

as a fund of amusement or as work of instruction, we invite the reader to a book which we should spoil if we abridged, but from which we have already made more than a liberal selection, but in defence we must plead a temptation such as seldom falls to our lot.

We take leave of our interesting author and daring sportsman with the quotation of one more example of his prowess, and one that he has himself selected for especial notice as his last great feat. If he has by this time rejoined his old friends in Natal, we know that with gun in hand he will be certain further to distinguish himself, and we trust that health and opportunity will enable him to give the world in an equally entertaining and instructive narrative the results of his second series of wanderings in the Colony he so thoroughly loves, and where he is so universally respected and such a great favorite. The adventure with the Lion we give in his own words.

'The masaras followed his spoor about a couple of miles, when he broke cover. I did not see him at first but gave chase in the direction in which the masaras pointed, saw him and followed for about 1,000 yards as he had a long start, when he stood in a nasty thorn thicket. I dismounted at about sixty or seventy yards and shot at him; I could only see his outline and that very indistinctly, and he dropt so instantaneously, that I thought I had shot him dead. I remounted and reloaded and took a short circle and stood up in my stirrups to catch a sight of him. His eyes glared so savagely and he lay crouched in so natural a position with his ears alone erect, the points black as night, that I saw in a moment I had missed him; I was then about eighty yards from him and was weighing the chances of getting a shot at him from behind an immense ant-heap about fifteen yards nearer. I had just put the horse in motion with that intention, when on he came with a tremendous roar, and Ferns whipped round like a top and away at full speed. My horse is a fast one, and has run down the gemsbok, one of the fleetest antelopes, but the way the lion ran him in was terrific. In an instant I was in my best pace leaning forward, rowels deep into my horse's flanks looking back over my left shoulder over a hard flat excellent galloping ground. On came the lion two strides to my one, I never saw anything like it, and never want to do so again; to turn in the saddle and shoot darted across my mind when he was within three strides of me, but on second thoughts I gave a violent jerk, on the near rein and a savage dip at the same time with the off beel armed with a desperate rowel just in the nick of time as the old manakin bounded by me grazing my right shoulder with his and

‘ all but unhorsing me, but I managed to right myself by clinging to the near stirrup leather. He immediately slackened his speed, as soon as I could pull up, which was not all at once as Ferns had his mettle up, I jumped off and made a very pretty and praiseworthy shot considering the fierce ordeal I had just passed (though I say it who ought not) breaking his hind leg at 150 yards off just at the edge of the thicket. Fearful of losing him as the masaras were still flying for bare life over the felt with their shields over their heads, and I knew nothing would prevail on them to take his spoor again, I was in the saddle and chasing him like mad in an instant. His broken leg gave me great confidence though he went hard on three legs ; I jumped off forty yards behind him and gave him the second barrel, a good shot just above the root of the tail breaking his spine, when he lay under a bush roaring furiously and I gave him two in the chest before he cried “enough.”’

Fate has again shown her caprice. The Nimrod that with iron frame bids defiance to fever after fever in South Africa, runs risks and braves dangers such as do not ordinarily fall to the lot of man, rides after the hounds in Leicestershire and meets with a serious accident, but we trust ere this the results of the injury received on that occasion may have proved of a less formidable character than was at first feared, and that it may be our pleasure to have again to welcome in the Veldt the William Charles Baldwin we had the pleasure of meeting in the beautiful colony of Natal.

ART. II—1. *A Circular of the Chief Commissioner of Nagpore, dated 4th July 1862.*

2. *Dry Leaves from Central India.* MR. G. CLINE Vol. 1st. Engineer's Journal 1858 :

3. *Friend of India*, 1861-62.

4. *Times of India*, 1861-62.

5. *Report on the Administration of the Central Provinces up to August, 1862.* by R. TEMPLE Esq. B. C. S., Printed at the Chief Commissioner's Office Press, Nagpore.

WHEN a few years ago attention was called, by Captain Bell to the Nagpore Provinces, very few people in England, or even in India, cared to read his published letters. There were few who took the trouble to enquire where Nagpore was. Whether it was inhabited or not: whether it was still governed by its old native Princes: whether it was to be found in the map near Sind, or only a few miles from Bombay: whether it was an appanage of the British Crown, or governed by the Nizam at Hyderabad: whether it was well or ill governed, were questions far less interesting than the most American questions, even less interesting than the question of the progress of the Red River settlements, or the administration of justice by the Hudson's Bay Company. Since the publication of Captain Bell's letter, however, many changes have occurred, we therefore offer no apology for entering on this subject. The transfer of the administration of the British possessions in India to the Queen, and the growing importance of India to England, have tended to secure general attention even for the interior of this vast Peninsula. And now the great cotton distress by once more concentrating attention on India will have the effect of bringing into prominence even such small sections of India as the Central Provinces which by their large cotton capabilities, and by their admirable adaptability for European colonization will prove themselves to be not devoid of interest.

The last decade witnessed great changes in India. It added British Burmah, Nagpore and Oude to our possessions. It gave birth to the rebellion of 1857; and in the extinction of the Court of Directors it saw the termination of that ancient policy which had tended to make English rule in India an anomaly. It witnessed among other things the fall of the last monarch of the line of Timur. It shewed us with startling distinctness

what our future policy in India should be; what is our great mission in India. It shewed how important to our success here is the improvement of the masses; and that great material results can only be achieved by developing the physical resources of the country we have to govern. Nor can we with these lessons before us blame the policy of Lord Dalhousie which bequeathed to us, the government of provinces like that of which this article is intended to give a sketch.

The administration of the Central Provinces was constituted on the 2nd November 1861. The Central Provinces embrace the territories between the 18th and 24th degrees of North latitude, and the 77th and 83rd degrees of East longitude. They stretch over an area of 150,000 square miles. Their shape is that of a vast triangle. They comprise four Commissionerships, those of Jubbulpore, Saugor, Nagpore and Chuteesgurrh. Their physical resources are great; but only partly developed. The great belt of the Vynndhyans stretches over their entire length. On those central elevations are many sites for sanatoria, and many tracts at present waste which are admirably adapted for European settlements. There is much in the varied features of the scenery which characterize these provinces that will bear comparison with some of the best parts of India. Where the country is intersected by hill ranges, the wildness of the scenery presents some points of resemblance to the districts which border on the Sub-Himalayan and Sewalick ranges. Over a great portion will be found the diversified features that are so often to be met with in the Punjaub and in parts of Oude—extensive cultivations, large tracts overgrown with high grass, wild jungles and sandy plains. Like the Punjaub, too, it has many large towns, and some villages which are large enough to rank with towns, large tracts of uncultivated land, and strips of wastes overgrown with stunted brushwood and rank grass, where few sounds except the ring of the axe, or the cry of some wild bird, break upon the ear.

The city of Nagpore is situated about two miles from the civil station. It is not so regularly built, neither does it possess so much an air of cleanliness as the city of Jubbulpore. It is one of the largest native towns in these parts. It retains nearly all the larger houses built by the Mahratta nobility during the reigns of its Mahratta kings; and its few small regal palaces are still objects of considerable interest. A few miles distant from the city is Paldee. It is now in ruins. Thirty years ago it was the country residence of the Nagpore kings. To the north west is a court now dilapidated. Like the Caliph Vathek's the hall is of large dimensions, and very long; with small block

windows and doors. To the west are a number of smaller courts and a temple. Not far from it is a bungalow built for the reception of European travellers or visitors, and in the neighbourhood the magazines, store rooms or old arsenals of its former sovereigns are still to be seen. At some distance, a few tumuli, and mounds of earth still visible, indicate the spots where the Nagpore kings used to review their troops. Viewed by moonlight, with its surrounding fields and jungle, Paldee has a dull sombre and deserted appearance. It stands amidst extensive fields a relic of past oriental sovereignty. Many a wild tale is still related of it, associated as it is with the last rule of the Mahratta kings—tales of bacchanalian orgies which surpassed those of Babur; of nightly revels and deep debauch which would have done credit to the court of the King of Oude.

It is to be regretted that no efforts are made to rebuild or at least repair edifices like these. In Agra and at Bejapore, in Delhi and at Lucknow some of the finest of native structures are rapidly becoming ruins. Indeed it will soon be no easy task to repair these massive structures.

Seetabuldee Fort has been so often described that we shall here only say a few words upon the geological formation of the hill on which it is built. The hill is trappeau, and but slightly elevated. The surface of the rock is nodular trap. Below, there is a fresh water deposit, clay, and underlying the clay is to be seen the amygdaloidal trap which rests on the basaltic outflow. The hill commands a view of the city on one side, and of the station on the other. To the north-west is the small trappean table elevation which borders on the station. Towards the south and east extensive fields or occasional patches of waste land overgrown with shrubs meet the view; beyond can be seen the granite range of Ramteak, the basaltic elevations of Colarmet and Joonapanee, as well as the points of Munsur, Sonedehi and Gordpar which have been taken up as Trigonometrical stations of observation.

There are few districts more interesting geologically than that of Nagpore. It is here that those extensive effusions of trap are to be seen which form a portion of the great basaltic district of India, extending over more than two hundred thousand square miles. Equally interesting is it from the circumstance of having three distinct formations: running parallel to each other—granite, sandstone and trap. Small as this tract is, scarcely extending over 25,000 square miles, it yet contains, besides these three well marked series, insulated hills, indicating in other localities an intrusion of plutonic rocks or an upheaval of metamorphic strata.

The recent fossil discoveries of Mr. Hyslop and Mr. Hunter have thrown much light on the geological era of the strata of this district. While up to this present, of the geology of Sind we know nothing besides the fact of a few bones of mammalia and a few fossilized foraminifera having been discovered; while with the exception of a few silicified palms no fossils have been discovered in the Saugor and Nerbudda Territories; while we know still less of the fossiliferous remains of the sandstone deposits of Bundelkhand and the country in the vicinity of Agra and Ajmere; and scarcely enough of the sub-Himalayan ranges to enable us to decide whether they belong to the eocene of the tertiary, or cretaceous of the secondary rocks, we have in the Nagpore Territories, through much careful research, reliable data to go upon. There are many localities where distinctly marked organisms have been found in the sandstone strata. At Taklee no fewer than ten species of Coleoptera were found. It is amongst the fresh water formations, between the underlying and overlying trap that perhaps the greatest number of fossils have been found.

Some interesting fossils were also found embedded in the sandstone strata near Kampti. In the collection made by Mr. Hyslop were some cycloid fish scales: these were enamelled, but in some of the ganoidians a slight trace of the enamel might still be seen. Among the fresh water Molluscs the following species may be enumerated:—

Melania
Paludina
Valvata.

Balimus
Lymnæa
Unio.

Sixty miles south of Nagpore, amongst the wild sandstone ranges and not far from Mangali Mr. Hyslop discovered the cranium of a reptile. It was subsequently identified by Professor Owen as belonging to the species of *Brachyops Laticeps*. The age of these rocks should not be older than jurassic or triassic. There is between the general physical appearance of the Nagpore district and that of the Saugor and Nerbudda Territories a very remarkable difference.

There are not the same marked varieties of hills and plains, streams, rocks and valleys which lend so much picturesqueness to the Nerbudda basin. There are no wild ravines intersected by brawling and tumbling mountain torrents. No banks fringed with the knotted and gnarled branches of the *Terminalia Arjuna** like those of the Mahanuddee in Purgunnah Sonapore, the Nerbuddah in Burrella, the Pench in Seonee, or the Machna

* In the Vernacular the Kowah.

in Baitool, no forests teeming with the ever glancing and intertwinning bamboo, or glades deepened with the shade of the funereal drapery of the *Tilandsia*.*

The principal hills in the Nagpore Territories are those which form its Northern base. Extending in a direction from North to South between the parallels of 21° and 22° north latitude, they are not so much detached ranges as the termination of a series of extensive plateaux which extend from the Mahadeo hills in Chindwarra on the North West to the Langi hills on the South East. These hills very nearly throughout their entire length present a bold and well marked outline. Rising to more than two thousand feet above the sea level in the Mahadeo hills, they extend in a continuous line in an easterly direction through the entire length of the Nagpore Province. It is between Chindwarra and Mooltye that those wild ranges are found in the centre of which are the fortresses of Deogurh and the hill villages of Gurgoozur and Malaree. Further South in bold and well defined outline can be seen the escarpment of the Chindwarra and Seonee table land abutting on the plains near the village of Doongurtal. At the Kurai commence those ascents which lead to the pleasant station of Seonee. Further South beyond the valley of the Weingunga are the Langi hills which at the lowest calculation rise to an elevation of more than two thousand five hundred feet above the sea level. The surface rock on the scarped sides of these plateaux is often red sandstone. This is underlaid by yellowish concretionary, and argillaceous shales. The base in many parts is formed of a thick debris of fragmentary rock broken off from the sides by the action of the weather and in others of a thick subsoil of red clay.

There are few places where the disintegrating and denuding forces of rain are better seen than among the hill districts of India. Amongst the colder regions of the temperate zones rain through it falls more frequently during the year than in India is generally less powerful in its intensity and less destructive in its effects. The Greenwich Observatory calculations shew the average fall of rain in London to be not more than $24\frac{1}{2}$ inches. Among the bleak regions of Sweden and Norway the average is still less. In India, in Bengal, and the North West Provinces where a fierce warm season is followed by heavy and protracted rains, the fall in a single day has been known to exceed thirty inches. Among the Sewallick and Sub-Himalayan Ranges,

* The *Tilandsia* is known also to grow wild in America. The traveller approaches to the cemetery of Bonaventura through a mournful avenue of oaks, while on either side is a wilderness hung with the *tilandsia*.

over the elevations of Darjeeling and more particularly over the line of the Western Ghats in the Deccan, amongst those wild regions and rock fastnesses where the first Mahrattas built their fortresses, the annual fall of rain has sometimes been known to exceed 500 inches. In Central India, where there is scarcely any severe hot season, the fall of rain though not nearly so much, is still considerable. The effects of these rains are seen in the wild luxuriance of the vegetation which covers these hills in several localities, in other parts in their tendency to denude the rock of its associated clay, to bring down boulders and debris, to sweep down fragments of rock into the streams below, to dam hill torrents and to form natural lakes until the rock barrier has been swept away, to convert solid strata into a loose detritus, partly argillaceous and partly arenaceous, and to produce those inequalities and alterations in outline of surface and escarpment which lend so much picturesqueness to hill and river scenery in India.

The escarpments of these hills are as strongly marked as that of the Vyndhyān table land on the North of the Nerbudda. In orographical features they are alike. In general lithological characters they present the same features. In outline they shew the same bluff headlands, the same steep cliffs: the same sub-lying undercliffs. Where the rivers descend they sometimes as in the case of the Tons tumble over the edges of the plateaux in a succession of low falls: or else flow between parallel gorges, and over gentle slopes.

Towards the Puchmurries these ranges become more irregular in outline, and present to the view, instead of a single continuous chain, several detached groups. Those who have visited these hills have remarked the beauty of the groves, the richness of the scenery and the park-like appearance which some of their more wooded plains present. Indeed, there is much that is picturesque about these hills. It is here that the Mahadeo hills present those irregularities of outline and contour which lend to them an appearance of wild and abrupt grandeur. It is amongst the Puchmurri groups that those steep sides, prominent peaks, abrupt falls and strongly marked contours are seen to most advantage. Situated as they are amongst the wildest parts of the Mahadeos, they attain a height of more than 4,300 feet above the sea level, and exhibit a succession of extensive plateaux admirably adapted for the site of a future station, the seat of the local Government of these Territories. Those who would look for abrupt and wild scenery among the Highlands of Central India, will find it amongst these localities. Situated amongst wild and dense jungles, there have not been many who

have visited the Puchmurries. Those who have have been charmed with the natural beauty of the place, and the park-like appearance of its scenery.

There is a very striking resemblance between the sandstone formations South of the Nerbudda, and those which form the Mahadewas. In general lithological character they are not much dissimilar. That peculiar formation of the Kymore and Bundair groups, running parallel to each other with deep intervening strata, indeed is not to be found on the South side of the Nerbudda; but from the very small palæontological remains yet found there is much reason to believe that both were similarly deposited; and that the trappean effusion which is so marked on this side, and of which scarcely more than a trace is to be found on the other, was produced by the same volcanic forces. Unlikely as it would appear, the Vyndhyan formations have already been traced into connection with the stratified rocks of Delli and Agra. A yet nearer connection may eventually be discovered between the Mahadewa and Kymore groups than has yet been found to exist.

The bearings of the scarp are North East. Granite and crystalline rocks underlie the base. The sandstone ranges of the Kymore or Bundair on the north of the Nerbudda, as well as the sandstone ranges of the Mahadeo and Satpuras on the South, appear, as Mr. Medlicott writes, to have partaken in some great 'phenomenon of upheaval.' There are indeed two circumstances which would strongly favor that theory. Each viewed alone would in itself be a very strong *prima facie* ground for the induction of that belief. The first is, that in these sandstone groups the lower strata are found invariably to rest, often unconformably, sometimes only horizontally on hypogene, plutonic or metamorphic rocks: the other is, and it is a feature which has struck geologists before, that no denudation or sedimentary deposition could have worked out unguided or have produced the wonderfully continuous direction of the scarp. From this table land can be seen distinctly the distant ranges of hills which lie to the South, and which form the principal ranges of the plutonic rocks of this district. These from their vertical nature, and from their nearness to the trap beds indicate very strongly their igneous origin. Amongst them are to be found granite, gneiss, felspar pure and quartziferous hornblende and various schists. There are in this vicinity very few strongly marked instances of well defined foliated micaceous schists. There is abundance, however, of that character which has its type in the siliceous and felspathic rocks of the Nerbudda basin.

Mr. Hyslop who has given much of his attention to the

geology of the Nagpore Province, thus writes of the mineralogical character of its quartz rocks.

'The quartz rock yields gold, but the principal ore that it yields is iron. This ore may be obtained in immense quantities in the district of Chanda, both on the East and West of the Weingunga. Near Dewul Gaum, only three miles from the East bank of the navigable stream, which communicates by the Godavari with the Bay of Bengal, in the midst of a level country covered with jungle, there is a hill named Khandeshwar consisting of strata tilted up at an angle of 60° or 70° , the dip being to the north. The summit of the hill is about 250 feet above the level of the plain, 100 feet being gradual ascent through jungle, and the remainder an abrupt wall of naked rock. The iron ore is for the most part specular, though many specimens possess polarity, and seem to be magnetic. It is on the surface of the slope that it is most valuable; but the whole mass, from an unknown depth under ground to the highest peak above it, is richly laden with metal. This single hill might furnish iron for the construction of all the rail roads that shall ever be made in India, and, with its abundance of fuel and cheapness of labor and convenience of situation, it is admirably adapted for an export trade to every part of the country. But besides this locality, there are others in the neighbourhood which could each contribute an unlimited supply of the same indispensable metal. Among these may be mentioned Lohará, Ogalpet, and Melápár, Bhánápúr, Mendá and Amjawahi, which are all on the West of the Weingunga, and at all of which places the ore seems to occur in quartz, and is sometimes granular but for the most part compact.'

At Ramteak this class of rocks is most strongly developed. The granite in this locality may be taken as typical of the granite of the country; and will be found not to be much unlike that which forms the long range of the Gurrah hills of the Jubbulpore district, on which the old building of the Muddun Mehal stands. Running parallel with this range the granite might be traced throughout all the country covered with the schistose formations.

A line drawn from Baitool to Bundara will indicate as nearly as possible the commencement of the great trap beds of this district. The South West side is bounded by the Wardah. On the East it stretches far beyond the Weingunga. The hills are for the most part flat topped, but where the effusion has been considerable, extensive plateaux as at Mooltye and Nagpore or Taklee are to be found. No one who has once visited these plateaux or observed the minerals of these rocks could

fail to have been struck with the high igneous fusion to which they had been subjected.

Greenstone, claystone, amygdaloid and porphyry are to be seen imbedded amongst these rocks. It is difficult to state positively whether the granite of this district is older than the trap. To us it appears, although this theory may be opposed to Mr. Hyslop's, that the trap is posterior to the granite. The granite appears to have been the first to penetrate above the surface and to heave up the sandstone and stratified rocks, throwing them up from their horizontal positions into vertical cliffs or ranges, insinuating itself among the bands of the metamorphic strata, or in volcanic masses overflowing like liquid lava. There are two traps the underlying and overflowing. Mr. Hyslop describes their relation thus.

'Before either of the volcanic rocks was poured out in our area, there had been deposited on the sandstone, a stratum which must have been at least six feet thick. Over this there was spread a molten mass of lava, which hardened on the surface of the stratum; and itself cooled into a flat sheet of globular basalt about 20 feet thick. After a period of repose, the internal fires again became active, and discharged another effusion, which insinuated itself between the sandstone and superior deposit; and accumulating in some parts more than in others, through force of tension ruptured the superincumbent mass, tilting up the stratum, and scattering the overlying trap, or raising both stratum and trap above the level of the plain, either left it a flat topped hill, or with boiling surge, pushed up its summits gradually or by fitful efforts. In these convulsions, the more recent trap, where it has not tilted up the deposit altogether, has generally encroached upon it, entangling some of its fragments, converting the greater portion of it into a crumbling vesicular rock, or producing miniature outliers of amygdaloid from materials susceptible of the change.'

Such are a few of the principal lithological features of the Nagpore Province.

No Geological survey party has as yet been deputed to explore these interesting tracts. Yet to the Geologist the country would prove an interesting one. In some parts the scenery is truly delightful. It is, however, among the wilder recesses of its hills, or among its higher elevations that the traveller is most gratified. There is throughout a wonderful diversity in the scenery. Differences in geological strata will often be betrayed by differences of contour; and the nature of an escarpment will sometimes indicate the limits of a geological boundary. The escarpment of the Mahadewas is distinct from the escarpment of either

the plutonic rocks of this vicinity, or the low line of the basaltic hills which lie beyond them to the South.

By reference to a map the reader will find that the principal rivers flow from the line of the Mahadewa hills. It is from these elevations also that some of the largest rivers of Central India take their rise. The Weingunga rises from among the elevations of Seonee, and after flowing through the districts of Bundara and Chanda unites with the Wardah and empties itself into the Godavery. Further to the West the Wardah takes its rise. It is joined by the Pain Gunga, and by the Punnah. Rising in a marsh, and scarcely coming up to the dignity of a rill at its source, the Taptee supplies near its commencement, the sacred tank of Mooltye, flows parallel to the Satpoora range, passes through the wild and hilly countries of Asseergurh and Berampoor, and enters the gulph of Cambay not far from Surat. These rivers are fed by the tributary mountain torrents that flow from the Mahadewas. They are fed also by those streams which take their source in those numerous elevations which are to be found so frequently throughout Central India.

From each hill range during the rains there dash down turbid mountain torrents which overflowing their beds, assist in fertilizing the earth. Using the same channels every year, they have hollowed out for themselves passages among deep rock strata; or extending over the softer earth of the plains have spread themselves into broad rivers. The banks of such rivers are often steep and precipitous in the vicinity of the hills, but they become less abrupt in sandy plains or level fields.

Of less importance than these in the Nagpore districts, and in the wild and hilly tracts of Chuteesgurh, are the Kanhan and the Pench, the Kolar and the Mahanuddee, the Sew, the Kutsoo and the Joak. Though these streams are scarcely navigable, there is no reason why they should not be made available for artificial irrigation. It was a remark made by Col. Baird Smith, that 'while in India nature had done every thing, and 'while there was nothing whatever to conceal the practical value 'of her arrangements from our knowledge; nothing whatever 'had been done by the Government to turn these advantages to 'its own good, or the good of its subjects.' This remark is peculiarly applicable to the Nagpore Provinces. With great facilities for irrigation, no effort has yet been made to bring into practical use the numerous streams which in every direction intersect these provinces. The review of the history of the government of these provinces for the past, so far as the introduction of any works of public utility are concerned, will

present but a dreary waste, unrelieved by a single redeeming feature. Unlike Tanjore, and the deltas of the Cauvery, Kistnah, and Godavery, where ancient water works indicate the early age at which irrigation works had there been developed : unlike the provinces of Upper India, where extensive canals have been excavated ; in these districts, rivers, streams and tanks have always been suffered to lie idle. No great name like that of the Rajah Veeramun in the province of Tanjore, like that of the Bheem Rajah in Saugor and Bundelkhund, like that of Runjeet Singh in the Punjaub is mentioned amongst the natives as having deserved well of posterity by giving to them works of any public utility.

Much as yet requires to be done in these districts to improve the communications by water. In the Sumbulpore Division many years ago goods were brought up over the Mahanud-dee as far as Rajoo. Supplies from Calcutta by the Sew River have been landed twenty-six miles from Raepore. It is not a year ago since the gunboat *Mayflower*, despatched by the Madras authorities for the opening out of the Weingunga and Wardah, made its way to within five miles from Chanda. The Godavery in its upper source through the Nagpore Province offers the finest field for engineering success. Like the Nerbudda owing to rock barriers it has hitherto been almost impassable. Through its entire length three considerable rock barriers, at different distances from the sea, oppose difficulties of no inconsiderable nature. There are some rapids and a few shoals ; still the difficulty may be overcome. In places where the obstructions offer the greatest difficulty to engineering skill, canals might be dug. Until that is done, steamers might ply between the barriers, and roads running parallel to the banks might be constructed at a small cost in order not to delay the transit. Already sanction has been obtained for the improvement of this river ; and though perhaps one million sterling will be required, the vast results that may fairly be looked forward to, and that would assuredly be obtained, will more than repay the amount spent on it.

Last year the Nizam ceded to these Provinces the left banks of this river. With the Wardah the river way for an outlet to the large cotton supplies of Nagpore would thus extend over more than 800 miles. In August Mr. Temple went down to Chanda, when we may suppose he gave this subject the consideration which is due to it. Between the Nagpore districts, and the Upper Provinces on India, there is in one respect a very striking difference. In Nagpore as well as throughout the Central Provinces no river has as yet been made use of for purposes of navigation. The traveller does not meet with those wide streams

which fertilize for many miles the tracts of country through which they flow. No boats are ever seen carrying the produce of one district to the marts of the other. A few rude canoes, each hewn out of a single trunk, scarcely large enough to carry the solitary fisherman who alone can guide it, are the only boats ever seen on these streams. With the exception of the few larger rivers already mentioned, the rest flow through the wildest tracts covered with primeval jungle, or dash over rocks through deep and impassable channels, very picturesque, wild, and abrupt, but for all practical purposes of navigation, or irrigation quite useless.

Next to the rivers the tanks, of which there are several in the Nagpore districts, claim attention. Some of them are very pretty. Skirted by large trees on their banks, or only a still and placid piece of water reflecting naught but the clouds above, there is scarcely a tank which does not lend something towards the beauty of the scenery. Many of them as the tank at Mooltye, the one at Seonee, and the lake at Saugor, are flanked with stone steps which lead down to the water's edge. Not seldom ruins of old temples amidst embosoming trees are seen reflected on the margin of the water. Sometimes the stone steps, are overgrown with moss. This is particularly the case in Baitool and Jubbulpore, on the water edges of old ruined temples and on the surface of broken rock lying on the margin of these tanks. It is very pleasant where every thing has been embrowned by a tropical sun, to see these evergreen coverings, silently growing among craggy rocks, quietly and noiselessly enfolding amidst their tender tresses the old and crumbling ruins which but for them would long ago have mouldered away. The largest tanks are to be found in the Saugor and Jubbulpore Districts. In the Wein Gunga District also are to be found some very large lakes. The Nawagaon Bund of Pertaubgurh is nearly twenty miles in circumference; while the Seonee Bund at Sabungarhee is scarcely inferior in size to the Raneetal at Jubbulpore. There is a large artificial tank near the city of Nagpore, and also at Kallode, Mansur, Mooltye and Ramteak. In his Report on the Revenue administration of the Nagpore Province, Mr. Temple remarks 'that the people appear to be neglecting their tanks; and he trusts that measures will be taken to keep them in repair.' Depending in Central India as the crops do on rain, it is impossible adequately to estimate the advantages which must result from any system which would extend artificial irrigation. Water in the East is a power. Whether in the scorched plains of Scinde, or the rich regions of the Punjab,

whether in the Provinces of the Gangetic valley, or in the plains of the Nerbudda basin the profits resulting from irrigation works are more than fourfold the original capital invested. Wherever water flows, whether rippling in natural torrents over pebbly banks, or winding quietly in artificial channels, freshness and verdure attend it. Under the native rule its value was far more understood than it is now. The ruins of the canals and aqueducts of Shajehan and Runjeet Singh in Upper India still attest the care and labor which had been bestowed on those works. In the Nagpore District to the present day is to be seen a long line of waterworks connecting one of the largest tanks in Taklee with the city of Nagpore. Even under the native Government those works paid. Rents were levied from water grown produce, from water mills, from lands irrigated by water, from water carriage transit.

The principal crops in the Nagpore Province are wheat, rice and other cereals, opium, sugar cane and cotton. The principal staple of consumption is wheat. Rice is extensively consumed : animal food only in small quantities. The people in these Districts are not so strongly built as the men in Oude or the races in Upper Hindostan. The Mahrattas, however, are nearly all active ; they are far more athletic than the races in Bengal or the people in South India. This might to a certain extent be owing to the fact that rice is not so extensively used in Central India, as in Bengal or in South India. The rice plant is only grown in the vicinity of tanks. As a rule wherever rice is the staple food, the race becomes enervated. It is not surprising then that the people of these districts should be physically inferior to the men of Upper Hindostan, but superior to the men of Bengal.

It would be interesting to give a slight sketch of the Mahratta races of these districts. To the present day they retain something of the old military spirit and love of lawless gain which characterized them as a race when they first sprang into existence ; and which for so long a time made them the terror of the rest of India. Less barbarous in their manners and customs than the Rajput races, they have not the vanity to carry their claims of ancestry to any great length. The Hindoo of the Gangetic valley, loves to trace through the mist of past ages the origin and achievements of his race. The feeling is perhaps a weakness with all savage tribes. The people in Ceylon still point to the bridge over which the first of mankind walked ; and to the apple which still bears the mark of that fatal bite which led to his fall. The Burmese still aver that in the first ages their old men lived through a period of years

which could only bear a feeble comparison with the number of rain drops which fall annually on the earth. The Mahrattas scarcely look further back than the time of the earliest of the Sewajees. The first of the Nagpore Mahrattas came originally from Kandeish and Berar. Under the Mahratta Kings of Nagpore they held all the principal offices of the State. At the present day some of the most influential of the proprietary classes are composed of Mahrattas. Among the agricultural classes, there are two castes, the Gharee and Mahratta Koonbees, who are the descendants of those horsemen and camp followers who attended Ragojee in his first expedition into the Nagpore district. There are several other sub-divisions of the great Mahratta family, who all claim to have originally come from Mahratta, and who in customs, manners, dress, and physical appearance bear a very strong resemblance to each other.

Next in point of interest to the Mahratta population are the Gonds. There are few races more remarkable than the Gonds. They are, or may have been, the aborigines of India. In the oldest of Hindoo and Puranic legends they are mentioned as an ancient race. As the tide of conquest poured in, it is not unlikely that this race, still remarkable for primitiveness, and still distinguished from the other races in India by strong peculiarities of language, manners, habits, religious worship and bearing, had retreated from their enemies, and found a shelter, amidst the deep recesses of the hills, or in wild and thick jungles. It is not unlikely that like the Red Indians of America, this race kept itself distinct from all other races. We still find them so: whether among the slopes of the Sewalick, the wild regions of the Sonthal country, among the table lands of Central India, or the steppes of the Western Ghauts. Every where they manifest the same physical organism—the same characteristic evidences of a stunted growth—obtuse features, a dull and heavy look, dark complexion, and features which unmistakeably indicate the life of barbarism which has been theirs from the very earliest ages. They have no written language. They have never assimilated with the Hindoo, by whom they are looked upon as an inferior race. In those villages where they live together they are held in as much abhorrence as the outcast.

The Hindoo in Central India looks upon the Gond with much the same feeling as the Hindoo of Upper India looks upon the Coles, or Bheels. Wherever free labor is in requisition, there the Gond is made to do it. Whether as 'begarees' or as coolies, as the bearer of the heaviest burthen, or as the servile agent of the most degrading work, the Gond is made equally available.

The Gond religion is made up of the wildest superstition. Human sacrifices formed a part of their ritual. They sacrifice on different days, in order to propitiate the wrath of their several deities. The phenomena of nature, the crash of thunder, lightning, storms, scarcity of rain, are looked upon by them as so many indications of an enraged deity. Hogs, fowls and goats are offered up by them as sacrifices. Rude blocks of nodular basalt, small spear heads of iron, or the small rounded debris of magnetic iron ore, are often carefully preserved by them in the trunks of large forest trees, and worshipped under the name of *Phursee heen*. Their other deities are of a similar nature, possessing the same attributes, manifesting the same threatening or protecting powers, and conciliated by very nearly the same rude and fantastic rites. Drunkenness is their common vice, the women are as much addicted to it as the men; wild dances are often performed and obscene songs sung while thus intoxicated. A resident of Nagpore thus writes about the Gonds of the Nagpore Province. 'Among their own community, they class themselves under a variety of divisions and sub-divisions. The former are partly local, and partly referable to differences in dialect. According to them there is the Gurra Gond, who inhabits Gurra Mundla and Bhopaul; the Raj Gond of Deogurh; the Mange Gond of Bustar; the Khullotee Gond of the Khullotee, or lowlands, East and West of the Lanjee hills; the Jarria Gond of Chanda; the Maree Gond of Selingana and Bustar; and the Koorkoo Gond of the Mahadewa hills. The Manjee, Maree, and Koorkoo Gonds speak dialects distinct from that which is common to the rest; of the two former no specimens have been procured, but the Koorkoo dialect is found to resemble that spoken by the Lurka Coles, on the frontier of Singhboom. The different tribes divide themselves like their Hindoo neighbours into twelve and a half castes; and these again branch out into sub-divisions, denominated according to their penates, or household gods. The rules of prohibited marriages and eating and drinking together are apparently as complicated as those of the Hindoos. The Gonds without distinction eat animal flesh, and they vie with the outcast Hindoos, in their eagerness after carrion.'

Years before the Mahomedan Princes of Delhi, the successors of Akbar and Aurungzebe, carried their arms into the Deccan, three distinct Gond dynasties held their rule at Deogurh or Chindwarra, Mundla and Chanda.* The ruins of crumbling walls amidst the recesses of deep jungles, still attest or indicate the localities

* See the accounts by the Mahomedan Historian Kabbee Khan.

where those cities once stood. And even apart from the old cities of Mundla and Deogurh, the ruins of long lines of walls at Baitool, Saoligurh, Kherla, and Singorghur shew how extensive were the Gond fortifications. Of the royal Gond families of Mundla and Kherla not a single survivor is now left. But there are still state pensioners at Nagpore, who trace up through a long line of ancestors their relationship to the Gond princes of Chanda and of Deogurh. The Mahrattas succeeded the Gond in the sovereignty of these parts: and they were succeeded in their turn by the Mussalmans. When the Mussalmans crossed the Nerbudda, and invaded the Deccan they found three principal Mahratta families ruling, where once the Gond dynasty had been so extensively established. The chiefship of Deogurh extended from the Nerbudda to Berar, and embraced the country lying between Kandeish and Mooltye. The Guzz-Mundla kingdom extended from the Nerbudda to the plateaux of Bundlekhund, while the kingdom of Telingana, even then, as it is now, the wildest parts of the Central Provinces, embraced Chanda, Chuteesgurh and Bustar. Never civilized the Gond is still a degraded being. In Bustar and Karonde human sacrifices accompanied by the wildest rites were offered up. The Maree Gond will often be seen in a complete state of nudity, or with only a slender covering of a few broad leaves clumsily stitched together. In Bustar only thirty years ago cruel sacrifices of women and children were offered up to Duntushwaree Devee. In Karonde there existed the custom of 'putting to death yearly several human victims whose reeking bodies were torn into a thousand fragments for the purpose of being buried in the fields, in order to obtain a good return in the crops.' In the hills of Chuteesgur, in the more inaccessible Zemeendarees of Sumbulpore, and in the hills of Sirgoojah where they seek for no shelter beyond that afforded by forest trees, and provide no food for themselves beyond that afforded by the wild fruits of the jungle, they ate their own relatives when they had become too old to move about. Like the savages of Australia they danced a wild dance accompanied by every variety of horrid sounds, and of grotesque actions; a dance which equalled any corroborry performed by the savages of Australia. Meriah sacrifices of children were offered, and rites dark as any which disgraced the worship of Moloch were practised amongst them. The Gond population, once quite as numerous as any other class of natives in this province, appears to be on the decrease. A single season of scarcity is often marked by the disappearance of many Gond families; and Gond villages will often be seen amidst deep solitudes unoccupied by a single tenant.

The remaining portion of the population consists of Hindoos of various castes and Moosulmans. Under the old Mahratta Government a census used to be made once in twenty-five years; and adopting their system the British Government found that the population of the Nagpore Province in 1821-22, amounted to two and a quarter millions; the Moosulmans being to the entire population as 2·36 to 100; and the Gonds as 11·8 to 100. The present population of the Central Provinces may be assumed to be nine millions.

The early history of the Nagpore Province would be uninteresting to the general reader. It is as unvaried as a history of any Native State can be. In the narratives of events that occur under Native Governments there is found very little to relieve their dullness—no acts of daring heroism, no exercise of fortitude, courage, self-sacrifice. The histories of all Oriental States display the one unvarying feature of a rapid rise, and of a still more rapid degeneracy. A strong and energetic ruler spreads, his conquests, and will often be remembered long after he has passed away. Under his feeble heirs and under the tutelage of hereditary viziers, his empire under the pressure of external and internal difficulties crumbles away.

It was thus with the Nagpore Province under the old Mahratta rulers. We shall hastily pass over this period of its history, always obscure, seldom interesting. A brief summary of that history may be sketched in a few words.

The first Rajahs of Gondwana reigned at Kherla near Baitool and paid tribute to the princes of Gurra-mundla. The other Gond chiefs held their rule in wild fortresses occupying the fertile lands in the neighbourhood. Occasionally from the more intelligent class of Hindoos a chief of greater energy would spring up and intimidated by his incursions these chieftains would pay a fine. Such a chief was Bukt Boolund, who rose into notice during the reign of Aurungzebe, and who ruled amidst the wild hills of Deogurh. This was in 1700 A. D. To him succeeded Chan Sooltan, whose widow on his death called in the aid of Ragojee Bhoonsla. The present members of the Bhoonsla family at Nagpore are descended from this chief.

In 1740 he established the Mahratta authority in Kuttack, and in three years from that date, through the treachery of a Dewan he obtained the province of Deogurh. In 1749 he extended his rule to Chanda. He then invaded Berar. With repeated successes his hopes of further conquest rose high. But in 1754 he was met by Salabut Jung and Bussy. The results of that war were disastrous. He made a hurried retreat

to Nagpore where he died in 1755, leaving his kingdom to his sons.

So early as 1773, from the growing importance of Nagpore, an alliance with it became an object of desire to the small body of English merchants who ruled in the Bengal Presidency. Sabajee sent in a Vakeel to Calcutta, and Mr. Elliot and Col. Goddard were entrusted with powers to negotiate with the Court at Nagpore. The results of these negotiations were to establish an alliance between the two Governments. The Court at Nagpore bound itself to remain neutral. These terms were not kept by the Nagpore Court. In 1779 Madajee entered into a secret confederacy with the Nizam and Hyder Ali, for the subversion of the British power. What the results of this treaty were every one who has read the history of British India during that period must well know. Matched against unequal forces Col. Bailie's detachment was defeated, and the subsequent retreat of the army under General Munro rendered it almost impossible at that time to preserve our tenure of the Carnatic. Madajee had to be bought off to save our possessions in the Carnatic. Since that time until 1799 no further relations with the Nagpore Court were entered into. When at a later period it was necessary to oppose Tippoo in 1798, Mr. Colebrook was appointed Resident at Nagpore, with a view of drawing the Nagpore Government into the triple alliance which the English, the Nizam, and the Peishwa then formed against Tippoo.

After the fall of Seringapatam and the death of Tippoo in 1799, the policy dictated by the Court at Nagpore was opposed to the English Government. That policy urged the cessation of animosities between the two rival chiefs Scindia and Holkar; it urged a grand coalition against the English ascendancy, then rapidly on the increase; and there is no doubt that if this policy had been carried out Assaye would not have been so complete a victory, nor the Deccan have been so easily conquered. The fall of Gavilgurh followed the brilliant victory at Assaye, and Ragojee on the 7th December 1803 had to sign a treaty by which he was bound to admit a British Resident at his Court for the future. The Honorable Mr. Elphinstone was appointed Resident. From 1803 to 1817 no direct hostilities against the British Government were undertaken; but in that year owing to the treachery of Appa Sahib of Nagpore, and the Peishwa Bajee Rao, the battle of Seetabuldee took place on the 27th November of that year. That battle and the subsequent fall of Nagpore, obtained the cession of the territories northward of the Nerbudda,

Berar, Gawilgurrh and Sergoojah;* and from that period too dated the general superintendence of affairs by a British Resident assisted by British officers.

There is at present no one with a valid title to the heirship of the Nagpore Kingdom. The last relic of the Bhoonsla line was the queen Unpoorna Bagee. She is now dead, and so is Baka Bagee. Among the present claimants are Joonajee and Iswunt Rao Goojur, the son of Nana Aheer Rao. But among claims so conflicting and so little based on rights it is not easy to decide. And it would be a political error to confer on either of them a right to which by birth neither have any real claims.†

The policy of the Government of Lord Dalhousie has secured to us a province not much inferior to Oude or the Punjaub in resources and capabilities, and superior to them in climate. It has given us a province which with some extension, and under the direction of a master mind will be inferior to few others in British India. It contains some stations superior in climate to any others in India, those on the Himalayan Ranges alone excepted. The elevations of the Vyndyan and Mahadewa ranges offer retreats, as pleasant as any which could be found away from Simlah, Darjeeling or the Neelgherries.

No one now wishes to see the old regime restored. Even the peasantry have long ceased to feel an interest in the old dynasty. They look upon the thing as accomplished. The policy of Mr. Mansell has long been forgotten. Even the old Mahratta or Mussalman chiefs, except one or two families nearly or personally interested in the question, prefer the change. And that this

* These are the	dates of acquisition.
1817	Nerbudda Districts
1818	Saugor Districts
1826	Sumbulpore
1854	Nagpore Province,
1860	Shagur and Goodavery talooks.

† Janoojee is at present constituted the head of the house, and to him the payments of the stipends to the Ranees and the general control of the palace and household are entrusted.

The scale of those allowances is as follows:—

Janoojee Rajah	Rs. 90,000 per annum
{ Durga Baee	„ 45,000
{ Ananda Baee	„ 45,000
{ Savitree Baee	„ 15,000
Zenana, ladies and slaves	„ 38,000
	Rs. 2,33,000.

Mr. Temple's Report, p. 139.

should be so is not surprising. The Nagpore Government under the old Mahratta Bhoonslas was a pure despotism. The heirs or the adopted successors of the first Ragojee reigned as Kings. They were alike feared and hated. There were few chiefships, and the independant chiefs exercised but little influence. There was no clanship. There were no hereditary affections binding together in one the interests of the Mahratta nobles and their followers. While there was intense selfishness, there was no patriotism. A kingdom constituted like that of Nagpore might have been difficult to conquer, but when once annexed, in spite of Mussalman fanaticism, and an occasional leaning on the part of a few of the Mahratta families to the old line, was easy of retention. The officers of the King, were paid by him ; were grateful to him, were dependant on him. They were not easily seduced, and the opposition they might make would be considerable. With the fall of the King, however, they were obliged to succumb, and no fears were entertained but from the other branches of the reigning family. It was in this spirit that the treaty of November 1817 was formed, the principal clause in which was the immediate and unconditional surrender of Appa Sahib, who was then reigning. From that day Nagpore became virtually ours. What is left for us to do is the construction of these provinces into a Lieutenant-Governorship. The work which Lord Canning left undone has been left for Lord Elgin to complete. We would suggest again, as we have done before, the extension of the Central Provinces, giving them a wider area than has as yet been contemplated. While on the north, the lower base of the Bundelkhund hills and the Jumna would form their natural limits ; on the south they should terminate with the Nizam's country and the Godavery. Bounded by the Bombay frontier on one side, and the old Regulation Provinces of the North West on the other, they would thus embrace the alluvial tracts of the Saugor and Nerbudda Territories—the Non-regulation districts of the North West South of the Jumna—the highlands of Central India, the fastnesses of Jeypore and Gondwanah, Nagpore, Berar and the Northern Circars. This would give us a compact palatinate. It would render available all the great cotton districts of Central India. It would give us a province in point of capabilities scarcely inferior to Bombay, Madras or the Punjaub. It would be drained by the Godavery and the Mahanuddee. It would have two of the main lines of Indian Railway intersecting it. It would have the advantage of ports on the seacoast, capable of as much improvement as

any in the Bombay Presidency. It would make available large tracts of waste lands, now utterly thrown away and overgrown with rank jungle, for the accommodation of European settlers. The fertile tracts on the Vyndhyan, Mahadeo and Satpoora Ranges would offer facilities for the cultivation of tea, coffee and opium, much greater than those afforded in Attic Farm, Arcadia or Hope Town. It would more than any thing open out for these parts that career of progress which has as yet been denied them. In the plains of the Doon, on the spurs of the sub-Himalayan range, and on the slopes of Darjeeling where formerly the native cultivator never succeeded in forcing the growth of the scantiest crops of the most wretched pulse or grain, have sprung up farms like Attic Farm and Arcadia. In Central India, too, as in the Doons, have existed for ages past large tracts of waste land overgrown with interminable jungle and utterly thrown away. In the districts of the Central Provinces there are vast ranges of table elevations not brought to any use as yet.

