revealed literature* of India. The great epic, the *Râmâyana*, is the history of the princes of the Solar race, while the *Mahâbhârata* relates the heroic deeds of the princes of the Lunar race. The nations described in these national epics of India lived and fought in this second or Epic Age; the Kurus and the Panchâlas, the Kosalas and the Videhas, held sway along the valley of the Ganges.

Third Epoch (1000 B.C. to 320 B.C.)

The third epoch is, perhaps, the most brilliant period of Hindu history. It was in this period that the Aryans issued out of the Gangetic valley, spread

themselves far and wide, and introduced Hindu civilisation and founded Hindu kingdoms as far as the southernmost limits of India. Magadha, or South Behar, which was already known to the Hindus in the Epic period, was completely Hinduised in the third epoch; and the young and powerful kingdom founded here soon eclipsed all the ancient kingdoms of the Gangetic valley. Buddhism spread from Magadha to surrounding kingdoms, and Chandragupta, the contemporary of Alexander the Great, brought the whole of Northern India, from the Punjab to the Behar, under the rule of Magadha. With this great political event, viz., the consolidation of all Northern India into one great empire, the third epoch ends and the fourth epoch begins.

The Aryans introduced Hindu civilisation among the aborigines everywhere. The Andhras founded a powerful kingdom in the Deccan. The Aryans came in contact with the old Dravidian civilisation in the extreme south, but the more perfect Hindu civilisation prevailed, and the Dravidians were Hinduised. The three sister-kingdoms of the Cholas, the Cheras, and the Pandyas, made their mark before the third century B.C., and Kanchi (Conjeveram), the capital of the Cholas, was distinguished as a seat of learning at a later day. Saurâshtra (including Gujrat and the Mahratta country) received Hindu civilisation, and Ceylon became a great resort of Hindu traders.

The *Brâhmanas* and the *Âranyakas* were condensed into *Sûtras* or aphorisms. Phonetics, metre, grammar, and lexicons were studied. Yâska wrote his *Nirukta* and Pânini his *Vyâkarana* early in this period. And the construction of sacrificial altars according to fixed rules gave rise to geometry, which was first taught in India. The bold speculations of the *Upanishads* were followed by the *Sânkhya* philosophy of Kapila, and Gautama Buddha added to the cold logic of the

system a world-embracing sympathy, and founded a religion which claims a third of the human race at the present day. The other schools of philosophy were *Yoga*, *Nyâya*, *Vaisesika*, *Mîmânsa*, and *Vedânta*. There are various works on these six schools of philosophy. The last one underlies true Hinduism, which regards the whole universe as an emanation of the One True Universal Being—Brahma. A few quotations will illustrate this. They will elucidate the principal ideas of the Vedânta philosophy.

"The sea is one, and not other than its waters; yet waves, foam, spray, drops, frost, and other modifications of it, differ from each other." "As milk changes into curd, and water into ice, so is Brahma variously transformed." "Like the sun and other luminaries, seemingly multiplied by reflection though really single, and like space, apparently sub-divided in vessels containing it within limits, the Supreme Light is without difference or distinction." "There is none other but He."

"Having annulled by fruition other works which had begun to have effect, having enjoyed the recompense and suffered the pains of good and bad actions, the possessor of divine knowledge, on the demise of the body, proceeds to a reunion with Brahma." "One who knows Brahma becomes Brahma."

The attributes of God, according to the Vedânta philosophy, have thus been recapitulated by Colebrooke: "God is the omniscient and omnipotent cause of the existence, continuance, and dissolution of the universe. Creation is an act of His will. He is both efficient and material cause of the world, creator and nature, framer and frame, doer and deed. At the consummation of all things, all are resolved into Him. . . . The Supreme Being is One, sole existent, secondless, entire, without parts, sempiternal, infinite, ineffable, invariable, ruler of all, universal soul, truth, wisdom, intelligence, happiness."

It was in this period that the great Gautama Buddha rose to unite the caste-stricken people of India, and preached a religion of equality and brotherhood to all men. Gautama lived forty-five years from the date of his proclaiming his new religion; and accepting the year 477 B.C. as the year of his death, the main facts of his life may be thus arranged :—

	B.C.
Born near Kupilavastu	557
His marriage with Yasodharâ	538
He left his home, wife, and infant.	528
He became enlightened at Buddha-Gayâ, and proclaimed his religion at Benares . . .	522
He revisited his home	521
His father, Suddhodana, died, and his stepmother and wife joined the Order	517
His son, Râhula, joined the Order.	508
Yasodharâ's father died	507
Gautama died.	477

Fourth Epoch (320 B.C. to 500 A.D.)

The epoch begins with the brilliant reign of Chandragupta, who united the whole of northern India into one great empire about 320 B.C. His grandson, Asoka the Great, made Buddhism the state religion of India, settled the Buddhist scriptures in the third Buddhist Council, and published his edicts of humanity on stone pillars and on rocks. He prohibited the slaughter of animals, provided medical aid to men and cattle all over his empire, proclaimed the duties of citizens and members of families, and directed Buddhist missionaries to proceed to the ends of the earth, to mix with the rich and the poor, and to proclaim the truth. His inscriptions show that he made treaties with Antiochus of Syria, Ptolemy of Egypt, Antigonus of Macedon, Magas of Cyrene, and Alexander of Epirus, and he sent missionaries to these kingdoms to preach the Buddhist religion. "Both here and in foreign countries," says Asoka,

"everywhere the people follow the doctrine of the Beloved of the Gods, wheresoever it reacheth." "Buddhist missionaries," says a Christian writer, "preached in Syria two centuries before the teaching of Christ (which has so many moral points in common) was heard in northern Palestine, so true is it that every great historical change has had its forerunner."

The Maurya dynasty, which commenced with Chandragupta about 320 B.C., did not last very long after the time of Asoka. It was followed by two short dynasties, the Sunga and the Kânva (183 to 26 B.C.), and then the great Andhras, who had founded a powerful empire in the south, conquered Magadha, and ruled over northern India from 26 B.C. to 430 A.D. The Andhras were followed by Gupta emperors, who were supreme in northern India till about 500 A.D. They were Hindus, but tolerated Buddhism, and made grants to Buddhist churches and monasteries. In the meantime, western India was the scene of continual foreign invasions. The Greeks of Bactria, expelled by Turanian invaders, entered India in the second and first centuries before Christ, founded kingdoms, introduced Greek civilisation and knowledge, and had varied fortunes in different parts of India for centuries after. The Turanians of the Yu-chi tribe next invaded India, and gave a powerful dynasty to Kâshmîra; and Kanishka the Yu-chi king of Kâshmîra had an extensive empire in the first century A.D., which stretched from Kabul and Kashgar and Yarkhand to Gujrat and Agra. He was a Buddhist, and held a great council of the northern Buddhists, and founded the Saka Era, commencing 78 A.D. The Kambojians and other tribes of Kabul then poured into India, and were in their turn followed by the locust-hordes of the Huns, who spread over western India in the fifth century A.D. India had no rest from foreign invasions for several centuries after the time of Asoka the Great; but the invaders, as they

finally settled down in India, adopted the Buddhist religion, and formed a part of the people.

Buddhism declined after the Christian era just as the Hinduism of the Rig Veda declined in the epic period. Ceremonials increased, and idolatry and Buddha worship were introduced. Brâhmanism adopted many of the popular Buddhist forms and ceremonies, and thus a new form of Hinduism gradually replaced Buddhism in India.

We find an uninterrupted series of Buddhist rock-cut caves, Chaityas or churches, and Vihâras or monasteries, all over India, dating from the time of Asoka to the fifth century A.D.; but there are scarcely any specimens of Buddhist architecture of a later date. Temple-building and Hindu architecture flourished from the sixth century A.D., to long after the Mohamedan conquest.

The Buddhist scriptures, settled in the third Council by Asoka, form a very valuable record of the times, and are the best materials for the study of what is known as Southern Buddhism. These scriptures are in the Pali language, and are to be found in Ceylon. Nepal, Thibet, China, and Japan, follow Northern Buddhism.

Fifth Epoch (500 A.D. to 1000 A.D.)

This is the period of the later or Purânic form of Hinduism. The period began with great deeds in politics and literature. Foreign invaders had harassed India for centuries, but at last a great avenger arose. Vikramâditya the Great, of Ujjayinî, was the master of Northern India; he beat back the invaders known as the Sakas in the great battle of Korur, and asserted Hindu independence. Hindu genius and literature revived under his auspices, and a new form of Hinduism asserted itself. The three centuries commencing with

the time of Vikramâditya the Great (500 to 800 A.D.), may be called the Augustan era of Sanskrit literature, and nearly all the great works which are popular in India to this day belong to this period. Kâlidâsa wrote his matchless dramas and poems in Vikrama's court. Of his play called the *Sakuntalâ* Goethe says:

"Would'st thou the life's young blossoms, and the fruits of its decline,
And all by which the soul is pleased, enraptured, feasted, fed?
Would'st thou the earth and heaven itself in one sweet name combine?
I name thee, O *Sakuntalâ*, and all at once is said."

As a dramatist he is the Shakespeare of India.

Amarasinha, the lexicographer, was another of the "nine gems" of this court, and Bhâravi was Kâlidâsa's contemporary, or lived shortly after. Silâditya II., a successor of Vikramâditya, ruled from 610 to 650 A.D., and is the reputed author of *Ratnâvali*. Dandin, the author of *Dasakumâra Charita*, was an old man when Silâditya II. reigned; and Bânabhatta, the author of *Kâdamvarî*, lived in his court. Subandhu, the author of *Vâsavadattâ*, also lived at the same time; and there are reasons to believe that the *Bhatti-Kâvya* was composed by Bhartrihari, the author of the *Satakas*, in the same reign.

In the next century Yasovarman ruled between 700 and 750 A.D., and the renowned Bhavabhûti composed his powerful dramas in this reign. Bhavabhûti, however, was the last of the poets and literary men of ancient India, and no great literary genius arose in India after the eighth century.

It was in this Augustan era also that the voluminous religious works, the *Purânas*, which have given their name to this period, were recast in their present shape.

In modern Hindu science, too, we have the brightest names in these three centuries. Âryabhatta, the founder of modern Hindu astronomy, was born in

476 A.D., and produced his work early in the sixth century. Varâhamihira, his successor, was one of the "nine gems" of Vikrama's court. Brahmagupta was born in 598, and was therefore a contemporary of Bânabhatta, the novelist. Other astronomers of note also lived about the sixth century.

This bright period of three centuries was followed by a period of impenetrable darkness, corresponding to the Dark Ages of Europe. And when light breaks in again in the eleventh century, we find Rajput Chiefs the masters of India, as we find Feudal Barons the masters of Europe after the Dark Ages. The Rajputs were succeeded by the Mohamedans at the close of the twelfth century, the Mohamedans by the Mahrattas at the close of the seventeenth, and they by the British at the close of the eighteenth century.

ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE IN INDIA

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When the East India Company was appointed Diwan, or revenue administrator, for Bengal, Behar, and Orissa, in 1765, the administration of law and justice was still left in the hands of the Nawab of Bengal, and the important duty was miserably performed. Zemindars, however, still continued to maintain peace and order within their estates, and exercised the necessary police and judicial functions.

Supreme Court and the Judicial System of Hastings

The Regulating Act of 1773 created the Supreme Court of Calcutta; and Warren Hastings, who became Governor-General of India in 1774, organised a new system for the administration of justice in the interior of Bengal. He took away all judicial and police powers from local zemindars and low-paid fouzdars; he established a civil court and a criminal court in each district; and he appointed the district collector of revenues to preside at these courts, assisted by Hindu and Musalman officials. He drew up a code of regulations for the guidance of these district officers called Collectors; and he established two courts of appeal in Calcutta—the *Sadr Diwani Adalat* for civil cases, and the *Sadr Nizamat Adalat* for criminal cases.

The Judicial System of Lord Cornwallis

Lord Cornwallis, who succeeded Warren Hastings as Governor-General of India, effected many important reforms. He relieved the Collector of his judicial duties; he appointed Magistrates and Judges to try criminal and civil cases; and he appointed four provincial appellate courts between the District courts and the Sadr courts established by Hastings. In this way Lord Cornwallis really laid the foundations of the system of judicial administration which still prevails in India. In some respects his system has been since modified, and modified not for the better. The provincial appellate courts exist no longer; and the functions of the Magistrate and the Collector have been vested in the same officers, for the sake of convenience or cheapness, but to the dissatisfaction and harassment of the people. It was also from the time of Lord Cornwallis that formal and definitive legislative enactments began in the series of laws known as the Bengal, Madras, and Bombay Regulations.

Both Hastings and Cornwallis made one fatal mistake; they reposed no trust in the people, they gave them no real share in the judicial administration, they vested all real power in European officers. The plan could not succeed, and did not succeed. Crimes multiplied in Bengal, robbery occurred everywhere, and life and property were unsafe. The vast powers given to two European Superintendents of police to arrest men on suspicion deepened the evil. In one district in Bengal 2071 persons were arrested on suspicion between May 1808 and May 1809, and remained in jail for two years without a trial. Many died in prison.

Munro's Judicial System in Madras

The idea then dawned on the ablest servants of the Company that in a civilised and populous country justice could not be dispensed to the people except through the people themselves, The man who first carried this idea into execution, generously and boldly, was Sir Thomas Munro, whose name is still cherished with affection in Madras. His Regulations for the Madras territories, which were passed in 1816, extended the powers and jurisdictions of Native Indian Judges, and transferred to them the principal share in the administration of civil justice. The improvement of the people, said Sir Thomas Munro in a letter to the famous George Canning in 1820, "must be very slow, but it will be in proportion to the degree of confidence we repose in them, and to the share which we give them in the administration of public affairs. All that we can give them, without endangering our own ascendency, should be given. All real military power must be kept in our own hands; but they ought, with advantage hereafter, to be made eligible to every civil office under that of a member of the Government." One retrograde step, however, was taken by Munro in Madras, and subsequently by Elphinstone in Bombay. The functions of the Collector and Magistrate, separated by Lord Cornwallis, were united.

Elphinstone's Judicial System in Bombay

Mountstuart Elphinstone was Governor of Bombay from 1819 to 1827, and he did for Bombay what Sir Thomas Munro had done for Madras. He tried to maintain the old village organisation of the Bombay Presidency under the *Patel* or headman, and he extended the powers of Native Indian Judges in respect

of civil causes. In his famous minute, written in 1824, he recorded his hope and belief that the natives of India "might bear to the English nearly the relation which the Chinese do to the Tartars, the Europeans retaining the government and the military power, while the natives filled a large portion of the civil stations and many of the subordinate employments in the army."

The first great attempt made towards codification of laws was made by Elphinstone. His endeavour to compile a digest of the customs and usages of the people did not succeed; but his systematic arrangement of the laws of the Bombay Council, codified in twenty-seven Regulations, and subdivided into chapters and sections, is the first work of its kind in India under British rule.

Bentinck's Judicial System in Bengal

Lord William Bentinck, who was Governor-General of India from 1828 to 1835, introduced the necessary reforms in Bengal. The appointment of low-paid Native Indian officers, called *Munsifs* or *Ameens*, for the disposal of civil cases, was an element of Lord Cornwallis's scheme of 1793; but men of no character for probity or respectability had been appointed to such posts on miserable commissions, and gave no satisfaction. Lord Hastings had somewhat improved the pay of *Munsifs* and *Sadr Ameens;* but it was Lord William Bentinck who gave them that share of work and responsibility which was necessary in the interests of good administration. The powers and emoluments of the Native Indian Judges were fixed by him upon a comprehensive and liberal scale, and they were invested with the almost entire charge of the administration of civil justice. The admission of the people of India to a proper share of administrative work has generally

evoked opposition from European residents in India; and Lord William Bentinck's action was attacked with a degree of bitterness seldom equalled and never exceeded in India. A statesman who works with a single-hearted desire to serve the interests of the people has to reckon on hostility from privileged classes.

Renewal of Charter, 1833

Other important events happened during the administration of Lord William Bentinck. The Company's Charter expired in 1833, and on the occasion of the renewal of the Charter, the right of the people of India to hold all "place, office, or employment," was explicitly declared. The North-Western Provinces were formed into a separate government, in addition to those of Bengal, Madras, and Bombay. The Governor-General's Council was empowered to pass *Acts* applicable to the whole of India. A new legal member was added to the Council, and Lord Macaulay went out as the first legal member. The old Regulations stop with 1834; since then we have Acts of the Governor-General's Council and also Acts of the Provincial Councils.

Renewal of Charter, 1853

The Company's Charter was once more renewed in 1853; and on this occasion Bengal was placed under the separate administration of a Lieutenant-Governor; provision was made to amalgamate the old Supreme Courts and Sadr Courts into High Courts in the Presidency towns; and the Civil Service of India was opened to public competition.

High Courts

The High Courts of Calcutta, Madras, Bombay, and Allahabad, and the Chief Court of Lahore, exercise

appellate and revisional jurisdictions over the judicial work of the Judges and Magistrates in the different provinces. If there is one institution in India more than another for which the population of India entertain the greatest respect and veneration, it is the High Courts of India. The Indian mind naturally holds justice as the noblest attribute of sovereignty, and regards a court of justice as higher than the court of a ruler. The Executive Government of India, too, is based on old and despotic principles, and the people of India naturally regard with respect and almost with affection the courts of justice which temper that despotism and control its judicial functions.

Under the supervision of a High Court, which extends over an entire province, there is, generally speaking, a Judge in each district in the more advanced parts of India.

Judges and Civil Courts

A district Judge is the head of all the Civil Courts in his district, but tries very few original cases himself. He has well-trained and able officers under him called Subordinate Judges and Munsifs, who take up and dispose of nearly all civil cases that arise in the district. The ability and integrity with which these officers perform their work have received recognition from the highest authorities from time to time, and prove the wisdom of the policy inaugurated by men like Munro, Elphinstone, and Bentinck, of virtually entrusting the entire civil judicial work to the natives of India. The district Judge has a controlling power over these Civil Courts, and sometimes hears appeals. He also tries those important criminal cases which the Magistrate of the district commits to the sessions for trial. In jury districts the Judge is assisted by a jury in the disposal of these sessions cases; but in other

districts he is assisted by assessors, who sit with him, but whose verdict is not binding on him. Not hampered with executive or revenue work, district and sessions Judges soon acquire a fair degree of judicial training; and the people generally regard their impartial and unbiased decisions with greater respect than the decisions of Magistrates who are executive officers and the heads of the local police. It is only very heinous offences, however, which come up to the sessions Judge for decision, most of the criminal work is done by Magistrates.

Magistrates and District Administration

There is a district Magistrate in each district in India; his duties are various, and he is the real executive ruler and administrator of his district. It would be difficult within our limits to fully describe the various functions which he has to discharge, or the numerous responsibilities which rest upon him. Briefly speaking, he collects revenues and taxes; he looks after roads and bridges; he controls primary schools and hospitals; he is the head of the District Board and Local Boards; he inspects municipalities; he is the head of the police, and directs inquiries in important cases; he is the general prosecutor in all cases; he is the head magistrate and has the cases tried by his subordinates; and he is the appellate court in reference to all cases tried by his subordinates exercising second and third-class powers. It is obvious that this arrangement is not suited to the present time, or to the present state of progress in India. The arrangement was considered necessary in the early years of British rule in India; its continuance after the lapse of a century makes British administration more despotic and more generally unpopular than it need be. As a rule, district Magis-

trates are men of ability, judgment, and a great deal of moderation and good sense, but it is not possible for any class of men to be invested with the powers of a policeman and judge, of a prosecutor and appellate court, without giving offence to an intelligent and progressive people, educated in English schools, and keenly alive to the requirements of justice. The question of separating judicial and executive functions in India has been discussed in this country on more than one occasion. Two Secretaries of State for India, Lord Cross and Lord Kimberley, recognised that the separation was needed in the interests of justice and of equity, but the reform has been postponed, ostensibly on the ground of want of funds. It is almost inconceivable that the want of funds should be pleaded as an excuse for the continuance of a system of administration which is un-English and unjust, and which makes British rule despotic and unpopular in India.

Under the district Magistrate, there are various classes of magistrates known as "joint magistrates," "assistant magistrates," "deputy magistrates," "sub-deputy magistrates," "sub-divisional magistrates," and "honorary magistrates." Into a description of these various classes of magistrates it is not necessary for us to enter. It may generally be stated that the remoter portions of a district are parcelled off into sub-divisions, and all criminal cases in these sub-divisions are tried by "sub-divisional magistrates" or their subordinates. Cases occurring in the central portion of a district come up to the district Magistrate himself, and he distributes them among his subordinates at the head-quarters of the district.

The various classes of magistrates, enumerated above, are generally men of education and experience, and perform their duties in a manner which is creditable to them. Great care is taken to see that cases

are not needlessly postponed from day to day, and that the parties and their witnesses are not harassed by being required to attend too often.

Pleaders

The local bar in each district is generally intelligent and educated, and the pleaders of some of the advanced districts in India conduct their cases with an ability and knowledge of law which would do credit to legal practitioners in any part of the world. The proceedings in courts are generally in English, and the pleaders in advanced provinces conduct their cases in English with as much ease and fluency and ability as if they had been unto the manner born. The influence of pleaders is great in the country; the mass of the people look up to them as interpreters between the rulers and the ruled; and they often voice the wishes and feelings and demands of the people.

Police

Complaints are frequently made about the inefficiency of the Indian Police. This is mainly owing to the fact that the subordinate officers of the police are still very much underpaid, and it is not possible to get good work in any part of the world for bad pay. And another reason is that the police of every district is led and guided by an officer known as the District Superintendent of Police, generally a zealous and active officer capable of maintaining discipline, but generally also a very incompetent officer for police and detective work. The pay which is allowed to the District Superintendent of Police does not attract an intelligent and meritorious class of Englishmen to that service ; and as the service is nevertheless virtually reserved for Englishmen, a very poor class of officers is

secured. For police and detective work an Indian on 250 rupees a month is generally a better man than a European on 500 rupees a month; and for the efficiency of police work it would have been better if the service had not been kept virtually as a preserve for Europeans. A very poor and pitiable proportion of burglaries and thefts and robberies are detected, and organised crime still flourishes in India.

But inefficiency is not the only charge brought against the Indian police; a graver charge is its dishonesty. The fabrication of false cases and the sending up of innocent men for trial are unfortunately not uncommon in India, and this makes the name of the Indian police hated by the respectable sections of the Indian community. That mistakes should sometimes be committed in the arrest of offenders is intelligible; but cases are sent up by the police, not unfrequently, which are so grossly false and so elaborately fabricated, that magistrates trying them are filled with pardonable anger. That the police still venture to send up such false cases is not a little owing to the fact that the district Magistrate is the head of the district police, while the magistrates who try the cases are his subordinates. The combination of judicial and police functions in the district Magistrate thus vitiates the administration of justice in India. One of the numerous instances of false cases fabricated by the police, which came to the personal knowledge of the present writer from time to time, is briefly detailed below as a specimen.[1]

[1] When I was a "Sub-Divisional Magistrate" in an eastern district, a case was sent up to me by the police against a woman for abetting the suicide of her husband. The story was that her husband had killed himself by drinking poison prepared by this woman, his wife, from some poisonous root. The District Superintendent himself had inquired into the case, along with his subordinates, and he sat in my court during the trial. A part of the poisonous root was produced in my court, and the oral evidence was ample. The nature of the story,

Village Unions Needed

What is needed for the improvement of administration of justice in India is greater decentralisation. The mistake which Warren Hastings committed in the last century has not yet been rectified; virtually all power is still centred in the hands of the district officer and his police; little or no power or trust is reposed in the people themselves. The people of an entire district or sub-division of a district look up to the district officer or to his police for decision in the triflingest matters; and all local authority which village elders and village panchyets enjoyed of old has been swept away under a system of administration far too minute and centralised. One of the evils of this system is that the officials are not in touch with the people; they recognise no constituted leaders and heads of the people; they deal with the people through the worst of all possible channels, the police. The police report on the failure of crops or the prevalence of distress; they distribute cholera pills and carry out famine relief measures; they report on floods and inundations; they form the only administrative link between the people and the officials. In the pettiest

however, filled me with doubts. The *post-mortem* report seemed to show that the death had been produced by external violence, not by poison. I sent the supposed poisonous root to the medical officer of the district. He tried the juice on a dog, and made other experiments, and reported it was not a juice which would kill, even if taken by the spoonful. I then secretly went to the place of occurrence in a boat and made an investigation. The whole truth then came out. The deceased was an old thief. The police had caught him in the act of theft, and had ill-treated him till the man died. The police then got into a fright, because the death could not be concealed; and they fabricated the whole story of the suicide, and of the wife's abetting the suicide, in order to get a judicial verdict about the death of the thief, and so keep the true cause of the death undisclosed. I would not have mentioned this case if it were a solitary instance of the dishonesty of the Indian police. Unfortunately it is not.

disputes the villagers go up to the Magistrate or the police for settlement; the autonomy of Indian village communities, which outlived centuries of rule under Hindu and Mohamedan kings, is virtually gone; and the agricultural population now rush to law courts and impoverish themselves. Litigation is demoralising; thousands of simple and truthful agriculturists are tutored in falsehood in order that they may be effective witnesses; and the nation is judged by the falsehood uttered in courts. "I have heard," says a high Indian official, "one of the most eminent of our judges doubt whether the perjury that goes on in his court in England could be surpassed in India."[1] But Englishmen are not judged by the perjury of English courts; while the simple and truthful people of India are judged by the perjury of Indian courts, because Englishmen seldom see them and seldom know them except in law courts. One of the few Englishmen in this century whose duties led him to mix with the people in their homes and huts—and not merely in law courts—has recorded his opinion of the truthful character of Indian villagers, in which every one who knows them will agree. Villagers, says Colonel Sleeman, adhere habitually to the truth in their own panchyets. "I have had before me," he adds, "hundreds of cases in which a man's property, liberty, and life had depended upon his telling a lie, and he has refused to tell it."

Village unions are now in course of formation in different parts of India. It is possible to vest these bodies with some power to decide local disputes and settle simple money claims, and generally to manage their own petty village concerns. The endeavour was made early in this century by Munro in Madras and Elphinstone in Bombay, and it failed because village courts cannot exist side by side with higher tribunals

[1] Sir John Strachey's "India" (1894), p. 307.

empowered to adjudicate the same cases. This mistake may now be avoided; and with our additional experience of eighty years we may surely make the attempt now with greater chance of success. It is demoralising to administrators that they should be in no real touch with the people; and it is demoralising to a great agricultural people to have no kind of organised bodies and recognised leaders among themselves, and to have no real contact with the officials and administrators except through the hated and dreaded medium of the police.

It is a sad truth that with increased facilities in communication between Europe and India, Englishmen in India live less among the people, mix less with the people, know less of the people, than they did seventy years ago, in the days of Munro and Elphinstone, Malcolm and Bentinck. And this makes it all the more necessary and imperative in the interests of good government that both in villages and in provincial capitals, both in judicial and in executive matters, representative leaders of the people should be elected to represent the feelings, the sentiments, and the wishes of the people, and to stand as real interpreters between the people and their rulers. In the executive Councils of the Viceroy and the Provincial Governors, no less than in village unions, there should be room fo, trusted leaders of the people, to be their spokesmenr to represent their interests, to keep the Government in touch with the people. The Government of India needs be immensely strong amidst the vast and varied population of that country, and it will add to the strength of the Government to make the administration a little less autocratic and a little more in touch with the people.

INDUSTRIES IN INDIA

By SIR M. M. BHOWNAGGREE, K.C.I.E., M.P.

Of all the numerous subjects which a well-wisher of India is called upon to take into his serious consideration, there is none of such surpassing interest and importance as that of her industrial development, and as it is now a universally accepted principle that the growth of industries among a people is in proportion to their instruction in the sciences and arts applicable to their practical pursuit, the theme of technical education in India is one which, from reasons which will appear later on, I approach with much deliberation and with a certain feeling of anxiety. I must at once premise that the reflections which the subject presents in its economic, political, and educational aspects, are so varied and vast that I could not pretend to deal with them here exhaustively. The multiform diversity of the ethical, physical, religious, and social conditions of the country, and of the races inhabiting it, require the elucidation of propositions and exceptions, with peculiar reference to the different provinces and castes, which the limits of this paper will not permit of my attempting in detail. In the absence of such special treatment of the subject, the information I convey, and the conclusions I draw in the course of this paper, might seem here and there open to doubt and objection, but when it is remembered that I am speaking in one breath as it were of a country not far short of two million square miles in extent, inhabited by a congeries of nearly three hundred millions of vastly diversified races of

people, I cannot well be expected to treat the subject in any more definite and specialised, or rather less general method than that which I have chosen to employ. It is the only method possible in dealing with so vast an amount of matter in so short a space as is placed at our disposal.

The want of coal and iron, the simple needs of the people, their indisposition to migrate to industrial centres from their agricultural village homes, the limits which religion and custom place on their aspirations and on healthy inter-racial competition, and other such causes, are unfavourable to the dissemination of technical instruction. On the other hand, the caste system of the people can be utilised in improving workmanship and enlarging the sphere of labour generally, and lends itself to conditions of co-operative work in factories, the rising standards of life, and the enormous imports of foreign manufactures for the production of articles of daily use or consumption. The extension of general education, and the growth of Western notions as to the objective of industrial labour being the common weal of the country, instead of mainly contributing, as it did in former times, to the pride and luxury of the ruling and aristocratic classes, are designed to prepare large communities to burst the bounds of hereditary employment within fixed and orthodox limits, and to proceed to the extension and application of the principle of science and art to practical pursuits, or, in other words, for the reception of technical education in its widest and best sense.

I propose, in the first place, to enlarge upon those conditions of Indian life which will enable us to realise whether, and how far, the habits and wants of her people at the present day demand a supply of such articles as require in their manufacture skilled labour based upon technical instruction. Of the 288,000,000 of people who form the population of

the country, it is roughly reckoned that 180,000,000 are agriculturists. If we entirely exclude this great subdivision of her inhabitants from the classification mentioned in the preceding sentence, and regard it as offering no market for manufactures of skilled industry, we still have upwards of 100,000,000 of people, or three times the whole population of the United Kingdom, who might fairly be assumed in varying degrees to take such articles into daily use. In respect of the agricultural population, too, it must be remembered that they afford a vast field for the consumption of rough cotton and woollen fabrics, which are at present supplied to a large extent by hand-looms. This might seem strange to those who have heard of the large cotton-spinning and weaving steam-factories of India, but that these mills do not compete with the hand-looms to such an extent as to drive the worker at those crude primitive machines out of existence might not unreasonably be assumed to point to the fact, that even in the one industry which is mistakenly supposed to be fully developed in India, there is enough scope for much further development by means of such technical instruction as might ultimately tend to cheapen the manufactured article, thus enabling it to replace the slow production of the hand-loom. This subject, I must confess, admits of some controversy, and therefore, after contenting myself with the passing allusion I have made to it, I will revert to the consideration of the wants of the 100,000,000, which, as we have seen, extend to articles of skilled manufacture.

What do they use every day? Take the humblest household first. You will find there metal pots and pans for cooking purposes; kerosene or mineral oil and matches for light; cotton, bone or metal buttons, pins, hooks and eyes, needles and thread, which enter into the preparation of the family garments of rough native-

made fabrics. Then there are tacks and nails, twine and string, a hammer, and other tools, in many houses. All these articles, every one of them, is of foreign make.

Peering into another household a stage or two upraised in the social scale, you find nearly all the articles common to the daily use of a European working man; most of the culinary utensils, lamps, candle and soap, paper, ink, pen, pencil, not a single one of which is made in India. His house is painted with colour or washes of foreign composition, the woodwork of it is varnished with foreign varnish, his clothes are of European manufacture. One degree higher, again, and four-fifths of the articles you find in the domicile of a peon, a petty schoolmaster, or a clerk, and on his own and wife and children's persons, are of foreign make. Then come the households of the large middle class, of the successful and comfortable tradesman, the merchant, and the professional man. There, and in a still greater degree in the mansions of millionaires and the palaces of princes, the predominating proportion of articles is all of foreign manufacture. I try hard to recall to my mind what particular article I should find of Indian workmanship in places like these last, and I do see many of that description, from the kitchen and stable to the drawing-room and the hall. Some critics who do not fall in with my views might point to the furniture. That would make a somewhat important exception if I viewed this considerable part of a household as a superficial observer would, but then he does not remember that, save in the simplest and crudest class of furniture, a good proportion of what is known as local furniture is not native-made at all. The springs of a couch or chair, the lining, the buttons, the thread, the hinges of a cupboard or box, the screws, the nails, the locks, the very tools with which these are put together and formed into shape, are all made abroad.

So that what remains is the wood and the labour. That even these contribute their due proportion of profit to the native worker, I doubt. English firms and European employers in very many instances control the production of the raw material and the labour, and very appropriately take the profit of it, the native's gain being the bare living wages of his daily toil. To this point I shall revert at a later stage of this paper; for the present it is necessary not to lose sight of the main issue, viz., what proportion of the articles in daily use in a household in India is of native make.

Then, again, let us turn to things of daily consumption. Naturally, and thanks to the system of religion and caste, and the observances and customs which are thereby enjoined on the vast bulk of the people, these things are mainly confined to articles of native growth. Wheat, rice, grains and cereals, vegetables and fruit, milk and its products, which form the staple food of large masses, are all supplied by the labour of the agriculturist and the farmer, and as they do not require skilled manipulation, the foreigner has not invaded this sphere of the country's produce and supply. But the entire English, Parsee, Eurasian, and native Christian communities, a fairly large proportion of the 60,000,000 of the Mohamedan population, and an appreciable portion of certain Hindu sects, on whom there lies no obligation on the score of religion and custom, either to abstain from flesh or to avoid eatables not cooked in their own kitchens, are consumers of tinned and preserved provisions, and of wines and spirits. It is difficult to form a correct notion of the aggregate of this class, but placing it at the lowest figure, with due regard to the status in life which renders this consumption almost a necessity, there cannot be less than 3,000,000 into whose daily dietary foreign provisions and condiments and drinks are included. Although this is not a large proportion of the popula-

tion, still it is sufficient to furnish forth a good market. And when we look at this item not only as regards the amount of money which preserved food carries away from India, but by the light of the waste of raw material, or the diversion into foreign countries of the profit that ought to go into the pockets of the natives, as, for instance, in the case of tea, coffee, and condiments, then I contend that the inaptitude of the people of India to betake themselves to industrial pursuits cannot but be regarded as a serious evil, of which the cure can be effected in a great measure, if not wholly, by the inculcation of technical instruction.

We have now before us a picture, in the merest outline, of the demand for manufactured articles which exists in India. The extent and condition of that demand can be but inadequately realised from the few facts I have given above; still they are sufficient to show that the needs of the people in this direction are as varied as they are extensive. Let us now examine what are the conditions and the system of the production and supply of these articles, what is their range, and what means there are of remedying the defects and deficiencies of that system; how, in short, India can be to-day regarded from an industrial point of view. The popular but somewhat vague notion which prevails on the point, not only outside of that country, but among some of her well-educated classes, is that she is a huge emporium of industries, and a competitor formidable to the great industrial centres of Europe.

To my mind this is a great fallacy, and I shall be surprised if my reader does not come to the same conclusion. Let us for a moment trace her industrial history from early times.

India, originally, was even more than in the present a purely agricultural country with village communities, including craftsmen who produced everything

required for the village, and were paid in kind. With reference to the narrow and elementary wants of her inhabitants in the remote past, she might have been considered an industrial country, although not in the sense in which that term is now understood. There are traces of early invaders, and of foreign trading settlers, who utilised cheap labour and the industrious instincts of the population, and started round the coast, and at points on the rivers and the frontiers, industrial centres. But the profits of these industries, even from that date, did not reach the people. With the advancement of civilisation, and more or less enduring forms of administration which followed, the village communities fell under the dominion of princes, and village craftsmen of a superior kind found their way into great polytechnical cities and into the courts of chiefs. There are also early records in European history of a large and valuable export trade from India carried on by Greeks, Phœnicians, and Egyptians, followed by Saracen traders, who brought back such fables of India as we find in the history of Sindbad the Sailor, known to every schoolboy.

In the Middle Ages the Western nations of Europe took up this trade, and Portugal, Holland, France, and England struggled for supremacy, each wishing to grasp for itself all the profits of the supply of Indian manufactures, such as they were, and of the raw products, then becoming for the first time of commercial value to European manufacturers. In this struggle of nations, fortunately for India, the best has survived, and England, realising her responsibilities to the people whose destinies she has undertaken to direct, has attempted to strengthen her position by fostering native industries to a certain extent. This is apparent in the cotton mills of Bombay, which, although far from being the formidable rivals to Lancashire generally supposed, are supplying the local demand for coarse cloth; in the

railway works, which employ a good deal of native labour; and in the cultivation of tea, which has been introduced by British enterprise along the great stretch of the Himalayan Hills with such success that in a few years India has become a great rival of China in supplying tea to the markets of the world.

Chief among the industrial pursuits in the India of old times, handed down to a recent date, might be mentioned architecture. Sculpture played a prominent part in the ancient architecture of India. Both the Mohamedans and Hindus gave the greatest development to their industrial energy in this direction in the building of sacred shrines in past times, and in the present age, when buildings of everyday utility are being reared up in place of the more gorgeous temples and mausoleums of old, the inherent aptitude of the Indian workman for ornamental carving in wood and stone is freely put into practice in carrying out the designs based on systematic training in Western methods.

Next in point of importance are the manufactures of India. In so thoroughly agricultural a country, and one in which neither the progressive development nor the everyday needs of the people had up to the last century attained anything like the standard known to Western nations, the manufactures adapted to the condition of the consumers consisted mainly of coarse stuffs for the bulk of the population, and of fine fabrics of silk, cotton, and wool, and ornamental embroidery for the wealthier class. In this respect the industrial development of India about two hundred years ago was equal to that of Europe. But the giant strides which the inventive genius of the West has taken in the last two centuries, while the intellectual power of the East has remained inert, has far out-distanced all competition on the part of India, and European manufactures have to-day not only suppressed, but almost crushed out of existence, the handicrafts of India. For instance,

the fine muslin industry of Dacca and Benares is now abandoned and almost forgotten; native calico, which derived its name from Calicut, on the coast of Malabar, is not known except for the imitation of it which is imported from Europe; and even the ordinary cotton fabrics for the everyday use of all but the poorest have given way before the cheaper manufacture of that class sent not only from Lancashire, but from Germany and other Continental countries.

Silk weaving, which was at one time a common industry, and in respect of which certain towns, like Surat, were famous throughout the world, first gave way to Chinese silk, and latterly to the French. In respect of this handicraft, it is noteworthy that it was superseded not only by the product of power-looms, but was beaten back by the hand-looms of China; and this is a striking instance of that want of technical training which has prevented the native of India from utilising his undoubted intellectual power in maintaining and developing an inherited industry.

Embroidery has to a large extent kept its hold on the Indian craftsman. Shawls and chogas of Cashmere and the Punjaub have hitherto defied competition, and even imitation.

Carpets of various materials and descriptions are still a flourishing industry, but it shows signs of surrender to the Brussels manufactured article. There are twenty-two breweries in India, and the paper, leather, jute, and other factories give employment to some 200,000 men. Before concluding this necessarily brief *résumé* of industries, I must refer to the much talked of cotton-mills of India. There are about 150 mills, two-thirds of these being in Bombay, containing 35,000 looms, and about 4,000,000 spindles, employing about 150,000 hands. I calculate that at the very outside the number of people engaged in actual industrial pursuits cannot exceed 3,000,000. But the

very large proportion of this comparatively small number of the population of the country must be classed as mere labourers, for they work at a daily wage, and have no share in the actual profits of the industries; nor are the industries themselves, except in the manufacture of cotton, and in the tea and coffee plantations, very lucrative.

I am fully cognisant of, and gratefully acknowledge, the rapid growth of India as a commercial country under the stimulus afforded to its trade and industries by the protection and peace which has been guaranteed it by the British rule. Its export trade in pre-British times did not exceed £1,000,000 sterling in value; to-day its value is seventy-fold. But the great bulk of it consists of raw produce. This increase in the quantities and value of these exports is, however, to a great extent responsible for the notion I have alluded to above, of India being a huge manufacturing and industrial emporium. But when it is remembered that most of the articles that form the export trade leave the country devoid of any native skilled manipulation, they ought to cease to mislead one into the belief that the industrial capacity of India is at all commensurate with her natural wealth of produce, or that the value of her exports of raw material can be at all an index of her inherent capacity for increased industrial production, if scientifically and technically trained, as is too often mistakenly supposed to be the case.

I will now briefly enumerate some of the chief varieties of raw material which are produced abundantly in the country, of the class that would admit of manipulation. They are—Coffee, coir, cotton, drugs, dyes, fibres, grain and pulse, gums and resins, hemp, hides and skins, horns, ivory, jute, lac, precious stones, seeds, silk, spices, sugar-cane, tobacco, tea, timber, and wool.

This is by no means a complete list, but it contains

a few items which eminently serve my purpose of showing how far—owing to want of ordinary enterprise and the almost entire absence of skilled labour of the most common sort, both of which would result from technical instruction—India fails to derive the benefit of the rich stores Nature has bestowed upon her with a lavish hand. Let us take, for example, the item of hides and skins. In 1894–95 India exported Rs. 2,179,576 worth of these articles. She imported in the same year prepared leather and leather goods of the value of Rs. 178,597, excluding boots and shoes, the value of which would increase this figure largely. Of raw wool, again, the export in the same year amounted in value to Rs. 2,016,086; the imports of the same material manufactured being worth Rs. 1,541,639. Take seeds. The export of this commodity was valued at Rs. 14,206,042 in the same year, in the course of which the imports of oil, which could have been pressed from the seeds, amounted in value to Rs. 2,122,999. Sugar in a rough form, which left India in that year, was valued at Rs. 1,230,903; the import of the same article, refined, amounted to Rs. 2,875,297. These figures of exports and imports, which can be quoted in respect of every article of the raw produce of India which admits of skilled labour, tell the dismal tale of the drain, from preventable causes, of her natural resources to make the wealth of other countries. The wool and skins, the hides and molasses, and nearly all such articles which are packed away from India, year after year—to be imported again after undergoing manipulation by foreign operatives—would, with the application of a little skilled labour on the spot, offer to millions of her poorest inhabitants the means of subsistence. It would save her, besides, all that large amount of money which is represented by freight, by office and middle-men's charges, and by the difference of exchange, which all goes out of her

pocket by the time these articles travel back to her markets and shops in a refined form, or in a shape of articles prepared abroad ready for use by her people. Instead of her keeping as much of this raw material at home as she requires for the manufacture of such articles, and sending out the surplus, either ready manufactured for sale abroad, or at as late a stage of preparation as mere ordinary skilled workmanship would admit of, she chucks it away in bulk, and thus furnishes the means of livelihood to millions of foreigners, while her own children are famishing at home.

Nor is this the case in respect of such articles only as require for their manufacture any particular skill or aptitude which is as yet unknown to them. Tea, coffee, and tobacco, for instance, do not require any very intricate operation before they are ready for consumption. Indeed, all the labour they require is exclusively put upon them to-day by the Indian labourer and workman. And yet it is not the native of India that takes the profit on them: it is the European planter and the tobacco and cigar maker, who is from his boyhood apprenticed in those lines, and brings to his work the knowledge and enterprise which are the natural outcome of his training, who pockets the large surplus of gains after the Indian has had his hire. Go through the list of tea and coffee plantations, of tobacco factories, of tanneries, iron and brass foundries and breweries, oil and flour and bone-crushing factories, woollen and silk mills, and you will find that the proprietor, or master, or employer, who, of course, takes all the remainder of the income after the workmen and establishments are paid, in a large number of them is not the native of India. This little enumeration engrosses nearly all of what are called "large industries"; and, alas! how mean and insignificant, how utterly microscopic, are the variety and extent of them compared to the huge

population of the country and in relation to the quantity of articles they consume, save in the one single item of tea. If any one is tempted to challenge the truth of these assertions by pointing to cotton factories as hives of industry which are controlled by natives, the profit of which goes to the people of India, and which are extensive enough to supply most of the country's demand for cotton fabrics, my retort would be, that the very success of that one industry, granting all that is claimed—although even here the whole profit does not go to India—proves the truth of all my deductions in respect of the others. If the natives are able to command that industry, if they can raise capital, produce skilled workmen, and conduct its affairs so as to make it a source of profit to the country, and that in spite of their inability to make a single object in use in the "plant," there is no reason whatsoever why they could not or should not do the same in the case of all the other industries I have named above, and many more untried ones, for which their own wants afford a wide scope. All that they require for that purpose is enterprise and skill. Without skill they cannot have the necessary impulse of venture, and to attain skill they must have the help and guidance of technical instruction.

This brings us to the subject proper of this paper. It might seem strange that I should have dwelt at such length on what is practically a preamble to the thesis, delaying so far the actual treatment thereof. But there has been so little done hitherto in the direction of technical instruction in India, that I have very scant materials to lay before you. On the other hand, the omission of that teaching has already resulted in such an amount of mischief and misery to the land, has so retarded her development, nay, so grievously stunted her resources, so impoverished her people, and so dwarfed all those energies that go to make a country prosperous

and powerful, that I thought I would best make out a case for a speedy and vigorous effort in future to repair that serious omission in the past by delineating the evils which it has produced and is ever increasingly producing in the present.

Except for a very few desultory institutions started within the last decade, there have been no efforts made for the training of the people of India in industrial pursuits based upon scientific principles. Schools of art with this purpose partially in view, were started some years back in a few chief towns, but their objects were in the main to preserve all that was left of art traditions in India, to save her fine arts from being contaminated by the thoughtless and vile imitations of European styles and models, and, if possible, to develop the native faculty and ideas of ornamental or decorative art. It is outside the purpose of this paper, nor would I be competent to judge of how far they have succeeded in reviving the natural instincts of the people of India. But if they have succeeded in any degree in influencing art industries, they have had no perceptible effect upon the manufactures or the profitable development of the material resources of the country.

The workshops of railways and of some of the private factories, and laboratories in a few colleges, used to be the only openings for the Indian youth to obtain a rudimentary knowledge of mechanics and chemistry, until about ten years ago, when for the first time efforts were made in Madras and Bombay to start technical institutions. The scheme of the former has mostly remained on paper, and for some reason Madras has been unable to begin the actual work of instruction. The Bombay project was lucky in having for its guide an educationalist of varied experience and Continental reputation in the person of the Governor of the Presidency, Lord Reay, who gave it a sound

working committee of business men, and a secretary who was himself trained in some of the best English industrial centres as a mechanical engineer. In this gentleman, the Honourable N. N. Wadia, C.I.E., was combined, with great technical knowledge, a large acquaintance with the wants of the country and the characteristics of her people. These qualities enabled him, with the help of efficient teachers obtained from Europe, to organise a system of instruction in such departments of industry as were most in vogue in Bombay, the result of which has amply proved the utility of the institution, even in the few years it has been in existence. Lord Harris, who succeeded Lord Reay, took a lively interest in the growth of the institute. The pupils who studied in and were diploma'd by it, obtained lucrative situations in the local mills and factories, and altogether, from a combination of various favourable causes, the Victoria Technical Institute has been enabled to plant its foot firmly on the soil of Bombay. I had the privilege of visiting it last January, and I rejoiced to find some of my pet beliefs with regard to the aptitude of the Indian youth to work with as deft a hand and as artistic a faculty as the skilled European artisan—given the same training and the same opportunities—realised, especially when I saw, in a newly created department, sign-boards and household utensils in enamelled metal prepared by the students. Hardware and cutlery imports in India in 1895–96 were valued at Rs. 1,422,533; and roughly estimating the price of the description of articles in hardware which I saw manufactured in the Victoria Technical Institute at considerably lower than a third of that amount, here is an illustration of how Rs. 400,000 might at once be kept every year in India, which has hitherto gone out of the country, on just one common item of import. Many other such results of the efficiency of the teachers and the diligence and capacity

of the students were shown to me in this excellent institution, which I cannot attempt to describe in detail; but I came away from it firmer in my conviction that technical instruction was the only means by which India could be saved from her poverty, helplessness, and degradation, and sad with the thought that such a feasible mode of securing the country's welfare should have been so long delayed by her Government, and so utterly neglected by her people, for I am told that there is even now only one establishment of its kind in all the continent, and that, with this exception, the only opening for the coming generation of men to train itself in industrial pursuits is the narrow door by which occasionally a youth here and there might get by favour into a railway or private workshop to obtain a smattering of mechanical knowledge.

My history of the technical industrial education carried on at present in India began with the last paragraph, and must end with it. Although I cannot pretend to personal acquaintance with all or most of her provinces, I do not think the existence of any properly organised institution elsewhere, similar to the one in Bombay, would have been unknown to me. Small classes for carpentry, joinery, &c., there might be in a few districts, but none of them so equipped, or aided by public or private enterprise, as to be effective of much good. The caste organisation, in its ancient integrity, which aimed at continuing the handicraft peculiar to it, has disappeared. Well-organised apprenticeship to industries is unknown. Cheap Continental ware of all sorts is fast driving out whatever is heretofore left to the native operative to perform. And, worse than all, a vague and vain system of so-called liberal education on a purely literary organisation is implanting in the minds of her youth a dislike, and even an aversion, to the pursuit of the trades and industries of their fathers, which are fast giving way

before professions in which there are already more practitioners than remunerative work or clients.

Of all these and other causes which have led to this arrest and decay of industries in India, and to the entire absence of any new developments, the last-named is the most potent, and operates both directly and indirectly. The system of education which has now taken root in the soil is every year growing wider in the anti-industrial direction which it unfortunately took from the first. The son of the merchant, the tradesman, the artisan, the shopkeeper, who was at the inauguration of that system drawn with some trouble and indiscriminately within its sphere, stayed in it too long to get back contentedly to his father's avocation with a firm resolve to foster and develop it by those means which his education was meant to furnish him with. The first opening offered into, and the success well deserved in some, and easily attained owing to want of competition in many cases, which attended those who entered the professions of law or medicine, or the offices of Government, fixed unreservedly to that system a purpose which is not the legitimate goal of popular education. The desk and the ledger, the workman's apron and turned-up sleeves, the long hours of toil and the early years of doubt and anxiety about profits, which are the essential elements of success in all industrial pursuits, have naturally less attraction to a youth launching upon life than the lawyer's briefs and doctor's prescriptions, or the settled hours and fixed income of work in Government offices. In the case of many an Indian youth, his father, a good manly fellow, who, by dint of industry, honest though untrained and humble, has laid by a few hundred or thousand rupees (but to him education on our system is an exotic), rejoices to see his son spout English verse and write elegant essays, and is not sorry at the thought that he will easily earn as much pay from his clients or the public treasury

in a month as it cost him at that age a year's hard industry to produce. This, at first sight, is no doubt a highly pleasant prospect. But the father is too ignorant and the son too inexperienced to take into calculation the growing social and domestic wants of the coming time, the loss both to his country and to his house of the old family trade or industry, which, if properly matured and developed by the light of new knowledge, would unfailingly become a source of personal and national wealth; and the direct drain both on the community and on the individual from the replacement by foreign labour of manufactures which must perforce take the place of the produce of the lost home industry, is a problem which would strike the imagination of neither father nor son. Thus, not only are there no new industrial avenues opened, but the old ones are being fast closed from this misdirected use and misunderstood purpose of the education as imparted at present to the youth of India, and from the unhappy character of that education, which is mainly literary and in no wise technical. Instance after instance of old industrial communities being thrown out of work, scores of industries being dead or dying, and not a single new one of any dimension taking their place, might be gathered by a critical observer. If some of the old trades and industrial pursuits still exist, it is a remarkable fact that their term of life is limited to the period up to which the castes or communities whose peculiar avocation they are will resist the attraction of that system of education of which I have just spoken. The loss of industrial arts and labour in India proceeds almost in exact ratio to the progress of this spurious education. Take, for example, the Parsee community, which is known to have made the start in the race after Western education. Their inherent pluck and aptitude for work, among other qualities, which were first brought out conspicuously

under British rule, had in the last generation made them the masters of many art industries and lucrative trades. They became first-rate shipwrights, cabinet-makers, workers in carved sandal-wood and inlaid ivory, owners of silk-weaving establishments, gardeners, druggists, bakers, confectioners, victuallers. All these industries, in which education, if properly supplemented by technical training, would have enabled the new generation of them to develop and become large and wealthy employers of labour, are lost or nearly all lost to them now. The sons of former merchants and dockmasters, of furniture-makers and ship-chandlers, are most of them glutting the medical and legal professions, or content to be petty clerks and school-teachers. The same might be said of other communities, but it would be too long to multiply instances here.

I can only allude briefly to the contention which I have heard advanced in refutation of the views here expounded as to the anti-industrial effects of the education which is at present in vogue in India. It is argued that the same abandonment of old pursuits and tendency to elegant and easy life result from the mode of instruction pursued in England and other thriving countries of the West, and that therefore it is a fallacy to assume that it has an adverse effect in the long run upon national industry or upon national prosperity. This contention is true to a certain extent and in a certain sense. The evil effects of purely scholastic instruction for the masses are already realised in the countries of Europe, and strenuous efforts made to arrest them; on the other hand, their vast wealth, their expanding dominion and commerce, their colossal manufactories, the progressive inventions of their scientific men, the inexhaustible energy and enterprise of their tradesmen and workmen, and a hundred other forces, entirely unknown or unfelt in India, more than

counterbalance the mischief. If an art or industry is lost in a European country, a new one not infrequently takes its place, and the existing ones are ever developing. So that the analogy of the optimist with regard to India does not hold good, where every industry that is lost is at once replaced in its products by foreign goods, and is by so much a permanent loss to the means of subsistence of the working masses, and an added burden on those classes which are every day trained in increasing numbers to use, and therefore compelled to buy, such goods.

There are some people, again, who assert that this loss is made up by the opening of new channels of industry, as is evidenced by the increasing activity of bazaars. But even if depots are every year opened out, and more workshops are seen in large towns, it is a mistake to suppose that they compensate for the indigenous industrial pursuits that are being lost one after another. These depots are merely storehouses of foreign wares, and these workshops are the very places in which the practical but scientifically and technically untrained native workman is employed to put together or combine in a whole the component parts, prepared in European factories, of the article which the consumer in India requires for immediate use. This process is mistakenly supposed to be a new industry. It is nothing of the kind. Take the boot-making business in several parts of India. It locally turns out a large number of boots, which the educated native, preferring to be shod in the European style, buys from a so-called native workshop, at once satisfying his slender means and patriotic impulse. In doing so he thinks he buys a native-made article, the whole profit of which would remain in the country if a foreign Government did not drain part of it away for administrative purposes. All the same, he is himself paying on that very article to foreign manufacturers an immense profit, for the

prepared tops, the soles, the buttons, the eyes and the lace, the elastic, the thread, the tacks, and the very needles and hammers and other tools with which they are put together, all come from abroad. What he does pay to his own country on that boot is the mere labour wage of putting these things together, and possibly a bare margin of profit to the native wholesale merchant who imported those several component parts. The mistake in this case which the educated buyer unknowingly flounders in, and the unlucrative return which accrues to the scientifically untrained workman for his diligent toil, year in and year out, are the results of the absence of that technical education which is the only means by which a single pair of boots can eventually, if ever, be really made in India. When that happy era arrives, I think the educated native of to-day, if living then, would find that after all it was not the administrative charges of a foreign Government that made his country so deplorably poor that it could not battle with the first ravages of a famine at the close of the nineteenth century, but that its helplessness came from within the country itself, and that he himself was the largest contributor to his country's impoverishment in that he resisted the replacement of a meretricious and hollow education by a sound course of technical instruction.

Again, it is often urged that the want of metal and fuel in India is an insurmountable bar to manufacturing industry. That it is a disadvantage I fully grant, but the cheap labour of India is a powerful compensation. The industries that are flourishing in India prove this to the hilt. These are the cotton and other mills, the foundries, the breweries, the cigar factories. That all these in the initial stage were, and most of them even now are, owned by Europeans, unmistakably points to the fact that in whatever industry European capital and energy and skill have

been spent, in that particular industry at least this supposed invincible defect has been overcome. As a further illustration of this argument I shall point to the fact that even the products from such material as can best grow from the nature of the Indian soil, and by such manipulation as her people are best adapted, whether from long usage or from economic conditions, to exercise, are being turned to profit by the foreign trader, because the native, for want of technical training, and of the confidence and other business qualities which such training begets, is unable to keep the industries that produce them to himself. Tea, coffee, indigo, and certain drugs are evident examples. Fish and fruit, such as plantains and mangoes, which are destined to become before long—but not until European capital and enterprise shall turn in that direction—a large export trade, are to-day practically wasted in large quantities, because from one end of India to the other there is not a native trained in the rudimentary art of canning edibles. This serves to show that the main bar to, say, some at present small Indian fruit-seller or fishmonger becoming the affluent master of a great export trade in fish or fruit, is the want of technical knowledge to preserve, and can, or bottle, his fruit or fish. That, however, which directly illustrates the contention that even a product of exclusive native growth and make is largely monopolised by foreigners for the purposes of profitable export, is the large European trade that has come into existence in recent years in such articles as chutnees and curries, pickles and other condiments. The native makes it wholly and solely in the old fashion. If there are new varieties they are made to the order of European masters or agents. They are sent here in bulk and in crude shapes at little over cost price, which pays the labourer's wage, and scarcely more than the subsistence allowance of his fellow-countryman who employs him in a primitive

workshop devoid of any modern appliances or apparatus. By the time they are placed on the table of the English household they are distributed by the English importer in bottles with elegant designs, one of which I picked up last Easter in an ordinary grocery store in Ramsgate. For evident reasons I omit the name and the address of the company selling it, but that is not necessary to the elucidation of the fact, that whereas an article of exclusive Indian make yielded to the native manufacturer a bare profit over the cost price, to the more enterprising and skilled English victualler, who from his training is able to detect in it an attractive article of popular consumption if properly prepared for the shop window, it has become a source of great wealth. I could multiply such instances without limit to prove that the want of technical instruction is at the root, not only of the loss of most of India's industries, but of much of that poverty and helplessness under which she labours.

There is in the country the raw produce, and also the labour, necessary for industrial pursuits. The excellent catalogue of the economic products of the Bombay Presidency, published by that great friend and well-wisher of India, Sir George Birdwood, proved as far back as thirty-five years ago, of that part of India, what is true of many other parts, that her raw material wealth is practically unbounded in quantity and rich in variety. Other larger works in the same direction, published at later dates, have brought within the reach of students of Indian economic products the widest and fullest knowledge. The artistic and scientific faculties, too, of the native of India are of a high order, which have evoked the praise of many competent judges and observers. They have always excelled not only in hereditary and indigenous arts, but whenever they have turned their attention to it they have in many cases shown superiority of skill in arts imported from the

West, and an aptitude for converting them into profitable industries. To give just one case I would mention the great photographic business reared up in India by the Raja Deen Dayal. This gentleman's diligent and trained pursuit of photography had been for years known in several parts of India, but I was not prepared to find that great perfection of the art which he had attained until I saw last January samples of his work in his newly opened depot in Bombay. His portraits and pictures, in style and finish, and in other artistic merits, are equal to the best that one could find in any European photographic establishment. But what struck me even more than this artistic excellence of his work was the elegantly comfortable, yet business-like, surroundings of his studio, and his own modest and intellectual conversation on many economic and industrial topics, all tending to show how an educated native of India, if brought under the influence of technical instruction, is thoroughly capable of developing any art or scientific calling into a profitable and pleasurable industry for himself and his countrymen.

Now this paper has lengthened out considerably beyond what I intended when I first undertook to write it, and still it has but touched the fringe of the important subject it deals with. My treatment of it has been hurried and crude, but still I have, I hope, been able to show you, by a few figures, arguments, and illustrations, that, on the one hand, there is scarcely any technical instruction imparted in India, and that, on the other, that it is India's greatest need from more points of view than the economic. All-important as this point is, I submit that if, as I firmly believe, a system of technical instruction widely diffused throughout the country were to lead to a higher appreciation of Britain's domination over India than is at present to be found, that of itself ought to prove not the least of those impulses under which her administrators are bound,

without further delay, to do all that they can to furnish her with the means of developing the vast natural resources of the country and the industrial and artistic faculties of her literally teeming millions, than whom no more industrious, patient, provident, tractable, and loyal people anywhere exist within the wide range of the British Empire.

FAMINES IN INDIA

By J. A. BAINES, C.S.I.

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To treat of a subject of so very special a character in a series of papers purporting to refer to the general features of the British Empire appears altogether inconsistent. We must take into consideration, however, the fact that India ought not to be regarded as a single country, except in reference to the one universal feature of British rule. In all other respects, whether on geographical, ethnical, or other grounds, it must be taken to be a mere collection of heterogeneous elements, kept in position by outside influences, not by mutual attraction, and lacking, accordingly, all the factors which go to form what we know in the present day as nationality.

The British Government is responsible for the repression of the manifestation of the racial, religious, and other animosities which in bygone days kept the different communities apart, and prevented the growth of any general bond throughout the country. It is this responsibility which amply justifies the use of the title Imperial in relation to our rule over India; and the action taken by the Government on the one hand, and by the people of this country on the other, in the face of a calamity so intense and widespread as the famine which in 1897 afflicted our great Dependency, proves that we are fully sensible of that responsibility and have no intention of evading it. In former days a famine, apart from the actual misery to the masses,

meant the relaxation of bonds of social order. Villages were pillaged for food, and under the shadow of this pretext, bands of professional robbers pursued their trade undisturbed owing to the general paralysis of the authority of the ruling powers. Often, again, a State weakened by famine fell a prey to a stronger and less afflicted neighbour; whilst, owing to the want of communications, even had the will to aid been present among the numerous petty States into which India was then divided, the power to throw supplies into the reach of a suffering population was absent.

The consolidation of the country which we know as India, a term so wide in scope that it remains far beyond the comprehension of the average inhabitant of the country even at this day, has converted a local calamity, like the famine, into a matter of Imperial concern, and no part of our Eastern possessions is entirely exempt from the obligation of assisting in the alleviation of the distress of another. This fact, together with the interest which the famine has excited in England, justifies, perhaps, the inclusion of my subject among those which have been already dealt with by myself and others in the present series of papers.

The first points we have to consider, then, are the cause and nature of a famine. The main object of the cultivator in India is different from that of his English compeer. Here, owing to our climate, the farmer has to do what he can to get the moisture in the soil down to a reasonable limit, and the rainfall with which he has to contend is spread over the greater part of the year. At least, it is at no time safe for us to lend away our umbrella for more than a few days at a time. Now, in India the chief want is water in the soil, so that the crops which have to struggle against the burning heat may be refreshed from below, or they come up stunted and soon wither

away. In but few parts of the country can dependence for the water-supply be placed on other than the rainfall. But this, again, is not bountifully spread over the whole twelve months, but, as in all tropical countries, is periodical, or restricted to certain seasons. In some tracts there are two or more short rainy seasons; elsewhere there is but one, and that generally a longer and heavier one. The main fact to bear in mind is that if the fall be unpropitious either in amount or in distribution, there is no hope for a change until the next season comes round. The country may be divided into tracts of light, heavy, and insignificant rainfall; and it is in the zones of uncertain fall, and not necessarily in the tracts of light rainfall, that famine is more likely to occur.

It further happens that the heaviest population is found where the fall is heaviest, and that other things, such as the facilities for artificial irrigation, being equal, the population tends to get more sparse as the rainfall diminishes. At the same time we ought to remember that there are two classes of density, or weight thrown upon the soil, viz., the merely numerical and the more important economic weight. In India, for instance, we find 70 per cent. of the country with only 87 persons to the square mile, whilst the rest supports about 400 to that area. But India grows its own food. In England, where we find a far greater density, about 500 to the mile, only about a third of the population lives upon what is supplied directly by the country, and the rest by the exchange of minerals or manufactured goods for food, the produce of the non-manufacturing foreigner.

We have next to bear in mind the fact that the greater part of the Indian population, except the lowest classes and the denizens of the coast, is almost entirely vegetarian. The only animal food in universal use is milk and its allied products. For the rest, the people

in many countries, including all those of heavy rainfall, trust to rice. Elsewhere, millet of one sort or another is eaten, with pulse and vegetables. Wheat is the staple food of only a few millions in the north-western portions of India. As no other countries grow millet to an extent that would allow of their becoming a standing resource to any considerable proportion of the Indian population in case of a failure of crops in the latter country, it is easy to see that India must rely mainly on its own resources for its annual supply. There is but slight opening for wheat, and maize seems the only staple food which could be laid down with advantage from abroad.

Facts such as the above prove the importance in the economy of the country of agriculture, and with it the simple form of pasture which represents dairy-farming in India. Some 60 per cent. of the people are directly dependent upon cultivation for their living, and some 20 per cent. more are indirectly indebted to Mother Earth in the same way. The tillage of their fields is carried on by oxen, not horses, so that the draught and the milch cattle are inseparably connected with agriculture. When the crops fail, so does the forage, and with it both food and drink. The proportion of people living in towns is insignificant, compared to that in this country. The bulk of the community is collected in village-bodies, each independent of the rest, with its own tract of land, its own supply of petty artisans, standing and falling with the prosperity or the reverse of the peasantry. The latter is, for the most part, in practically permanent possession of a sort of family estate, varying in extent according to the nature of the climate—that is, large in the zones of light rain; small where the heavier fall and greater certainty allows a larger return from a smaller area. The whole of his life is regulated by custom and tradition, much of which, as I have pointed out elsewhere,

has the additional sanction of religion. He, by preference, holds but little intercourse with the world beyond his village. His caste, to which he is born, and from which he can never escape until death opens the passage to a new life, rules supreme over his moral and social position. He is not permitted to sink below it any more than to rise from it to a higher rank in the social scale. It is owing to the caste system that in India there is no State provision for the poor in ordinary times, and only in stress of famine are public funds required to meet a demand for support. Then, indeed, the private resources of the country, always open to dole-giving rather than to what we here recognise as charity, are unequal to the burden. The religious mendicants, the village labourer and the petty artisan, who depend upon the yearly allowance of grain from the villagers in the country, and in the town on the fitful custom of those almost equally affected by the rise in food-prices which heralds the coming scarcity, are the first to feel the pinch of distress. The lower classes begin to wander to the towns in search of the gifts which generally issue from a source which the famine dries up. Many of these unfortunates die on the road. The diminution, or even change, of diet, the dearth of wholesome water and the generally unhealthy conditions of a year of short rainfall, tend to spread disease and to lead to outbreaks of fever or even cholera, causing a far greater mortality than actual starvation. The birth-rate, also, decreases as the death-rate rises, not owing to the diminution of possible parents alone, but to the diminished reproductive power of those affected by the scarcity. With the restoration of normal conditions, there is nothing more remarkable in Indian life than the rapidity with which the birth-rate rises, cultivation spreads, and the population casts off the outward manifestations of the terrible time through which it has

passed. History tells us that in the days before British rule, and even in the earlier years of our occupation, this was not the case. I shall now pass on, therefore, to the methods by which the Government proceeds to combat, prevent, or mitigate the famine.

The experience of one hundred and thirty years under British rule has shown us that in the tracts more liable to failure of the usual rainfall than elsewhere, that failure reaches the extent which causes famine once in twelve years, so that a famine of more or less intensity may be expected somewhere or other in India every four years. It must be understood, of course, that in most cases the distress is confined to a comparatively small area, and that often a far longer period than those I have mentioned intervenes between the seasons of distress. It is only within the last thirty years, however, that the Government has deliberately taken the chance of the occurrence of a famine into account as a question of ordinary administration, and made provision accordingly. The great famine of 1876–77, the only one with which I had personally to deal, was the occasion of long and far-reaching inquiries, ending in the elaboration of the system of relief which is now enabling the local authorities to grapple with the enemy in a way the efficiency of which is far beyond that of any former experience. In the first place, for the last twenty years some provision has been made in the Budget in regard to famine. If there was no actual distress calling for State relief, the sum available for the purpose was expended on protective works or devoted to the reduction of debt, a measure by which the credit of the Indian Government was raised, so that, when necessary, it could borrow again at a lower rate of interest to a like or greater amount.

The protective works mentioned above are mainly of two kinds. First, the provision of means of irriga-

tion, either from the great snow-fed rivers of the north by gigantic head works of which Sir James Lyall has given so graphic a description, or by storage of the rainfall in suitable reservoirs, or by damming up large rivers depending upon that fall for their supply, so that the surplus of one season is made available for a year or two later. Then, again, in tracts where there are no such natural facilities, advances are made to the peasant holders for the sinking of wells, by which, in ordinary years, from three to eight acres of good land can be made, under the garden cultivation for which the Indian agriculturist is famous, to provide a lucrative addition to the family resources in a good season, and to grow a supply of vegetables or forage in times of drought. After irrigation, which, in spite of the confident assertions of some of its enthusiastic advocates, is only possible in a comparatively small portion of India, comes facility of communication, especially by railway. By the extension of the main lines and the junction with them of more local systems, the whole country is linked together in a way that allows the good harvest of one tract to be brought within reach of the tracts suffering from loss of crops. In old times and even down to 1879, the railway system of India was chiefly directed to joining together the principal seaports and the strategical centres of Upper India. Meanwhile, very much has since been done in other parts of the country. There is now hardly a single tract liable to failure of rain which is not within hail of one or other of its more fortunate neighbours. Not only, therefore, is the abundance of the latter made of service to the former in times of dearth, but throughout the country the effect of freer communication has been on a line with that of the repeal of the Corn Laws in this country in levelling the price of food products, raising them where formerly the surplus over the needs of the locality had to

rot for want of means of transport, and lowering them in the tracts of uncertain rainfall, where formerly the very first apprehension of scarcity was accompanied by an inordinate rise in local prices.

All these provisions at the public expense are such that it must be left to the people themselves to profit by or leave alone. The Government has next to provide itself with information in anticipation of a famine, so that the measures it may be required to take at a later period may be adequate and suitable. With this object, every district, as the unit of administration is termed, is duly surveyed in regard to its soil, water-supply, main products, proportion of cattle. Equally important, too, is an accurate knowledge of the nature and social distribution of the population—what classes are careful cultivators and well up in the world, what are thriftless and negligent, what proportion look only to cultivation for their subsistence, and what proportion live by minor industries which are likely to be temporarily strangled by a season of famine? From such a survey it can be approximately estimated in what number, and in what order, people are likely to fall into serious want if the crops fail throughout the district. From this record the Government proceeds to map out the district into circles of inspection, of such a size that a single supervisor can easily manage to look after the condition of the people in time of famine. The available staff of officials from which the supervisors can be selected is then reviewed, and rough estimates made of the number required, if any, to supplement them from other parts of the country. Finally, the important duty remains of investigating, through the local engineer, the work that can be found for the employment of the poorer classes of labourers thrown out of their ordinary groove by a famine. The object aimed at is to get plans and surveys of all works likely to be of permanent public utility to the neighbourhood which entail

the employment of a large amount of unskilled labour. The plans and estimates are kept at hand till the time arrives for putting the works into execution.

For general guidance in the administration of the operations connected with the famine, much of which is necessarily new to most of the officials engaged, a code is prepared, containing directions on general lines for each province. In consideration, however, of the vast difference between the several parts of India in population, physical features, and so on, a wide latitude is given the local authorities in matters of detail, and in this respect, as in most others, the system has to be one of remarkable elasticity, and the responsibility for its efficiency is thrown upon the provincial authorities.

We have now to consider these anticipatory arrangements mobilised to meet the enemy. The weekly rainfall tables show how the season is turning. If a short fall be likely, the danger signal is hoisted by the grain-dealers, who at once raise their prices. This move is, as matters now stand, at once met by the counter-move of grain-dealers in tracts of plenty, who pour in their grain to share in the higher prices, with the result that the rate falls to normal again. But the responsible officials of the district cannot rest on this. If the rain still holds off, there comes a time when every drop and shower is of consequence and may make or mar the whole harvest. Frequent tours under canvas then become necessary, in order that the condition and feeling of the masses may be ascertained, and that by personal influence panic may be averted. When all hope is over and the lowest classes begin to wander about for work or doles, especially seeking the larger towns, it becomes necessary to set in motion the system of State relief, for which, as above described, preparations have long been made.

We must here refer to the leading principles on

which relief of this nature has to be given. On the very threshold of the question stand two main considerations: first, that the individual cannot obtain relief without State intervention; and, secondly, that the results of that intervention are not other than beneficial to him. In India, at all events, the former point presents little room for doubt. The famine is an aggravated agrarian catastrophe, while the State, fortunately, is in the position of general landlord, with all the duties and responsibilities attached to that position. Then, again, the calamity is so beyond control, so far-reaching in its results, and spread over such wide areas and so vast a population, that practically the greater part of the community is deprived of its ordinary resources, and the employment of most of it, whether agricultural or industrial, is for a time entirely suspended. As to the second consideration, it must be borne in mind that the long period of peace and firm administration which has elapsed since the British took over the country, whilst raising to a remarkable degree the general standard of living, has not tended to multiply the resources of the people, but only to increase them—that is to say, the people are as devoted to agriculture as ever; and this sentiment has been fostered by our system of administering the unoccupied or waste lands for the public weal. The greater part of the best land, except in the very wildest part of India, is now in occupation, and instead of the land wanting tillers, as was the case in former times, the peasants in some parts are actually competing for land.

The time is approaching, therefore, when the hand-to-mouth existence which a tropical climate renders both possible and largely prevalent, must give place to one in which thrift and forethought occupy a higher position, and when the abundance of one year has to be set aside for the possible needs of a year of short harvest. Quite apart, then, from the question of

demoralisation and abuse associated with profuse and ill-directed charity—results far more serious when the resources thus squandered are drawn from the public treasury than when the comparatively scattered efforts of private charity are in question—it is obvious that any efforts of the State must be free from the slightest tendency towards the discouragement of those qualities which alone enable a growing agricultural population to maintain life at a standard which experience in India, as everywhere else within the pale of modern civilisation, shows to have a constant tendency to rise. In order to attain this end, the State must have a thoroughly definite conception of the limits it proposes to place on its own action as a relieving agency. The Government of India has not left much room for doubt in regard to this. As far back as 1868 it was laid down that the State accepts the responsibility of preventing, by every means in its power, all death from starvation. On this principle is based the system of famine administration. The student must carefully note that there is no profession of attempting to prevent any suffering but that dangerous to life; nor, again, is there held out any intention of generally relieving the whole population affected. The main object is to bring within the reach of all the means of earning a subsistence. This object having been attained, the responsibility of the State towards the afflicted members of the community may reasonably be called upon to give way to that which, as trustee of the public resources, it owes to the general body of taxpayers. In the circumstances, a moral obligation is imposed upon the State not to devote those resources to any purpose less emergent than the saving of life.

The chief difficulty in applying these principles lies in the vast population to be dealt with and the absence of agency competent to conduct individual inquiries, which are the first essentials in a sound

system of relief. There are no local Boards accustomed to deal with relief all the year round as their principal duty, or to act on behalf of the public as distributers of local funds over public undertakings. No special agency could be called into existence to meet the emergency owing to the want of sufficient supervision, without which, as our experience shows in mournful abundance, neglect, petty peculation, if not extensive corruption, is sure to prevail.

It is necessary, accordingly, to substitute for individual inquiry some broad, general means of selection, automatic in its action, and throwing the responsibility of rejection upon the applicant. Now, in the case of the enormous majority of those who have to be supported, the test of necessity is the demand for a task such as the applicant can perform without difficulty upon a "living wage," or the remuneration which is enough to keep him alive. A test of this sort saves life, sifts out the people who are not in actual need, and results in work of permanent utility to the locality. It must not be forgotten, in connection with this plan of relief, that in India, throughout the lower classes—and it is for them that provision must mainly be made—women and children habitually work at the hereditary family calling out of doors nearly the whole year round. They are therefore concentrated on work to which they are accustomed and where they can be kept under supervision as to their physical condition, and can also place the aged, weakly, or otherwise unfit members of the family in the refuges which always form a subsidiary adjunct to the works, so that the family system, which is a very marked feature in Indian society, need not be broken up.

The first steps, however, in famine administration, are directed to getting these classes on to the public works. Most of the mortality from actual starvation

which occurs in a famine arises from the habit, already mentioned, of wandering aimlessly about the country. Whether the indigent should be collected in large aggregates on central works of considerable extent, or set to execute comparatively small works close to their own homes, is a question which depends almost entirely upon local conditions connected with sanitation, water-supply, climate, and the like. On the whole, our general inclination is to concentrate as much as possible, partly on account of the better medical supervision, partly because the larger works afford better and longer employment for the families requiring it. Every large work has its hospital lines, its sanitary arrangements—including a guard over the water-supply, as the proclivity of the Indian to drink foul water is one of his most ineradicable characteristics—its lines for the artisans, weavers, carpenters, blacksmiths, and so on, together with the special quarters for the classes or individuals who are not called upon to do any task for their support. The making and mending of tools, barrows, baskets, &c., occupy the time of the artisans, and the weavers, again, are set to provide, out of materials supplied by the State, all the sheets, blankets, and clothing required by their neighbours in misfortune on the works. A large famine settlement, therefore, becomes a complete community in itself. Even the shopkeeper is not absent, though little but food is sold by him. At the same time, such is the force of custom, that I have found vendors of cheap glass armlets and like ornaments on the works, doing a certain amount of trade with those who had managed to scrape together a little out of their wage for luxury.

The question to which the mention of these shopkeepers leads up is the much debated one as to whether or not the State should provide the food supply, or whether the matter should be left to private enterprise. The decision has been emphatically, and in

my opinion rightly, in favour of private agency. Of course there arise occasionally cases in which local difficulties make it necessary for the State to assist actively in bringing the supplies to the place where they are wanted. The main principle, however, now is that private enterprise, with the stimulus of self-interest, may be trusted to meet the demand and to arrange for its satisfaction. The merchant knows far better than the official the extent and whereabouts of the available stocks of food; he commands the means of transport, through his widespread agencies all over the country, and can concentrate supplies more completely and rapidly than any State department. On the other hand, the State knows better the extent and locality of the probable demand, and can give the earliest information about it. It can also help a good deal by relaxing the rules of traffic on State lines in favour of food products, and on occasion, as last year, can reduce temporarily the freight-rates on such material. Finally, and best of all, the State can insure and localise the demand by means of the concentration of the indigent on large works and by providing all with the means of earning their food on them. In former times, no doubt, the arguments in favour of the direct action of the State in bringing food within reach of those for whom work was provided were much stronger, because the means of communication were comparatively undeveloped. It is very different now, and the experience of the two last famine campaigns is very markedly on the side of leaving the undertaking in the hands of professional agency.

So far, then, as the able-bodied and those accustomed to work of the above kind are concerned, the system is free from any taint of pauperisation. The family system is maintained, and each member earns enough to support life. It is not to be supposed

that the wage offered is equal to that obtainable for this work in ordinary times; but then, neither is the task demanded by any means as heavy. Both work and pay are graduated according to the individual case, various scales being laid down by the superintendents of the works, in accordance with general instructions from the local authorities in each province. The usual provision is slightly above that which is enough to keep body and soul together, so as to allow, on the one hand, a margin for fuel, as each family, under the caste system, cooks its own meals, and for the modicum of condiments which is always necessary for a diet almost exclusively vegetable. On the other hand, a margin is also required to meet the rare but still not unknown cases of contumacious refusal to work, or persistent and systematic "ca' canny." As far as possible, the wages are paid daily, a course which entails a large supply of small coin, with the accompaniment of a police guard to watch over it as well as to keep order generally in a work-camp which sometimes contains the population of a fair-sized village or small town. This precaution is by no means superfluous when the community includes a considerable mixture of the habitually vagrant and criminal section of the local population, who, as soon as the first distress is over and they have settled down to their new circumstances, often keep things a bit lively for the more reputable of their companions in misfortune.

The provisions above described for the able-bodied of both sexes belonging to the habitually wage-earning classes have to be supplemented, of course, by others for the relief of the aged, the infirm, and the indigent of classes which are unable to undertake unskilled work. From these no task is demanded beyond the performance of light household duties about the shelters, and from the weavers, as already mentioned, the working up of materials into blankets and wrappers for the rest.

In most of the larger centres it becomes necessary also to establish orphanages or other means of taking care of young children, who have either been abandoned by their parents or are left for the daytime while the mother is at work. As a rule, however, these centres are formed near a large town, both for convenience of supplies and medical attendance, and because local committees can be there nominated from among the European and native inhabitants to take charge of the administration of the operations, a task generally most willingly and efficiently performed. The wage system is not here applicable, so the necessary food, clothing, and shelter is provided for each of the main castes separately. The orphans or children remaining unclaimed by their parents when the famine is at an end, are then disposed of by the local committee, which includes representatives of all the chief castes of the neighbourhood. As the caste of a child is generally known, that caste usually claims its own, and gets the children adopted by a neighbouring family. Failing this, some provision is made in a public institution; but such contingencies seem comparatively rare. In former years the Christian missionaries undertook the charge of those not claimed, but, unfortunately, the baptism of a few raised a clamour amongst the better educated classes of the Hindu community, and the Government felt bound, by its unfailing attitude of neutrality in matters of creed, to set its face against this mode of solving the difficulty.

The results of the famine do not end with the cessation of the drought. As soon as the rainy season declares itself, there is a general stampede of all the agriculturists and field labourers to resume their hereditary occupation. But most of the landholders who have been obliged to come on the works have also lost all their farm stock and have nothing in the way of either seed or cattle for the operations of the next

season. The Government has to arrange, accordingly, for advances in cash or kind, for the purpose of enabling them to make a fresh start. These loans are either gratis or at a far lower rate of interest than is demanded by the ordinary village money-lender. It is hardly necessary for me to say that the State demand on account of land revenue is in abeyance, so far as the poorer classes are concerned, during the famine year, and on individual inquiries, either during or after the stress, the amount due is remitted or allowed to be paid in at a later date when the season has been more propitious, and after the family has regained its former position in the agricultural world.

I have now touched cursorily upon the main features of the functions which the State has assigned to its officials in regard to the relief of distress in time of famine. It will be seen that there still remains ample room for the exercise of private charity outside the limits reserved for the State, within which there must be no clashing of operations. The natives of India are proverbially an almsgiving people. In their largesse they exercise no discrimination, as they believe that the merit lies in the act of giving, irrespective of the object or result of the act. The practice, therefore, is generally that of numerous doles of individually insignificant amount, but spread over a wide circle of recipients. Indiscriminate efforts of this sort are not, of course, to be organised into a system, but some steps have been taken, both in 1877 and 1897, to form committees in the larger towns to administer relief upon a system more resembling that which is adopted in this country in cases of widespread need. What is known as "out relief" here is not possible in India under State direction, as there is no agency to carry it out on definite principles, and it would degenerate into far-reaching abuse. There is a tendency for all such efforts, public or private, to be

wrested from their obvious intent in order to furnish political capital to classes who contribute not a farthing to the funds collected for the purpose; and to prevent this and other diversion from the straight way of public benefit, the State has arranged that private charity should be directed into channels supplementary to those under the general scheme of operations organised on a general plan, but left largely to private agency to carry out, not irresponsibly but rationally, and so as to be of the most real benefit to the sufferers and the indigent.