The settlement of these Provinces is at present being made. If we should desire one thing more than another it would be the infusion of a better element in the old proprietary. At present, the fairest provinces in India if we except the sub-Himalayan tracts are thrown away on a class of people without any intelligence, perfectly devoid of energy and with no capital. Under them teak forests, the finest next to those found in Burmah have been exhausted for roofing purposes and for firewood. Coal and iron mines have never been worked. Miles of fine arable land of the best black soil have been allowed to run waste. That under Mr. Temple's administration there is an encouraging prospect for these Provinces none can doubt. We have already alluded to their capabilities. From the peculiar characteristics of their soil the principal sources of their wealth will, we suppose, be found in their produce of cotton and opium. The earliest attention will be given to the opium. The facts of the past two years furnish the most unmistakeable evidence of their cotton producing power. The cotton of Berar and Nagpore has during the late cotton crisis made the fortunes of those merchants who embarked in the trade. The Godavery forms the natural outlet of the great cotton produce of Central India. To the navigability of the Godavery the attention of Colonel Bruce and Mr. Temple has during the last year been given. On the 27th June Colonel Bruce left Nagpore. On reaching the Wardah 20 miles above Chanda, he embarked in a raft and got over 30 miles of river in 20 hours. He met with obstacles which he indeed surmounted; but obstacles sufficiently difficult in their nature to

shew that shipping cotton higher than Chanda was not very practicable. He passed through a wild and unpopulated district, where supplies were scarce, and where it was difficult to see a single native; a district nevertheless to all appearance fertile, and giving occasional glimpses of splendid scenery and of large masses of luxuriant foliage. He passed over the first two barriers, and found the tramways in working order, but perhaps less satisfactory than they should be. In his report Colonel Bruce deals with common sense realities, and suggests that the navigation may be made practicable. Making Chandah the first export cotton mart, and constructing a good metalled road from thence to Mogelee, the first and worst barrier would be avoided. From Mogelee, the navigation is described as feasible, the river wide and deep. From Mogelee to the head of the second barrier the distance is 48 miles. A steamer does this in eleven hours and a half. Across the second barrier there is a good tramway. Embarking in a second steamer the traveller is easily carried from this barrier to the sea. He passes Dumoojooduinna, Dowlushwarum and other places, meets with no obstacles, and finds the journey easy. From Chandah to the sea, cotton could thus be exported over the metalled road across the barriers, and along the Godavery in less than 103 hours.

Mr. Temple examined the Godavery works later in the year. His opinion did not differ materially from that of Colonel Bruce. The cotton soil of Central India is both extensive and fertile. The climate is favorable to the growth of cotton. Both the American and Egyptian cotton plant have been found to grow in perfection. Something towards the advancement of this trade might be done by facilitating the introduction of European capital and labor. Additional impulse will be given by the introduction of an improved system of irrigation, and by the means of transit over the Godavery, and by the two branches of the great Indian Railway. The new Revenue Settlements will restore much of their old prosperity to many districts which under the Mahratta rule had been brought to the lowest ebb of pauperism. The grant in fee-simple, and the sale of waste lands will tend more, than any thing else by infusing a new element in the proprietary, to improve these Districts. With European enterprise and European capital we may hope to look for progress as great as that seen in Australia. Indeed there are many circumstances existing in India which give it a position of superiority over either America or Australia. In many parts of India, and particularly among its great central elevations, there will be found vast tracts already cultivated, large areas of culturable land, and an industrious and a numerous population. Besides its great mineral wealth there is

an inexhaustible source of riches in the soil which only requires to be developed by English capital, intelligence and enterprise. The first European settlers in America and Australia had difficulties almost insurmountable to overcome. They found a race of wild Indians who lived by hunting, and who like some of the more savage races found in India supported a miserable existence on wild fruits and the scanty produce of the land. In India, settlers will find an ancient but a barren civilization, and a people who have left traces of their industry and labor in monuments as enduring as the obelisks of Thebes. But if material results are to be shown, and if progress is to be made, it can only be effected by an infusion of new energy in the great working masses of India.

To those who watch with interest the progress of India the Central Provinces will present an interesting study. With a large extent of territory, and with resources not inferior to the other palatinates which the policy of Lord Dalhousie left to us, scarcely any thing was known about them even so late as 1860. No reports had appeared. Nothing was known of the administration. Still less was known of the condition of the agricultural masses, or of the resources of the country.

The insouciance of Mr. Plowden had left to Major Elliott, the thankless work of getting through an accumulation of arrears. To Major Elliott Mr. Temple succeeded, and under his administration it would not be too much to say that there has been an earnest desire of progressive reform. The Revenue, Judicial and Civil reports of the past year have been printed. Improvements in roads, and in arboriculture have been suggested. New lines of roads have been laid down. A Horticultural Society has been formed. Sites for sanatoria have been selected. An official Gazette has been started, and an impulse been given to the administrative machinery which will be productive of much real good. In the departments of Law and Judicial Procedure Act VIII of 1859 and the Punjaub Code have been introduced. Some attention has been directed towards lessening the duration of suits, Courts of Small Causes have been introduced, and a new Constabulary has been organized. In Revenue the concession of a Permanent Settlement has been promised to estates adapted for it, and revised settlements are being made for periods of 20 and 30 years. To Captain Mackenzie has been entrusted the regulation of settlement operations on an uniform principle.

Amongst other improvements noticed in Mr. Temple's report is one which at this early stage it would be immature to introduce. While nothing could be better than to secure a perfect proprietary title in the land and to protect tenant rights and

subordinate interests ; it would be, we think, an error to invest native chiefs with judicial powers. The condition of the peasantry has always remained the same. The status of the middle classes, middle men, landed proprietors and Zemeendars has not deteriorated. The Revenue system in force by making them responsible for the good management of their villages has tended to improve this class. They are responsible for the land revenue. They represent the agricultural communities of which they are the constituted heads. Their rank is hereditary, but they are entirely devoid of any education. Few can read or write, and yet it is proposed to invest them with judicial powers. This would at this stage be impolitic. Totally unacquainted with rules of Procedure, justice entrusted to them would become a mockery. In such hands authority would too often be the instrument of oppression, of exactions worse than oppression, or of individual aggrandisement more criminal than both. Between the cultivator classes and the proprietors of villages there has always been an antagonism quite as great as that which existed in Europe between feudal chiefs and village serfs. The wealth of the great Indian landed proprietors has ever been based on the poverty of the agriculturists. Landholders have rack-rented their sub-tenants in the same proportion as they in their turn have been rack-rented by the government under which they lived. Under our own administration the nature of the Rent Laws has put some stop to oppressions of this nature. The one bitter complaint still made by the landholders of these Provinces is that they can no longer tyrannize over their sub-tenants ; they can no longer enhance rents, or eject tenants at will. The single praise which it is ours to record is that under our administration we have striven to improve the condition of the masses. We have taught them obedience to our laws. We have given them security of life and property.

The one dark feature which disfigured all former governments of India was the studied neglect of the masses ; the human animal had degenerated, and to use the words of Gibbon, ' without art or laws, almost without sense or language, they were poorly distinguished from the other animals of the creation.'

If we are to succeed in dispelling this shadow, it will be not by giving powers to a class who can only abuse them, and who have never yet used them well, but by wisely governing through the best instruments, and by improving the material resources of the country. The triumph of our Indian Government should be a triumph over the unemployed agencies of the natural as well as over the grosser evils of the social world. The last can only be the result of time, of good government, and of better example.

It can never be attained by giving powers to the only class whose interest it would be to abuse them.

Reviewing the administration of the past year the Editor of the *Times of India* thus writes:—

‘ It would be much too tedious to review Mr. Temple’s report, but it may perhaps be interesting to note a few of the salient points. The land revenue for 1861-62 was Rs. 51,76,152, but there was some delay in making these collections. Dusters had to be issued, and the Chief Commissioner remarks, that the issue of so large a number was thought unsatisfactory. It tended to excite an apprehension that in some parts of the country, the assessments were too high, while in other parts the administration was somewhat defective. Mr. Temple remarks that the great desideratum at present in the revenue administration of the Central Provinces is the completion of the settlement, which though commenced more than ten years ago has not yet been finished. This is to be regretted. In very many districts the assessment is at present high, and in such districts there can be no progress: there is too often deterioration. Nothing so tends to check the growth of capital and to depress the agricultural masses. Mr. Temple has given this subject his earnest consideration, and measures are in progress for facilitating the completion of the work. Several Settlement Officers have been appointed, and the past it is hoped will be no criterion of the future. An able article in the *Calcutta Review* on these Territories, suggests that the Settlement should alone be entrusted to officers of large local experience; and it is a good feature of the administration that it has been employing the best agency at its command.

‘ In the Judicial Department the distribution of business amongst different officers appears to have been judicious. The civil work is heavy. The Revenue Department, remarks the Commissioner, is in an immature and transition state, not so perfect perhaps as the revenue system in many parts of India: but still such as would give a confidence of speedy remedy and a cheerful future. Like the Punjab reports so ably written, the reports before us abound in praise of some of the officers of the province. Amongst those names we find the following officers prominently mentioned: Major Snow, Major Brown, Captains Gordon, Thomson, Baldwin, and Cumberlege, and Messrs. Cline, Cameron, Munton, and Chisolm.’

Rich in physical resources, with a climate almost Italian on some of its higher elevations, and superior in this respect to the North West, to Bengal and even to some of the best Districts of the Madras or Bombay Presidencies, the Central Provinces must

in a short time, if well administered, take their place side by side in point of material interest with the Punjaub and Oude. Two more years will open out the Railway lines, which will connect them with Bombay and Upper India; and in another decade, with a large and growing colony of European settlers, we trust that these Provinces will be second to none in India.

ART. III.—1. *Speech of Mr. James Wilson*, delivered in the Legislative Council, Calcutta, March 3rd 1860.

2. *Speech of Mr. Samuel Laing*, delivered in the Legislative Council, Calcutta, February 16th 1861.

3. *The Theory of Foreign Exchanges*. London : Effingham Wilson, 1861.

THE Bank of England is the model banking institution of the universe in the opinion of most Englishmen—her wealth is infinite—her resources boundless—her solvency impregnable—her system in every respect perfect. Few except those who make such subjects their study know anything of her history and her struggles, of the facts that her notes were inconvertible for thirty years, and at a discount, in comparison with gold, for the greater part of that time; or that she was once reduced to the ‘miserable expedient,’ as Adam Smith calls it, of ‘payment in sixpences.’ These and similar episodes in her past history would not, however, if fully known impair the prestige which she enjoys at the present day in the eyes of most men, as the greatest, incomparably, of the banking institutions of the commercial world. Nor is the conviction that the Bank of England would be a worthy model for all similar establishments throughout the commercial world confined to the uninitiated in the mysteries of currency and banking. A large and highly influential school of political economists do not hesitate to assert that the system of the Bank of England, since its reorganization in 1844, is as nearly perfect as any human institution can be—perhaps only stopping short of absolute perfection in so far as they were unable to induce the Legislature to accept the proposed scheme in its entirety. On the other hand, however, many high authorities, of whom we need name but Mr. Mill to show that the opposition is powerful, argue that the restrictions imposed by Sir R. Peel’s Act of 1844 were injudicious and even mischievous. Both parties agree in the end to be attained. They differ as to the advisability and the efficacy of the means which were employed. *Non nostrum tantas componere lites*. But as these rival parties have appeared upon our Indian stage it will be necessary to lay their conflicting views before our readers as briefly and clearly as we can: and to examine into the applicability of either or neither set of opinions to the circumstances of our Indian Paper Currency. A short sketch of the history of the

Bank of England from its establishment to 1844, including two matters in which we are specially interested—its connection with Government as a creditor, and its management of the national debt and other public funds—will not, we hope, be considered irrelevant.

The Bank of England was incorporated by Act of Parliament and Royal Charter, on the 27th of July, 1694. At this beginning of her existence she advanced to Government £1,200,000; and was to receive from the public £100,000 per annum, of which £4,000 was remuneration for management of the national debt, which may be said to have had its origin about this time. The remaining £96,000 was interest on the amount advanced, at the rate of 8 per cent per annum. So low was the credit of Government at this period that this high rate of interest was not exorbitant. Thus at the very commencement of her career the Bank of England became closely connected with Government in the two-fold capacity of creditor and manager of the public debt. Thus began that mutual interdependence of the Executive and this great Corporation, by which, there can be little doubt, considerable pecuniary loss has been inflicted upon the community at large. At a much later period of the connexion thus begun Mr. Ricardo said—‘it may be doubted whether a bank lending many millions ‘more to Government than its capital and savings can be called ‘independent of that Government.’ But there is no doubt whatever that few Governments would be independent of such a bank. How the public has suffered we shall see hereafter. At present we must continue our history.

In the third year of the Bank’s existence her notes were at a discount of 20 per cent, in consequence of her refusal to cash them during the re-coinage of the silver currency. This had become so debased by wear and clipping that re-coinage was imperatively required, and the redemption on the part of the Bank of her ‘promise to pay’ the amount of her notes in the new silver would have exposed her to heavy loss. In the following year, 1697, however, she was allowed to add to her capital stock £1,001,171-10-0.

In 1708 (the seventh year of Queen Anne’s reign) the credit of Government had improved so much since the date of the Bank’s incorporation that the former was able to borrow at 6 per cent—the market rate for loans on ordinary security. Accordingly, by an Act of that year (VII Anne c. VII) the interest on the sum which had been lent by the Bank in 1694 was reduced to six per cent. But this was effected by a further loan of £400,000, which she paid in to the Exchequer receiving for the whole

loan, now amounting to £1,600,000, the same sum as before (£100,000) for interest and expense of management. By the same Act the Bank was permitted to cancel outstanding Exchequer Bills to the amount of £1,775,027-17-10½ at 6 per cent: and was allowed, for this purpose, to take in subscriptions to double her capital. Accordingly in 1708 the capital amounted to £4,402,343; and the sum advanced to Government, to £3,375,027-17-10½. In the two following years by two calls of 15 and 10 per cent. the capital was raised to £5,599,995-14-8, the loan to Government remaining as before. But £2,000,000 was added to the latter by the 3rd George I. c. VIII. enabling the Bank to cancel that amount of Exchequer Bills.

In 1722 the Bank purchased stock from the South Sea Company to the amount of £400,000; adding to its capital for this purpose £3,400,000. At the completion of this transaction the amount advanced to the public exceeded considerably the capital of the Bank—the former amounting to £9,375,027-17-10½; the latter £8,959,995-14-8. The Bank received from the country interest on a sum greater than its capital: that is, greater than the sum for which proprietors of Bank stock received dividends. Hence arose the distinction which still subsists, between the Bank's 'divided' and 'undivided' capital. The latter in 1746, amounted to £11,686,800; and the former to £10,780,000.

By the 4th Geo. III. c. 25, (1764,) the Bank Charter was renewed and in consideration of this renewal, she agreed to pay over to the Exchequer £110,000, subject neither to interest nor repayment. In 1782 the 'divided' capital was increased from £10,780,000 to £11,642,400. In 1800 the Bank advanced to Government £3,000,000 for six years without interest, in consideration of which the Charter was to continue till 12 months' notice after August 1st 1833. In 1807, when this sum became due, the loan was continued (without interest) until six months after a definitive treaty of peace: and in 1816, the same was continued till 1833 at 3 per cent per annum. Accordingly the permanent debt of the public to the Bank, or her 'undivided' capital, from 1800 to 1833, was £14,686,800; of which, however, from 1800 to 1816 only £11,686,800 was bearing interest. In the same year (1816) the 'divided' capital was increased to £14,553,000 at which it has since remained. It was intended that £3,671,700, which was repaid to the Bank by the public in 1833, (being one quarter of the total debt) should be deducted from the divided capital: but this was not done. It was in this year that the Bank Charter was renewed to 12 months' notice after August 1st 1855; with a proviso that it might be terminated at twelve months' notice after August 1st 1845. According

to this proviso Sir Robert Peel carried his celebrated Act of 1844 (7th and 8th Vict. c. 32.) whereby the charter was continued to twelve months' notice after August 1st 1855.

So far we have given a brief sketch of the history of the Bank of England with reference to its capital, divided and undivided, the latter showing its connexion with the State as a creditor. The Bank's employment as manager of the national debt deserves some consideration; especially as the charge of exorbitant remuneration for the work done, powerfully urged against the Bank of England in past times, has been recently made, with undoubted justice, in this country with reference to the agreement between Government and the Bank of Bengal. By this agreement the latter is to transact the greater part of the public banking business, and to receive, in return, certain pecuniary advantages, asserted to bear an extravagantly high proportion to their supposed equivalent. This subject, interesting on this account, will not detain us long.

Attention was called to this subject by Mr. Ricardo, in a pamphlet published by him, in 1816, (*Proposals for an Economical and Secure Currency, &c.*) He asserted that the Bank of England was 'prodigally paid' for her services to the public, and was 'accumulating unexampled treasure' at the expense of the community. Certainly his facts seem to support his assertion that 'all the services performed by the Bank could be performed by public servants and in public offices at a saving of half a million annually.' It is obvious that the labor and expense incurred by the Bank in her management of the national debt and other public financial matters would not increase in the direct ratio of the increase of the amounts managed or disbursed. An establishment having been fixed and organized for the purpose of performing the functions referred to, the total amount of the sums disbursed or received might be doubled without involving the necessity of doubling the expense even of the executive establishment—not to mention the supervising officials, whose number and cost might demand no augmentation whatever. But the compact made with the Bank, in pursuance of the recommendations of a Parliamentary Committee in 1807, and which was in force when Mr. Ricardo wrote, was based upon a direct ratio between the amounts dealt with and the remuneration payable, as long, at least, as the unredeemed capital of the national debt did not exceed four hundred millions. When this sum was exceeded the per-centage of remuneration was certainly diminished; but even thus diminished it appears to have been extravagantly high, not only absolutely but relatively to the scale fixed for the lower amount. The

arrangement gave to the Bank £450 per million sterling while the amount of unredeemed capital exceeded three hundred millions and was below four hundred millions; £340 per million while greater than four hundred millions, and less than six hundred millions; £300, if the debt exceeded the latter sum. The Bank was also to receive £800 per million for receiving contributions on loans; £1,000 on each contract for lotteries; and one-eighth per cent for receiving contributions on profits—the Income Tax of those days. Mr. Percival undeniably made a bad bargain for the public: and what makes its badness more remarkable is, that so far back as 1786 the auditors of public accounts had reported that Government could manage the debt for £187-10 per million; while the Bank was receiving £340 per million on 600 millions, and £300 on 230 millions. The expense of managing the national debt had increased enormously, and more than in proportion to the increase of the debt itself between 1792 and 1816. In the latter year the sum paid to the Bank on this account amounted to £277,000, in the former year it had been but £99,800. But we are not to suppose that the sum actually paid to the Bank constituted her sole remuneration for the duties performed for the public. She enjoyed besides the use of large sums of public money deposited with her: her profits on which cannot have been less than five per cent. These public deposits had increased from four millions in 1792 to eleven millions in 1816. Her profits from this source, therefore, as well as her direct remuneration had nearly trebled in twenty-four years: while her labor and expense had not increased anything like two-fold in the same interval. For the ten years 1806—1816, the average amount of public money held in deposit by the Bank averaged *eleven millions sterling*; the profits upon which may be estimated, as we before remarked, at five per cent per annum. That the Bank should receive this profit, besides payment according to stipulation for services performed, appeared unreasonable, even to the liberal financiers of that day. Accordingly, it was in ‘compensation’ to the public for its loss, measured by the Bank’s gain, of interest on these deposits, that a loan of £3,000,000 was made to Government (which we have mentioned before), from 1800 to 1816 without interest: and from 1816 to 1833, the same sum at 3 per cent interest. This ‘compensation’ to the public amounted to this—that in ten years the Bank gained £3,820,000, at a cost of £100,000!

So potent is the ‘power of the purse’ even over successive Governments of a free country, that although most of these facts were pointed out by Mr. Ricardo in 1816, and the remuneration received by the Bank of England for the management

of the national debt proved to be excessive,* no attempt seems to have been made to reduce the extravagant rate of payment until 1833. In that year the sum paid for expense of management was reduced from about £270,000 to £120,000. In 1844 a still further reduction was made. In 1849, £95,000 was paid on this account. We are unable at this moment to refer to any later statement upon this point.†

We are far from thinking that the public functions performed by the Bank of England at home, and by the Presidency or other Banks in India, would be more efficiently performed through the agency of a Government Office. In England we know that Government offices are apt sometimes to break down, even under the weight of their ordinary duties, and still more liable to give way in circumstances of extraordinary pressure. And this takes place even when the working officials have been trained for years in the duties of their department. The management of the national debt, therefore, is, we believe, wisely entrusted to the hands of a great corporation like the Bank of England, able to command financial ability of the highest order, and so stable as to render embarrassment to Government or the nation from insolvency or insecurity practically impossible. But the very greatness of the institution, which renders the connexion between it and the public free from risk of injury to the latter in one way exposes it to danger of very considerable (but easily avoidable) pecuniary detriment in another. So influential has the Bank of England been, in consequence of her great wealth and almost invariably high character for probity and stability, that in the majority of the compacts entered into between her and the public, the latter, as we have seen, had the worse share of the bargain. This may have been partly due, no doubt, to simple ignorance on the part of the financial or other minister who conducted the national side of the negotiation of monetary matters, and his consequent inability to estimate the advantages which he was conceding to the Bank as remuneration for the services which she was to perform for the public: and let us add that so far as this was the cause of blame, the expediency of confiding complicated money business to trained

* Mr. Ricardo estimates the net profits of the year ending 1st February 1816, derived by the Bank of England from her connexion with the State, at £520,280—probably £372,000 from deposits alone.

† It may not be uninteresting to give from a Table of Mr. McCulloch's the dividends paid by the Bank of England from 1767 to 1849 (exclusive of bonuses).

From 1767 to 1781, 5½ per cent; 1781 to 1788, 6 per cent; 1788 to 1807, 7 per cent; 1807 to 1823, 10 per cent; 1823 to 1839, 8 per cent; 1839 to 1849, 7 per cent.

men rather than to Government officers is demonstrated. But the fact that the public interest almost invariably came off second best in these compacts was chiefly due to the wealth and influence of the Bank. Adam Smith evinces his opinion on this subject by the statement of his belief that the coinage of gold by the Mint free of charge—the seignorage on coinage being in his view a legitimate and unobjectionable source of revenue—was a job for the benefit of the Bank of England, which was, and still is, the Mint's principal customer for gold coin.

Our remarks are only intended to apply to the more complicated business involved in payment of interest on the public debt and similar transactions, when we argue that a bank is rather to be entrusted with their performance than a Government office. There are some forms, and useful forms, of paper currency which admit of being conducted with safety, convenience and economy, by a department of Government. One general objection will, of course, always be applicable to such an arrangement; namely the undoubted inexpediency of multiplying Government offices or Government officials, or in any way encouraging a tendency to bureaucratic institutions, which are almost synonymous with apathetic routine and stagnation. Waiving this, the 'cast-iron' office of exchanging paper for gold or silver, and gold or silver for paper, to which the management of paper currency may be confined, might be efficiently performed by a Government department or office. For instance, the Hamburg system in which notes are issued only against metal (the metal in this case being silver, the Hamburg metallic standard of value), might be worked indifferently by Government or any trustworthy corporation or commission. Again, where notes are issued partly against a fixed maximum of securities, and partly against metal, the operation is purely mechanical and might be—perhaps advantageously, certainly without harm—carried on by Government officers. For instance the Issue Department of the Bank of England might be so carried on, since its complete separation from the Banking Department by the Act of 1844, to which we shall draw the reader's attention presently. The two cases we have given in illustration differ in this, that in the former no profit accrues to the issuers of the paper; while in the latter the interest on the securities against which a certain fixed portion of the paper is issued is so much clear profit to the body which issues—deducting of course the expense of conducting the department.

The management of the Indian public debt and other financial matters by the Banks appears to us to be even more desirable than the similar arrangement at home, and to have fewer draw-

backs to counterbalance its advantages. On the one hand, Government was far less likely than in England to command even average ability of the kind required. Even where the special talent for financial business might be available, we know from past experience that the possessor of it would find himself in an ordinary revenue, judicial or political appointment as probably as in one suited to his taste and ability. The transfer of officers from duties in which they have acquired knowledge and experience to others of a totally different kind, in accordance with official routine, or to suit the convenience of some great man's protégé or other happy possessor of good interest, has ever been, and still is, one of the darkest blots upon the Indian system of administration. To remove one department of public business from liability to this fruitful cause of mismanagement would be a great point gained; and, as a long step in this direction, the recent transfer of much of the money-business to Banks is salutary, and will soon, we trust, be carried further. The sooner the military pay-offices, especially, (and military audit-offices as well,) are handed over either to Banks or to officials who have had opportunities of acquiring a rudimentary knowledge at least of the rules of their department and of elementary arithmetic, and have availed themselves of their opportunities, the better it will be for the efficient performance of the public business and for the comfort of those who are now dependent upon the ignorance of the European officers, and the caprice, or obstinacy, or both, of their native underlings, for the receipt of their pay. The most remarkable instances of official imbecility and ignorance in the head of an office, combined with complete submission to the imperfect knowledge, and dogmatic opinions of a native 'examiner' or 'manager,' which it was ever our lot to see and suffer from, were displayed in these military offices by men whose interest formed their sole qualification for that or any other appointment.

In arranging the terms of the compact between Government and the Banks, only one of the dangers which existed in England had to be avoided in India. There was no risk of injury to the public interest arising from the preponderating influence of a powerful corporate monopolist, like the Bank of England—creditor already to the public on a large scale, and likely to intensify that relation again. The other danger did exist—that which springs from the ignorance of one of the contracting parties and the acuteness of the other. The one bargain which has as yet been completed in India is, we fear, as unfavorable to the public as Mr. Perceval's arrangement with the Bank of England—making allowances of course for the very different scales of the

two transactions. Its duration is fortunately less; while the exposure of the mistake which has been made in one case will prevent its repetition when other arrangements come to be discussed, or this one is sifted on expiry of the present term. That a blunder was made we should have thought did not admit of dispute, after the stock of the Bank in question had exhibited so remarkable a rise immediately upon the completion of the arrangement in India, in anticipation of the sanction of the Secretary of State as matter of course. The fact that the compact was, to use military judicial language, 'confirmed but not approved' by Sir C. Wood, is, we must admit, unfavourable to our view that the agreement deserved disapprobation. That gentleman has succeeded in making himself so intensely unpopular with all classes in India, that it is difficult to believe that any sound or wise decision can come from a quarter so universally condemned; and the Indian Council thus gets the credit of any measure emanating from the Westminster India Office, to which we cannot refuse approval or assent. Setting aside Sir C. Wood's disapprobation the only argument advanced by those who assert that the terms secured by the Bank were not unduly favorable to her appears to be that compensation was due and guaranteed for the substitution of Government Currency notes for hers. The answer was sufficiently obvious, and was given very recently in the columns of a very able contemporary. To compensation the Bank undoubtedly was entitled, but compensation should have left the prices of the Bank shares as they were. So far as the change of the bank-notes was concerned, any rise in the quotations of the Bank stock was due to some thing more than compensation. Some rise was fairly to be expected in consequence of the increased profit derivable from the extension of the Bank's business, owing to the compact entered into with Government, and the remuneration which she was to receive for transacting Government financial matters. But the rise which actually took place was far greater and can be accounted for in this way: and there is but one other way of explaining it, and this is unfavorable to the sagacity of those who conducted the negotiation on the part of the public.

To return to the Bank of England, the banking system which had been established in 1826 had not sufficiently controlled the issues of country banks; their number, or to speak more generally, the number of private and joint-stock banks had very much increased during and in consequence of the over-trading excitement of 1836-37. In the year preceding that period there existed fifty-five of these institutions in England, which number

had increased to one hundred,—not counting branches—all of them issuing notes without any restriction. Through this means the currency became redundant and exchange depressed. Deficient harvests in 1838 and 1839 increased considerably the drain upon the Bank of England for gold. She accordingly contracted her issues; but the other banks *increased* theirs. The efforts of the Bank of England to render the exchanges favorable resulted only in reducing her own reserve of gold to £2,420,000, in August 1839. From this alarming state of things it might fairly be inferred that some regulation of banks of issue was demanded: but it was not quite so clear that they deserved to be removed off the face of the earth, as was proposed, and the profits which they derived from their issue of paper money transferred, not to the State, but to the Bank of England, which was already too powerful a monopolist. However, the charter of the latter corporation, as renewed in 1833, had given power to the Legislature to revise or cancel it in 1845. Sir R. Peel took advantage of this to introduce and carry the Act 7 and 8 Vic. c. 32 for the regulation of the banking and currency of the kingdom. The measure embodied the suggestions of Mr. Lloyd (now Lord Overstone) and other eminent authorities on currency and banking, and was passed with general approbation on the part of the public. It has since been amply tried, and is believed by its authors and their school to have been a master-piece of legislation, by others to have been a pernicious interference with a branch of trade which ought, like all other branches of trade, to have been left perfectly free, by a third party to have effected in some degree some of the objects for which its authors designed it, but at the cost of even greater disadvantages than it obviated.

By the Bank Act of 1844 it was provided that no new banks of issue should be established in England and Wales, even in place of existing banks which might become extinct. The existing issuing banks were not forbidden to issue, (as Sir R. Peel's advisers wished), but a low maximum of issue was prescribed to them, founded upon their average circulation for twelve months preceding the 27th April 1844. This amounted to £3,477,321 for joint-stock, and £5,011,097 for private banks. The names of partners were to be published periodically.

As regards more especially the Bank of England, the main features of the Act were the complete separation of the Banking and Issue Departments, and the rigid restriction of the amount of issue—at least of that portion of it which was not merely a substitute for the gold against which it was issued. Fourteen millions sterling was a limit below which the paper

circulation had never been known to fall. Accordingly this sum was fixed as the maximum of issue against securities. The debt of the nation to the Bank, amounting to £11,015,000, being part of the securities in question. Should the Bank effect, by private arrangement, the withdrawal from circulation of the paper of any other issuing bank, she was allowed to add to her own issue against securities two-thirds of the amount so withdrawn. This provision has been acted upon so far as to add a sum of £475,000 to the original £14,000,000. To the other portion of the issue, representing gold actually lying in the cellars of the issue department no limit was assigned. Finally the Bank is compelled by the Act to give her notes for gold at the rate of £3-17-9 per ounce, and gold for her notes at £3-17-10½, to any person at any time : weekly statements are published of issues, securities, bullion &c. &c. and Bank of England notes are a legal tender in the hands of all parties except of the Bank herself in her payments to others.

To enter upon a detailed examination of all, or of the principal arguments which have been urged by political economists on either side of the question of the expediency or in expediency of this Act would exhaust far more space than we have at our disposal, and even more certainly, our readers' remaining stock of patience. Nor is such an examination necessary for our present purpose, which is the application of established principles to the particular case of an Indian Paper Currency. The Bank of England carries on the ordinary business of a banker—the trade in money as a commodity—as well as the work of supplying the community with the notes which are necessary for the purposes of commerce. The complete separation of the Banking and Issue Departments, effected by the Act, cannot obliterate from our thoughts and reasonings the fact that the two departments, belong to one institution. Accordingly many of the arguments for and against Sir R. Peel's measure apply only to a body carrying on both classes of operation. Such arguments are of course inapplicable to India, where fortunately the business of issuing paper money is free from entanglement with other banking transactions, and such may therefore be lightly passed over or omitted altogether. The fact that her Government is the issuer, and the existence of some peculiarities in the character and habits of the natives of India help to render the reasonings upon the Act of 1844 far less applicable to our subject, and far less useful to us in practice than is generally believed. We shall therefore pass over as rapidly as possible those objections to the Bank Act which do not apply to India, before stating those which are relevant to the primary object of

the present article. We attach little or no importance to the neglect to regulate the use of cheques and bank post-bills. It is quite true that cheques might be so managed as to answer the same purposes as bank-notes, and that the provisions of the Act or the restriction of the paper issued within fixed limits might thus be evaded. But there can be no doubt that the legislature would interfere to prevent such an infringement of the spirit of an enactment which is still supported by the opinions and arguments of many able political economists. There is no reason to believe that the Act has had any effect upon the use of cheques by the community, nor that the amount represented by bank post-bills, which is estimated at something over a million sterling has ever exhibited any tendency to increase so as to disturb the operation of the measure. A more serious objection is the *a posteriori* one that the Act does not work without occasional violent interference with its action. It has become necessary, or has been considered necessary by financialists, on two occasions to stop the machine, in order to prevent serious mischief. It may well be said that an Act, which imperatively demanded suspension within three years of its passing with general approbation, lost prestige. But stronger language has been used by eminent political economists who assert that what has happened twice already must happen again whenever a serious monetary crisis occurs. Mr. Mill, who is not so thorough going an opponent of the Act, its principle and its effects, as others who deny it any merit or efficacy for good, and attribute to it many serious mischiefs, concedes that it does 'arrest speculative extensions of credit at an earlier period, with a less drain of gold, and consequently by a milder and more gradual process' than if it were not in force. But he asserts that the function of Banks in filling up the gap made in mercantile credit by undue speculation is so indispensable that the Act must be suspended, as we have said above, when a crisis comes. Were this, however, its only fault, it might be maintained with a view to prevent, if possible, the occurrence of a crisis, and relaxed when the crisis comes. But he goes on to point out another stronger objection, which requires some preliminary explanation. The injury done in preventing the Bank of England, through the operation of the Act, from helping solvent firms during a commercial crisis—as in 1825-26 such assistance rendered the mischief of the collapse of credit much less than it otherwise would have been—far more than outweighs the benefit allowed to result from the operation of the measure.

The two principal objects which the authors of the Act of 1844 proposed to secure are admitted by all political economists to be

essential to any sound system of paper currency. The first of these is the maintenance of convertibility, the second is the ensuring that the mixed currency of metal and paper shall vary in quantity as a purely metallic currency would vary. Now with regard to the former of these conditions, the fact that under the arrangement of 1819 convertibility was provided for and maintained without faltering sufficiently shows that further precautions were unnecessary. The Bank was compelled by the Act of 1819 to pay her notes in gold, while it was left to her own discretion and knowledge of her own business to determine how much bullion she should retain in order to maintain the convertibility of her paper: and convertibility was always maintained. Lord Overstone himself admitted in his evidence before the Committee, that the Bank could at any time by a 'violent action on credit' and 'at the expense of the mercantile public,' save herself from a stoppage of payment of her notes in gold, without the provisions of his proposed measure, if mismanagement of her issues should bring her to the brink of such a danger. An equal degree of mismanagement of her banking department, against which no provision is made, would lead to a total suspension of payments,—a much greater calamity than the other. This supposed object of the Act we may therefore leave without further consideration.

With regard to the other point—that note currency should fluctuate in amount in the same manner and degree as a currency consisting solely of coin would vary—the principle is admitted by the opponents of the Bank Act as freely as by its advocates. The former, however, maintain that this essential object would be attained, more simply and less injuriously, (or rather without any countervailing injury), by securing convertibility on demand. It is true that notes may be *payable* on demand in theory, and yet not practically *paid* on demand owing to their not being presented for conversion. Payment in specie does not commence until depreciation of the currency has made some progress. Convertibility on demand puts a stop to over-issue after this amount of progress has been made, and it is possible that some inconvenience may thus arise which would not have arisen had the over-issue not occurred at all. But we cannot attach much importance to these facts, or consider that they tend to invalidate the assertion, that convertibility on demand would maintain the mixed currency at the amount at which a purely metallic currency would rest.

But the point on which Mr. Mill lays greatest stress is, that while conformity to the *permanent* or *average* value of what a metallic currency would be is essential, conformity to the

fluctuating value is not only not necessary but injurious. The only object of the required conformity is *steadiness* of value, reducing fluctuations to a minimum. But these fluctuations in the value of a currency are dependent, not upon its quantity, whether it consist of gold or of paper, but upon expansions and contractions of credit. In order, therefore, to find what currency best conforms to the permanent value of one purely metallic, we have to enquire what system that is under which occur the smallest and least frequent variations in credit. If a paper currency which follows *all* the fluctuations of a purely metallic system leads to more frequent and more violent revulsions of credit than one not so rigidly conformable, then the currency which agrees most nearly in *quantity* with a metallic one, is not that which adheres most closely to its value, that is, to its permanent value.

In the working of the present system, when gold is exported from England from any cause, the amount of note circulation is diminished to an equal, or nearly equal, extent; the assumption being that, were the currency wholly metallic, all gold taken from the country would necessarily be withdrawn from the circulation. There is one case in which that assumption is well-founded, namely, when the exportation of gold is the last of a series of effects arising from an increase of currency, or an equivalent expansion of credit. But this is not the only, nor the most ordinary, cause of an efflux of gold from a community. Of other causes Mr. Mill enumerates four—foreign expenditure by Government, investment in foreign stocks or speculations, failure of crops of raw material, (as of cotton in 1847 compelling England to buy at advanced prices so as to turn the balance of trade between her and the United States against her) and lastly, a bad harvest, necessitating the extraordinary importation of food. In all these, and other cases which might be enumerated, the gold exported would not in the natural course of things, be withdrawn from the circulation at all, at least, not wholly by any means. In countries whose circulation is entirely or principally metallic the gold required for exportation would be obtained from hoards, which always exist to a considerable extent in such communities. In France, for instance, where the gold and silver coin is said to amount to one hundred and twenty millions sterling, hoarding prevails to a great degree: and from the hoards the metal required for exportation in the cases enumerated, would be, directly or indirectly, derived, leaving the actual circulation unaffected. In England, on the contrary, where banking generally, and the use of paper money of all kinds is carried to a greater extent than in any other part of Europe, there is little or

no hoarding. The bank reserves, or, let us say, the Bank of England reserve is the substitute for the hoards of other communities. It follows that from the Bank reserve should be drawn the metal which in other countries would be derived from hoards, 'without any attempt to stop it by diminution of currency or contraction of credit;' unless, of course, the drain should be so considerable in amount as to endanger stoppage of payment by exhaustion of the reserve. But this consequence is highly improbable. The drain for foreign payments is definite in amount and stops of itself at a certain point. The habitual reserve of the Bank should exceed the utmost amount of probable drain, which has been variously estimated for England at seven, ten, and, twelve millions sterling. The Bank Act compels, in such cases as we have enumerated, what its principle condemns; contracting the mixed circulation in circumstances where a wholly metallie circulation would remain unaffected. The general conclusion at which Mr. Mill arrives is that while its action is undoubtedly beneficial in the first stages of one kind of commercial crisis, (that, namely, which results from over-speculation,) it, on the whole, materially aggravates the severity of commercial revulsions; rendering contractions of credit more frequent and more severe by its operation.

The circumstances of England and of this country differ so widely, in currency matters as in so many others, that the attempt to transfer a system, or even to apply a general principle to India, because the system or principle has been found applicable to Great Britain, is little less than absurd. We all remember the late Mr. Wilson's discovery that human nature was the same in the East as in the West, and that, therefore, the same system of taxation and the same principles of financial policy which worked well (or tolerably well) at home would be beneficial here. Many of us thought he was mistaken at the time, and most of us are sure of it now. In the establishment of a general paper currency for British India it was *a priori* probable that much irrelevant discussion, really applicable only to England, would arise, and that the peculiarities of India would be lost sight of, to a greater or less degree in proportion as each person interested in the question might be more or less thoroughly imbued with purely English statesmanship or English prejudice. Many of the arguments for and against the Bank Act of 1844 are utterly irrelevant to the introduction of a paper currency into India; many are of doubtful applicability, and but few are capable of abstraction from English accidents and application to the conditions of this country. There is one objection to the English system, however, which is equally and obviously applicable to ourselves. The inelastic

limit imposed upon the amount of paper issue by the Bank Act was an unnecessary deduction from the profits legitimately derivable from the substitution of paper for the precious metals. Fourteen millions sterling was fixed, in 1844, as the maximum of note issue by the Bank of England, represented by securities, and at that amount it still remains; notwithstanding the enormous increase of all commercial transactions since that date, and the consequent necessary increase of circulating medium. 'The perfection of banking,' says Mr. Ricardo, 'is to enable a country, by means of a paper currency, to carry on its circulation with the least possible quantity of coin or bullion.' This 'least possible quantity' bears some fixed proportion to the total amount of circulating medium, however authorities may differ as to what the proportion may most safely be. The most advantageous system of paper currency will therefore provide that the amount of metal in circulation shall always be at a minimum; or, in other words, the amount of paper at a maximum. When commerce and trade increase and the amount of circulating medium necessary for them increases with them, in due proportion, provision should be made that as much as possible, (consistently with safety) of the addition to the currency should be paper. In the English system, on the contrary, no such provision is made. However commercial transactions may multiply, the amount of paper represented by securities must remain at the limit imposed twenty years ago. No doubt the quantity of paper issued against bullion may be increased indefinitely, but from this part of the paper currency, as we have seen, the community derives no advantage beyond convenience of carriage, of money and saving of wear and tear. In a little more than twenty years, between 1792 and 1816, the revenue of England was tripled, the exports more than doubled, the imports increased more than one-half: while simultaneously the paper part of the circulation was also tripled. Under the present system this proportional increase in the profitable part of the paper circulation is impossible. Previously to 1844, on the other hand, the paper currency of England amounted to £42,300,000, (the metallic being estimated at £23,000,000). This amount was, no doubt, excessive then, though it might not be so at the present day: yet it can scarcely have been so much in excess of the requirements of the community as to justify the fact that in 1857, when it was found necessary to suspend the Bank Act, the Bank of England note circulation amounted to but £21,000,000,—or £7,000,000 beyond the fixed £14,000,000—which was increased by two millions, six days after the suspension.

The Bank of England and its regulation have occupied

more of our time and space than we intended, though not more than their importance justifies. From the preceding pages it is, we trust, evident that there are some general principles, established by authority and confirmed by experience, on which a sound system of paper currency should be based. It is undoubted, for instance, that the substitution of paper, as money, for the precious metals is most beneficial to the community and profitable to the issuers. It follows 'that the substitution of paper for the precious metals, 'should always be carried as far as is consistent with safety' (Mill); that is to say, so far as to retain only so much gold or silver as is sufficient to maintain convertibility. It follows also that since, 'the value saved to the community by thus dispensing with 'metallic money is a clear gain to those who provide the substitute,' it is advisable, for this and other reasons, that this gain should accrue to the community itself, and that it, through its government, should be the issuer. It may also be considered as established that Government should be an issuer only, not in any other way a banker. Even the amount of paper to be issued, if allowed by law to be variable, cannot with safety be left to the discretion of a Government officer or a government commission. When the operation is purely mechanical, (as it has been in the Issue Department of the Bank of England since 1844,) it might be as well, or better, conducted by Government. Two modes are suggested by Mr. Mill either of which would secure to the nation the greater part of the legitimate profit derivable from a paper issue, without involving the Government in business which it is incompetent to conduct with safety or success. 'It would be better that Treasury notes, exchangeable for gold 'on demand, should be issued to a fixed amount, not exceeding 'the minimum of a bank-note circulation; the remainder of the 'notes which may be required being left to be supplied either 'by one or by a number of private banking establishments. Or 'an establishment like the Bank of England might supply the 'whole country, on condition of lending fifteen or twenty millions 'of its notes to the Government without interest, which would 'give the same pecuniary advantage to the State as if it issued 'that number of its own notes.'

So much may, we think, be considered sufficiently established to be applied with safety to this country.* Difference of

* *A Deputy Governor of the Bank of England*, indeed lays down that Government should not obtain profit from the paper money any more than from the coin of the country! "Neither consult with a woman touching her of whom she is jealous; neither with a coward in matter of war; nor with a merchant concerning exchange; nor with a buyer of selling." *Eccles. XXXVII—11.*

opinion and discussion come in upon the question of the best means of maintaining convertibility, or rather upon the proportion which the gold or silver retained for this purpose should bear to the amount of paper issued: and upon this subject as we have seen, widely different opinions are held. At one extreme we have those who would issue no paper without retaining an equivalent amount of gold or silver, of which system the Hamburg currency supplies an example. At the other extreme may be found advocates of a paper currency neither convertible nor intended to be convertible, care being taken to prevent over-issue and depreciation by keeping the value of the paper on a level with that of gold or silver introduced for purposes of luxury or art. Close to this latter extreme lie cases of temporary inconvertibility of paper intended to be rendered again convertible at some future period; of which England for nearly thirty years, and the United States at present supply illustrations. Near the former extreme are the modern system of the Bank of England, and that at present being tried in India, in which the convertibility of every note is secured by retaining an equivalent value either in securities or in precious metal. Between those two extremes lie systems resembling that adopted for the Bank of England in 1819.* In these convertibility would be maintained by retaining a certain proportion of coin or bullion, the ratio of reserve to paper-issue varying according to the various habits or circumstances of different communities. That some such system would be the best suited to this country, or any other resembling it in the circumstance of having the ground unoccupied or of being about to establish a new system of paper currency of which the issue is in the hands of Government, appears to us probable in a high degree.

A banker, says Mr. Mill, uses for the purposes of his trade so much of the money of others deposited in his coffers as his judgment and experience tell him he may do with safety to their interests and his own. Similarly in Mr. Mill's opinion, a paper currency may be founded upon an estimate of the average circulation of the country. One third of his liabilities is the habitual amount of reserve of a prudent banker. In the same way might a system of paper-issue be established, in ordinary circumstances, upon the principle of retaining coin or bullion amounting in value to one-third of the notes in circulation. †

* But free, of course, from all complication of other banking business than the issue of convertible paper money.

† Adam Smith supposes *one fifth* a sufficiently high proportion of reserve to notes.

The natives of India are naturally a suspicious race or collection of races. In money-dealings, especially, they are prone to suspect each other of intended fraud, and to be still more distrustful of the foreigner. It cannot be denied that, from the native point of view, annexations were dictated by greed, and involved broken treaties and broken faith; that the reduction of the covenanted interest on the public debt, practically compulsory, was really equivalent to the 'composition' of an insolvent debtor, not over-scrupulous in his dealings with his creditors; and even that the Income Tax was neither necessary to the welfare of India nor equitably assessed, nor fairly collected. The repeated refusal of England to give an imperial guarantee for the Indian debt, although this measure would be an immense relief to the finances of this country, is not likely to inspire the native with excessive confidence in the honesty and purity of Anglo-Indian financial schemes of any kind: especially as the guarantee was not merely not given, which might appear to be the result of an opinion that it was virtually implied, and therefore unnecessary, but was more than once proposed and deliberately refused. The statement that the sale of the fee-simple of Indian land and the redemption of the Indian land revenue are believed by many natives to be nothing but plans for 'making a bag,' preparatorily to leaving the country, is by no means improbable. Such being the state of native public feeling, it is evident that in the establishment of a system of paper currency for India, due allowance should be made for a much greater degree of hesitation to accept Government notes instead of coin, and a greater susceptibility to groundless panic, leading to runs upon the Offices of Issue, than would be necessary in a European country. In India, therefore, the reserve should bear a higher proportion to the paper circulation than would be found needful elsewhere: nor could the substitution of paper for coin be carried with safety to so great an extent as is desirable, and practicable in other countries. But we have no doubt that Government notes might safely be issued, without any reserve of silver, or any security for convertibility beyond the pledged faith of Government, to an amount equal to two thirds of the minimum note circulation of the Presidency Banks: the remaining third being issued against securities of some kind, which, as bearing interest, would be a more desirable reserve than coin or bullion. We believe also that in further issues of Government notes—the issues being made gradually and carefully watched—one third, or perhaps even one half, might be unsupported by a reserve of coin, bullion, or securities. As long as Government paper is a legal tender in payment of the land revenue

and other State claims, the probability of a run for conversion into silver will be, in our opinion, infinitesimal: while the worst possible contingency, in the practically impossible case of *all* the outstanding paper being brought in by the holders to be changed for coin, would be a temporary suspension of cash payments, inflicting pecuniary loss neither upon the people nor the State, and but slightly affecting the credit of Government, this necessarily being at its lowest when such a run as we are supposing could occur. Space will not permit us to enter into details of a scheme of paper currency founded on these principles. We proceed to examine the two systems which have been proposed and of which one is in operation.

The subject of a Paper Currency for this country had, (strange as it may seem to English statesmen and the English public), occurred to and been considered by Indian officials even before a Daniel came to judgment, in the person of an English Financier, red-hot from the anvil of the Treasury and the House of Commons. Papers by Mr. Lushington and others prove the extraordinary fact that all knowledge of currency questions is not monopolised by the self-complacent sages of the British Parliament, to whom one sometimes feels tempted to apply the ironical address of the worried Job to his well meaning but rather self-conceited friends and 'comforters.' 'No doubt 'ye are the people, and wisdom shall die with you, but I have 'understanding as well as you. I am not inferior to you.' But we shall begin with Mr. Wilson's plan, which assumed the following four conditions as essential to the soundness of a system of paper currency. Firstly, the paper must be identical in exchangeable value with the coin which it represents. Secondly, its quantity must equal that of the coin for which it is a substitute; so that the amount of paper and coin in circulation shall be equal to the amount of coin which would circulate if there were no paper. Thirdly, all laws which should determine variations in the amount of circulating coin from time to time must equally apply to the mixed currency. Fourthly, the paper must be legal tender in all payments, except those made by the issuers, by whom it is to be convertible on demand. The third of these conditions, it will be remembered, requires qualification. The others call for no remark.

In carrying out in practice a system based on these principles two things are indispensable. A metallic reserve must be maintained, sufficient in amount to ensure convertibility immediately and at all times: and there must be absolute ultimate security for the payment of every note.

Mr. Wilson proposed to entrust the business of issuing the

Indian notes to Boards of Commissioners at Calcutta, Madras and Bombay, who were to be independent of Government, except in certain particulars specified in the Act. They were to retain as reserve a certain proportion of coin, to be determined on from time to time, but which was never to be less than one-third of the notes in circulation. Against the remainder of the issue Government Securities were to be retained; so that coin and securities together should equal the full amount of paper issued. By thus keeping a fixed proportion of silver and securities to the full amount of the remainder of the issue, Mr. Wilson maintained that not only was immediate convertibility ensured, but a self-acting limit was imposed upon the circulation, which would increase or diminish, precisely as a purely metallic currency would do, according to the wants of the community. Thus constant conformity to the third of the conditions stated above, would be, in his opinion ensured; and the notes would only be a substitute, exactly equal in amount, for the silver which they displaced.

The three chief Issue Districts were to be divided into Currency Circles, of which there were to be, (as laid down in Mr. Temple's Minute on this subject) seventeen in all; ten in Bengal, three in Madras, and four in Bombay. Each Circle was to have notes peculiar to itself, the denominations being printed in English and two native languages vernacular in the Circle. Within the limits of its own Circle the paper was to be absolutely legal tender; beyond them, not: and convertible on demand only at the Issue Offices of the Circle and of the Presidency to which that Circle belonged. Notes of conterminous Circles would be received by Government in payments, indifferently; but would not be re-issued from any Office but their own—being retained and periodically exchanged. The notes would have been introduced into 180 districts of British India, and exhibited fifteen different native languages in their denominations. When the system was introduced and in working order, the silver obtained at the branch Offices of Issue in exchange for Government notes was to be sent to the Central Office at the Presidency for investment; the amount sent by each branch being credited to that branch and available for it in case of need. Finally, as to the denominations of the notes, they were at first to be for five, ten, twenty, fifty, five hundred and one thousand rupees; and it was intended that afterwards notes should be issued for less than five rupees.

Such was Mr. Wilson's Currency Scheme, which appears to us to have combined ample security with considerable and legitimate profit to the State: and to have been very much superior to the plan substituted for it and now upon its trial. It

seems to have been an imitation of Mr Ricardo's *Plan for the establishment of a National Bank*, which it follows even to its defects. This plan, the outlines of which we give in a note,* is contained in a posthumous paper, dated 1824. The division of the country into Circles or Districts, which appears to us to be the weak point of Mr Wilson's scheme—the notes of one district not being convertible in any other—was objected to by a friend to whom Mr. Ricardo showed his manuscript, as likely to be productive of much inconvenience in the provinces. The author was of opinion that some very simple arrangement might be devised to obviate that disadvantage, but none was added to the original plan. It ought to be an object with all Anglo-Indian statesmen to take every opportunity of introducing throughout the whole of British India uniformity of currency, and of weights and measures. Government notes ought, and ultimately will, circulate throughout the country, being legal tender every where and practically convertible at every Treasury. The Circle system threw needless impediments in the way of a most desirable object. The system now in operation is comparatively

* Mr Ricardo proposed to take the Issue Department altogether out of the hands of the Bank of England, and to give its duties and its profits to the State. He obviated the objection that Government would abuse its power and refuse to convert its paper on demand in case of war &c. by assigning the power of issue, not to Ministers, but to Commissioners removable only by vote of either House of Parliament, and having no money transactions of any kind with Ministers. When ample funds should have accumulated in the hands of the Commissioners, they were to go into the market and publicly buy Government securities: only when, from increase of the prosperity of the country, increase of currency should be required, would it be expedient to invest in other interest-bearing securities: and, in the contrary case, these, or part of them should be sold. On the expiration of the Bank of England Charter in 1833, the Commissioners would issue fifteen millions of paper, a sum equal to the amount of Bank capital lent to Government. The annual interest on the three-per-cents should then cease. With ten millions more the Commissioners would buy as much gold bullion as they should deem expedient, employing the remainder in the redemption of part of the public debt to the Bank on exchequer bills, which were to remain at the disposal of the Commissioners. The Bank was to redeem its out-standing notes with the new Government papers. Agents in all the principal towns of England would, on demand verify by their signatures the genuineness of notes presented to them; after which process those notes would be exchangeable only in the District where they had been thus verified. Notes issued in one District or verified by an Agent's signature in one District, would not be payable in another: but by depositing them at the Issue Office of the former a bill to the amount might be obtained payable in the other District in its own notes. Notes issued in the country would not be payable in coin in the country, but by bill on London, payable either in coin or in London notes. The Commissioners were to be obliged to buy gold at £3-17-6 an ounce. They were also to exchange their notes, on demand for gold coin. One pound notes were to circulate for one year in London, but permanently in the country.

free from this defect, the number of circles being reduced to three. In this point only does Mr. Laing's scheme seem to us to possess any superiority over Mr. Wilson's.

It cannot, we trust, be necessary to defend the latter against objections made on the ground that it is inexpedient that Government should derive any profit from the issue of paper money. It was Mr. Wilson's avowed and most legitimate intention to devote a large proportion of the silver for which Government notes should be substituted to the discharge of Government liabilities, and the consequent relief of the finances of the country from the burden of a large amount of interest. Convertibility on demand and ultimate payment of the Government issue being secured, as they would have been, in our opinion, by Mr. Wilson's scheme gradually and cautiously introduced, two thirds of the coin displaced might beneficially have been employed in the manner we have mentioned.

In a paper devoted principally to the subject of our Indian currency, which appeared about three years since in a well-known English periodical, Mr. Wilson's proposed Paper Currency Scheme was examined and roughly handled. The article in question was by no means an able one, but, on the contrary, displayed a painful degree of ignorance on the subject generally, and of principles almost universally admitted. A writer who denies the necessity of fulfilling any of Mr. Wilson's four preliminary conditions except the first—(that paper money should be identical in value with the coin which it represents)—asserting to the contrary, for instance, that the quantity of paper in circulation need not be equal to the amount of coin displaced; who maintains that the silver imported into India from Europe, (estimated by him at 39 millions sterling in the three preceding years) remains in circulation *and raises prices*, as it is coined and added to the currency because there is so little demand for silver in this country 'for purposes of manufacture'; who asserts that 'the quantity of silver which can at mint price be easily and at once disposed of for coinage is unlimited,' and thence concludes that a paper currency will not withdraw *any* metal from circulation; who ignores altogether the universal practice of hoarding and its powerful influence in matters of currency—a writer thus ignorant of the questions at issue, both generally and with special reference to India, deserves but little notice. One or two objections, however, we may briefly examine, first remarking that the absence of Government control, to which he objects, is, in our opinion, an advantage.

He argues thus: Suppose the Commissioners to have issued three crores of paper. One crore of the silver received in

exchange would be retained in their hands to ensure convertibility; the remaining two would be invested in securities and thus be returned into the circulation, which would thus receive, in the case supposed, an addition amounting to two crores—three crores of paper and two of silver having been introduced in the place of the original three crores of silver. The two crores of silver issued in payment for the securities might then come back to the Commissioners, and two thirds be, as before, invested in securities. This process might be repeated until there were three crores of silver and six of securities in the reserve; and nine crores of paper in circulation having replaced three crores of silver. Hence the theoretical limit of the process would be that nearly all the coin of the country would be in the Commissioner's reserve, and three times that amount of paper be in circulation.

To this elaborate arithmetical objection the writer himself supplies a sufficient answer when he concedes that 'prudent management' might prevent the consequences which he details. He does not tell us why we should despair of obtaining prudent managers of our Paper Currency, if not of Indian manufacture, at least by importation from England; or why distrust and a run on the Issue Offices should be more probable, as he asserts, than average care and financial knowledge on the part of the Currency Commissioners. However, waiving this, it is evident that the silver invested in securities, if it renders the currency redundant in comparison with the commercial requirements of the country will be exported or hoarded, leaving the total amount in circulation what it was before. We have already dwelt at such length on this natural process that it is unnecessary now to recur to it. We shall notice one other objection, which has, however, been already answered elsewhere.

The purchase of securities by Government is equivalent to the cancelling of so much of the public debt. In England stock is purchased for the reduction of the National Debt only when there is a clear surplus. In India there is no such surplus, and the country is therefore not in a position to redeem any portion of her debt. We have already stated that one object of Mr. Wilson's scheme was the creation of such a surplus and such a power of redeeming part of the Indian debt, by substituting Government paper for part of the metallic currency and applying a large proportion of that part to the relief of the finances. We have shown by argument and the highest authority that such a course was perfectly legitimate and safe. What is brought forward as an objection is, therefore, in fact a merit, and must necessarily enter into any plan for establishing a Government Paper Currency.

The main features of the scheme which superseded Mr. Wilson's, and which is now in operation, are as follows. Notes are issued only against coin or bullion, except a certain limited amount—four crores of rupees—below which it is supposed that the paper in circulation can never fall. The notes are issued through Banks. It is intended that a subsidiary gold currency shall be introduced, equal in amount to one-fourth of the paper issue, not superseding silver as the standard of value, but circulating at fluctuating rates liable to revision at six months notice. This part of the scheme is still in abeyance. No notes are issued for less than ten rupees, the gold coin, when introduced, supplying the place of notes of lower denominations.

To this unambitious scheme we can concede the praise of being undeniably *safe*: a merit which it shares with purely metallic currencies. Based upon the principles of the Bank Act of 1844, it is of course open to most of the objections to which that measure is liable, and which we need not now recapitulate. It will confer upon the public the profit accruing from the redemption of four crores of securities, minus expense of management, and the convenience of a portable instead of a clumsy circulating medium. It will be understood from the preceding pages that it has not secured to the public the profit and other advantages which we believe might have been derived from the introduction of a Government paper issue, nor does it make provision for future increase of notes issued against securities, from which alone appreciable profit can be derived. Its benefits, such as they are, will be increased by the contemplated introduction of a uniform currency note for the whole of India. On the subject of the intended use of gold we cannot enter further than to express our opinion of its superiority to that part of Mr. Wilson's plan which would have issued notes for twenty, ten, five, and ultimately for less than five rupees. The poorer classes, amongst whom chiefly these notes of low denominations would have circulated, if at all, are the least capable of distinguishing genuine from spurious paper, and would probably have suffered severely from forgery, which is even now productive of serious inconvenience.

Up to the present time little more has been effected in the carrying out of Mr. Laing's plan for supplying India with a Government Paper Currency than the substitution of the new paper in the circulation for the notes of the Presidency Banks. How little has actually been done towards supplying this enormous territory with a cheap and convenient substitute for its silver currency will be seen from the following statement of the condition of the Issue Department on the 31st January last, with which we conclude

our paper—Notes in circulation: Calcutta, Rs. 2,43,00,000; Bombay, Rs. 1,60,00,000; Madras, Rs. 58,00,000; Total, Rs. 4,56,00,000. Silver coin reserve—Calcutta Rs. 1,74,51,139; Bombay, Rs. 51,00,000; Madras, Rs. 53,00,000; Total, Rs. 2,78,51,139. Silver bullion reserve—Bombay 1,09,00,000. GOVERNMENT SECURITIES—Calcutta, Rs 68,48,861.

ART. IV.—1. *On the Geological Structure of part of the Khasi Hills, with Observations, &c.* Calcutta; Military Orphan Press, 1854.

2. *Notes on the Kasia Hills and People.* By Lieutenant H. YULE. Bengal Engineers. "Journal of the Asiatic Society" No. CLII. 1844. Calcutta.

DILIGENT students of the newspapers, those who daily read every line of 'Correspondence,' 'Editorials' and 'Extracts' are no doubt aware of the existence on what is called our North Eastern Frontier of certain tribes, who, they know, are more or less savage, but of whose whereabouts, habits and history they have been able to form a very dim notion. Nor is this to be wondered at, since with respect to these tribes the Newspaper accounts present a most inextricable tangle which is by no means confined to the less civilized part of the North-Eastern Districts. For some of the mistakes which are made it is difficult to account, except on the supposition that in the editorial mind the names of the several tribes are convertible terms, and that Kassiah, Kookie, Naga, Gāro, Abor, Mishmee and twenty other appellations may be indiscriminately made use of to describe all or any one of these tribes. It is hardly possible to imagine, that correspondents, writing from the spot and with any knowledge of the localities, can be guilty of the errors which are such a constant source of confusion.

This confusion it is true is not confined to the newspapers and their editors; it has taken possession of the official as well as the editorial mind, and very recently we heard of a case where an officer being ordered to Sylhet was officially recommended to take steamer to Gowhaty, from whence he would be able to drop down (by a tunnel through the Kassiah mountains probably) to the former place. In short, a thick veil of ignorance seems to hang between the public and all knowledge of our North-Eastern Frontier, comprising as it does Assam, Sylhet, and Cachar with their rivers, hills and forests, their varied products, peoples and languages. For ourselves these border tracts have always had a strong fascination, it may be in our own case from early associations, but we share the feeling with many of our friends; and indeed there is much in them

of the strange and the beautiful to gratify the eye and lay hold on the imagination. Who could refuse a tribute of admiration to some of the loveliest scenery in the world? Hills clothed with forests most varied and luxuriant; rocks whose rugged sides are relieved by hanging wood, silvery cascade and foaming waterfall; rivers now pent in narrow precipitous passes or chafing between vast boulders, now widening and reflecting in clear depths fantastic rocks or islets of 'dark greenery'; and in short all that goes to form a perfect landscape?

Add to these the elemental wonders which cannot fail to exercise powerfully the imagination of all who witness them, the heavy rain-fall which converts the whole plain of Sylhet into one vast lake; the glorious storms in which for whole nights long hill calls to hill in never ceasing peals of rolling thunder, whilst lightning of every hue flashes incessantly forth in defiance of the dashing rain torrents which seem vainly striving to quench it.

Look, too, at the wonderful flora of these hills and valleys; the '*Ficus elastica*' whose living roots bridge chasms a hundred feet wide; the orange groves perfuming the air with blossom or laden with golden fruit; the forests south and east of Sylhet and Cachar where the trees rise like buttressed columns, and creepers and trailers of varied and grotesque forms hang from the branches like cables and ladders of rope, or climbing the trunks of the loftiest trees send forth floating banners of blossoms from their summits. Every where in the damper nooks are found the most beautiful and varied forms of ferns, from the minutest delicately pencilled variety to the tree fern with its gigantic fronds. Here too, spreading their fleshy roots over the bare rocks or the gnarled tree bark, flourish in all tints of lilac, purple and gold the most lovely orchids; and again in spots where few other conspicuous plants are found, the stately '*Lilium giganteum*,' sometimes nine feet high, stands laden with rich flowers of crimson and white.

And who can describe the variety of insect life with which the hills and forests teem? The brilliant butterflies of all brightest hues; the moths large as bats which flit heavily through the evening air; the quaint beetles of startling size sweeping by in 'droning flight'; the leaf insects, from birth to death mimic representations of the foliage on which they feed, and which fade and die with the fading leaf, or the cicada whose clear but monotonous note rings through the air like a distant sheep bell? Till withal comes over us the wish of the hero of Locksley Hall.

— “ Ah, for some retreat

- ‘ Deep in yonder shining Orient, where my life began to beat.
- ‘ Oh, to burst all links of habit—there to wander far away,
- ‘ On from island unto island at the gateways of the day.
- ‘ Larger constellations burning, mellow moons and happy skies,
- ‘ Breadths of tropic shade and palms in cluster, knots of Paradise.
- ‘ Droops the heavy-blossom’d bower, hangs the heavy-fruited tree—
- ‘ Summer isles of Eden lying in dark-purple spheres of sea.
- ‘ There methinks would be enjoyment more than in this march of mind,
- ‘ In the steamship, in the railway, in the thoughts that shake mankind.’

If, however, we had more of the Steamship and something of the Railway we should not have to complain of the apathy which, except in those who have a material interest in them, almost ignores the existence of these districts. •

We had thought of endeavouring to treat of the whole North Eastern Frontier and its various tribes, but the subject is too large and would exceed the limits of an article as well as of the patience of our readers. We must confine ourselves for the present to that portion of the Frontier which has for some time past forced itself on the notice of the Government and extorted a languid attention even from the public in general; we mean the Kassiah and Jynteah Hills, and that portion of the plains, namely Sylhet, which, lately at least, has been more intimately connected with these hills than with the valley of Assam to which in an official sense they belong.

Surely the Sylhet of the earlier days of the British rule must have been better known than it now is; the days when Lindsay (of the Balcarras Lindsays) reported to Warren Hastings that he had built in the District sundry ships, one at least of four hundred tons for the export of rice to Madras and elsewhere—strange days when the Collector, the same Lindsay, was the great lime-dealer of the district, when his whole official salary was paid in cowries in which he was also necessarily a dealer—when for protection against the Kassiahs (then, as of late, troublesome, and much more aggressively troublesome) forts were erected in which Bengalee traders were sometimes besieged for weeks together. Better known, too, probably nearly half a century later, though more to our cost when the Burmese over-ran Cachar to the borders of Sylhet, and a British column was temporarily repulsed on the Barak* during the first Burmese war; but still with a knowledge mixed with a strange ignorance which, during the same war, sent nine hundred camels to die in the swamps of Cachar, a mission which they most strictly and completely fulfilled.

* The Barak is the river which after flowing through Cachar forks into the Soormah and the Koosearah, the two principal rivers in the Sylhet District.

It seems strange at first sight that an interest, which undoubtedly in days long ago attached to these districts, should have been almost lost;—and it seems still more strange when we consider that, for long years past and even up to the present time, Calcutta, and indeed all Bengal, have been indebted almost exclusively to Sylhet, or rather to the Kassiah Hills through Sylhet, for one of the necessities of civilized life, lime-stone, as also for one of its luxuries, the so-called Sylhet oranges, which, however like the lime are a product of the Kassiah Hills and of that very locality in the hills from which a large part of the lime is brought. Moreover, there was at one time a hope of the profitable export to Calcutta of the valuable coal of these hills, a hope which hitherto however has not been realized.

How has it then happened that the interest, which once existed and which many circumstances conspired to maintain, has been suffered to die out? The answer is not difficult. Interests, like every thing else, are comparative—the greater interests have swallowed up the smaller. The trade which seemed of importance in the days of Lindsay and Warren Hastings has been mainly for years past in the hands of one Company, and is now a mere drop in the ocean of the trade and commerce of British India. The districts which then formed a large portion of the possessions of the East India Company are now a mere corner within the line of red which marks Her Majesty's Indian dominions. Great wars with their reverses and victories have wiped out the memory of the little detached operations in Sylhet and Cachar with their small successes and failures; whilst the tranquillity,—broken only by petty raids of no political importance,—which for many years past has reigned undisturbed in this part of the Indo-British territories, has allowed the attention of both the Government and the public to be withdrawn from it. Even during the last Burmese War it was thought sufficient to detach one native regiment of the line for the defence of the frontier in addition to the one Local Regiment to which alone for some years its protection had been entrusted, and even this was found to have been an unnecessary precaution. Lately no doubt much of interest has revived for Sylhet and Cachar in consequence of the discovery of the indigenous Tea plant in those districts and the consequent influx of European settlers, amounting in the case of Cachar to almost a colonization: but hitherto any increased knowledge, with regard to situation, climate, capabilities and means of access, seems to have been chiefly confined to those who either have visited or have a personal concern with the districts. And the same may be said of

Assam, notwithstanding the much longer time that Tea factories have been established in that Province.

This too is intelligible, Assam or Sylhet and Cachar once reached, there is at present nothing to get to beyond ; an adventurous traveller, a persevering naturalist or a sanguine sportsman might, with difficulty and at much risk, make his way through the hills to Burmah* or Bhootan, and possibly to China, but there is no high road, nothing at present to tempt the speculator beyond our borders ; and thus it happens that those alone who are brought by duty or business to these countries feel interested in acquiring any information about them. Moreover, though the actual distance between Calcutta and our North Eastern Frontier is not great, the journey has always been a long and difficult one, by a tedious and uninteresting route ; and till within the last few months no sort of facility has been offered for reaching Sylhet, the only facility now being an indifferent steamer which makes the journey backwards and forwards, more or less regularly, about once in six weeks, and which can only be looked on as the harbinger of better times. We may hope that even if the Eastern Bengal Railway be not extended beyond Khoosteah, yet that means of constant communication will soon be established from thence to Dacca and so on to Sylhet, the Kassiah Hills and Cachar ; and we hold that there is a fairer field for European Colonization in this corner of Bengal than in any other part of India. The climate of Sylhet and Cachar themselves seem very favorable to the European constitution, whilst the close neighbourhood of, and the easy access to, the mountains render a European climate readily attainable.

The District of Sylhet (including the lowlands of Jynteah) runs along the foot of the Kassiah and Jynteah mountains,† which form its boundary on the north, from Mymensing on the west to Cachar on the east, whilst its southern jungles merge in those of Independent Tipperah, in a wild and very sparsely inhabited country of hill and valley covered with dense forest, where the laying down any boundary is matter of extreme difficulty. It thus forms part of a wide level valley between the Northern and Southern ranges, the latter seldom rising above

* There is, of course, no difficulty in reaching the confines of the Burmese territory through Cachar and Munneepore, but the Burmese authorities are jealous of European travellers in this direction.

† It is a common error to suppose that Sylhet and the Kassiah Hills are identical, and that the district of Sylhet is an elevated plateau. The Stations of Sylhet and Cherra Poonjee are, we believe, often confounded.

fifteen hundred or two thousand feet, whilst those to the North vary from a little over three thousand to upwards of six thousand feet. The climate of Sylhet, considerably cooler than that of the ordinary districts of Bengal, and free from the arid blasts of the North West Provinces, is for a great part of the year extremely pleasant and is seldom oppressively hot.

The physical features of the country are such as might be expected in an extended basin such as that just described. In ages long past this basin probably formed an estuary of the Bay of Bengal. In its centre and stretching away to the river Soormah, which divides the larger part of Sylhet from Mymensing, are wide plains, (almost universally inundated during the periodical rains,) on the higher inequalities of which are perched villages with the houses closely huddled together as if crowding up from the flood; whilst the lower parts are occupied by swamps and marshes which never dry up. In the drier months the plains are covered with a short nutritious herbage affording pasturage to the numerous cattle which form the chief wealth of the villagers. In the rains the cattle are condemned to close imprisonment, their forage, coarse jheel grass and reeds, being cut and brought in boats which at that season of the year form the only communication between village and village; in the intervals however between the rainy seasons such crops as are found in the ordinary districts of Bengal are abundant, whilst nature has, in addition, provided a description of rice, of which the elastic stems and roots stretch with the rising flood and enable the plants to flourish during the highest inundation.

Here and there, along the banks of rivers, are more continuous tracts of high ground on which villages are seen embedded in groups of feathery bamboo: and tracing the courses of the rivers upwards the country generally rises higher, and the villages become more frequent and more picturesque. Here and there are considerable marts, of little external pretension, where trade is carried on in rice, oilseeds, ghee, and dried fish, and where may be seen boats of all shapes and sizes, the flat-bottomed and punt-like boats of the Ganges, the more graceful oolack of Dacca and Lower Bengal, and the uncomely looking, but elastic and sea-worthy balam boat of Chittagong, whose planks are strongly sewn together with cane bands. The numerous fishing boats present a great variety of elegant forms, some resembling Wordsworth's 'little boat in shape just like the crescent moon' about eighty feet long and very narrow, others like a duck sitting on the water with a raised and curved neck, and again the less

pretentious dhinghee, or the humble khoonda fashioned out of a single trunk, but all, unlike their heavier and clumsier neighbours, shooting swiftly and easily over the waters.

Ascending the Soormah we come to the town and station of Sylhet. Both here and at Chattuck, lower down the river, we see the jungle-clad hillocks which form, as it were, the outposts of the mountain range in their rear, in which, increasing in height and with intervals here and there between them, they eventually merge. These detached and semi-detached ranges of low hills are found on the south and north banks of the Soormah; and on these are situated the Tea gardens of the Sylhet District. The Station of Sylhet is one of the prettiest in Bengal, the hillocks we have spoken of being ever covered with varied and beautiful vegetation, backed in the distance by the blue Kassiah Hills.

There is nothing to distinguish the mass of the inhabitants of the district from the ordinary Hindoo and Mussulman Bengalee. Here and there a small colony of Munneepoories may be seen, easily distinguishable by their Tartar features and fairer skins; as well as in their villages by the houses with long straight ridge poles and gable ends unlike the hog-backed hut of the Bengalee. In Sylhet nearly every man is a land proprietor in his own right, some of the assessments being as low as eight annas a year.

Much that is picturesque and beautiful may be found in many parts of Sylhet, but in claiming consideration for the beauties of the North Eastern Districts, we intend to confine our readers' attention chiefly to those ranges of mountains and hills and tracts of luxuriant forest which form their most distinguishing features: and in all these the Kassiah and Jynteah Hill Districts take a prominent place; whilst the recently quelled disturbances add to the interest which ordinarily attaches to them.

Travellers who have seen the Himalaya and other bold mountain chains would at first sight be struck with the tameness and monotony of outline of these hills, as like a low blue cloud they rise from the bank of the Brahmapootra to the Westward and trending towards the east, with a long wavy inclination, reach their highest point (visible from the plains) of between five and six thousand feet; but a closer examination will reveal features of unexpected grandeur—perpendicular faces of precipice and water-falls of stupendous height, noble gorges leading into valleys unsurpassable in beauty, where in the bed of the clear streams lie vast boulders washed down from the cliffs above and on either side spurs of emerald green slope down

symmetrically to the water's edge, whilst an immense wall of rock three thousand feet in height rises abruptly in front.

Three such valleys nearly surround the peninsula-like plateau on which stands the station of Cherra Poonjee. In these are to be found some splendid specimens of those 'living bridges' of which we have before spoken as formed from the roots the '*Ficus elastica*' for a description of which we must refer our readers to Colonel Yule's paper. The appearance of the station itself is disappointing. The almost incredible rain-fall (which is however very local and in a great measure confined to an area of a few square miles) has denuded the rocks of soil, and the mere plateau looks bare and inhospitable; but the prospects over the distant plains and hills and into the valleys immediately beneath are most beautiful and unsurpassed by any thing in the hills. Cherra Poonjee, however, as the main station in the Kassiah Hills is, we believe, doomed, we need therefore say little about it. West of the station rising to a height of about three hundred feet is a range of hills in which are contained the coal mines which having been most worked are best known. These run in horizontal galleries into the side of the rock; but here and elsewhere the working on any large scale has been abandoned.

The limestone rocks which underlie the coal beds are everywhere pierced with caves and are well worth exploring, particularly on the south side of the range, where the limestone forms a wall eighty or a hundred feet high. Strolling about here with a friend many years ago, we come on what we had long been looking for—having heard of its existence—a sort of well cave. It is of a circular form, not less than seventy feet in diameter, and the walls rise perpendicularly to an almost uniform height of eighty feet. It is approachable by two entrances, one the bed of a water-course, and one a short winding passage which would almost cheat one into the belief that it was artificial. Over the wall of rock we have spoken of, and which forms the background, falls a small cascade, which loses itself in a subterranean passage below the floor of the well. In the same range of cliffs is a very remarkable cave quite a mile long in its windings, and penetrating in a straight line nearly half a mile into the rock; but it is somewhat difficult of access, and to reach the end, it is necessary to wade nearly up to the waist in water. It is everywhere lofty, and, once inside the cave, no creeping or climbing is required. At the foot of the mountains not far from the village Pandooah is a cave of still greater size and of greater intricacy. Here, according to popular tradition, a Chinese army was lost whilst on its march underground to invade Bengal.

As we are on the subject of the limestone, we cannot refrain from quoting a description of some curious formations found in the hill country east of Cherra, nearly on the borders of Assam, by Major Cave, who was for many years a resident in these hills. He says—‘At one place called Mungolai the limestone is very ‘peculiarly placed. I do not mean geologically but pictorially. ‘The valley is about one mile broad, flat-bottomed and surrounded ‘by low hills. All round the valley at the bottom of the hills, ‘are walls of limestone presenting a more perfect resemblance ‘to buildings than any thing of the kind I have before seen. On ‘closer inspection these walls are curious, being composed of huge ‘rectangular masses regularly divided into streets which cross and ‘recross each other at right angles or nearly so, and extended ‘some distance. These streets are of a good width, six or eight ‘feet ; sometimes a fine tree is growing up from the bottom, and ‘generally there are branches and creepers arching over the top, ‘all very picturesque.’*

The Mamluh valley about three miles west of the Cherra plateau is well worth a visit. The village of the Mamluh, which is most picturesquely situated on the upper slopes of the valley, was one of those places where resistance was made, when the treacherous murder of Lieutenants Bailton and Beddingfield obliged Government to assert their authority in the Kassiah Hills. The only legitimate approach to it from above is by a paved causeway cut, and for a short distance tunnelled, through the rock ; and along the whole rear of the village extends a pretty wood, outside which to the edge of the valley on either side runs a rough stone wall intended for purposes of defence. This village, unlike most of those on the heights which are generally rather bare, stands embosomed in a wood which extends into the village and amongst the houses. The huts are built substantially of horizontal layers of planks painfully fashioned by the adze. These, resting on one another edgewise, are kept in their places by stout posts, and the whole is roofed over with a sharply inclined thatch of bamboo leaves. A pigstye is an indispensable adjunct to every hut, and the pigs, which are of a handsome China breed, are quite as much at home either in the hut or stye as their owners.

A distant view of the sloping village forms a very inviting picture, but here as in other places an efficient Municipal Commission is much needed. There is considerable difficulty in picking one’s way through the village paths, and the scents,

* Oldham’s *Geology of the Kassiah Hills*.

though not quite so bad as in some more civilized neighbourhoods, are anything but agreeable and suggest unpleasant recollections of Calcutta.

Leaving the village and skirting the edge of the valley to the North West we come on one of the steepest and deepest precipices which these hills present, and rushing over it is a magnificent waterfall. This goes by the name of 'Luckae's Leap;' the legend being that Luckae, a Kassiah woman, married a wild Garrow, who during his wife's absence killed and cooked, and afterwards gave her to eat, her two children by a former marriage, on learning the nature of her meal she fled and leaped over the precipice, and by her name it has ever since been called.

It is impossible to avoid being struck by the groups of monumental stones which are to be seen in the neighbourhood of villages and in other conspicuous spots on these hills. We cannot do better than quote Colonel Yule on this subject. 'The various remarkable monumental stones which are scattered on every way-side cannot fail to attract the attention of the stranger from the peculiar aspect thrown by them on almost every scene in the upper parts of the country. They are of several kinds, but almost all of them recall strongly those mysterious solitary or clustered monuments of unknown origin, so long the puzzle and delight of antiquaries, which abound in England, and are seen here and there in all parts of Europe and Western Asia. The most common kind in the Kassiah country is composed of erect oblong pillars sometimes unhewn, in other instances carefully squared, and planted a few feet apart.

'The number composing one monument is never under three, and occasionally they are as many as thirteen. The highest pillar is in the middle, sometimes covered with a circular disk, and to right and left they gradually diminish. In front of these is what English antiquaries call a cromlech, a large flat-stone resting on short rough pillars. These form the ordinary road-side resting places of the weary traveller. Some of these stones are of considerable size and must have cost immense labour in erection. The tallest of a thick cluster of pillars at Nurtung in the Jynteah country rising through the branches of a huge old tree measures twenty-seven feet in height above the ground, and in another place near the village of Lailankot a flat table stone or cromlech, elevated five feet from the earth, measures thirty-two feet by fifteen and two feet in thickness. In some cases the monument is a square sarcophagus composed of four large slabs resting on their edges and well fitted together, and roofed in by a fifth placed horizontally. In other cases the

'sarcophagus is in the form of a large slab, accurately circular, resting on the heads of many little rough pillars closely planted together, through the chinks between which may be seen certain earthen pots containing the ashes of the family. The upright pillars are merely cenotaphs, and some few among them have probably been erected in commemoration of certain important events.'

We need only add to this that we have seen a group consisting of not less than twenty-two oblong pillars all belonging to the same monument. The position of any considerable collection of these tombs would seem frequently to be determined by the facilities which may be afforded for procuring stone, and the greater amount of symmetry which some blocks show is due to the character of the stone. Where only granite or other hard rock is to be found, the forms of the monuments are correspondingly rude. Sometimes they seem almost to disappear in places where stone is procurable only with great difficulty, but they are found very generally in all parts of the Kassiah hills, and we have even seen tombs of the kind in the plain of Assam some miles from the foot of the hills.

Less than thirty miles from Cherra Poonjee, east of the road which leads from thence into Assam, stands the peak of Shillong, the highest known point in the Kassiah and Jynteah Hills. Its height, which has been accurately determined, is 6449 feet, and hence may be seen what is described by Dr. Hooker, as probably the most extensive view in the world, embracing an area of (he calculates) not less than 30,000 square miles, or as large as the whole of Ireland, from the Munneepoor hills in the east to the Himalaya on the north and north-west, and far over the plains of Sylhet to the Tipperah Hills on the south.

Below this peak to the north lies the plateau which has been recently chosen as part of the site for the new head-quarter station in the hills. Its general elevation is about 5900 feet. Again some 700 feet below this we come by a very easy descent to the plateau of Yeodo which forms the other part of the site. On both of these plateaux, and all down the hill side which leads to the lower, are beautiful spots for building, and in time this should be one of the finest hill stations in India. The supply of water is abundant, and it is stated, and we believe it to be the case, that by merely damming up one of the streams, at a ridiculously small expence, a lake may be made as large as that of Nynee Tal. The rain-fall, which is the serious drawback in parts of these hills, is here comparatively light and probably less by three-fourths than that at Cherra Poonjee.

We have said in an earlier part of this article that there is a fairer field for colonization in this corner of Bengal than in any other part of India, and it was to the advantages which these hills hold out that we chiefly referred. It is, we suppose, generally known that the Kassiah and Jynteah Hills consist, all along their southern front, of a series of flat-topped ridges and nearly level plateaux, intersected by deep, narrow, abrupt glens such as those we have described as surrounding the Cherra plateau. Advancing further to the northward we come on long tracts of rolling moorland, still diversified by river valleys. Such, for instance, is the country about Shillong, and Yeodo is an instance of the flat-bottomed valley we have attempted to describe. On these moorlands one may often ride for miles without ascending or descending more than from one to two hundred feet. From Moflong (where about eighteen miles from Cherra we first come on these wider plateaux) the road for nine miles to Shillong lies over such a moorland and along it there is no where a dip of more than sixty or seventy feet.

It will be easily understood that such a country as this affords space for occupation such as is not to be found in our hills to the North West. We believe that it would give admirable pasturage for sheep, we already see cattle in plenty in the finest and sleekest condition. Potatoes and other esculent roots are even now grown abundantly. The soil would seem to promise well for cereals of all descriptions, and we look forward to the time when smiling English homesteads* shall rise along the gentle slopes, and when 'the valleys shall stand so thick with corn that they shall laugh and sing.' Here, too, we have almost everywhere stone easily workable and admirably fitted for building purposes, slate is to be had for the searching, lime-stone is at hand in any quantities, and the coal which here at least may profitably be brought to market is abundant in various parts of the hills. Already have two roads been commenced from Shillong, one leading to Sylhet and one to Gowhatty in Assam, and everything promises fair for the new station.

About thirty miles from Shillong to the west stands a very remarkable rock called by the natives 'Kalung.' This forms a most imposing feature in the landscape from various points in the hills. An immense isolated mass of granite it stands amongst the gently undulating hillocks which surround it, overtopping them all by 500 feet, whilst its western face rises, naked and

* The little detached Kassiah villages on the slopes remind one very much of small English farms.

almost perpendicular, above 700 feet from its base to its rounded top. Its eastern base rests in rich wood which climbs half way up this less abrupt side, and here it is accessible by a steep and very slippery ascent. From the top is a fine view over a well timbered, park-like country to the westward, whilst on all sides it commands a prospect similar to, though less extensive than that from the peak of Shillong. Some ten miles north-east of the Kalung rock is Nungklow, from whence the Kassiah hills begin to slope towards the valley of Assam. We cannot imagine any scene more lovely than that which presents itself from this place. In the foreground sloping from the verge is a hanging forest of very varied vegetation, where wild plantains and other tropical plants are seen side by side with the pine of these hills (*Pinus Sinensis* we believe) which, first seen small and stunted about fourteen miles north of Cherra, attains its greatest height and girth in this forest. Lower down are hills still beautifully wooded or green with gigantic grass. These gradually sink into the valley of Assam which, intersected by the silver thread of the Brahmapootra, stretches away for seventy miles to the dark Bhootan hills, behind which tower the eternal Himalaya snows. To the east as far as eye can see rise range upon range of blue hills till they fade in the distant horizon. Here at day break a strange and beautiful sight may now and then be seen. A dense mist fills the valley to the very brink, which then looks like the wooded shore of a pale waveless sea stretching into space. Suddenly out of the still depths rise, as if by magic, islands of silver tinged with rose colour and gold, as the first beams of the rising sun kiss the snowy peaks of the, till then, invisible Himalaya.

But we have devoted too much space to scenery, we must pass on to the Kassiahs themselves, their character and customs. They are generally a cheerful, lively, good-humoured race, amongst themselves full of jokes and fun, truthful, open-hearted and honest, till intercourse with the people of the plains teaches them to deceive. Seldom tall but of strong well knit figures, and with such developement of leg from constant exercise up and down hill as we have never seen elsewhere. Men and women with their broad Tartar features approach to general comeliness when young, and we have known specimens of both quite good looking. But they disfigure themselves early by the universal and excessive use of pawn which blackens the teeth and mouth and removes all trace of good looks. They have seldom any hair on their faces, a thin wiry moustache being quite the exception. The men shave the forepart of the head, gathering the long back hair into a knot which is often concealed by a large and very

dingy turban. The women also confine the hair in a knot, but ordinarily wear no head dress. Both sexes are fond of sticking flowers, the bright crimson rhododendron or some gay colored orchid, between the ear and the head, and the women often adorn the knot of hair in the same way. The national dress of the men is a sort of unbleached sleeveless shirt fringed at the bottom and ornamented in front and at the back somewhat after the fashion of an English waggoner's smock frock. In addition to this, those who can afford it, wear a long, striped, picturesque looking chudder, but there is not the smallest attention paid to cleanliness of person or dress. The women are wrapped in a long straight mantle of striped cloth, with ends meeting and tied in a knot over the breast. Indispensable both to men and women is a small net bag of pine-apple fibre, which hangs over one shoulder and contains a very miscellaneous collection, consisting chiefly of a rude clasp knife and the materials for pawn, namely, betelnut, pawn leaves, and a small brass or silver box, with a chain attached, which holds the prepared lime which is eaten with the pawn. In the rains they generally wear a hood, formed of a light bamboo frame, lined with broad leaves which going over the head reaches far down the back and is a very effectual protection. Their burthens, like most hill people, they carry on the back, but these are kept in their place and to a certain degree supported by a wide plaited band across the forehead. When working by the job they will often carry as much as two maunds of coal or potatoes, and we have known a stalwart Jynteah Kassiah to carry a six dozen chest of beer: but the ordinary load is something under a maund. A common mode of travelling which we have never tried ourselves is to be carried on the back in a basket or chair prepared for the purpose. We remember a very stout friend of ours arriving at the foot of the hills, there was no pony to carry him, and to walk seemed for him out of the question. A chair was prepared for him and he sat patiently waiting to be lifted. Several men came and looked, but the size of the burthen alarmed them. At length when he had begun to despair, an old woman, taking pity on the inferior sex, stepped out and amidst shouts of laughter prepared to take him up. We believe the matter ended in a sufficient number of men being shamed into acting as carriers.