In conclusion, regarding the famine and the campaign against it as not merely a local incident, but a matter of Imperial concern, let us consider for a moment the tie which links the Indian masses to a country so far distant, to a people so materially different. From their point of view, if even from motives of self-preservation, it is a tie which it is worth their while to maintain. It is based upon the relations of two different types of character, one abounding in the very traits which the other most lacks. The Indian, with all his excellent qualities, is strangely deficient in the integrity and self-reliance which we are accustomed to look upon as the stock-in-trade of the young Englishman on which he is to start in life. But there is another trait which we possess, though we do not let it appear above the surface to the same extent as most other peoples: we make no profession of good intentions or a civilising mission; but, having done our best, we are content to take our stand upon the results. Now, to a population which, like that of India, has never since the dawn of history known even the shadow of political independence, but has always been in subjection to some foreign power or other, a word or two of sympathy bears a far higher value than it does in the free and self-reliant atmosphere of the West. Such words have been evoked by the great calamity which is now afflicting enormous tracts and

vast populations in the East, and in accordance with our wont we have backed our words with substantial proofs that we feel for the sufferers, and are sincerely desirous of doing all in our power to alleviate their trouble. With the same object in view a few hundreds of our fellow-countrymen are struggling out there with a hard task; and, believe me, the actual physical strain of famine administration, when the sky is of brass and the earth of iron, is not greater than that of the depressing effect on the mind and temperament of the surrounding circumstances, the never-ending demand of misery to be relieved, the never-absent mass of suffering on all sides, an ordeal from which few escape uninjured. But they may succumb or wear themselves to the bone in their efforts to cope with the enemy, without their self-sacrifice having anything like the effect upon the small number of Indians who are educated sufficiently to express their feelings, without eliciting anything like the same amount of gratitude as will the spontaneous manifestation of national goodwill which finds expression, not only in the Mansion-House Fund, but in contributions from colonies as far from India as Australia and Canada, the very names of which are unknown to the mass of those to whose succour they have come.

These manifestations prove to India, as nothing else will, that from this heart of our Empire one pulse throbs to the farthest extremes; that difference of race, creed, and colour is as nothing when it comes, not merely to the fulfilment of self-imposed Imperial responsibilities, but to the stretching forth the hand of sympathy, and recognising that we have part and share in the fortunes of those who, with ourselves, enjoy the prestige of world-wide rule. The message thus conveyed will gain many times over by the knowledge that the name which heads the list of subscribers is that of the only Englishwoman whose title is familiar

to every household in India. It must be a sad reflection to her who can recall such unparalleled and glorious memories, that the year in which she completes a reign longer than that of any of her predecessors on the throne should also have had to bear the impress of so terrible a calamity. It is, however, the hope of us all that she may be spared to witness the restoration to prosperity and content of the largest of all the communities which, in every quarter of the globe, have risen or come to maturity under her long and beneficent sovereignty.

HINDU WOMEN

By KRISHNARAO BHOLANATH DIVATIA

OF AHMEDABAD

THE present condition of Hindu women has been the subject of much controversy both in Europe and in India, and extreme views are sometimes expressed by those engaged in the discussion. It will be our endeavour in this paper to give an impartial account of the position which Hindu women hold in India at the present day.

Much has been done within recent years to promote female education in India, but the education of girls is still in a backward state. Among the higher castes, such as Brahmans, Banias, Kayasthas, and Kshatriyas, female education has spread to some extent; a large number of girls attend vernacular schools, and a very small percentage receive English education. Except among the higher classes, however, the females are practically illiterate, and know little beyond the narrow concerns of their daily life. They are, nevertheless, taught from their childhood such practical work as cooking and sewing, and thus become useful helpmates to their mothers, and to their husbands when they marry. Marry they must; a Hindu girl must not remain unmarried. One may find an old bachelor in India, but never an old spinster. Girls are generally married between the ages of ten and thirteen. There are, however, instances of delayed marriages. Amongst the Jains and some Banias in Western India, and in

Orissa and some other parts of Eastern India, the marriage of a girl is deferred till fifteen, sixteen, or even eighteen. Owing to this custom of early marriage amongst the Hindus, the education of girls, even amongst the higher classes, is very limited. Girls begin to learn at the age of six or seven, and they have to give it up at eleven, or twelve, when they are married.

A thin petticoat and short jacket form the girl's home dress in Western India, while in Bengal girls and women content themselves with the *sari*, a long piece of cloth wound round the body, and covering it from head to foot. Women in India, as elsewhere in the world, are fond of trinkets and ornament; they use fragrant oil for the hair, and braid the hair up behind, parting it in the centre at the forehead. Occasionally a flower or a small garland is tied over the braid. Jewellery used by girls is smaller in size and less in value than that used by grown-up women.

Hindu girls in India have no voice in selecting their husbands; the parents arrange the match for them. And a marriage once concluded is final and indissoluble. Even the form of betrothal is considered to be final, and the only caste that allows a betrothal to be set aside is that known as the Nagar Brahmans, who allow an engagement to be broken off at any stage before the legalising ceremony is performed. When an engagement is broken off among the people of this caste, the presents that have passed between the families are returned, and the parents of the boy and girl then look out for another suitable match.

An unmarried Hindu girl is permitted various games and pastimes, and joins boys in games in which she can take a share. The Indian national games are various, and different in different provinces. There are some games, however, which are common to most provinces. They are not quite systematised like the

English games, but have the advantage of cheapness. After the age of ten or eleven a girl seldom joins games meant for boys; it is considered unmaidenly.

Kuka is an outdoor game of which Hindu girls in Western India are fond. It is a game played by two or more with small pieces made of silver, ivory, wood, or clay, according to the means of the players. There are also other games resembling chess and halma which girls often indulge in. But of all pastimes, that known as the *garba* singing is the most interesting and graceful. It is a pastime peculiar to the women of Gujrat. The singers, all amateurs, stand in a circle, and two of them lead a song called *garba* or *garbi*. The others follow, and while singing they go round and round, beating time with the palms of their hands, which are decorated with tinkling bracelets. The special holidays on which the *garba* is the favourite pastime are the Gauri holidays in August for girls, and the Navaratri holidays in October for women. During the Gauri holidays, which extend for about a week, girls give up taking anything which contains salt, and various special dishes without salt are cooked. In the mornings they go to the riverside for a bath, after which they come home and take their meals, consisting of various dainties without salt; and then they sit down, never to rise until after the evening meal, which they finish by five o'clock. During all these five or six hours they remain sitting, enjoying different games that can be played without rising. It is amusing to see them move from place to place without standing up; if they stand they frustrate the object of their vow! On the first day they sow a sort of yellow grass in a small bamboo basket, and day after day they pour water over it, and worship it in the morning, after bath, and before meals. On the last day, when the grass has grown, they take it on their heads and go to the river and throw it in the water. The holidays are closed on the same evening

by a *garba* singing, in which girls, dressed in various colours and bedecked with ornaments and flowers, take part with joyous and innocent merriment, full of satisfaction at having pleased Gauri.

Some time in August or September, groups of unmarried girls are found in the cities and towns of Gujrat, clustering in the streets, each having a small cup full of *kum kum*, a preparation like saffron, and putting a red mark on the forehead of married women whom they meet. All over India, Hindu girls and boys delight in the red powder during the *holi* festival, a festival sacred to the god of love, of which we find accounts in ancient Sanskrit works written fifteen hundred years ago. Various vows and ceremonies, believed to bring good luck, are observed in the different seasons by Hindu girls in different parts of India.

We now turn to the subject of the marriage of girls, which in India, as elsewhere, marks the commencement of a new epoch in their lives. The ceremony itself is variously observed in different provinces, but it generally comprises a sacrifice to the fire, a survival of the Vedic sacrifice of the olden days. After her marriage the girl generally remains with her parents, occasionally visiting and staying with her husband's family until she becomes familiar with them. By-and-by, she gets familiarised with her new home, and if the inmates are good and kindly, she lives in happiness. But unmixed good is rare, and there are few families which are spared the miseries of occasional differences and disputes. It must not, however, be understood that the Hindu joint family is a home of perpetual misery. On the contrary, while differences and disputes are only occasional, members of Hindu joint families generally live in peace and amity under the head of the family.

The daughter-in-law is expected to do much of the indoor work of the family. She cooks the daily meals

and serves them, and she usually takes her own meals after the husband and other members of the family have taken their meals. Love does not precede but follows marriage in India, and generally the Hindu wife loves and honours her husband, and the feeling is reciprocated.

A Hindu woman generally gets up before her husband, has the usual wash and bath, looks after the gods of the house, provides the flowers and incense, and then takes charge of the kitchen. There are some women who daily go to the river for their morning ablutions. Cookery is an art which every Hindu woman is supposed to know, and generally does know. Even amongst the well-to-do classes, who can afford to engage cooks, the women of the family are acquainted with this art, and very often help the cook in preparing special dishes. Amongst the Mahrattas, the serving of dishes forms a special part of women's work, even if there is a cook in the family. In her hours of leisure a Hindu woman either reads, or does sewing or knitting, if she belongs to the higher classes of society. Her reading is generally confined to stories and newspapers, or magazines in her own vernacular, or to translations of ancient Sanskrit works. Even if she cannot read, she generally keeps herself usefully engaged until evening, when she has again to prepare the evening meals. In the afternoon she goes out to temples, and pays visits to friends and relations. Women of the artisan classes are usually able to help their husbands and fathers in their various occupations; the wife of a tailor, for instance, will often be seen sitting by her husband, and doing the same work as he does.

By-and-by, when a woman comes to be a mother, and often she becomes a mother at the age of fifteen or sixteen, her duties grow heavier. The Hindu woman usually selects her parental home for confine-

ment, where she goes after the religious ceremony prescribed for the first pregnancy is performed at her husband's. The Hindu life is full of ceremonials. These ceremonials commence at the birth of a child, and continue to be performed during the life of a man on various occasions, until his death.

About five or six months after the birth of the child the Hindu woman returns to her husband's place, where she is greeted with joy and welcome for the sake of the new-born. If it is a boy the rejoicings are all the greater, and the woman, the mother of the boy, is fortunate and happy. If a woman brings forth girls and no boys, or if she bears no children at all, the husband very often thinks of another marriage, because a son is considered a necessity by the Hindu religious code, inasmuch as it is through the son that the father reaches heaven. Polygamy, which is allowed by the Hindu law, is practised only in such cases; the abuse of the system is gradually dying out, and educated men set their faces against polygamy altogether.

The art of training children is in a very backward state in India, but maternal affection goes a long way to supply the deficiency of knowledge. Mothers are alive now to the importance of sending their boys to school and giving them the best education possible; and even girls are sent to school among the higher classes to learn their vernaculars, and perhaps a little of English. And when the boy has reached the age of fifteen or sixteen, or the girl has reached the age of ten, the mother looks forward with great impatience and delight to the auspicious occasion when she will have the pleasure of celebrating the marriage of her darling. Women are fond of displaying dresses and jewellery, and on occasions of weddings they will hire or borrow such as they cannot afford to purchase. The great life-work of a Hindu woman is the celebration of her children's marriage, and if that

passes off smoothly and successfully, she feels a true relief and pleasure; her object in life is fulfilled!

Having described the Hindu woman at home, we may now try to describe her life out of doors. It may here be mentioned that the Zenana system is prevalent in Sind, Rajputana, the Punjab, the North-West Provinces, and Bengal; in other words, in these Northern Provinces where the Mohamedan rule lasted long, and where Mohamedan customs influenced Hindu society. In the southern half of India, that is, Gujrat, Maharashtra, Bombay, and Madras, there is no strict Zenana system. In the towns of Southern India, and specially in the Mahratta country, Hindu females of all classes are seen walking in streets without any attempt or device to hide their faces from the gaze of men. They do not generally come to such gatherings as prize distributions, evening parties, and garden parties; yet on the occasions of weddings and national festivals they freely attend large and mixed gatherings. The Hindu woman in the Deccan and Southern India goes out with her face uncovered to the river, to temples, or to meet her relations, and she joins wedding processions and great festivals; and while travelling in railway carriages she occupies the same cars with men without any attempt to shrink from the public gaze.

Before we proceed further, we may give a brief account of the dress of a Hindu woman. There is not much difference between the dress of a Hindu girl and that of a Hindu woman. The petticoat is common to both; the jacket is simple in the case of a girl, but for a grown-up woman it is made into a tight-fitting bodice; and the *sari* passes over the head, shoulder, and under the arm, and is passed round the petticoat and allowed to hang loose all round. The Mahratta woman has one end of the *sari* tied behind, and every respectable Mahratta woman is supposed to have a shawl over the *sari*. In Bengal the petticoat and the jacket are alto-

gether dispensed with, and the simple folds of the *sari* are made to serve all purposes, covering the person from head to foot. A married Hindu woman is supposed to have red *kum kum* marks on her forehead, and the Mahratta woman must have a nose-ring in addition. Without this a woman may be taken to be a widow. The Hindu woman is very careful about her hair. She dresses it with oil, and will on no account allow it to be trimmed or cropped, for that is a sign of widowhood. Another mark of a married Hindu woman is the particular kind of bracelets which only married women are allowed to wear. The highly decorated woman wears not only bracelets, nose-ring, a pair of earrings and a necklace, but has also pearls on her hair, half-a-dozen rings in the ears, rings on the fingers, silver anklets with tinkling beads over the feet, and silver toe-rings. The Hindu woman has no stockings or shoes, but recently shoes have come to be used by some women of the progressive classes.

Divested of all these decorations, and wearing a simple garment, is the creature known as the Hindu widow, who has been oftentimes described as a living picture of silent suffering. Her miseries are often exaggerated in pictures drawn by foreign writers on Hindu social life and customs; but it cannot be denied that the condition of the Hindu widow is anything but happy. When we speak of the Hindu widow we do not speak of the elderly matron with grown-up sons; her life is comfortable enough; and as mistress of the household she wields an authority which women in Europe never enjoy. We are speaking rather of young women who have been deprived of the sole means of their support by the death of their husbands. Custom forbids their marrying again, and they are left entirely dependent on the mercies of their mothers-in-law, who are seldom sympathetic, or of relations on whom they prove a burden. It must be remembered that respect-

able Hindu women follow no independent calling, and, except among tradespeople and artisans, they are solely dependent on their husbands, fathers, or brothers for food and raiment. It follows, therefore, that when they become widows, they feel their helplessness and dependence on others if they have no sons able to support them, and they generally pass their lives in the relinquishment of worldly concerns and in devotion to religious pursuits.

There are different rules for widows in different parts of India. In some parts, as in the Deccan, she removes her hair, breaks her bangles and bracelets, and shuts herself up from all her male relations for a period of a year or more. In Bengal, however, the removal of the hair and the seclusion from male relations are unknown. In all parts of India, however, the lot of a Hindu childless widow is more or less a hard one; she dresses poorly, lives abstemiously, and keeps herself away from weddings and festivities. These remarks apply only to widows of the upper castes; among many of the lower castes Hindu widows are allowed to re-marry.

The people of India get old much earlier than the people in colder climates. At fifty, a man or woman is considered old in India. At this age the fortunate Hindu woman is surrounded by children and grandchildren, who are always fond of the old lady of the house. The joint family system is usually kept up in Hindu homes, till the death of both of the parents. It is therefore usual to find an old woman or man at the head of every family. Still respected and venerated by the younger generations living conjointly with her, the old lady of the house is relieved of all active work except general superintendence, and often passes her hours in religious pursuits. Those of them who can read their vernacular are often found in the mornings engaged in perusing the *Mahâ Bhârata*, the *Râmâyana*, the *Bhagavad Gitâ*, or some such work. Ablutions, long

prayers and formal devotions, and various observances, often occupy most part of their time; and thus, according to the simple faith of their fathers and the instructions of priests, old Hindu women prepare themselves from day to day for the life to come, in which her *Sastras* teach her to believe.

The object of life in the West is quite different from that in the East. In the West, men live for temporal happiness, while in the East, life is looked upon as simply preparatory to a higher state of bliss hereafter. Hence it is that every act of daily life among the Hindus is intermixed with religion, and women are more devoted to religion than men. It is true the religion of the Hindu woman consists in various vows, practices, prayers, and observances, often requiring great self-abnegation and even endurance. She believes in various gods and goddesses, offers worship through priests in temples, makes pilgrimages to distant shrines. But for all this her faith is firm, and above all gods and goddesses she believes in the Great *Bhagavan,* the Ruler of the universe. The materialistic and agnostic theories which are slowly creeping into the minds of young educated men in India have not yet found acceptance amongst women; the Hindu woman is a sincere believer in her ancient faith.

Physically the Hindu woman is smaller than her sister in the West, and bigger than the woman of China and Japan. Her complexion is dark brown; it however varies in the different provinces. In Bengal and Madras women are darker than in Northern India, Gujrat, and the Deccan. The Punjab and Kashmere boast of tall, handsome, and beautiful women. The Hindu woman, as a rule, has beautiful dark eyes, luxuriant hair, and well-shaped limbs. Among the lower classes women are strong and able to do much hard work, such as fetching water from a distance of two or three miles,

drawing it from wells and tanks many feet deep, turning the flour-mill, or husking the rice. Among higher castes, however, Hindu women are not strong, and early marriage and early motherhood often bring on early old age and feebleness. In her domestic virtues the Hindu woman is a model for the whole world. She is a loving wife, mother, daughter, and sister. She is obedient, sympathetic, and charitable; she does not indulge in the habits of drinking or smoking; she is less given to the frivolities of life than her Western sister. If she receives due intellectual culture, the Hindu woman is an ideal woman.

For the rest, progress among Hindu women is only possible along the lines indicated by the conditions of their social life, and such progress is being effected. High education is confined to a very limited number of Hindu women in Bombay and Bengal; some elementary education is now common among all Hindu women of the upper classes. The remarriage of widows has been sanctioned by law, but is not yet popular. Polygamy is rare, and is dying out, even among those special classes among whom it was in vogue. Many theistic creeds, like those of the Brahma Samaj and the Arya Samaj, are directing the attention of all Hindus to the religion of one God; social progress goes hand in hand with these religious movements; and there has been perceptible progress and improvement in the general condition and status of Hindu women within the present century.

MOHAMEDAN WOMEN

By MOHAMMAD BARAKATULLAH

NATIONS grow under the influence of particular environments, which really form their natural characteristics. The conceptions of good and evil, right and wrong, refined or vulgar manners, are to a certain extent conventional. Absolute goodness has never been in the possession of any single nation. Still every nation thinks that its social institutions and ethical canons—written or unwritten—are the best. Hence it is no wonder if European writers, who seldom have real insight into Muslim harems, present to the public a terrible picture of the state of woman in Islam. No one can claim that all Islamic institutions are perfect. But, on the other hand, to say that a Muslim harem is a pandemonium of misery, where women are caged, like wild beasts, to toil and be tortured, is an assertion no less imaginary than any freak of fiction. There is no doubt that the Mohamedan women do not have the pleasure of free intercourse with men, outside the family circle, as women do in western countries; yet their lot is far from being one of anxiety and misery. On the contrary, they enjoy themselves just as much as any women in the world can do. The means of acquiring happiness in different countries may be different, yet the end arrived at, in such cases, will be almost always the same. It is just like a family, whose members have different tastes, and pass their lives in various ways.

Seclusion

Seclusion of women from the society of men is universally observed in Muslim countries all over the globe, varying only in its details, which are governed by local requirements. In some places it is less rigorous, and in others, it is strict and complete. In Arabia, for example, women go out, of course veiled, for purposes of shopping, or of praying in the mosque with men, while in India it is considered disrespectful for a Muslim lady to walk in the streets, unless she is advanced in years. It would not, perhaps, be out of place to give a brief account of the origin of this institution. The moral status of pre-Islamic Arabs was exceedingly low, and the results of free intercourse between the two sexes were really shocking. The leaders of thought among the followers of the Prophet repeatedly urged upon him to put an end to the shameful state of society. But the great reformer was biding his time. He waited till he saw that the ethical teachings of Islam took a firm root in the minds of the newly formed community. He then introduced gradual reforms to remove the abuses and to put a wholesome check upon unbridled lawlessness. The first step in this direction was an injunction to faithful women to observe proper clothing and not to disclose any limbs except the face and hands up to the wrists, and also not to expose their charms and ornaments to the public gaze,[1] but to cover themselves with extra sheets whenever they might go out, so that they might be known as respectable ladies and saved from the insults of street ruffians.[2] Then the Prophet, practical in all his affairs, set a good example by dis-

[1] Chapter xxix.—Light, "Quran."
[2] Chapter lvii.—Confederates, "Quran."

couraging the practice of unnecessary wandering about, and by encouraging among the women of his own house the habit of staying at home, saying to them, "Remain in your own homes and do not go about making a demonstration of yourselves, as they used to do in former times of ignorance." The believers were ordered not to speak to the ladies in the Prophet's harem, or to ask anything of them except from behind the curtain. The example thus set was followed by the community at large, and a sort of salutary limitation was placed upon the freedom of intercourse between the sexes. In the lifetime of the Prophet, there never existed any entire isolation of women from the society of men. On the contrary, women used to go out freely, decently dressed, without covering even their faces. But as time went on, and the Arabs came in contact with other nations more subtle and punctilious on matters connected with family virtues, the laws of purity and feminine dignity became hard and fast, and observance of seclusion by women received the stamp of austerity. The climatic influences, the conservatism and the proverbial laziness of the East all tended in the same direction.

Domestic Felicity

If a Muslim lady, by force of habit ingrafted into her nature by the practice of centuries, has given up the pleasures of mixing with the people of the outside world, her life is not altogether monotonous nor by any means intolerable. She is the queen of her home, whose authority extends over all domestic affairs. The government of the household is entirely committed to her charge. Her voice is supreme there. In no department of household government is anything done without her consent. If anything is required for her children, her husband, or anybody in the house, her

choice is often the best. She selects the material for her husband's clothes. The elegance and the style of a man's dress in the East, always reflects the skill of his wife. She never allows her children to go out without seeing herself if they are properly washed and nicely dressed. She personally goes to the kitchen to taste every dish, and to see that there is not too much or too little salt in its composition. If she finds fault with any food that dish is not served, and the servants get a scolding into the bargain. When the husband comes home to dinner, she greets him with welcome. She helps him in taking off his *jubba* (a sort of overcoat). She tries in every possible manner to humour him and cheer him up if there is any sign of dejection visible in his expression, before they sit down together to dine. She religiously avoids the mention of anything that might interfere with his digestion. Out of respect she does not mention her husband's name nor does he ever mention hers, for it is not consistent with the etiquette of the East. When she wants a favour of her husband, she knows how to get it. Whenever she finds him in good mood, she takes time by the forelock and achieves her object triumphantly. She also knows how to deliver a curtain lecture with as much effect as any woman in any part of the world. Feminine logic is just the same all the world over. So a Muslim husband often has to give in, simply saying, "Is it possible to straighten the crooked rib (of which the woman is supposed to be made) without breaking it?" when he tries to persuade his wife, in vain, on some point. One of the great weaknesses of Mohamedan women is to keep up faithfully every imaginable festival, whether it be found in the religious calendar or not—a custom which involves great expenses. She is also fond of costly dresses and precious jewels. On these points, too, her husband's appeal to religion and reason proves to be of no avail. In short,

a Muslim lady has full authority in the government of the house. Her pastime consists in works of embroidery and in reading the "Arabian Nights" and poetry. She is fond of her lady friends, who come and stay in her house for days together. She also returns long visits in the same way.

When Mohamedan ladies assemble together in their gorgeous dresses of various colours, and their tiaras of dazzling gems, the scene presented by such a display of beauty and fashion has an almost romantic atmosphere. Their gentle manners and polite speeches and delicious little civilities to one another enhance the charm of the scene. Every face in the assembly appears radiant with pleasure. They enjoy the music and the songs sung by the professional singing girls. Sometimes they themselves sing together, and their chorus fills the air with music. They have garden parties also, where they are as free as air. They indulge in all sorts of games, and heartily enjoy themselves.

Education

Every Muslim child—male or female—has to learn, if not all, at least a certain portion of the Quran, although there are few who understand its meaning. Female education generally consists of religious books. There have been some women in every generation who have distinguished themselves upon the lines of higher education, but such cases are few and far between. Muslim ladies have often written fine poetry. Of late years European languages, sciences, and literatures are studied by some Muslim ladies in Turkey, Egypt, and India. The movement will gain strength in course of time. The signs of progress in this direction are not wanting. Some young Muslim ladies of rank in Hydrabad, Deccan, India, have even passed university examinations in the

English language and in modern science. It is a patent fact that Muslim ladies never bear separation from their young children, even for educational purposes. But a noble and courageous example set by the Begum of the Nawwāb Fakhrul Mulk of Hydrabad, Deccan, India, is worthy of attention and imitation; and greatly reflects on the wisdom and foresight of this lady of the first rank in the dominions of His Highness the Nizam. She has sent four of her sons, who are all in their teens, to this country to be educated at Eton. Those who know the attachment of Eastern mothers to their young children, would at once say that the Nawwāb Fakhrul Mulk's illustrious consort's action is little less than heroic.

Marriage Ceremony

As soon as a Muslim girl comes of age, her parents, relatives, and the friends of the family begin to think of her marriage. Offers come from all quarters. Old ladies, who know many families in the town, and pay periodical visits to them, often play the match-maker. The mother of the girl is generally approached with such expressions: "Beebee Sahiba; your daughter, by the grace of God, has grown now; the son of so-and-so is just the sort of person that would suit her as husband." Then the high descent, the social position, and the education of the young man are mentioned as his qualifications. In this way several names are brought to the notice of the family. After consulting with the near and distant relations, and discussing among the members of the house, one young man out of many is selected with the approval of the girl. Then the mother, sister, or other relative of the young man comes to see the would-be bride. When both parties are satisfied with each other, the ceremony of khitba (engagement) takes place. The engagement

lasts for some time, during which compliments and presents are exchanged on festive occasions, and the conduct of the young man and the young lady are watched. When the marriage time arrives great preparations are made to solemnise the occasion. The religious ceremony is very simple. It consists of only two essentials: (1) Ijab (the offer), and (2) Quabool (the acceptance), in the presence of two witnesses; accompanied with the settlement of a certain sum of money or property by the husband on his wife, as a provision for a rainy day. The details of marriage festivities vary with different countries and also with the positions of the people.

To the people in western countries it would sound strange that two persons who have had no previous personal acquaintance should be thus brought together to live as man and wife. The very thought of marriage by proxy would condemn it as a failure. But it is a curious thing that the unions thus effected prove in the majority of cases happy enough. The Eastern couples commence their courtship after the honeymoon, somewhat as they do in France. Perhaps the wife having had no opportunity of bestowing her affection upon any other man than her husband thinks him to be her prince and her king. For the same reason the man considers his consort to be the paragon of womanhood and his queen. So they, by trying to please each other, and overlooking one another's faults, manage to stick to each other very well as long as their lives last.

If they happen to be of irreconcilable disposition, and the union of hearts proves to be impossible, then they get separated without creating any sensation in society. If not in all, at least in the majority of Muslim countries, divorce is of rare occurrence, notwithstanding its facility. Divorce, being condemned both socially and religiously, is avoided as far as possible. "Divorce, though permitted for necessity, is

most odious in the sight of God," is the tradition of the Prophet. The Quran is full of advice upon the reconciliation between man and wife; and orders the appointment of two representatives of both parties to remove the causes of friction, if the man and wife cannot manage to come to terms by themselves. Religious divorce affords a great many opportunities for reconciliation. The word Talāq (divorce) is to be pronounced in the presence of witnesses three times at intervals, each interval being about a month, under certain conditions. All this while the woman dwells in the same house with her husband. If they are reconciled after the first or the second pronouncement, the whole performance becomes null and void, and they are still man and wife. But when the third ceremony is gone through the Quran forbids their reunion; except under the circumstances of the woman becoming married with some other man, and then being left a widow, a reunion of the former couple would then be permissible. If the man has a right to Talāq (divorce), the woman has a similar right to Khulă (release).

Islam has often been found fault with for allowing polygamy, as degrading to womankind. But the real students of history who are intimately familiar with the early progress of Islam, will never lay such a charge at its door. Polygamy of the worst kind was prevalent in Arabia before the advent of Islam. Islam not only put a check upon it, but morally abolished it, at least in theory. The Quran, it is true, permits marriage with more than one wife, but immediately adds a conditional clause: "And if you are afraid that you could not treat (the wives) with justice and equality, then, marry only one;"[1] which clause, to conscientious people, amounts to indirect prohibition, because to love two women equally and treat them with impartiality is, humanly speaking, impossible.

[1] Chapter iii.—Women, "Quran."

Moreover, the Prophet says: "If a man proves to be partial to one of his two wives, even to the extent of a hair's-breadth, he will rise on the day of judgment with half of his body lifeless." The example of the Prophet, in this respect, has been forbidden to be followed, simply because his action was based on the interest of the common weal, for all his wives, with the exception of one, were widows pretty well advanced in age. Hence the general practice among Muslims is monogamy, excepting with the aristocracy, which in every land has been, more or less, notorious for its transgression of the laws of morality.

Politics

Islamic history bears testimony to the fact that Muslim women have played from time to time a prominent part in the government of their country. But, as a rule, they seldom meddle with politics. Even now, the influence of the wives and the mothers of ruling sovereigns is often visible in the management of public affairs. As regards the management of state affairs by Muslim ladies, we cannot find a better example than that of the present Begum of Bhopal, India. Her Highness Shah-jehan Begum is the only Muslim queen under her Majesty the Queen-Empress. The Begum has been reigning for about a quarter of a century, and many improvements have been made during her reign in the Bhopal state. Shah-jehan Begum possesses a head as well as a heart. As a proof of the first, she weathered the storms during the grave crisis which resulted in the degradation of her late husband, Nawwāb Siddeeq Hasan Khan, about thirteen years ago, and acted with remarkable sagacity, to the credit of herself and her state; and as for the second, she has endeared herself to her subjects, and stood by her husband through thick and thin. It is a curious thing

that the Bhopal state has been, for three generations, governed by successive queens, and the present heir-apparent to the throne of Bhopal is also a lady—Sultan-jehan Begum. Seconder Begum, the mother of Shah-jehan Begum, was a woman of great abilities, and was considered as one of the wisest rulers in her time. She rendered great services to the Indian Government at the time of the Mutiny, and saved many Europeans' lives, and therefore received the district of Bairusya, from the Indian Government, as a reward for her services. The Viceroy of the time eulogised Seconder Begum in the presence of all the ruling princes of India, in a durbar held at Jabalpoore.

There is another peculiarity of Muslim ladies, that they have, up to this time, preferred social happiness to organising societies for the political rights of women. Nor have they yet entered into competition with men, in the fields of public service, industries, or labour. But in the evolution of time, which works such miracles in its own mysterious ways, who knows what surprises may yet be in store for the world among the generations yet unborn.

PARSEE WOMEN

By ZULIRKA SORALJI CAVALIER

PARSEES are Zoroastrians. They are not only theists, but monotheists; they tolerate no other worship than that of the Supreme Being. Parsees are not idolaters; Zoroaster was successful in putting down idol-worship for his followers.

The charge of worshipping the elements has oftener than once been brought against the Parsees, but it is a false charge entirely. God, according to the Parsee faith, is the emblem of glory, refulgence, and light; and in this view a Parsee, while engaged in prayer, is directed to stand before the fire, or to turn his face towards the sun, because they appear to be the most proper symbols of the Almighty.

All Eastern historians agree that the Persians, from the earliest times, were not idolaters, and that they worshipped one God, the creator of the world, under the symbol of fire. This is still the practice of their descendants in India.

A Parsee worships fire or through fire—(1) Because it is the most perfect symbol of the Deity, on account of its purity, brightness, activity, subtilty, fecundity, and incorruptibility. (2) Fire is the noblest, the most excellent of God's creations. (3) Because in the fire temples of the Parsees, having undergone several ceremonies, it has added a new element of purity to itself, and for this reason is most sacred.

While the Parsee loves his religion dearly, he is not a bigot, and he never thinks ill of the religion

of others. When strangers arrive in India, and are told that the Parsees of Bombay are the descendants of a small band of Persian emigrants who were in the most miserable circumstances at one time, it is a great mystery to them how these people have gained their present pre-eminent position. The enigma should be an easy one to solve, for are not they the descendants of an enterprising, courageous, industrious, self-sacrificing people, who at one time were masters of a vast empire, and who can never lose what has been bequeathed to them as an inheritance? The Parsees are probably the smallest community in the whole world, for they number scarcely 100,000. They are chiefly to be found in India, where Bombay has been for nearly a century their headquarters.

It would seem that the writer is a long time coming to the subject in hand—the womenfolk of these remarkable people, but it is always well to be perfectly *au fait* with the history, religion, &c., of the people in question, short though that history be, than to start in ignorance, hence this explanation. The most learned amongst the Parsee emigrants prepared sixteen sentences, which give an idea, though a very very vague one, of the Parsee faith. It may interest our readers to hear them:—

1st. We are worshippers of the Supreme Being, and the sun and the five elements.

2nd. We observe silence while bathing, praying, making offerings to fire, and eating.

3rd. We use incense, perfumes, and flowers in our religious ceremonies.

4th. We are worshippers of the cow.

5th. We wear the sacred garment, the "sudra" or shirt, the "kusti" or cincture for the loins, and the cap of two folds.

6th. We rejoice in songs and with instruments of music on the occasion of our marriages.

7th. We ornament and perfume our wives.

8th. We are enjoined to be liberal in our charities, and especially in excavating tanks and wells.

9th. We are enjoined to extend our sympathies towards males as well as females.

10th. We practise ablutions.

11th. We wear the sacred girdle when praying and eating.

12th. We feed the sacred flame with incense.

13th. We practise devotion five times a day.

14th. We are careful observers of conjugal fidelity and purity.

15th. We perform annual religious ceremonies on behalf of our ancestors.

16th. We place great restraints on our women during and after their confinements.

These are by no means the fundamental principles of the Parsee religion, but only a vague idea of their faith as whole.

The first ceremonial that comes in the life of a Parsee child is when it is given a name, and its future is predicted.

The second ceremonial is the investiture of the child, whether boy or girl, with the sacred shirt and the sacred cord. The candidate sits before the Parsee high-priest, who utters certain prayers, and makes him or her drink three times of a sacred drink and chew the leaf of the pomegranate tree; and the child having gone through ablutions, the priests, attired in their spotless white, in the midst of a gorgeously dressed assembly of men and women (only Parsees), perform the ceremony. There is strict silence whilst the child goes on with his confession of faith under the priests' guidance; this corresponds with the confirmation of the Church of England. The next is the betrothal ceremony. According to Zoroastrian law, a child ought not to marry before the age of fifteen, but unfortunately, in mixing

with the Hindus, the Parsees got to the same point as they regarding matrimony. The Hindu "shastras" (sacred books) enjoin marriage for a girl at nine years of age. Until fifty years ago the Parsee child had to endure this compulsion. It is different now. There are instances on record amongst the Parsees where children have been betrothed at their birth by their parents. At the present time, it is quite allowable for a girl to be unmarried until she is twenty or even twenty-five without any opprobrium descending upon her innocent head. It very rarely happens that a man chooses his own bride, or that the young people to be married fall in love with each other before marriage, although the family life of the Parsees is full of devoted affection and self-sacrifice on the part of the women. A Parsee marriage ceremonial is most interestingly pretty, and has two actual services in it. A great deal of money is spent, and presents exchanged. Dowries are given to bride and bridegroom, and a final settlement sometimes made upon the bride alone.

Parsee women are generally well-formed, olive-complexioned, and of a soft, pleasing countenance. A religious superstition keeps their beautiful hair covered, otherwise they would rank amongst the most beautiful women of the day.

The women as well as the men wear the sacred shirt, and silk trousers, tying the sacred cord over the shirt. Their "sari," or outer drapery, is from six to twelve yards in length, of the most dainty silk, and, with a short-sleeved bodice to match, forms not only a very graceful but a charming costume. Ornaments of gold and gems on neck and arms completes the attire. The average Parsee wife possesses jewels worth from five hundred to twenty thousand pounds sterling, whilst the really well-to-do woman has vastly more.

Parsee women are to-day known to be very much in advance of their Hindu and Mohamedan sisters in

the way of education. Happily they have no trammels from their parents, who are delighted to observe that their sons and daughters are the equal of those of any nation in their knowledge of languages, music, &c., &c. What is so very pleasing, though, in Oriental peoples, is this—knowledge obtainable is sought after, but it never dethrones knowledge already acquired. A Parsee girl will not feel that cooking is out of place because she has had a college education; she glories in the fact that she can cook as well as any other good housewife, and that she is able to economise even though rolling in wealth. Out of her many expenses for the day the poor are always remembered. Call it superstition if you will, but it is, to my mind, the greatest of Christian charity where the blind, the poor, and the aged are cared for and protected. You will see neither a Parsee drunkard nor a Parsee beggar on the streets. The men are law-abiding, the women a law-loving people. The Parsees do not thrust their poor relations broadcast upon the public, as is done in all European countries, and it is because men and women agree to work for the good of their own community. Persian women centuries ago have been at the head of armies, guiding and encouraging their soldiers to duty. Parsee women to-day are foremost in good deeds, imparting education to the uneducated, keeping together homes and families, shining in society as doctors, barristers, linguists, musicians, artists, nurses. What want we more? They live a natural life, enjoy their games, can count upon a girlhood as well as a womanhood, and are fast becoming splendid companions for their husbands; it is no longer a rule but an oddity when a Parsee husband spends his evenings away from his home.

The Parsees are called the Parisians of the East, on account of their perfect manners; they are also called by Christians "the good Samaritans of the East," for no tale of woe goes unheard, and there are many

cases to-day of fact where English people and Eurasians are supported by the Parsees. Schools have been established all over India by them, so that their children may be educated; and Bombay revels in a women's club managed by Parsee ladies with very great success.

Women are women all the world over, the tenderest plant of God's creation. No woman is without religion, and the woman of the Orient makes *that* religion the guiding star of her life; she does not put it on as a cloak for one day of the week alone, but her very meals and ablutions are religious ceremonials. It is because they practise what they preach, and implicitly follow out the teachings of their Master (Zoroaster) that they are a successful people.

Whether in times of festival or fasting, joy or sorrow, plague, famine, or pestilence, the Parsee woman is to the fore. The most ignorant of them (for there are some quite uneducated) have hearts, you can lead them as children, there is no guile. *Society* has not brought its baneful influence upon them yet—and may it never do so. We want pure, unselfish, loving, self-sacrificing spirits still. As long as Nature rules, India will glory in her women, whether they be Hindus or Mohamedans, Tamils or Parsees; but let artificiality and society manners come into our courts and we shall be as a people lost for ever.

INDIAN LITERATURE

By Miss C. S. HUGHES

INDIAN literature finds its first reliable source in the Vedic songs of the early Aryan invaders of India. Beyond even these are folk-songs and legendary tales, whose source cannot now be traced, although they are found incorporated in the literature of a later period. So far there remains no evidence of any connected literary history prior to the entry of the Aryans into the land. These Aryans, travelling from some unknown home, where they spoke a language allied to the Aryan languages of Europe, left behind them, on their march towards India, some of their kin in Persia, the ancient Iran. To the land of their adoption they brought their own language, the Vedic Sanskrit, their own religious ideas, their own gods, deities, or bright ones, their own elected kings, poet-priests, and tribal customs. Their march across the bleak passes on the north-west frontiers, was, according to their Vedic hymns, one long, triumphal progress. Of their reverses and defeats the hymns are silent. Full of life and vigour, and with a firm belief in their own power and that of their gods, they record how they swept from before their path all opposing foes. Having defeated or thrust back the yellow races who in Central Asia opposed their march from the ancestral home, probably in Northern Europe, they despised the black-skinned people they met on the far side of the Himalayas. Chanting their war-songs, and trusting in their gods for aid, led by their chosen kings, and incited to

valour by the enthusiasm of their poet-priests, the Aryans advanced across the Indus, sung by them as the glorious Sindhu, the sound of whose rolling waters was heard even in the heavens. In the Vedic hymns the Indus is extolled as the river that comes roaring like a bull, flashing, sparkling, gleaming, unconquerable in her majesty, beautiful as a handsome, spotted mare.

The effusions of this early period, of which the hymn to the mighty river is an example, were collected together by the poet-priests into the Vedas or books of wisdom. From these Vedic hymns must be culled all that can be known of the mode of thought, the religious sentiments and social environment of the first historic invaders of India, who crossed the north-west passes some two thousand years before the Christian era.

The Vedic books are four in number; they are known as the Rig, Yajur, Sama, and Atharva Vedas. Of these the Sama consists mostly of selections from the Rig Veda, and the Yajur is a collection of hymns relating to the practical details of the sacrificial rites, so that the Atharvan and Rig Vedas remain the chief source from which can be obtained information of India in the earliest historic times.