Kassiahs as a rule have a great objection to early rising, and on a journey it is difficult to rouse them to take up their loads. We had from a friend not long since an amusing illustration of this in a letter he had received from an old servant; after mentioning that he had been appointed a dâk runner he adds—

‘and oh my misery ! they say to me if I do not arrive at six in the morning I am of no manner of use.’

They have no prejudices about food and eat every thing that is good for food indiscriminately ; but, as is always the case, those who have more intercourse with natives of the plains become more particular. The Jynteah Kassiahs who, as we shall see, have become more Hindooized, refuse to eat beef, which is freely eaten in other parts of the hills. Their staple food is rice and dried fish.

Next to the oranges, which are a local crop confined to the southern slopes of the hills, their most important crop is potatoes, which are largely cultivated and exported, affording employment to a large portion of the population. The export through Cherra cannot, we believe, be less than a hundred thousand maunds a year, and the cultivation is yearly increasing.

In some parts of the hills iron smelting and forging form the almost sole occupation ; and it is a common thing to come on whole villages inhabited exclusively either by iron smelters or blacksmiths : often at a distance the measured beat on the stone anvil sounds like a peal of village bells.

Cattle and goats are frequently seen, but they are kept almost exclusively either for food or sacrifice or for their manure. Milk is taken by the Kassiahs in no shape, nor are the cattle used for husbandry.

Many of the Kassiah customs are remarkable, and foremost amongst these, distinguishing them at least from any of their neighbours, is the strange, though not altogether unique law which, entirely excluding the direct line, transfers the inheritance to the sister's children. This rule obtains universally ; so that a Raja's son may be a common peasant, whilst his nephew succeeds to the dignity and property whatever it may be. This usage is no doubt a consequence of the laxity of the marriage tie, which indeed can hardly be called marriage at all. The house and goods are the property of the wife to whom the husband pays perhaps only occasional visits. Mutual consent and the exchange of five cowries dissolve the tie. The children and the property remain with the wife.

The funeral festivities, for by no other name can they be called, are very peculiar. These do not take place necessarily or even usually at the time of the decease of the person in whose honor they are celebrated. The body is preserved to a convenient season either by desiccation or some other process, and on the last day of the ceremony it is burned and the ashes are collected and placed

in a sepulchre.* The festivities last for three or more days, and during that time a sort of fair is held enlivened by various games, amongst others climbing a greased pole. On each day there is a sacrifice of goats; and it is important that their heads should be struck off by one blow of an unwieldy two-handled sword. For people of consequence a bullock is added to the goats, and the flesh of all is distributed amongst the people with plenty of pork and strong drink. The most striking feature of the ceremony is the dance which is performed on these occasions for which all their finery is preserved. The men decked out in jackets of satin or velvet or broadcloth of the brightest hue, red, green, purple or yellow, with silken turban, plumed with peacock or other feathers, with gold and silver earrings, bangles and chains, with silken dhooties, and often with a bright chudder of silk or broadcloth, a gaily decorated quiver with arrows hanging at their back, and armed with the two-handed sword and shield which they continually clash together, dance in a circle a wild but monotonous measure, accompanied by discordant music, firing of musketry and long-continued howling.

The village maidens, meanwhile, swathed mummy-fashion in the most gorgeous of silks and muslins of every procurable colour and loaded with silver chains and ornaments, stand in a circle, and, with eyes demurely cast on the ground, execute an unvarying *pas* which consists in bringing the heels and toes alternately and very slowly together. The only picturesque thing about them is their head dress which is formed of a circlet of silver rising into a spear-head ornament behind. These gold and silver ornaments as used by men and women on these occasions are their most cherished possession and are handed down as heirlooms. A Kassiah would almost rather starve than part with a set when once possessed. They are sometimes worth as much as seven or eight hundred rupees. But here as in more civilized life they are often hired for the occasion.

The Kassiah national weapon is the bow and arrow, but they are by no means skilful archers, and their war arrow is so heavily barbed with iron as to render it a most uncertain missile.

Of religion they cannot be said to have any definite idea. They have a sort of belief in a Supreme Being, but their dread of a spirit of evil is much more prominent than their confidence in a spirit of good. They have great faith in omens, their principal

* It is not absolutely necessary that the whole body should be kept for the ceremony. When there is any difficulty about this, as in the case of a man dying at a distance from his home, a bone or a piece of a bone is sufficient, to fulfil the positive requirement.

means of divination being drawn from the breaking of eggs dashed with force on a board. Whole days and hundreds of eggs are sometimes expended before the required sign is obtained. Like most savage denizens of the hills they have certain groves and peaks to which, as the residence of deities and demons, they pay more than ordinary respect, and every village, as a rule, has its sacred grove from which is taken the wood used for sacrificial and funeral ceremonies, and which it is profanation to use for any other purpose. Here, however, as elsewhere, *auri sacra fames* exercises its own religious influence, and we have recently heard of village communities being not unwilling to part with their sacred groves for a consideration.

Law suits were formerly decided in a manner which, were it practised amongst ourselves, would put a stop to a good deal of litigation. Plaintiff and defendant either in person or through their attorneys, appeared on the margin of a deep pool into which they dived, whichever of the representatives of the parties, succeeded in remaining longer than the other under water was adjudged to be the successful claimant. Here in truth longwindedness had a merit which it cannot always claim in our own courts. This mode of decision, however, has been long put a stop to in consequence of a case which occurred about five or six and twenty years ago, when both parties to a suit remained under water too long and neither came up alive. As a substitute gold and silver are thrown into a vessel together; into this a man appointed for the purpose, dips his head and according as he brings up gold or silver in his mouth the suit is decided.

The Kassiah hills generally are divided into a number of petty chieftain-ships with more or less independent powers. All of them are to a certain extent in defined relation with, and, either expressed or understood, dependence on, the British Government. All of them are possessed of a certain absolute power in relation to their own subjects. Whilst, on the other hand, in their relations as separate powers with one another, they are entirely subordinate to the British Government. The more independent Chiefs are under an engagement not to wage war with any other chief, but to submit their disputes to the paramount power, which on its side is bound to adjust their disputes and to protect them if attacked; but they are practically possessed of absolute power over the lives and property of their own people, and in these relations the British Government professes to exercise no more than a moral influence. The less independent chiefs, though the power of life and death is left in their hands, are (under express agreement) removable for misconduct in

their dealings either with Government or with their own people, and this power of removal has, we believe, been exercised, at least in one case within the last few years on complaint of misgovernment and oppression. In the case of such removal a successor, a member of the ruling family, is elected by the suffrages of the people, the election being confirmed by Government. Separate villages have each their head man and council of elders, in most cases hereditary offices under the ultimate control of the Raja. There are not less than from twenty to twenty-five of these Rajaships in the Kassiah hills exclusive of the Jynteah portion of these hills, which, as well under its former rulers as since it became a part of the British possessions, has been administered on a different system.

The ancient territory of Jynteah embraced a considerable tract of plain country north of the river Soormah extending from a few miles east of Sylhet to Cachar, and the whole of the hill country stretching north and, for some distance, north-east to the valley of Assam. About twenty-six years ago the then Raja, who was a semi-barbarian, having persisted in the practice of human sacrifice from which he had been warned to desist, was deprived of his authority and removed from his capital Jynteahpoor, a small pension being assigned by Government for his support. He might possibly have been allowed to retain possession of his hill territories, but in these his personal authority was fixed on a not very firm basis, and the revenue to be derived from them was not such as to enable him to support any amount of dignity. These then were also taken possession of by Government, the plains of Jynteah being added to and absorbed in the district of Sylhet, the hill portion being at the same time placed under the authority of the then Political Agent in the Kassiah Hills. Little or no trouble, so far as we can gather, was experienced in assuming control of these hills; nor was any general dissatisfaction at the assumption either expressed or felt. Care was taken to administer the country according to old established custom, and for many years no dislike to our rule was in any way evinced.

We will now give a brief sketch of what may be called the Jynteah Hill constitution.

The country was divided into twelve circles of villages, each circle being administered by separate officials. At the head of each was an officer called a Dulloye, who was elected from some particular tribe or family by universal suffrage. Once elected his office lasted for life or during the pleasure of the Raja. He had the power of deciding certain cases both civil and criminal

without appeal, but others of importance were referred to the Raja and his council. The Dulloye was assisted by an officer called Pathor, who was generally elected, but was in other cases nominated by the Dulloyes. His function was to act as a deputy of the Dulloye. Besides these there were certain ministerial officers and a council of elders, in most cases appointed by the Dulloye but sometimes hereditary. The powers of this council varied in the several circles. In some cases they were, mere advisers, in others they exercised at least the power of putting a veto on measures proposed by the Dulloye. All these were nominally at least, subordinate to the Raja, whose authority was acknowledged by an annual tribute of goats from each Dulloyeship, and he held moreover certain lands for which labourers was supplied from the villages. But the Rajah's suzerainty, though thus far acknowledged, was less real than nominal, and the several tribes were at constant feud with one another, settling their own disputes without much reference to their common head.

This was the state of things when the British Government took possession of the Jynteah Hills, and no material change was made in their administration. Beyond checking the petty warfare between the several tribes and villages, as little interference as possible was exercised. One or two small military posts were established, and these were for many years sufficient for the purpose for which they were intended. The usual annual tribute, which had been made in acknowledgment of the authority of the Rajah, was punctually brought to the representatives of the Government at Cherr Poonjee, and we have heard, but we know not how far the report was true, that a promise was given to the inhabitants that, provided they remained quiet, no taxation should be imposed on them.

Gradually a change began to be made in this policy which, as far as we know, had worked very well. First, a thannah was established at Jowie, one of the largest and most independent villages in the Jynteah country. This was, very distasteful to the inhabitants and probably sowed the first seeds of discontent. Then in 1859-60 came the imposition of a house tax. This caused an outbreak, which was however quelled without much difficulty, but the people then declared that they would submit to no further taxation. Consequent on this outbreak came the enforcement of the Arms Act, and, to add to the inevitable bitterness which was attendant on the confiscation, their bows and arrows and shields were collected and burned in great numbers before their eyes. This was looked upon as an inten-

tional and additional offence, though certainly no insult was intended. It will easily be understood that the imposition of the income tax following closely on the still unpalatable house tax was not calculated to have a very soothing effect ; but other causes were at the same time working and adding to the general dissatisfaction ; amongst these we may instance a change in the appointment of the Dulloes and other officers which limited their tenure of office to three years : but there were still stronger influences than this.

We have spoken of the reason which led to the removal of the Raja of Jynteah, namely, his persistence in human sacrifices. The worship of Kalee which was thus pursued with such extreme fanaticism in the plain country had to a certain degree spread into the Hills, and a spurious Hindooism had been grafted on to the original demon worship of the Kassiahs, resulting in a medley of superstitions, unknown in the other parts of the Kassiah Hills. To a certain degree caste observances were introduced, beef and other articles of food forbidden by the Hindoo religion became proscribed, and groves, rocks and streams, which a semi-religious, semi-poetical sentiment had peopled with unknown spiritual beings, were converted into the abodes or the actual personifications of the gloomy Mahadeo.

And now a time had come when, as they imagined, not only their political immunities but their religious rites were to be interfered with. It is probably well known that for many years past a Christian Mission has been working quietly but steadily in these hills, and we believe that more has been done here, more practical results have been obtained with limited means than in almost any part of India. But even this, unmixed good as it really is, has seemed to have its temporal drawbacks. Many of the inhabitants of Jowie and other influential Jynteah villages became converts and, refusing to be bound by the ancient superstition, fished in forbidden waters, cut down trees in so-called sacred groves and cultivated lands which had hitherto been devoted to deities and demons. All this might have been overlooked, there was no personal hostility to the Christians, no opposition to Christianity so long as it remained a passive agent ; and probably they thought that the deities and demons were capable of looking after their own affairs ; but when the Kassiah Darogah of Jowie interfered with one of their most solemn religious rites, when, as we understand, they were told by the converts that the solemnization of these rites would no longer be allowed, then the obstinate Jynteah spirit showed itself and the resistance, which had before been

only contemplated, was now resolved on.

No one isolated act has ever, we believe, been the cause of any political convulsion large or small, and we are far from maintaining that this last act of interference was the absolute cause of the outbreak; but it was the spark that fired the train, the last item in the scale which inclined the balance in the direction of rebellion when a modicum of judicious concession might have turned it the other way. It must be confessed that our old policy of non-interference had this much of evil in it that it left the people to a great extent unacquainted with our power, and they no doubt entertained the conviction that they should be able by resistance at least to induce us to leave them alone altogether. There seems little reason to doubt that they were under the impression that the local corps which had been so long stationed in the hills was the only available force of the British Government: and simultaneously with the introduction of the income tax came a large reduction in this regiment, without any corresponding increase from any other source. The conclusion drawn was a natural one. They were little inclined to submit to what they held to be unjustifiable oppression, more especially at a time when as they supposed the Government had less power than ever of enforcing it.

These were in our opinion the chief motives of the outbreak. We could perhaps have entered into them at greater length and with more particularity, but time and space forbid it. We believe that Government Officers are now employed in an enquiry, the results of which will probably eventually become known to the public; and it may be that other causes besides those we have spoken of will be found to have been at work.

Great impatience has from time to time been expressed at what has been considered the inaction of Government, and at the slow length to which the campaigns in these hills have been drawn out. But those who have never had experience of warfare on our Eastern and North-Eastern Frontiers can have no idea of the sort of difficulties that have to be contended with. The brilliant operations of our Chamberlains and Lumsdens are over and over again repeated, and the martial, well armed Wazeerees and other warlike tribes of the North-West are brought into comparison with the half-clad savages with whom we have to deal in our Eastern Hills: but here it is the country, the climate, the want of means and appliances that have thrown difficulties in our way. The people of Jynteah opposed to our forces in the open country would have been a contemptible enemy, and no one knew this better than themselves; but in

their own fastnesses they were often able to evade troops unused to hill warfare, and by such evasion to protract operations. No one who has not had experience of it can understand the embarrassments which arise from the want of any other than coolie carriage; no one who has not seen a rainy season in the Kassiah and Jynteah Hills can form an idea of the difficulties which are experienced in such a country without roads and without bridges. All these difficulties have been overcome, the people have learned that the military resources of Government are not limited to one regiment; they have seen that guns can be brought into, and made serviceable in, what they believed to be, their inaccessible hills; they have seen in the introduction of the Kassiah Police that we know how to use their countrymen for something else than coolies, and that we can at the same time provide other means of carriage to take the place of coolies; they have fully proved moreover, what indeed they knew tolerably well before, that our troops are more than a match for them if they can only get at them.

Another of our small wars is over, and we hope that its historian may yet be found, for no doubt much that is interesting has to be told about it. We cannot be the chroniclers, for even had we the materials, it would far exceed the limits of an article such as this is intended to be. The Jynteah people have been taught a very severe lesson, one which they will not easily forget: but

‘ ——— We trust that somehow good
‘ Will be the final goal of ill’

Now is the time for civilization to step in, for Christianizing influences to commence their work. We hold that there is no more propitious field for humanizing efforts than the fallow ground presented by our hill tribes. Every hill top and valley and grove is an altar to an ‘unknown God’ whom it is our mission to declare unto them. The people are willing to learn, are even craving for instruction. Government has been compelled to teach them this lesson of severity—let it now do its part in teaching them a lesson of love. Instruments will not be wanting if Government will but do its part. The Kassiahs have many admirable qualities and much intelligence which need only education and developement; and we confidently look forward to a time when these hills partially colonized by Englishmen, and with their native inhabitants enlightened and humanized will be a source of strength instead, as of late, of weakness to the British Government.

ART. V. 1.—*Copy of Correspondence relating to the introduction of the Chinchona Plant into India and to proceedings connected with its cultivation from March, 1852 to 1863.* Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed 20th March, 1863.

2. *Copy of all Correspondence not hitherto laid upon the Table relating to the Pier and Harbour of Sedashegar and roads leading thereto.* Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed 3rd March, 1863.

WE have been somewhat puzzled how to conform to the usual practice of placing at the head of this article the name of a book whose contents we are supposed to review. We have succeeded, we believe, tolerably well, as we may have occasion to quote a few facts from the publications we have designated; but we may as well candidly state at once that our object in the ensuing paper is to describe, chiefly from personal recollection, a tract of Southern India to which European enterprize is giving daily increasing interest and importance.

The tract to which we have given the name of Southern Ghâts is the mountain chain extending from the frontier of the Portuguese territory of Goa to Cape Comorin. It comprises the Province of Canara Balaghât (or Canara above the Ghâts). It forms the eastern boundary of South Canara, of the District of Malabar, and of the Kingdoms of Cochin and Travancore. It includes the small principality of Coorg, the District of Waynáad, now of Coffee-bearing celebrity, and the well known Sanatorium of the Neelgherry mountains; and falls abruptly into the sandy plain of the sea shore at the Southern extremity of India. Throughout the length of this tract, which measures in a straight line about 500 English miles, the characteristic features of the mountain chain vary but slightly. Exposed to the long continued rains and violent storms of the South-West Monsoon the peaks on the western side are abrupt and precipitous, and fall like granite ramparts into the jungle below, while on the eastern side they are clothed with fresh greensward and slope gradually into the forest which creeps up their sides. Wherever the detritus of the rocks has formed a sufficient resting place to resist the action of the torrents, the force of tropical vegetation has been able to overcome the violence of the winds, and wherever there

is a moderate depth of soil there is a dense jungle except on the very highest peaks and plateaux. Over these the winds both of the South-West and of the North-East Monsoon sweep with intense violence, and here the forest vegetation seeks the shelter and follows the waving outline of the ravines, while a rough turf-sward clothes the undulation. Elsewhere throughout the mountain range all is either thick jungle or precipitous rock.

But although thus unvarying in general characteristics, there are many variations arising from the distance of the mountain chain from the sea and from the altitude of the mountains themselves which seriously affect the salubrity of the climate and the character of the vegetation. At the northern extremity the mountains encroach upon the sea and a spur thrown from them forms the bay and harbour of Sedashaghur, now rising into importance as a cotton emporium. Farther south, as at Candapore, and many other places, they recede sufficiently to allow their rivers to form rich alluvial deltas between the chain and the coast. Opposite to Mangalore they form a semi-circular amphitheatre, in the arena of which the extensive ruins of an ancient city lie almost unexplored, owing to the deadly climate which now prevails. And thus with a waving line from north to south they bound the narrow districts of Canara and Malabar and the kingdoms of Cochin and Travancore, separating them by so distinct a margin from the rest of the Madras Presidency, and forming a country so entirely different in people, language and climate that the western coast Officers almost form a distinct branch of the Madras Civil Service.

It is difficult to say what is the average height of this chain. The Ghâts or mountain roads which now intersect it do so at elevations varying from two to four thousand feet, while the peaks which overhang them rise to six thousand and in one instance to eight thousand feet. The greatest elevation is attained by Doddabett the highest point of the Neelgherries, and not far from it is the greatest depression, where the Palghât Gap affords a wide passage through the chain with an ascent of a little more than a thousand feet. The mountains lose nothing of their altitude as they approach their termination. The Augustia Peak near the southern extremity is 6,000 feet high, and the range throughout Travancore is as lofty as in Canara, but it is otherwise with regard to the breadth of the plateau; this narrows gradually towards the south. The table land of Mysore has an elevation of from two to three thousand feet, and into this the Ghâts on their Eastern slopes gradually subside. But south of the Neelgherries and especially south of the Palghât Gap they form a steep rampart between the ancient kingdoms of

Madura and Travancore, and fall with almost equal abruptness on their eastern and western sides; till between Tinnivelly and the Nanjenáad of Travancore they become a narrow serrated ridge four thousand feet in height, from which the sun is seen to rise from the Bay of Bengal and set in the Indian Ocean.

At the extreme point some large masses are detached from the main chain and stand alone surrounded by plains of finely sifted sand, heaped up by the force of the south-westerly gales. The interruption to the rampart which here takes place is supplied by an artificial stone wall or curtain, constructed across the plains intervening between the mountain masses, and carried finally into the surf at Cape Comorin. This wall forms the southern lines of Travancore, so often mentioned in the military histories of the last century, through which the jealously guarded Arambooly Gate formed the only entrance into that secluded kingdom.

Within the last thirty years this tract of country has undergone considerable changes, and has exhibited in a marked manner the progressive effects of British sway. Within this period the long line of mountains has become dotted over with the houses of British settlers, its jungles have in many parts given place to the estate of the Coffee-planter, more than one Sanatorium has risen into importance, and numerous passes constructed on scientific principles have become the scenes of a busy and increasing commerce.

At the commencement of the period to which we have alluded, Mysore was in a disorganized state, and had only just passed, in consequence of this disorganization, under British rule; Coorg was still a mountain stronghold governed by a cruel and blood-thirsty madman; along the two sides of the mountain chain, in British possessions as well as in those of the Native powers, monopolies jealously guarded repressed intercourse, and peopled the defiles with smugglers and robbers, and not a single road practicable to wheeled carriages pierced the mountain barrier; but within this period a vast change has taken place. At its commencement Mysore was rescued from the hands of the Rajah, who after squandering the treasure which had accumulated under the virtuous administrations of the Minister Poorneah, drove his people into rebellion by his exactions, and then hanged them thick as acorns on the trees of Nugger. From his rule the country passed under the administration of the able statesman Sir Mark Cubbon, whose loss India has lately mourned. The principality of Coorg was soon afterwards absorbed into the British Empire and committed to the same management. The abolition of several of the most obstructive monopolies gave a stimulus to agriculture and commerce, and the advantage of well-constructed roads was at last conceded by our rulers.

It has been our lot to be placed in a position to watch the progress of improvement in this tract of country and to become familiar with nearly all its Passes in their unimproved and improved condition. The value of our mountain tracts not only as a source of wealth to the settler but as a source of strength to the Empire is daily more fully recognized. The Coffee-trade of Southern India is already of great extent. On the Cotton trade the state of the Passes has at the present time an important bearing, and two other articles of commerce, Tea and Quinine, must shortly rise into importance. Sir Charles Trevelyan well remarked, when Governor of Madras, in one of his interesting Minutes that—"It was reserved for the Anglo-Saxon period to 'disclose the use that may be made of these mountain regions; 'they now form an important element in our system.'" We have thought therefore that a few records of the early stage of this mountain colonization may not be uninteresting to our reads.

To state how and where the principal lines of communication in a country were formed will generally be to follow the march of improvement in that country, and it is so in the present instance. When we first visited the Southern Ghâts just thirty years ago the principal Pass through the chain was the Bisly Ghât, forming the communication between Bangalore and the capital of Canara, Mangalore; and from the magnificent scenery of this Pass our first impressions of mountain grandeur were received. The change from the flat monotony of the Carnatic and the treeless undulations of Mysore to the gigantic forests and rocky precipices of the Ghâts produces sensations not easily effaced, especially when the traveller is new to India, and looks around him with all the interest which attaches to a country likely to be the home of many years and the scene of his first public labours. The road, if so it could be called, had been slightly repaired by the Pioneers, but only by repairing the native track which generally followed the bed of a torrent; and the traces of civilization were few indeed. And yet the Province of Canara had then been in British possession for 30 years, and the neighbouring Province of Malabar for nearly forty years. At this time not a wheeled carriage could enter the Province of Canara! Whether the natural facilities of the Palghât Gap allowed of their entrance into Malabar, we are not sure; but we know that the communication was so imperfect and the amount of traffic so small, that then, and for many years afterwards, travellers were always attended by peons armed with firelock to protect them from the numerous Elephants which infested the Pass. It is strange, but it is a fact, that during this first thirty years of British pos-

session so small was the appreciation at head quarters of the value of public works, that trade had to force its own way through mountain defiles to the coast, and even there not a single jetty gave its aid, not a single crane displayed the advantages of mechanical science, not a single lighthouse guided the ship to its port.

It is the progress of internal communication in the next thirty years which we have proposed to make the subject of our present article ; and to show how great has been the change effected within that period, we may here mention that having first visited the western coast by the Pass above described, where even the palanquin had often to be abandoned to be lifted over masses of rock or up the precipitous banks of the torrents, we quitted it at the close of the period in a first-class railway carriage, at a steady rate of thirty-five miles an hour. It is strange to look back over the intervening space, to trace the stages by which so great a contrast was brought about and thus to mark the progress of a single generation. Within that period twelve good roads were constructed through the mountains into Canara alone, and several into Malabar ; finally the railway was completed and improvement is now advancing with accelerated steps.

It would be gratifying if it could be shown that an enlightened policy had given the first stimulus to this march of improvement, but in the country which we are describing it originated in another cause, namely a sense of danger. When the tranquil state of Mysore under British management encouraged the industry of the people, a surplus produce was created, which naturally sought an outlet through the mountains to the sea ; but it had to force its way by mountain paths and torrent beds on half laden bullocks to the coast. The local authorities who witnessed the struggles of the trade were anxious enough to open out the country, but the means at their disposal were trifling, and their representations to a distant Government met with little attention. But in 1834 the want of communications was severely felt. The Rajah of Coorg's insane cruelties and wanton insults compelled the Governor General Lord William Bentinck to resolve to deprive him of his kingdom and to declare war against him. The natural strength of the country and the warlike character of the people of Coorg rendered the task of conquering this petty state far from an easy one. Although surrounded on all sides by British territory, the capital of this mountain stronghold occupied the crest of the Ghâts where they attain an elevation of four thousand five hundred feet, and the dense jungles and steep ravines offered most serious obstacles to the march of regular troops. Four separate columns each composed partly of English

and partly of Native troops were organized and ordered to enter the country simultaneously. But so impenetrable was the jungle that with the aid of a few stockades the hardy mountaineers were able to hold their invaders in check. The column from the north-east was repulsed at the Buckshie stockade. The western column from Mangalore was driven back to the coast. The south-western column from Cannanore was checked in the pass of the Stoney River, a name sufficiently indicative of the nature of the road. The south-eastern column which entered by Fraserpett had only a slight skirmish with the enemy and was met by overtures of peace from the affrighted Rajah before the more difficult country had been entered. Had not the Rajah, to the disgust of his devoted subjects, surrendered his country and person, it must have cost many a life and a protracted war before the conquest could have been achieved, for the monsoon was close at hand during which no troops could have kept the field.

It would have been a measure of only ordinary precaution had our rulers taken warning from experience and provided against the recurrence of such difficulties, nor was an example wanting. To the north of Coorg on a plateau above the Ghâts is a tract of country called Bollama formerly inhabited by a turbulent race of people. After the conquest of Mysore the people broke out into insurrection, but they were under the vigorous rule of Sir Arthur Wellesley who immediately cut a military road through the country which has ever since remained undisturbed; but no such precaution was taken in regard to Coorg. In 1837 when the country had been in our possession for about three years, an insurrection broke out in Lower Coorg, and the force sent to quell it found itself opposed by the same difficulties as had met the first invading force; from a want of roads and carriage it was unable to penetrate the country. The absence of a common purpose between the Upper and Lower Coorgs alone saved the Government from serious and costly disaster. The Upper Coorgs after some wavering, sided with the Government, and the ease with which they suppressed the rebellion showed to those who witnessed it how serious would have been the resistance of a people so accomplished in mountain warfare.

This second warning was not neglected, the force sent into the country on this occasion was accompanied by a young Engineer of more than common talent and energy. Lieutenant East undertook to construct a carriage-road through the mountains in a line from Mysore to the coast. Lord Elphinstone was then Governor of Madras and no one more thoroughly apprecia-

ted the value of internal communications. Taking advantage of the emergency to set aside the restrictive rules which deprived the minor presidencies of all freedom of action, orders were issued to carry on the work with all practicable speed, and if possible, to open the road before the ensuing rains. With such full powers Lieutenant Fast and his colleagues carried on the work with vigor, and the Sampajee Ghât connecting Mysore with Mangalore through Mercara the capital of Coorg, the first road carried through the Southern Ghâts on scientific principles forms a lasting monument to the professional skill of this young Officer.

Those who saw this noble work when such works were new, and observed the intelligent eye and animated face of the young Engineer by whom it was planned and executed augured a bright career for one who so early in his service had done so much; but Lieutenant Fast's career was a short one. There is a more formidable enemy to be encountered in Indian Engineering than the granite precipice or the densest jungle; it is the deadly fever which lurks in the ravines. To this Lieutenant Fast fell a victim when carrying out another public work under Lord Elphinstone's orders, and the Madras Corps of Engineers lost one who promised to rank high even among its De Harilands and Cottons. Lord Elphinstone directed that a tablet to Lieutenant Fast's memory should be erected at the head of the Sampajee Ghât. A more lasting monument would have been assigned by directing that the Ghât itself should bear his name and in all official papers be called Fast's Ghât.

Although constructed for military purposes, Lord Elphinstone was fully alive to the commercial advantages of this road. It is true that if selected as a commercial line, the choice would have been a mistake, for many a line of far greater importance in this respect remained unimproved. The portion of Mysore from which it started was thinly peopled. The Coorgs were unacquainted with commerce having been jealously debarred from it by their Rajah, and the line which the road followed was for many a mile through dense jungle. Every tree which when felled would fall across the road and form a barrier, had, for military reasons, to be removed, and this implied a clearing of from 60 to 100 feet on the slopes of the mountains and this for continuous miles, for not a single clearing for cultivation then existed. But even with these disadvantages the outlay as a money speculation has proved a great success. Within a short period the cost of the road was more than covered by the increase of the Salt Revenue on the coast, while the easy access to a market gave a stimulus to the agriculture of Coorg, and boundaries long neglected and almost obsolete began to be care-

fully renewed, and attested the increased value of the land, and at the present day extensive Coffee plantations line both sides of the road. Even as early as 1851, when the commission on public works was pursuing its enquiries, the Collector of Canara was able to prove that the cost of the Sampajee Ghât had been amply repaid.

To Lieutenant Fast then the honor rightly belongs of having been the chief pioneer in opening out the valuable tract of the Southern Ghâts, of having made them the scene of an active commerce and the site of a lucrative culture. From the successful opening of the Sampajee Ghât a steady progress in road making has followed. The Manjerabad Ghât and the Agombay Ghât were planned and executed by Captain (now Colonel) Green and subsequently a whole series of passes were traced and in a great measure carried out by Lieutenant (now Colonel) Walker. The progress was slow, it is true, and the labour extended over a period of many years, and at the present day, when even a lavish expenditure on public works is recognized as sound wisdom, it is almost with incredulity that one recalls the efforts necessary on part the of local officers to obtain from distant rulers the means of pouring a full tide of wealth into the public treasury. But at the same time it may not be unwise to look back to the expenditure of those days and the effect produced by it, at a time when there appears a danger of running into the opposite extreme.

We find in an official report from the Collector of Canara the following table, which epitomizes the result of mountain road-making in its early stages up to 1852, and which may come to be looked upon as a curiosity in future years if the cost of public works in India should continue to increase at its present rate.

Name of	Length in	When	Cost
The Ghât	miles.	opened	Rupees.
Sampajee	66	1838	263,727 Bridged throughout.
Agombay	5	1838	13,780 Bridged.
Manjerabad	29	1843	84,356 Temporary Timber Bridges.
Daivamunnay	78	1843	78,644 Bridged.
Arbyle	9½	1843	9,351 Temporary Bridges.
Neelcoond	8	1843	7,500 "
Cooloor	31	1846	9,700 "

In commenting upon this account the Collector remarked 'Recent experience has proved the following facts: That at the rate of about £40 per mile a trace can be made on scientific principles and opened to the extent of five or six feet, being sufficient to allow of loaded bullocks using it. When so made the traces are immediately used in supercession of the old Ghâts,

‘which are the beds of the mountain torrents. When so traced the native road-superintendents of the District are competent to convert them into good cart roads at about 1,000 Rupees or £100 per mile. These can be afterwards bridged at a very cheap rate with timber bridges on stone piers calculated to last for twenty or thirty years.’

It was on this plan that it was sought to open the country by a series of cheap works into which the macadamized road or the railroad should be engrafted. The result of the system as far as it had been carried in 1852 was carefully analysed by the Public Works Commission, and it was declared by them that ‘the Government had received a direct return on the capital expended on these roads of $10\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. in the form of Land Revenue and of 10 per cent. in the form of Salt Revenue being a total net profit of $20\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on the outlay clear of all charges.’

Circumstances in India have so greatly changed since Lord Dalhousie inaugurated the railway system and appointed a Commission in each presidency to investigate the state of the Public Works Department, and since in his newly annexed territories he gave examples of the manner, in which the conquering and civilized power should inaugurate its sway, that the above facts have little more than an historical interest as an episode in the history of Indian inland communications. But we are persuaded that throughout a large portion of India and for many years to come a series of cheap roads such as were then constructed and can be executed by the indigenous labour and skill of the country under a certain degree of scientific direction will be found much more efficacious than the costly railway and even the cheaper tramway; and we believe that in all parts of India, even where the railway and the tram are needed to carry off the great flood of commerce, they should not supersede and place in abeyance these humble works, but both should form parts of one well-considered system.

After a long experience of mountain road-making in the Southern Ghâts we may here state that the general result of our observation is that the road best calculated to develop the resources of the Ghâts, that is to say the one sufficient for the wants of existing commerce, and combining facility of construction with economy of expenditure is one having a gradient varying from one in sixteen to one in thirty, and a breadth varying from fifteen to eighteen feet. A road in which these variations are allowed may appear a very rude work to the English engineer accustomed to require perfection of finish almost without reference to cost, but it supplies all the wants of the trade as it now exists, and will do so for many years to come; and when

skilled labour and scientific superintendence are as scarce as they are at present in India they should be applied to a few of the most important lines, while rapidity and cheapness of construction should be the general rule. Several circumstances should be kept in view. The most important of all is that the substitution of wheeled carriage for the pack bullock is beyond all calculation a greater advance in intercommunication than the change from the rude country cart to the railway car. A second is that in the country we have described nearly the whole of the trade is down and not up the Ghâts; that what is brought down is for the most part bulky raw produce, and what is taken up consists chiefly of manufactured goods. The return carriage half laden is therefore more than sufficient for the upward traffic. We are satisfied from long experience that an unequal gradient with an occasional steep pull of one in sixteen is preferable to a protracted and uniform pull of say one in thirty. To many engineers a zigzag is hateful and they will take a long sweep at a considerable cost to avoid it; but we do not hesitate to own a liking to an occasional zigzag. Of course if descent and progress towards the coast can be combined and a zigzag avoided, so much the better, but where the top and bottom of the Ghât are given points, we do not see the great advantage of the long sweep over a well made zigzag. If the turns are made at a dead level the occasional pause and a shift of the harness afford great relief to the cattle. With regard to the breadth of the Ghât, when it is remembered that on the scarp of a hill by doubling the breadth of the road you quadruple the cost, that is, that you can make four miles of Ghât, 15 feet in width for the same cost as one mile 30 feet in width, the importance of economy in this respect will be appreciated.

We have observed at the beginning of this article that the opening out of the Southern Ghâts by these passes had had a material influence as well on the cultivation of Coffee, as on the transport of Cotton. We shall now turn aside to recall a few facts concerning the progress of Coffee-cultivation in Southern India and especially on the Ghâts; and afterwards take a glance at a portion of our tract which is the scene of the Cotton trade, and on that account has recently occupied a good deal of the attention of the public press of India. When the kingdom of Mysore was brought under British management Coffee-cultivation was not unknown, but it was repressed by monopoly. We have not learnt when the plant was first introduced, nor have we at hand any statistics of its cultivation at this early period. The monopoly had become the property of an English firm at Madras, and the Coffee was chiefly exported from the Eastern Coast. But as soon

as the period had elapsed for which the monopoly had been rented, the strong representation of the Superintendent of the Nugger Division (Mr. Hudleston Stokes) led the Commissioner to throw open the trade and substitute an excise on the Coffee. Coffee land was exempted from assessment and a duty of eight annas (or one shilling) per maund was demanded on the removal of the produce. This was a heavy duty, but even under it the spread of the cultivation was steady. Of late years the duty has been reduced to four annas per maund, and the cultivation has rapidly increased.

Since the removal of the monopoly the largest proportion of the produce has sought the ports of the western coast, and the exports from Canara, being entirely the produce of Mysore and Coorg, afford a faithful indication of the growth of the trade in later years. We find that whereas the quantity exported in 1850-51 amounted to 1,643,713 lbs. valued at Rs. 148,197, (or £14,800) it rose in 1860-61 to 6,194,686 lbs. valued at Rs. 1,152,137 (or £115,200). If we examine the trade tables down to 1860-1 we see it increasing in the last two years by £40,000 and £30,000 a year. But even this is not the whole increase of Coffee cultivation in Mysore. A portion of the produce still finds its way to the port of Madras; and the exports from Madras increased in the last two years of the series about £14,000 and £44,000 respectively giving a total increase in two years of £128,000 in the value of this trade.

The principle site of the Coffee trade of Mysore is the base of the Bababoodan mountain in the neighbourhood of the town of Chie Magalore; the Bababoodan peak rises from the higher table-land of Mysore and its lower slopes afford a soil and enjoy a climate peculiarly adapted to the growth of Coffee. The produce from this site, known as Cannans Mysore, bears the highest price in the London market. When planting was commenced in this region, labour was abundant, and one anna, or a penny half penny per day, was the common rate of wages. The cultivation is not confined to the English planter but is extensively carried on by the native landowners, and of late years some of the native Christians of Canara have taken up land in Mysore for this purpose. A new Ghât was traced with the express view of aiding this trade and is known as the Coffee Ghât and although still in a very incomplete state owing to Lord Canning's restrictive order, which arrested the progress of all public works in the Madras Presidency, it is much used by traders. At the fort of Mangalore, at which this road, as well as those of Agombay, Manjerabad and Sampajee, converge, in common with several other passes which still remain in their natural state, the Coffee-trade now gives

employment to a large portion of the population, and steam machinery has been called in to aid the labour of man.

The tract of the Southern Ghâts embraced within the passes above named may be estimated as extending about 150 miles from the Agombay Ghât to Mercara, and to this region the Coffee cultivation of the Canara Ghâts may be considered as at present limited although partial experiments in North Canara and other places give every encouragement to the prospect of its extension over a far wider area.

While thus the cultivation was extending in Mysore the Talook of Malabar became the scene of busy English enterprise. This tract of country is situated eastward of Tellicherry occupying a plateau intermediate between the low country and the higher table land of the Neelgherries. In this portion of the range the cultivation is entirely owing to English energy, and has been carried on under many disadvantages with regard to the supply of labour and difficulty of communication, and we are inclined to believe with as little advantage of soil and climate as in any place where the cultivation had been tried. But English energy has carried this little colony ahead in the race, and in ten years the exports have risen from £13,500, to £137,700, and there is every reason to believe that in two or three years from the date of our last return the yield will be increased by one half. The estates are now from 55 to 65 in number. By the latest accounts which we have been able to procure there are in the estates held by Europeans 4880 acres in bearing, and 2500 planted but not in full bearing. The estates in the possession of Natives are returned at 4000 acres.

The produce of Waynáad is chiefly exported from Tellicherry, one of the oldest possessions of the East India Company on the Malabar Coast. From this port the communication with the interior is said to be in a very imperfect state and forms the subject of loud complaints on the part of the English settlers. In the earlier period of British occupation the Waynáad was a wild and turbulent district, and a small local force called the Waynáad Rangers under an English Officer had its head quarters at Manantoddy, and the pass between Mysore and Sultan's battery was commanded by this detachment and kept in partial repair. The protection afforded by this force and the comparative facilities for trade which the pass afforded led to the first establishment of this now important cultivation; but the action of Government has by no means kept pace with the wants of the planter.

It has been unfortunate for the interests of this trade that the Financial Minister, Mr. Wilson, while desirous, and most justly so, of encouraging the settlement of English planters and the

application of English capital to the soil of India, was led to act in this matter before he had the opportunity of acquainting himself with the real wants of the country. Until Mr. Wilson brought forward his budget, an export duty of 3 per cent. was levied on Coffee. This duty Mr. Wilson swept away with the avowed object of encouraging production. But the great want of the Coffee planter was not a pecuniary encouragement but the construction of those lines of communication which the exhaustion of the Indian treasury and Lord Canning's restrictive order had suspended. The trade required no such encouragement as an exemption from duties paid by other products of the country. We have seen it flourishing in Mysore with an excise of four annas (6d.) per maund, and it would have been far more to the interest of the planter to have had the duty still levied, the amount being applied to the construction of roads, than it has been to have the duty remitted and the roads unmade. The Coffee exports of Madras amount to £320,000, and 3 per cent. on this amounts to £9,600. Had this amount been levied and applied to improving the communications through the Coffee country, it would have been more than saved to the planter on the cost of transport, and every year would have seen fresh tracts of soil made accessible to his enterprize. We have shown above that for little more than £100 a mile roads can be, and have been, constructed so as to allow of the substitution of wheeled carriage for pack-bullocks, and the fund above specified would allow of the addition of 90 miles of road every year to the communications of the country. Even at this late date the planters would do well to petition the Government that this duty be levied at the seaports as a turnpike toll and formed into a fund for the construction and repair of the roads.

From Waynáad the Coffee cultivation has crept up the sides of the Neelgherries to the very verge of the region of frost. The greater the elevation at which it is grown the heavier appears the berry of the coffee and the finer its flavour. About six thousand feet is the greatest height at which it is now successfully cultivated.

We have not room nor is this the place to describe either the process of Coffee cultivation or the profits on capital to be expected from it, but that with proper management and with the present prices it is abundantly remunerative there is now no manner of doubt. We have it on good authority that a planter, who gets less than half a ton of Coffee per acre from the lands of Waynáad has himself and not his land to blame. We have heard of a yield of 40 tons of Coffee from a plantation of 50 acres on the Neelgherries, and we have heard of exceptional cases in which

three tons have been gathered from a single acre. The Madras cultivator enjoys unusual advantages in comparison with other countries. "The tax paid in Ceylon for the supply of labour alone 'would amount in the case of employing 200 men (the generally 'desired number by rough calculation) on an estate of 200 acres, " (generally considered the most advantageous size) to £75 annually."* This tax is, we understand, one self-imposed by the planters of Ceylon for the establishment of an agency for the encouragement of immigration, and has to be superadded to the enhanced wages which it is necessary to offer to the coolies to tempt them from their native country. But it needs no statistics to show that if coolies can be profitably transported to Ceylon, and the West Indies, much more can they be advantageously employed in their own country, if the soil is not of far inferior quality, which, we believe, is by no means the case.

With regard to the future prospects of the Coffee cultivation of the Southern Ghâts we shall only observe that, if it is not limited by the extent of the available land, there appears to be no assignable limit to its extension. The whole exports of Coffee from the Madras Presidency amount at present to £324,000 while Ceylon exports to the value of a million and a half, and Brazil to the value of five millions with all the cost of slave labour or of free labour imported from Germany. And the market is at the same time rapidly extending, owing in a great degree to the increased consumption of Coffee by the labouring classes of England, as well as to the rapid extension of our colonial empire.

We shall endeavour before we close this article when we have completed our survey of the Southern Ghâts to form some estimate of the area still available for cultivation; but we now proceed to view our mountain passes as the channels of another branch of commerce, the Cotton trade of Southern India.

Three small principalities, Soopa, Sonda and Bilghi occupied the jungly table land of the Southern Ghâts, extending from the Goa frontier to the border of Mysore near Siddapoor being a distance of 80 miles in a straight line. Having been absorbed by the arms of Hyder Ali and Tippoo into the kingdom of Mysore they passed after the fall of Seringapatam into British possession, in common with the province of Canara, and are known by the name of Canara Balaghât, (or above the Ghâts). The country when first occupied was jungly, wild and unhealthy, but valuable for the rich gardens of pepper, cardamons and betelnut which occupy its deep wooded ravines, nourished by the

* Report of Mr. Thomas, Assistant Collector of Malabar.

springs which the density of the jungle render perennial, and by the leaf manure which the jungle yields in abundance and which native gardeners well know how to value. The gardens occupied the upper and consequently the narrowest and most shaded part of the ravines, and below them a few terraced fields yielded rich crops of rice and sugar-cane. In those secluded farms the Haig Brahmins, their possessors, lived in clustered families ; ignorant, suspicious and poor amid the richest crops that the bounty of nature ever yielded. The betel palms there grow so close together that the first gatherer after ascending one slender stem can pass round the whole garden by swinging from tree to tree. Up every stem the pepper vine is trained, and between them the cardamon is planted in alternate rows with the shadowy plantain. The latter alone fails to yield its fruit in this dense shade, and is planted only to be cut down and add to the decaying vegetable manure. But in full proportion to this bounty of nature had been the exactions of the tax-gatherer, and the money-lender, and the garden Ryets were an impoverished and indebted race. The rest of the country was almost uninterrupted jungle, abounding in game and thieves ; for it was the safe retreat of bands of Pindaries and other lawless tribes from the more open Southern Mahratta country. So unhealthy was the country deemed that for many years it was considered to be unsuited for European residence and was only occasionally visited by a Revenue Officer addicted to sport. Even the annual jum-mabundy was entrusted to the native officials who hurried through their duty and returned to the coast with as little delay as possible.

Through this country there was from the first a very brisk trade carried on by Brinjeries in large camps between the Southern Mahratta country and the coast, and between the cultivators of the country and the large cities of the Deccan, where the betel-nut and cardamons were chiefly consumed. Even the wheat of Oomrawutee, distant 500 miles, found its way to Canara to be exchanged for these spices. After a few years the Balaghat proved to be more healthy, and every cold season it was visited by the Collector and his Assistants, and the coldness of the climate and abundance of sport rendered this annual tour a time of great enjoyment. It was on one of these visits in 1832 that the Collector of Canara and his Assistant narrowly escaped with their lives during a riot raised in the town of Sirsi by the Nugger insurgent Boodda Busapa. After standing a two days' seige from the Mussulman population excited to madness by the usual scheme of throwing a pig into the mosque, the timely arrival of troops from Honore

relieved them from their perilous position. From this time Sirsi, the capital town of the Balaghat, was furnished with a small detachment of troops and shortly afterwards one of the Sub-Collectors built a house there and made it his permanent headquarters.

It would be difficult, perhaps, to select any portion of territory which should illustrate more distinctly the effect of one English official resident among the native population of India than the Balaghat of Canara. Secluded from the rest of the district by its peculiar position the Balaghat became the almost independent charge of the Sub-Collector to whom the people, grateful for his presence, paid willing obedience, while he, cognizant of all their wants, was able to lay them before the Government with influence and success. One of the first measures required was the suppression of robberies, committed by the large bands of Pindaries from the Mahratta country, which gave great insecurity to trade. This was effected by raising a body of 80 Military Police who patrolled the chief lines of commerce, and by obtaining permission for the merchants to pay their money into the Treasury of Bellary and other districts and travel with bills instead of cash. The effect of these measures was great and immediate, but a measure as urgently required was the construction of roads.

By this time the Cotton trade of the Southern Mahratta country had risen to importance and thousands of bullocks yearly forced their way through the jungle down the steep Ghât of Neelcond to the inconvenient port of Compta, leaving a considerable portion of their burden on the bushes and bearing the rest in a damaged state to its destination. As early as 1835 sanction was obtained for a small outlay to improve the Ghât and road between Compta and Lusi and a large increase of trade was the immediate result. This was an important step but it was not till a late date that the construction of a pass calculated for wheeled carriage was thought an attainable object. But after the successful construction of the Sampajee Ghât the practicability of such a work at a moderate cost was put beyond question, and all that was required was to prove to our rulers that such a work would repay its cost, and to obtain their sanction for the outlay. The difficulty of this task will hardly appear credible to those whose knowledge of Indian Government is of recent date. But the object was obtained by the persevering efforts of one of the Sub-Collectors, who had held sway over and become attached to this territory. But it was only by providing himself with complete plans and estimates of the work, together with statistics of the trade, and armed with these proceeding to England, and personally boring the

Court of Directors, and when this failed proceeding to Manchester and enlisting the interest of influential men there and bringing them to bear upon the Court, that he at last obtained a dispatch from the Court of Directors to the Government of Madras sanctioning the construction of a cart road by the Daivamunnay Ghât to aid the Cotton trade of North Canara.

The Daivamunnay Ghât was constructed in 1843 at an expense of 79,000 Rupees, and George Stephenson never in after life contemplated with more satisfaction the rapid passage of a railway train than those who had witnessed the early struggle of this trade watched the continuous line of carts slowly winding down the Ghât, and proving that at least one great step in civilization had been attained. But he, to whose persevering character the attainment of this object was chiefly due, only heard from a distance of the success of his exertions. On his return from England he was appointed to other duties and not long afterwards terminated his honorable and useful career. During one of his explorations of the Ghât he discovered the beautiful falls, second only to those of Gairsippa, which are known as the Lushington Falls; and it is our hope that they will always be thus called and so perpetuate the name of one of the most conscientious of public servants and most warm-hearted of friends whose memory is indissolubly connected with all our recollections of North Canara.

The Daivamunnay Ghât soon proved inadequate to the necessities of the trade which increased with great rapidity, and every exertion was made to open out new lines. The abolition of the land customs, in which the excise on pepper, cardamoms and betel was included, took place at this time and removed one great impediment from trade, and raised the Garden Ryots from a state of poverty to one of comfort and independence. The means at the disposal of the local authorities would allow of nothing more than practicable traces of Ghâts being made, and these were opened in quick succession. The Arbyle Ghât was constructed between Liddapoor and Compta with a branch to Ancola. The Mullamunnay Ghât connected the Mysore country with Honore and Compta, but still the Daivamunnay Ghât was over-crowded with cart and bullock traffic. To give further relief a trace which had been made on the old Neelcond line was opened out for bullock traffic; and thus four lines of Ghât converged on Compta and the trade was proportionably augmented.

But the port of Compta was obviously unsuited to be the emporium of a trade which had assumed these large dimensions and the trade itself was circuitous and expensive. The question

had long been asked whether a more commodious harbour could not be found, and now the question arose, was not the trade of sufficient importance to be self-dependent instead of tributary to Bombay? Why should not the goods be conveyed from a suitable harbour on the coast direct to England and China, and thus the cost of the voyage to Bombay and all the attendant charges at Bombay be saved, and shared between the grower and the manufacturer? Several attempts were made to direct the trade to the noble estuary of Suddery which lies close to Compta. But the Suddery itself was but an inland backwater with a dangerous and inconvenient bar, while a few miles to the north lay the Bay of Sedashagar formed by the promontory of Carwar Head protecting it from the south-west monsoon and apparently forming a safe and commodious harbour. To ascertain whether such was really the case, and if so to establish on the western coast, equi-distant from Bombay and Colombo, the emporium of a direct trade with the great marts of Europe and China appeared to the Collector of Canara to be the surest method of promoting the interests of the country.

With this view special application was made through the Madras Government for the services of Lieutenant Taylor, of the Bombay Navy, to report upon the capabilities of both Sedashagar Bay and Suddery and the result was a beautiful chart of the Bay of Sedashagar with the most favourable opinion of a thoroughly experienced hydrographer and sailor of its capabilities as a harbour of refuge and commercial emporium. Lieutenant Taylor's report was laid before the Government of Madras, and was by it forwarded to the Government of Bombay for its opinion. At Bombay the project was received if not with opposition at least with coldness. The Government of Bombay sought the opinion of the Chamber of Commerce whose reply implied that they thought that Bombay itself sufficiently supplied the wants of the western coast, and that another harbour would be a superfluity. Lord Harris, the Governor of Madras, however fully appreciated the importance of the question and himself visited Sedashagar calling Sir Arthur Cotton to meet him there. The opinion of Sir Arthur Cotton as to the advantages of the harbour was enthusiastically favourable, and a breakwater, a pier and lighthouse, with a series of inland canals, were quickly in vision. But in the meanwhile the completion of lines of road already traced on the north and south banks of the Sedashagar river conveying the inland traffic to the highest navigable point, was the great requirement, and this was ordered and the work actively in progress when the mutinies broke out, and Lord Canning's order to stop

all public works fell upon the scene of busy progress in north Canara.

We shall use this pause to see what has been the effect of the outlay of public money as far as it was carried up to this period. We have shown that through the line of Ghâts from Goa to Liddapoor being 80 miles in length, six passes had been opened. They were in more or less advanced stages from the Daivamunnay Ghât which had been metalled to the Kyga Ghât of which only a narrow trace had been made. We shall endeavour to show what developement accompanied this early stage of public improvement.

We have stated above that in 1853 the Madras Commission on Public Works found that the roads of Canara were returning to Government a net profit of 20 per cent, from the two sources of Land and Salt Revenue; we shall now take the ten years from 1851 to 1860 and show what has been the progress from about the last year on which the Commission founded its report to the last at our own command. Omitting all fractions below a quarter of a lac we find that the import trade rose within the above period from $4\frac{1}{4}$ lacs to $25\frac{1}{4}$ lacs. The value of Exports rose from $30\frac{1}{4}$ to $102\frac{1}{4}$ lacs. Thus the whole trade increased from $31\frac{3}{4}$ lacs (£347,500) to $127\frac{3}{4}$ lacs (£1,277,500). In the same period the Salt Revenue rose from £14,000 to £31,000, that is to say, was more than doubled. The gradual clearance of the jungle raised the Land Revenue from about eight to nearly nine lacs of Rupees (or from £80,000 to £90,000), while improved supervision over the teak forests added a Forest Revenue which in the last year of the series amounted to £25,000. The minor sources of Revenue shared in this prosperity, and if any one fond of statistics will refer to the annexed Table he will find many unmistakable signs of prosperity such as the fourfold increase of the Farry-farm within these ten years. Our statistics, as we have stated, end in 1860, before the American war had influenced the Cotton trade of India; but still the export of Cotton, included in the general total of exports given above, had tripled in quantity and increased fourfold in value.

We have thus given a short narrative of the early rise of the trade of North Canara through that period of struggle in the history of our Indian rule during which those on the spot could not fail to see what were the wants of the country, but were unable to impart their convictions to their distant masters, to whom these ideas were strange and to whom India was the India of their youth. At last the change came, the Government was transferred to the Crown, the mutinies were suppressed, the Finances were restored, and the restrictive order of Lord Canning

withdrawn, and an era of improvement was commenced, in which the establishment of Sedashagar as a commercial emporium was to have an important place. But with the announcement of this intention on the part of the Government of India came the proposition that Sedashagar should be transferred from the Madras Government to that of Bombay.

It is not surprising that the Madras Government should have remonstrated against this severance of one of its most rising and important provinces, and the transfer of so large a portion of its trade to another Presidency. We find that between 1857-8 and 1861-2, the trade of Madras rose from 262 lacs to 1161 lacs (Homeward Mail April 21st 1863). We cannot learn what was the proportion borne by North Canara later than 1859-60 when it amounted to one-eighth of the whole trade of the Presidency. But the transfer has been ordered and carried out, and we have no desire to re-open the warm discussions to which the question gave rise in the public press of Bombay farther than by correcting, as we hope we have done by the above narrative, some of the erroneous impressions which were received by many, and repeated even by the leading journal of Europe, as to the state of the province under the Government of Madras. The Bombay Government has received this tract of country and the site of a magnificent harbour under pledges which will, doubtless, be honorably and zealously fulfilled, and in the future prosperity of Sedashagar the authorities of Madras will see the development of the plans which they long ago laid before the Government to which Bombay and Madras are alike subordinate. But it is important to remember, and the people of Manchester should carefully observe, that the harbour of Sedashagar will influence the growth of Cotton in India in proportion, not to its connexion with, but to its separation from Bombay. If the trade is still to be a circuitous one, little is gained. But if all the cost of the voyage to Bombay is saved, and a direct trade with England is established; that is to say if the price given at Bombay for cotton should now be offered at Sedashagar, the Cotton grower will receive a sensible profit.

It is not to be expected that Sedashagar will ever become so large a mart as Bombay, Calcutta or Karachee which receive the products of vast inland countries. Its trade will resemble but probably exceed that of Madras. But in advantage of situation, especially as regards European settlers, it will excel all of these ports. In beauty of scenery it resembles but surpasses Bombay. The climate is healthy and the mountain of which Carwar Head is the promontory attains an attitude of 1600 feet within three miles of the bay, so that the merchant may there

find the same climate as the Governor of Bombay and his staff seek by the aid of the railway on the hill of Mazagon ; and with the aid of a glass he may see his ships loading in the bay below. Should a change to a somewhat colder climate be desired the beautiful river is navigable by steam to the foot of the Ghâts and ascending the Unshi Ghât on the north bank a pleasant ride takes the traveller to the village of Unshi at the summit of the Ghât at one elevation about 2000 feet high. Above this rises a hill 400 feet high, and if the traveller ascends to the crest he will obtain a magnificent view of the plateau over which the Ghât passes, and of the low country beyond with the noble Black river flowing through it, to Sedashagar Bay and Beitcole Cove, seen distinctly in the distance. Should the merchant weary with the labours of the week make this expedition on Saturday evening he will on rising on the Sunday morning find the Thermometer at 64 and enjoy throughout the day a cool and refreshing climate in which he may surround himself with all the charms of the English garden. Exposed to the full influence of the sea breeze the crest of the Southern Ghâts throughout their whole length is generally free from fever, and if actually at the top of the Ghât, not short of the summit, freshness of climate is almost equally obtained whether the elevation be 2000 or 4000 feet. Here therefore the merchant has close at hand the advantages which the merchant of Bombay seeks at Kandalah or Mahaboluishwar and which the merchant of Calcutta or Karachee seeks in vain. We trust that a busy and beneficent commerce will soon enliven the lonely bay and noble river of Sedashagar and spread the blessings of civilization over the adjoining country, which, rich in Teak timber, iron ore and in fuel, invites alike the merchant and the manufacturer.

We must now invite our readers to accompany us to another part of the Southern Ghât, and our narrative has already extended to such a length that our passage must be rapid. We pass over a space of 450 miles, from Sedashagar to the Ghâts opposite to the port of Aleppy in Travancore. In doing so we have passed along the whole district of Canara, and the whole length of Malabar, including the western slopes of the Neelgherries. We have crossed the railway which connects the two coasts through the Palghat Gap, and passing by Anamullay range with its extensive Teak forests, and the Palni range branching into the Madura district, we come to the chain lofty but narrow which separates Travancore from the Carnatic.

The sanatorium of the Neelgherries is too important to be more than noted here. The Anamullays have been described by Dr. Cleghorn, in his work on the forests of Southern India ; and the

Palnis have been pleasantly sketched by Sir Charles Trevelyan in one of those minutes so characteristic of the active, hopeful mind of the writer.

'The Palni Hills are composed of two ranges, the upper and the lower, which blend into each other. The European station is 7,230 feet high, but the highest peaks of the range are upwards of 8,000.

'The upper range is entirely free from fever, and it is accessible without having to pass through any Terai or fever belt. The climate is equal to the best climates of the Indian mountain regions. The vegetation has a much closer analogy to that of England than is the case at Simla. The fern, the bramble, violets and several kinds of moss grow wild here, as they do at home. The nettle and cowslip assume Brobdignagian proportions, and fruits strongly similar in appearance and taste to the wortleberry and gooseberry grow upon trees. The nettle will sting here which it wont at Simla. Mixed with these are the rhododendron which here really deserves to be called a 'tree rose,' the magnolia, and products of a more genial clime. These hill stations would not be temporary Sanatoria to persons who have been relaxed by the heat of the plains, if the air were harsh and bleak as it often is in England. The flora here is beautiful. At one small spring, I saw gentians of two kinds, everlasting flowers and balsams, besides other flowers, the names of which I did not know.

The potatoes are so mealy and good that I am surprised that, notwithstanding the present imperfect means of conveyance, Europeans have not settled here to grow them for sale in the plains. The turnips also are excellent; and every English vegetable and fruit, except currants and gooseberries may be cultivated with advantage. Garlic is grown in great quantities in the Native villages for export to the plains.

'The summit of the upper range extends, in long undulations, over a space twenty miles in length by fourteen in breadth, it is covered with grass which is burnt every year, and cattle and sheep graze upon the young shoots. The grass may be improved; but, even as it is, horses live upon it, and butter is made equal to English butter. There are woods full of timber, some of them of great extent, in the ravines and sheltered hollows of the plateau. Elk and bison abound in them. The scenery is similar in character to the best Highland scenery. In some places it is highly romantic. Two remarkable features are extensive ledges of smooth, mushroom-shaped rocks over which the torrents fall, and natural bridges and under-ground channels through which they percolate.

'It is an important fact that, as regards much the largest proportion of this tract, there is no claim to the soil which can interfere with the establishment of the most absolute freehold. The villages are few and far between; and the rights of the inhabitants are confined to the land they cultivate, or graze with their scanty herds and flocks. For eight miles from the European station to the hill of Púmbáre, and again in a second excursion to the pillar rocks, I did not see the slightest symptoms of the land being occupied, even for grazing. Like the Australian pastures, these rich grass lands are a highly productive capital unappropriated to the use of man; but the strange thing here is that the wild lands are in the midst of an old inhabited country. There is no trace of ancient habitations on the plain plateau. The few native inhabitants say that their ancestors were immigrants from the plains at no distant period, and every circumstance confirms this statement.

'The ground at the Station is singularly adapted to the object. It consists of a large basin, into which numerous spurs, each suited for a separate building allotment, are projected from the surrounding hills. In the centre is a hill, which will, I hope, be crowned by a handsome church; and its sides should be kept for public walks and drives, and for the bazar of the place. On one side of the basin is a beautiful wood, which has been reserved as public property, and walks have been made through it. There is abundance of good water from natural springs. Several small streams trickle down the wood, and two brooks wind through the basin one on each side of the central hill.

'The place is still in its germ. It has been discovered rather than occupied by the Civil officers of the district and the American Missionaries, who have their hot weather retreats there. The entire basin and surrounding hills ought to be accurately surveyed and divided into suitable allotments, reserving the water-ways and the ground required for roads and other public purposes. A walk should be kept along the edge of the cliff overlooking the low country. The allotments should be sold by public auction as they are in demand, and the proceeds should be employed in improving the station.

'The soil, in the lower hills is rich, and the scenery is not unlike the best parts of Kent. Coffee is successfully grown there and the cultivation might be carried to any extent. The lower hills are liable to fever but the planters might have their dwellings above fever range. There is a magnificent valley in the upper range, extending from Púmbáre to Palni, up the sides of which the cultivation climbs, amidst wood and undulated ground, where Coffee plantations might with advantage be

‘ formed. It is like a Swiss valley, only on a much lower scale. ‘ Ginger, turmeric and cardamoms are also grown in the lower ‘ range.

‘ If this important mountain region is made accessible, and ‘ the land is judiciously sold, the settlement will form itself. I ‘ made a long and not very safe day’s journey to examine the only ‘ line which is reported by the Engineers to be fit for a wheel- ‘ road between the plains and the upper range. There are two ‘ places on this line admirably suited for European farms, one ‘ at Shembaganur or Magnolia-town, and the other at the site ‘ of Mr. Blackburne’s bungalow which would be the half-way ‘ house; but, although I have no doubt that a good road ‘ might be constructed by skilful engineering it would be so ‘ costly both to make and keep in repair that I cannot recom- ‘ mend the work being undertaken until the settlement is in a ‘ more advanced state. Till then, we must be content with the ‘ horse-path from Periakolam. This is likely to be always the ‘ quickest route; and ladies may be carried up and down in ‘ Chaises-à-porteur as they used to be at Simla, and as they now ‘ are at so many places in Switzerland. A more urgent need, ‘ and one that may be provided for at a moderate cost, is the ‘ substitution of a good wheel road for the present execrable and ‘ dangerous track from the European station to Púmbáre, the ‘ principal native place in the upper range. This would open ‘ great part of the plateau and would lead to further improve- ‘ ment.’

Throughout the former part of this paper we have viewed the passes of the Ghâts chiefly as the channels of the commerce of the fertile table lands of the Deccan and Mysore forcing its way to the great highway of nations. But as we approach the southern extremity of the Ghâts there is little or no table land and the Carnatic and Travancore having each its own seaboard the only object of a commerce over the Ghâts would be the interchange for local consumption of the products of the two sides of the range; and it is not surprising if a barrier of four thousand feet rendered such interchange rare and precarious at a time when even the level country was ill supplied with roads. Accordingly the mountains of Travancore and Cochin have been abandoned to the few and scanty aboriginal tribes which in ages long past sought refuge from invading hordes; and to the wild beasts, especially the elephants, which, driven steadily farther and farther from the North, there find a safe retreat in the tracts marked impervious by even the indefatigable explorers of the Trigonometrical Survey. But it appears to have been the design of Providence, when the

earth on which we dwell was fitted for habitation and man was created to inhabit it, that his occupation of it should be complete, and that there should be few portions of it to which his steps should not be allured, and we shall find that however rugged may be the mountain chains either they tempt man to explore them for the mineral wealth which they contain, or by the difference of the produce on the two sides of the range he is induced to force a passage over them for the interchange of the necessities or luxuries of life. When the chain runs from east to west the difference of latitude and climate naturally causes this effect, and the inhabitants of the chilly north soon found a passage across the Alps and the Pyrenees to seek the grapes and olives of sunny Italy and Spain.* But even where the chain runs north and south and both sides are equally tropical they, generally owing to the difference of the rainfall, differ greatly in climate and consequently in products. This is particularly the case in regard to the Southern Ghâts, and the western coast is rich in betel nuts, cardamoms, pepper, ginger and other spices, which the dryer climate of the Carnatic will hardly yield.

And thus although for some generations while the Peninsula was a prey to war and violence, the mountain passes have been used only by the smuggler who drove a brisk business by running the tobacco of Madura into Travancore, and returning with the pepper and cardamoms of Travancore, all three of which articles of monopoly afforded irresistible temptation under the fiscal system of that State, there is proof that in remote and peaceful times there had been an extensive trade between the western coast and the civilized Kingdom of Madura. In the travels of Bartolomeo written about a century back, mention is made of a town called Canjerapulli which is described as "celebrated for its trade with the kingdom of Madura, which it carried on over the mountains" and there are other allusions to this trade in the same work.

About two years ago the subject began to attract attention when the Government of Travancore, advised by the British

* As oft have issued, host impelling host,
The blue-eyed myriads from the Baltic coast.
The prostrate south to the destroyer yields
Her boasted titles, and her golden fields.
With grim delight the brood of winter view
A brighter day and heav'n's of azure hue;
Scent the new fragrance of the breathing rose,
And quaff the pendent vintage as it grows.

GRAY.

Resident was endeavouring to reform its fiscal system and abolish the monopolies which had proved destructive of legitimate trade and most injurious to its subjects. If monopolies were to be abolished legitimate trade and developed production must supply the deficiency, and it became important to ascertain what were the natural resources of the country.

There are few parts of India more beautifully cultivated or more densely peopled than the sea-coast of Travancore, but few more deserted and neglected than the interior. The population, though pressing hard on the means of subsistence, seems to have a horror of the jungle or of any place beyond the range of the cocoanut-tree. Debarred for several generations from the use of arms and generally unaccustomed to the chase the people of Travancore are particularly unenterprising, and the interior of the country is almost unknown to them. The wildest reports of its dangers, of the deadly fever of its jungles, of the numbing cold of its mountains, of the ferocity of its wild beasts, and of the colossal size of its serpents are intentionally spread by the smugglers and greedily believed by the people. These were probably encouraged by the corrupt officials whom the smugglers took care to conciliate, and whom greed and indolence alike deterred from disturbing the existing state of things. And indeed the reports of the state of the country were not without foundation; and they gained support from the fact that of those whom the smugglers enticed to join them few returned to their homes. Cholera, fever, and cold carried off numbers of the gangs bribed to carry the goods over the Ghâts, and others were on their way back robbed of their ill-earned wages, scared by plunderers, and sometimes by protective peons, into the jungles, and, exposed to the night cold or attacked by cholera or fever, they crept into the bushes and there laid down and died, and the jackals held the inquest. This is no fancy picture, but unexaggerated fact; but happily a change is now going on. Civilization is forcing its way into these jungles, and the pioneer here as in so many other moral wildernesses, has been the Christian Missionary.

A small and scattered people, a relic of the early inhabitants of India, dwells on the mountain slopes of this portion of the Ghâts. This people known by the name of Arrians, devil-worshippers in religion and degraded in social position, held occasional intercourse with the Missionaries of Cottyam the chief station of the Church Missionary Society in Travancore. A few years ago this simple people entreated one of the Missionaries to settle among them and raise them from their degradation. Their repeated and pathetic appeals touched the heart of Mr. Henry Baker, and thirty miles within the jungle on the roots of the mountain range

the small station of Moondakayam became the centre of Missionary action and soon assumed the appearance of a village, with a small wooden Church. Frequent circuits through his widely extended parish, which was about the size of an English county, and an occasional visit to the table-land of the mountain, combined with his free intercourse with the people gave Mr. Baker an accurate knowledge of the country; and from him the Resident received information that the Canjerapulli which Bartolomeo's remark led him to enquire about, was a village near his station, now inhabited by only a few Syrian Christians and Mahomedans, but having signs and traditions of former greatness. Mr. Baker added that portions of an old paved road or Ghât still remained and that the whole line could be traced, although much of it had been broken up by former rulers of Travancore with the view of preventing the smuggling for which the road was then chiefly used.

The Resident laid before the Rajah of Travancore the importance of re-opening this line of communication and of re-constructing with the aid of modern science a work which his predecessors had achieved. The line of road from the sea to the foot of the mountain would pass through the wildest portion of his dominions and through a tract which, though now a dense jungle, shewed by the remains of land marks and enclosures that it had once been thickly peopled. The trade would doubtless immediately revive, for the people of Travancore are still clothed with the cotton fabrics of Madura, and the people of Madura still consume the spices of Travancore. A wide and frequented road would form a barrier to the smuggler whom the wilderness favoured and sheltered, and a change from monopoly to a moderate frontier duty would re-establish a legitimate and lucrative trade. The Rajah of Travancore listened willingly to these suggestions. The destructive pepper monopoly had already fallen. A road was ordered from Cottyam to Canjerapulli, to open out at any rate the low country, and a meeting was arranged between the Resident and the Collector of Madura, on the top of the mountains to ascertain whether a line of road could be opened at a moderate cost. Supposing the road to be completed to Canjerapulli the interval between this spot and the flat country of Madura, to which carts could ply was but twenty-five miles measured on the map. It was an interesting question whether the intervening mountain could be surmounted, and thus a communication formed between two populous districts each requiring the products of the other, which now reached them by the circuitous routes of Palghat Gap or the Arambooli gate.

This expedition displayed to those who took part in it a very remarkable portion of the Southern Ghâts. Between the crest of the Ghât on the western to that of the eastern side they found about 18 miles of extremely undulating country, table-land it can hardly be called. The peculiar feature of the tract is that along the spine of this ridge in a deep groove, having a course from south to north, runs a wide river at an elevation above the sea of three thousand feet. This river called the Periaur (literally *large river*) has its rise in a dense impenetrable jungle from which it issues in large volume. Its course continues in a northerly line for 50 miles before it finds a channel westward, through which its waters reach the estuary of Cochin.

In ascending from the west the party followed the line of the old Ghât. For the greater portion of the way the ascent was easy, and here either the road had never been paved, or else the paving stones, except in a few spots, had been removed. But at an elevation of about 2,500 feet the difficulties increased, and these the engineers of the past ages had endeavoured to overcome by converting the abrupt and stony path into a series of gigantic steps of unhewn granite masses. Eight hundred feet of this ascent had to be overcome, and then the full height of the pass appeared to be surmounted. But on reaching the edge it proved that this was only a ridge connected with the main chain by a saddle 800 feet below. To reach this saddle similar paved inclines and huge steps had to be descended, then a final ascent of 1,000 feet led to the summit of the Ghâts.

When the summit was attained any toil that had been encountered, even including the extra ascent and descent of 800 feet, was felt to be amply repaid by the grandeur of the scene and the freshness of the climate. Undulating grassy hills with wooded valleys stretched eastward from the edge of an amphitheatre of mountains facing the western sun. At the edge of this amphitheatre the sea breeze blew fresh from the ocean, which was seen bounding the horizon beyond an outstretched map of the kingdom of Travancore. And what was most gratifying a spur of the mountain was seen to run exactly in the direction required for a road at a proper incline; avoiding the ascent and descent of 800 feet over which the old road was taken. In short, while everything tended to prove that the summit of the Ghât would afford a healthy resting place, the practicability of making an easy Ghât at a moderate cost was put beyond a doubt.

When the camps met on the banks of the Periaur the opinion of the Collector of Madura proved to be equally favourable to the project, and not only did all the information collected prove that

an active commerce would follow the opening of the road, but it was apparent that large tracts of land suited to the Coffee planter would be opened out, and noble forests of teak be made accessible. In short, it was resolved that the construction of a pass should be recommended to the Governments of Madras and Travancore. About two years have since passed and in that time considerable progress has been made. A road from Cottyam to Canjerapulli has been completed, and a Ghât line has been successfully traced and is already in use for bullock traffic. It is being widened into a cart road of 18 feet, and the twelve miles of ascent will be completed to this breadth at a cost of £150 per mile. Already four Coffee estates have been opened, and numerous applications for land have been made. In an experimental garden established by the Rajah English fruit trees and flowering shrubs are growing luxuriantly; potatoes of good flavour have been gathered in; the tea plant and the chinchona are thriving well; and above all the climate at all seasons of the year has proved healthy.

Under these favourable auspices has been founded the little settlement of Maryville, and from this nucleus, it is to be hoped, that the blessings of a pure and holy faith, and of the civilization which it engenders will spread to the surrounding country, and satisfy the longings of many poor tribes who like the Arrians hear now and then tidings of a God with attributes far different from those of the devils, whom they have long feared and worshipped, and of a religion which has the promise of the life that now is as well as of that which is to come. The little church which Mr. Baker built in a dense jungle, now stands by the side of a wide road along which commerce with its attendant evils and its countervailing blessings will soon pass busily by. We may sometimes feel almost appalled at the prospect of the evils, which a commerce with almost savage races brings with it, but a hopeful faith rests on the command of God that man should replenish the earth, and we may be assured that to use every effort to advance the intercourse of man with man, and to draw from God's earth the bounties which it holds, is to fulfil His will and to aid in dispelling the gross gloom which lurks in the dark places of superstition.*

* It happened to the writer of these pages to be on duty at Sedashagar at the time when the proposal of forming there a commercial emporium was first entertained. He can remember that he thought with many misgivings of the evils which would accompany this measure, when rough English sailors would break in on the peace and tranquillity of the then secluded villages surrounding the beautiful cove and occupying the fertile valley of the river,

We thus bring to a close a slight and imperfect sketch of the Southern Ghâts and their passes. To sum up what has been said the whole line from the Goa frontier to the Arambooli gate may be divided as follows:—*North Canara*, a length of 80 miles, having six passes, two converging on Sedashagar, three on Compta and one branching to both of those parts. *South Canara*, including parts of Coorg 75 miles in length having six passes: one leading to the port of Cundapore and five converging on Mangalore. *Malabar* extending from South Canara to the Railway, having a length of 175 miles in which is one Ghât from Coorg leading to Tellicherry, with two steep paths to the Neelgherries. *Cochin* and *Travancore* extending from the Railway to Cape Comorin having a length of 175 miles through which the new Maryville Ghât is the only pass. Thus in the line of 500 miles, fourteen passes of varying degrees of completeness surmount the chain of the Ghâts and render their lands accessible.

To form, then, some estimate of the resources of this tract of country and to show how important a bearing it may have on the future of the Indian Empire, and the solution of the great problem of the tenure of India by the Anglo-Saxon and the Oriental race in common, it is a most important fact that not one of these passes has been constructed without opening out extensive tracts of land adapted to the English settler. With the exception of North Canara the head of every Ghât is already a small settlement of English planters. Ootacamund and Waynáad are now English colonies, and throughout the line of Ghâts, which be it remembered is longer from North to South than England and Scotland, there is a vast area capable of cultivation, with frequent plateaux interspersed, which boast a temperate and salubrious climate. To afford some idea of this area we have endeavoured to place the reader at different portions of the chain, separated by wide intervals. But, perhaps, the following incident will best convey the impression we desire to give. An experienced Coffee planter of Ceylon visited the newly formed

and was almost inclined to doubt whether all the evils of a crowded city and a port did not more than compensate for the advantages which it was proposed to confer. But a circumstance occurred which gave him a striking lesson. One of the most secluded and fertile villages was possessed by two rival branches of a Hindoo family and long years of strife and animosities were brought to a termination by the foul and cowardly murder of one of the contending heads of the family as he returned late in the evening from the Collector's tent. A proof that although seclusion from the more busy marts and open competition of the world may cut a people off from the general march of improvement it cannot shut out, while perhaps it nourishes, the evil passions which spring up spontaneously in the human heart.

station of Maryville, and was so pleased with its capabilities that he made application for some tracts estimated to contain several thousand acres. But he was advised to visit another spot which had been lately opened. This was the next clearance to the north. It was visited and the preference given to its forests and the former application cancelled. The distance between the two was eighty miles of unexplored mountain forest running parallel with the sea, through which the Periaur, the river above described, forces its way, and the intervening tract is as likely to contain first rate forest land as either of the spots to which attention happened to have been directed. We have given above an extract from Sir Charles Trevelyan's Minute on the Palni Hills. The following passage occurs in a letter received while this paper was in hand from a range of the Anamullay group. Our correspondent writes—'We have huts and tents in a 'most lovely spot at an elevation of 6000 feet above the sea at 'the mouth of a large valley which I first discovered some ten 'years ago, and which has been named after me. It is delight- 'fully cold, frost in the early morning, and a roaring fire in the hut 'after dinner, round which we smoke our cigars. There is abun- 'dant game about, principally ibex, a sort of chamois, and 'we live almost entirely on game. Bison and elk are pretty 'numerous too. I have but half explored the range of hills yet, 'but I find they are very extensive and the same height as the 'Neelgherries. I was on a peak the other day which I ascertain- 'ed by the Barometer to be upwards of 8000 feet high. The 'climate is delightful and the scenery and flowers most beautiful. 'No doubt some day these hills will be as thickly colonized as 'the Neelgherries.'

Again; in the mountain range opposite Mangalore rises the peak of the Cooderi Mookh or Horse's face, on the summit of which at an elevation of six thousand feet a small settlement was formed by the unaided enterprize of a few private persons resident at Mangalore, who built a club house on the summit and opened a bridle path of eleven miles up the mountain. This peak may be reached either from the south by Bellatungaday, or from the north by a native track from Karkul. Both lines as they ascend the mountain pass through rich Coffee lands, and the climate on the higher elevation is perfect. The peak rises to a height of 6,020 feet, but at a lower level of four thousand feet an extensive table land affords many favourable sites for plantations.

Many other spots can be named and many more remain as yet unexplored. But enough, we trust, has been said to prove that there is in the Southern Ghâts a wide field for English enterprize.

The subject we consider to be one of great interest with reference to the future of India, for not only does the settlement of the English in the mountains give strength to our Government, but it leads to the rapid extension of cultivation in the plains below. The wages earned on the Coffee estates (and there is employment there for man, woman and child) swell the agricultural stock of the Ryet, whose object is to accumulate enough to enable him to take up a piece of land below. And in proportion as the mountains of Madras are made available the tide of emigration of her yet scanty population will be stayed and the large area of land still uncultivated throughout her wide districts will be brought under the plough.

To aid in this desirable result some action on the part of Government is both necessary and legitimate. The passes which we have described in this article, being only 14 in a line of 500 miles, are on an average more than 40 miles asunder. Where the table-land of Mysore is ready to pour its produce to the coast and the people are dependent on the coast for their salt, a pass every 15 miles will immediately repay its cost. Farther south there is not a trade ready to use the roads, but there the Government should establish at suitable intervals plantations of chinchona under intelligent superintendents and make them accessible by bridle paths on correct inclines. The first start which the settler requires being made, every plantation will become the nucleus of a settlement calculated to rise as rapidly as Waynáad, and to contribute as largely to the wealth of the country.

There are many other subjects of deep interest connected with the Ghât mountains. Their vegetable and animal resources, their varying tribes, the mysterious relics of ancient races, their field sports, all claim attention, but we have already trespassed long on the reader's patience, and must confine ourselves in this article to the subject which we proposed namely the history of the mountain passes and their influence upon commerce up to the present time. At some future period, when the Coffee trade has received a large development; when extensive tea plantations yield a wholesome beverage to the population of India, and supply a portion of the market of Europe; when the Quinine of the Ghâts is allaying the suffering of thousands; when the settlements of the Ghâts and their Lawrence Asylums yield their contributions of hardy recruits to man the fortifications of the city of Sedashagar; these few notes of early progress may not be without interest.

A French writer has said—'Un nouveau chemin, un chemin amélioré, est toujours un bienfait. Parmi les créations du génie ou de l'activité humaine, il en est peu de qui l'on puisse dire, comme

'des voies de communication, qu'elles ne peuvent jamais être un 'mal.'* We cannot quite adopt this sentiment, for we believe that every road is a channel for that mixture of good and evil which God has appointed for our trial on this earth; but it savours of the cheerful spirit of the road-maker; and we can say from experience that when the time comes that the more active period of life is looked back upon as a thing of the past, few recollections will give more unalloyed satisfaction than will be derived from any share taken in those works by which the produce of the earth is increased and the burden to be borne by our fellow men is lightened. 'Whatever spares the body's toil 'emancipates the mind,' and whatever aids the intercourse of man with his fellow man advances the spread of truth. The mountain path is but the first step in civilization but it is the most important; when once the line of communication is established the progress of improvement is sure. We have sometimes looked at the motionless wires which stretch from our metropolis, and thought how strange it was that although we heard no sound, and saw no winged words, still some message of deepest import, unseen and unread by us, might be passing in mysterious influence along the line even while we gazed. And so, we have thought, when commerce has once stretched her lines, though the ignorant may not know it, and the selfish may not heed it, along that line a message is passing which bids the barbarous to be civilized and the enslaved to be free.

We have only to add with reference to the publications which we have named at the head of this article that they afford specimens of the valuable mass of information which the Parliamentary papers place at a very moderate cost within the reach of all. The papers on chinchona would be particularly valuable were they not superseded by Mr. Markham's separate publication of his travels, which deserve a longer notice than can be allotted to them in this place.

* Manuel et code des Routes par Stephane Flachet-Mony.

STATEMENT shewing the value of the Import and Export Trade of North Canara during the last ten years.

VALUE OF GOODS EXPORTED.									
COTTON.									
Fushes.	VALUE OF GOODS IMPORTED.			VALUE OF GOODS EXPORTED.					
	On payment of Duty.	Free of Duty.	Total Value.	Quantity.	Value.	Average value per Indian.	Value of other goods exported free of duty.	Value of goods exported on payment of duty.	Total value of goods exported.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1261	8073 9 1	428857 6 7	436930 15 8	242828 33 40	1816699 10 8	7 7 0	1239721 10 10	11421 11 5	3067843 0 11
1262	23545 7 8	508127 14 7	531673 6 3	469370 10 20	4098970 10 11	8 11 0	1192710 5 1	13279 13 6	5304960 13 6
1263	16297 13 1	556068 0 2	572365 13 3	201634 14 40	1732780 2 4	8 9 0	2014679 8 5	16700 1 1	3794159 11 10
1264	60359 4 7	744843 11 8	805203 0 3	160691 6 20	1299702 7 1	8 1 0	1737538 7 11	75279 14 8	3112520 13 8
1265	46821 7 8	874208 14 9	921030 6 5	185032 16 0	1678571 1 0	9 1 0	2261735 15 11	304219 14 11	4244526 15 10
1266	57133 1 2	1045053 13 6	1103061 14 8	356212 25 40	3915840 6 8	11 0 0	2126606 0 11	369548 4 8	6411894 12 3
1267	41084 13 9	1116246 2 11	1157331 0 8	397773 28 40	5753902 0 0	14 7 0	2082327 15 11	476496 9 4	8312726 9 3
1268	39748 14 10	1471232 1 7	1510981 0 5	226914 38 0	3168023 3 0	14 0 0	2096669 9 8	404181 7 0	5668874 3 8
1269	21958 5 11	1516123 15 7	1538082 5 6	408618 12 0	4993976 12 0	12 3 0	2658800 3 5	482002 12 11	8134779 12 4
1270	55769 13 2	2101551 11 9	2157351 8 11	625499 17 0	7495550 5 0	12 0 0	2383783 8 8	367650 9 5	10249984 7 1

STATEMENT shewing the annual collections of Revenue during the last twenty years in the District of North Canara.

Fus- hes.	Land Revenue.	Kumeri.	Huckle.	Montunpna.	Forest Revenue	Extra Revenue	Salt Revenue.	Abkari.	Ferries.	Small Farms.										
1251	780749	411	5767	1 9	.....	.....	6473	1 10	4	3 7	722	0 1	140433	3 7	22175	8 0	1435	8 0	4393	0 0
1252	793623	110	4346	10 1	.....	.....	6415	10 7	242	1 8	875	14 10	151208	8 0	22936	0 0	1248	12 0	5937	14 9
1253	797587	1311	4677	210	.....	.....	8034	15 1	154	6 8	1002	11 5	148681	14 3	21773	0 0	1268	8 0	5393	8 5
1254	801636	6 0	5136	810	.....	.....	7352	10 9	18	10 3	1078	0 6	190744	1 5	28742	0 0	1369	8 0	6312	6 8
1255	804123	12 6	4516	4 1	.....	.....	7097	15 1	7496	4 1	1107	11 8	210315	7 4	31274	0 0	1352	8 0	6620	11 3
1256	807494	5 7	5687	2 0	.....	.....	7047	12 9	3602	13 9	1297	8 0	206326	1 6	33939	0 0	1553	12 0	6551	5 3
1257	814585	12 3	6877	8 3	.....	.....	7413	7 11	3211	13 11	2096	13 1	248351	12 0	31449	0 0	1814	12 0	8054	5 3
1258	821472	0 6	6994	1 0	.....	.....	7447	4 3	1082	2 9	2455	14 6	208540	10 8	33949	0 0	2224	10 0	8487	9 5
1259	827106	10 7	9181	12 9	.....	.....	5856	3 0	247	2 0	3447	0 1	219848	2 2	37528	0 0	2081	12 0	9075	7 10
1260	831249	3 0	7325	0 10	2988	3 4	8226	5 6	9829	5 5	4233	1 8	215083	12 3	40111	0 0	3268	8 0	9925	2 8
1261	835009	5 1	10706	15 3	2962	2 2	8269	4 2	29461	2 10	4863	3 4	182604	10 7	43932	0 0	3859	12 0	12468	11 6
1262	838116	5 9	9221	9 5	2868	9 6	8471	10 5	8830	4 9	4773	5 9	203186	1 9	34065	0 0	4024	0 0	12598	2 3
1263	838685	7 3	10493	14 7	2746	7 0	8386	5 0	52992	2 4	5141	2 0	195485	11 3	35565	0 0	4938	8 0	18819	14 9
1264	844295	1 4	11824	13 6	3123	5 5	8095	5 0	47807	9 6	5402	11 3	127484	5 9	42890	0 0	5130	8 0	5430	5 0
1265	847643	0 6	16488	11 9	3718	14 2	7849	14 9	147689	7 4	5181	1 5	155393	1 2	52896	10 6	4371	0 0	6917	8 7
1266	850924	6 5	4772	7 8	3690	2 3	7631	10 6	118774	8 7	4574	4 8	212674	15 7	48443	12 10	4519	0 0	5589	0 7
1267	856420	9 0	7280	4 9	3930	7 2	7554	5 9	115781	5 5	5363	13 7	215591	10 0	48443	12 10	6079	0 0	6736	3 5
1268	860935	12 1	7476	11 6	4426	11 1	8095	9 11	100300	9 10	6024	12 4	258463	2 6	48443	12 10	5736	10	6557	5 8
1269	867179	13 5	8413	9 4	4951	3 6	8173	6 8	200374	3 7	6575	5 1	318632	9 8	48443	12 9	5963	0 0	6837	15 8
1270	870073	10 5	10088	12 1	5244	12 2	7891	6 9	252989	8 5	9448	10 11	311516	9 2	48443	12 9	6213	0 0	9717	15 10

ART VI.—1. *Mr. Cust's proposed Tenant Code.*

2. *Settlement Reports of various Districts in the North West and the Punjab.*

3. *Act X. of 1859.*

IF we admit the Benthamite doctrine 'that the thing to be attained is the greatest good of the greatest number,' we shall not be far from subscribing to the further axiom, that the more the country can be made to produce, the better is it for its inhabitants. But if over and above this, we should contrive to make this increased production coeval with the employment of a lesser quantity of manual labor upon this land, it is scarcely too much to claim a great advance upon the present state of affairs. For by so doing not only should we increase the quantity of food in the country, and consequently the greater comfort of the people, but by liberating a large amount of labor hitherto wasted enable it to be turned into new and profitable channels, thus increasing the aggregate wealth and, as a consequence, the general sum of happiness among the people. These are propositions that scarcely any one would care to confute in these days, unless it be a philosopher after the manner of Mr. Ruskin. But, these premises being granted, the question naturally arises how is this to be done? To which we answer that we must bring about a marriage between capital and land, and to offer some suggestions for the removal of obstructions to this union, which has a natural tendency to consummate itself, is the object of this paper.