The hymns of the Rig Veda now number 1028, a small part of the original Vedic outburst of song, for like all the early Indian literature the hymns were handed down by word of mouth, and the collections, or Sanhitas, as they were called, were but selections from the treasury of song.

In these hymns of the Rig Veda, the oldest of the four books of wisdom, much of the life-history of these warrior tribes, whose every action was performed under the guidance of their tribal deities, can be traced. These deities are implored to slay the aboriginal inhabitants of the land, who are described as black foes, to flay them of their skins, and to bestow on the

Aryans herds of oxen, kine, and horses, rich pasture-lands, and wealth in their new-found homes.

These gods of the Aryans were many, and each had his own special qualities determined and defined; yet each in turn rises supreme, endowed by his worshippers with not only his own special characteristics, but also with the highest attributes common to all the gods. So the supreme god is not always the same; one by one the gods loom large as they grow from out the imagination of the poet, only to droop before the rising of another.

The early days of the incoming of the Aryans saw Agni, the god of fire, as highest god. In the cold northern mountains fire would naturally be the deity most beloved and desired, and to him the greater number of the hymns of the Rig Veda are addressed. Agni's qualities are many; he is considered the ever-loving friend bestowed upon man by the gods; he is the mediator between gods and men, and has the power through his bright flame of summoning the gods to the sacrifice prepared for them on earth. He is the protector of those who speak the truth. "He never ages; he is ever beautiful; he never sleeps."

The god of battle and of storm, the heroic Indra, the lord of heaven, succeeded Agni when the cold mountains were passed, and the Aryans descended into the parched, dried-up plains. There the thunder-cloud was loved. Indra is the slayer of the drought Sushma, the snake Ahi, and the demon Vritra. Shining in his splendour he lets his war-cloud loose. He is a mighty hunter, the creator of all things; the bearer of the flaming lightning. With him ride the Maruts, the storm-gods, to whom a number of hymns are addressed. Among the minor deities is the Dawn, the lovely maiden Ushas, the twin gods the Asvins, sometimes called her brothers and sometimes her husbands. The

glorious sun Surya is worshipped for its glad rays, to all prayers are offered for the benefits they have in their power to bestow. Not the least fervent of the hymns are those addressed to Soma, originally only the fermented juice of a plant, whose true nature and habitat is now unknown, but raised on account of its intoxicating powers to the rank of a god.

But hymns to the gods do not constitute all the poets sang of, although they do form the major portion. There came a time in the history of the people when the stress of battle was over, and the Aryans no longer needed the aid of their gods for victory; they were safely and happily settled in a land fair to behold and fruitful, they had their homesteads to watch over, their cattle to tend; the gods are prayed to bestow on them slaves and kine, silver, and for their swift steeds gold-adorned trappings. The hymns tell of their trades and occupations; the carpenter, the tanner, the worker in metals are all mentioned, as well as the finer art of weaving.

The Atharva Veda, of much later date than the other three, consists mainly of incantations to protect against all manner of evil, whether divine or human, invocations and magic spells, love-charms and formulas. Vengeance swift and sure is called down in these incantations on those who oppress the priest in whom is invested the power of framing and uttering the magic spell.

All through the Vedic hymns the priest is the chief personage. It is he who calls the gods to the sacrifice; it is his power of song that gains the rich gifts that are in their power to bestow, and for this he is richly rewarded. The priests spared no opportunity of extolling the worshippers who gave liberally. A position such as theirs was not to be lightly thrown away, so the whole ingenuity of the Brahman priest was turned to the consideration of

how he could best consolidate his power. A host of ritualistic observances were ingeniously devised, all of which were considered as absolutely necessary for the spiritual welfare of the Aryan people, and impossible of performance by any but the priestly class. To the four Vedas were appended long prose compositions called the Bráhmanas, the main purport of which was to connect the ritualistic rites with the sacrificial songs and incantations. These treatises are long, wearisome, and tedious, but they are nevertheless of interest apart from their professed purpose, inasmuch as they contain the record of the oldest forms of the sacrificial ritual, the oldest traditions, and the oldest philosophical speculation.

The Rig Veda possesses two of these Bráhmanas, the Aitareya and the Sankhayana or Kaushitaki Bráhmana, the former being a treatise on the Soma sacrifice solely, while the latter treats of all the different sacrifices. The Sama Veda has four Bráhmanas, among them the celebrated Chandogya Bráhmana. The Black Yajur Veda has the Taittiriya Bráhmana; and the White Yajur Veda possesses another celebrated one, the Satapatha, supposed to have been written by the sage Yajnavalkya; and the Fourth Veda has the Gopatha Brahmana. The Bráhmanas have again subdivisions of their own, one being the Aranyakas, or portions specially devoted to the life of the ascetic dweller in the forest; and the most important subdivision of all are the Upanishads, in which are embodied the freer religious speculations of the time.

In the Bráhmanas the duties of the different classes of priests are detailed. The Hotar, or reciting priest, is specially the object of the Bráhmana of the Rig Veda; the Udgatur, the singer himself, is that of the Sama Veda; while the Yajur Veda treats of the sacrificing or Adhvaryu priest. Naturally, as the sacrifice grew in importance, and became so necessary to the daily well-

being of the people, the power wielded by the sacrificer became unduly magnified. When so much depended on the due performance of the rite, how much more depended on the person who performed it. The people gradually became subdued to this priestly hierarchy, which assumed to itself powers never elsewhere exercised by any religious order in the world. Sins against Brahmans are in the early sacred books punished with dire penalties. The priestly classes framed the strictest rules to keep the knowledge of their wisdom amongst their own families and disciples, and everything possible was done that could deepen the general belief in the supernatural origin which they claimed both for themselves and their teachings.

The contents of the Bráhmanas and Upanishads may be divided into three parts: (1) That relating to the formal portion of the sacrifice. (2) Legend and tradition. (3) Philosophic speculation. All three are inextricably mingled, and all arise out of and are part of the whole. The simplicity and elevated ideas of the Vedic hymns are a thing of the past, the gods as living deities have passed away; the *cult* has taken their place, and is in reality worshipped in their stead.

The ceremonial of the sacrifice, whatever it may have conveyed to the priests in early days, had become complicated, and so much of its meaning had been lost by the time it came to be written down in the Bráhmanas that the significance once attached to the worship of the varied deities had given place to such mere details as the size, shape, and position of the altar, and the place to be taken by the sacrificer and worshipper.

The sacrifices themselves had increased in number. In the Satapatha Bráhmana a full account of them is given, commencing with the human sacrifice. A curious legend concerning human sacrifice is contained in the Aitareya Bráhmana of the Rig Veda in the story of Sunahshepa. Here it is told how a certain king,

anxious for a son, had vowed that should the gods grant him one, he would offer him as a sacrifice in his gratitude. The boon granted, the king repented, and would not give up his son, and in consequence a grievous disease was inflicted on him. The boy attempts to find a substitute, which in itself is of interest, and after great trouble succeeds in prevailing on a Bráhman to offer up his son, but then no one will bind him or slay him until, on promise of a great reward, his own father does. As the blow is about to descend the boy prays to the gods for deliverance, the king is cured, and the boy spared.

This story clearly proves that the memory of human sacrifice was still with the people, though the custom had itself died out. The same Bráhmana tells how the human sacrifice gave place to the horse sacrifice, for which again the sacrifice of an ox was substituted, then a sheep, then a goat, the reason given being that the part of the man which was fitted for sacrifice went out and passed into the horse, and after each sacrifice passed on. Some of the more important sacrifices were the Agnihotra, which consisted twice daily of a libation of milk; the Agnishtoma, or Soma sacrifice; the Agni-adhana, or setting up of sacrificial fires; the gift of cakes to the fathers and departed ancestors, called the Pindapitriyajna; then the Rajasuya, or coronation sacrifice; and, chief of all, the Asvamedha or horse sacrifice, performed after great victories.

One of the best known legends of the Bráhmanas is that told in the Satapatha Bráhmana of the flood. A holy man named Manu, who had gained the good-will of the gods by his prayers and penances, one day, while washing his hands, caught hold of a little fish, and instead of killing it threw it back into the water. The fish spoke to him, and promised to save him from a great danger if he would preserve it. Manu accordingly put the fish into a jar, and there the fish grew, and then

it warned Manu of the impending disaster, and told him to build a ship and enter into it when the flood rose. Manu did all he was bidden, and when the flood came he tied his ship to a horn which had grown on the fish's head, and was towed away by it to the Northern Mountain. Then the flood subsided, and from his prayers, austerities, and sacrifices, in one year's time a woman was produced, and the world thereby was re-peopled. This legend has always been cited as the Aryan tradition of the flood.

A legend of creation is found in the Taittiriya Bráhmana, which declares that in the beginning there was nothing but a lotus standing on the water. The god Prajapati, diving in the shape of a boar, brought up some earth, spread it out, and fastened it down with pebbles. This was the world.

Although the Vedic gods were almost lost sight of in this mass of legend and sacrificial ritual which clustered round, and though, indeed, some faded away never to reappear, nevertheless other gods arose, and in some cases the older Vedic deities reappeared under new names, and endowed with other attributes. Vishnu, insignificant in the Vedas, rose to a foremost place, and Mahadeva comes to the front as the dreaded Siva.

In the Upanishads new speculations raised the mind from the sloth generated by the endless round of sacrificial ceremony. Cogitations over the origin and destiny of the soul, over the creation of the world, transmigration, and final blessedness are the offering of the Upanishads to Indian literature. The earlier Upanishads are directed to the orthodox inquiry into these high matters, but the later ones contain sectarian views, and even show a tendency towards Agnosticism, a bitter wail even hinted at in earliest Vedic times. The result of the earliest phase of philosophic thought gives us the unconscious Brahman, the creator of the world, who is described as "unseen but seeing,

unheard but hearing, unperceived but perceiving, unknown but knowing. There is nothing that sees but it; nothing that hears but it; nothing that perceives but it; nothing that knows but it."

The highest aim of mankind, according to the teachings of the Upanishads, was to be the attainment of a true knowledge of the relationship of the self of man to the self of the universe, and to that aim the performance of sacrifice was declared to be merely subsidiary. All worship was but a means to salvation, and not as the Bráhman priesthood had made it, an end in itself. A great sage, Yajnavalkya, declared that though a man offers oblations, sacrifices, and performs penances even for a thousand years, his works will have an end, he will depart this world and be miserable like a slave. Brahman, originally the prayer breathed forth in the Vedas to call down the gods, became that from which the universe itself issued, the omnipotent, omniscient cause of the birth, the stay, and the decay of creation. The thoughtful mind passed on from creation to the soul of man, and its final resting-place. The Brahman being that from which the universe proceeds, is necessarily the soul of all things. The final step was inevitable, the soul becomes but an emanation from the Brahman, and apart from it has no real separate existence of its own. With this is woven another fundamental idea, that of transmigration, which, presupposing the eternity both retrospective and prospective of the soul or spirit of man, appoints a continual round of lives to the individual before he can attain release from rebirth and a final resting-place. The three chief schools of philosophy, Sankhya, Yoga, and Vedanta, are all founded on this haunting fear of transmigration, rebirth in various forms—human, animal, and even insect. These different schools have a certain groundwork in common, the belief in a first cause, and the belief in

transmigration, and they all differentiate between the soul, or Atman, which is eternal, and the Manas, or mind, which is not eternal, but composed of intellect and consciousness, or egoism. Given mind and bodily form, the connection of these with the undying soul can only result in *action*.

The fruits of action, whether good or bad, must be eaten. Neither punishment nor reward can be fully worked out in heaven or hell after death, hence the necessity for returning to the world, to bondage, re-birth, and sorrow. The only hope of final release is by gaining the true knowledge of the unity of the soul of man with the Soul of the Universe.

The three great systems, while agreeing on these points, differ in the *method* they use for this re-union. The system of Kapila, known as the Sankhya, is essentially dualistic. It deals with the existence of two things, Prakriti, primal matter, the source of all things material, and the Soul, which exists outside and independent of matter.

Prakriti possesses three essential qualities, goodness, passion, and darkness, and with them she produces intellect (buddhi), consciousness, and mind. From these are evolved the five subtle elements, sound, touch, odour, form, and taste, and from them again the five gross elements, ether, air, light, water, and earth. In order to unite with the soul Prakriti manifests all these qualities, subtle and gross, as a body in which the soul is enclosed, and whose part in the union consists of a passive contemplation of these manifestations. Soul and Prakriti are complements of each other, inasmuch as Prakriti is blind and cannot see her own creation, while the soul, though seeing, is lame, and has no power of action.

The soul, deluded by this union, which it deems eternal, has no knowledge of its own separate existence, and enjoys the pleasures and feels the sorrows and pain

which the union causes it. Freedom from the bondage is only obtainable by a true knowledge of itself and Prakriti, with all her elements and productions.

The doctrine thus taught could hardly have been satisfying to any mind but that of the sage trained in esoteric thought, so the system of Patanjali, the founder of the Yoga school, once more returned to the belief in a Supreme Being with whom the soul aimed to be united. The union was to be obtained by meditation, which would free the mind from all worldly thought. As aids to mental concentration there were eight practices—restraint, religious observances, postures, suppression of breath, restraint of the senses, steadying of the mind, contemplation, meditation. The right observance of these resulted in a mesmeric trance, in which the soul is supposed to free itself from the body, and wander free, gaining ultimate union with the Omniscient Soul, known by the mystic syllable Om. The third and greatest of the three systems, that of the Vedanta, the fulfilment or end of the Veda, inculcates the "desire to know Brahman" as the highest aim.

Brahman, whose nature and essence is pure being, without anything outside itself, pure thought with nothing to think about, pure joy with nothing to rejoice over, is that omniscient, omnipotent cause from which proceeds the origin, subsistence, and dissolution of the world, for, as it is declared, all this universe indeed is Brahma. The individual soul is, therefore, Brahma, only separated from the true knowledge of itself and its oneness with the omniscient by a delusion. This delusion, Maya, associated itself with Brahman, and sent forth a dream-world—not a real world, but an illusive appearance of a world which is really non-existent.

How Brahman, the One God only without a Second, came to be associated with anything created, or un-

created, or delusive, such as Maya, seeing that in itself it is pure negation and non-existent, is the unanswerable question to which the philosophy can give no reply. There is one other point of primary import in the Vedanta philosophy. The great commentator on the Vedanta, Sankaracharya, who lived in the eighth century, sums up the freedom gained by the knowledge of Brahman, by declaring that once comprehended all duties come to an end. This may be taken as showing the non-moral nature of Vedantism. The answer is, however, clear that by the doctrine it is only intended to convey the thought that once the knowledge of Brahman and its identity with the soul is reached, there follows release from all duties, because the enlightened soul is placed beyond the pale of action, whether good or bad. He is Brahman himself then, untouched by sin or sorrow.

The tenets of the Vedanta are found in the Brahma Sutras, and, like all the Sutra literature, is explained by commentaries, the most celebrated being that of Sankaracharya, who taught the Non-Duality, or Advaita doctrine, which is that generally accepted throughout India. It must not be overlooked that another reformer, Ramanuja, in the eleventh century, interpreted the Sutras as teaching what is known as the Dvaita, or dualistic theory, which holds that the Brahman is Vishnu himself, and not only the cause of the visible world, but the material from which it and the soul is created.

Madhavacharya, a successor of the great philosopher and reformer, Sankaracharya, in the Smarta school at Sringiri, was the author, in the fourteenth century, of an important work, the Sarva Darsana Sangraha, a summary of the various philosophical systems in practice at his time. Being a Vedantist, he ranked the Vedanta system highest; the lowest, in his view, being the Buddhist system, that great movement which for

centuries held sway over the minds of the people, and which now claims attention.

The literature of Buddhism, the philosophy of life founded by the Sakya chief, Siddartha, springs naturally from the earliest Upanishad speculations, and covers in its range the intellectual thought of some thousand years, from about 400 B.C. to 600 A.D., at which later date Buddhism began to crumble to its fall. Besides the Buddhist Canon, that is, the three Pitakas, or baskets, there are many other sacred books, including the Jatakas or Birth Stories of Buddha, and a mass of literature connected with the life and observances of the Buddhist Order.

Buddha, in his scheme, held that there was no soul or self of man, that all inquiry into the existence or non-existence of a Supreme Deity was only an empty waste of time. The one great aim of his teaching was to get free from the perpetual cycle of existences ever recurring in consequence of the result, or Karma, of man's good or evil actions, thoughts, and words. This Karma had to work out its own potentiality. It had to receive its own punishment or reward in a new existence, which, however, had no connection with the old, except as being conditioned by the Karma.

The aim of man is to rid himself for ever of Karma and gain Nirvana, defined by Professor Rhys Davids as "the extinction of that sinful, grasping condition of mind and heart which would otherwise, according to the great mystery of Karma, be the cause of renewed individual existence. . . . It is the same thing as a sinless, calm state of mind." The path to Nirvana was difficult, and one not to be trodden to its high end by many. It consisted of eight precepts—right views, right aims, right speech, right conduct, right living, right effort, right thought, right self-concentration. This eightfold path had four stages, which led

from acceptance of the doctrines of the Blessed One to the attainment of Nirvana in this world, and then on to Para Nirvana, that is, final extinction and absolute freedom from rebirth. According to Buddha, man possessed no migratory soul, being merely made up of five skandhas—material qualities, sensations, ideas, tendencies of mind, and mental powers.

Buddhism as a revolt from the priestly control of the Bráhmans, spread rapidly through India, north and south. It gave man's life into his own keeping, and more than any other philosophy or religion of India, laid stress on the humanity of man and importance of self-control and self-education. The mass of unorthodox legend and idolatrous practices that sprang up later about the pure moral doctrines of Buddhism gradually obscured the earnest efforts of the Buddha to provide for sorrowing man some way, easy to be grasped, of release from the sorrows of life. The way was one of inaction, and not one that could be followed by a nation struggling to maintain itself against foreign foes and wage a fight for advancement in material civilisation. Buddhism failed, and Bráhmanism reasserted its new-grown powers.

The Bráhmanic hierarchy had spread with the passing years, along with the Aryan race, all over North India, and even down to the south, and had come into contact more and more with the lower races, the earlier inhabitants of the land. It was not enough for the Bráhmans to receive the intellectual homage of the upper castes, but they required also the subservience of the lower conquered races. The henotheism, as it has been called, of the Vedas developed in later days into the worship of the three great deities, Brahma the Creator, Vishnu the Preserver, and Siva the Destroyer of the Universe. All originally sprang from the Vedas; but to make their worship acceptable to the minds of the untutored savages who worshipped

spirits, trees, and stones, a certain amount of religious tolerance was necessary. In fact, the proselytising of the people by the Bráhmans simply consisted in accepting all their gods and evil demons on the condition that the Bráhmanic power and the Aryan pantheon were acknowledged.

The ascendency of Bráhmanism was marked by one of the strangest literary efforts that the history of any people can record.

Hinduism, with its later accretions from the spirit-worship of the aboriginal races, had to be popularised. The yearnings of the soul for union with the divine were still expressed in philosophic terms. The Bráhman still reigned supreme, in spite of, not by exemption from, attacks from without. It was not, however, the nature of the warrior caste, or Kshatriyas, to thus tamely submit to take the subsidiary place allotted them by the priestly class. They had, early in the Upanishads, launched forth on their own account into philosophic speculation, and they were at times no mean enemy to strive against. Not alone had this warrior class to be taught its true position, but every effort to increase and consolidate the Bráhmanic power had to be set forth. The idea of gathering together and moulding more or less into a connected whole the mass of legends floating amongst the people, and to give them a religious and moral signification, was the audacious yet successful inspiration of the priesthood. The two great epics of the Mahabharata and Ramayana, as we have them now, were constructed carefully and laboriously, for the purpose of giving to the people their own folk-tales and epic traditions, but in what might be called an authorised version, the original epic story being so overladen with didactic discourse and sacerdotal ordinance that frequently the epic narrative fades away, and is lost sight of in the surrounding accretions, with the result that often all

that is apparent to the wearied reader is a bewildering treatise of Bráhman-made laws. This order of things, however, arose but slowly. Several were the redactions that the poems went through before they received the final approval of the priesthood, and were accepted as revealed teaching by the other castes. The earlier purpose of both poems—that of extolling the heroic deeds and mystic valour of the warrior chiefs—still remained the central point of the stories, but mangled and misinterpreted. In the case of the Ramayana, the hero Rama, as sung by the Bráhman poet Valmiki, is extolled not as a man, but as a descent on the earth of the god Vishnu for the repression of wrong, and as the exemplar of duty and virtue.

The outline of the story of the Ramayana can be told in a few words. Rama, the eldest son of Dasaratha, king of Ayodhya, is exiled for fourteen years from his home, owing to a vow of his father's, extorted by Kaikeyi, his second wife, and the mother of another son.

Rama, with his wife Sita, departs for the term of banishment to the wide southern forests; and a great part of the poem is taken up with his adventures there, and with the capture of Sita by Ravana, king of Lanka, a monster with ten heads, the pursuit by Rama, assisted by the monkey army, the recovery of Sita, her ordeal by fire, and the final triumphant return of Rama and his wife to their throne and kingdom.

Not only is Rama a type of divine excellence, but he is made use of in many ways to uphold Brahmanic orthodoxy, notably in his passage-at-arms with the heretic Javali, who tries to instil atheistic doctrines into him, and is triumphantly refuted.

The Ramayana with its 48,000 lines is surpassed in extent by the Mahabharata with its 220,000 lines. This book of the great war tells of the struggle waged between the hundred Kurus, sons of the blind king

Dhritarashtra, and their cousins, the five Pandava princes, the sons of Pandu. The latter, deprived of their kingdom by the Kurus, the type all through of evil and injustice, are driven into exile for twelve years, but their wrath, kindled more on account of the insults inflicted on their common wife, Draupadi, burned fiercely through the long years. These ended, the fight began which culminated with their great victory on the field of Kurukshetra, the overthrow of the wicked Kurus, and the ultimate entrance into blessedness of the Pandavas.

This is the story which originated in the struggle for the possession of North India by the Aryans, and the victory obtained over them by a non-Aryan race; yet even this crushing defeat, which could not be ignored, was turned to account by the Bráhmans.

In their version of the story the Pandavas, originally the Dravidian races, are made relations, cousins of the Aryan Kurus, and the long-remembered story, sung with pride by the people, of their victories over the northern invader, is turned by the subtlety of the Bráhman into a civil war, or rather family quarrel, between two Aryan races. The epoch at which the great battle took place is necessarily brought much nearer, the object being to fix the minds of the people on a time when the Aryans were already among them, and their own nationality and separate existence a thing of the past, if not altogether forgotten. An epic entirely divested of all that appealed to the people would not have effected this purpose. As a result there is found philosophic questioning and abstruse reasoning, even a whole Vedantic text-book, such as the Bhagavad-gita, mingled with the most degraded beliefs, and the acceptance of the spirits and demons of the aboriginal races.

Customs, abhorred by the Bráhmans as derogatory to their purity of race, are acknowledged as

existent, although some reason, plausible or otherwise, is always given for their appearance, as though to gloss over their acceptance. But the real tendency of the authorised version of the Mahabharata is to be found in the exaltation of the two gods who had lived from the Vedic times, Vishnu, personified as Krishna, and Siva. In these two great deities all the older Vedic gods, Agni, Surya, Indra, and Yama, are merged, deities who, when allowed a separate existence, are considered but emanations from the sublime Trinity, for there is a third god, Brahma, shadowy and but little worshipped, yet still an essential figure in Hinduism. The worship of Brahma, Vishnu, and Siva, the three great deities of modern Hinduism, rises clear and distinct in the Mahabharata. In the underlying epic portions Siva, the fierce god of the aboriginal people, the Vedic Rudra, is most worshipped, and it is his aid that Arjuna, one of the five Pandu brothers, seeks and obtains, after a fierce struggle in which the god is victor and the humbled warrior sings his praise. "I am unable to declare the attributes of the wise Mahadeva, the all-prevailing god, yet nowhere seen, the leader and the lord of Brahma, Vishnu, and Indra, whom the gods, from Brahma to the demons, worship, the supreme, imperishable Brahman, at once existent and non-existent. He has a girdle of serpents in his hand; he carries a discus, a trident, a club, a sword, and axe; the god whom even Krishna lauds as the supreme deity."

But even the worship of Siva fades before that of Vishnu, personified as Krishna, who led the Pandavas to victory. The Bráhmanic doctrine of deliverance by a faith in Krishna is simple and direct. It teaches that man may believe what he pleases, may worship whatsoever god or demon that he will, nevertheless a belief in the supremacy of Krishna sets him above all consequences of sin. "The man is saved," are the words of the god himself, "who sees me in everything and

everything in me. I am never lost, and he is not lost to me." The divine character of Krishna and the reverence shown to him in the Bhagavadgita clashes strangely, to the Western mind, with the legends also told about him in the Mahabharata, where his love adventures with the "gopis" or milkmaids, among whom he was fabled to have spent his early years, are told with simple realism. The loves of Krishna, "the herdsman god," as he is called, and his favourite Radha, are sung of as the mystic longings of the soul, but the real and the ideal are often strangely blended.

Krishna worship, as appealing to the intelligence and the emotions of the lower classes, has survived for over two thousand years in India, and holds its place in the hearts of the people down to the present day. The Mahabharata and the Ramayana, which showed, in the worship of Siva and Vishnu, the rise of Hinduism, left it for a later literature to reveal the rivalry that sprang up between the devotees of the two gods.

The "Puranas," or books of ancient tradition, were written for the sole purpose of setting the praises of the one god above the other and of inculcating the doctrine of "*bhakti*" faith. The principal Puranas are eighteen in number, and should properly treat of five subjects—the creation of the world, its destruction and re-creation, the genealogy of gods and fathers, the reigns of the Manus, and the history of the two great Solar and Lunar dynasties, from which is traced the lineage of all the Indian heroes and mythological personages of the Epic period. All the stories and fables are made to redound to the credit of some one personification of Siva or Vishnu, more often the latter, whose various descents on earth form the subject-matter of the well-known Vishnu Purana. First, he appeared as the fish who saved Manu from the flood; secondly, as a tortoise by whose aid the fourteen precious treasures lost during the deluge were recovered; thirdly, he appeared as a

boar, to raise up the world and hold it firm; fourthly, as the man-lion, to destroy a monster invulnerable to injury inflicted by a mortal; fifthly, as a dwarf whose appearance so misled the demon Bali that he offered him as much of the three worlds as he could cover in three steps. Vishnu then, in three strides, regained for the gods the three worlds which had been usurped by the demon.

The sixth incarnation was that of Parasu Rama, or Rama with the axe; the next Rama Chandra, the hero of the Ramayana; the eighth was Krishna; the ninth Buddha; and the last one, yet to come, will be Kalki, who, seated on a white horse, will come to slay all the wicked who live in the present Kali or dark age.

Such are the themes treated of in the Puranas, a literature, so far as is known, that compares favourably with the Tantras, written contemporaneously with the Puranas, but with the purpose of extolling, not Vishnu or Siva, but their female counterparts or saktis, personified as their wives under different names. The favourite forms are those of Kali and Durga. Human sacrifices and many other abhorrent practices are some of the ways in which the Tantras cultivate their goddess.

Indian literature, although it is for the greater part religious in its underlying motive, yet has a secular side where the influence of the Bráhman priest does not everywhere predominate. The Indian drama here comes as a welcome relief. The history of its origin is as a puzzle of which the pieces are still not fitted in their proper places. The rise of the drama cannot be traced; when it appears in literature it is perfected in form and conventionalised.

The name for a play, *nataka*, from its derivation of *nrit*, to dance, does not help much, for dancing plays no conspicuous part in even the earliest plays.

In Greek drama the evolution is clear. The dance and song of the early days, interspersed later with

dialogue, grew under the hands of the great masters into the grand plays of Æschylus and Sophocles. But there is a wide gulf unbridged between the set classic drama of Sanskrit literature and the dance from which it derived its name. Not only can the history of its construction not be traced, but the dates of the extant plays are as yet unfixed by some hundreds of years.

Those who would summarily bridge over the gulf assert that to Greek or Græco-Roman influence is to be ascribed the classic form of the Indian drama, and in many cases the similitude is striking. The Indian curtain yavanika is derived from the term yavana, used with regard to things foreign and sometimes Ionian. The division into acts, the use of the prologue, and the part the recognition ring plays, afterwards to be referred to, all point to a possible borrowing from the comedies of Plautus and Terence, and between the characters, too, there is a strong resemblance, the vidushaka, vita, and sakara respectively reminding one forcibly of the *servus currens, parasitus edax,* and *miles gloriosus* of the Roman theatre. All these points and many more have been carefully worked out in elaborate treatises, but the conclusions have not received general acceptance. No Indian play can be authoritatively dated before the commencement of the Christian era, and by some the earliest extant play, the Mud Cart, the Mricchakatika, is placed as late as the sixth century A.D. Its reputed author is a King Sudraka, and the subject, according to the recognised law laid down for the true nataka, is love and real life. The plot is laid in Ujjain, and the hero is Charudatta, a young Brâhman, who, once wealthy, is now reduced to poverty, with the loss of all his friends but one, Maitreya, and his own devoted wife. Unknown to him the beautiful Vasantasena, a dancing girl at the temple, has lost her heart to him, and the story turns on their love, the difficulties that beset their path, the attempted murder

of Vasantasena by a disappointed suitor, the brother-in-law of the king, the trial of Charudatta, accused of the supposed crime by the profligate prince, the appearance of Vasantasena in time to save her lover from death, and their union. There is a sub-plot of a political nature, and the downfall of the reigning dynasty coincides with Charudatta's release. The idea is to show the triumph of justice and righteousness over injustice and wickedness. The play is full of life and movement, the scenes and characters have an air of reality, and the style, although at times overladen and artificial, is on the whole simple and direct, while from it a good idea of the life of the people at the commencement of our era may be gained. The play is written in classical Sanskrit, but, as in all these plays, the women and minor characters speak local dialects or Prakrits. The play in translations has been acted in Berlin, Munich, and Paris, and it can only be regretted that it has not been adapted for the English stage. The Shakespeare of the Indian drama is, however, Kalidasa, fabled to be one of the nine gems of the court of a certain King Vikramaditya; but here again, as regards dates, the greatest confusion exists. By some writers he has been placed as late as the seventh century A.D., by others the first century B.C. is not considered too early; a high authority has lately declared his date to be not later than 470 A.D. High ideals and lofty sentiments, language musical and grand, are the characteristics of much of the work of Kalidasa, but his style is more conventional than that of the Mud Cart, and is intentionally elaborate and polished. One drama alone must suffice for an example—Sakuntala, praised by Goethe in his well-known lines—

"Wouldst thou the young year's blossoms and the fruits of its decline,
And all by which the soul is charmed, enraptured, feasted, fed?
Wouldst thou the earth and heaven itself in one sole name combine?
I name thee, O Sakuntalâ; and all at once is said."

Sakuntala, the daughter of a heavenly nymph, dwells with her foster-father, a sage, in a lonely hermitage. She is described, with all the glow of Eastern language, as endowed with every charm that nature could bestow, so that the King Dushyanta, trespassing on the sacred ground in chase of a deer, and seeing her walking amid her flowers, loves her, but despairs of ever winning her for his bride, he being a Kshatriya and she the daughter of a Bráhman. A deep love grows up between them. He learns that she is descended from a warrior race, and in her foster-father's absence they are united according to a simple form of marriage. Hastily summoned to his kingdom, he leaves her his token-ring as a sign of recognition when they may next meet. Sakuntala, dreaming of her husband, forgets to receive with due formalities a great sage, who curses her for her neglect, declaring that her husband will never remember her. She, with her child, follows the king to his court, but, owing to the curse, the token-ring was lost while she was bathing, and her husband repudiates her. Finally the sage relents, the ring is recovered in the body of a fish, the king's memory is restored, and all ends happily.

It was the elaborate, artificial style of Kalidasa, not his higher claims to genius, that were followed as a model by the next romantic dramatist, Bhavabhuti, the author of three plays, the Malati Madhava, Mahavira Charitra, and Uttara Rama Charitra. He wrote, as he himself acknowledged in his prologue to the first play, not for the people, but for the poets and pandits who might think like himself, and his style is so difficult and fantastic that some of his passages are almost unintelligible. The Malati Madhava is historically valuable for the light it throws on the superstitions of Hinduism as shown in the Tantras, and also its mention of Buddhism. One play, the Nagananda, has for its hero a Bodhisattva, or potential Buddha, and it

is the only drama that can be called Buddhistic. Passing from the drama to a kindred subject, poetry, it is found in many cases that the deeds of heroes form the subject of the poems, though sometimes, as in the case of the Kumara Sambhava and the Meghaduta, both by Kalidasa, that love, and love alone, is the theme.

Foremost among the great epic poems of this period is the well-known Raghuvamsa or heroic genealogy from the Sun, which gives an account of the race of Rama, the hero of the Ramayana, down to the last king of his line. The poem is instinct with the subtle power of description and grace of versification for which Kalidasa is so justly famous. By far the most pleasing and most melodious of all Kalidasa's poems is the Cloud Messenger, or Meghaduta. The subject is simple; an inferior deity, a Yaksha, has incurred the displeasure of his master, the God of Wealth, by neglect of his duty; he is punished by exile from his dearly-loved wife for twelve months. While pining in his solitary abode he sees the cloud, driven northwards by the monsoon wind, passing overhead, and confides to it his woes and a message to his wife, together with directions as to the way it should take and the places it would pass. The descriptions of nature are conventional, eastern, and poetic, while the love portion is full of tender feeling. Another beautiful and descriptive poem of Kalidasa is the Seasons, the Ritu Sanhara, in which the poet's own reading of nature has full play. Another later writer of the Kavya poetry, as it is called, is Bhartrihari, poet, philosopher, and grammarian, who lived in the seventh century, author of the Bhattikavya, a history of Rama. This later verse did not follow the lines of the true epic, but was a mingling of epic, didactic, and lyric poetry, in which attention is paid far more to form, *i.e.* metre, alliteration, single and double rhymes,

than to the simple and direct style of its supposed model, the Mahabharata.

The lyric verse proper consisted solely of erotic poems, of which there is an extensive literature, the most beautiful in sound and rhythm being the Gita Govinda of Jayadeva, a poet of the twelfth century. The poem is allegorical, and in telling of the loves of Radha and Krishna, the poet set forth the mystic longing of the soul for union with the divine essence, a longing which pervades in one form or another the working of the Hindu mind.

The folk-tales of India form one of the largest collections of almost any country, and through their translations into Arabic (Kalilah wa Dimnah), Persian, Pehlevi (Kalilag and Damnag), German, and French in the early centuries of our era have become the common property of the West, and are found among our modern collections such as Grimm's Fairy Tales. The original Indian form of these stories is known as the Fables of Bidpai, and claims to be the source of all beast fables. Inasmuch as the fables hinge on a moral their origin is found by some in the Jataka or Birth Stories of Buddha.

The Fables of Bidpai have many Indian versions —the Pancha Tantra, the Hitopadesa, and the Katha Sarit Sagara. The first is the longest, containing five of the original thirteen books, the Hitopadesa contains one less, and the Katha Sarit Sagara has the tales in a disconnected form. The Pancha Tantra, or five divisions, was said to have been written by a sage Vishnusarman, the original Bidpai, for the purpose of educating three young princes, sons of the king of Patalipura, who by their stupidity and vicious ways were breaking their father's heart. The wise man succeeded where all others failed, and his method was to instil his moral maxims covered up by a story that would appeal to the interest of his young charges. The stories themselves do not always come up to a western standard of

morals, much being Machiavellian in its underlying purport. Some teach the benefits of true friendship, and the advantages to the weak of mutual help and service; others show the evils that will overtake one who puts his confidence in the wicked, or those with whom he is insufficiently acquainted; others, again, the sad consequences of imprudence. The end is always obtained by some trick or fraud, which leaves the moral open to wider ethical consideration.

In much of the literature of India some recognition of the broader demands of humanity, and of the wider principles in which is to be found the ultimate solution of its common aims, is found strangely, though not unexpectedly, lacking.

In the law books the hand of the Bráhman is everywhere apparent. The King or Raja was nominally the dispenser of the law, but he had his Bráhman advisers at his side, and to these Bráhman advisers the different law books are owing. The Bráhmanic code of laws ever strove to draw as clear as possible the distinction between the Aryan and the Sudra. Especially in the law books were the concise, condensed aphorisms known as Sutras employed, and the best known of these Dharma (law) Sutras was the famous code of Manu, the Manava Dharma Sutra, long lost in the original, but preserved in the later metrical form known as the Manava Dharma Sastras. These Laws of Manu are founded on the Black Yajur Veda, and put together by a Bráhmanic family known as the Manavas; while to the Sama Veda and its follower Gautama, another law book, that known as the Aphorisms of Gautama, is due. Each Veda had its own priestly following. Thus the Rig Veda was represented in the law books by Vasishtha, followed mainly in North India, while Gautama and Baudhayana, who are followed in the south, compiled their law books like Manu from the Black Yajur Veda. The most heinous

crimes in ancient India were theft, murder, especially that of a Bráhman, adultery, and drunkenness, but in all cases the punishment was regulated according to the caste of the criminal. The murder of a Sudra was considered worthy of a penalty no higher than that awarded for killing a crow, an owl, a frog, or a dog. A Sudra who listened to the recitation of the Veda was punished by having his ears filled with molten tin or lac, while one who recited the Veda was ordered to have his tongue cut out. A heavy fine was imposed on a Sudra for abusing a Vaisya, and a much heavier one for abusing a Bráhman, but a Bráhman paid nothing for abuse of a Sudra. The law books were composed between the fifth and first centuries B.C., during the time that the Bráhmans were consolidating their power, and from them is obtained most of the knowledge possessed of the social customs of the people of those days. The caste system is found in practice, the marriage laws are very strict, and though the law of inheritance and partition differ slightly in the different law books, yet all is clearly laid down; the law of property was placed on a stable footing, landmarks were considered sacred, and the owner of arable land was protected from a bad tenant by a provision that if the crop were poor through the inefficiency of the lessee, he was compelled to pay his landlord the value of the crop that should have grown.

Besides the law books which regulated the public duties of citizens towards one another, the Kalpa Sutras, or Rules of Ceremonies, had a section known as the Grihya Sutras, treating of the daily or home life, and purification, so important to the Hindu.

All domestic occurrences, birth, marriage, and death, had their own peculiar rites; the four stages of life through which a man is supposed to pass, that of pupil, householder, ascetic, and religious mendicant, had each their own separate ordinances.

One very important event was the Upanayana, or ceremony of investiture, whereby a youth went through a second or spiritual re-birth, and became entitled to wear the sacred thread and rank among the dvija, or twice-born. At the ceremony the boy was taught for the first time the Gayatri or Holy Prayer to Savitri, uttered each morning on rising by every orthodox Hindu: "Om: Let us meditate on the ever-to-be-longed-for clear light of heaven; may it direct all our thoughts."

Of the law books twenty are still extant, and a whole literature in itself is afforded by the commentaries and digests composed in after centuries by wise men of the different schools. Manu has five or six well-known commentaries, besides many others, and the Code of Yajnavalkya has at least ten.

In the domain of science, India in early days was not backward. As early as the fourth century B.C., a most remarkable grammatical system is found developed by a grammarian, Panini; the Sutras of Panini, 3996 in number, compared even to other Sutras, are marvels of condensation; they frequently consist not so much of words as of algebraical formulæ, and a Sutra of three words may often contain a long rule, each word standing for a whole phrase in itself.

The Sutras are sometimes too condensed to be intelligible even to the grammatical pandit, and the first commentator, the well-known Katyayana, not only commented on but criticised his author, and he in turn was called to account by an even more famous grammarian and commentator, Patanjali (second century B.C.), author of the Mahabhashya, or great commentary. The science of grammar has a following of its own, and there are Brâhman Pandits who devote themselves solely to its study, and from the time of Panini down to the present day some hundreds of works have been written founded on his Sutras, among others the Siddhanta Kaumudi and the Laghu Kaumudi.

Music, painting, medicine, astronomy, are all represented in the ancient literature of India, and although there is no time here to dwell on the progress in, and knowledge of, these arts displayed in those days, yet that knowledge was by no means small.

Hitherto, except for the Prakrits used in the drama and the sacred Pali of the Buddhist books, the language used in the literature was the classical Sanskrit, and the literature itself centred round the lands into which the Bráhman culture and civilisation had spread, and their schools had been formed.

The spoken vernaculars of India, those of the north evolved from Sanskrit, and known as Aryan, those in the south being purely aboriginal or Dravidian, a branch of the Ural Attaic family of languages, had to be considered, and the literature produced in them found its fitting place in the advancement of civilisation.

Jainism, an ancient religion probably pre-Buddhistic, which has in this article escaped attention owing to its many similarities to Buddhism, and whose literature has still to be unfolded to the West, penetrated early into South India, and to its influence is owing the Naladiyar, the Bible, as it is called, of the Tamil language. The work is attributed to a Jaina monk, and consists of 400 quatrains of moral and didactic sayings, perfectly irrelevant to one another, but instinct with quick perception of the varied phases of life and thought. The subjects are virtue, wealth, and pleasure. The aphorisms are some of the best produced in any literature, as well as melodious and poetical. Another Tamil work on the same subject is the Kurral of a low-caste weaver, Tiruvalluvar.

As in South India the contact between the Aryan and Dravidian roused a new outburst of song, so the Mohamedan conquest of the north had its effect.

The standard work of the north is the Ramayana

of Tulsi Das, a poet who sang in the vernacular of North India in the reign of the Emperor Akbar. His Ramayana is loved by the people of Hindustan above even the Vedas, Upanishads, and Puranas. The poem is founded on the old epic story of the Ramayana, but in it Rama is worshipped as Vishnu, the Supreme Being, through union with whom the soul can alone find peace and rest. The sentiment is pure, and the diction, though it does not possess the smoothness of the polished classical Sanskrit, is very striking.

The prosperous reign of Akbar (1556–1605), marked by his religious toleration and encouragement of learning, gave an impetus to the arts, and literature flourished under his protection. The wars and internecine strife that succeeded the dissolution of the Mughal empire gave no encouragement to the poet or prose author, and it was not until the English rule was firmly established through the vast continent that peace and quiet were sufficiently restored for the minds of the wise and learned to turn once more to what is essentially an Indian phase of mind, deep thought over the problems of life, united to an earnest effort to find some solution for its perplexing questions.

India during the last hundred years has been passing through a period of unrest, both religious and social, which has had, and will still continue to have, a deep and permanent effect.

CEYLON

BY L. B. CLARENCE

CEYLON is called England's principal Crown colony. It is not a "colony" in the strict sense of the word, for "colony" properly means a body of immigrants settled in a foreign country, and the English colonists are but a very small fraction of the inhabitants of Ceylon. The island is not a dependency of our country in which Englishmen can settle permanently, as in Australia, for instance, or Canada. The tropical climate forbids that. In Ceylon, as in India, the European immigrants must always be greatly outnumbered by the sons of the soil. The dependency is called a "colony," because it is governed through the Colonial Office, and a "Crown" colony, because it is administered directly under the Crown, and has no responsible representative government of its own.

It is an important possession to us in many ways. First, there is its situation—close to India, and right in the track of the Eastern steamer traffic. The port of Colombo has become a sort of marine Clapham Junction, whence the traffic branches to all parts of the world. More than 7,000,000 tons of shipping clear there annually, and over 30,000 passengers pass through. Moreover, under our rule the island has developed a great import and export trade. It takes about £1,500,000 worth of our goods, and in return sends us about £2,750,000 worth of its own produce[1] —coco-nut oil and fibre, cinnamon, plumbago, cacao

[1] The original Lecture was delivered in November 1896.

(you know that cacao has nothing to do with the palm that yields the coco-nuts), and many other commodities, particularly tea.

In Ceylon, as in India, the European inhabitants, by reason of the climate, can never be more than a drop in the bucket compared with the natives. The Europeans (not counting the military) number scarcely 6000, as against something like 3,000,000 natives. And so we are responsible for the welfare of a large native population living under our rule, and entirely dependent on us for good government and administration.

Ceylon is often coupled with India. A man returned from Ceylon to England is asked about his life "in India," as though Ceylon and India must be all the same. This is not unnatural. Ceylon has much in common, at any rate, with Southern India. Its inhabitants are of Indian origin. Their ancestors came from India long ago. And yet, from one cause and another, the atmosphere of life and government and administration differs perceptibly in the two countries.

We can hardly compare Ceylon with India, because the one is so little and the other so very large. British India, from Kashmir to Cape Comorin, from Bombay to Burma, embraces wide variations of climate and widely differing peoples. What a difference between the icy peaks and glaciers of the Himalayas and the burning plains of Southern India, and what a difference, again, between the peoples who live in the north and the south, the east and the west, of that vast empire, speaking among them about eighty different languages.

Ceylon has scarcely one-hundredth part of the Indian population, and only two native languages. There are no warlike races there—none like the Sikhs and Gurkhas, who once fought bravely against us, and now furnish us with soldiers who, with equal gallantry, fight shoulder to shoulder with our own Tommy Atkins.

The great Mohamedan invasion, which left such a mark on India, never reached Ceylon. Moreover, compared with our rule in India, our possession of Ceylon is a modern matter—a thing of yesterday. Madras and Bombay were old British settlements long before an advance on Ceylon was even thought of.

But the main cause of this difference as to the atmosphere of life and administration in Ceylon and India has been the separation of Ceylon from the Indian Government. Almost from the very outset our Ceylon possessions were separated from the administration of India, and placed under the Colonial Department. The difference has been further accentuated during the last fifty years by the remarkable rise and development of a great European planting enterprise—first in coffee, and since in tea. This brought in its train an unofficial European element in the population, very small in comparison with the native inhabitants, but relatively far larger and more influential than any unofficial European class in India. There are, indeed, in certain parts of India European planters of indigo, coffee, tea; but the planting community scattered in a few districts has never influenced the administration or tinged the current of government as in Ceylon.

Now to give you, in as few words as possible, some idea of the country. The island is about four-fifths the size of Ireland, and, in spite of its small size and the tropical climate, there is a remarkable variety in different districts. This is because the middle of the island has a mountain roof several thousand feet high, which affects the rainfall; and so the vegetation and the whole character of the country varies. Some parts are very dry, with a rainfall of not much over 30 inches in the year, and there you have scorching sand and dry thorny scrub. Cross over to another side of the mountains, and you come to places where 200 inches of rain fall in the year, and everything is green

and leafy, moist and steamy. When it does rain in the tropics it rains "with the rose off." You may have 10 inches of rainfall in one night. These moist parts of the country are trying to an English constitution. You feel as if you were in a perpetual poultice. Moreover, mosquitoes swarm by night, and the grass and bushes are full of leeches, which crawl up your legs in scores.

The hill country lies in the middle of the island, walled in by a great rampart of mountains. The highest mountain is over 8000 feet. One singular feature in some parts of the island is the enormous surfaces of bare, scorching rock, often many acres in extent, and a mile or more in length or width. Some of these great masses of rock start abruptly from the plains, and tower hundreds of feet above the trees below, and some in old days were hewn into fortresses and chambers; in others great cracks and fissures have been converted into gloomy temples, whose walls are plastered with historical paintings many centuries old.

Up in the north the country is different again—dry, red plains, studded with formal groves of dark palmyra palms, as stiff and straight as scaffold poles. The coco-nut palm, which grows more in the south, is very different, never grows straight, but twists and leans about. You rarely see the coco-nut far from a human dwelling, and the Sinhalese have a saying that it will not grow out of hearing of the human voice. The west and south-west coast is fringed for hundreds of miles with a belt of coco-nut palms — one long vista of feathery palms stooping seaward over the sandy bays and rocky points; and across the bright waters fly the brown-sailed fishing canoes, each hollowed out of a single log, and steadied by a floating outrigger beam.

Again, there is deep, shady forest, with large trees all hung round with great cables of creeping plants,

where monkeys clamber and swing. Up in the hills the scenery is very grand indeed—rocks and cliffs and waterfalls, shaggy forest clothing the steep heights, and grassy slopes where great rhododendron trees grow, as big as large apple-trees, and full of great clusters of bright crimson flowers. A great deal of the mountain country has been transformed into tea plantations, and the forest replaced by miles on miles of trim-grown tea-bushes, running in lines up and down the steep slopes, amid dashing torrents and huge blocks of rock tossed about in wild confusion. All waste land is *primâ facie* the property of the Crown, and for many years the Government have discontinued selling land above 5000 feet elevation.

About five-sixths of the whole island is uncultivated, and much of this would naturally be heavy timber-forest. But about sixteen years ago the Government resolved on having a thorough overhaul of the forests and the forest management in general. So they borrowed a very able forest officer from India, and he discovered that much of the valuable timber, and in fact a great deal of the forest itself, was no longer in existence. This was mainly owing to a native habit of what the Sinhalese call chena-cultivation. A villager goes into the forest, chooses a block of land, and fells all but the largest trees. He lets the cut wood and branches dry for a month or so, and then sets fire to it as it lies. The result is a bare clearing, with here and there the blackened stumps of the larger trees. He gets one or two crops off the land, and then abandons it and chooses another plot. In this way vast tracts of forest have been destroyed, and in some places repeated operations of this kind have so exhausted the soil that only ferns will grow. A good deal of this mischief went on after the old native Government had fallen to pieces, and more during the earlier years of our possession. After this unwelcome discovery the

Ceylon Government followed the example of the Government of India, and set up a regular Forest Department.

There ought naturally to be in the Ceylon forests an abundance of valuable timber, many sorts valuable for building and so on, besides beautiful cabinetmakers' woods, such as ebony, satin-wood, calamander, and many others.

On the east coast there are good-sized rivers which dry up during part of the year. I have had to camp by a river thirty or forty yards wide, swirling down in high flood, and wait till the water was low enough for us to ford; and passing the same place six months later, the river-bed was just a dry, sandy channel, with not a pint of water in it.

Of course a feature in the country is the rice-fields—padi-fields we call them. "Padi" means rice in the husk. The reader will remember how Robinson Crusoe got his rice-plants from a few grains of rice, spilt or scattered in front of his hut, which, to his surprise, took root and grew up and yielded grain. When Defoe wrote that delightful volume, he evidently had never been in any rice-growing country. If he had, he would have known that although padi will germinate, rice without the husk will not.

In Ceylon, as in Southern India, rice is a staple part of the people's food, for those who can get it; but many of the villagers get very little rice, and have to be content with what is called dry grain—very small sorts of grain, almost like grass-seeds.

Rice requires to grow in water while sprouting. Therefore copious irrigation is necessary. For this in ancient times large reservoirs were engineered by building great dams across valleys, and so storing up square miles of water to irrigate the fields below. For some reason or other Anglo-Indians are accustomed to style these reservoirs *tanks*, but the

Sinhalese inhabitants of Ceylon call them *wewa*, and the Tamils *kulom*. Some of the ancient tanks remain, with their stone sluices; others fell into ruin centuries ago—so long ago that sometimes a village has grown up inside the tank-bed, or buildings have been erected, and then these in their turn have decayed, and you may find the ruins in the tank-bed, all overgrown with timber forest. I am glad to say that under our Government some of these abandoned tanks have been restored.

A curious feature of the Sinhalese rice cultivation is the manner in which they carry it out on steep mountain-faces, by terracing the mountain-side from top to bottom in narrow ledges, each enclosed in a shallow rampart of earth. Then at the proper time a rill of water is let in at the top, so that it trickles down through the whole series, from plot to plot, and irrigates the whole.

I cannot quit the scenery of the island without a word about the grand mountain which we English call Adam's Peak. It is 7320 feet high—not the highest in the island, but by far the grandest from its situation and its peculiar shape. Its pinnacle towers up in solitary majesty at the south-west corner of the great mountain rampart; and, though forty miles inland, it is visible far out at sea. For more than 1500 years Sinhalese pilgrims have flocked to its summit, because they believe that there, on the very topmost crag, Gautama Buddha, the founder of the Buddhist religion, left his footprint 2400 years ago. The ascent is toilsome, and the last part rather giddy. It is a rough scramble up several miles of steep gully, a rugged staircase of rocks and tree-roots, worn deep by water and the feet of millions of pilgrims. Near the summit the track emerges on an open rocky slope, not unlike the dome of St. Paul's, overhanging the depths below; and here the climbers are assisted by iron chains and

stanchions riveted to the rock. In the dry season thousands of pilgrims—men, women, and children—toil up the steep, and reach the little shrine at the top, which covers the supposed footprint. They make their little offerings before it, and sprinkle sweet-scented flowers, and then the children kneel at the holy spot and receive their parents' blessing. There is an awful majesty about this lone rock, uplifted in the clear air high above the mountain wall. To the Sinhalese the place is the *Sri-pada*—the Holy Footprint; to the Tamils it is *Sivanolipathei*—the Worshipful Footmark of their god Siva. The Mohamedans associate it with Adam; and in the "Arabian Nights" Sindbad the Sailor recounts his visit to the mountain, as the place to which Adam was banished when expelled from Paradise.

This Peak is so abruptly steep that at early dawn it casts its mighty shadow clear across the visible world and high up into the sky. No one who has ever witnessed the appalling grandeur of this spectacle can ever forget it, but it is a sight almost impossible to describe in words. I first saw it many years ago. We had passed the night near the summit, and moved up to the top a few minutes before daybreak. As the swift tropic dawn advanced, and there began to be light, we seemed to be standing on the shore of a wide sea rippling to our feet, with here and there a rock showing above the surface. That seeming sea was the clouds stretched out below, and the little rocks were the tops of lower mountains. Then, as the sun's first rays broke from beneath the eastern horizon, the awful shadow of the Peak streamed out westward, like a lingering black slice of the night thrown across cloud and plain and distant sea, its point resting high above the horizon, up in the very æther of the sky. For a few moments the mighty shadow rested so athwart the visible world in unspeakable majesty, and then faded away as the sun's orb mounted above the horizon.

Ceylon has three large harbours. The harbour of Galle, at the south-west corner, is probably the most ancient foreign trading-place in the world—the port where, long ages ago, long before any European keel ever clove those waters, Indian traders met the products of the Far East, and brought them to traders from the West. Some have thought, and advanced plausible reasons for thinking, that Galle was the Tarshish of the Bible, the Eastern mart to which the traders of Tyre and Judea resorted, and whence Solomon obtained gold and silver, ivory, apes, and peacocks. In our day Galle was for many years the well-known resort of the P. and O. and other steamer lines, until the Colombo Breakwater was opened in 1883. Trincomalie, away round on the east coast, has a splendid harbour, with every natural advantage—land-locked, and spacious, and always accessible. But Colombo, on the west coast, with no natural harbour, carried the day against these rivals, because it is our metropolis. Our European predecessors on the coast —the Portuguese and the Dutch—made Colombo their headquarters, because cinnamon was to be had there, and so it became our capital also. Up to 1875 Colombo had only an open roadstead, useless during many months of the year when the fury of the south-west monsoon suffered no shipping to enter or lie there. In that year the celebrated Colombo Breakwater was begun. It was completed in eight years, and has proved a magnificent success, and now the largest ships use the harbour at all times of the year.

Though the island is very lovely, and the scenery marvellously varied, an Englishman sadly misses his native land and climate. There is a wearisome monotony in the nearly equal day and night all the year round, the equable hot temperature, and the trees that are perpetually in leaf. We long for the varying and changing seasons of our native land—the budding

spring, the glory of summer, the fall of the leaf in autumn, and the bracing winter, when the earth sleeps till spring awakens her again.

Ceylon knows not the excessive heats of the plains of India; but, on the other hand, there is no cold season, no winter. The native languages have no word for ice or snow. Yet those whose means and opportunities enable them to reach the hills may enjoy cool nights. There is now a railway up into the mountains, and you may leave the sweltering heat of the low country in the morning and be glad of a wood fire and blankets at night.

The climate compares favourably with other tropical climates; but when all is said, it remains a climate in which we English live, as it were, on sufferance, and in which our race cannot thrive in successive generations. With care and discretion an Englishman may lead a healthy and active life. The planters up in the hills are a very healthy, vigorous set, but the climate tells in the next generation. European children growing up in the island lack the robustness of those bred at home; and for every Englishman who makes his livelihood in the island there comes, as in India, the inevitable day when he must part from his children and send them home. This stern necessity is sometimes styled a price which we English pay for our Eastern possessions, and a heavy price it is.

A minor drawback to life in a country like Ceylon is the food, which is not very relishing. You get beef, tough and tasteless. As to mutton, when you can get it, which is not always, it is hard to distinguish the sheep from the goats. I have heard the food of European mankind in outlying districts described as consisting of early village cocks, varied by occasional tinned provisions. This is rather an exaggeration, but I am not sure that some of the simple native folk do not fancy that we English, in our own country, live on "tin thing."

I remember once spending a night with my wife in a village many miles from any town, and in the morning the keeper of the rest-house brought tinned milk with our early tea. Now it so happened that my wife had a special dislike to tinned milk, and there were quantities of little Sinhalese cows in the village. But on inquiry I found that the poor man had sent a runner about thirty miles for the tin, not supposing that the Court Rajah's lady would condescend to drink common cow milk.

The seas surrounding the island teem with fish, but the fish are singularly devoid of flavour. Yet there is a place on the east coast where you can get really very nice oysters for ninepence a hundred—in fact, for the wage of a man knocking them off the rocks.

I will pass on now to the native inhabitants. There are two native races, the Sinhalese and the Tamil. The Sinhalese number about two-thirds of the native population, and inhabit the southern and south central parts. The Tamils dwell up in the north. These Ceylon Tamils must not be confused with the Tamil coolies employed on the tea estates, who hail from certain districts in the Madras Presidency, and come and go between their homes and Ceylon. The national religion of the Sinhalese is Buddhism. The Tamils worship Hindu divinities after Hindu fashion.

There are also spread throughout the island about 250,000 Mohamedans, a race of mixed Arab and Indian blood, whom we call "Moormen" because the Portuguese gave them that name. They are indefatigable traders—the Jews, one may say, of the island. The Moorman's shop is in every village, and in his smart jacket, and high cap of gaudy colours marvellously adhering to his shaven skull, with his assortment of gems and curiosities, he is the first to greet the visitor on arrival.

Nowadays in England there are more people living in towns than in the country. In India and Ceylon the numbers are the other way. The Sinhalese are very strongly attached to their family lands. Throughout a great part of India the people regard their lands as belonging not to individuals, but to families—joint family ownership; and the Sinhalese, who are of Indian origin, have had much the same way of regarding it. The Indian Government wisely and humanely recognised this ancient tradition; but the Government of Ceylon, partly, perhaps, from "colonial" traditions, and partly from lack of knowledge of the people, largely ignored it. The result is endless quarrelling and litigation about the land.

The people of Ceylon, like those of India, are difficult for Europeans to understand. Their character and traditional institutions are unlike ours, and are fenced in with exclusiveness. Like other people, they have their good and their bad qualities. There is no disguising that, like other Eastern peoples, they display an inclination to untruthfulness, a disposition to fraud and chicanery, and an unhappy persistence in using the law courts, civil and criminal, as a means of harassing and oppressing each other with false proceedings. I am sorry to say that these faults, which cause much misery, are largely fostered by defects in our legal system.

I think that, as between the Sinhalese and Tamils, the Tamils are the more deliberate and cynical offenders in this respect.

The expressions used by native villagers in denoting time and distance might sound strange in your ears.

A Sinhalese man, describing how far somebody's house is from his, will say, "It is within a talk," or "within a loud talk," or "within a hoo-call."

The time of day a villager will often denote by throwing up his arm and saying, "The sun was so high

before (or after) sun-turn." Or perhaps he may say, "It was about the time priests eat" (*i.e.* about 11 A.M.); or, "It was about the time when bees play" (about 4 P.M.); or, "the time when parrots fly home to roost" (5 or half-past 5 P.M.).

He measures the size of his cultivated land by the amount of seed required to sow it. "How large is your garden?" "So many seers sowing extent."

The Kandyan Sinhalese retain more of their ancient usages than the coast Sinhalese, who have been in longer contact with Europeans. They have a marriage usage to which they are strongly attached—of two or more brothers having the same wife. This is a custom which prevails in some other parts of the world; and we are told that it obtained among the ancient Britons. The Ceylon Government, many years ago, tried to suppress this custom by legislative prohibition. This was well-intentioned, but ill-judged. The custom is revolting to our ideas, but the Kandyans are attached to it, and you cannot break down old national usage by mere legislation. The result of the prohibition in this case is, that these associated unions continue, but without the tie of legal marriage, and much quarrelling and litigation ensues.

Many European importations now reach the people which their forefathers never dreamt of. You find European crockery in the villages, and boxes of matches and many other imported things. In this way the people come to possess various useful commodities; but even this has two sides, and unfortunately many of the ancient native arts and crafts seem doomed to die out. Time was when the blacksmith used to smelt his own iron, and very good iron it was; now he finds it easier to work up old scraps of English hoop-iron, or the like. Once the people wore cotton cloths woven and dyed by the weaver caste, cloths which absolutely would not wear out; now the old native webs are being

superseded by European fabrics which are not so serviceable. In spite of the usefulness of some of the importations, this decay of old native crafts is much to be regretted. And we may wonder how the people reconcile missionary teaching with some of the products which reach them from Christian England: knives made to sell, not to cut; bottles and pots that hold about half their apparent contents; and flimsy cotton fabrics disguised with artificial thickening.

Before saying any more about the Ceylon of to-day, it will be well to glance rapidly over the past history which has made the place what it now is.

About 600 B.C. the ancestors of the Sinhalese race swarmed into Ceylon from Bengal, and speedily made it their own. Of earlier inhabitants whom they supplanted, a few fast-disappearing remnants linger in the wilds, and are called Veddahs. The Sinhalese settled the country, founded towns, and made great tanks and irrigation works. They had large buildings profusely adorned with carved stone, at a time when the inhabitants of Britain knew no grander habitations than huts of wattle and mud. About this time there was born in Nepal, in India, a man whose life has more profoundly influenced the human race than any personage who ever dwelt on this earth other than Jesus Christ. This was Gautama Buddha, the founder of the Buddhist religion. About 300 B.C. an apostle of Buddhism came to Ceylon. The Sinhalese were converted to that creed. Buddhism died out many centuries ago in its Indian home; but, as you know, it is the religion of very many millions in the Far East, in China, Japan, Tibet, and Burma, and it is still that of the Sinhalese.

The Sinhalese were not long undisturbed in the island. After them there came in some Tamil invaders from Southern India, and between these two races there was much fighting. Once, in the second century A.D., a Tamil leader, named Elala, made great head

against the Sinhalese, and slew their king, and himself reigned in the island for forty years. The Sinhalese Chronicle itself records of him that he "administered justice impartially to friends and foes." At last a strong leader arose and rallied the Sinhalese. He and the old Elala fought, each on his elephant, and the old Elala was slain; and having so triumphed, the Sinhalese conqueror, in chivalrous respect for his old, brave enemy, built him a grand tomb, and ever afterwards the Sinhalese kings, whenever they passed Elala's tomb, used to silence their music in honour of his memory. This practice they kept up down to this century—that is, for 1500 years.

At last, in the sixth century A.D., the Sinhalese power waned rapidly; the Tamils overran the land, and the Sinhalese capital fell into their hands. Once, in the twelfth century, a strong Sinhalese king arose, who beat the Tamils back, and for a while restored the old Sinhalese power. He repaired their ancient buildings, added great works of his own, and even made successful foreign expeditions. We are told of a rock inscription recording that in his day there was such peace and security that a woman might traverse the length and breadth of the land carrying a precious jewel and not even be asked what it was. When he died there was no one strong enough to take his place, and the glory of the Sinhalese nation departed, never to return. At last the Sinhalese retreated into the southerly parts of the island, and the Tamils settled in the north, and so the two races dwelt apart when in 1505 a European invader first appeared.

This was the Portuguese, who appeared on the west coast, attracted by the prospect of obtaining spice, especially cinnamon. They, with much bloodshed and savage cruelty, succeeded in establishing a string of forts and settlements all round the coast, especially on the west and south-west. They worked for two objects

—to get spice, and to propagate their own religion. They built churches up and down the west coast, and managed to baptize numbers of the natives. They held these coast settlements, with pretty constant fighting, for about 150 years, but never got any permanent footing inland, and, commercially, the settlements cost them far more than they brought in.

It was during these Portuguese days that, for the first time as far as we know, an Englishman visited Ceylon. This was one Ralph Fitch, who, with three companions, was sent from London to spy out the prospects of Eastern trade. Fitch was the only one of the four who ever returned. He was away eight years, and visited Colombo in 1589, on his way home from the Far East. There is a curious circumstance about him. Macbeth's First Witch knew a sailor's wife whose husband "was to Aleppo gone, master o' the *Tiger*." There really was a ship called the *Tiger*, trading to the Levant at that time, and Fitch sailed in her for Aleppo. He did not sail all the way to Aleppo, because Aleppo is not a seaport, but he sailed to the nearest port, and thence went on by land through Aleppo to the East.

The Portuguese were 150 years in the island, and then the Dutch turned them out. The Dutch held the settlements for about another 150 years, and then, in 1796, we turned them out. They, also, never gained any footing away from the coast. They strove hard to make a profitable trade in spice; and did all they could to efface all traces of the Portuguese and their religion, for they detested both with a hatred not to be wondered at in men whose forefathers had gone through blood and fire in the days of Philip the Second and the Inquisition. Their fortifications and churches and canals still remain, and they introduced into their settlements their own Roman-Dutch law.

The behaviour of the Dutch was a singular contrast to that of the Portuguese. The Portuguese, with all

their cruelty, were not wholly absorbed in trade, and had something chivalrous about them. They captured a venerated Buddhist relic; and when large offers were made if only they would restore it, they refused, and destroyed it rather than sell their consciences. The Dutch gave themselves up to their trade, and strove to grind all they could out of the people. They displayed much of that dogged and rugged tenacity of purpose which their forefathers had shown in their long struggle for independence. Yet they also drew no profit from the island; and, when all is said, the story of the Dutch times in Ceylon remains a gloomy warning against a selfish and ignoble form of devotion to commercial profit. It is curious to note that, although the Dutch were in the island 150 years after the Portuguese, and though they did all they could to destroy their traces, yet at this day the traces of the Portuguese are in certain respects stronger than those of the Dutch. The Dutch form of Christianity never made way among the people, and their language has disappeared from the island; yet numbers of the fisher-folk up and down the west coast profess the Roman Catholic faith and bear Portuguese names, and a bastard form of the Portuguese tongue lingers among Eurasians of Portuguese descent.

When we came in 1796 we succeeded to these coast settlements, but the interior was still unsubdued. The Sinhalese occupied the south of the island; the Tamils dwelt apart in the north; and between the two, in those parts where anciently the Sinhalese population had been most dense, where their ancient cities and costly works had been reared, there now lay a wide silent waste of almost uninhabited forest. The ruins of palaces, temples, and great irrigation works lay buried in deep forest, the growth of centuries.

The Sinhalese capital had latterly been at Kandy, in the lower hills, about seventy miles from Colombo,

and the Kandyan kings kept up a belt of dense forest, more than thirty miles wide between it and the coast, and carefully guarded the passes. But the Sinhalese government had almost fallen to pieces.

There was no such thing as a town anywhere outside the European settlements. Even Kandy was only a collection of huts huddled round the king's residence. Nor did the country possess anything deserving the name of a road.

At first our new possession was placed under the East India Company; but that arrangement, though certainly the most natural, did not work smoothly. The Company's Civil Service was not then what it afterwards became. The officers entrusted with the administration of the Ceylon settlements were neither honest nor discreet. The Sinhalese rose in revolt, and when the revolt had been subdued the settlements were withdrawn from the Company's government, and made into a Crown colony under the Colonial Office.

Nearly twenty years afterwards, in 1815, we obtained possession of the rest of the country. For several generations the king at Kandy, owing to intermarriages, had been a Tamil from Southern India, and at this time the occupant of the throne was an inhuman wretch, delighting in the most hideous cruelty. At last his savagery reached such a pitch that the Sinhalese chiefs and people were not disposed to resist the coming of a foreign power which should deliver them from the wretch's tyranny. And so, at a formal meeting between our Governor and the principal chiefs, the interior of the island was solemnly annexed by Great Britain, and since then the whole of Ceylon has been a British possession, governed under the Colonial Office as a "Crown colony."

It is possible that if the beginnings of our dominion in the island had been delayed a little longer, till the East India Company's service had become more like

what it became afterwards, all would have worked smoothly, and Ceylon might at this day have been under the Government of India. Would that have been better for the island or not?

It is probable that the development of commerce and of the great European planting enterprise have been more fostered and encouraged under the Colonial Office than they would have been under the Indian Government. On the other hand, in matters of general administration and legislation, and the framing of institutions for the country and its people, Ceylon might have fared better as part of our Indian Empire.

There are few tasks more difficult than that of contriving all these matters for an Eastern population very unlike ourselves, strongly attached to their own traditions, and withal reserved, timid, and exclusive. In India the task was approached with all the skill and talents which can be commanded by a government on a great scale. In Ceylon it was otherwise. But what is more—in India the principal advisers of the Government in these matters have been men armed with all the local knowledge and experience to be gained in working lives spent in the country and among the people. The Government of India is not mixed up with that of other and dissimilar parts of the world. Ceylon has been less fortunate, through sharing the cares and traditions of the Colonial Office with a host of colonies, for the most part extremely unlike herself, in all quarters of the globe. Thus the legislation and administration generally were the less adjusted to the needs of the country. The Government was less in touch with the people, and less informed of their peculiarities. It is significant that in Ceylon the native languages are far less used than in India for the transaction of public business, and in the law courts the proceedings are conducted in English. Thus the people are placed at the mercy of lawyers and other

intermediaries, native or Eurasian, and the Government knows too little about them.

Until 1833 the interior and the coast settlements were separately administered, but then the whole island was placed on one footing. The form of government is in theory much the same as that of the Indian Presidencies. The Legislature, which is subject to the veto of the Crown, consists of a number of official members, and a smaller number of un-officials, supposed to represent the various classes of the community, not elected, but nominated by the Governor. This is a suitable form of government. To introduce anything in the shape of responsible government is, for the present at any rate, out of the question, and would be disastrously opposed to the welfare of the native community.

Soon after the annexation of the interior a determined revolt took place among the Kandyan Sinhalese. Probably, although they had been glad to be delivered by us from the horrors they suffered under the last king, they had not really comprehended resigning their country to a foreign power. Moreover, the administration, though well intentioned, was too much in the hands of officers unaccustomed to deal with Eastern peoples. The revolt was suppressed, but with difficulty, and at the expense of laying waste a great deal of country. Our own troops suffered terribly from disease. It was computed that sickness carried off 1000 out of 5000; and one outpost, 250 strong, is said to have lost 200 in three months.

After this the task of opening up the country with roads and bridges was undertaken with great vigour. Within a year a road was engineered right up to Kandy, and carts went up on wheels where before that the guns had been hauled up the mountains from tree to tree. A network of roads soon overspread the island. There are now something like 4000 miles of

roads, and very good roads they are. In the wake of the roads followed public works of all sorts, and finally railways. There are now 300 miles of railway, and more in contemplation.

The last attempt at native revolt was in 1848, and now that the country has become thoroughly opened up, revolt grows more and more unlikely. Even when India was shaken by the Mutiny, Ceylon remained tranquil.

And now I must describe the great European planting enterprise which has developed under our rule, beginning with coffee, and continued with tea. A little coffee was grown in the Dutch times, and then the trade was allowed to drop, because Java, another Dutch possession, produced as much as they cared to place on the European market. Some of the coffee cultivation lingered on to our times, and at last attracted the attention of Englishmen with capital to invest. In 1824 the first coffee estate under European management was opened. The enterprise advanced, and after 1840 went on with rapid strides. The Government, as owners of the forests, sold large tracts to English planters, and the clearings climbed higher and higher up the hills. Here and there mistakes were made in opening land which proved unsuitable, and the capital so laid out was lost. It was said that certain districts were like Westminster Abbey, "the grave of many a British sovereign." Planting had its ups and downs, but in the main it prospered. The felling and clearing of the forest was done by Sinhalese; but they did not care to engage permanently in coolie work on the estates, and a cheap and efficient labour supply was ready to hand in Southern India, whence Tamil coolies flocked in by thousands. Without this singularly valuable labour supply the enterprise could hardly have succeeded.

The Sinhalese are expert with the axe. They used

to take contracts for felling blocks of forest. Most of the estates were opened on steep mountain-faces, and the Sinhalese used to work upwards from the bottom, cutting the trees only part way through, and leaving them standing. When the top was reached they felled the topmost trees outright. These in their fall brought down the trees next below, and those knocked over trees lower still, and so the whole mountain-side of forest came crashing down at once, with the minimum of labour. Then the tops and brushwood were piled in heaps. When these were dry enough, the fire-stick was put in, acres upon acres of bonfire blazed up in roaring, crackling flames, and so the forest was gone, and there remained a tract of bare soil with rocks and great charred logs lying about in wild confusion. Then the estate had to be roaded with a network of carefully traced paths at well-planned gradients, and drains were cut to carry off the heavy rains and save the soil from being washed away. Then the coffee had to be planted in the clearings, and there was the store to put up, and the machinery, and the planter's bungalow, and the planter would have to wait three years or so for his first crop.

About 1873 coffee planting reached its zenith. The yield was generous, and prices ruled high. Very large sums were bid for forest land, and in addition to the *bonâ fide* enterprise of hard-working planters a gambling, speculative disposition set in. Then disease attacked the bushes, and the artificial inflation rendered the downfall more headlong. The coffee was dying out, and planters and their creditors were at their wits' end. Estates were sold for a mere song. Mortgagees and owners alike lost their money, superintendents lost their pay, and even coolies lost long arrears of wages at eightpence or ninepence a day. Yet the mass of the planters never lost heart. Cinchona was tried, and at first prospered, saving many from sinking. Then that

product was attacked simultaneously by disease and a fall in the price of quinine. Even then the planters were not to be beat, and they turned their attention to tea.

They had to cut out dead or dying coffee, plant the land anew, and wait for crop. They had to provide an entirely new description of expensive machinery, and they had to learn, and to teach their workpeople, an entirely new industry. All this was successfully accomplished; and now for many years the tea has been thriving and paying handsomely, not only in the old coffee districts, but in new ones, some of them down in the low country.[1]

Now that estates are opened in the low country the Sinhalese show some disposition to come in and work upon the estates as coolies, but they do not seem willing to be long away from their homes.

This recovery and success of planting has been a marvellous achievement, a success won in the face of obstacles apparently insurmountable, by stubborn perseverance, combined with alert and adroit enterprise in learning a new industry, and aided by the cordial and resolute manner in which the planters made common cause and worked together.

Seldom has success been better deserved. It would be difficult to find a more hard-working, hearty, and hospitable set than the Ceylon planters.

I have already spoken of the great import and export trade which has developed under our rule—a trade very different from the trade attempted by our predecessors the Portuguese and the Dutch. It is a successful trade, which theirs was not, and it is not a Government monopoly, as theirs was. The trade is in private hands, and is open to everybody, European or native.

I have not space to describe in detail the innumerable improvements introduced since the country became

[1] The Ceylon tea crop for 1898 has been estimated at 126,000,000 lbs.

opened up. I have already mentioned the roads and the railways. Then there were, of course, the telegraphs and the post-office—and the post-office, like our English post-office, has its savings-bank—public works of many kinds, including, for two of the chief towns, an artificial water-supply; medical aid and public hospitals, and public education, and other excellent things.

It is unnecessary to dwell on the advantage of all this to the country in general. But I must point out, with regard to the planting, which is so prominent a feature of modern Ceylon, that its advantages in regard to the natives of the island may be, and often are, overrated. It is sometimes said that the planting is the very backbone of the island, and that the planters' interest is necessarily the interest of the sons of the soil.

That is not so. In the first place, with regard to direct returns, the profit finds mainly its way to Europe, and of the money expended in the island the greater part goes to the immigrant coolies from Southern India. Some of it goes to carpenters, contractors, shopkeepers, &c., mostly from the seaside districts of the west and south, and a little to the Sinhalese who now engage in coolie-work upon the estates; but all said and done, only a comparatively slender share finds its way to the limited class of Ceylon natives who come in contact with the enterprise. Moreover, this great and deserved success of the planting enterprise has distracted the attention of the administration from matters intimately bound up with the welfare of the Ceylon villagers. The planting interest is naturally possessed of considerable influence with the Government and the Colonial Office. The unofficial European population is composed almost entirely of persons dependent, either directly or indirectly, on planting. Including those in Government employ, the European population is hardly 6000, but those 6000 have three representatives in the Legislative Council, while the other 3,000,000 have no more than

four; that is to say, the European element, so strongly bound up with the planting enterprise, has a member to every 2000, while the native community has only one to every 175,000. It is not to be wondered at that the planting interest should have somewhat overshadowed that of the native community, and that in the successful hurry of this great enterprise, attention has sometimes been distracted from needs of the native community.

There are various other things which I should like to have described, but space fails. I should like to have said something about the incidents of travel in the island, especially in the remoter regions, and about the wild animals. Sport ranges from elephants to snipe and very tiny little quail; only there are no tigers, as there are in India, though there are bears and leopards, deer and monkeys. There is one deer, which the Sinhalese call *miminiya*, hardly as big as a cat, its tiny limbs no thicker than pipe-stems. I wish I had space to describe how wild elephants are sometimes captured alive, or about the manner in which gems—sapphires, cat's-eyes, moonstones, and others—are obtained in some districts; or the pearl-fishery, which takes place now and then upon the north-west coast, and the wonderful way in which the Government officers arrange a temporary town on a most desolate part of the coast for the pearl-divers and the thousands who come to buy the pearl mussels—an orderly town with Government offices and hospital, post-office and telegraph, and even a jail—all built of sticks.

We are further invited to say something about the law in the various countries of which we speak. Law is not a popular subject with us English people; but still it is very important that the law in every department, both the substantive law and the procedure for applying it, should be as good as they can be made. It is rather surprising to the average man

to hear that in Ceylon the least successful department is that of the law. One generally expects to hear that, whatever shortcomings there may be in other departments, the people enjoy an unmixed blessing in British justice.

There is no question but that in Ceylon and in India, and, I think, all over the world, English judges and magistrates, high and low, administer justice in absolute purity, without fear or favour; and this is a trait of our national character which the Ceylon people value. It is touching to hear the persistent way in which native defendants on their trial will ask to be tried by English gentlemen in preference to a jury of natives or Eurasians. The inefficiency of which I speak arises from the law itself, and its machinery, being imperfectly framed. I have already spoken of the difficulty of this task of framing law for an Eastern population such as that of Ceylon, and the circumstances which have conduced to legislation being imperfectly in touch with the people, and insufficiently adapted to their needs and traditions. Moreover, there has been an extra difficulty special to Ceylon, arising out of the continued existence of the Roman-Dutch law which we found in the Dutch settlements in 1796. That law was abolished in Holland many years ago, when the Code-Napoleon was introduced there. It is not adapted to the needs of the English dwellers in Ceylon—planters, mercantile men, and others—and still less to those of the native community. Yet, strange to say, it has never been absolutely repealed, and has even been allowed to run in the interior of the island, even in places where no Dutchman ever set foot. Though largely trenched upon here and there by legislation, it still lingers on in a decayed and confused condition. The result is a great deal of uncertainty in the law; and in law nothing is so disastrous as uncertainty.

The legal procedure, too, though well intentioned, leaves room for improvement; it is over-complicated and confused with relics of the decaying Dutch law. And in the department of criminal law a very unhappy mistake was made many years ago, by introducing trial by jury. In a task so difficult as that of framing laws for an Eastern people, the temptation is strong to cut the knot by introducing some piece of our own English law—something which may be excellent in the land of its birth, and yet may not bear transplanting to the East. Now, trial by jury is most valuable to us in England, because it suits us, and is the outcome of our national sense of justice. In Ceylon it simply leads to injustice—rich or influential criminals escape with impunity, and false and malicious accusations triumph. By reason of the manner in which juries are chosen, trial by jury is not the trial of the native defendant by his peers. Most of the criminal cases which go before the highest tribunal are tried by what is termed an "English-speaking" jury, which may include town-resident Englishmen unacquainted with native village life, and also *soi-disant* English-speaking natives who do not understand the English language sufficiently to enable them to follow the proceedings intelligently. Much miscarriage of justice is due to jurors not being able to understand the drift of the proceedings. As a native newspaper put the matter, "The present jury system, though it may be suitable for Western countries, is unfit for this country."

One word more. Ceylon, beyond question, is a very valuable possession to England; but we are also responsible for the welfare of the native inhabitants. Are they the better for our presence? This is not a question to be answered in a few cheap and easy phrases about the blessings of British civilisation.

It is pretty certain that if we had not got possession of the island, some other European Power

would have done so; and we may, without undue vanity, believe that the people are better off under our rule than they would have been under that of any other Power. In that sense we may say that our coming has benefited the native races. But have we done for them all that we might or should have done?

No doubt many material advantages are now enjoyed by the people—the roads, the hospitals, the education, and a host of other things. Yet we have not sufficiently adapted our law, substantive law as well as procedure, to the conditions of the native community. Three serious evils have grown up under our rule—drink, gambling, and the disastrous passion for mischievous and fraudulent litigation. The last of these is in part the outcome of Oriental proneness to untruth, but it has been largely fostered and encouraged by defects in our administration of justice. Our law fails to effect justice. The judiciary is pure and fearless; but the machinery is defective, and not sufficiently accessible to the people. Failures of justice in the civil courts largely conduce to crime.

We are accustomed to believe that the people live under our rule in security from oppression; and, no doubt, security is greater than, at all events, in the later years of the native government; but a great deal of insecurity still subsists. Added to this, it is not too much to say that under our rule a new horror has come into existence, armed with fangs derived from the very strength of our executive authority and the weakness of the administration of justice. No native, however blameless may be his life, is safe from the success of false and malicious accusation.

There has been improvement from time to time. Much still remains to be done; and with a Government so genuinely anxious to do the right, let us hope that further ameliorations will yet take place.

STRAITS SETTLEMENTS

By Lieutenant-General Sir ANDREW CLARKE,
G.C.M.G., C.B., C.I.E.

I WELCOME the opportunity which has been afforded to me of saying something upon the subject of the Malay States, not only because I believe that there are certain lessons of Imperial importance to be learned from the brief page of history I am about to recount, but because I consider that these States offer an opening to commercial enterprise as yet insufficiently realised.

I have thought a slight sketch of the manner these States were opened to British commerce might not be without interest and, perhaps, instruction. A glance at the map suffices to show the importance of the control of the eastern seaboard of the Malay Peninsula to the Empire. A rich and increasing stream of British trade skirts it for 350 miles.