When the great revenue officers of the North West, in the course of their investigations into the tenures there prevailing, discovered the existence and constitution of the village communities they were naturally very proud of it. They found these "little republics" flourishing after an existence of centuries, notwithstanding the successive waves of conquest that had passed over the land. They found the people strongly attached to them; and it was the fashion then to decry the settlement of Bengal by Lord Cornwallis. So they, with a pardonable partiality, looked no further and pronounced that these village communities were the real foundation of agricultural happiness, and were thoroughly suited to the people of this country, among whom they considered them a peculiar institution. But what

they did not see was, that this village community, with its rules and usages, is nothing but the development at which society arrives at a certain stage of civilization and progress ; that India has stopped there, while other countries have in their onward course dropped these institutions to take up others better fitted to a more advanced stage of development ; and that the change has been gradually worked out by the necessities of mankind as the occasion arose. If then this can be shown, it follows surely that our legislation, while securing positive rights, should yet leave the door open to allow natural causes to work their own effects, and as the times changed and the habits and ideas of the people advanced, so should capital find no difficulty thrown in the way of its free alliance with land, whenever it found its interest point that way.

But before proceeding to show how in our opinion legislation has thrown difficulties in the way of the application of capital to land, and how the present law is still more to be feared in its effects for the future, we would first say a little upon the subject of the coparcenary community being but the peculiar social development of what, in western Europe, is considered a very remote and, comparatively speaking, imperfect stage of civilization. For while we hold it to have been eminently adapted to a rude age when the people were spreading on all sides when there was a spirit of enterprise among them, and plenty of new land to be taken up ; we at the same time are of opinion that when society becomes settled and populous, when it ceases to expand by conquest and settlement, when good government secures to each man peace and the enjoyment of his own, then will families increase and multiply, and the individual holdings divide and subdivide, until the 'sturdy republic' has become nothing but a pauper multitude, never improving, and having its numbers regulated by the point of starvation only. That there are indications abroad, that the time has come for removing every scrap of legislation tending unnaturally to foster the existence of this state of affairs is, we think, only too apparent.

Mr. Maine, in his admirable work on *Ancient Law*, says—
'Our studies in the law of persons seem to show us the family
'expanding into the agnatic group of kinsmen, then the agnatic
'group dissolving into separate households ; lastly the house-
'hold supplanted by the individual ; and it is now suggested
'that each step in the change corresponds to an analogous alter-
'ation in the nature of ownership.' * This process he declares to

* *Ancient Law*, p. 270.

be observable among all the races of Indo-European blood. If nations then have practically worked out this revolution in the course of their gradual development from a state of barbarism to that of civilization ; if the change has been accompanied by an increase of members, wealth and happiness such as the experience of the whole civilized world proves, it can scarcely be considered unworthy the attention of a government, anxious to develop the resources of this country, and to mould its wonderful natural capabilities, so that it may supply the crying wants of other countries, while at the same time it spreads plenty and happiness over the land with which the government is more immediately concerned. Mr. Maine continues—‘ As the contracts and conveyances known to Ancient Law are contracts and conveyances to which, not single individuals, but organized companies of men are parties, they are in the highest degree ceremonious ; they require a variety of symbolical acts and words intended to impress the business on the memory of all who take part in it ; and they demand the presence of an inordinate number of witnesses. From these peculiarities, and others allied to them, springs the universally unchangeable character of the ancient forms of property. Sometimes the patrimony of the family is absolutely inalienable, as was the case with the Slavonians, and still oftener though alienations may not be entirely illegitimate, they are virtually impracticable as among most of the Germanic tribes, from the necessity of having the consent of a large number of persons to the transfer. Where these impediments do not exist, or can be surmounted, the act of conveyance itself is generally burdened with a perfect load of ceremony, in which not one iota can be safely neglected. Ancient Law uniformly refuses to dispense with a single gesture, however grotesque ; with a single syllable, however its meaning may have been forgotten ; with a single witness, however superfluous his testimony. The entire solemnities must be scrupulously completed by persons legally entitled to take part in it, or else the conveyance is null, and the seller is re-established in the rights of which he had vainly attempted to divest himself.

‘ These various obstacles to the free circulation of the objects of use and enjoyment begin, of course, to make themselves felt as soon as society has acquired even a slight degree of activity, and the expedients by which advancing communities endeavour to overcome them form the staple of the history of property.’

The case could hardly be put more clearly, and we contend that while moveable property is in this country freed from the

obstacles thus described, the transfer of real property is still saddled with many of them, and their removal, so far as legislation may justly effect it, can safely be laid down as the condition necessary that land may attract capital. The more prominent of these obstacles are the coparcenary right of pre-emption; the recording the peculiar customs of each village in the settlement administration paper, with a view to settle all questions regarding real property arising within the community by its provisions, and thus indefinitely prolong the existing state of things; and the concession of rights of occupancy to cultivators.

Coparcenary property in itself is a great drawback to its transfer; and indeed, when we consider that an estate held in shares, the land of which is not divided, must first be divided before a man can sell his share, and that afterwards the right of pre-emption pertains to the shareholders, there is at once a most formidable obstacle raised. The nature of the shares in some estates held in common renders division almost impossible. We have seen a statement of shares in which fractions were used to express them smaller than the eight millionth part of a rupee, and the profits which the rupee represented altogether amounted only to Rs. 1,000 annually. Absurd as this sounds it is a fact and can be verified by the records of the settlement now under progress in Oudh.* Now, capital is a skittish thing, and it commands great interest in this country; and though the excellent security which land gives is a great attraction, still if such difficulties are thrown in the way of its transfer capital will not come forward. The ordinary partition of an estate is a very troublesome process; and, though the legislature has wisely ordered that any coparcener who wishes to separate his portion can have it done, and thus establish his right over an actual piece of land, yet the division is necessarily entrusted to the fiscal officers, and they have a reluctance to enter on the process, both on account of the trouble it gives in itself, and of that which it entails as a consequence by multiplying the Revenue accounts. Moreover government discourages absolute partition 'as imperfect partition keeps the community together and preserves to them the right of pre-emption.'† But without sacrificing individual rights, which must be kept sacred, it appears to us that small properties can only become large ones by affording facilities for the transfer of land. And there can be no doubt that a piece of land, belonging to a single

* Settlement of Hurchandpoor, Roy Barielly district.

† Paras 169-170 Dir. to. Collrs. Oudh Rev. Cir. 176 of 1859.

man, free to do as he likes, is an infinitely more transferable property than where the same land has to undergo a troublesome process in the first instance, and is clogged with a right of pre-emption in the second, not to talk of the difficulty of getting an influential officer to perform the partition he is brought up and instructed to think undesirable.

If, then, the foregoing argument be true, and if, as we believe, capital will only be attracted to land when it is held in considerable estates by single individuals, it follows that partitions should be encouraged with the avowed object of breaking up these coparcenary communities. It is true that to maintain them has been the object of many years' legislation, but we claim to have received a new light on this subject, to see that they are the relics of a former stage of society fast passing away, and that, as this country becomes unlocked to the outer world and learns that foreign markets reward successful industry, it will call for its own emancipation. We think, however, that our position here should make us lead the way, as we have both the power and the knowledge, and can hardly go wrong where we have the experience of the whole world before us. The North West reverence for the village community is a hobby to which everything has been made to bend. It was a grand discovery when it was made, and many rights were secured in consequence of it. But it is one thing to respect what we find existing, and another thing to perpetuate it for ever. Unborn generations have no rights at our hands, or, if they have any, it is that we should leave the country to them in the best condition that we can, and that is not to be done by perpetuating for their benefit the traditions, laws, and customs of the past only.

We do not here propose to discuss the right of a proprietor to sell his land as against his family or any one else. That question has been decided by Government in the case of Talookdars in Oudh, whose powers over their estates have been declared absolute,* Hindoo law to the contrary notwithstanding; and there can be little doubt that ere long this will take the shape of a legislative enactment. What is law for one must become law for all, and indeed has already become so, for it is authoritatively declared in the rules for the Oudh settlement that 'parties holding an intermediate interest between the Talookdar and the Ryot have as unlimited a control over their property as the Talookdar enjoys over his.'† But here the right of pre-emption comes in. The Punjab Civil Code, which also prevails in Oudh,

* Oudh Rev. Cir. No. 154 of 1860.

† Oudh Settl. Cir. No. 46 of 1863.

declares 'the right of pre-emption to exist in communities of 'landholders however constituted, under whatever tenure the 'estate may be held.* It does not appear that this is a maxim of Hindoo law where coparcenary communities have the land divided among them. Macnaughten's Principles rather affirm the contrary. But it is Mahomedan law and appears to have been the practice of the Semitic races, as we have a notable example of it as old as the Book of Ruth. But Macnaughten says there are many legal devices for defeating this right; among them 'the seller may agree with the purchaser for an exorbitant 'nominal price, and afterwards commute the price for something 'of inferior value; when, if a claimant by pre-emption appear, 'he must pay the price first stipulated without reference to the 'subsequent commutation.† A device of this sort is a clear invention of lawyers to get rid of a right which they found was disadvantageous, as of course it is not competent to any Mahomedan to advocate a change in the text of the Koran. We may take the fact as evidence of a desire to abolish the law. Actual practice moreover is on the side we advocate. Among native landholders under a native state, sales are almost unknown, but mortgage giving full usufructory possession to the mortgagee is very common, and by means of it strangers are introduced into coparcenary villages every day. But the right is in the statute book, and it cannot be doubted that men will rather seek other investments than land for their money, when, after taking all the necessary trouble to satisfy themselves of the value of the property and its suitability, they are liable to have it taken from them by any one of the brotherhood who wishes to buy it at the price. We think, therefore, that we have shown that the abolition of the right of pre-emption is justifiable; and, considering that legislation has already recognized the sacredness of individual rights in property, by giving any coparcener the right to claim partition of his share, and by giving Talookdars the right to dispose of their property by gift, sale, or bequest as they please, we may safely say there are precedents for it. And we advocate the policy of the abolition of the right of pre-emption, because it is not desirable to bolster up these communities, but rather to enable individuals to do with their own what they like.

There is one other subject in connection with this we should like to notice. In Oudh, though the sale of land is not absolutely prohibited in execution of a decree of the Civil Court,

* See also Act I. of 1841 and Act XXIII. of 1861.

† Macnaughten's Principles of Mahomedan Law Chap. iv. para 13.

great discouragement is given to it. Acquired real property cannot be sold except with the consent of the Commissioner, and ancestral property without the consent of the Judicial Commissioner. We are however of opinion that the procedure described in Sections 243 and 244 of Act VIII. of 1859 is ample security against hasty and improper sales, and the present Oudh practice has merely the effect of making the transfer difficult; no officer can absolutely refuse execution of a decree of court, if no other means than the sale of the debtor's landed property can be shown by which the decree is to be satisfied, and the procedure above quoted amply provides for this contingency. The only result of the present Oudh rule is to give all parties concerned an immense deal of trouble, and materially to lessen the value of the property, when lengthened delay proceeds from unreasoning opposition. The succession of an estate entire is secured by a law of primogeniture, and certainly in an economic point of view it is not the interest of Government to bolster up bankrupt families; no capital can flow on to their lands. We are aware that it will be answered that this question has a political aspect, but we confess we cannot see that this should have any weight. The present law amply protects landholders if they will only act reasonably and live within their means, and, though a wholesale turning out of ancient proprietors, as was done in Oudh in 1856, may outrage public feeling, more especially when there is no reason for it but the crotchets of the ruler, we have yet to learn that a tenantry like to be screwed and rack-rented to minister to the necessities of a needy bankrupt, and that the general feeling of the country hedges these parties with any such reverence as should make Government turn aside the even current of justice in their favor.

The compilation of the administration paper is detailed in para: 167 of the Directions to Settlement Officers, while the principles upon which it is prepared will be found in paras: 146 to 149. Those principles are that every peculiarity and every custom in the village is to be noted and recorded. The North West system always proceeds on the supposition that the villagers engage for the Government Revenue, and what is laid down for the payments of sharers to the headman in the Directions must be understood in such a settlement as that of Oudh to apply to the payments of rent by under proprietors to the Talookdar. Now it is stated that 'what is matter of distinct engagement should 'be clearly distinguished from what is merely a record of rates 'and payments, as at the time existing. The latter should be 'recorded thus—The payment found to be at this time for—is—; 'but this sum remains open to further arrangement according

‘to law.’* But what is this? It is explained that ‘Ryots having rights of occupancy, but not at fixed rates, are to have a *patta* at fair and equitable rates.’† That the Collector, may be guided in his enquiries to determine what that is, the administration paper is drawn up, and not for that only. It is intended to show him the rules and customs that prevail, so that where any alteration in the value of the land takes place from purely extraneous causes he may take them into consideration, but the customs are fixed, and he must uphold them in all cases which come before him, unless all concerned agree to an alteration, a contingency that is simply impossible. The effect of an administration paper may be held to be a perpetuation of the existing state of the affairs in the villages throughout the term of the settlement. As however it is well understood that the present settlements, if on trial they are found good, are to be perpetual, both Sir Charles Trevelyan and Sir Charles Wood having publicly so declared, it follows that the paper perpetuates the present state for ever. If we go back again to the native practice we find no such paper in existence. True, they followed the same customs from father to son, for their condition was stationary, but they never so bound themselves, still less did they draw up a document which enabled one of a community to resist a change for the general good. Their progress was *nil*, and they did not find occasion in later times to alter their customs. But have we given up hope of progress? Are we prepared to stereotype anything we find existing here? If we are not we must not bind ourselves to make the customs of each separate parcel of land an authoritative guide for the judicial decisions that may be necessary within it. Let us see how it works. It is well known that the collection of rent by a division of the produce of the soil is common in many parts of the country. Probably this originated in a scarcity of coined money, but like every thing else in this country it has an inveterate tendency to grow into a custom. As such of course it would be recorded in the administration paper, and the rate whether a half or a third, as the case may be, would be recorded also. But if improvement is looked for, proportional produce rents must be done away with. This system is well known both in France and Italy, where it is called ‘*metayer*.’ Speaking of Lombardy Mr. Young, who travelled there about a century ago, says—‘If the intelligence with respect to the produce of wheat be

* Instructions of Sudder Board regarding settlement of Seharunpoor, Se . XXXIII.

† Act X. of 1859, Sec. 5.

‘ reviewed, it will be found at an average varying from five to seven and a half times the seed, generally between five and six : suppose the latter number, and we shall, with reason, be amazed at the miserable products of this rich plain in everything except grass and silk. The average soil of England cannot be compared with the average soil of Lombardy, yet our mean produce is eleven times the seed perhaps twelve. Every one must be curious to know the causes of such wretched crops. I attribute them to various circumstances ; but the predominant cause must be sought for in the small farms, occupied either by little peasant proprietors or what is more general by metayers. This abominable system of letting land is the origin of most of the evils found in agriculture, wherever the method prevails. Such poor farmers, who, in every part of Italy, where I have been, are so miserable that they are forced to borrow of the landlord even the bread they eat before the harvest comes round, are utterly unable to perform any operation of their culture with the vigor of a substantial tenantry. This evil pervades everything in a farm ; it diffuses itself, imperceptibly to a common eye, into circumstances where none would seek it. There are but few districts where lands are let to the occupying tenant at a money rent, but wherever it is found, there crops are greater,—a clear proof of the imbecility of the metaying system. Yet there are politicians, if they deserve the name, everywhere to be found, who are violent against changing these metayers for farmers ; an apparent depopulation is said to take place, and the same stupid arguments are heard, that we have been pestered with in England, against the union of farms. Men reason against the improvement of their lands, which is the natural progress of wealth and prosperity, and are so grossly absurd as to think that doubling the produce of a country will deprive it of its people.* We could easily multiply authorities on this subject. ‘ Previously to the French revolution about seven eighths of France was occupied by metayers, paying generally half, and hardly ever less than a third part of the produce to the landlord. In England it is not supposed that the rent of the land amounts to more than from a fifth to a fourth part of the produce. What, then, must be the effect of subjecting the occupiers of France, where rent is naturally lower than in England to so excessive a demand as a half or even a third part of the produce. Nor is this system less injurious to the proprietor than to the cultivator. The landlord gets, indeed, a large proportion of the produce raised upon his

* Young’s Travels in France, 2nd Ed. Vol. 2, page 216.

'estate; but owing to the degraded condition of agriculture, and the wretchedness of the occupiers, caused by the exorbitancy of the demand upon them, the produce is comparatively trifling; so that the half which belongs to the landlord under this system is not nearly so large as the share falling to him would be were the rents moderate and fixed and the tenants allowed to reap all the advantage of whatever skill and talent they might exert.* But probably no one would dispute the disadvantage of rents in kind proportional to the produce, though there will be plenty of stout defenders for the retention of a paper among the settlement records which directly tends to perpetuate it. The principle involved is a plain one. We cannot expect to improve in the future if we bind ourselves down to the customs of the past, our true policy is always to leave the door open, and then the customs will be modified from time to time as occasion may arise.

But except to be a guide for the decision of questions arising in the village, it is difficult to say what is the use of the administration paper, unless it be to hold the community together. But we have shown how in the case of its happening to record proportional produce rents for a custom, it perpetuates what is undesirable, and the whole drift of our argument is that separate and not common property is the condition of national prosperity. It may be said, perhaps, that the case of proportional rents is a special one, but to a greater or less degree the same argument applies to every entry in the administration paper. For instance, it is ruled under a system of fixing fair rents that if a tenant builds and digs a well his rent shall not be raised on that account. Such would be entered in the administration paper; but a landlord, who understood his own interest, would forbid the tenant to make the well, his argument being, 'I know that the increase of produce will be greatly in excess of the interest on the outlay, and I will either borrow the money on the strength of the increased rent, or I will wait till I am in funds. Besides, I do not like that this fellow should establish any kind of proprietary right in my lands.' Were there no custom recorded, the business would have become one of mutual engagement between landlord and tenant: the latter would protect himself by a lease for a sufficient number of years to repay him amply for the outlay; and the former, looking to the future, would gladly consent to the tenant's present improvement of the estate. The country generally would be benefitted by the amount of the increased produce. That the administration paper is regarded

* McCulloch's *Treatises and Essays on Economical Policy*, page 177.

as the Revenue law of the village may be shown by the following: 'It would be far better that the administration paper were not drawn up at all, than that its provisions should be called in question whenever appearance may justify the dissent, or that its conditions should be cancelled, whenever they may happen to be opposed to the opinion of any officer, whether Commissioner or other, who may choose to doubt their justice or expediency. I consider that the preparation of the administration paper should receive much more attention than is usually bestowed upon it, that it should express the opinions of the proprietors themselves, and that its conditions, when not contrary to the law, should be enforced.*' The foregoing extract is from a letter of Mr. Edmonstone, late Lieutenant Governor N. W. P. when he was Financial Commissioner in the Punjab. Now, not only is a paper of this description open to the objection of perpetuating a state of things quite unsuitable to a condition of healthy national progress, but it also creates a law of real property for each separate village, wherever the legislature has not stepped in and made a law on that special point. Had the paper been prepared only for the purpose of collecting information on which eventually to found a general code of agrarian law, it would be most useful, and satisfy all the requirements of the inductive process so far as regards the present state of things. But a wise legislature looks to the future in circumstances such as those of the English rule in India: and, even where legislation is somewhat behind the general public feeling, as is the case in England, nothing is ever done which posterity may not undo without breaking faith. Here, however, with our imperfect knowledge of the people, we introduce a paper, which professes to emanate from themselves, but which, it is well known, always bears the stamp of the Settlement Department's opinion upon it.

In the Punjab, for instance, these documents of course contain the status of the hereditary cultivator, though the concurrent testimony of all the settlement officers of that province is that this status is of our own creation. And, when we have introduced the paper we give the sanction of our regular law to a state of affairs which becomes day by day more difficult of amendment. Nothing but the act of the legislature can undo it, and the longer it remains the greater becomes legislative disinclination to meddle. If a man is the recognized proprietor he can settle all the internal economy of the village far more acceptably to the people than we can, and if a village

* Papers circulated with Fin. Commissioner Punjab's proposed Tenant Code No. 24 para. 9.

belongs to a community they can do so either in council or by their headman. Where the law is broken it knows how to assert itself, and those who cannot settle their disputes have always the Civil Court to go to, rent of course being recovered by summary process as at present. Besides, no administration paper ever can provide for all the possible contingencies of even one village, and it is thus open to all the disadvantages of a code without its one great compensating feature of unity. We are of opinion that the less we interfere the more successful will be our government, the line of demarcation being necessity; and than this administration paper it is hard to conceive any greater interference. It compels the people to produce a regulating custom where, we speak advisedly, generally they have none, and it then fixes it for ever.

It is the general and binding nature of the paper we object to. No doubt it is necessary to define how the Government revenue is to be collected from the shareholders by the headman in coparcenary villages, where the land is divided, whether those villages pay direct to Government or pay a fixed rent to a large landholder; but we cannot see that more is necessary, and everything else should be left to be settled by the parties concerned. In a village owned by one man he is the natural arbitrator among the inhabitants, and that his decision should rule in all their concerns, where rights recognized by law are not involved, would appear to be but the legitimate authority attached to property. In a coparcenary village, in which the lands are divided, if the settlement record defined the mode in which the Government revenue or the Talookdar's rent was to be paid through the headman, and the remuneration he was to have for his trouble, it appears to us that in all other matters he is but the representative of the majority, and in case of dispute their votes would be taken; and, if necessary, they can always be taken on any given point by a Government officer without difficulty. Looked at fairly and dispassionately, without any prejudice as to its necessity arising from our revenue education, it must be admitted that this paper is an attempt to arrange and settle by authority all possible differences among the villages beforehand; that it imposes an almost impassable barrier to any healthy change; and, as its whole tendency is to restrict a proprietor's absolute property over his own land, it is a formidable obstacle to the attraction of capital. For these reasons, we think, it would be better to restrain the administration paper to those sections which have reference to the mode in which the Government revenue is to be collected from each sharer where the village pays direct, and the

Talookdar's rent is to be collected when a community pay him a fixed one. In cases where there is only one proprietary right in a village, or where the under-proprietary right consists of individuals holding separate patches of land at fixed rates, we are of opinion that it would be best to omit this paper altogether. Statistical or historical information can be collected without mixing it up with a record of rights, customs, or privileges of any kind.

We now come to the occupancy rights of cultivators. These are of various kinds. *1st.* The hereditary cultivator at fixed rates. He has throughout been recognized in the North Western Provinces, his holding is at fixed rates for the term of the settlement, and is heritable but not transferable* though 'it is to be understood that Government is not opposed to the growth of a 'transferable cultivating title,'† whatever in practice that understanding may mean. This title is also recognized for Bengal, by Act X. of 1839, 'in favour of all those whose rents have 'not been changed from the time of the permanent settlement, 'or who have held for 20 years without change, unless the 'previous change of the rent is proved by the landlord.'‡ It has also been recognized in the Punjab at the settlement of that province, with a somewhat varied basis, but generally the Settlement Officers appear to have made those whom they found to have held the same lands for twelve years at an uniform rate cultivators of this class.

2nd. We have cultivators with rights of occupancy at 'fair rates. This title is common to Bengal, the North Western Provinces, the Punjab and Oudh. This title is heritable but not transferable. The word fair rates is variously construed. In the North Western Provinces, before Act X. came into operation, it is rather indefinitely described 'as the established rules of the 'pergunna for lands of the same quality and description, due 'consideration being had, as far as may be required by the 'custom of the district, to the alteration of the species of culture, 'and the caste of the cultivator; and again according to the rate 'payable for land of a similar description in the place adjacent 'or at rates not exceeding the highest rates paid for the same 'land in any one year, within the period of the three last antecedent years.'§ In Act X. it is declared 'that the rate previously paid shall be deemed fair and equitable unless the contrary be

* Directions to Settlement Officers, para 128.

† Ibid.

‡ Sections 3 and 4, Act. X of 1859.

§ Directions to Settlement Officers, para 134.

‘shown.’* We are not aware of the Punjab definition of what are fair rates for this class of cultivators, but in Oudh it has been defined by the highest authority as ‘what the land will fetch ‘in the market.’ It is evident that between the first and the last of these definitions there is a very great difference, and as it is competent to every court, in the absence of authoritative decisions of superior courts, to put its own construction on the language used in the Acts and rules made for its guidance, we are quite safe in assuming that the practice is at least as diversified as the definitions.

These are the only cultivators with occupancy titles. The latter title can be acquired by twelve years’ possession on the part of the cultivator.† This rule holds good in Bengal and the North Western Provinces where Act X. is in force, but does not, we believe, hold in the Punjab or in Oudh. The operation of such a rule as this is simple. In the eleventh year of their occupancy all, who were not already within the pale, would be turned out, and the whole body of the tenantry are turned out of house and home, to the great inconvenience of their landlords and their own impoverishment and misery, for the sake of securing a right to one or two who happen, through the ignorance or negligence of their landlords, to complete the twelve years without being ousted, but this part of Act X. has no friend, and it is useless to kick a dead lion. Now let us examine, as far as we can, the grounds upon which these occupancy rights have been recorded. In the North Western Provinces they have been recorded and conceded for many years, they have been upheld by our courts, and have the prescriptive force of established well defined law. These tenures are there an undoubted property, whatever may have been their origin; though we strongly suspect that they had then no sounder foundation than they now have in the adjacent province of Oudh. Of the actual state of affairs in Bengal Proper on the publication of Act X. of 1859 we are hardly in a position to speak; but the occupancy clauses of the Act have been attacked with great vigor, and denounced as a complete agrarian revolution in that province. How far that may be just or not we cannot say, and, considering the excitement that has been born there of the indigo question, it would require an intimate acquaintance with the subject as well as an impartial judgment to be able to pronounce upon the point. But we have a good deal of evidence as to the state of the Punjab before the settlement, and it is uniformly to the purport that no such thing as right of occupancy was known under the

* Section 5 Act. X of 1859.

† Section 6 Act. X. of 1859.

Sikh rule. The present Financial Commissioner says—‘Tenant with right of occupancy is also called hereditary cultivator. The features of this status, which has been created by our system are etc.’* Another Punjab officer says—‘During the measurements I was requested to define the difference between hereditary tenants and tenants at will. I made enquiries of the Tehseeldars of the Umritsur district, all of whom are Punjabee officials of experience. They replied that the distinction between the two classes was unknown. Practically, however, there was good reason to believe that many tenants did enjoy a right of continued occupancy. Accordingly tenants who had cultivated their fields for more than twelve years consecutively provided they lived in the village were registered as hereditary.’† Again, ‘Under Sikh rule the distinction of hereditary cultivation was hardly known.’‡ ‘We have created the right of hereditary occupancy for our own convenience.’§ ‘The distinction between hereditary and non-hereditary cultivators is a creation of our government. Under the native rule in this part of the Punjab it was altogether unknown. Proprietors had the right to eject any tenants whom they disapproved of, however long the latter might have resided on the estate.’|| This officer then goes on to state that notwithstanding this undoubted right on the part of the landlord, instances had come before the settlement courts in which, when the cultivator had been the first to break up the land, he was allowed to sell the right of cultivation. That was however only an incoming tenant paying to save himself the labor of breaking up new land of which there is abundance in Gogaira, and it in no way interfered with the absolute property of the landlord. To give another instance ‘The rights of the hereditary cultivators have been entirely created under our rule. Under the Sikhs the proprietor had always the right of ousting a tenant whenever he chose, but this was never done unless the cultivator had made himself obnoxious.’¶ In others of the Punjab Settlement Reports we find that there is such an anxiety to get the cultivators that no objections whatever are raised to any entries that may be made. Thus ‘there have been very few if any disputes regarding cultivators with rights of possession. The fact is, that in consequence of the thinness of the population and the scarceness of cultivators,

* Mr. Cust's Code of Proprietors and Tenants rights, page 5.

† Ibid, page 10.

‡ Mr. Cust's proposed Tenant Code, page 11.

§ Ibid, page 19.

|| Settlement Report Gogaira District, page 31

¶ Settlement Report Lahore District, page 8.

'the proprietors have only been too glad to give up to all their cultivators the right of possession with the object of inducing them to remain on the estate.*'

In other of the Punjab Settlement Reports the rights of hereditary cultivators are only spoken of as rights conceded by us. 'A right of heritable occupancy has been conceded to a large proportion of the cultivators. The title is commonly founded on a prescription of from twelve to twenty years.†' Or it is asserted that no difference existed under Sikh rule between the payments exacted from proprietors, hereditary cultivators and tenants at will. 'The hereditary cultivators like the proprietors pay according to the village rate, both as regards land and water. Tenants at will in most cases have also engaged to pay according to village rates; but their engagements are subject to renewal every year ‡' And again, 'the Sikh ruler took the same payment and the same proportion of grain from the hereditary proprietor or from the hereditary cultivator as from the mere tenant at will, and this, not because his demands were so light, but from the fact, that the share of the whole produce exacted was so full that it admitted of no distribution according to the measure of their rights'§ Or the settlement Officer simply confines himself to stating what he had to do. 'With regard to the decision of disputes about the right to cultivate a few words will suffice. No period can be fixed, I believe, as entitling tenants to a permanent interest in the cultivation; this question can only be decided on viewing the circumstances of each case,' || or in other words the officer could find no custom to guide him and was obliged to consider what was fair in order to create the right which the authorities had determined to record. In Oudh there are as yet no published reports from which we can quote on this subject, but we are in a position to affirm that no evidence has been found in that province of a cultivator's right of occupancy. In the words of one of the Settlement Officers there 'rights they had none, but wrongs they had plenty.' The investigations of the Settlement Officers in this province all tend to the same story, that although in fact men held the same fields from father to son, they had no right therein. Nothing was more common in the days of the kingdom of Oudh

* Settlement Report Goojranwallah District, page 55.

† Settlement Report Goordaspore District, page 27.

‡ Settlement Report Umritsar District, page 56.

§ Settlement Report Ludhiana District, page 20.

==Settlement Report Hoshiarpur District, page 58.

than for arbitrators to be assembled for the purpose of adjudicating on claims to landed property, or shares therein, on arrangements for the mortgage or redemption of proprietary right; but we never heard of this local assembly, whose decrees were mostly enforced only by the public opinion of the place, adjudicating between a landowner and his cultivator, where the question was whether the latter was to be ousted or what rent he was to pay. In short, there can be no doubt, that in those native states recently annexed, where enquiries have been made since men began to doubt the absolute infallibility of the North West revenue system, no trace whatever has been found of a right of occupancy, either at fixed or variable rates, pertaining to men who had no proprietary title.

So far, then, for the right of the matter: we now come to discuss its expediency.

All modern political economists concur in accepting Mr. Malthus as the discoverer of the true theory of rent, and his definition of it is, 'That portion of the value of the whole produce which remains to the owner of the land, after all the outgoings belonging to its cultivation, of whatever kind, have been paid, including the profits of the capital employed, estimated according to the usual and ordinary rate of the profits of agricultural capital at the time being.*' He then proceeds to remark that, 'the causes of the ordinary excess of this price of raw produce above the cost of production may be said to be three: First and mainly, that quality of the soil, by which it can be made to yield a greater quantity of the necessaries of life than is required for the maintenance of the persons employed upon the land; Secondly, that quality peculiar to the necessaries of life, when properly distributed, of creating their own demand, or of raising up a number of demanders in proportion to the quantity of necessaries produced; and thirdly, the comparative scarcity of fertile land, either natural or artificial.' † It is not necessary for us to enter on Mr. Malthus' argument to prove these positions, as they are admitted by the best authorities, and the conclusion they lead to is inevitable. For if the first breaker of the soil becomes its proprietor he would naturally choose the most fertile and the best situated, and from the nature of things as soon as his holding was surrounded by others and supply began to create demand, as is the law of the produce of land, and the scarcity of fertile lands began to be felt, both the fact that better cultivation

* Malthus' Pol. Economy 2nd Ed., page 136.

† Malthus' Pol. Economy 2nd Ed., page 140.

would be brought to bear upon his land so as to make it yield more, and that inferior lands would be brought into cultivation, as no land can be cultivated unless it supports those engaged upon it, would raise him from cultivator to proprietor and his surplus would be rent. It follows from this that the natural state of an advancing society is to create property in land in the hands of its original cultivators, who then naturally cease to be cultivators and become landlords, for no man will work hard for his bread if he can live without doing so, and as agriculture is the first and oldest of the occupations of civilized man, it is always that in which there is the greatest command of labor. The cultivators of the soil should therefore, by reasoning, be the poorest class of the community, and that they are so in fact there can be no manner of doubt. They are not subject usually, where good systems of agriculture prevail as in England, to the great reverses which fall upon manufacturing laborers, but when circumstances do render them so liable, their utter want of everything makes the visitation far more dreadful, as in the North Western Provinces in 1860. No legislation can alter this. Securing to cultivators occupancy rights certainly has not done so in the North Western Provinces. If a portion of the rent is given by law to the cultivator he will multiply till he brings his holding down to a bare subsistence, or he will be idle and waste his share in bad cultivation. The hereditary cultivators in the North West Provinces are no better off than the tenants at will, either of that or of adjacent provinces. They do not eat better food, they do not present a better physique; and, as they have no benefit and pay less rent, there is a dead loss to the community somewhere. Either they have multiplied until there are too many on the land, and consequently productive labor is wasted by the people not being fully employed; or they do not raise so much produce and the country loses in that way.

The strength of a country is its people so long as they are fed, and the more industrious and fully employed the people are the greater will the country be, and the better off the people themselves. But any thing that binds the people to particular localities prevents that movement in the labor market, which alone seems capable of developing its powers, and the experience alike of the Irish laborer in England and the Indian coolie in the Mauritius and Trinidad shows the difference of the work of those who travel. Why should they not experience the same nearer home? Why should not the eastern Oudh laborer work and save in Trans-Gogra, and the North West man do the same in Central India, but that the occupancy right, which pertains to them, seems some-

thing in their eyes, and they prefer misery in consequence. Still in arguing this way it must not be forgotten that there is a natural and inborn affection planted in human nature for the soil on which a man and his ancestors have lived and toiled, and it is not easy in even well educated and highly civilized countries, far less in this, to induce the people to do the best for the land and for themselves; so that any improvement would be very gradual, and by no means such as need alarm any body. A few years ago, when the anti-corn law league was in full force at home, we remember a comparison drawn in its organ in which it stated that while good land in the Lothians fetched £5 an acre, better land in the vale of Aylesbury fetched only £2-10. It is however well enough known that the Lothian laborers are not worse of than the Buckinghamshire laborers, while the farmers are far better off. Old custom and a dislike of the unpopularity which it would bring deters the landlord from acting, but in the face of a fact of this sort we can come but to the one conclusion, that the Buckinghamshire farmer raised less produce per acre than the Lothian man, and that the country was so much the loser. Mr. Malthus enumerates as the causes of a rise in rents. '1st,—Such an accumulation of capital, compared with the means of employing it, as will lower the profits of stock; 2nd, 'Such an increase of population as will lower the corn wages of labor; 3rd, Such agricultural improvements, or such increase of exertions as will diminish the number of laborers necessary to produce a given effect; and 4th, such an increase in the price of agricultural produce from increased demand, as, while it probably raises the money price of labor, or occasions a fall in the value of money, is nevertheless accompanied by a diminution either temporary or permanent of the money outgoings of the farmer, compared with his money returns.* The above are simply the tokens of a nation's prosperity. Accumulation of capital, increase of population, improved agriculture, and high prices are the effects of progress; and, if they are the inevitable causes of increased rent, increasing rent must be allowed to be a good thing. In opposition to this are the causes of a fall in rents, namely 'diminished capital diminished population, 'an oporose system of cultivation, and a falling price of raw produce from deficiency of demand.† Or to quote another authority. 'To make farmers leave off those routine practices to which they are so apt to be attached, and become really industrious and enterprising, they should, besides having the power to improve their

* Malthus' Pol. Economy, 2nd Ed., page 158.

† Malthus' Pol. Economy, 2nd Ed., page 173.

‘ condition, be made to feel, that if they do not make the requisite exertions they will certainly be ruined. To satisfy ourselves that this is necessary we need only contrast farms occupied by tenants at rents considerably below their fair value, with those let at their value. Speaking generally, the condition and culture of the former are very inferior indeed as compared with the latter. The occupiers of the under-rented farms, being able to pay their rents and make a little money without any unusual exertion, move on in the routine system to which they and their fathers have been accustomed; whereas necessity compels the occupiers of higher-rented farms to adopt every device, how novel soever, by which their produce may be increased and the expense of cultivation diminished.’*

It seems to be a law of our human nature that the soil must be held by idlers so that the world at large may get the full benefit of it. In order that the earth may yield its full fruits, the stimulus of rent must be applied; for as it will yield more than is necessary to pay for its cultivation, the only security to the community that it will all be produced is rent. To pay his rent the cultivator must raise more than enough to feed himself, and that surplus is sold and supports those engaged in other branches of industry, while the rent itself is spent in ways so as to make a demand for more labor of every kind. Rising rents are then clearly an indication of prosperity, and they must be taken by the landlord, for if a law is made by which the cultivator intercepts them, there is one of the most powerful stimulants to exertion on his part at once removed; and the experience of the whole world shows that the faculty of working to gain wealth, or to attain position, is that of the few, and the vast majority of cultivators would not be the better off for an absence or a restriction of rent, but would remain at the old level, only idler, lazier and less useful citizens generally.

If the foregoing be true, and increased rents a sign of national prosperity, it follows that hereditary cultivators at fixed rents are simply an obstruction to good agriculture, and prevent the flow of capital towards land, both by making the land itself an undesirable investment, on account of all these rights cumbering the property, and by discouraging the expenditure of capital among a set of tenants, whose very privileges prevent them exerting themselves to make a return. And the case of hereditary cultivators at fair rents is only somewhat better, even when fair rents are held to be what the land will fetch in the market. The objections to this last tenure are, *1st*, that it is

* Treatise on Economical Policy, McCulloch, page 209.

impossible in practice to separate a right of occupancy from an idea that some advantage is to accrue thereby; 2nd, that it perpetuates the interference of a Government Officer to settle what should be a private contract between two parties. It is the business of Government to enforce the performance of a contract between citizens and not to make it for them; and 3rd, because, in Oudh at least, where the last definition is the law, the majority of the cultivators are hereditary, that is, have cultivated the same fields from father to son. This is true of eastern Oudh at any rate, and where the majority cannot be ousted the general rate of rent cannot rise. It is a fiscal officer who has to determine what is the market rate, and he must necessarily admit that to be the market rate which is generally paid. Indeed, in a very short time after the settlement was over, in the natural course of things, a sort of market rate would be established and it would come to be nothing but a fixed rate of rent after all. The tendency of everything in India to become a custom is patent enough, without requiring a law to make it more sure. But in land tenures this tendency is by no means confined to India. In Mr. Caird's account of the Duke of Cleveland's estate in Durham we find—'It is and always has been very low rented. The tenants are very rarely displaced; and some of them have held their farms in a regular series from father to son since the reign of Elizabeth. And yet, as might have been anticipated, the agriculture of the estate has been neglected, the tenants have not made money, and its too beneficent proprietor is complained of because he does not reduce the present inadequate rental.* The disinclination to quarrel with a man's tenantry, and the love of a quiet life operate to keep the proprietor from raising his rents; but it not unfrequently happens that, if the property changes hands and a new landlord does raise the rents, it is followed by a general improvement. 'A gentleman expended £20,000 in improving the lands of his tenants without charging them a sixpence of additional rent. He died, and his successor, being of a different cast, left off improving and tried what might be done by doubling the rents; and this advance of rent, though considered oppressive in the first instance, did more to promote improvement and the interest of all parties than all the benevolence of the preceding proprietor. The tenants were now compelled to do for themselves what another did for them before.† Our position therefore is, that increased rental is prosperity, and the best security for

* Caird's English Agriculture, page 349.

† Davis' Agriculture of South Wales. page 165.

its proper increase is the interest of the proprietor; and, if it is meant that a progressive steady increase should take place, the way to bring it about is to refuse to fix any man's rent, but whenever he makes an agreement with his landlord to keep both parties to it. It follows, as part of this principle, that the landlord should have the power of ejecting a cultivator at pleasure. He will not do so often, and we need not be afraid of it. In England the landlord exercises this power, no man being able to hold his land against his will, for if he gives a lease he is held to have consented. In this country the security against a landlord proceeding wholesale against his tenantry is made greater, for the landlord is liable for the Government revenues, and to pay it he must have his land cultivated. The tenant is free to leave if he likes, and any general combination among them would ruin the landlord. We are aware that it will be answered that the cultivator cannot leave, that he is tied down by poverty, by associations, by a terror of going away, and that it is necessary to give him some protection. To this, we answer, that we have already shown that the law as it stands is no protection, that the fact is notorious that the most protected cultivators are no better off than their neighbours, and that if it broke the ties of poverty, associations, and the terror of going away, it would be the greatest of blessings to the land.

What then is to be done? It does not come within the scope of this paper to answer. Indeed any answer to such a question must depend so much upon the circumstances attending the operation of the present law in each province and under each government, that it is the men entrusted with the charge of them who alone can decide. We want the principle admitted, which might then be applied as was found best suited to the circumstances of each Government.

In the North Western Provinces the occupancy rights are of such old establishment, and have been so thoroughly recognized, that they now constitute property. Here they cannot be taken away; but we think legislation might advance a step and make them transferable. No injustice would be done to any one by that, certainly not to the proprietor, who might himself buy them, and who is most favorably placed to do so, as he could buy the right without ousting the man. At present the right is heritable but not transferable, or it has not been absolutely acknowledged to be so. To the cultivator himself it would be a positive boon, enabling him to sell the right, if he wanted to leave, and emancipate himself from that serf-like attachment which now binds him to the soil. It would relieve the landlord from an incubus which he cannot get rid of otherwise, and which

presses him down at every turn. We believe that if the right were transferable it would be bought up rapidly by the landlords in the North Western Provinces, so soon as they understood its working. Of course the clause giving a man this right after twelve years' occupancy would have to be removed, but we do not propose to say more of a clause which we believe no rational person now stands up for. More than this we think cannot be done for the North Western Provinces, with due regard to justice. In Bengal and in the Punjab the local authorities must be the judges. If the Bengal courts really did not interfere in rent questions before Act X of 1859 was passed, it is certainly not too late to repeal the obnoxious clauses. It is for the Revenue Officers of the Punjab to say whether the right they secured to those whom they were pleased to call hereditary cultivators, should be maintained in the face of their own able Financial Commissioner's conclusions. Their settlement is but for ten years, and it depends upon the safety and expediency of the measure how far it is justifiable. At the end of ten years it is open to Government to revise the whole arrangement, and they should earnestly consider this matter. It may be argued that in the Punjab they created the proprietary title also, and what is sauce for the goose is sauce for the gander. It is no such thing. There is no such law regulating the conduct of either individuals or communities in this world. In the Bible we have the right of the man vindicated who gave the laborers who had worked the whole day and the one who came at the eleventh hour each a penny; and is not the practice consistent with the experience of every man? We gave the proprietary right in the Punjab because it was for our interest to grant it, and we might have withheld the occupancy right to cultivators for the same reason. It is for those on the spot to say whether that should be done now or at the end of the settlement. The Cis Sutlej and Trans Sutlej estates however have been settled for thirty years, and their case might be that of the North Western Provinces.

But in Oudh, where as yet no settlements have been declared, and the Government has only committed itself in the most vague way to maintain an hereditary right of occupancy in the revenue courts during the term of the summary settlement, having forbidden the Settlement Officers to recognise the rights of cultivators at all, (we call them rights because it is the custom, and for want of a better word) it is surely open to Government to deal with this question as may be found best. It is true the Oudh Government refuse to bind the landlord as to the rent, but we have shown that the law is to give fair rents, and the Government have no security how that will be interpreted. Besides we

think we have shown that, if the landlord may not oust his tenant, rent will have a strong tendency to remain stationary. There is no fear of the land falling out of cultivation, and poorer than the cultivators are under protection they cannot be. The security of the landlord is the poverty of the cultivator and his local attachment; the security of the cultivator is the absolute necessity it is to the landlord to have his land tilled. What need of more? Why call in the fiscal officer to interfere so unnecessarily? It is impossible for him to estimate all the causes which may alter the value of land in any given locality, and it is not the business of Government to make contracts between private individuals. We do not regulate the prices of commodities, why should we regulate that of land? We would refer people anxious to study this question to Lord Palmerston's speech on the 23rd June in the House of Commons upon Mr. Maguire's motion for a Royal Commission to enquire into the relations of landlord and tenant in Ireland. He denounces the doctrines, which we here attack, as 'communistic,' 'totally at variance with the whole fabric of social organization, to which, in this country, we attach so much value and upon which the interests and prosperity of the country depend. Let the owner and the tenant settle their own affairs.'

The principle of legislative interference with the rights of property in order to give protection to certain classes is an unsound one, and always leads to more evil than good. Our belief is, that for one case of real oppression rectified, our revenue courts do ten cases of absolute injustice. It is unjust, in the first instance, to interfere to prevent a man doing what he likes with his own, for it directly lessens the market value of his property. It is on this market value that the flow of capital depends, and difficulties in the way of transfer and the creation of subordinate rights operate most strongly to keep land from taking its legitimate place among securities. The common interest on mortgages is 24 per cent. and the European Banks will have nothing to do with land as a security for a loan. Should they be obliged to enter on possession they find all the difficulties we have described in the way of its transfer, and they find themselves bound by all sorts of curious village customs, which give them infinite trouble, and are a source of great loss, while they finally have to submit to have their rents fixed by an officer who has, or may have, his own notions on the subject.