Singapore, thanks to the genius of Sir Stamford Raffles, first occupied in 1819, has become at once a great distributing centre, and the most important strategic position in the Eastern seas. Earlier history knew little of Singapore, however, and Malacca was the commercial emporium in the sixteenth century, when conditions differed widely. Malacca was taken by the Portuguese in 1511, and held till 1641, when the Dutch stepped in, to be in turn dispossessed by England in 1795. Opinions as to the relative values of distant possessions were somewhat vague at this period, and Malacca was given back to Holland in 1818, to be resumed by treaty in 1824 in exchange for

a port in Sumatra. The effect of this treaty was to render the Dutch supreme in Sumatra, and practically to transfer to England all such rights as had previously been claimed by Holland in respect to the Malay Peninsula.

As early as 1786, the East India Company obtained the cession of the island of Penang from the Rajah of Kedah, and a strip of mainland—the province of Wellesley—was similarly acquired two years later. The four settlements—Singapore, Malacca, Penang, and the Province of Wellesley—remained under the jurisdiction of the East India Company from 1827 to 1867, when they were constituted into a Crown colony. The foothold thus established on the Peninsula brought Great Britain into contact with native states in various stages of anarchy, whose perpetual quarrels became more and more intolerable.

The internal troubles of the Peninsula reached a crisis in 1872, when, in addition to the squabbles of the Malay chieftains, the Chinese miners in Larut divided themselves into two camps, and carried on organised warfare, involving much bloodshed. The defeated party betook itself to piracy, and the coast was virtually in a state of blockade.

This was the situation on my arrival at Singapore in November 1873.

The coasting trade was everywhere stopped, and even the fishermen were afraid to put to sea. The senior naval officer informed me that the vessels at his disposal were quite inadequate to deal effectively with the widespread piracy existing. As the Chief-Justice of the Straits Settlements (Sir T. Sidgreaves) stated in the Legislative Council on September 13, 1874, "These outrages and piracies have been a scandal to the British name, happening, as they have, at so small a distance from our shores."

My instructions were simple. The Colonial Office

was thoroughly dissatisfied with the state of affairs in the Peninsula. I was to make it the subject of careful inquiry, and report my views as soon as possible. I fear that in some quarters there lurks a belief in the efficacy of reports to cure ills. I am not quite sure how many distinguished persons have been severally called upon to report—on Egypt, for example. My own experience of the uses of reports does not tend to a high appreciation of their practical value, and the War Office is at this moment crammed with such documents, the majority of which have never been even studied, still less acted upon.

Reporting alone scarcely seemed to meet the grave urgency of the situation. It was necessary to act in the first place, and to report afterwards.

Arrangements were accordingly made for a meeting of the Perak chiefs, with a view to settle definitely the disputed succession to the sultanate; and a series of articles were laid before them, which, after full explanation, were unanimously accepted. These articles stipulated for the appointment of British Residents at Perak and Larut, under whose advice the general administration and the collection of revenue was to be carried on. After some little difficulty, I succeeded in obtaining an interview with the Sultan of Salangore, and concluding a similar arrangement with him, while a small naval force proceeded up the Lingie and destroyed, without opposition, some stockades, with the result that similar measures of pacification became practicable in Sungei Ujong.

The principles on which I acted were very simple. Personal influence has always great effect upon natives of the type of the Perak chiefs, and this influence I endeavoured to apply. Where it was possible, I sought interviews with them, and pointed out the effect of the evils from which the country was suffering. Their real interests were peace, trade, and the opening up of their

country. In place of anarchy and irregular revenues, I held out the prospects of peace and plenty. I found them in cotton; I told them that, if they would trust me, I would clothe them in silk. Their rule had resulted in failure; I offered them advisers who would restore order from chaos without curtailing their sovereignty. They were willing to listen to reason, as the vast majority of persons, whether wearing silk hats or turbans, usually are; and since, I have often wondered how many of our useless, expensive, and demoralising small wars might have been avoided by similar modes of procedure. The temptations to make war are far stronger than is generally known. A butcher's bill appeals to the dullest imagination, and speedily brings down rewards and honours, which the mere negotiator, however successful, cannot hope to obtain. Perhaps some future analyst of causation will be able to tell us for how much slaughter and wasted treasure decorations are responsible.

It was not with the Malay chieftains alone that I was called upon to deal.

The troubles of the Peninsula were largely due to the fighting proclivities of the Chinese, supported by secret societies, which were directed by influential Chinamen, even in Singapore itself. The Chinese secret society is a bugbear to some minds, and I may be pardoned for a brief reference to it. Secret societies are the natural and inevitable outcome of an arbitrary and oppressive Government, such as exists in China, and the Chinaman, having acquired the hereditary habit of creating such organisations, carries it with him to the country of his adoption. In China, the secret society is doubtless almost entirely political, constituting a danger to the State. Transplanted to another country, it entails no necessary political dangers, and becomes practically a species of guild for mutual protection, of the nature of a benefit or burial club. Such combinations do,

however, frequently lend themselves to lawlessness and crime; or even, as in Larut, to the civil war of rival factions. The main evil is the secrecy observed in the deliberations and proceedings of these societies. Try to suppress them altogether and you will drive them deeper below the surface, and render them really dangerous. On the other hand, recognise them as long as they keep within the confines of law, insist as far as possible upon open meetings and publicity of accounts, and you will then find a powerful lever ready to your hand. You will be able to hold the leaders responsible for illegality; you may even manipulate the secret society to your own ends. This was the course pursued with success in the case of the Malay States; and I am indebted to the chiefs of the Chinese secret societies for support readily accorded as soon as they understood the principles upon which my action was based.

Finally, I considered it was desirable to take the opportunity to settle some outstanding territorial questions. The further boundary of the Province Wellesley had never been defined, and undefined boundaries are as fruitful a source of war as of civil litigation. The Sultan of Perak was willing to settle the question in a way which was completely satisfactory. At the same time, our long-settled claims upon the Dindings were satisfactorily adjusted, and this position, important as controlling one of the great waterways of the Peninsula, became an undisputed possession of Great Britain.

In all these proceedings I received the warm support of the Legislature of Singapore and the community at large; while to Lord Carnarvon and the permanent officials of the Colonial Office, I owe a debt of gratitude for their encouragement and appreciation during a period of much anxiety.

On the 18th March 1874, the Chamber of Commerce of the Straits Settlements adopted the following resolution:—

"The Chamber of Commerce having taken into consideration the engagements lately entered into between the chiefs of Perak in the presence of his Excellency the Governor, desires respectfully to express its entire approval of the measures adopted to put a stop to the piracy and misrule which have so long prevailed in that province, and it sincerely trusts that his Excellency will continue to perform the just, firm, and conciliatory policy thus inaugurated, until the whole of the so-called independent states shall be brought under similar control."

On the 11th March, there appeared a letter in the *Times* which referred to the new steps, then just taken, and to myself, as follows:—

"If it should prove successful, as there is every reason to expect, he will be entitled to the merit of beginning the conversion of what has been since the memory of man a wilderness, into a flourishing and wealthy territory."

This prophecy has received a remarkable fulfilment, and before setting forth some of the statistics which prove a development of trade almost unprecedented under the circumstances, I should like to quote the words of a French witness, whose own writings sufficiently preclude any suspicion of partiality.

M. de la Croix, in a paper published under the authority of the Government of France on the political geography and the economical situation of the Malay Peninsula, states:—

"The old state of things, exclusively feudal and tyrannical, has given place to a *régime* of justice and liberty, in conformity with our social ideas. Piracy has been suppressed, slavery has been abolished. . . . Schools have been everywhere established, spreading instruction among the native classes. Several museums have been started, and science thus receives its due. . . We shall see that the civilised world has only to

be proud of the initiative taken by England in the Malay Peninsula. She has opened new and rich regions, established a solid government, which assures complete security, which gives the heartiest welcome to all well-meaning workers, whatever their nationality, and gives them the support and encouragement which one meets with in all English colonies."

These words contain a remarkable tribute to the success which has attended British administration in the Malay Peninsula; and when it is remembered that the results pointed out by M. de la Croix—with the single exception of the little expedition of 1875–6—have been won without the expenditure of blood or money, I think our achievements may be regarded with legitimate pride. The new departure was stigmatised at the time by its detractors as "a policy of adventure." History will perhaps record another verdict, and I imagine that the secret of Imperial as of commercial success lies in knowing when to adventure.

Judged by any test whatever, the results of the British Protectorate of the Peninsula are remarkable. The following table, taken from the latest official report, shows the growth of trade in Perak:—

Year.	Imports.	Exports.
	$ c.	$ c.
1876 . .	831,375 00	739,971 60
1877 . .	965,894 41	1,075,423 20
1878 . .	1,311,139 94	1,256,162 59
1879 . .	1,781,979 84	1,465,546 90
1880 . .	2,231,047 71	1,906,952 08
1881 . .	2,936,892 73	2,566,591 73
1882 . .	3,866,424 82	3,267,906 95
1883 . .	4,772,331 59	5,164,310 65
1884 . .	6,047,693 70	5,393,995 60
1885 . .	5,811,605 22	6,569,466 06
1886 . .	5,586,562 87	8,674,031 86
1887 . .	6,951,962 55	12,249,334 40
1888 . .	7,998,364 06	11,799,653 23
1893 . .	10,188,448	14,499,475
1896 . .	8,713,940	15,596,225

Nothing could more effectively prove the rapid and steady development of the producing power of this State.

In the little State of Selangor, with an estimated area of only 3000 square miles, which in 1873 had practically no trade at all, the growth in the last fourteen years has been even more striking, as shown below:—

Year.	Imports.	Exports.
	$	$
1882 . .	1,188,417	1,707,331
1883 . .	1,526,614	2,253,636
1884 . .	1,824,859	2,124,307
1885 . .	2,275,391	2,544,947
1886 . .	4,178,856	3,741,642
1887 . .	5,052,113	5,901,786
1888 . .	8,207,106	6,779,357
1893 . .	9,274,049	10,271,808
1896 . .	9,131,195	12,006,108

The revenue also has literally advanced by "leaps and bounds," as the following statement proves:—

Revenue of the Protected Malay States and Straits Settlements for the Years 1876–1888.

Year.	Pérak.	Selangor.	Sungei Ujong.	Total.	Straits Settlements.
	$	$	$	$	$
1876	273,043	193,476	94,478	560,997	1,659,034
1877	312,872	226,853	97,707	637,432	1,723,466
1878	328,608	189,897	75,898	594,403	1,724,466
1879	388,372	184,387	76,632	649,391	1,822,651
1880	582,496	215,614	83,800	881,910	2,361,300
1881	692,861	235,227	97,665	1,025,753	2,433,821
1882	905,386	300,423	109,413	1,315,222	2,465,153
1883	1,474,330	450,644	117,145	2,042,119	3,049,220
1884	1,532,497	494,843	121,176	2,148,156	3,515,841
1885	1,522,085	566,411	120,214	2,208,710	3,508,074
1886	1,688,276	689,401	120,740	2,498,417	3,747,501
1887	1,827,477	1,153,897	141,502	3,122,876	3,847,653
1888	2,016,240	1,416,795	155,951	3,588,986	3,858,108
1893	3,034,093	2,765,351			
1896	3,960,371	3,756,936			

This plainly shows also how the resources of the Straits Settlements have expanded in sympathy with that of the satellite protected states.

Equally remarkable has been the effect of the Protectorate in regard to the increase of population. Perak, with 25,000 souls in 1874, had 55,880 in 1879; in 1888, 194,801; now numbers, in 1896, 280,093. Clearly British rule has attractions in this portion of the world.

Real crime in these lately wild and semi-barbarous states is wonderfully small. "It is certainly remarkable," writes Mr. Swettenham, "that, with such a community, living under such conditions as those which obtain in Selangor, twelve months should elapse with the commission of one murder and one gang robbery, where four of the members were arrested and convicted, while part of the stolen property was recovered."

The twenty miles of railway opened in 1887 in Selangor pay a dividend of 25 per cent., and the eight miles completed in Perak in 1888 pay 8½ per cent.

I might indefinitely multiply figures to prove the extraordinary advance in material prosperity which has taken place in the Malay Peninsula, but the above are sufficiently significant for my purpose. There is probably no instance where native states have been handled with such success, and I ask the reader to mark the methods adopted. "It is very simple," says M. de St. Croix; "the majority of the old native sovereigns have not only been preserved, but have received higher titles, and a more complete confirmation of their hereditary rights. By their side are placed Residents, charged with 'advising' them, to follow the official term, but who, in reality, administer the country." In a word, in our conserving old titles and old feudal institutions as far as possible, dealing gently with local prejudice, and wielding powers through the medium of the native rulers, whom our Residents advise. Had this "simple"

method been tried in Upper Burma, I venture to think that much trouble and loss of life might have been spared, and that our position there to-day would be far more satisfactory than it is. Possibly, the explanation may be sought in the presence of Burma of a large military force—a condition almost invariably hostile to the peaceful settlement of uncivilised countries. The simple methods pursued in the Malay Peninsula would have sufficed ere this to re-open commerce in the Eastern Soudan, and throw Manchester goods into Suakim. The very opposite policy has been hitherto adopted, and I conceive that few people are satisfied with the result.

The Malay States need population, the opening up of communications, and capital. Hitherto the labour market has been supplied almost solely by Chinese, and the experiment of colonisation from India remains to be tried. There is no objection whatever to the experiment. Portions of India are becoming over-populated by people who are ready and willing workers, such as the Malay States need for their full development. Under proper supervision, the excess labour of the one country could be made to supply the wants of the other. I confess, however, that I am not sanguine of seeing this system of natural compensation going on *within* the limits of the empire, and for many years at least it is from China that the States must obtain their labour. The native of India, returning to his village community after a sojourn in a State administered on the principles which obtain in Perak, is apt to forget the excessive subservience which is expected of the ryot. He has escaped for a time from the domain of an exaggerated paternal government into a freer air, and his new mien, which may prove contagious, is not palatable to officialdom.

The financial success of the infant railways has been already noticed. These railways are now being

extended, and they will not merely enrich the country, but pay a satisfactory dividend. The figures I have quoted, if their significance is realised, should suffice to draw the attention of capitalists to the Malay States. Already these States produce more than half the tin of the world, and there is a large auriferous region, well watered by a navigable stream, which has been scarcely touched. The agricultural prospects are equally bright. Sir Hugh Low, whose authority is great, reports: "I have no hesitation in saying that the Malay Peninsula offers advantages for agriculture which are rarely surpassed." It has been proved that Perak can grow coffee of fine quality, and the cultivation is only in its infancy. Pepper and nutmegs flourish abundantly. A single estate exported about 700 tons of sugar. Selangor has very large tracts of land suitable for cultivation, and grows coffee, tea, pepper, and tapioca. Indigo production has been tried with success, and 7500 acres were last year granted to Europeans for the growth of tobacco. In Sungei Ujong 35,871 acres are already under cultivation, and on one estate 10 cwt. of coffee per acre was produced last year. Pahang, probably the richest of all the States, and the latest to be brought under the British Protectorate, is as yet scarcely touched, and offers a vast field for well-directed enterprise. A trunk road and a railway is to be commenced immediately, opening up some of the best mining districts. Pahang has fine timber forests, but of its agricultural possibilities it is perhaps too soon to judge. Sago, sugar-cane, and most of the tropical products are cultivated on a small scale, while tobacco and pepper will shortly be tried.

I have said enough to show what a fair future the Malay Peninsula promises. Its geographical position, on a great ocean highway between the Indian and the China Seas, is ideal. Its very narrowness facilitates the transport of its riches to the sea. The example of

the prosperity of the earlier Protectorates will operate in the case of Pahang, and I foresee no native troubles so long as the Residents possess administrative ability, combined with tact and knowledge of the Malay character.

The result of our "policy of adventure" is one of which England may well be proud. A country of which, in 1873, there was no map whatever, has been thrown open to the enterprise of the world. Ages of perpetual fighting and bloodshed have ended in complete tranquillity and contentment. Life is as safe as in many parts of Europe. All this has been accomplished almost without the application of force.

I must crave the reader's pardon if I have obtruded my own personality too persistently in this paper. The co-operation of the navy was essential to the success of this intervention, and this co-operation was given without stint. Sir Charles Shadwell, and subsequently Sir A. Ryder, both gave their support, and no more loyal or able coadjutors could be found than Captains Woolcombe and T. Smith—the senior officers commanding the squadron. Without the advice and experience ungrudgingly offered by the Sultan of Johore, little impression would have been made on the other Malay chiefs, whilst the loyal support given to the policy I have described by the two great Chinese merchant princes, the late Whampoa and Kim Chin, whilom rivals, assured it the confidence of the Chinese. No one knows so well as myself that I could have accomplished nothing without the hearty co-operation of the able and experienced officials with whom it was my good fortune to be associated. Of the many, whose names I can never recall without gratitude, I would specially single out Mr. W. H. Read as representing the mercantile community, Mr. Braddell, Mr. Pickering, Colonel Plunkett, and Major McNair, whose advice was invaluable, and whose knowledge and grasp of native

questions was profound. With the aid of these and other able and loyal colleagues, the foundations of the British Protectorate in the Malay Peninsula were laid; but it is to Sir Frederick Weld that the credit for the raising of the structure is due. To his wise administration the native States owe their present unexampled prosperity, and the fair prospect which lies before them.

The contact between the civilisation of the European races and effete semi-barbarous States has occurred all over the world. Its immediate results have differed widely. Some races have succeeded, others have signally failed. This contact has, in some cases, been marked by mutual savagery, in others by mutual deterioration. I do not pretend that in our dealings with the native States of the Malay Peninsula, we have been actuated by a spirit of pure disinterestedness. I do claim that our action will bear a close scrutiny, and that it has resulted in almost unmixed good to the States themselves, while a new and rich field has been opened out to the commerce of all nations.

BRITISH NORTH BORNEO

By Sir HUGH LOW, G.C.M.G.

THE territory of which I am desirous of giving some account comprises the northern part of the great island of Borneo, and extends from the Sipitong River, which falls into the Bay of Brunei, opposite the British island of Labuan, to the Sibuku River, on the east coast. The Sipitong boundary is in about 5°, and the Sibuku in 4°, north latitude; the most westerly point is that of Kaleas, in 115° 20′, and the most easterly, Hog Point, in 119° 16′, east longitude. Its area is computed to be 31,000 square miles. The coast-line is more than 600 miles in length, and all the islands within three leagues of the mainland are included in it.

The district forms part of the ancient kingdom of Brunei, the capital of which is situated on a river about twenty miles to the westward. In 1521 this town was first visited by Europeans, the companions of the first circumnavigator, Magellan, after the death of their chief in the Philippine Islands, having touched at it, and Pigafetta, the historian of the first voyage round the world, has left an interesting account of the city.

He describes it as a city built entirely on the mud banks of the river, in salt water. It contains 25,000 families, and the houses are all of wood, and stand on strong piles to keep them high from the ground. When the flood makes, the women in boats go through the city selling necessaries. So far the description of

the Spanish officer, except as to the number of the houses, would do for the city of the present day.

He further says that the king had elephants, and the officers of the Spanish fleet were conducted on them from the landing-place to the king's palace, where they were received with great ceremony, the king being seated on a carpet-covered daïs in a smaller apartment, hung with silks and brocades, opening from the end of the large hall, with his little son beside him; behind him, women only were seen. Between the king and the Europeans a guard of 300 men were seated, holding naked poniards in their hands, and all communication was carried on by the conversation being passed from one to the other through several officers, until it at last reached the king.

Such a court and city is proof of the extent and power of the kingdom of Borneo in the early part of the sixteenth century, and it is certain that its dominions extended east, west, and south along the whole coast of the island, included the Sooloo Islands, and reached even to the Philippines, the son of the King of Luzon being mentioned by Pigafetta as the admiral of the Borneo fleet.

This favourable opening of intercourse with European nations was succeeded by misunderstandings, and Borneo was at least on two occasions attacked by Spanish expeditions from Manila. By the last of these it was quite destroyed, and the town was subsequently removed to its present position, in a wide reach of the river surrounded by picturesque hills from 300 to 700 feet high, and resembling a beautiful lake, with the palm-leaf houses of the people built on piles of the Nibong palm, covering the numerous mud flats which are exposed at low water.

The action of the Spaniards, though they made no settlement in the country, entirely destroyed the trade of the place. This had been conducted by Chinese

junks with China, and by large well-found Malay vessels with Malacca, Java, and both sides of the Malay Peninsula. One Sultan, probably he who reigned during the Spanish visit, was called "Nakoda Ragam," or the "captain of many caprices," and he is celebrated in tradition as having spent a great deal of his time in distant voyages of commerce and discovery.

The Dutch have at various times settled on the west, the south, and the south-east sides of Borneo, and now claim the whole of the island lying south of the States of Sarawak, Brunei, and the territories of the British North Borneo Company, which are under the protection of England. They have done little to develop the territory they claim, and the selfish and unscrupulous policy of all the early European visitors and settlers in the Eastern Archipelago has been utterly destructive of the prosperity of the Native States and of their commerce.

In 1762 the Sultan of the Sooloo Islands, lying to the eastward of North Borneo, ceded the island of Balambangan to the English as a reward for releasing him from captivity when they took Manila, and in 1775 it was taken possession of by the East India Company; but soon after the garrison and establishment were driven out by Sooloo pirates. In 1803 it was again taken possession of, but soon after abandoned as useless, and Crawford, writing so late as 1856, describes it as situated in the most piratical and barbarous neighbourhood of the whole archipelago.

As the influence of the Government of Brunei declined, the various provinces that had belonged to it were appropriated by the heads of the noble families which had formed the governing body, and from which the Sultans were chosen. These administered their estates through unscrupulous agents, by whose oppressions the people were impoverished and enslaved. Occasionally they were driven into rebellion, but this

only increased their misery, as the Sultan and Rajas could always call in the assistance of the ferocious head-hunting tribes of the interior, who, being more warlike than the more settled races, destroyed the people and devastated the country, carrying off the heads of the grown-up men as trophies, and the women and children as slaves.

The people of Magindanau, a bold Mohamedan race from the southern Philippine Islands, sailed round Borneo in powerful fleets, and the kindred people of the Sooloo Islands on a smaller scale imitated these pirates, attacking vessels or villages for plunder and slaves whenever they felt themselves strong enough to do so. The Dyaks from the interior of the Sakarran and Sarebas Rivers at the same time ravaged the coasts and inland districts on their head-hunting expeditions; but while the Llanuns of Magindanau had powerful vessels with guns and muskets, the Dyaks were armed only with swords and spears, and the tubes through which they blew poisoned darts.

Such was the condition of the coast when in 1839 an English gentleman, Sir James Brooke, appeared in his yacht the *Royalist* in the river of Sarawak, where he met with the Brunei Raja Muda Hassim, the uncle of the Sultan, who was endeavouring to reduce the place from a state of chronic rebellion. After careful consideration of all the circumstances, and being appealed to by both parties, he succeeded in 1841 in bringing about a pacification, and was induced by the Raja, who had become tired of the country, to take over its government, with the full consent of all the people.

Sir James Brooke, in the energetic manner characteristic of him, devoted himself and his fortune to the restoration of confidence in the oppressed people, and of peace and security to the whole coast. In this he was most ably and effectively assisted by his friend, Captain, now Admiral, the Hon. Sir Harry Keppel, who, on the

termination of the war with China in 1843, had been sent down by Admiral Sir W. Parker in H.M.S. *Dido* to protect trade and put down piracy.

During the succeeding years operations against the pirates of all descriptions have been carried on by the commanders of her Majesty's ships, and by the vessels belonging to the Government of Sarawak, under Sir Charles Brooke, the nephew and successor of the first English Raja.

At the invitation of the Sultan of Brunei, her Majesty the Queen, in 1847, took possession of the island of Labuan, lying off the mouth of the Borneo River, and this, with the subsequent establishment of the British North Borneo Company, has entirely quieted the coast and rendered possible the state of things at present existing.

Sir James Brooke was appointed in 1847 the first Governor of Labuan, and a Company, formed in England, sent out an establishment to work the extensive coal deposits which had been discovered in that island, while the chief object contemplated by the Government in the establishment of the colony was declared to be the suppression of piracy and the encouragement of trade; but the instructions of the Governor forbade all endeavour to extend the English occupation to the mainland.

The Eastern Archipelago Company, which had the concession of the coal mines, failed in their attempts to develop them, and trade could not possibly flourish while the mainland was left entirely under native misrule. At the present time the New Central Borneo Company, a subsidiary of the British North Borneo Company, promises to be successful in working the vast stores of coal in Labuan.

In 1875 Sir Alfred Dent and Baron von Overbeck became interested in certain cessions of territory which had been made in 1865 to some American citizens by

the Sultan of Borneo, and they formed a private association, to which, on the 20th of December 1877, the Brunei Court granted in perpetuity the government of that portion of North Borneo which extends eastward from the river of Kimanis, in consideration of an annual payment.

The Sultan of Sooloo claimed rights of sovereignty over much of the territory which had been ceded to the association by the Sultan of Borneo, and on the 22nd January 1878 he transferred to it all his rights, and its officers were immediately placed at Sandakan, Tampasuk, and Papar, thus laying the foundations on which a magnificent and valuable dependency of Great Britain is now being built up.

In 1881 a Royal Charter was granted by her Majesty the Queen to the British North Borneo Company, and on its first Board of Directors will be found the names of Admiral Sir Harry Keppel and of Mr. R. B. Martin, the present Chairman of the Chartered Company.

As might be supposed, the Company has had much opposition and many difficulties to contend with; the Spaniards and the Dutch advanced claims which caused long delays in the settlement of preliminaries, and grave doubts of the wisdom of granting the Royal Charter were expressed in Parliament and in the press; but the policy has been completely vindicated by the energy and liberality which have distinguished the Administration, and which have now brought the territory into a state in which its public revenues are more than equal to its expenditure, while the previously utterly unknown territory has been explored and mapped, and is being opened up by roads, railways, and telegraphs. Peace and security have succeeded to the piracy, slave-dealing, head-hunting, and oppression which prevailed long after the time when I first saw the country fifty years ago.

The Governor of British North Borneo is appointed

by the Court of Directors in London, subject to the approval of the Secretary of State for the Colonies. His headquarters are at Sandakan, on the east coast, and carefully selected officers are stationed as residents and magistrates at the most important positions of the nine provinces into which the State is divided. An armed police force is maintained, and the headquarters consist of the Treasurer-General, the Commissioner of Lands, the Superintendent of Public Works, and the Chief Medical Officer. The Scientific Department and other departments are constituted after the pattern of Ceylon and other Crown colonies; but the Company itself does not carry on any trade, all the great planting interests and commercial undertakings being in the hands of subsidiary companies or of private persons.

The chief port in Sandakan Bay is favourably situated as regards commercial routes, being 1000 miles from Singapore, 1200 from Hong-Kong, 600 from Manila, and 1500 from Port Darwin, in Australia.

As a whole, the great island of Borneo is very little indented by bays or inlets; but in the territory of the Chartered Company are several of great importance, the chief of these being Gaya Bay, and Kudat, in Malludu Bay, on the north-west coast, Sandakan, on the east coast, with many others of smaller dimensions on both sides of the territory. Victoria harbour, in the British colony of Labuan, is a safe and convenient anchorage. The administration of this island has been entrusted to the British North Borneo Company by the Crown, and the Eastern Telegraphic Extension Company has lately opened a station at Victoria, thus placing the colony and the Chartered Company's territories in direct telegraphic communication with Europe.

With regard to the physical features of the country, the directions and extent of the detached chains of mountains have not yet been fully laid down in the maps. A range about 5000 feet high runs from the

mountain Kina Balu in a south-west direction for between fifty and sixty miles, and what is called the coast range is parallel to it, but nearer to the sea, and with a lower elevation of from 2000 to 3000 feet.

The magnificent mass of Kina Balu, situated about twenty-five miles inland from the sea-coast, rises to a height of 13,694 feet, and is the highest of the mountains of the Malay Archipelago. There is a group of hills fifty miles to the south-east of it which seems to rise to 8000 feet, and another mass of mountains with very steep precipices on its northern face is visible from Labuan, and is probably of even greater elevation. At Gunong Ma Ulu the limestone formation which crosses Borneo from east to west rises to an elevation of 9600 feet. This mountain lies between the Baram and the Limbang Rivers, in the territory of the Raja of Sarawak.

The slopes of Kina Balu are inhabited by the Idaan or Dusuns up to an elevation of about 3000 feet. These people, and other tribes surrounding the mountain, grow a very fine kind of tobacco, which they have long exported to the surrounding countries, where it is preferred to all other varieties. They believe that the spirits of their ancestors live on this mountain, and they pointed out to Sir Spenser St. John and myself a species of mushroom on which they said the spirits fed. On the summit of the hill the birds were so tame that they hopped about quite close to us, not having the slightest fear. There were many beautiful new species, and a nobly illustrated work describing them has lately been published by Mr. Whitehead, who spent many months in observing them and collecting specimens.

The rivers of North Borneo are very numerous, but those on the north-west coast have no great length of course, as they are merely the drains of the range of mountains which runs parallel to the coast. The Padas

River, which falls into the Brunei Bay, near to the western boundary of the territory, is an exception. It is a large and rapid river, draining the highly productive and populous country which lies behind the Kina Balu range. This hitherto unknown country has been explored to some extent, and a railway is in course of construction from the mouth of the Sipitong through the Penotal gorge—the only opening in the hills by which a road would be possible, and which affords a passage to the river. The mouth of the Padas River is, like those of all the rivers on the east coast, a great mangrove swamp; but above the mangroves its course is through a level country abounding in plantations of sago-trees, the property of the Dusuns who inhabit its banks.

The rivers on the east coast are much larger than those on the west coast, the mountains being far inland, and the space between them and the sea consisting of rich alluvial land and extensive mangrove swamps. The largest of these is the Kina Batangan, which is navigable for steam launches for between 200 and 300 miles. The banks of the Sagama, to the south of this, abound in alluvial gold of very fine quality.

Population

It is remarkable that the population of this rich and extensive territory is very meagre, probably not exceeding 200,000 persons, so that on the east coast and in its interior there are practically only uninhabited forests; but the rivers on the north-west are inhabited by the various tribes of the Dusuns, who are the most numerous, and by the Bajows, or sea gipsies, who are the most enterprising.

There are towards the south, on the east coast, various tribes having peculiar customs and weapons, similar to the Kyans of the interior of the Rajang and

Baram Rivers, in Sarawak; their skins are said to be of a much fairer colour, and their features of a more Caucasian type, with high bridges to their noses and large round eyes. It is in the territories of these people in the limestone districts that the caves producing the edible swallows' nests are situated.

In some caves of the Kina Batangan River of extremely difficult access, many coffins of iron-wood have been recently discovered, containing the remains of people belonging to a race which has entirely disappeared from the neighbourhood. These coffins were ornamented with carved heads of buffaloes, bulls, alligators, and other decorations, and in a mortuary cave recently described by Mr. C. B. Creagh, the late Governor of British North Borneo, they are said to contain the remains of men, women, and children, with their arms and utensils still intact.

The scarcity of population on most of the eastern rivers is due, I think, in the first instance, to the desolation of the country by the ravages of smallpox. About twenty-six years ago I was in Labuan when this disease first visited those districts, and the accounts which we received showed that the inhabitants of whole villages were swept away, so that none were left.

The people of one village on the river Kinarut were accused of murdering a Chinaman in connection with this smallpox visitation, and it became my duty to inquire into the circumstances. The people very freely afforded me information, explaining that the Chinaman was a hawker who occasionally traded with the village, and that it was generally believed that the sacrifice of this stranger would appease the demon of the disease. A feast was therefore made in his honour, after which, being drunk, he was killed, his head was cut off and dragged round the village, followed by a procession of the inhabitants with music and dancing. This obtained from the spirits of the pestilence the

fullest protection to the inhabitants, who saw the grinning demons on the opposite side of the line which the procession had taken, no case of smallpox occurring in the village.

As with the north-west coast, the people also suffered under the depredations of the Llanuns, who had several settlements on the territory, while the fierce Balanini and Sooloo pirates had their head-quarters in islands lying off this coast.

I had several opportunities of seeing the Llanun pirates, and I could not but admire their military appearance and noble bearing. Before they abandoned Pandassan, one of the places attacked by Admiral Sir Thomas Cochrane, I was sent to endeavour to persuade them to adopt a quiet life. They received me very well, and held meetings of all the principal people, who came, fully armed, to listen to the proposals I had to make to them. These were, that they should abandon their piratical habits and settle down to mercantile and peaceful pursuits, or that they should move their establishments from the coasts of Borneo on pain of being attacked by English ships.

The Sultan Si Tabuk and other chiefs, in reply, said they had always of necessity been a fighting nation, the Spaniards having seized and oppressed them in their own country, and carried on against them from ancient times a cruel and unscrupulous war. They said they had the greatest regard and respect for the English, as had been proved when their country was visited by Captain Forrest in the last century. He stayed with them for many months, was treated with the greatest kindness, and they refitted his ship.

These Llanuns called themselves Mohamedans, but religion sat very lightly upon them, and they freely partook of such wine and spirits as I had with me. The women took no pains to conceal themselves, and we became so friendly before I left that I was invited

to join them in their adventurous life and teach them how to dodge the ships, I in return having the choice of their most beautiful women for my wife.

On another occasion I had, after a voyage of fourteen days from Labuan in a native boat, got safely into the Tawaran River.

We were suddenly alarmed by hearing the sound of large gongs towards the mouth. We of course expected the sound to come from approaching enemies, as at that time, 1851, friends were rarely met with in those seas. We had not long to wait. Soon a fine two-masted vessel, with double banks of oars, pulled round the point of land, and was quickly followed by five others, all gaily decorated with flags and streamers, and having their decks covered with armed men. We recognised them at once as Llanun pirates, and I instructed my pilot to hail them and inquire who they were and what they wanted. A very handsome young man, of about twenty-eight, in a coat of armour formed from the plates of horn of the water buffalo, connected together by brass chain-work, standing in front of his companions, answered, "I am the Sultan Si Mirantow, of Layer-layer, and having heard that Mr. Low is in the river, I have come to pay him a friendly visit." We were in my boat seventeen men in all, sixteen of them being Brunei Malays, and the relief of receiving this reply may be easily imagined. We immediately invited the chief to an entertainment, killed the fatted calf which had that morning been presented to us by the people of the village, and held high festival till the evening, when we parted on the best of terms with our interesting guests. I never had the opportunity of meeting this agreeable young corsair again, as he was killed shortly after in an action with a Spanish gunboat.

In the neighbouring districts of North Borneo is found another very interesting but thriftless race, the

Bajows or sea gipsies, who are of a Malay tribe which has the same habit of living in boats about the islands and on the coasts of the Straits of Malacca.

They are collected in communities in several places on the north-west coast of Borneo, one of these being at Mengkabong, a shallow bay surrounded by land, but having an inlet from the sea. This is a most picturesque locality, the bay being full of tiny islands of a bright vermilion red colour, with high and broken outlines, and covered by the houses and cocoa-nut trees of the people.

On the east side of Borneo these people still preserve their old habits, and live entirely in their beautifully constructed boats, which have permanent palm-thatched roofs, outriggers on each side, and a wide, low sail, set on a tripod bamboo mast. These boats are very safe and very fast, and as the predatory character of the people is little better than that of the Llanuns, it was no uncommon thing for a fleet which had assembled for fishing or collecting pearls, tortoise-shell, or sea-slugs, to indulge in piratical acts when any good opportunity presented itself.

Personally I like the Bajows very much, and they were always kind to me. They are small, active, dark-coloured fellows, with very bright gipsy-like eyes and black hair, and are better-looking than the Borneans. Like them they are Mohamedans, but of no severe rubric or practice. Generally they are on bad terms with the Idaan, who live inshore of them, and accuse them, I fear, very justly, of stealing their buffaloes and cattle. Their country is the only part of Borneo in which horses are abundant, and they ride fearlessly, spearing the great sambur deer, or lassoing it while at full gallop. Some of the girls are very nice-looking. Contrary to the practice of most other Malay women, they wear trousers down to their ankles, and they have more liberty than the women of other Mohamedan races,

and know how to assert their rights. I once saw two of them having an argument on the sands at Sandakan, which they endeavoured to settle by each running to her boat and returning with a spear in her hand, which each shied with all her might at the adversary. The spears, however, fell harmlessly on the sand beside them.

Climate

As might be expected from its position so near the equator, the climate of North Borneo is hot and moist, the temperature at the sea-level never falling below 68 degrees, and ranging from 84 to 94 in the middle of the day. Lower temperatures prevail as the ground becomes more elevated; and Mr. Whitehead gives that at 7850 feet during the month of February as varying between 42 minimum and 70 maximum; and Sir Spenser St. John records the lowest temperature near the top of Kina Balu as 36 degrees. The rainfall is very heavy, ranging from 90 to 200 inches annually, seven or more inches sometimes falling in twenty-four hours. Thunderstorms gather on the mountains south of the British island of Labuan, and are during the months of May, June, and July very frequent and very grand, the lightning discharges and the rolling of the thunder being almost incessant. The general effect of this climate is similar to that of the Malay Peninsula. In making new clearings in the jungle, fever and beri-beri are prevalent, and the island of Labuan, when first settled, proved very unhealthy from these causes; but it has been found that as clearings and drainage are extended, these diseases are less prevalent or disappear.

The waters of the China and the Sooloo Seas are most beautifully transparent, so that in fine weather the sea bottom is visible to a great depth. They abound in coral reefs, which, when studied from a boat

on a calm day, present the most beautiful tree-like forms and glowing colours, and swimming among the spreading branches are fishes of extraordinary shapes and brilliant hues.

The enormous shell of the great clam, three or more feet in breadth, which may occasionally be seen in fishmongers' shops in London, lies embedded in coral, with its valves expanded showing the striped green and yellow oyster within. It would close instantly like a rat-trap on anything touching the animal, and a man's foot has sometimes been caught in it. This great oyster is eaten by the people; and occasionally a very beautiful pearl is found in its fleshy substance, which differs from ordinary pearls in being somewhat translucent, of a granulated appearance, and delicate pink colour.

The finest Oriental pearls in the world are found in the Sooloo Sea, and are the produce of an oyster from which the mother-of-pearl shell of commerce is also obtained. They are secreted by the mantle of the animal, which deposits the precious nacre round grains of sand or any substance of an irritating character. Large pearly accretions, generally of an irregular shape, are often attached to the inside surface of the shell, and these are valued in China; but the beautiful round and drop-shaped pearls, so much esteemed in Europe, are taken from the body of the animal. The people of the Sooloo Islands are perhaps the most expert divers in the world, and they collect this shell by diving for it in from ten to fifteen fathoms of water.

Another animal which forms a considerable article of trade is the Holothuria or sea-slug, of which several species resembling living cucumbers crawl about the reefs, and are collected and dried for export to China, where they are much valued as a nutritious article of diet.

The beautiful tortoise-shell, another product of the

Bornean seas, is usually found to the north and east of the island. Edible turtles are also abundant, and great quantities of their eggs are collected by the natives, who are very fond of them, but they do not much commend themselves to the palate of the European.

Some of the reefs when dry at low water may be seen covered with what appear to be beautiful flowers having fringed petals of a brilliant yellow, blue, or purple colour. These, on a foot being planted on the reef, are instantly and simultaneously withdrawn into tiny worm-like shells, the homes of these little serpulæ.

Wonderful examples of sea-anemones, often when expanded more than two feet in diameter, may be seen in crevices of the reefs. Two or three species of a beautiful fish live habitually amongst, and are concealed by, the tentacles. It resembles the common goldfish in shape and size, but has transverse bands of white and chestnut colour, which look as if the fish were made of beautiful enamel.

I once saw a lovely little fish of this description hovering in the water over a beautiful emerald-green anemone on the reef of the island of Koulin-Papan. The anemone was attached to a flat dead coral of the genus Fungia, so that it was not difficult to raise it, and with its fish I took it home to my aquarium. It lived with me for several months, and whenever I fed it, it carried the particles of food, and hovering in the water over the anemone, dropped the morsels into its mouth.

Edible fish are abundant, and visit the coasts in large shoals at stated periods of the year. Sharks, sword-fish, and saw-fish are very plentiful, and all the most beautiful shells known to collectors. The harp shells, the cowries, the cones, and many others are found in great variety, while sponges of beautiful shapes and colours, including the Neptune's cup, are plentiful on submerged reefs.

The geological structure of the island has not yet been fully examined. Granite and syenite appear in several places and form the summit of the great mountain Kina Balu, which appears to have been thrust up through deposits of sedimentary rocks, the layers of which are seen contorted and turned upside down at its base in a very remarkable manner. On the north-west coast-line the rocks are soft sandstones and shales of geologically recent formation, these strata dipping to the north-west under the China Sea.

It is in these latter deposits that the very valuable numerous thick and extensive veins of coal are found, and from them springs of petroleum rise in many places to the surface of the soil, or bubble up through the waters of the sea. In the island of Mengalun, off the coast, a strong spring of petroleum exists. The coal, which is in great abundance on the north-west, and in the south-east parts of the island, is worked at Muara, in the mouth of the Borneo River, at the British island of Labuan, at the Sadong River, in Sarawak; and in several places in the Dutch territory it is of excellent quality, though, as compared with the coal-fields of England, of a very recent geological formation.