We are of opinion that the rights of the cultivator would be amply secured by two such rules as these.

Rule 1st.—He cannot be ousted during the term of his lease or in the middle of the agricultural year, unless he is a defaulter.

Rule 2nd.—If he has been allowed to sow a crop without any agreement being made, he is to hold for that year at last year's rent. Beyond that we are of opinion that everything should be left to mutual arrangement, the landlord having the power to let his land to whom and at what rate he pleases, and the cultivator to carry his labor to the market where he can get the best wages.

That capital may come freely upon the land the right of property in it must be absolute, and its transfer clogged by no difficulties raised up to keep it in certain hands. In England no man can entail his estate now upon unborn generations, and the legislature, to get rid of copyhold tenures, compel the superior to take a sum and give up his rights, or to give a sum and purchase that of the under proprietor. We do not wish the Indian Government to do this, but simply to refuse to create rights in favor of parties who have no title to them, and to enable a man to transfer to another his own property as he pleases, without the interference of a third party to forbid him. Were that done we believe there would be a great improvement in the value of land in general, and the country would be greatly benefitted by an increased production. Old notions would give way before example and opportunity. Money would be borrowed to make masonry wells, a measure by which not only would the produce be greatly increased, but crops, like cotton, tobacco and sugar-cane, be raised on soils where now, for want of capital, the only harvests reaped are such as give but very poor returns.

No one can look at India now without seeing that we are on the eve of a great industrial development. Railways are spreading over the land; tea and coffee plantations covering the slopes of the hills; silk, cotton, and indigo beginning to be raised in localities which, a few years ago, never dreamed of such things. Men are beginning to travel, to see for themselves and think for themselves, and education is telling them that there is 'many a thing in heaven and earth beyond the reach of their philosophy.' The signs of progress are all around. It is as if the giant of India, after a sleep of 2000 years, were roused up and about to go forward again, and shall we do anything to stop him, or throw difficulties in his way? No! rather let us help him forward. Let whatever we do be in the right direction, in the way that has made our own country so great. Nations differ, we allow, they have various ideas and feelings which modify the laws which are common to the whole human race, and in India they have been and often must be deferred to. But here the modification proceeds, in two out of the three subjects of which this paper has treated, from ourselves, and is contrary to our own

home practice and experience, while it has no warrant in what prevailed here before we took the Government in hand.

Let us cease from amateur legislation then, and make necessity, proved necessity, or at least such a manifest improvement as shall be patent to all men, the basis of our innovations. But let us cease to make laws on the principle of universal benevolence : by doing so we find ourselves taking one man's property to give to another to whom it does no good. We retard the progress of society, and have to fall back on our good intentions to answer a specific charge of injustice.

ART. VII. 1.—*Report of John Hawkshaw, F. R. S., to the Egyptian Government.*—3rd February 1863.

2.—*Report of a Commission appointed by the King of Holland to report on the consequences of the Suez Canal,*—1860.

WE have often thought it insufferably provoking when opening a book for information on a subject of present interest to find that a long preliminary treatise on the subject as known to the ancients must be either waded through or skipped before we can learn its recent aspect. We have thought that in most cases it would be better to invert the arrangement, and after interesting the reader by a recital of the subject in its modern bearings, to trace it upwards to the original suggestion, to the first germ which has now received its development. We intend to follow this course in our present article and from a vast mass of material accumulated on the subject of the Suez Canal to lay before our readers the substance of two publications, the latest and the most important. One of these is the report of one of the most eminent of our English Engineers on the present state of the works now in progress on the Isthmus of Suez, and on the probability of their being carried to a successful issue; the other is the Report of Commission deputed by the King of Holland to enquire into and report on the probable consequences of the construction of the Canal, should it be successfully accomplished.

Three questions arise in connection with the great undertaking which is now fairly under trial:—I. Is the construction of a ship canal through the Isthmus of Suez practicable? II. Is it practicable at such a cost as to offer any prospect of remuneration? III. Supposing the Canal to be completed what will be its effects on the commerce of the world? The first of these questions Mr. John Hawkshaw, upon whom the mantles of Stephenson and Brunel have fallen, was requested by the Pacha of Egypt to investigate and report upon. The last the Holland Commission have considered very fully. The answer to the second must be sought from many and various sources, as well as from the two documents above mentioned.

We have promised to begin at the end and go backwards, and must therefore state at once that Mr. Hawkshaw, after examining the subject in all its bearings and carefully viewing the progress of the works up to the present time, with a statement of their cost before him, pronounces the opinion that, in an engineering point of view, the project is practicable at a cost of ten millions sterling, that is, at a cost which requires a net return of half a million per annum to afford a dividend of five per cent. Into the question of the probable return for the capital to be expended Mr. Hawkshaw does not enter, considering it beyond his commission.

Mr. Hawkshaw's report is admirably brief, clear and decided. We shall endeavour to give its purport in as few words as possible under distinct heads. Should the project be carried out according to the last approved modifications and Mr. Hawkshaw's recent suggestions, the following magnificent works will occupy what is now one of the most sterile and deserted spots on the globe.

Two jetties projecting from Port Said into the Mediterranean Sea, the eastern jetty 3609 yards in length and the western 2515 yards, forming a canal 437 yards in breadth, will receive the vessels sailing for the east and conduct them into a basin at Port Said, having an area of 875 yards square. From this basin a canal 90 miles in length will convey the vessels to the Port of Suez. This Canal will be formed by excavations through the desert for $42\frac{3}{4}$ miles of its course, and for the rest by deepening and embanking where necessary the beds of Lake Menzaleh, Lake Timsah and the Bitter Lakes. The Canal when excavated will have a breadth varying from 190 to $262\frac{1}{2}$ feet, and a depth of $29\frac{1}{2}$ feet. The depth of excavations will vary from $29\frac{1}{2}$ to 80 feet. At Suez the vessels will be received into a basin and graving dock now constructing for the railway and steam packet traffic. The stone jetties originally contemplated at the entrance to the Red Sea have been abandoned. It is now proposed to dredge a channel from the mouth of the graving dock into deep water, the portion to be dredged averaging $16\frac{1}{2}$ feet of depth.

'The basin and graving dock and works connected therewith are undertakings wholly unconnected with, and independent of the operations of the Suez Canal Company,' though now rendered auxiliary to them by the Government of Egypt. They were projected as an adjunct to the railway communication and have been undertaken by the Messageries Impariales who have entered into a contract with the Egyptian Government to complete them for a sum of £ 240,000. 'The works consist of an

‘extension of the Railway by embankment into the Red Sea and of the construction of a basin and also of a graving dock. The Railway will be laid on the sides of the basin where there will be a sufficient depth of water for the vessels of the Peninsular and Oriental Steam Navigation Company to enter. Thus the passengers and cargo will be delivered and received directly to and from the Railway and the fuel will be brought alongside. The length of the Railway will be 3 miles. The basin is intended to be 1,476 ft. long, 820 ft. broad, and 23 ft. below the mean level of the sea. The graving dock is to be 393 ft. long, 95 wide at the top, and 75 ft. wide at the bottom, and is to be constructed at the upper end of the basin.’

Such is the splendid apparatus by which it is proposed to overcome the interruption presented by the Isthmus of Suez, and connect the Mediterranean with the Red Sea.

But it remains to describe a most important auxiliary work, viz., the construction of a Fresh-water Canal from the Nile, near Cairo to Timsah, and thence to Suez. This work is of a kind with which our Indian readers are perfectly familiar. Although undertaken in connection with the Ship Canal, and primarily intended to afford fresh water to the labourers employed on the Company's works, and to the town of Suez, this work is complete in itself, and might stand alone as a project of Irrigation and Navigation. From above the Barrage, or, as it would be called in the Madras Presidency where such works are most common, the Anicut, of the Nile, it is proposed to lead a channel by Ras-el-Wade to Timsah and thence to Suez. From Cairo to Ras-el-Wade the length of the Canal will be 56 miles, and it is estimated to cost £140,000. From Ras-el-Wade to Timsah the Canal has been already executed. This work comprised about 1,308,000 cubic yards, and has been completed for £28,000. The length of the portion of the canal from Timsah to Suez will be about 59 miles. The estimated cost of this section is £140,000, which is based on the cost of that portion of the work already performed. So important is this canal to the general project that the Company have resolved to concentrate their forces upon the latter portion. When Mr. Hawkshaw visited the works 9,000 men were employed on it, and this number was to be increased as largely as possible in the hope of completing it by May 1863.

The completion of this section would have the following valuable results:

‘This section of the fresh-water canal passes near to and on the north eastern side of the mountain of Génэфé, and the material of the mountain, which is calcareous rock, is well

‘ adapted for building purposes and for the formation of the sea jetties. When finished there will be a water communication, not only from Génэффэ, but also from Suez *via* Timsah to Port Said. It is intended to convey the stone for the jetties at Port Said from Génэффэ along this canal, and hence the importance of its immediate completion. The portion of the western jetty at Port Said already executed, has been constructed of stone conveyed by sea from the quarries of Mex, which is more costly than if the stone were brought from Génэффэ. A collateral advantage of the completion of this section of the fresh-water canal will be, that the inhabitants of Suez and the shipping and railway locomotive establishment at that place, now dependent on water carried from Cairo, a distance of 90 miles, will be put in immediate connexion with a fresh-water canal from the Nile.’ The upper section of this canal is not yet commenced, the supply of water being drawn from the existing conduits which now reach Ras-el-Wade; but these become dry or nearly so at low Nile, the fresh-water canal therefore cannot be perfect until it is put in proper communication with the portion of the Nile above the Barrage, nor indeed until the Barrage, which is still incomplete, is finished.’

We have said that this canal though designed as auxiliary to the greater work, is itself an important work of irrigation. The Company have purchased for £80,000 a tongue of land containing about 28,000 acres extending from Abbaceh to Ras-el-Wade, and, as part compensation for their outlay on this work they have the privilege of cultivating as much land on each side of the canal as they can find means to irrigate, paying to Government the same tax upon it as is charged on the other cultivated lands of Egypt. Between Cairo and Abbaceh there appear to be no lands worth cultivating by the Company, but they are of opinion that interest on that portion of the expenditure may be made by disposing of water for irrigation purposes to the adjoining landowners. From Ras-el-Wade to Suez the Company calculate that in 20 years 123,555 acres may be cultivated by means of the fresh-water canal.’

Thus the prospectus is as follows :—

The whole cost of this fresh-water canal is estimated by the International Commissioners at £360,000. Supposing the interest of the first portion, which is to cost £140,000, to be covered by the sale of the water, there remains an expenditure of £220,000 only for the irrigation of 151,555 acres of land. This is about 30s. per acre. We do not know what may be considered a fair

estimate of the rental of such land in Egypt, but the following calculation appears to be a safe one. We find it mentioned by Mr. Hawkshaw that the Ouady estate let out to Arabs, has this year brought to the Company a net revenue of £5,960 (say £6 000). If this estate of 58,000 acres yielded that sum, the whole area of 151,000 acres will yield £32,000 as the interest on the above outlay of £220,000 or about 15 per cent. To those acquainted with the irrigation works of India such an estimate will appear by no means excessive. Indeed in a land so highly productive as Egypt, and in a locality so advantageous as this will be when the works are completed, a water rent of 10s. per acre would, we conceive, be very moderate, and this would raise the return on this outlay to £75,000 per annum. A rental of £75,000 a year would be a handsome dividend on a capital of £220,000; but we must keep in mind that when viewed as a part of the general undertaking, it is but a small portion of the sum of £500,000 required annually to afford a dividend of 5 per cent. on the whole capital of ten millions sterling. But we are anticipating a later portion of our subject.

It has been seen by the above statement that the works are already in progress. By a statement placed by M. Lesseps in Mr. Hawkshaw's hands, it appears that the expenditure to 1st December 1862, amounted to no less than £1,984,000 including the purchase of the Ouady estate. The portions of the works accomplished up to date are :

1st. The fresh-water canal from Ras-el-Wade to Timsah (£28,000). 2nd. 'As respects the ship canal the Company have, partly by dredging in Lake Menzaleh and partly by excavating between that Lake and Lake Timsah, opened a water communication between the Mediterranean and Timsah sufficient for flat-bottomed boats of small draught of water.' 3rd. 'The Company have also made a commencement at Port Said, having executed a small portion of the western sea jetty.' 4th. 'The rest of the expenditure has been on expenses preliminary to the formation of the Company, purchases of land and houses, plant, interest to shareholders, expenses of management in France and Egypt, salaries &c., as shewn in the Appendix.* On the important heads of the estimated cost of the works when completed the probable time of completion and cost of maintenance Mr. Hawkshaw thus states the result of the investigations through which it is not necessary that we should follow him. 'Having now reviewed the several matters connected with the engineering construction and with the maintenance of the canal, I have arrived at the following conclusions.

* Vide Appendix, page, 371.

‘Firstly.—As to engineering construction there are no works on the canal presenting on their face any unusual difficulty of execution, and there are no contingencies that I can conceive likely to arise that would introduce difficulties insurmountable by engineering skill. *Secondly.*—As regards the maintenance of the canal, I am of opinion that no obstacles would be met with that would prevent the work when completed being maintained with ease, and without the necessity of incurring any extraordinary or unusual yearly expenses. As regards the cost of construction, the question of estimate will have to be modified in accordance with the observations I have previously made on the points directly affecting it, and it stands as follows :—

	£
‘Total capital proposed to be raised ...	8,000,000
Earthwork saved ...	480,000
	7,520,000
Add for protective works through Bitter Lakes ...	280,000
	7,800,000
Add for pitching bottom and slope of Canal from Red Sea to Bitter Lakes,	500,000
	8,300,000
Add further sum probably needed for interest on the capital during construction,	800,000
	8,300,000
	Total £9,100,000

‘Looking, however, to the money already expended compared with the work done, and considering the contingencies connected with the probability of meeting with rock at the Red Sea entrance, and that the deep dredging in the canal, and at the Mediterranean entrance may cost more than the estimated amount, and also looking to the contingencies incident to an undertaking of such magnitude as the ship canal, I should think it prudent for you to assume that, before it be fully finished and perfected, the expenditure including the additional cost of the modifications I have suggested (should the whole of them be adopted) together with the land purchases and cost of buildings may reach £10,000,000. In this estimate I assume the time within which the canal will be open for traffic will not exceed five years. I have however given no credit for rental that may be derived from the land and dwelling houses of the Company. As regards the cost of maintenance the International Commissioners entered upon that subject in

‘detail, and estimated that a yearly expenditure of £62,820 ‘would be sufficient for the purpose. I see no reason to differ ‘from that conclusion.’

Thus then, at the end of five years, if this noble scheme is carried out in its integrity, these magnificent works will be available to the commerce of nations, but will require a return of £562,820 per annum to provide for their maintenance and furnish a dividend of 5 per cent. to the subscribers.

This then is the view of the subject taken by a person most competent to form a just judgment of the undertaking, viewing it by the light of practical experience gained by the prosecution of the works up to the present time, and viewing it simply as an engineering work without reference either to the pecuniary results, or the political effects of this vast undertaking. We conceive, therefore, that Mr. Hawkshaw’s statement will be taken as a safe basis for argument on the future prospects of the Company. Mr. Hawkshaw’s Report is dated 3rd February 1863; the accounts upon which it is founded are brought down to the 1st December 1862. The following letter shews that the Report has been considered encouraging by the Directors of the Company, and that the progress of the works has been uninterrupted either by political difficulties, or by pecuniary alarms.

It was published in the City Article of the ‘Times,’ and relates to the progress of the works of the Suez Canal, with regard to the success of which Englishmen continue so persistently sceptical :—

Sir,—As there has been an absence for some time past of any mention in the ‘Times’ with reference to the works of the Suez Canal, will you permit me to state that they have not suffered any interruption and continue to be pushed forward with unabated vigour? At the meeting in Paris, on the 15th of July, M. Ferdinand de Lesseps made his annual statement, entering minutely into every detail connected with the affairs of the company, and which have given general satisfaction. The funds in hand are sufficiently ample to obviate the necessity for any further call until next year. The able report published by the President of the Institution of Civil Engineers in London, who went out to Egypt at the solicitation of the Egyptian Government, will be read with interest. It confirms what has so often been put forward, that, as regards the engineering construction, there are no works on the canal presenting on their face any unusual difficulty of execution, and that there are no contingencies likely to arise that would introduce difficulties insurmountable by engineering skill. And as regards the maintenance of the canal, the report further states that no obstacles would be met

with that would prevent the work, when completed, being maintained with ease and efficiency, and without the necessity of incurring any extraordinary or unusual yearly expenditure.—I have the honour to be, sir, your very obedient servant,

DANIEL A. LANGE,

Director and English Representative of the Suez Canal Company. London, July 28.

It is also announced that the difficulties arising from the question of forced labour have been overcome, and the political bearings of the question adjusted, so as to remove the hindrances which threatened to arrest the progress of the undertaking from causes other than its physical difficulties. We rejoice that it is so, and that the opinions of the advocates and opponents of this great project will be fairly tested, provided the shareholders are willing to risk their money; and we rejoice, too, that if the work should hereafter be arrested and the commerce of nations deprived of this boon, it will not be attributable either to the jealousy of English engineers or the alarms of English politicians.

We propose in the remainder of this article to suppose Mr. Hawkshaw's views to be borne out by fact; to suppose the capital, ten millions sterling, to have been punctually paid and honestly expended, and that at the end of five years the works have been completed for ten millions sterling, and that it is announced to the world that the Suez Ship Canal is open to the vessels of all nations, and that the Company now look to reap the fruits of their bold adventure. We have shewn above, that to afford them a return of 5 per cent. the works must yield a return of £562,820 per annum. But as the irrigation works will probably have been in progress for some years, we will suppose them to yield sufficient to cover the cost of maintenance of the canal, and strike off the £62,820 per annum under that head, and view £500,000 as the amount to be realised in order to afford a dividend. Whence are the shareholders to receive this amount?

The only answer that can be given, viewing the subject commercially and irrespectively of any guarantee either by the Pacha of Egypt or the Emperor of the French must be, 'from the tolls paid by vessels using the canal.' The question then arises what rate of tolls is to be collected and what number of vessels must pass through the canal to yield the required sum. We find that the toll which it is proposed to levy, is 10 francs per ton, or £40 per 100 tons on vessels of all classes irrespectively of the value of the cargo. It will therefore require 1,250,000 tons, or say 1,250 vessels, of one thousand tons

each, to pass through the canal in order to yield the required sum. In other words four vessels of one thousand tons, or their equivalent in larger and smaller vessels, must pass the canal daily (Sundays excepted) in order to raise the tolls to the required amount.

In this calculation so far from overstating the question and placing it in a point of view unfavourable to the projectors we find on turning to their own publications that we have considerably understated it. Before the Chamber of Birmingham in 1857, Mr. Lange speaking in the name of M. Lesseps estimated the annual expenditure on maintenance and interest (on eight millions sterling) at £463,000 per annum and gave the following statement of the anticipations of the Company. 'I would however add, he observed, that an average of two ships per day each 2,500 tons burthen, would yield nearly £800,000 per annum, and that while these two ships per day only represent an annual tonnage of 1,800,000 tons the actual tonnage that goes round the Cape from all parts of Europe is 3,000,000 tons. If this canal were open at present we estimate that we should have 2,000,000 of this traffic. But, according to the Board of Trade returns it appears that the annual increase in foreign shipping is 322,000 tons, so that by the time the canal is formed six years hence the total increase would amount to 2,000,000 tons, and the probability is that we should have 4,000,000 tons going through the canal instead of 2,000,000. I think I have shewn you enough to prove, as far as we can possibly see, that the likely returns of the canal will be great.' We take this as a fair statement of the views of those who favour the project as a commercial speculation, only observing that since these words were spoken the six years have passed away, and this delay with some alterations in the plan has added two millions sterling to the capital to be expended, and consequently £100,000 to the interest to be paid annually.

We shall now endeavour from such information as is in our possession to ascertain what are the probabilities of so large a commerce being carried on through the canal as is thus shewn to be necessary to render the enterprise remunerative. In this enquiry we shall follow chiefly the views of the Dutch Commissioners as being free from all suspicion of bias. On the recommendation of his Minister of the Interior the king of Holland, when the canal of Suez became a definite project, issued a commission with the following objects in view :

'1st.—An enquiry into the probable effects on commerce and navigation in general, and on those of the Low Countries in particular, of the construction of the Suez Canal.

‘2nd.—An indication of the course and measures to be followed and adopted in order to preserve and augment as far as possible the share of the Netherlands in commerce and navigation.

‘3rd.—A suggestion of the steps to be taken on the part of the Government to sustain and promote the efforts of the commercial classes.’

We consider the report which resulted as particularly adapted to our purpose as being free from all prejudice either from French enthusiasm or English rivalry; while the matter has been treated by the Commissioners with liberality combined with Dutch minuteness. ‘A project, they observe, which has been accepted with favour by the public can be viewed only from a common point; it would be to display selfishness to lose sight of this point of view and uselessly to oppose local interests to the advancement of the common good.’

We shall not endeavour to carry our readers through the two hundred and fifty pages of the report now before us, for the conclusions at which the Commissioners arrived may be briefly stated.

They are: (1) ‘That with a Screw Steamer of 2,400 tons and 600 horse power the duration of a voyage by the Cape may be calculated at 53 days 9h. 3m. with a consumption of 2,770 tons of coal, and by Suez at 40 days 5h. 10m. with a consumption of 2,151 tons of coal. That although it appears that for navigation by steam to pass the route by the canal deserves the preference it can only be made use of for the transport of letters, passengers and merchandise capable of bearing a very heavy freight. For the transport of the principal products of the Dutch Colonial possessions it cannot be employed in consequence of the expense of fuel and the room which they occupy in the vessels.’

2. That the canal will be little used by sailing vessels. ‘We do not hesitate to conclude that for sailing vessels going from the Low Countries to Java and beyond it, and returning thence to the Low Countries the route by Suez offers disadvantages, which are augmented by the difficulties of the passage through the Straits of Gibraltar and Babel-mandeb but especially of the Straits of Gibraltar, where vessels in getting out are often delayed a very long time. The same delays are produced in the Red Sea by calms and contrary winds. These delays cannot be remedied in open sea by means of steam-tugs.’

The calculations from which this conclusion is drawn start from Lizard Point, and are therefore equally applicable to the trade of England and to that of the North of Europe generally,

except inasmuch as the voyage from the Cape to Batavia may be shorter than that to British India. But it is unnecessary to enter further into this question inasmuch as the projectors of the Canal themselves admit that the passage by the Red Sea is little likely to be made by sailing vessels. Thus in one passage in M. Lessep's publications it is observed. 'The charge for passing along the canal had been fixed at a maximum of ten francs per ton. Although the canal would be chiefly available for the passage of steam vessels, sailing vessels could also take advantage of it.' Again, 'It was not sailing vessels but steamers and screws that they had calculated upon, although sailing vessels at certain periods of the year, from April to September, could always make use of the canal.* Again, at p. 83. 'Mr. Lange said, sailing vessels would require to choose their time—but sailing vessels had not been much calculated upon.' It is, in fact, upon five thousand tons per day almost entirely of steam tonnage that the projectors calculate.

Steamers and sailing vessels being thus excluded from the calculation the Commissioners' report is chiefly occupied by the inquiry whether navigation by vessels of a mixed class, that is clipper sailing vessels with auxiliary screws, adopting the passage of the Suez Canal is likely to supersede the navigation by the Cape of Good Hope. The result of very minute calculations on this subject is as follows:

By the Cape—Average length of outward voyage 80 days.

By Suez (at the most favourable season) 62 ..

Saving 18 days.
fr.

Cost of outward voyage and home by the Cape 179·11 per last

By Suez 228·49 ..

Difference 49·29 per last.
(or about £1 per ton.)

Being for 1,039 lasts fr. 51,211·89. At this cost the return cargo is received 18 days earlier. The average value of the cargo is 874,500 Florins. Eighteen days interest is—fr. 4,549·85, showing a difference to the disadvantage of the Canal of Suez of 46,662·04 (about £1,866).

The Commissioners enter into numerous other calculations of the duration and cost of voyages outward by Suez and

* Inquiry into the opinions of the Commercial classes of Great Britain on the Suez Ship Canal (p. 21.)—By M. Lessep's.

home by the Cape, and outward by the Cape and homeward by Suez, and give each for different seasons of the year. We have selected one which we have thought gives the fairest average. The enhanced cost of the voyages by Suez arises of course chiefly from the greater use of steam on this voyage compared with the Cape route.

The general conclusions of the Commissioners from the calculations they exhibit are as follows:

'1st. That with reference to the expenses of the voyage by the Cape of Good Hope common sailing vessels are at a disadvantage compared with "Mixed Clippers" following the same route if the rates of insurance, and the interest on the value of the cargo received 36 days earlier be taken into account.

'2nd. That for mixed clippers the route by the Cape of Good Hope is the least expensive. That if a vessel of this class on the outward voyage takes the passage by the Cape and on the homeward that by Suez during the months from March to October, the transport will be accelerated by 18 days and the goods will reach the Low Countries 54 days sooner than by a common sailing vessel at an enhanced cost of fr. 3.04 per last (about 2s. 6d. for two tons).

'3rd. That the expenses of a mixed clipper doubling the Cape outward and returning by Suez, after allowing for the difference of interest on the return cargo are 26 fr. 58c. per last higher than for the same ship doubling the Cape outward and homeward.*

'4th. That the enhanced expenses of a mixed clipper passing through the canal outward and homeward compared with the same vessel doubling the Cape on both passages, deduction being made of the difference of interest on the home cargo are.

'(a.) Under the most favourable circumstances 44 fr. 90c. per last, with a saving of 18 days on the return.

'(b.) Under less favourable circumstances of 60 fr. 90c. with gain of only 9 days.

'5th. If a mixed clipper make the outward voyage by the Cape and uses the canal only on its return, there will result a saving of 18fr. 31c. per last compared with the same vessel going and returning by the canal, the return cargo arriving at the same time.'

Thus then the decision of the Holland Commissioners is that if the present system of navigation by sailing vessels should be changed as they recommend in favour of "Mixed Clippers,"

* The franc is equal to about 10d. or 25 francs = 1£ or 10 Rs.

the route by the Cape would still have the preference over the Suez route for the trade of Northern Europe. And the Commissioners commence the second division of their report in the following words :

‘In summing up the result of the first division of our enquiries, we see that it is not exactly true, generally speaking, as has been asserted in so many writings that the cutting of the Isthmus of Suez will be to the profit of all countries, that the distance which separates them from India will be reduced, and that the only difference in this respect between the different states will be in proportion to the share taken in this enterprize. On the contrary it is evident to us that voyages by sailing vessels, outward and homeward, by the Canal of Suez do not offer any advantage, but will rather entail loss of time and money on comparing the probable results of such voyages with those of actual passages by the Cape of Good Hope. The advantages of this last route (by the Cape) will be much augmented when it is traversed by sailing clippers and mixed clippers following the newly discovered Nautical Route (referring to a new track recommended by scientific men of Holland for the Cape voyage). The route by the Cape will often be the most advantageous for the merchant ships of Western Europe and America, making for India and especially those destined for countries situated, as are our Eastern possessions, to the south of the Equator. For these expeditions the route by the Isthmus of Suez will have no advantage, or advantage so uncertain that a large number of navigations will continue to follow the ancient route by the Cape.’

To this conclusion the Commissioners are brought with regard to the trade of Northern Europe, but it must not be thought that they therefore view the project as devoid of consequences most important to the world at large and to the interests of all nations Holland included. On the contrary they consider that it will influence most favourably the commerce of nations in proportion to their proximity to the Isthmus, and that to the countries which border the Mediterranean it will give advantages which render it the duty of the Dutch Government to take every possible precaution to ensure to Holland a fair share of the benefits which it will bestow.

It is right that we should here state, that while we have given as fair a statement as our limits would allow, of the report of the Dutch Commission, it is the report of a majority only, some of the members drawing other deductions from the statistics which they had before them. The following extract from a

published letter from one of the dissentients to M. Lesseps expresses the views of the minority :

‘ It would be a great mistake, writes M. Constad, to think that the report of the Dutch Commission is unfavorable to the Canal. On the contrary it contains many passages favourable to the Isthmus of Suez, particularly as regards other countries, and especially China, Japan, India, Egypt, Turkey, Russia, the Ionian Islands, the States of the Mediterranean, Austria, Sardinia, Venice, Trieste, Genoa, Marseilles, the South of France, Algeria, Spain, &c., all of which as shewn in the report will have a large share in the benefits of the Canal.

‘ The Commission again expresses itself very distinctly in many places on the advantages of the Canal to England and the Low Countries, although it thinks we shall need much energy and prudence to secure our share. Farther, the Commission has arrived at very different conclusions as regards navigation by sailing vessels, by mixed vessels, and by steam vessels. One may almost question whether, some years hence, navigation by sails will exist. For myself I think not. In a few years (when the canal is finished) our navigation will be only by steam, and all that is now said regarding navigation by sails will find its reply in the *fait accompli* of steam. Almost all agree that with steam everything is in favour of the canal of Suez.

‘ I cannot enter here into all the details of the Commissioners’ calculations, which can be more conveniently examined when the French translation, now under preparation, shall have appeared, with the necessary commentaries. It is sufficient for me to tell you that my own private opinion is no way changed, and that I hold to my opinion, that the cutting through the Isthmus of Suez, that great Work of Peace, will be a boon to all the nations of the globe.

‘ It is clear that the advantages of the canal will be in proportion to the geographical position of the different countries. I think too that Holland has reason to apprehend, that she will be one of the nations least benefited by the construction of the canal; but I think that she will derive as much benefit as should content her. We should not be jealous of the gains of others when we ourselves receive a good share.’

The impression which the report of the Dutch Commissioners is calculated to convey, is farther endeavoured to be removed by the authority of M. Larousse, Hydrographer of the (French) Imperial Navy, who taking Point de Galle, instead of Batavia, as one of the bases of his calculations, gives the following as the average duration of the voyages of sailing vessels, a result very different from that of the Dutch Commission :

From Lizard Point to Point de Galle.					
By the Cape	...	...	...	...	106 days.
By Suez (in Summer)	...	...	...	...	55 „
Difference				...	51 „
From Marseilles to Point de Galle.					
By the Cape	...	...	...	...	109 „
By Suez	•	...	...	...	42 „
Difference				...	67

And M. Larousse gives as the result of his calculations from the Dutch statistics, that the passage by Suez will effect a saving on the expenses of a sailing vessel whenever the voyage is shortened by 24 days. Thus widely are opinions on this important point divided, but we have given fairly those of both parties. Between them experience alone can decide.

But if we must hazard a conjecture; if we should suppose ourselves in the position of a person carefully considering whether he could take part in the work as a mercantile speculation, with a fair prospect of an adequate return for his capital, we think that the result would be against our taking shares. We consider that the work will greatly advance communication with India by steam, but that it would not be safe to calculate on the adoption of the Suez route by any sailing vessels which would have to pass the Straits of Gibraltar as well as the canal and the Straits of Babel Mandeb. That the canal may increase the use of steam in preference to sails we consider to be highly probable, but such a process must be gradual. Such vessels will not be constructed in anticipation of the canal. The success of the work is not so well assured as to lead to this. Of the three millions of tons which M. Lesseps states to be now engaged in the Eastern trade, how small is the proportion of steamers! Of 6,510 vessels constructed in England, from 1851 to 1857, only 1,199 were steamers, giving an average of only 171 a year. In Holland, within the same period, of 1,416 vessels constructed, only 36 were steamers. How slowly then must the navigation of the world change!

Again, it must be remembered that the transport of mails, passengers, and goods of high value, will be by no means accelerated by the Suez canal. They are passed now by the Railway in 36 hours; more than this will be required for the lengthened voyage from Alexandria to Port Said, the passage through a canal of 90 miles, and time for coaling.

By passengers, except invalids the route by Cairo and Alexandria will always be preferred as affording an agreeable

break in the sea voyage, and the opportunity of visiting two interesting cities, and this without loss of time. The canal will most probably be used by the Peninsular and Oriental Company for many of their vessels, because the heavy expense of stationing vessels to wait for several days on each side of the canal for the Mail expected on the other side may be in a great degree economised; but we much doubt whether the saving will be so great as to allow of any appreciable reduction in the charge for freight on merchandize. The canal dues on a vessel of 2,500 tons will be £1,000, and we do not see how the rates of steam freight can, through its agency, be materially lowered. It is commonly reported, that without the subsidy for the Mails the Peninsular and Oriental Company's vessels would not pay, and it has yet to be proved that the transport by steam of goods only at rates which shall attract merchandize from the Cape route, can be made remunerative.

Still, the increasing intercourse between India and Europe may be much augmented by cheaper fares resulting from competition, and mixed clippers carrying passengers and goods of high value may prove remunerative when the price of coal is so greatly cheapened at Suez and Aden, as it is likely to be by the Canal, and the Screw Company which tried the Cape route and failed, may be revived. But the most liberal calculation that we can venture upon is to suppose that five years hence the Peninsular and Oriental Company may send weekly vessels both to Calcutta and Bombay, whereas they now send fortnightly, and that the Messageries Imperiales and the Austrian Lloyds Company may have established from Marseilles and from Trieste or Ancona, an aggregate of traffic equal to that of the Peninsular and Oriental Company. Suppose the vessels of the Peninsular and Oriental Company to amount to 8,500 tons per week, viz. 3,500 from Southampton and Marseilles, and 5,000 from Calcutta and Bombay; multiplying this by four and twelve it gives 408,000 tons per annum for the Peninsular and Oriental Company, and 816,000 tons for the whole. This at 10 francs a ton gives a return to the canal of £326,400, an amount far short of the required sum. This is on the supposition that every vessel goes through the canal, which we think highly improbable. We do not think that the line by Cairo will be entirely abandoned.

Considering, therefore, that each year's delay beyond the five years will add half a million to the cost of the works; considering too that under the late orders of the Sultan regarding forced labour, the price of labour has been greatly raised. We cannot persuade ourselves that an investment

in the Suez Canal would be a safe speculation, and we think that the fact so much dwelt upon by French writers, that no Englishmen have taken shares, may be attributed rather to English commercial prudence than to national jealousy.

We have endeavoured to view the subject as fairly and dispassionately as we can, and we shall close this part of our subject by letting M. Lesseps speak for himself:

‘The project of cutting through the Isthmus of Suez, is opposed on the other side of the channel on commercial and political grounds. Considered as a commercial undertaking, nearly the whole of the English Press maintains that the project is impracticable, and that if executed it will have so little practical use that it will not cover its cost. On the other hand the Press and public opinion on the continent of Europe, and the world generally, are unanimous in an opinion diametrically opposite. Of these two views which is the right one? If both are sincere, the partisans of neither can regret that they should be put to the test of the event—of experience—of fact. The undertaking is sufficiently supported by those who have faith in its success, and this success if obtained, will, by their own admission, benefit those who do not believe in it, and from whom we do not ask any kind of concurrence or assistance. This test the Universal Company claims the right of trying at its own risk and peril, and the English nation has too much good sense and justice to wish to prevent a Commercial Association from making the experiment. England cannot expect that the 25,000 shareholders, who remain immoveable in the midst of all the difficulties created at every step to discourage and disunite them, should sacrifice their conviction and their interests in a project in which England was, and is still free, to join; and which assures to England, if it succeed, the full and equal enjoyment of the benefits offered to the commerce of the whole world. By these remarks I make no pretensions to change a line of conduct already adopted, or to alter fixed opinions, I only wished to shew that, if the Continent does not think in common with a portion of the Press of England, as to the practicability and the utility of the Suez Canal, the Continent has on its side strong arguments and weighty authorities.

* * * * *

‘The shareholders of the Suez Canal are about to open a new route to the commerce of the world, but they will not prevent those who prefer it from passing by the route of the Cape, any more than the shareholders of the Railroads hinder the traffic by ordinary roads. They have the right of not admitting that

'their opponents are more clear-sighted protectors than themselves of their own interests. They are happily free, and they run no risk of finding themselves interdicted the management of their own property, or obliged to hand it over to those who profess to give them good advice.' *

Such arguments are unanswerable, and may well close this portion of our subject; while we await, with the interest which every man of ordinary intelligence must feel, the great decision of facts.

On the third head of our subject we shall say but few words. The Canal of Suez, though it may not remunerate the projectors, cannot fail to confer vast benefits on commerce and civilization, and as a great work achieved by the principle of private combination, will stand in noble contrast with the useless monuments of despotic authority almost visible from its surface. The Canal of Suez and the Pyramids of Egypt will mark two important epochs in the world's history. But we anticipate no revolutions in the commerce of nations. We form no pictures of Venice and Genoa rising from their ruins, and we do not think that Lord Macaulay's New Zealander will immediately take his passage by the Suez Canal to sit on the ruins of London bridge. The fact that the Levant and Egypt are nearer to Marseilles than to England, has not deprived England of her share in the Cotton of Egypt, and the Currants of Zante, and we do not anticipate any disastrous effects upon the trade of England, although that of Marseilles should receive, as it doubtless will, a valuable stimulus from its proximity to India and China. There is a vast difference between the commerce of the ancient and the modern world. The spices, the pearls, and the costly silks of India were exchanged for the golden aurei of Rome and the sequins of Venice. The raw cotton, the wool, the jute and the linseed of modern commerce, throw into insignificance the trade which formerly passed by the Red Sea, and raw silk has taken the place of the fabrics which Europe sought in Asia when its own looms produced only the coarsest woollen cloths. We can rejoice in the great benefits which we hope the Canal will produce in Egypt, Syria, Arabia, Abyssinia, and Madagascar, without any fear of England not having its full share in the trade which, we trust, is to civilize these nations.

With regard to the effects of the Canal on the politics of Europe M. Lesseps shall again speak, for his words are distinct and weighty.

'There remains then only the Politics question. It

* *Exposé Général des faits. Par M Lesseps.*

‘ is the only one which we have now to discuss. Objection upon objection has been heaped around it. It has been said that the Company is not universal, that it has become French; that the concession of the Viceroy of Egypt confers upon it sovereign rights over the territory of the Isthmus; that it invests it with the power of erecting fortresses on the line of the Canal; that in consequence, and as following upon these privileges, which are inconsistent with the integrity of Turkey, France would be able with ease to possess herself of the passage of the Isthmus in the first place, and afterwards of Egypt herself. Now neither one nor other of these suppositions has the slightest foundation; each of them is an invention and a chimera. The Company of the Suez Canal, to which all people, without distinction, were publicly invited to subscribe, and of which the capital, it is true, was to France’s great honour furnished mostly by her, has remained what it was when it was first instituted. It is in the first place Egyptian, because its place of meeting (*siège social*) is at Alexandria, and its operation is in Egypt; it is secondly Universal, because its component parts, financial and administrative, as well as its object are Universal. The deeds of concession of His Highness the Viceroy of Egypt have defined the rights of the Company in terms which I shall here transcribe exactly.

‘ The enjoyment of the public lands (*territoires du domain public*) which shall be occupied by the Maritime Canal traversing the Isthmus, and by its *annexe* the fresh-water canal led from the Nile is ceded to an Egyptian Company gratuitously, and free from all imposts and claims for the whole duration of the concession, at the end of which the lands and canals shall become the possession of the Egyptian Government.

‘ The enjoyment of lands hitherto waste, not belonging to private individuals, and which shall be watered and cultivated by the efforts, and at the expense of the Company, is equally made over to them. These lands shall be exempt from imposts for ten years, dating from the time of their being occupied (*mises en rapport*) according to the Mahomedan Law; they shall then be subjected to the obligations and imposts to which lands similarly circumstanced are subject in other provinces of Egypt.

‘ I call attention to the word enjoyment employed intentionally and throughout. According to Mussulman Law the property in the land is the attribute of the Sovereign power, which on the other hand cannot dispossess the occupants, or those holding under them, unless for three consecutive years they leave the land uncultivated, and fail to make it produce

‘the value of the imposts. In order that the plenitude of sovereignty may be preserved intact, it has been expressly stipulated that the thing conceded was an enjoyment, and that the lands would be subject to all the obligations, fiscal or other, present or future, common to other parts of the territory of Egypt. Here then is a concession such as is made every day by European Governments without any apprehensions for their sovereignty, and such as the Sultan has made in granting to English Companies the Railroads of Rustendje and of Smyrna. The right which it is pretended the Company would have of erecting fortresses is the most inexplicable of fables, and it is to me difficult to conceive how it ever gained belief. A power so excessive as that of erecting fortifications on a territory subject to a Government, independent and sovereign, such as that which results from the combination of rights guaranteed by treaties to the Viceroy of Egypt and his sovereign the Sultan, cannot be conceived unless from a clear and positive text. Either it must be formally stipulated, or it does not exist. Now the deeds of concession declare precisely the contrary. The text of Article 4 of the First Deed of the 30th November, 1854 says. ‘The canal works shall be executed exclusively at the cost of the Company. * * The fortifications which the Government shall think fit to establish shall not be at the expense of the Company.’ Thus the parts allotted to the two contracting parties are clearly determined; to the Company the cost of the works necessary to establish the passage; to the Government the right and the duty to guard and defend that passage. The company would consider its investiture with such rights as unfortunate and ridiculous, as incompatible with its interest and safety. It understands very well that it cannot live in peace and sheltered from political contentions, except under the shadow of the neutrality of the passage which it wishes to create.

‘As concerning the neutrality and the free use of the Canal H. H. the Viceroy (Art. 4 of the concession of 5th January 1856) solemnly declares for himself and his successors, under reserve of the ratification of His Imperial Majesty the Sultan, the Great Maritime Canal from Suez to Pelusium, and the parts dependent thereon, open for ever, as neutral passages to every merchant ship passing from one sea to the other, without any distinction or preference of persons or nations. It appears to us difficult to consecrate in terms more explicit the neutrality of the canal. But if all the guarantees by which the concession is surrounded are not thought sufficient, the company is ready to take part in all the efforts of diplomacy to make

‘ them complete. All that European combination can effect towards this end will be received by the company with joy and gratitude. A London journal, which passes for the organ of the Prime Minister, renews again at this day the old manoeuvre against the Suez Canal, which consisted in representing me as the instrument of a secret policy tending to the separation of Egypt from Turkey to the advantage of France; and to the detriment of the interests of Great Britain. In truth the canal could in no way serve to the realisation of such a project, for reasons which have been often given; but in any case why should France be suspected of desiring its accomplishment?’

‘ It is very gratuitously and very falsely that the English papers assert that the policy of France has always tended to the separation of Egypt and Turkey. They cite, for example, what happened in 1840, in proof that France at that time urged on the Viceroy of Egypt to make himself independent of the Porte. This is a mistake. France obtained from the Viceroy his consent to arrest the march of his army on Constantinople, and on this condition it was agreed that he should keep Syria. More lately it was desired to take this territory from him. The Government of France has sought to maintain him there out of respect to the promises which had been made him; but the interposition of France had not the object of rendering him independent of the bonds of vassalage towards the Sultan, she had no interest in doing so. The steady policy of France for the last fifty years has consisted in assisting Egypt in the development of its resources, and in the march of progress and civilization upon which a man of genius had started it; to her efforts alone is due the happy stipulation which made the Government of Egypt hereditary in the family of Mehemet Ali; an arrangement which would certainly not have been brought about by a power whose wish it was to weaken a part of the Ottoman Empire exposed at that time, in consequence of the anarchy and disorder which menaced it, to become the prey of the first occupant.

‘ In reality it is not to the interest of France that the territories bordering upon the Mediterranean, should be broken up so as to fall into a state of weakness and isolation, for they would then be accessible to the influence of that political power which aspires to the command of the sea. Egypt detached from the Ottoman Empire would be without defence against the first maritime power. It would be the same, for example, with Sicily. France has no more interest in detaching Sicily from Italy than Egypt from Turkey. The whole advantage of such a separation would be obviously to Great Britain.

' And, moreover, it may easily be approved that the Canal of Suez will actually prevent the establishment of any exclusive influence, and consequently of that which the English papers accuse France of being ambitious of. The opening of the Canal of Suez is about to create between the Mediterranean and the Red Sea something analogous to what nature has formed between the Mediterranean and the Black Sea—a Strait. Now it is the existence of the Strait of the Dardanelles; it is the national arrangement to which it has given rise which has saved Turkey, notwithstanding the superior power which she had to resist.

' The common interest of all nations to preserve the freedom of commercial navigation in the Strait of the Dardanelles, guards the independence of Turkey, assures the freedom and integrity of her territory.

' It will be the same with Egypt. The Canal of Suez will be a Strait inevitably placed under the protection of all the interests created by it. All the powers will necessarily be jealous to maintain their rights of navigation and commerce. These rights when they have been regulated by special conventions, which like those referring to other Straits will be reckoned among the provisions of the laws of nations, will guarantee Egypt for the future against the establishment of any exclusive foreign influence, and against all foreign occupation and domination.