In Labuan the shales which lie above and between the various seams contain abundantly impressions of the vegetation from which the mineral has been derived, and make it evident that the same kinds of trees which now form the forests of Borneo existed at that remote period—ferns, palms, and ordinary trees being in about the same proportion as in the forests of the present day. One of the most common orders of trees represented in the forest vegetation is that of the Dipterocarpeæ or two-winged fruit, many of which produce timber of the largest size and excellent quality, and resins and wood oils in great abundance. The resins, which resemble gum copal, are called by the

general name of dammar, and are used for various economic purposes, especially for the manufacture of varnishes. They exude from the bark of the trees, especially from parts which have been in any way injured, and from the points at which the large branches spring from the parent trunk. I have seen enormous masses of these resins in such positions, hanging like brown icicles, and have known collections of seven or eight hundredweight dug up from the foot of a single tree. Masses of a similar substance resembling amber are often found in the veins of coal—a further proof of the similarity of the trees now growing with those which existed in former times.

The fruits of the Dipterocarpeæ are nuts with two large membraneous wings, like the feathers of a shuttlecock, which spring from their sides and cause them to rotate when falling from the tree. Some of these seeds yield abundantly a fatty substance which, under the name of vegetable tallow, is much used as a lubricant for machinery.

Direct volcanic action appears to be absent from Borneo, and earthquakes are altogether unknown. This is remarkable, as the island is embraced on two sides by the great range of active volcanoes which extends from Sumatra, through Java eastward, to the Moluccas, and northward to the Philippine Islands. Dikes of porphyry and other eruptive rocks are frequently met with, especially in the limestone district. They have been protruded through the limestone, and are often now found as hills from one to two thousand feet high.

The limestone is deeply fissured, and presents everywhere on the surface sharp edges, and deep chasms which seem to penetrate into the centre of the mountain mass. No running streams are anywhere to be found on these hills, and when Sir Spenser St. John and myself were attempting the ascent of Gunong Ma Ulu, we were unable to obtain water for

the use of our party, except by catching the rain in one of the tents spread out for the purpose, though the rain was falling heavily at the time. It immediately disappeared in the great fissures, and was only again seen as a considerable river flowing from a cavern in the precipitous side of the mountain.

The caverns in which the edible nests of the little swallow are collected in British North Borneo are frequently several hundred feet in height, and often contain rich deposits of guano formed by the birds and myriads of bats which frequent them.

The soil which is generally found in the fissures of limestone rock is in Sarawak often rich in alluvial gold, and this is the case even when the openings to the fissures are high above the level of the surrounding country. In the Malay Peninsula tin ore is found under similar conditions, sometimes at an elevation of more than 1500 feet.

The deposits of gold in Western Borneo are always found in the limestone districts, and have been very extensively worked for hundreds of years by the Chinese. The Segama River, in which rich gold has been found, in the territories of the Chartered Company, drains a similar geological formation, and great efforts are now being made fully to explore this forest-covered district, and with every prospect of a successful result.

In connection with the gold deposits of West Borneo, I may mention an interesting community of Chinese, which I met with many years ago at a place called Marup, on the Sekarang branch of the Balang Lupar River.

About 250 men forming a co-operative association lived in a neat village, built of planks and palm leaves. There was a common hall in a central position, and each member of the society was the proprietor of one share, and was bound to contribute his daily work.

There were certain officers of the company, as the engineer, the commissariat officer, the schoolmaster, and others, who were awarded, at the periodical distribution of the profits, extra shares in proportion to their responsibilities. Widows and orphans were provided for, and education was compulsory and free. General meetings of the members took place periodically, but a meeting could at any time be called, by a certain number of members, to consider any question of importance. The gold-bearing soil was washed from the rough gravel, collected in heaps, under careful inspection, until the time arrived for the final separation of the metal, which occurred once in three months, when the gold was sold to the Chinese merchants. All the expenses of the community being first defrayed from the produce, any balance which might remain was divided in proportion to their shares among the members of the community. Rations were provided for the single workmen in the central building, while many members who were married to Dyak women lived in separate houses—all being supplied from the public commissariat—vegetables being grown in well-cultivated gardens, the common property of the community.

On the walls of the council-house the rules of the society were posted up. All questions were decided by a majority of votes, and the officers were elected in the same way. I was told by the bookkeeper that each man received from $8 to $10 a month in addition to their subsistence, which was above the average rate of wages prevalent elsewhere at the time. The discipline preserved was extremely strict, no loitering being allowed at the works; the labourers were superintended by overseers, each with a cane in his hand. I was informed by the chiefs that this community was affiliated to a great society which had worked on similar lines in the Dutch territory of Sambas for about 200 years.

Diamonds have been found in many parts of Borneo, and small ones are said to have been collected in the North Borneo Company's territory.

In ascending any Bornean river from the sea the first vegetation met with is the mangrove. Its trunks are raised four or five feet above the mud, on strong woody arched aerial roots, forming a jungle about thirty feet high, and extending for hundreds of miles along the sea-shore wherever the mud brought down by the rivers does not give place to sandy beach.

It is impossible to walk in a mangrove swamp except by stepping from one arched root to another —a method of progression more suited to the monkeys, which come down from the jungles to catch the shell-fish and crabs, than for any other animal, though snakes are frequently seen coiled up amongst the branches.

After passing through the belt of mangroves, which may extend from half a mile to several miles, the next band of vegetation is that of the nipa, a so-called palm, but really belonging to the order of screw pines. It grows with its trunk resting on the mud, and sends up magnificent palm-like pinnate leaves twenty-two to twenty-five feet long. The leaflets of these branches are four to five feet long, and from them are formed the thatch, impervious to heat and rain, with which all the native houses are covered.

Passing the nipa swamps, we come to more solid ground as we ascend the river; the water becomes more fresh, and the character of the vegetation changes, ordinary jungle mixed with palms making its appearance. The palm which first attracts attention in Borneo is the beautiful nibong, which carries its graceful head of feathery leaves on slender stems from thirty to ninety feet long, forty or fifty of these springing from each separate cluster. The round stems, of about six inches in diameter, are of a very hard wood outside, but of a soft pith-like mass within. These, cut into

lengths, form the posts of nine-tenths of the houses of all the natives living near the sea.

Where the nibong is found, many species of the rattan also grow. This is a kind of trailing palm, the cane formerly well known to schoolboys in England being one of this species. Being split, they make, especially when freshly gathered, the ordinary cords used in house-building by the Malays, for in their architecture, if you can so call it, no nails are used, everything being tied together in a neat and efficient manner.

The three plants I have last described provide the whole of the building material for the construction of large villages. The town of Brunei, which contains 15,000 people, is built of nothing else, from the smallest hut to the extensive palace of the Sultan.

From the point at which the palms become common, the farther you proceed up the river the more thick and dense the vegetation becomes; large trees with their trunks covered with beautiful ferns, parasites, and orchids, overhang the stream. The whole country, where it has not been destroyed for cultivation, presents an unbroken forest of the finest possible vegetation, the lofty trees having suspended from them climbing plants, which form woody ropes, often four to six inches in diameter, knotted in the most intricate manner.

The intervals between the large trees are filled up by smaller ones of all ages, and the ground is closely covered by seedlings, by climbing or dwarf palms, by bamboos, or by herbaceous vegetation. It is often impossible to penetrate the thicket, especially where the rattan palms are numerous. These grow to the tops of the highest trees, and often fall by their own weight. They then creep along the ground until they are able to reach some other support, when they go on until they sometimes attain a hundred or more yards

in length. The leaves of these palms have the midribs continued into a long whip-like thong, often six to ten feet beyond the point of the leaf. This is armed on its under surface with very strong hooked spines, placed in rows of three or four at intervals of two or three inches, and it is impossible to pass through such jungles until a path has been cut.

By far the largest tree of Borneo is the mengaris or tapang. In looking over the jungle from any moderate elevation, this tree is at once distinguished by its white branches, which are seen springing from the trunk just below the ordinary line of the foliage of the forest. The tapang is frequently 300 feet in height to the top of its branches; the foliage is of a pale-green colour, resembling that of the acacia in England; and the whole appearance of the tree is very light and graceful. Its timber is of a dark brown colour, and its trunk is supported up to the height of thirty or more feet by buttresses of from six to eight feet in breadth.

This tree is preferred to all others by the great honey-bee of Borneo on which to build its nests, the combs hanging from the under side of the branches, and sometimes twenty or more swarms building on the same tree.

To secure the bees' wax and honey, as the smooth trunk has no branches for 150 feet, the Dyaks use spikes of split bamboo about three feet long. These, being sharply pointed, are driven into the bark of the tree at distances of about two feet, one above the other, and to their ends a long upright strip of bamboo is tied, so that a ladder is formed, having the tree for one upright and the attached bamboo for the other, the spikes forming the rungs. This is patiently carried up to the fork of the tree, and is ascended at night by the Dyaks, who cut off the combs one after the other, and lower them in baskets by ropes of rattan to their companions on the ground.

Another very fine tree in Borneo is that which produces the Bornean camphor. Its trunk is not much inferior in size to that of the tapang, but its branches have not so great a spread. The foliage is more dense and the buttresses are smaller. The camphor is very rarely met with, although the tree is one of the most abundant, and the natives who gather it speak in its presence a peculiar language, and say it can only be discovered by the use of magical incantations and charms. The property possessed by this camphor, and which gives it a value equal to twenty times that of the Chinese varieties, is the slowness with which it evaporates. It is used by the Chinese, who are the principal purchasers of it, in the embalmment of the dead.

Many other forest trees produce timber of a fine quality, and specimens of about forty of these may be seen at the offices of the British North Borneo Company, at the Imperial Institute, and at the museums at the Royal Botanic Gardens at Kew.

Before the general employment of steam vessels in the Eastern seas I have seen spars of Bornean timber exported by shiploads to China for the masts of the great junks then in use, each of which was from 120 to 160 feet in length. The iron-wood of Borneo, called balean, is almost indestructible, except by fire, and it and the richly scented wood called bidaru are never attacked by white ants, which are so destructive to almost all other kinds of timber.

The sago palm is one of the most important vegetable productions of the island, and it is found in all the low grounds where there are or have been inhabitants. It is a palm having a straight stem of about two feet in diameter, with a crown of pinnate leaves each about twenty feet long spreading from its top.

Sago in many of the low-lying districts forms the principal food of the people. It is obtained from the

pith of the tree which fills the hollow woody cylinder of the stem, the walls of which are not more than two inches in thickness. A good trunk will contain 900 to 1000 lbs. of sago-bearing pith. This is dug out of the hollow shell with bamboo scoops, and by maceration and washing the starch is roughly separated from the woody fibre, and forms the substance called lemantah, or raw sago, from which, by further purifying, the beautiful flour so much used in manufactures and confectionery, and the granulated pearl sago of commerce, are obtained.

The cocoa-nut tree must, from the numerous illustrations of it which appear everywhere, be familiar to you all. It is a very beautiful and graceful object, and is to be found about the houses of every village in Borneo.

Another palm-tree something like the sago, but having its trunk covered with a black hair-like substance, is much esteemed by the natives on account of the quantity of toddy or palm wine and sugar which it produces. The toddy is procured by cutting off the large fruit tassels before the flowers are developed, when the sap exudes freely, and is received in bamboo receptacles hung beneath them for the purpose. About two gallons run daily for about two months from a good tree, a thin slice of the flower stem being cut off daily to form a fresh surface.

Other beautiful trees in the plantations surrounding the villages are the betel nut or areca palm, the astringent fruit of which is chewed with the leaf of a pepper plant and a little lime and gambier by all the natives of Borneo. Others are much valued for their perfume, as the champaka and the kananga, the first a magnolia with golden-yellow flowers, the other bearing green flowers of a very delicate perfume. The girls delight in threading them together with the blossoms of the tuberose and the Italian jessamine

into strings, which they wear at night in their long black hair.

No country in the world can rival the Malay Islands in the quantity and quality of the delicious fruits which they produce. First of all they place the durian, which hangs from the branches of very large trees, and is of the size of a melon, but the rind is covered with strong green or yellowish prickles. It opens lengthwise into five divisions when the fruit is ripe, and inside of each are three to five large chestnut-like seeds covered with cream-coloured or white pulp looking like custard pudding. This is of the most delicious sweet and nutty flavour, but the smell of the fruit is disagreeable to most Europeans until they become accustomed to it. The old voyager Dampier concludes his description of it by saying, "and it sends forth a most savoury stink."

The fruit most valued by Europeans is the mangustin. The flavour is that of sweetish acidity; it melts in the mouth, and is so wholesome and refreshing that quantities of it may be eaten, even by persons suffering from fever. It is of the size of a good apple, the rind being thicker than that of an orange. To eat it one holds it by the stalk and cuts the rind horizontally round the fruit; the upper part is then easily lifted off, when five to seven cloves of the snow-white pulp are seen lying in a cup of a beautiful crimson colour.

The climbing plants which produce the indiarubber of Borneo are not cultivated, but grow wild in the jungle. Two of these produce a beautiful golden-coloured fruit which is very pleasant to eat.

Other delicious fruits I can only mention, amongst them the langsat, the rambutan or lichee, of various colours; the tarap, a delicious kind of bread-fruit; the tampui, from which a spirit is distilled, and many others. Pineapples are planted as cabbages are in England, and with much less attention produce delicious

fruit. A curious variety is grown in European and Chinese gardens: the central fruit, about seven pounds in weight, is surrounded by about a dozen small fruits on the same stalk, each weighing from six to eight ounces. The plantains and bananas of Borneo are superior to any others, and the pumelo, orange, and lime are of similar high quality.

The celebrated upas-tree of Java, which was supposed to poison birds flying over it, is found in Borneo. Its juice is of a white colour, but becomes brown when prepared for use. The Dyaks smear the darts of their blow-tubes with it, and it has a rapidly fatal effect, either on man or on the largest animal.

Another curious plant is called the akar tuba. Its flowers resemble those of the laburnum, but are of a beautiful purple colour, and have a strong perfume of bitter almonds. The juices of the root thrown into the rivers are used for stupefying fish, and this painless poison is the favourite resource of Dyak young men and women when disappointed in love.

The jungles of Borneo have supplied European gardens with some of the finest orchids, among which may be mentioned the great white *Phalænopsis grandiflora*, the *Vanda lowii*, several of the finest of the Cypripediums, the *Grammatophyllum speciosum*, and many Dendrobiums. The *Cypripedium stonei platytænium* which was exhibited by Sir Trevor Lawrence in 1895 at the Temple Show, and for which he refused an offer of eight hundred guineas, came from Borneo.

In the dense forest of the low-lying country handsome flowers are rarely seen, but when an elevation of five thousand feet is reached the character of the vegetation changes, and more resembles that of the mountains of India on the one hand, abounding in rhododendrons, while other plants have their affinities in the most southern lands. Of all the plants I saw, the rhododendrons were the most beautiful, and the

pitcher plants the most curious. I met with one of these last on Kina Balu at about six thousand feet, which had so large a pitcher that it held as much as four pint bottles of liquid; and a drowned rat was found in one of them. The pitchers generally hang from the leaf of the nepenthes, but in this case they rested on the ground in a circle round the plant.

The fauna of Borneo is very large and interesting, including many species which are found in the Malay Peninsula and on the islands of Java and Sumatra, which, in Dr. Wallace's opinion, have at geological periods formed with it an extension of the Asiatic continent.

It is remarkable that the royal tiger, so much dreaded and so common in other Malay countries, is not found in Borneo. The largest feline animal is the clouded leopard, and this is very rare.

The ourang-outang, or wild man of the woods, called *mias* by the natives, is found in several parts, but it is confined to particular districts, sometimes being found on one side of a river and not on the opposite bank. It is an animal with very powerful arms, the stretch of which from finger-point to finger-point often measures seven feet six inches; but its legs are small in comparison. It rarely comes to the ground, is quite inoffensive when not molested, but in that case fights savagely. Its favourite fruit is the durian, for which it visits the orchards of the Dyaks, who may often be seen with marks of severe wounds from the bites of the animal received while defending their plantations.

Other monkeys are abundant, and towards evening the trees on the banks of the rivers are often crowded with them. In addition to the large proboscis monkey, there are the kra, an amusing long-tailed grey animal with large whiskers, and several gibbons, tailless creatures, which to my mind are far more man-like

than the ourang-outang, though not so large. These last make most delightful pets; and the Malays have a belief that they were formerly human beings, and are now undergoing penance for their sins.

The great water-buffalo, goats, fowls, and ducks are the chief domestic animals; though there are horses, and a very pretty breed of cattle scarcely distinguishable from Guernseys, in the territory of the Chartered Company. There are also many insectivorous animals; many rodents, as squirrels, porcupines, and rats. The elephant is not uncommon in the north-east district, with two species of wild cattle, and one large wild boar. The rhinoceros is there, but rarely seen; one kind of bear, and several species of deer, including the large sambur and the little kanchil, the latter the size of a small rabbit, with legs no thicker than quills, and of the most graceful shape and active habits.

Birds are very numerous, and many of them of gorgeous colours and large size. The great hornbills are the first to attract attention, for in flying overhead from mountain to mountain they beat the air with so much noise as to be heard before they come in sight. Their voices are hoarse and very loud, and they have the curious habit of shutting up the female during the period of incubation in the hollows of the trees, the male feeding her through a hole in the mud wall which encloses the nest. There are many species of these birds, and several have the peculiar excrescences on the bill from which they derive their name, and which in the rhinoceros hornbill is of a beautiful crimson and yellow colour.

Amongst the game birds, which are numerous, are the argus and the fireback pheasant; but the peacock and jungle-fowl of the Malay Peninsula are not known in Borneo. The game birds are rarely seen, never taking wing except under sudden fright. Dogs sometimes put them up; but, though rarely shot, they are often

captured in springes, which the natives are very clever in concealing in their runs.

Pigeons and doves are very numerous and beautiful. The menambun, which is about the size of a small guinea-fowl, but of a greenish-brown colour, with small red wattles and very large and strong legs and feet, has the unusual habit of scratching together heaps of sand near the sea-shore in which to deposit its eggs. These are laid in burrows like rabbit-holes, and are of the size of large duck eggs, and of a beautiful pink colour. Several birds use the same heap for nesting purposes, and I have seen as many as three dozen eggs taken from one of them. This remarkably large egg, without any incubation from the parent bird, produces a full-fledged chick, which is able to run and fly the instant it escapes from the shell, and I have seen it directly begin to scratch the earth and look for insects just like an old bird.

The menambun is generally found on small islands or near the sea-shore, and its cry is a most unearthly wail. When I lived in Labuan, a gentleman and his wife went to one of the small islands intending to make a cocoa-nut plantation; but they abandoned it after a few nights, saying that the place was haunted by demons, and that it was impossible to endure the cries, moans, and screams which lasted the whole night through. I went myself to the place, and heard the screams during the moonlight night without being able to identify the cause of them, until by accident a bird uttered its cry quite close to me in the daytime, and on rushing to the spot I put up a menambun which had just come out from the burrow of its nest. These mounds of earth are used by the birds for many consecutive seasons, and trees and shrubs are frequently seen growing upon them.

As might be expected in a country situated under the Equator, reptiles are abundant; amongst them two

species of crocodiles, the larger of which is a most dangerous brute, and very frequently takes people from the native boats, from the sea beach, or when they are crossing the fords of rivers. Snakes are plentiful in Borneo; amongst them two kinds of cobra, the hamadryad and the ordinary black cobra. All snakes are beautiful creatures, and some of those in Borneo have lovely colours. The hamadryad, which lives by feeding on other snakes, often attains fifteen feet in length. It is fortunately rare, as its bite is most deadly, and it does not hesitate to attack men, even without provocation. There is a beautiful pea-green whip-snake which is common in gardens, and which is perfectly harmless. On one occasion I saw one of these creatures under excitement instantly change its colour from beautiful yellow and pea-green to the dull grey of the ground on which it was wriggling. The great python is said to attain a length of forty feet. I secured the skin of one thirty feet long, which had been killed the day before by an English miner whose dog it had seized.

The beautiful flying lizards of a golden-green colour are common on the trunks of trees in old jungles, as is the grey house-lizard or cichak, which may be seen when the lamps are lighted catching the mosquitoes and running on the ceilings of every room in European houses with its back downward. Many other lizards, from three inches to six feet long, are found in the forests and on the sea-shore.

Bats are of very numerous kinds. The large fruit-eating bat, called the flying fox, may be seen every evening an hour before sunset crossing overhead in tens of thousands, going from the high trees on which they have rested during the day, to the fruit-gardens and feeding-places in search of food.

Insects abound in all places. Hundreds of species of butterflies, many of the most gorgeous colours, fly about from 8 A.M. to noon; amongst these, the many

species of Ornithoptera are very large and very beautiful. The atlas is the largest of the moths, measuring more than six inches across the wings. Beetles, including many species of fireflies, are very curious. Leaf-insects, stick-insects, noisy cicadas, beautiful bees, glorified bugs with wing-cases like polished gold, and others emitting a disagreeable odour from beautiful green and scarlet bodies, are very common.

Climate and Soil

The climate and soil of British North Borneo are adapted to the cultivation of every tropical plant of economic value. A very fine description of tobacco was grown by the natives of the country in the neighbourhood of Kina Balu before the advent of the Company into the country. Large tracts of suitable land have since been taken up by European syndicates, and the soft and silky leaf for the wrappers of cigars which some of them have sent home have realised the largest prices of the season. This valuable description of leaf had hitherto been grown of the finest quality only in Sumatra, where the profits of its cultivation frequently realised annually more than 100 per cent. on the capital expended. The export of tobacco for the year 1895 amounted to 10,374 bales, which realised £136,000, and at four different trade sales in Amsterdam the Borneo leaf took higher prices than the best Sumatra, and greater results are confidently expected in the future.

The North Borneo State Cigar Syndicate manufactures this tobacco into excellent cigars, which are rapidly acquiring a high reputation in London, and are sold at a moderate price.

Liberian coffee cultivation is at present attracting great attention in British North Borneo, which has

been proved to be eminently suitable for it. The development of the country under Mr. Prior, the pioneer cultivator and settler of North Borneo, enabled him to have under coffee, at the end of 1896, 280 acres; while the Borneo Coffee Company, under Mr. Brand, also had a large acreage, all the produce being of a very high quality.

The rhea, ramie, or China grass fibre promises to become, now that the means of separating it from the gums and resins in which it is embedded in the plant have been discovered, a most important industry, peculiarly suitable for Borneo, of which country one of the kinds is a native. This beautiful fibre is capable of being manufactured into fabrics resembling the most beautiful silks and laces, as well as all the coarser products to which flax has hitherto been applied.

The natives of North Borneo manufacture a very strong fibre called lambar into the clothes they wear in the jungle. It is mixed with the native-grown cotton and woven into jackets and petticoats, and is found to be the only material which can withstand the thorns and protect the bodies of the wearers. The plant grows wild abundantly around the villages and in all open places.

Three kinds of indiarubber are found wild in the jungles; but it is feared it may soon become extinct from the wasteful manner in which it is collected. But the finest of the Brazilian species, the para rubber, has been proved to be suitable to the soil and climate, and as it is a very fast-growing tree, and its produce fetches the highest price of all rubbers in the market, its extensive cultivation must necessarily be a very profitable speculation, as after the first planting the tree will yearly become more valuable without much cost of cultivation.

The trees which produce gutta-percha are also

natives of Borneo, and are equally destroyed by the native method of collecting the valuable gum. Forests of these trees, as well as those of the indiarubber, should be established by the Government in suitable places to replace the indigenous trees destroyed.

A fine kind of cotton, quite different from the annual cotton of America, was cultivated by the natives from time immemorial, and the cloth made from it by the Llanun women is far more durable than any imported from Europe, and sells for about ten times the price. The shrub is about ten feet high, and may frequently be met with near the Malay houses. But the American cotton also may probably pay for cultivation, in view of the great demand which is likely to arise in China and Japan, where so many factories are in course of construction.

Sugar is another industry which may be profitably engaged in. Manila hemp (of a high commercial value) has also been successfully grown and prepared. Pepper is a native of the country, and has formerly been exported on an extensive scale. Vanilla is represented also by a handsome species in the jungle. The few plants of cacao, from the fruits of which chocolate is made, have thriven admirably, and the chocolate from the neighbouring Sooloo Islands is of the highest quality. Cocoa-nuts grow nowhere so strongly as in Borneo, and an enormous acreage of land is suitable for their cultivation. The betel palm can be extensively grown, and silk cotton or cotton flock is of the most simple cultivation and rapid growth. Tapioca is much grown by the natives, and sago plantations might be profitably extended; and many smaller cultivations, as ground-nuts, ginger, cardamoms, arrowroot, and others, have all been planted experimentally, and have given satisfactory results.

The first Governor of the Company, my friend Mr. W. Treacher, writes: "So prolific is nature, that six huts

crowded with inhabitants, in a place less than two acres in extent, have been known to draw their entire sustenance day after day from this little lot."

Revenue and Expenditure

After the many years of anxiety through which the Company has passed, it is very satisfactory to know that after the spirited manner in which they have persevered, in face of great difficulties, their efforts to establish the government, and to develop the resources of the country, now show results from which success may be confidently relied on.

The railway through the Penotal Gorge is no sooner shown to be a feasible project, promising to open up countries of great value, than a large subsidiary enterprise is undertaken with the view of developing the timber trade along the line, and working the mineral oil springs existing in the neighbourhood; while the New Central Borneo Company are achieving a success in working the valuable coalfields of Labuan which could never be attained in the earlier history of the colony.

The revenue of the State up to the year 1894 had always shown a deficit as compared with the expenditure, the figures for that year having been—

Expenditure	£39,316	4	4
Revenue	36,420	18	6
Deficiency	£2,895	5	10

For 1895—

Revenue	£40,788	19	3
Expenditure	39,726	6	10
Surplus	£1,062	12	5

The turning-point, therefore, took place in 1895.

Imports and Exports

The total value of imports for 1894 was 1,329,066 dollars, and the exports 1,698,543 dollars. For 1895 the imports were 1,663,906 dollars, and the exports 2,130,600 dollars, giving an increase in the value of the imports for 1895 as compared with 1894 of 384,840 dollars, and an increase of exports of the same years of 732,057 dollars. It will thus be seen how complete and effectual was the change.

HONG-KONG

By Dr. JAMES CANTLIE

The Crown colony of Hong-kong consists of the island of Hong-kong itself; of several small adjacent islands; and of the peninsula of Kowloon, about three square miles on the mainland of China, immediately opposite the main island. All except the last-named were ceded to Britain in the year 1841; but it was not until the year 1860 that Kowloon became part of the colony. The island, which gives its name to the colony, is in length eleven miles from east to west, and varies in breadth from two to five miles. It occupies an area in all of twenty-nine square miles.

Hong-kong consists of a chain of granite peaks rising abruptly from the sea to a height of over 1500 feet in several instances, and attaining an altitude of 1820 feet at the highest point—the "Peak." The name "Hong-kong" in Chinese means "Fragrant Waters," a name bestowed upon it presumably on account of the excellent quality of the water and the abundance of the mountain streams. The granite of which it is composed forms part of the great granite stratum which extends throughout the province of Kwantung, of which Hong-kong is geographically a part. The granite is grey in colour, and presents the peculiar feature of undergoing gradual decay, causing it to crumble down and form a gravel of a reddish colour, which gives to the landscape, especially during the wet season, a bright red colour to those parts bare of vegetation. The vegetation natural to the soil is, how-

ever, of the poorest description; consisting of a coarse grass, with dwarfish shrubs of but little pretension. Only during the early spring can there be said to be any attempt at profusion of verdure; it is during the spring that the azalea, which seems indigenous to the island, flowers. At that season the hill-slopes are covered with a fairly profuse blush of pink azaleas, affording for the space of some six weeks a pleasing, but all too short, evidence of tropical verdure. But although nature has done little to beautify the island, the Colonial Government, since the island has been acquired, has devoted laudable pains to make up for the defects in natural afforestation, by planting trees in profusion, so that now there is an arboreal clothing of no mean extent. The height attained by the imported trees is not, nor does it promise to be, other than disappointing; at the same time, although not robust, the plantations serve to beautify the island to a very marked extent.

The acquisition of Hong-kong was an act of political and commercial necessity, if the British meant to retain a hold upon the trade of China. The Chinese were, when they first began to trade with Western nations, even more exclusive than they now are, and it was only at the point of the bayonet, so to speak, that they were compelled to allow trade to be opened with them. Ever since the year 1613 had the British been attempting to acquire the right to traffic with the inhabitants of the Celestial Empire, and from that date onwards to the cession of Hong-kong there were constant bickerings, and occasionally open warfare, between the two peoples. But the British were not the first of the European nations to reach the far-distant land of Cathay. The Portuguese had not only found their way thither, but had acquired a foothold in China in 1557, and established themselves in Macau. Macau is a small peninsula jutting out from

the mainland of China at the mouth of the Canton River, and situated some thirty miles by sea from Hong-kong. When the British began to trade with China they were anything but encouraged by the Portuguese, who looked upon them as formidable and powerful interlopers in what they considered to be their exclusive prerogative. It is the old East India Company that we have to thank for opening up the country. It was the merchants of this famous Company who first sent their ships to Chinese waters to barter goods with the natives; and after a few voyages thither the results were found to be so encouraging that they resolved in the year 1627 to open up trade with Canton by way of Macau. As strenuous opposition was offered by the Portuguese to this arrangement, the commander of a British ship, the *London*, determined to force the way to Canton himself. This he boldly did by sailing up the Canton River, bombarding the Bogue Forts on the way, and astonished the Cantonese by demanding an interview with the Viceroy. Thus was intercourse with Canton begun, but it took many weary struggles, and the waste of much powder and diplomatic wrangles, to teach the Chinese that the British were not to be thwarted in their desire.

It is impossible in the short space at my disposal to recount a tithe of the fights, the international ruptures, the dissensions, and the intrigues by which the trade was interrupted during a period of well-nigh two hundred years. It must be remembered that our relations with China began in the reign of James I.; and Oliver Cromwell, in the year 1654, concluded a treaty with King John IV. of Portugal, whereby the two countries had free access to all ports of the East Indies. About the time the British began to trade with China the ruling dynasty of the Empire was changed from the Ming to the present Tatsing or Manchu. These interlopers, small crofters from the Ultima Thule of

humanity, showed a rooted contempt for all persons engaged in trade. They would have no dealings with the "foreign barbarians," as the Portuguese and the British were styled, and so utterly did they despise them that they did not think it worth while to sweep them from their path. The Manchus permitted foreign traders to reside outside the city gates of Canton, but gave them to understand that they could not claim equality with even the lowest of the Chinese coolies. They were not allowed to enter the city nor to travel inland, and were permitted to engage servants only from the outcast section of the boat population. So long as foreigners were content to trade on these humiliating conditions, the Chinese accepted their presence; but it was not possible, even in the hopes of making money, for self-respecting British subjects to stand the many insults heaped upon them, and when national pride began to show itself, the Chinese could not and would not tolerate it, and so troubles ensued. At long intervals British men-of-war visited the Canton River, and gave the Mandarins and the Viceroy a taste of their quality; but all to no good. The moment the ships departed the Cantonese authorities doled out more insults, more restrictions, and fresh "squeezes." The Chinese insisted upon the superiority of their laws, and on several occasions British seamen, after being handed over to the Chinese, were strangled. It was not, in fact, until 1822 that the commander of H.M.S. *Topaz* took a stand against this form of legislation, and informed the Celestial authorities that the subjects of his Britannic Majesty could not be tried by native courts. Lord Napier was sent by the British Government in the year 1834 with instructions, of anything but a definite character, to negotiate with the Chinese; but he was outwitted, and after long and harassing interviews and correspondence, was conveyed out of Chinese waters and forced to seek refuge in Macau.

The cause of many, if not all these differences of opinion between China and Great Britain was to be found in the fact that there were two British factions at work. The East India Company's servants cared not for the prestige of their country so long as they could gather in the profits derived from the traffic in tea and silk; and they were willing, or at least instructed their ship captains and their agents, to give way at every point to Chinese requirements, however humiliating. The Chinamen would not understand the difference between merchants conducting irresponsible trade and the representatives of the British Government. They persisted in treating naval commanders and their vessels as merely merchantmen, and as the Emperor of China was the potentate of the entire universe, it was impossible for them to stand any attempt of these low-class traders to assume that their "Headman," in other words their Sovereign, could be in any way recognised. Lord Napier was told that the Viceroy could hold no communication with "outside barbarians." Napier's mission, however, if it did nothing else, showed the necessity for some place of safety for British subjects in the neighbourhood of the Chinese coast; nay, more, it actually caused Napier to recommend that the island of Hong-kong was a place suitable for British wants. The further history of the relations of Britain and China is within the knowledge of most, and within the memory of many—how the British merchants in the late "thirties" were driven from Canton; how they, with their families and belongings, sought refuge in Macau; how the Portuguese, in consequence of threats from China, refused to shelter them; and how they had to take to their ships to preserve their lives from the fury of the Chinese authorities. They cast anchor in the roadstead of Hong-kong, which was then but a bare, inhospitable rock; on the opposite shore, on what is now Kowloon,

the Chinese placed batteries, and threatened to bombard the ships. Starvation stared the British community in the face, and Chinese boats which attempted to victual them were fired upon by the shore batteries. The British Government at last seemed to think that something must be done to redeem the insults to which their countrymen were being subjected, and accordingly in 1840 sent out an expedition to enforce its authority. Thus was the war of 1840 brought about. It is frequently styled the Opium War, but that is a mere misnomer. The war was the result of 200 years of insult, injury, and wrong heaped upon British subjects by the Chinese. It was not, in fact, until starvation and annihilation stared the British community in the face that the Government came to their aid.

On the 25th January 1841 the British flag was hoisted upon the island of Hong-kong, and a proclamation issued to the effect that protection was offered to the citizens and ships of foreign powers that might resort to her Majesty's possession; further, that merchants and traders were welcome to trade free of any charges on imports and exports.

When seized, the island was inhabited by only a few fishermen; there were no roads; the bare granite rocks were wholly unproductive; and the possession, except as a naval base and place of shelter for shipping, repelled rather than attracted. The liberal lines, however, upon which the colony was founded and maintained soon began to produce good effects, and in a few months thousands of Chinese took up their residence in what had been baptized the "City of Victoria." The initial outburst of prosperity, however, waned after a few months, chiefly owing to the reluctance of the British merchants to leave Canton. By the year 1848, however, some 24,000 of a population testified to the possibilities of the place, and by the year 1850 as

many as 72,000 persons sought the protection afforded by the British flag.

Such is a short account of the foundation and commencement of the trading port of Hong-kong, and I will now state the present condition of this important possession.

Trade

The shipping industry of Hong-kong is at once extraordinary and enormous—extraordinary, inasmuch as what was fifty years ago a bare granite rock should now be a busy harbour frequented by ships of all nationalities; enormous, for at the present moment its tonnage register is about 15,000,000 tons. To understand aright what that number means, I will try to illustrate by comparison. The port of Glasgow has a total tonnage of 6,000,000 tons annually. Now, that is equal to the entire tonnage of France. Double the number, and we have the entire tonnage of the United States of America, namely, 12,000,000 tons. The port of London shows a registered tonnage of almost 13,000,000 tons, but the latest return from the Harbour Office of Hong-kong gives a total of well-nigh 2,000,000 tons more.

Now, whilst fully appreciating the enormity of trade which belongs to Hong-kong, we must not forget that the port is more or less of a junction—a port of call mostly. It is not, like London, a place at which all the ships entirely load and unload. The numerous steamers which enter and leave the anchorage stay, it may be, a few hours or a few days unloading part of their cargo, and perhaps receiving a small addition thereto. The port is a distributing centre, and serves as a terminus in but few instances.

But even with this understanding, the importance of the possession as a shipping port is in no way diminished. Hong-kong affords protection to the com-

merce of all nationalities; and from it as a centre, and towards it as a rallying-point, most of the great commercial undertakings are focused and spread.

As a protected base, it renders commerce and property safe and possible in the numerous "concession" ports dotted all along the coast of China. Without it the Chinese would fall back on their old plan of harrying British traders, and threatening them with expulsion when it suited their purpose. The presence, however, of a strong fleet, with Hong-kong as a coaling base, and an ample garrison, serve to maintain the prestige of the British flag throughout the Far East generally.

The harbour is a natural one—a sheltered roadstead, in fact; and its selection reflects the greatest credit upon the wise and sagacious men who first chose it as a suitable base. In the narrowest part the harbour is just upon a mile wide, but it opens out laterally into wide bays with ample accommodation. The occupied part is some three miles in length; but, should necessity demand, there is at least double that length available. Towards the eastward the men-of-war anchor; to the north-west the sailing-ships congregate; some forty to fifty or more ocean-going steamers occupy the main bulk of the harbour; hundreds of Chinese sea-going junks lie drawn up side by side off the shore; and sampans (small Chinese row-boats) ply hither and thither in numbers—a busy scene truly, and picturesque withal when viewed from the higher ground, and more especially from the "Peak." The mail steamers of the P. and O. Company and those of the German and French services call here. The Canadian and American Transpacific boats have their terminus at Hong-kong. Boats in the Australian trade call here; the Scottish Oriental line of steamers trading to Bangkok have their headquarters at Hong-kong. Besides these, we find the Glen Line, the Blue Funnel

(Butterfield & Swire's) Line, the Shire Line, a line of boats to Calcutta, to the Philippines, and a large number of coasting steamers belonging more especially to the China trade, casting anchor in Hong-kong. From these bald statements it will be gathered that although Hong-kong is in reality Britain's farthest outpost, it is one of the most important in the long list of Crown colonies to be found dotting the ocean.

Wharfs

The wharf accommodation seems meagre when the enormity of the shipping trade is considered. Only at Kowloon is there a wharf of any pretension, and here some six ships only can be drawn up. This is accounted for by the character of transhipment which is in vogue. The native boats and junks receive their cargoes direct from the ocean steamers as they lie in mid-stream, thus saving double handling and housing dues. Goods, however, in quantity find their way ashore, and are stored in huge solidly built sheds termed "go-downs." Some one has styled Hong-kong a huge protected "go-down"—that is, an emporium or storehouse for goods.

Docks

When the ships visiting the island were sailing ships merely, there was no great difficulty in docking vessels; but with the accession of mail steamers and ironclad line-of-battle ships considerable engineering and pecuniary difficulties had to be surmounted to meet the changed conditions. In the old pre-Hong-kong days the British were allowed to careen their ships at the port of Whampoa—a small bay on the Canton River, a few miles below the city of "Rams," as Canton is frequently styled. In time a patent slip was erected there, but with the acquisition of territorial rights in

Hong-kong the Whampoa slip fell into disuse. The name, however, is still retained in the designation of the present docking company, the Hong-kong and Whampoa Dock Co., Limited. On the island of Hong-kong itself the first dock was founded on the south side, and the place was baptized "Aberdeen," by Lamont, the founder of the dock, who hailed from that well-known city in Scotland. After the peninsula of Kowloon was acquired in 1860 two more docks were inaugurated, but now the docking and shipbuilding industry is mainly combined in the above-named Hong-kong and Whampoa Dock Co., Limited. The docks can accommodate the largest mail steamers and the most formidable men-of-war. At the present moment the Admiralty contemplate erecting a naval dock suited to meet the requirements of the British fleet in Chinese waters. As there is no other dock in the Far East capable of docking the largest ships, the Company have pretty well a monopoly of the business; and whilst turning out first-class work, they can afford to charge prices which send the shares of the company up to a very high premium.

Banks

With so large a shipping traffic it might be expected that banking would be conducted on a large scale. Various banks have established branches at this busy centre, and some have their head offices here. The old Oriental Bank was, of course, in years gone by, the chief focus for all transactions in business; but with its departure arose an institution, locally owned, which far and away eclipsed the Oriental Bank itself. The Hong-kong and Shanghai Banking Corporation usurps the chief monetary transactions in the Far East. It is the fourth largest bank in the world, and the largest of the silver banks. The capital

is $10,000,000, the reserve fund amounts to $8,000,000, and the shares at the present moment stand at 182 per cent. premium. The bank building is palatial in its magnificence, and an ornament to the city of Victoria. The presiding genius—for he is no ordinary manager—is Mr. T. Jackson, to whom not only the bank, but the European community in the Far East generally, owes a debt of gratitude. The bank is conducted on the most liberal scale. No matter what be the nationality, equal facilities are afforded, and the board of directors are chosen from all sections of the community. There are always three to five German merchants on the board, out of a total of nine—a concession to free-trade principles, which is the astonishment of all non-British peoples. Besides the great bank, there are others. The well-known Chartered Bank of India has a large and flourishing establishment here; the Mercantile Bank of India, the Bank of China and Japan, Limited, the National Bank of China, Limited, do business on a large scale, and facilitate exchange transactions in all parts of the world. When one visits these banks one is astonished to find the number of Chinese employed, not merely as clerks, but as trusted accountants and cashiers. All the Chinese in the bank, and, in fact, in all big mercantile houses, are engaged and controlled by a headman, termed a "Compradore." The Compradore has a most responsible position. He has a large quantity of cash passing through his hands, and upon his honesty much depends. Of course, amongst Chinamen, as amongst all nationalities, scoundrels are to be found; but the honesty in trade of the Chinaman is, or perhaps was (for all the irritation they have been submitted to lately has told its tale, and will tell, no doubt, still more pronouncedly), proverbial. The Compradore is often guaranteed to the bank or firm for a large sum by those of his countrymen who have a stake in the

colony—sometimes for as much as half a million dollars; so that his honesty is "guarded," as it were. But the Chinaman as a trader has no superior. In the old days, when there were no banks, no guaranteed Compradores, no writing even to insure legality in dealing, the Englishman and the Chinaman learnt to trust and respect each other. The Chinaman stuck to his bargain—did he promise to deliver twelve months hence so much tea or silk, the goods were forthcoming, even if the market was against him. In this way the Chinaman became a factor in trade, as distinct from mere trafficking. He has a code of commercial integrity which he himself describes as "face." A Chinaman to "lose face" means as much as loss of "caste" to the Hindu, and but few care to incur the odium of the disgrace entailed. This is how the Chinese have secured a position in the world of trade, and it is a trait of character betokening a praiseworthy integrity.

Merchants

Many merchant firms of world-wide celebrity have business houses, or "hongs," as they are termed in Hong-kong. They are all connected with shipping firms, and under the ægis of the British flag. All nationalities find scope afforded them. Germans occupy a prominent position in the trade of the island, and the German "hongs" are multiplying fast. They have driven the French as traders out of China, and they have been chiefly responsible for lowering the commercial flag of the United States of America throughout the Chinese littoral.

Parsees, Hindus, and, of course, Chinese firms are plentiful, and many of them prosperous. The French have practically no hold in this region of China; the trade does not follow their flag even in their own provinces of Indo-China, for at Saigon, the capital of the

French possessions, British and German flags proclaim the nationality of the steamers in that harbour. For all the competition, however, the prevailing flag in Chinese waters is the British; the Germans come next, but even they are a poor second, and no other nationality has more than a fractional interest in the carrying trade of China.

The merchant of to-day differs, however, somewhat from his prototype in China. The telegraph is so handy nowadays that the firms in the Far East are largely dependent upon "instructions from home" as to how they are to conduct their business. Responsibility is largely taken off the shoulders of the China merchant. He has no longer to act on his own responsibility, but to obey instructions; a line of procedure which is neither to the advantage of trade, nor does it help to make real merchants. The heads of firms in China representing many British houses are more of the nature of commission agents. This is a great drawback to the push and energy necessary in fostering trade; initiation is swamped, with the result that foreign competition is allowed a free hand. Given the old régime, with a responsible man on the spot, the British merchant can more than hold his own in the Far East; but with the head of the firm at home, trying to direct trade under the conditions as he once knew them in China, the fight is hopeless. Luckily for Hong-kong, one or two of the younger firms are managed by capable men who have their headquarters in China, and who can direct matters to suit the moment. It is the same with military, and especially naval matters. In pre-telegraph and cable days the commander on the China station dealt with difficulties as they arose, and settled matters according to the best of his ability. This course developed all that was best in the captains, made them self-reliant and resourceful. The dispute was not infrequently settled first, and the Government

at home informed afterwards. Not so at the present time. Nothing is done except orders from home are received, and the British Admiral merely "carries out instructions." The British Empire was not made by Governments; the men on the spot acted as they thought occasion required. Rhodesia would never have been acquired had the opinion of Parliament been first asked, and the Chinese would never have been allowed to have given us the "slaps in the face" they have if the insults had been left to the naval authorities on the spot. The British manufacturer is, again, so conservative, so obdurate, that he will not cut his cloth according to his customer, but will endeavour to dictate to the natives what they ought to buy. In other words, he will not alter his looms to suit his customers, but will send out for sale, goods, in such a form and of such a quality, that it is impossible to get a market for. Take an example: in Korea all merchandise is carried on men's backs, on peculiarly arranged "saddles"; of course a man is capable of bearing a burden of only a certain weight and form, and before British-made goods can be transported to the interior it is necessary to unpack the goods, cut them up, and adapt them to the means of carriage. The British merchant declines to acquiesce in the matter, and plainly tells the Koreans that if they do not take them as they find them they can go without. Not so the German, not so the Japanese; with an acuteness which is highly commendable, they prepare their goods in a "packable" form, and naturally obtain the custom. Practically they have got a hold on the commerce of this and many other countries by the obstinacy of the British merchant, and especially the manufacturer. As in Korea, so in many countries, even in the British colonies themselves, Germans and Japanese are ousting the British, and one cannot help thinking that the incursion is well deserved. The Germans believe that the

days of the commercial traveller are not numbered, the British seem to think they are. Consequently the German finds, as he travels with his sample-book beneath his arm, that people will deal with him rather than with their own countrymen, who have appeared to have given up commercial travelling, and rely on the telegraph as a means of communication between manufacturer and merchant. The bitterness of the lesson has not yet come home to people in the British isles, but it will and must come, and the starving millions of Lancashire will rue the day they neglected the evident lessons set them to learn. The goods sent possess neither the shape nor colour wanted by people who know their own minds, and whose customs and habits are not to be altered because a Lancashire proprietor has put up a mill which will produce articles they do not want.

Manufactories

With the exception of sugar-refining there is no great industry in Hong-kong. There are two large sugar works in the colony; one, belonging to Messrs. Butterfield & Swire, the well-known Liverpool merchants and shipping agents, is of enormous proportions. The colony does not, however, benefit much by this concern financially, as it is owned by this firm, and the proceeds only fill the pockets of the home-dwelling proprietors. The other, however, is owned locally, and managed by the well-known firm of Messrs. Jardine, Matheson & Co. A small rope factory and a brick and cement factory constitute the bulk of European owned undertakings. There have been others which have failed. A glass works of considerable pretensions succumbed; a paper work of the most modern type, with machinery of the latest developments, and owned and worked by Chinese under skilled workmen from Britain, ran only for a year or

two before it collapsed financially; a steam laundry, to better the work of the native laundries, also spelt ruin to a number of subscribers. With all its go and wealth, therefore, it is seen that Hong-kong produces little or nothing, and that attempts to introduce European manufactories and methods do not seem to meet with the approval of the Chinese.

Government

The Crown colonies of the Empire are governed and managed on much the same lines, so it is not necessary to dwell upon the system of the government in connection with this particular colony. An Executive Council, presided over by the Governor as President, constitutes the machinery of the Government. The Legislative Council consists of the Governor as Chairman, the Chief-Justice, the Colonial Secretary, the Attorney-General, three other officials, and four unofficial members. Of the last-mentioned, one is elected by the Justices of the Peace, and another by the Chamber of Commerce. The remaining two are nominated by the Governor. It will be seen that the official element outnumbers the unofficial, and the sop to the public, that they are represented on the Legislative Council, is a pure fiasco. When one elects to reside in a Crown colony one must be content to resign all rights of citizenship and be content to be ruled by a system of bureaucracy, which may be admirable, but it is one against which the British elector is inclined to revolt. The spectacle of all the officials voting one way, and all the unofficials the other, with the official majority assured by their number on the Council, is one calculated to provoke derision, and to a people with less forbearance than the British, not unlikely to cause disturbance. What is demanded in honour to the self-respect of the community is that

whilst Imperial matters are dealt with by the nominees of the Crown, municipal matters should be left to the control and direction of those who subscribe the money for municipal work. The residents in Crown colonies are recruited, with but few exceptions, from the middle classes, and are surely as well qualified to manage the municipal affairs of their place of adoption as are the representatives of the working classes at home.

Sanitation

So as to perpetuate the burlesque of pretending to govern by popular methods, we find in Hong-kong a Sanitary Board. The concession to the Board of a majority of unofficials was rendered completely futile by withholding all executive power from the Board. It is merely a deliberative body, with power to recommend to the Council. So intolerable and repugnant has the position of the unofficial members become, that at the present moment the majority have tendered their resignation. This step is one which every right-minded person who retains a scrap of the sense of dignity due to his privileges as a British subject was compelled to take. The elector, trained in Britain to believe that he is entitled to a "say" in the affairs of the Crown colony in which he takes up his residence, will be woefully disappointed. He must politically throw himself back to ante-Magna-Charta days; he must be content to lay aside all the freedom his forefathers fought for, and submit to a régime of autocratic rule paralleled only by political life in Russia. Nay, more than this, he must expect to find himself made a burlesque of, inasmuch as he is given a vote which has no influence, and a voice in public matters which has all the machinery of Government against it and fit to render it abortive. A wise autocracy is perhaps the ideal form of government, but it is one British subjects

have been trained to look at askance, and it is a little difficult to recur to a system which for well-nigh a thousand years has found no favour in Great Britain.

Police

The police force consists of about 800 men, nearly 300 of whom are water police, whose duty it is to patrol the harbour. The force on shore is made up of about 100 Europeans, 100 Indians (Sikhs so called), and 300 Chinese. At the present moment there is considerable scandal in connection with the acceptance of bribes by the European police, and men of great local experience are being got rid of because they took "tips"; surely a well-understood purloin of the police in all countries. The "Sikh" policemen are voluntary recruits from different parts of India; but the majority do not belong to this warlike tribe, but to a caste of a lower order. They are endowed with a keen sense of usury, and this may be said to be their only drawback as efficient police. The Chinese members, if not quite reliable as regards their moral tone as police, are invaluable aids in the detection of crime. A leading member of the detectives is Inspector Quincey, "Chinese" Gordon's old "boy." Unfortunately he has also fallen under the ban of the purists, and he has been dismissed the force. Surely his connection with his great master, and the dangers and perils he endured in his behalf, might have saved him from this indignity. One can only be thankful that Gordon did not live to see this further "neglect" heaped upon those he already endured at the hands of his "grateful" country.

The police barracks, with the adjacent jail, occupy a central position in the town. In the same compound the police magistrates hold their courts. There is a divided opinion as to the expediency of loading the expenditure of the colony with Chinese prisoners of

all sorts. The jail does not present to the Chinaman the "bogie" it is to most Europeans. The coolie, condemned to incessant labour, and on a starvation diet, finds within the precincts of the jail rest and food, and does not resent his incarceration as a rule. Recently the jail has been largely increased, partly in view of the increasing population, but also in consonance with the modern tendency to reduce to a minimum the hardships attendant upon prison life.

Crime

Hong-kong is so placed that it is liable to be flooded with an influx of Chinese law-breakers. Lying, as it does, but a mile off the mainland of China, it affords a refuge for criminals of all sorts who seek a refuge on a foreign shore. This fact renders a large police force necessary, and leads to constant international complications with the Chinese Government. Any offender escaping from Chinese "justice," when he is demanded for purposes of punishment, has the privilege of being first tried by the British courts, and in not a few instances benefits thereby. Political offenders are for the most part protected from the arbitrary dealings of the Chinese; but in a recent case, that of Dr. Sun Yat Sen, whose sensational capture by, and release from, the Chinese Legation in London, it would seem that the privileges which we all pride ourselves belong to those who seek the protection of our flag, are traduced. Sun Yat Sen has been exiled from Hong-kong, and if he attempts to show himself in the colony, he is liable to be taken and handed over to the tender mercies of the Chinese. So contrary to our ideas of fair-play, not to put it more strongly, is this high-handed piece of Crown colony diplomacy that the question is at no distant date to receive attention in the House of Commons.

Law

The supreme court of Hong-kong is presided over by a chief-justice and a puisne judge. Trial by jury is in force, and the business of the courts is very large, entailing a large staff of workers.

Population

The present population of the colony is about 250,000. The city of Victoria contains some 220,000 of the total. Scattered around the island and in Kowloon, villages and hamlets, in some cases with a population of over 5000, are to be met with. The traffic of passengers to and from the colony is enormous, as many as 10,000 persons per week coming and going. The British population is put down as between 2000 and 3000, the Portuguese community at some 4000, and with the exception of a few Europeans of other nationalities and a few scores of our fellow-subjects from India, the main body consists of Chinese.

Public Buildings and Institutions

For the most part all business houses are in the neighbourhood of the "Praya," the name given to the sea front or quay. The Praya itself is evidence of the enterprise and ability which characterise British energy. What was once a deserted shore has been converted into a busy quay, with piers and landing stages, extending to a length of well-nigh three miles. Nor has a frontage merely been erected; a large part of the land has been reclaimed from the sea at great cost and labour. Nor has this work ceased, for at the present moment further extensions in the plan of reclamation are being

conducted, giving a frontage and building area of largely increased proportions. The City Hall is one of which any city might be proud. There are excellent ballrooms, a commodious public library, a public museum, the rooms of the Chamber of Commerce, and a well-appointed theatre. Adjacent to the City Hall is the noble building occupied by the Hong-kong and Shanghai Bank. The main thoroughfare, extending from one end of the city to the other, is the Queen's Road, some three miles in length, along which the chief traffic is met with. The clock-tower is held to mark the centre of the city, although it is by no means an imposing erection. Adjacent to the tower we have the Hong-kong Hotel, a large and well-appointed hostelry owned by a local company. The Post-Office is opposite, but with accommodation altogether insufficient for the wants of the colony; near by is, or was, the Hong-kong Club, an institution which plays an important part in the social life of the colony. The old club, however, has proved wholly inadequate, and a larger building is just about to be opened on the newly reclaimed piece of land facing the harbour.

Besides these we have the Queen's College, a striking edifice with numerous schoolrooms and a fine assembly hall and playground. Near by is the Victoria English Schools. The Civil Hospital, with accommodation for some 150 patients, stands on an open piece of ground just above "China Town." Along the Queen's Road are to be found the offices of the principal merchants, the Europeans mostly to the east of the clock-tower, the Chinese places of business chiefly to the westward. The German Club, close by the old Hong-kong Club, testifies to the numbers of merchants of that nationality who find it advantageous to seek their livelihood under the British flag. Government House is a handsome building, the situation imposing, and the grounds, opening as they do on to the Public Gardens, very beautiful.

Headquarter House, the residence of the general commanding the garrison, is quaintly pretty.

The appearance of the city of Victoria from the sea is at once imposing and beautiful. The land rises so abruptly from the sea-shore that the houses stand in tiers one behind another until a height of between 400 and 500 feet is attained. The three principal roads run parallel to each other, and are named respectively the Queen's, the Bonham, and the Robinson Roads as one proceeds inland. The houses, in the upper reaches of the town more especially, are of considerable proportions and look imposing. Westward the residences become more scattered, stand in their own grounds, and have a goodly show of foliage around them. The houses have for the most part a granite foundation, and they are raised from the ground some six feet before the first floor is reached; thus differing from the bungalow system in vogue in India. Wide verandahs give an appearance of extent to the houses, which induced one Governor—Sir William des Vœux—to exclaim when he first saw them, "Why, the people here live in palaces!"

The Medical Staff, the Hospitals, and nursing staff are in every way a credit to the colony. The immensity of the shipping community necessitates ample hospital accommodation, and this is well provided for by the Civil Hospital; the wards are large and adequately provided, and everything that science can provide or money procure is at hand. There are six medical officers in the pay of the Government, and a nursing staff recruited from the best training schools in Britain. In connection with the medical establishment is a large general hospital, a lock hospital, an epidemic hospital, a lunatic asylum, and a floating hospital in the harbour in use for isolation or for the accommodation of patients during epidemics. Recently a vaccine institute has been added; a much-needed addition,

when one knows the difficulty of obtaining effective lymph in this isolated station, and the virulence of the epidemics of smallpox which visit the Chinese.

The colony also boasts of a Government Veterinary Surgeon, under whose care the health of the live stock of the island is watched and the diseases of the animals combated.

A well-appointed Observatory, with an efficient staff, are housed in a commodious building in Kowloon. In addition to scientific investigation and recording, the staff of the observatory issue storm warnings of great value to shipping in these typhoon-swept seas.

The Botanical Gardens are at once an ornament and of high scientific value. The director of the gardens has done good work, not only by importing and growing rare plants and trees, but has completely altered the aspect of the island and converted it from a bare rock into a miniature forest.

As places of public worship, there are the Cathedral of the English Church, a fine building prettily situated; the Union Church, belonging to the Presbyterian worshippers; the imposing Roman Catholic Cathedral of the Portuguese; a smaller chapel for the English Roman Catholic worshippers. Besides these denominations there is a thriving Wesleyan congregation. If the Chinese temples can be called places of worship, we find but few, and these have no great pretension in either their exterior or interior decoration. The Missionary Bishop (English Church) of South China has his headquarters in Hong-kong, and resides in a commodious and imposing building—St. Paul's College. Various missionary societies have their headquarters in the colony. The London Missionary Society, with its branches throughout the length and breadth of China, directs its working from here; the German Mission, the French Jesuits, and the Spanish Procuration have found shelter under the British flag. Two convents,

one Italian, another French, do an immense amount of work in bringing up Chinese children in the Catholic faith. Their endeavour is to obtain the children of the very poorest, or of Eurasians who have been neglected by their parents, and to clothe and feed and educate them, in the hopes that, when they attain maturity, they may adhere to their Christian training, and so help to reclaim China. At the Peak an English Episcopal Church is provided for Peak residents.

The Peak

When the Chinese began to swarm into the colony, the Europeans were gradually driven to the higher levels of the city; but as years passed, the encroachment of these undesirable neighbours became so acute, that other places of the colony were sought after as suitable residences for Europeans. At first dwellings were erected on the lower levels some mile or two out of the city; but as these proved "feverish," refuge was sought on the higher altitudes. The example set by one or two of the wiser men began to bear fruit, and now the main bulk of the foreign community dwell on the Peak. Some ten years ago a wire-rope tramway was opened, running from the lower levels to a height of 1200 feet. Around the top terminus, and at a distance of even a mile from the terminus, houses sprang up, and now a large area of what was once bare hill-tops is covered with well-built and commodious houses. There is, moreover, a further advantage in dwelling at the Peak. The aspect is southern, and as the prevailing wind during the hot summer months is south-west, a good breeze from off the sea is enjoyed. The temperature at the Peak is eight degrees lower than that of the city; so that even during the hottest months a blanket at night is welcome. The chief drawback to the hill retreat is that during the rainy season fogs are

apt to prevail, and everything is drenched with damp. The Governor has an official residence at the Peak, there are two large and well-appointed hotels, bungalows for the Government servants in summer, and a private hospital conducted by a firm of medical men in the colony. The Peak is a sanatorium of the greatest value to the colony, and one of the health-resorts of South China. Away to the eastward is another group of houses situated in what is known as Magazine Gap. Here the military have built a sanatorium for the troops, but the place has of late years not proved so healthy as was anticipated by its promoters. Kowloon is being rapidly covered by dwelling-houses; mostly by those who object to "cloud lands," as the Peak is frequently nicknamed.

Education

The Chinese are fully alive to the benefits of a good education, and the Government of the colony has done wisely in promoting the cause of education. There are about 100 schools under Government supervision, attended by some 7000 pupils, and about the same number of private schools, attended by between 3000 and 4000 children. The main educational centre for boys is Queen's College, entirely a Government institution, at which about 1000 pupils congregate. Recently, by the liberality of a wealthy resident, the Hon. E. R. Belilios, C.M.G., a well-appointed school, the Victoria English School for Girls, has been opened. The Diocesan Home, a Church of England school, does excellent work. The objects of these institutions are to provide an elementary middle-class education. In all the Government schools the education is entirely secular. The system followed is well adapted to the wants of the Chinese inhabitants; it is a powerful element in popularising British rule and inducing the

more respectable of the Chinese to settle in the colony. The cost to the Government of the educational system is about £8000 annually.

Revenue

Hong-kong being a barren and unproductive island, it has as capital only the land, to be used for building sites. These are disposed of by public auction in terms, for the most part, of long (999 years) leases. The land in places is very valuable, and as the place grows, so the difficulty of obtaining sites increases. As far back as 1884 land was selling at ten shillings a foot, and to-day the price is very much higher. The Government has considerable difficulty, with the great demand for public works daily increasing, where to look for their revenue. Hong-kong is a free port, and although the ever-increasing trade adds to the wealth of the community, it does not commensurately improve the revenue of the colony. The increase in population means increased public works, new roads, more water, extension of drainage, more police, street lamps, scavenging, &c., &c., and the Government has to arrange for an increased revenue in such a manner as not to scare the Chinese out of the colony. Recently a small public loan has been incurred, and the affairs of the colony required guidance by a skilled hand. In ten years the revenue increased from $186,818 in the year 1875 to $1,274,973 in 1885. The expenditure between the same periods rose from $181,337 to $1,152,382. Since that time both have increased, until now the revenue amounts to over two million dollars. The currency in use in Hong-kong is the Mexican dollar. Subsidiary coins are in circulation, partly produced at the Canton mint, a Chinese undertaking. The colony some twenty years ago started a mint of its own, but, for

reasons best understood by financiers, the affair ceased its production. Quite recently a British dollar is again in circulation, produced by an Indian mint. The money is on the silver basis; it is constantly fluctuating, or perhaps I should say, falling, causing thereby confusion in trade, hampering all commercial transactions, and inflicting personal loss to every one resident in the Far East. A large item—£40,000—is paid by the colony as a contribution towards the Imperial Exchequer annually, nominally for payment of the military garrison. With the fall in silver the payment is a considerable burden, taxing the resources of the colony at the present moment to over $400,000, well-nigh one-fifth of its income.

Climate

When first occupied the climate of Hong-kong proved so deadly to our troops that the place became a byword. "Go to Hong-kong" had reference no doubt to the extreme distance at which the place was situated, it requiring in sailing-ship days a voyage of six to eight months to reach it from England, but more on account of the evil report the island gained for itself as regards its "feverishness." For a long time this bad name seemed deserved; but as occupation continued and the city grew, the health of the island bettered. During the winter months, from October to February, the climate is delightful; little rain falls; a brilliant sun, with a comfortable temperature, rules; and a light wind, the north-west monsoon, prevails. During March, however, clouds begin to gather, the temperature rises, and onwards through the summer months, damp, heat, mists, thunderstorms, and deluges of rain render the climate for a time anything but attractive. The city, being situated on the north side of the island, is cut off from the south-west

monsoon, which prevails in summer, adding thereby to the discomfort. During the autumn, typhoons visit the island, and at times do great damage, not only to shipping, but also to property on shore. During the winter months the temperature varies between 37° and 87°. So cold is it at the Peak that, during some winters, ice may be even found on the pools. In January 1894 the whole Peak, down to within 450 feet above sea-level, was ice-bound for three days. This was a phenomenal occurrence, and never witnessed before. In summer the temperature ranges about 90°, at times higher, and with a minimum register of 75°. The character of any place cannot be judged by the thermometer alone; for here, as in many other tropical countries, it is the dampness combined with the heat which causes the discomfort, as for several months the climate is that of a vapour bath.

The diseases of this part of the world resemble those of tropical countries generally, nor are they more deadly than elsewhere. Malaria, with its many complications, forms the chief danger, and amongst the Chinese, smallpox prevails with terrible fatality. It is no doubt present in the memory of every one that, from 1894 to 1896, plague raged in Southern China, and caused Hong-kong to be well-nigh deserted by the Chinese.

The Military and Naval Defences

It is not possible for any one not an expert in these matters to give a statement of any value as regards the adequacy of the defences of Hong-kong. A mere statement must therefore suffice. Guarding the eastern entrance of the harbour, at the strait—the Lyee-moon Pass—between the island and the mainland of China opposite, there is a fort of considerable pretensions. The channel is here very narrow, and

an enemy's ship would have but little chance of entry. Guarding the western entrance of the harbour is a battery on the island of Hong-kong itself, and opposite this a fortified island, Stonecutters, the guns of which command the entrance. The Sulphur Channel, named after H.M.S. *Sulphur*, which ran aground on the adjacent shore, constitutes the usual entrance to the harbour from the west, and lies between the main island and the small island knoll known as Green Island, characterised by its verdure and by having a lighthouse on its westerly slope. Another lighthouse, some thirty miles off, known as the Gap Rock Lighthouse, serves also to illumine the path to Hong-kong. Those who affect any knowledge of the subject maintain that Hong-kong is without adequate defences to the south, and it would certainly seem as though there was no attempt made to protect the southerly shore.

The garrison of the island is about 3000 men, representing all branches of the service except cavalry, which, of course, are out of place on a fortified rock. One British regiment is housed on the island, and on the opposite peninsula of Kowloon the Hong-kong regiment has its quarters. The latter is not a battalion of Chinese troops, as the name might imply, but an Anglo-Indian regiment composed of men from the north-west frontier of India, with the usual complement of British officers. A volunteer artillery corps of considerable promise contributes to the defensive force of the colony.

As in all British possessions, the first line of defence is the fleet. The squadron in Chinese waters is second in size only to the Mediterranean, and it is daily being increased and strengthened. At the present moment there are on the station 3 battleships of the first class, 4 cruisers of the first class, 3 armoured cruisers of the first class, 4 cruisers of the second class, 1 cruiser of the third class, 23 vessels of smaller calibre, besides some

half-dozen torpedo-boats. This constitutes a formidable fleet, and one that may be considered adequate even in the troublesome times which seem to threaten in this part of the world.

In closing this imperfect account of Hong-kong, it will be seen to what dimensions our trade and stake in China has grown, and to how great consequence the small island the subject of my theme has attained in the short space of fifty years. In my opinion, however, the full importance of this possession is only about to be realised. The Pacific is the future battle-ground of the world, and the four countries interested in the struggle are the Russians, the Japanese, the United States of America, and ourselves. Australia is bound in the near future to play an important part in the trade of the Pacific, and to the United States an "open" Pacific is of vital consequence. The Atlantic supremacy was fought out a hundred years ago, but the question as to whether the Anglo-Saxon is to predominate in the Pacific as well is hidden in the womb of the future. As a *point-d'appui* in the Pacific, Hong-kong is of the highest importance, and its military and naval efficiency will in the future play an important part in the development of the history of this part of the world.

Life in Hong-kong is by no means the exile to Europeans that its distance from Europe and civilisation generally might imply. The British, with that aptitude in adapting themselves to surroundings which characterises them in every part of the world, manage to have what our American cousins would call a "good time." Nor are out-of-door sports forgotten: cricket, football, rowing, polo, racquets, lawn-tennis, and all forms of manly sports find numerous and ardent supporters. Nor are the ladies forgotten. A ladies' tennis ground—some seven excellent courts—has been scooped out of the steep hill-side, and the afternoon meetings

here are quite a feature in the social life of the colony. In February the annual horse-racing meeting is held. The racecourse occupies the only tract of level ground in the island. It is admirably adapted to the purpose, and the beauty of its surroundings enhances the enjoyment of the meeting. Close by the racecourse is the "Happy Valley," in other words, the grave-yard. Here, in one of the most beautiful cemeteries of the world, lie the men and women who, by their courage and example, have served to maintain the flag and prestige of Britain, and to show the peoples of the Pacific the meaning of Western civilisation.

The Future

The future of this part of the world is perhaps the most important problem which diplomatists have to deal with. The British seem to act as though any acquisition of territory was not to be considered. Since the Japanese defeated China on land and sea, the power of China has been shown to be a quantity not worth reckoning with. China is unable to defend herself, and her extensive empire lies open to the invader. In the North, Russia will assert herself in no stinted measure, and when the Siberian railway is completed the balance of power in the Pacific will be completely upset. The nations of Europe do not yet seem to have grasped what Russia is doing. Within the next two years it will be seen that an ice-free port will have been seized, but whether in Korea or in Manchuria, on the Gulf of Pechili, remains to be seen. If the Russians desire their railway to attract passengers and traffic, it is no use having a terminus at Vladivostock; no one in their tour round the world would think of going so far afield to reach the railway. But were the terminus in the peninsula of Korea, or say Port Arthur or its neighbourhood, the crossing from Japan would only be a

question of hours instead of days. All experts declare that Britain requires a coaling station in the North. Hong-kong is too far away to serve as an efficient base for the fleet operating in the North China Sea. But with all its prestige and power, Hong-kong requires more room to expand. The island, moreover, is open to attack from the mainland of China, and any Power co-operating with China (or compelling China) could successfully bombard Hong-kong and Kowloon from the hills on the mainland overlooking the harbour. It is essential to the defence of the colony that the tract of high land on the mainland of China opposite Hong-kong should be occupied by Britain. This is a subject about which I believe there are no two opinions; but nothing has been done, nor will it likely be done; and the appearance of an enemy on the heights behind Kowloon may one day inform those responsible for our defence that they have lost the important island which in the meantime serves to maintain our prestige and commerce in the Eastern shores of the Pacific.

Addendum

November 26, 1898.—It is now two years since the above article on Hong-kong was written, and it would seem expedient that a part of it, more especially the section devoted to "the Future," should be re-written. Instead of doing so, however, I think it better to let the original stand, not for the purpose of showing how true were the forecasts, but rather to convey what the general opinion in the Far East was, and how true the instinct which guided public opinion. In 1894 I travelled in North China, Corea, and to Vladivostock, and, whilst yet the intent was veiled, grasped what the purpose of the Russian was. The forecasts in my article were but too correct. Within the two years' limit mentioned above, "the nations of Europe are

physical, political, and fiscal isolation. The intense interest and energy with which British administrators have thrown themselves into this work is sufficiently obvious from the descriptions which some of them here give of what they have seen and done. In the midst of this pæan over conquered nature a querulous note of complaint arises that the natives of India have not obtained a due share in the governing power, in the highest places and rewards of the state. The murmur is not unnatural; it is but analogous to the socialistic moan which forms the refrain of labour's psalm in Europe. It must be heard forbearingly, with sympathy even, since it expresses that impatience, that aspiration for a larger sphere in life without which progress is impossible. But from the practical point of view, past experience makes it certain that without European enlightenment and vigour the vast improvements we see would not have been carried through. Nor would they have been achieved at such a cost of toil and life unless the captains of labour and progress had worked with the stimulating sense that they were masters of the instruments they wrought with, that they had a commanding part to play, that the honour of high success was to their and their country's glory. The pride and sensibility of a natural aristocracy have thus far probably accomplished far more than could even have been aimed at by an Oriental democracy.

Industrial enterprise in India has now in many directions been fairly awakened in ways independent of Government guidance and patronage. The initiative has in almost every case of importance been English. Indigo, cotton manufacture, tea cultivation, all attest this, but in all native ability and capital are pushing into the fields thus opened to them. And the native of India being always "at home" in India, he works at such an advantage compared with strangers that the fortunes of the future are reserved for him. Already

in ordinary mercantile business the native merchants in the great towns have almost elbowed Europeans out of the market, and of the innumerable competitors who are coming forward some are certain to be found who will in no long time take the lion's share in all profitable undertakings. This movement is going on silently and almost imperceptibly, but it must by-and-by cause a great change in the elements of non-official society in India. The mercantile class of Europeans must by comparison grow less numerous and less important. This will be attended with some obvious disadvantages. The honourable traditions of the great British trading firms will not be preserved without difficulty. Independent European opinion will operate with less force on the governing class either as a check or as a stay. It behoves the leaders of the native communities to insist that, as their successful countrymen gradually take the Englishmen's place, they shall learn to conform to equally high standards of private honour and of public spirit and moderation. The forms of political and municipal life will be improved in the future as in the past, but they will be improved in vain if wisdom, loyalty, courage, and self-sacrifice be wanting.

The great economical changes that our generation has witnessed, though beneficial on the whole in the highest degree, have yet in some cases been attended with injury and suffering to particular classes. It was inevitable that a revolution in the modes of intercourse, the means of production and the methods of trade, should find some people unfitted by nature and habit for the new state of things. The Brinjári with his pack bullocks could not contend against the railway. The small local merchant has been in a measure ousted by agents of the great trading firms who go about buying up the exportable produce of the peasant farmer. The greater scale of business, and the greater stress of competitive contractual life, in contrast with

APPENDIX

INDIA, &c.

First Settlement, 1611. Empire, 1877. The Secretary of State for India is responsible to Parliament for the government of India; he is assisted by a Council, in whom is invested the authority of the Crown.

In India the supreme authority is vested in the Governor-General or Viceroy, and Council of five or six members appointed by the Crown: one, Commander-in-Chief; two, Legal; three, Finance; four, Public Works; five and six, Members of Civil Service. For Legislation: twelve additional members nominated by Governor-General, half of whom are officials and half natives. Education: only about fifty-three males and five females in every thousand can read and write.

Throughout India the cities and large towns manage their own local affairs; these municipalities began about 1884; in 1896 there were 750 municipal towns, including 15,693,692 inhabitants.

Madras, Presidency of, founded 1639. Small in extent until 1801, when the annexation of the Carnatic raised it to its present dimension. The Governor is appointed by the Secretary of State, who is assisted for Executive purposes by Council of two; for Legislation, by Council of twenty-one: one from Madras Corporation; two from Municipal Council; two from District Board; one from Chamber of Commerce; one from University; others appointed by Governor.

Bombay, Presidency of, ceded 1661, as dowry of the Infanta of Portugal to Charles II. Sind conquered in 1843. Aden occupied in 1839. Perim first occupied in 1799, then abandoned, but permanently occupied in 1857. The Governor is appointed by the Secretary of State, who is assisted for Executive purposes by Council of

through the ages an increasing purpose runs," but also more and more that its realisation in any important phase transcends the limits of a generation. The reflection may act as a damper on selfish fussiness, but it is full of encouragement to those who, seeing the gradual amelioration wrought by innumerable exertions each small in itself, can live and die in the conviction that, the stream of tendency setting steadily from ill to good and better, their own small contributions to it will in no case finally be thrown away.

These considerations should make ardent reformers somewhat less exigent in their demands than they are wont to be. Previous reformers have sometimes urged the pace too much. The intellectual distance is enormous between the Hindu barrister and the village labourer. The native press must be less one-sided and uncharitable and self-confident if it is to afford real aid and win deserved confidence. And yet for the Indian Government and for England it would be vain to say that all has been done because so much has been done. The appetite for political life grows with what it feeds on. It is not serfs but freemen who make revolutions, says Tocqueville. The movement which it is our glory to have achieved we must not now attempt to turn back or to stay. We must lead still or we must some day be overwhelmed. Under our fostering care a social system has grown up to which the official system is no longer completely adapted. Adherents of the old policy, justly proud of what it has accomplished, protest or sneer at every suggestion of improvement; yet the success of the past was won not by a blind immobility, but a quick apprehension of existing needs and a skilful use of existing materials. Nowhere else has there been so continuous and so complete a blending of the old with the new. The latest land revenue systems have a basis and a sanction in the Code of Manu, and the Civil Procedure was foreshadowed in

the treatise of Vijnánésvara. The native panchâyat is the type of all truly helpful councils, bringing impartiality and territorial knowledge to bear on questions of conflicting interests without trenching on the range and vigour of the executive.

Here, then, we have safe and tried principles drawn from the past, from what has actually been done and recorded, to guide and encourage us in providing for the changing present and the uncertain future. There must be progress without haste, a progress founded on conviction and principle, not ungraciously yielded as a concession to necessity. It must include a generous appreciation of the intellectual wealth of the country, a free use of it, without any sudden abandonment of the methods, drawn themselves in a great measure from native example, which experience has shown to be locally the best. Britain must be the dominating partner, working necessarily in matters of high policy on British lines and with British hands; but she need not be a greedy, arrogant, or churlish partner. She must learn the truth of "Grasp all, lose all;" while her protégés in India, taking an ever-increasing part, though by measured degrees, in the work of empire, become more and more fitted to share the white man's burden, and more and more imbued with the imperial spirit of our race. The world seems contracting as the facilities of communication improve. The ambition and cupidity of powerful states grow hungrier. In such a state of things all the segments of the widespread British empire should be drawn closer together by a natural instinct in a community of patriotic feeling, in a readiness for mutual concessions and sacrifices, in mutual support, and a determination in every member to have a worthy part in working out the sublime, civilising, humanising task apparently assigned to us.

While, however, all the teachings of history, and especially of English history, point to a gradual levelling

6000 dollars; 1805, separate Presidency; 1826, Singapore and Malacca were incorporated; 1836, seat of Government transferred to Singapore. Constitution: Governor and Executive Council; Legislative Council of sixteen (nine official, seven unofficial).

Malay Native States. Residents were appointed in 1874, assisted by staff of English officers to Native States to aid native rulers by advice and to carry out Executive functions.

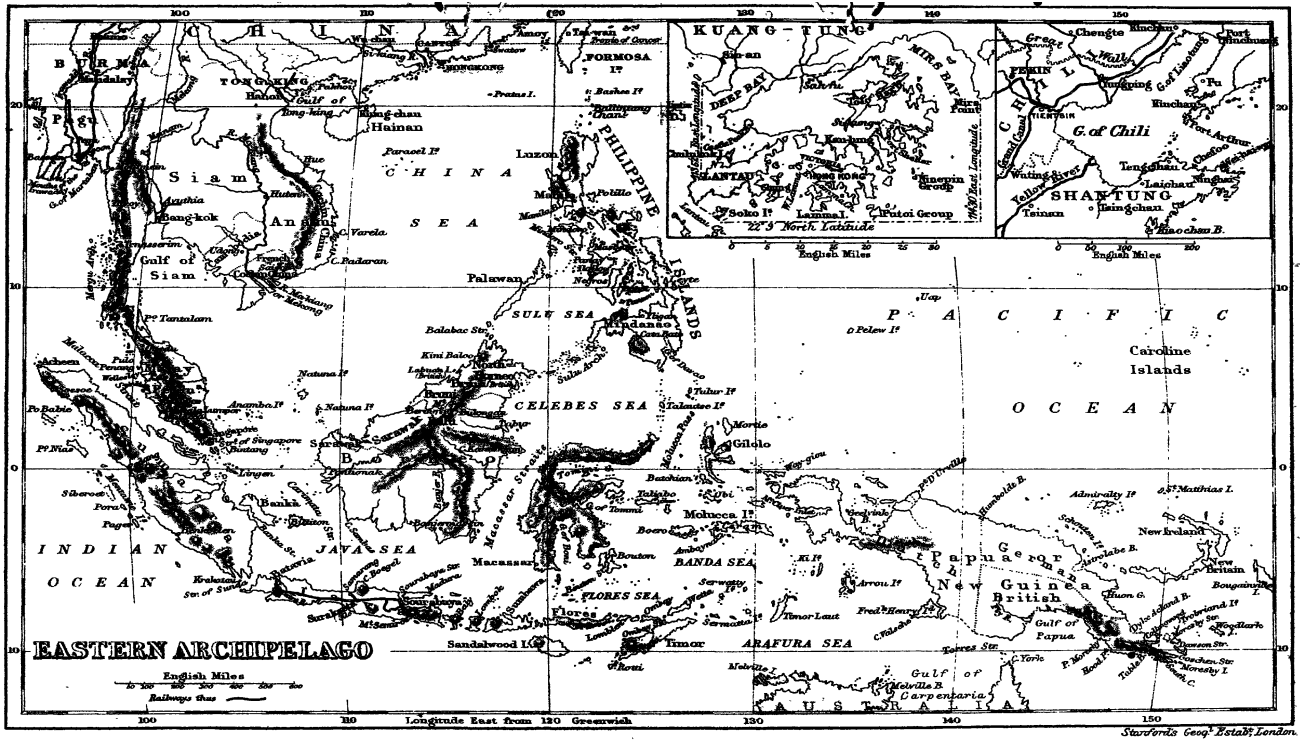
Labuan, ceded by Sultan of Borneo 1846, then uninhabited; occupied in 1848. 1869, expenditure met by Imperial grant—since has been self-supporting. In 1890 was placed under the jurisdiction of the British North Borneo Company.

North Borneo is under the jurisdiction of the British North Borneo Company, incorporated November 1, 1881. English settlement, 1609; abandoned, 1623. Dutch, 1747 and 1776; finally given up in 1790. English settlement, 1762, and a third attempt in 1803, and finally given up by East India Company.

In 1877, Sultan of Brunei and Sulu ceded district to Sir A. Dent, who transferred it to British North Borneo Company. Constitution: territory is administered by Council of Directors in London, appointed by Royal Charter, and a Governor. Treasurer-General and Resident appointed by them.

Sarawak. In 1840 Sir James Brooke established independent State of Sarawak. On June 14, 1888, this State was placed under British protection, with self internal administration—Imperial Government undertaking question of succession and foreign relations. Brunei, the State out of which the territories of the North Borneo Company and the Rajah of Sarawak have been carved, was placed under British protection in 1888, but is still ruled by the Sultan.

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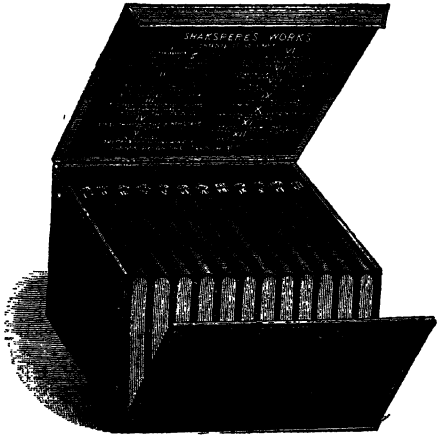
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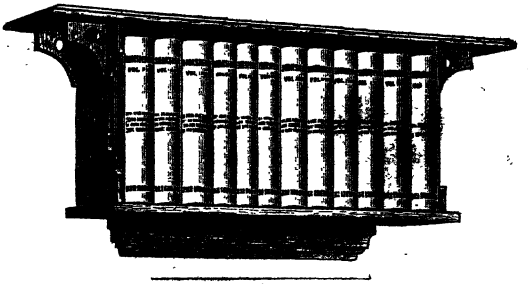
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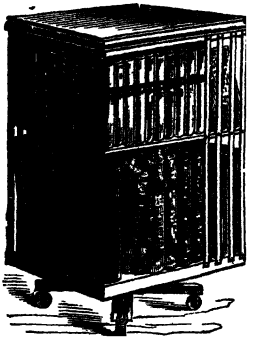
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