' The Mahomedan states of the Mediterranean cannot henceforth withdraw themselves from the movement of the civilization and from the superior enlightenment of Europe. The only means open to them of resisting the action of a single power, is to give to all the powers an interest in the preservation of the Empire; so that they may form a counterpoise, and may neutralise the effects of any policy over ambitious, and too much inclined to encroachment.

' It is now seen, according to these considerations, that France would not support the promoters of the Suez Cannal, if she entertained the design which is attributed to her of wishing to exercise any kind of preponderance in Egypt. If she really aspired to any such it is quite an opposite course that she should follow; and the English papers to be consistent with themselves, ought to promote with all their power the execution of the projected Canal, if they wish that Egypt should be safe from any predominant influence, and remain united to the Ottoman Empire.

' Let us now see what should be the principal features of that fresh addition to the conventions concerning Straits which France proposes, which the Company solicits, and which Eng-

‘ land should necessarily adopt if her opposition is only dictated
‘ by the desire of maintaining the integrity of Turkey. It ap-
‘ pears to us that the following propositions might be taken as the
‘ basis of the convention we speak of:

‘ *1st.* To proclaim the entire freedom of the Great Maritime
‘ Canal from Suez to Pelusium, and free passage for every mer-
‘ chant vessel of whatever nation, on payment of the dues which
‘ shall be the same for all.

‘ This neutrality is already made sacred in principle in the deed
‘ of concession given by the Viceroy of Egypt, but as this deed
‘ of concession binds only the Viceroy and the Company, it
‘ would be necessary to make it the subject of an accord between
‘ the powers.

‘ *2nd.* It should be forbidden to vessels of war to pass
‘ through the Canal of Suez, without special authority from the
‘ local government.

‘ *3rd.* It should be formally forbidden to the Company to
‘ erect any defensive work, or any fortification, either at the en-
‘ trance or along the banks of the Canal, or on the lands on the
‘ Isthmus, of which it possesses the enjoyment; nor should it
‘ be able to establish colonies of cultivators without their be-
‘ coming subjects of the local government.

‘ *4th.* The ships passing through the Canal should not be
‘ allowed to disembark troops in the Isthmus, unless in cases of
‘ sickness, of scarcity, or disasters, and in this case it should be
‘ necessary to obtain the permission of the Viceroy, which
‘ should be limited to the accidental circumstances which we
‘ have just indicated.

‘ England is the country especially interested in this arrange-
‘ ment, because it is she who may have most frequently to claim
‘ the benefit of it.

‘ *5th.* The lands conceded to the Company should not be
‘ utilised except for agricultural purposes, and if it should hap-
‘ pen that the Company farm out, or alienate the whole or a part
‘ of its lands, it should be bound to do so with a single view to
‘ its financial interests, without respect of persons, and without
‘ distinction of nations.

‘ In America the land is made to pay the cost of the great
‘ public works. The concession of the lands granted (to the
‘ Company) with right of enjoyment, and not with sovereign
‘ right (which is quite another thing) is a necessary completion
‘ of the concession, and gives to the shareholders a double
‘ guarantee of profit. The use to be made of these lands being
‘ well defined, the possession of them cannot give umbrage to
‘ any one.

' Finally, the enlightened and loyal prince who governs Egypt, ' who has given so many proofs of his fidelity to the chief of ' Islamism, to the sovereign of the Empire, is willing to admit ' to the Isthmus of Suez a garrison of Turkish troops, a condi- ' tion which has not been imposed on the territories compassed ' in the boundaries of Egypt by the Hati Sheriff of 1841, nor by ' the treaties by which the Five Great Powers have guaranteed ' the relative positions of Turkey and Egypt.

' Such are the principal precautions that may be adopted for ' dissipating even the pretext for uneasiness; they would estab- ' lish so clearly the sincerity of the Viceroy of Egypt, the un- ' selfishness of France, and the good faith of the Company, that ' no policy could reject them.

' The Company has always implored (*appête de tous ses vœux*) ' an international agreement which, by guaranteeing the neutra- ' lity of the canal, will ensure to it liberty of action, will allow it ' to reach quickly its aim of general utility and will dispel even ' the shadow of a doubt as to its true character.*' (45 to 47).

We do not know whether these words of M. Lesseps have dissipated all doubt from the minds of those who watch with sus- picion the movements of France in the East, but the House of Commons, in June 1858 resolved, and wisely resolved, that the ' power and influence of England ought not to be exerted to in- ' duce the Sultan to refuse his assent to the project of a canal ' across the Isthmus of Suez.' It was led to this resolution by the eloquence of Mr. Gladstone, and the authority of Lord John Russell, and of all nations England has most reason to hope that the work may be brought to a successful issue. Should England adopt a selfish line of policy, and oppose her private interests to the execution of a work of general utility, she would descend from her high position among nations, and undoubtedly such a policy would recoil on herself.

It appears to us that the comparison made by M. Lesseps between the Canal of Suez and the Dardanelles is both striking and true, and that the passage of the canal will necessarily be placed under the protection of the Laws of nations. If so, the words of the First Napoleon, when compelled to abandon the idea of himself executing this great work, ' that the Turkish ' Government would one day find in the execution of this pro- ' ject both its preservation and its glory,' may afford another proof of the marvellous penetration of that extraordinary man.

If now in closing our subject we cast a glance up the stream of time, we find that the modern politician and engineer can

* *Exposé Général des faits.* Par M. Lesseps.

claim no originality of thought in regard to the advantages of connecting the Mediterranean with the Red Sea. But how remarkable is the proof which the modern Suez Canal will afford of the developement which the arts received since Herodotus stood by the Suez Canal of ancient days. The ancient canal commenced by Pharoah Necho, and completed, it is believed, by Darius Hystaspes, connected the two seas by means of the Nile. It followed the course, and probably did not exceed the dimensions of the fresh-water canal now proposed as an auxiliary to the larger work of modern days. When the present scheme is completed, the traveller will have the means of placing the one in comparison with the other.

The ancient work was appreciated and improved by the Ptolemies, and by their successors the Romans, at the commencement of their sway, but its disrepair and decay kept pace with that of the Roman power.

Under the vigorous rule of the earlier Califs its ruin was arrested, but it felt the decline of the Ottoman as it had done that of the Roman vigour, and about the ninth century of our era, was closed to navigation.

By the aid of European civilization and science, it is hoped to renew the work in vastly increased dimensions and enhanced splendour. May it be hoped, that as it indicated in its decay the decay of Oriental greatness, so in its revival it shall be an illustration, as well as the means of the greater glory which awaits the nations of the East, from their connexion with European civilization? If this should ever be; if M. Lesseps' plan should be as faithfully and successfully carried out as it is clearly enunciated, the man whose skill, perseverance and courage, have brought nations into unity to achieve this great work; who has faced obloquy, suspicion and ridicule, to bring it to a successful issue, will stand forth, even in this age of progress, as one of its greatest benefactors.

APPENDIX.

Approximate Statement furnished to me by M. de Lesseps of the Expenses of the Canal of Suez, up to the 1st December 1862.

"The report made to the General Meeting of the Shareholders, on the 1st May 1862, shows the general state of the account of receipts and expenditure up to the 31st of March of that year.

The expenses may be distributed as follows, in round numbers:—

I.	Expenses prior to the formation of the Company, viz: drawings, travelling expenses, purchase of plant, &c.	Franks.		
		Franks.	£	
	of plant, &c.	2,900,000	116,000	
II.	Land { The Oqudy Estate ..	2,000,000		
	&c. { Warehouses at Damietta ..	50,000		
	{ Ditto at Cairo	200,000	2,250,000	90,000

APPENDIX.—(Continued.)

	Francs.	£
III. Furnishing Offices in Paris and Alexandria	100,000	4,000
IV. Interest paid to Shareholders	7,350,000	294,000
V. Ordinary expenses of management in France and Egypt, ...	3,500,000	140,000
VI. Personal expenses and salaries of Engineers	1,200,000	48,000
VII. General expenses of works, plant, Commissariat and Transport	22,500,000	900,000
Total expenditure up to 31st March	39,800,000	1,592,000
Say	40,000,000	1,600,000
At the present rate of carrying on the works, the necessary expenses of the Company are about 1,200,000 francs (£48,000) a month, which would give from 1st April to 1st December	9,600,000	384,000
Total expenditure to 1st December 1862.	49,600,000	1,984,000
From which is to be deducted:—		
I. The cost of land (which is recoverable)*	2,250,000	
II. The interest from temporary investments of funds in hand, which is added to the capital of the Company	6,500,000	350,000
Leaving the general expenses of management, purchases of plant, provisions, carriage, and works of every description up to 1st December 1862, in round numbers, at	41,000,000	1,640,000
The plant is represented in this sum by about	8,000,000	
To which may be added the cost of construction of buildings, about	2,500,000	420,000
Net expenses in works & general charges	30,500,000	1,220,000
Delegated Administrator, (Signed) T. DE CHANCEL.		
<i>Alexandria, 6th December 1862.</i>		

* The Ouady Estate alone, let out to Arabs, has this year brought in to the Company a net revenue of 149,000 francs—£5,960.

CRITICAL NOTICE.

Chesson and Woodhall's Miscellany.

During the last two years, or rather since the changes in 'Dickens' Household Words,' the result of which was the establishment of 'Once a Week;' and 'All the Year Round' in which is incorporated the old 'Household Words,' there has been an extraordinary increase in periodical literature in the mother country; almost every writer of the day now writes his story by instalments, and every kind of article, from a learned disquisition on the most abstruse subject to a highly spiced romance, now finds a place in a monthly or weekly periodical. The wave has passed on carrying all before it, and its ripple has even extended to India, giving an impetus to the literature of this country. One result amongst many is the birth and appearance before the reading public of two new monthly periodicals,—'Chesson and Woodhall's Miscellany' published at Bombay, and 'The Punjab Universal Magazine' at Lahore.

Our first feelings when we heard of these additions to our library, were of satisfaction, we anticipated sensible articles on Indian subjects, and thought that Indian periodicals would treat of India and its people; that their manners and customs, social and moral, their feelings, vices and virtues would be discussed with reference to education and progress, that some of these secular topics so all-important to the white as well as the black subject of this Empire would be dwelt upon in these new works, and we expected nought but good could come of such discussion, and welcomed them accordingly, but how deplorably we have been disappointed may be seen by inspecting the table of contents of any one number.

Our business is now with 'Chesson and Woodhall's Miscellany' only, and in lamenting that it is not what we wish it were, we are bound to state that no promises have been broken. In a review of the past year's work, which is in consonance with the past year's preface, we are informed that the style of the 'Miscellany' will remain unchanged; 'that the Army' (Bombay?) 'complained that they had no organ; the Church also wanted to be heard.'

We must then take this Magazine as we find it, a neat buff colored paper outside covers about one hundred pages of matter, on the first page we have generally a piece of poetry; further on at intervals may be found two or three other pieces, variously entitled according to the taste of the authors 'sonnets,' 'odes,' 'stanzas,' 'idyls' and 'lines:' sometimes to create in us a zest for these side dishes we are informed in a marginal note, that the author's age was only so and so; at other times a melancholy interest is claimed on the ground of the writer having died, soon after writing the 'ode,' we are left to draw our own conclusion as to whether the death was natural, or resulted from the effort of producing the 'contribution.'

We readily grant the truth of the heading 'Original Poetry,' this is patent, and requires no demonstration; but we do not think that originality is always a merit, and for third rate originality we should hail the substitution of selected pieces from our own glorious poets; that care and labour have been bestowed on these pieces, and that there is a fair amount of rhyme in them, we do not deny; but poetry is a wild flower, not a hot house plant, and poetical genius is a gift, not an art. Most of us have tried to write poetry at some time or other, but few have had recourse to type to immortalize their folly.

We next come to the body of the Magazine, which consists of stories and tales, sometimes worked out to great length throughout many numbers, after the manner of the great novel writers of the day. In producing these stories the authors have certainly good example, but the mantle of Dickens and Thackeray is not on *their* shoulders, the author of "The Doomed House" cannot think that a nation is awaiting with interest the denouement of his plot, or the writer on 'Amateur Acting' suppose that any one, lay or professional, is looking for the next number to assist his studies in the histrionic art. No! When the real article can be obtained at a less price and with equal punctuality from England, why go to Bombay for an imitation of it? If the quantity produced is sufficient for the home consumption, it will surely suffice for the Indian demand, and if it does not, plenty more can be obtained at a better and cheaper market than the Indian.

At one time we felt almost kindly towards the author of one of these stories, we thought he had justified his good taste by retirement in the middle of his story; but no, after several months of silence this gentleman is to the fore again; the 'Raymond family' still exists, and Calcutta life of the present day is to be handed down to posterity in the record of its history.

The next part of this Magazine consists of romances where all the parties and the plot are in India, semi-Indian we may call them. The authors evidently know that India ought to be their theme, but they seem unable to conquer old predilections, they look back and hanker after the Sodom of love stories while they find India and the mutiny era replete with the requisites for their tales: the result is an unhappy combination of love, pathos, and India, mixed up with Cashmeer scenery, beauteous dark-eyed daughters, and a ride on the Peshawur course.

In a tale called 'Happy days in Cashmeer,' the writer dates his story from the occupation of Delhi by our Troops during the late mutiny. The King had been taken prisoner, with his surviving sons, his servants and retainers had fled, and the two princesses, the last of the house of Timour, were hiding to escape the vigilance of our soldiers: at last by the aid of a faithful follower they effected their escape to Cashmeer. We are told that once when these girls were walking about Delhi the European sentry was struck dumb by the flashing eyes of the princess our heroine; indeed his hardy manhood instantly obeyed the imperious look of the child as she drew herself up before him with royal bearing, and cast such a piercing look on him 'that he in an instant presented arms,'—a pretty idea enough, but what a lamentable ignorance of Mahomedans is displayed, when a Delhi Princess while walking abroad unveils herself in the public way to a gaping sentry, while, on the other hand, he is knocked all of a heap by the stare of a little black girl.

The above is a fair sample of the ideas that are worked out in this story; characters are drawn with a like want of appreciation of the subject, the feelings, the education, and position of the parties concerned; impossible thoughts are put into native brains, and absurd words into their mouths, while finally the heroine falls in love with and is married off hand to an English Officer whom she meets, while he is on a sporting tour in Cashmeer. There is a beautiful silence upon the matter of religion, we are not told whether he became a Mahomedan, or she a Christian, nor is any mention made of the marriage ceremony.

But though we are contented to waive, poorness of style, looseness of diction, and improbability in the plot, we cannot allow fiction to be pointed against an individual or a class without a passing censure.

- At the period at which this story is dated, the Deputy Commissioner of Delhi was perhaps of as genial a nature as any man in India, yet we are told that this official, through an obsequious dread of the Punjab Government declined to drink a peg *i. e.*, a glass of soda water with a little brandy in it! Does the writer really mean us to believe with this? or is it pure ignorance on his part? We will give him the benefit of the doubt, and concede that he seems to know as much of Punjab Civilians as he does of Delhi Princesses. Perhaps the writer did not refer to an individual in the above, but to a class, we assert however that the picture is as untrue in the one case as in the other. With the same animus we have a picture of the Punjab Government Secretary, a competitioner familiarly entitled a *Wala*, with the euphonious name of Mr Green Poppy; this gentleman has to write a reprimand to an officer in the Civil establishment, and while doing so, the delinquent's wife casually visits his office, reads the letter just written by the Secretary, and induces him to change the 'wig' into a letter, informing the offender that he has been promoted to a Commissionership; this is explained by the statement that the wealthy connections of the offending civilian had aided Green Poppy when he was in distress; and the lady having obtained what she wanted for her husband retires observing 'I know how to deal with a *Wala*—the vulgar creatures 'they can never face a lady.' Mr. Secretary Poppy is succeeded by one Blubber, who faints at the sound of a horse galloping up to the office. All this requires no comment we need not add to our extracts, the style speaks for itself, and probably no competitioner would trouble himself to answer such atrocious stuff.

We have shown that the writer of 'Happy Days in Cashmeer' understands neither his own countrymen nor native ladies, the scenery may be well described, and the 'Baboo' faithfully drawn, it would be hard indeed, if the author did not sometimes say a sharp thing or a true word. But taking the piece altogether, we must give it unqualified condemnation.

The next story on this cross-bred plan of love and India is called the 'Corpora Quadrigemina.' The writer is the fourth of four medical students who studied together and gave themselves the above title. His autobiography tells us that he and one of the others (for two died of dissipation) arrived in India, of course, just before the mutiny of the Bengal army; the friends soon separate and our author finds himself after some hair-breadth escapes attached to the Central India field force; he tells us a great deal of himself and a little of the mutiny, this little is however truthful; but a morbid love-sick vein runs throughout his narrative, and we are curious to see how he extricates himself from his position with two sweethearts, for unlike the author of 'Happy Days in Cashmeer' who tells us

'Tis well to be merry and wise,
'Tis well to be honest and true,
Be sure you'r off with the old love,
Before you'r on with the new.'

we find that the writer of *Corpora Quadrigemina* in looking for his lost 'Eva' finds her servant and falls in love with her, on the spot, though her antecedents were not the most spotless that could be conceived; she reciprocates his passion, and we very much fear that the aid of the grim monster death will have to be invoked to set matters straight, and then of course the native will suffer.

It is well remarked by Swift that men of great parts are often unfortunate in the management of business, because they are prone to go out of the common road, by reason of the quickness of their imagination; in proof of this,

he desired Lord Bolingbroke to observe that the clerk in his office used an ivory knife with a blunt edge to cut a sheet of paper: 'whereas if he should 'make use of a sharp pen-knife its sharpness would often make it go out 'of the crease, and disfigure the paper,' and so with a writer, and more than all with an Indian writer, the crease must be kept to, we do not want clever writing but faithful life like pictures, that can only emanate from the pen of a calm and discriminating observer of human nature. The reader can judge by the following incident told by him whether the author is qualified by his knowledge of natives to write of them and their customs.

We will put it in as few words as possible; it has been already stated that the author had lost his Eva; without her all things were dark to him, life was a blank, and after making various plans to discover her, he formed the idea of entering the native town in the garb of a Hindoo Faqueer; so having obtained some 'holy water', and some salmon colored clothing, he disguised himself, proceeded to the bazaar to glean information of his beloved; having sat down there, 'I placed the two baskets of holy water before me, uncovered 'them, and exhibited the bottles of precious liquid packed in the leaves of the 'banyan; I feared much lest I should betray myself, and therefore determined 'on a very reserved demeanour and manner of speech, occasionally crying 'Allah' in a fervent voice, I attracted notice, and soon disposed of several 'bottles of the Ganges water.'.....At last three Mahomedan troopers approached our hero 'to purchase of the waters of paradise,' he greets them with 'Allah is great, take of the waters my son' &c &c. In the above short extract we have the astounding picture of a Hindoo Faqueer crying out 'Allah' while he displays Ganges water for sale! Why a Hindoo should praise the Moslem God, or a Mahomedan buy Ganges water, or what the water of Paradise is, we are not informed by this tantalizing writer; verily it is a fearful and wonderful jumble of ideas, and we cannot disentangle them.

We have now noticed the two longest contributions to this Magazine, in which has also been published some notes on Knight's Plays of Shakespeare by C. A. D. Gordon, which had already appeared in the 'Lahore Chronicle,' as might be expected, these are eccentric, and Mr. Gordon often comes to grief himself in his attempts to point out errors that he conceives the able author has committed. One or two good articles have appeared, evidently written by a man whose information about the Punjab exceeds his love for it, but of late we have not noticed any thing from his pen.

Captain Raverty's Dictionary has been again demolished by his able and untiring critic, who takes the opportunity of again refuting the hitherto pet theory, that the Afghans are descended as they themselves assert from the lost tribes of Israel.

Considering the size of the Magazine, we are surprised at the very few readable articles in it. We cannot buy a cake for the chance of there being one currant in it, and as we said before, we conceive the compilers have committed an error in adopting the line they have; we have shown that their few stories about India are unreliable, and for their instruction we cannot do better than conclude this short notice of their periodical by a quotation from Lord Bacon.

'The opinion of plenty, is among the causes of want; the great quantity of 'books maketh a show rather of superfluity than lack, which surcharge 'nevertheless is not to be remedied, by making no more books, but by 'making more *good* books, which as the serpent of Moses, may devour the 'serpents of the enchanters.'

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

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ART. I.—1. *The Missionary Life and Labours of Francis Xavier.*

By Henry Venn, B. D., Honorary Secretary of the Church Missionary Society, 1862.

2. *Lectures on Great Men.* By the late Frederic Myers, M. A., 1856.

IN writing the life of Francis Xavier, Mr. Venn undertook a task for which, by a combination of singular advantages, he was peculiarly fitted. Himself ardently devoted to the furtherance of the Missionary cause, the history of the 'Apostle of the Indies' was a subject congenial to the tastes and pursuits of his whole life. Having held for many years a chief part in the management of the largest Missionary Association in England, he possesses that peculiar technical skill which enables a man to seize on the important details, and to write of the past with a familiar knowledge of the present progress of Missionary work. He has chosen as his subject the life of a man who has occupied a large space in the imagination and memory of Europe, but whose history has not been written fully or accurately since the critical age began. He possesses, as far as the facts he records are concerned, the true historic faculty, indefatigable research, and the determination never to accept at second hand a fact which can be verified by a reference to the original authorities. And yet, in spite of all these advantages, any one of which would ordinarily have ensured success,—in spite of the interest of the subject, in spite of literary ability, in spite of mental aptitude and natural sympathy, Mr. Venn has produced a book which is no honour to himself, no credit to the religious party to which he belongs; a book which we trust few

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Englishmen will read without indignant feelings of regret and dissent.

It was natural to expect that a life of Xavier, written with research and care, would make us acquainted with many new and valuable facts, and would considerably alter our view of the circumstances and details of his life. The history had to be rescued from monkish mysticisms and from almost mediæval traditions. Handed down to us from the narrative of men to whom India and Japan were fields where the wildest fancy might revel unchecked, it had to be re-written by a man who has as intimate a knowledge as books and letters can give of all the details of Oriental life and manners. The absurd exaggerations, the contemptible miracles with which religious fanaticism and pious fraud had bespattered the story, had all to be cleared away. But we should have expected that the effect of this would have only been to make Xavier more noble, more venerable, more apostolic than ever. The stories of his raising the dead, stopping a victorious army by a look, or quelling a storm by a word, are simply ridiculous, and men endure them only on account of the noble and august traits which in former times such exaggerations were invented to depict. If in the chiar-oscuro of tradition men seem more gigantic, in the clear light of accurate narrative they seem more loveable and human. But the effect that Mr. Venn aims at producing is just the reverse of this. He seems to fancy that the reverence in which the name of Xavier is held, is due to these absurd stories which excite our nausea, and that by cutting off fantastic excrescences, he is depriving him of his chief claim to our admiration. He writes of the 16th century as if it had been the 19th—judges Xavier throughout by modern standards, and in the light of a strict and exclusive creed—and makes no allowance for the customs of the age, or the habits of thought and belief in which Xavier had been brought up. Hence arises a singular contrast between his history and his arguments, and while we unhesitatingly accept his facts, we reject, with as little hesitation, the conclusions he draws from them. In his comparison of Xavier's achievements with those of modern Missionaries, a comparison which is drawn in every case to the detriment of the Apostle, Mr. Venn shews a total want of any sense of the ridiculous, and of the true proportion of things. He enumerates Xavier's noble qualities fairly enough, but he does not dwell on them with any enthusiasm, while the whole power of his pen is employed in giving point to unjust suspicions, and in drawing injurious conclusions from very simple acts. He allots so vastly

larger a space to his blame than to his praise, that the latter is quite thrown into the shade, and the unfavourable impression conveyed is, perhaps, stronger than he intended it to be. There never was a more candid book, for the reader need never go out of the four corners of it for the facts which refute Mr. Venn's conclusions; but there never was a less fair or less judicial book. And the reason for this is that Mr. Venn can never forget that he is a Protestant and an Evangelical, while Xavier was a Roman Catholic and a Jesuit. Some men though harsh to the creed are gentle to the individual; but Mr. Venn's practice is the reverse of this. On the general question he would no doubt allow that it is possible for a Jesuit to be as holy a man and to live as pure a life as any Evangelical; but when he comes to the actual history of the noblest and purest Jesuit who ever lived, he applies all his skill and research to the end of explaining away his successes, giving unfavourable reasons for his actions and dilating on his errors. The mere fact of his having been a Roman Catholic, and, as such, a believer in the mystic power of the sacraments, and the efficacy of prayers to saints,—or that, as became a founder of the Jesuit Order, he insisted on the duty of obedience to a spiritual head, is constantly brought up in condemnation against him. The book abounds in such cavils at the creed he professed, and the political opinions of his time, but it is sadly deficient in the true Missionary spirit of pride and sympathetic enthusiasm in the noble life, and still more noble heart which spent itself for the conversion of the East.

Contrast with this elaborate and careful work, the sketch of Xavier's life which is contained in the 'Lectures to Great Men' mentioned at the head of this article. It was no part of Mr. Myers's plan, speaking as a country clergyman to a simple country parish, to test his authorities scrupulously, or to present a critically accurate and complete picture in his lecture to his village hearers. But leaving accessories aside, it was his object to reach the heart of his story, to seize on the salient points of Xavier's life, and the grand characteristics of his spirit, and to set forth without exaggeration and without cavil all the admirable traits which may serve for the teaching and example of a people. This he has done with a success which may well remind us how much greater a power in decyphering character love is than knowledge. He does not shirk the fact of Xavier's having been a Roman Catholic and a Jesuit,—but he treats it with a large catholicity which Mr. Venn would have done well to imitate. He can distinguish between the errors of the man and the errors

of the time, and does not fall into the fallacy of judging the political economy of 1550 by the light of 1860. Though not pretending to any critical research, he rejects the foolish miracles, and prunes away the exaggerations. Having himself a mind somewhat akin to the large charity and enthusiastic self-denial of the man, his lecture, slight as it is, contains a truer presentment of the great Apostle of the Indies than can be found in the ampler and more learned work of Mr. Venn.

The earliest account of Xavier's life was a short sketch compiled from his letters and published in 1573, twenty-one years after his death. In 1596 a more elaborate biography was written in Latin by Tursellinus, a Jesuit; and in 1682 a Father Bohours wrote a life in French, which was translated into English by a brother of the poet Dryden. It is to these books that we owe such knowledge of the outlines of Xavier's life and deeds as is popularly current. But Mr. Venn points out with great force and justice the unhistoric character of these narratives, their deviations from the authorities on which they profess to be based, and the exaggerations and ignorance with which they are overlaid. He concludes that they must be utterly discarded, and that the only trust worthy basis for writing Xavier's life is to be found in Xavier's own letters. Of these he says:—

‘ There is, however, one existing portrait, bearing throughout an evident stamp of truthfulness, and enlivened with such vivid colouring, that it is impossible to contemplate it without a satisfactory conviction that we see the very man and are made acquainted with the main facts of his history. That portrait is drawn by Xavier's own hand in a copious collection of original letters. Many of these letters were written to friends in Europe with the avowed intention of putting them in full possession of all that he did and all that happened to him. Other letters were written to fellow-labourers in the same field with himself. So that we are furnished in this collection with a complete, though not a formal, autobiography.*’

These letters of Xavier's were wonderfully copious and complete. The rarity of communication, which depended entirely on the annual fleets, gave an elaborate character to their composition, rendering some of them more like annual reports than letters. His anxiety to make known as widely as possible the necessity and the successes of Missionary work, tended, as well as his ardent affection for the friends he had left behind, and from whom

* Venn, p. 3.

he was never absent in spirit, to make his letters frequent, and to fill them with every detail of the new world and the new people he was among. 'When you write to us in India, he says, 'do not write shortly or in a mere perfunctory style; we wish to learn from you particulars respecting each of our brethren, what they are about, what is their health, what are their thoughts, what their hopes, what the fruit of their labours? Do not regard this as a burden, when there is only one opportunity in the year for receiving and sending letters to India. Let your letters occupy us a full week in reading. We promise to do the same with you.*' We, who live in a busier age, may shudder at the thought of a letter which would take a week to read; but the spirit of home affection and home interest, which breathes in this extract, is the spirit which has saved Anglo-Indians from the inoculation with heathendom, and the moral depravity, by which the last generation were threatened.

These letters have always been treated with great care and respect ('superstitious reverence' as Mr. Venn calls it) by Roman Catholics, and at least three collections of them have been published. The standard edition, according to Mr. Venn, was published at Bologna in 1795. and contains 146 letters. It is on this collection that Mr. Venn's biography is based.

As might have been expected, these letters commence only with the maturity of Xavier's religious views, and almost with his Mission to India. For an account of his parentage and early life, we must have recourse to the biographers, who tell us that Francis Xavier was born in 1506 A. D. in the Castle of Xavier, in Navarre. He belonged to an illustrious family of royal descent. We quote the following from Mr. Myers:—'Amid the silent majesty of the wild pine forests and dark precipitous rocks of his Pyrenean home, and under the impressive influences of a religious household, he grew up an enthusiastic and somewhat superstitious boy, contemplative, complying, gentle, but withal of a robust manly cast: studious at times, but also fond of all athletic sports, fondest of all excitement, whether of danger or pleasure: fitfully idle, ambitious; an uncommon compound. All his brothers chose to be soldiers: he would be a scholar, that he might thus add to his family distinctions the only ornament they wanted, learning.†'

* Venn, p. 4.

† Lectures, &c., p. 82.

He went up to the Paris University at eighteen; at twenty he took his degree as Master of Arts, and was appointed to teach Philosophy at one of the Colleges. When he had thus been engaged for a year and a half Ignatius Loyola, then fifteen years older than himself, entered the University; and after five years of gradually increasing attachment and devotion, he formed that memorable connexion with him which gave the final impulse to his religious and Missionary enthusiasm and sent out the Apostle of the Indies to perform his work as a member, second in rank to the head of the Order of Jesus.

Of this portion of his life Mr. Venn says little. Only one letter of Xavier's, written from Paris, has been preserved, and from it he forms a very singular deduction. He speaks of Xavier's gratitude to Loyola 'for having rescued him from the influence of Protestant teachers.' 'Xavier's early acquaintance with Protestant truth seems to have exercised some influence on his future life. In India he was removed from the personal influence of Ignatius Loyola, and from the more powerful associations of Romish superstition; and his mind seems at times to have exhibited the more healthy tone of religion which he had witnessed among the early friends from whom Loyola had beguiled him. His standard of spiritual religion was far higher than that of his associates. He was ever dissatisfied that he could not bring his followers up to that standard. But he had turned away from Protestant truth, by which alone it can be reached.'*

Thus early in his book does Mr. Venn attempt to shew that whatever was good in Xavier was due to his early Protestant teaching, and that the influence of Loyola on him was solely injurious and tended to lead him astray. But what is his authority for this statement?

The only one he quotes is Xavier's letter of 1535, in which he says of Loyola, after expressing his gratitude to him for pecuniary assistance, 'the benefit he has conferred of highest value is that of fortifying my youthful imprudence against the deplorable dangers arising from my familiarity with men breathing out heresy, such as are many of my contemporaries in Paris in these times, who would insidiously undermine faith and morality beneath the specious mask of liberality and superior intelligence.'†

If this is all that Xavier wrote on the subject, we have no hesitation in saying that Mr. Venn has not sufficient grounds

* Life of Xavier, pp. 7, 8.

† *Ibid.*, p. 7.

for his statement that Xavier was under Huguenot influences. The words apply just as well to any kind of free-thinking and unbelief. To those who have watched the modern religious controversies, the idea of any close or necessary connection between Protestantism and 'liberality and superior intelligence' will seem rather incongruous.

Mr. Myers on the other hand attributes Xavier's dangers at Paris to his love of pleasure and gay life; and the presumption is certainly supported by the indebtedness to which Xavier refers in the above-quoted letter. Such gaiety and worldliness of life is often accompanied by doubt and rejection of religious restraints. But to allow this would be to confess that Ignatius Loyola, the founder of the Order of the Jesuits, could exercise beneficial influence on any one; and Mr. Venn would rather stretch an obscure sentence of Xavier's to bear a meaning which does not seem to belong to it, than make an admission so opposed to all the prejudices of his party.

In 1534 Loyola and six of his friends, of whom Xavier was one, took vows of renouncing all worldly possessions, and serving the Church in any way the Pope might select. In 1536 Xavier travelled on foot to join Loyola at Venice, and accompanied him thence to Rome. Their object then was to visit Jerusalem, whither Loyola had already made a pilgrimage, but as the war between Germany and the Turks prevented this, they dispersed themselves among the Italian Universities to stir up popular enthusiasm in behalf of Missionary enterprise. Xavier's headquarters were at Bologna for three years, and during this time they found so many followers, that in 1539 Loyola established the Religious Society to which he gave the name of the 'Company of Jesus.' In 1540 Xavier left Rome for Portugal, at the invitation of the King, to commence his great career as a Missionary in the East.

King John the Third of Portugal was thoroughly imbued with the religious and Missionary spirit of the age. He claimed the sole right of trade with all countries east of the Cape of Good Hope, and had received from the Pope a titular sovereignty over them. His commercial stations were scattered along the whole coast of India, and over the Eastern Archipelago. From the Persian Gulf to the Moluccas, in numberless petty stations and famous factories, the Christianity of the West had come in contact with the vast mass of heathendom and ignorance in the East, and at all these points King John had placed large religious establishments for the conversion of the natives. As

yet he had met with little success, and it might be doubted if heathendom had not done more hurt to Christianity than it had received itself. But now, hearing of the zeal and power of the Order which was stirring men's hearts in Italy to a new and spiritual crusade, the King hoped to find in them men better adapted to his purpose than the ordinary priests and monks he had sent out. He applied for the three heads of the Order, Loyola, Xavier, and Lefevre: but as it was clearly injurious to the interests of the rising society that all its chief men should be sent on so distant a mission, it was eventually determined that Xavier alone should go. The King sent him forth with all the prestige and authority which could accompany an honoured servant and a trusted friend. He sent general orders to all officials to assist him in any manner he should require. To fill the vacant post of Viceroy, he chose a man personally friendly to Xavier, and devoted to the cause of Missions, Martin Alphonso de Soza. The Pope conferred on him the title of Papal Nuncio, and armed him with all the spiritual powers of the Church. Thus, under royal favour and ecclesiastical patronage, having found the true outlet for his enthusiastic zeal, and looking forward to see the wish of his heart accomplished, on the 7th April 1541, Francis Xavier set forth for the scene of his apostolic labours. On this Mr. Venn remarks:—

‘Though Xavier bears the name of a Missionary, how little was there in common between his position and that of a simple Missionary at the present day. It is difficult to conceive more splendid worldly attractions to any enterprise, and greater temporal advantages for its prosecution than those which accompanied the call of Xavier to become the Apostle of India.’*

This is an instance of the narrow criticism which characterises the whole of Mr. Venn's work and of his inability to appreciate the changes which three centuries have brought about. The ‘temporal advantages’ of which he speaks, though peculiar in that day, are now common to everybody. There is not a ‘simple Missionary’ in the country who does not enjoy the favour of the Governors and the assistance of officials, whenever he applies for it. In Xavier's case a special injunction was required, and with the rarity of communication which then

* Life of Xavier, p. 17.

prevailed, we may easily conceive how such an injunction would be obeyed by an unwilling officer. The Papal Briefs gave him authority over other Missionaries, but could be of no assistance to him on his own Missionary duties; they only imposed upon him a most invidious labour in addition to his special work. So that, as far as regards temporal advantages, the 'simple Missionary' of the present day is infinitely better off than Xavier was.

But, says Mr. Venn, there were 'splendid worldly attractions' to the enterprise. We might meet this by pointing to Loyola's and Lefevre's refusal to go to India, and by denying that any power or dignity in India can be an attraction to a man who has before him a career of European fame. If this is the case in the present, how much more was it in the 16th century, when voyages were dangerous, communication rare, the country unknown and girt with a vague horror, and when only the hopes of rapid and enormous gains—not empty titles—could lure men out to India. But we may argue the question on other grounds, which require less knowledge of history. Worldly attractions are only attractions to vain and worldly-minded men. Mr. Venn allows that personal vanity was not an element in the character of Xavier, and it is almost unnecessary to add that a less worldly-minded man never breathed. Hence the patronage and dignity he received were merely an accident in determining his career, and can have no effect on our judgment of his self-denial and zeal. Xavier going out as Papal Nuncio and friend of the King, was not less apostolic than if he had simply taken his passage in an ordinary ship, for he looked on his position not as it regarded himself, but as it helped to further the work to which he was devoted. No doubt Mr. Venn would allow this; but he could not resist the temptation of a cavil, which, if it implies anything, would seem to hint that a Missionary of the present day is more self-denying and simply noble than Xavier was.

The voyage to India lasted thirteen months, six of which were spent at Mozambique, where the expedition wintered, and it was not till the 6th of May 1542 that Xavier landed at Goa. Here he took up his abode in a Hospital; and it will probably be allowed that, in spite of the 'worldly attractions and temporal advantages' of his position, a simple Missionary of the present day would not be worse lodged than Xavier was. For about six months his whole day was spent in receiving confessions,

‘in preaching, in catechising the young, and in visiting the asylum for lepers.’* He also organised a School which had just been established by the pious Viceroy, Martin de Soza, with a view to constitute a Missionary College (or as Mr. Venn calls it a ‘Jesuit establishment’) in which to train converted natives for the work of the ministry.

But the atmosphere of Goa was not likely to suit the spirit or satisfy the aims of Francis Xavier. Like all other Portuguese Settlements, ‘it consisted of a factory for trade, a garrison of soldiers, the baptised heathen, and the progeny of a mixed race.’ No words can describe the horrible state of moral depravity and utter lawlessness into which these settlements had fallen. The soldiers were mostly condemned felons who had been offered the option of India or the gallows. The traders were all of them unscrupulous, avaricious, excited by the accounts of enormous fortunes amassed by others, and determined to collect by whatever means similar wealth in as short a time as possible and return to spend it in Europe. The Natives were for the most part either nominally baptised, or else of the lowest and most degraded races.

Let any one who wishes to judge what Goa was, read the terrible description of its vices in Tavernier’s travels, a description which, though written in the 17th century, applies equally well to the 16th.

It was not to the conversion and reformation of such a society as this that Xavier had devoted himself. Important as such work was, it was not what he had crossed the sea to do, yet even from Goa he can write in these touching terms :—

‘The miseries of a long voyage, the dealing with the sins of other people while you are oppressed by your own ; a permanent abode among the heathen, and this in a land which is scorched by the rays of the sun ; all these things are indeed trials. But if they be endured for the cause of God, they become great comforts, and the sources of many heavenly pleasures. I will indeed cheerfully devote myself to be the constant servant of any who will come over here and devote themselves to work in the vineyard of our common Lord.’†

But Xavier’s Missionary zeal was soon to find a more congenial field for itself ; and it is very remarkable to note what that

* Venn, p. 25.

† *Ibid.*, p. 28.

field was. The prevalent idea of the day, arising from the aristocratic rank of the patrons of Missionary work, was that the most politic and successful way of converting the heathen was by obtaining access to the King or principal men of the tribe, and securing their conversion, or at least their favour and support, previous to addressing themselves to the multitude.

Thus Xavier writes before leaving Portugal :—‘ Two of the Bishops insist on our departure, grounding their opinion upon the hope that, if we go, some of the Kings of India may be converted to Christianity.’* It is difficult to see what there was erroneous in this policy, although, now that the support of a Rajah is not necessary to a Missionary who is protected by the broad shield of British supremacy, it is easy to decry it and to call it in Mr. Venn’s peculiar dialect, a ‘ reliance on the arm of flesh.’ However, prevalent as that opinion was, Xavier did not implicitly give into it, and though, as we shall see, he eventually adopted it and made it the cardinal point of his future operations, still he determined to test it by his own experience, and to make his first attempt on a class who had no political power, and no principal men. Instead of making his first visit to some of the neighbouring Rajahs, whose friendship or conversion would have been politically useful to the Portuguese Settlement, the first object that tempted him away from his ministrations in the Goa Hospital was to visit a miserable tribe of half-civilised fishermen on the south-eastern coast of India opposite Ceylon. A large number of them had been already converted by the labours of Michael Vass, the Vicar-General at Cochin.

But they had no resident Missionaries, and their conversion probably was very partial. They were in a state of great destitution and much oppressed by the incursions of plundering tribes. The Viceroy took great interest in them, and Xavier writes :—‘ I cannot describe the earnestness with which he commended to me this new vineyard in Christ.’ So in the end of 1542, after five or six months’ residence at Goa, this man, whose position through ‘ worldly attractions and temporary advantages,’ was so much superior to that of a modern ‘ simple Missionary,’ set out for perils and privations, for loneliness and untried labour, on the Fishery Coast.

Even here Mr. Venn is unable to see the lofty self-denial of his conduct. He says :—‘ Xavier had allied himself with Kings and Viceroys in his Missionary character, and he must now suffer the

* Venn, p. 14.

'penalty by becoming an agent in a pet scheme of Don Alphonso Soza.'*

We can only say that the suggestion which is implied here, *viz.*, that the work was not congenial to Xavier's mind, or not his free choice, is not only utterly without foundation, but even absolutely contradicted by the tenor of the letter of which we have already quoted a portion. So again, when Mr. Venn says :—' In a political view he was set to secure to the King of Portugal the monopoly of a lucrative pearl fishery,'—†he states that for which he gives no grounds whatever. On the contrary Xavier writes :—' The Viceroy meditates collecting together in one island all these Christians now separated from each other by long intervals, and giving them a King to administer justice, and to watch over their interests and security.'‡ This scheme was purely a philanthropic one, and tended not to encourage, but to subvert, the fishery.

It was about the close of 1542 when Xavier arrived at the fishery coast, and his labours there continued with a few intervals till the close of 1544. Of this period Mr. Venn gives us as full and clear a narrative as the inconsecutive and scanty nature of his authorities enable him to give. For the first four months Xavier lived in one of the Christian villages and employed himself in procuring and committing to memory translations of the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, the Decalogue, and the Ave Maria. Then he commenced his ministrations in the Christian villages, which were about thirty in number. His plan, as described by himself, was to collect all the villagers twice a day, for Christian instruction, to teach them the formulas he had had translated till they all knew them by heart, and when they had been fully instructed, to baptise them. After completing his work in one village, he went on to the next, and thus by the end of 1543, he had gone at least once through all the Christian villages, besides occasional visits to the adjoining heathen villages. At the close of the year he paid a short visit to Goa, and returned with a companion, Francis Mansilla, to whom in 1544 he made over the special care of the fisher Christians. He began now to extend his views to obtaining influence over the 'King of Travancore,' whom Mr. Venn, with much appearance of probability, identifies either with the Rajah

* *Sic in orig.* It should be "de Soza." Venn, p. 29.

† Venn, p. 32.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 31.

of Bijanugur, or his Commander-in-Chief. His visit to the Rajah was prevented by a political difficulty which arose from the seizure of one of his servants by the Portuguese; but Xavier succeeded in establishing most friendly relations with him, and obtaining his protection for the fishermen against the oppression of the 'Batages' (*Query*, Burkundazes?) whom Mr. Venn considers to have been an army sent by the Rajah to collect 'Peshcash.' On two occasions marauding raids by these Batages had reduced the Christians to great distress; and on the second incursion the Portuguese Governor of Tuticorin was driven from his settlement, and forced to take refuge on an island without provisions or water. On both occasions Xavier made the utmost exertions to rescue them from danger and to succour their distress. On hearing of the first irruption, after trying for eight days to reach the spot by sea against a contrary wind, he went fifty miles on foot, carrying provisions with him; he transported the converts to a safer locality, collected subscriptions for them, and provided boats at all their villages in which they might take refuge from their enemies on the land. The moment he received tidings of the terrible distress of the Portuguese Governor, who had shewn the bitterest enmity to him, Xavier sent supplies with the utmost despatch, and fearing, as he says, 'lest I should add to the grief of a man in misfortune, and by the sight of a man whom he hates increase a calamity already sufficiently great,' he directed Francis Mansilla, in a letter full of the most touching sympathy, to hurry to his assistance.

Towards the end of 1544 the King of Jaffnapatam, the northern portion of Ceylon, crushed by persecution a Mission which had been established in his territories by the Franciscans, and which had obtained many converts, including the King's own son, who, with all the other Christians, was cruelly murdered. The elder brother of the King promised that, if he were placed on the throne, he would become a Christian; and Xavier's sanguine spirit being excited by the hope of opening up a new field for Missionary labour, he left the Fishery Coast for Goa, to persuade the Viceroy to give assistance to this scheme by an armed intervention. He travelled by land round Cape Comorin and through Travancore, preaching in all the villages on his way. It is in his letter describing this journey that the famous passage occurs:—'In the space 'of more than a single month I have made more than 10,000 Christians.' This passage Mr. Venn believes, and we think justly, to be a later interpolation in the text,—as other letters of Xavier's written about the same time and on the same subject only

mention 'very many' baptisms, and to give statistics was not Xavier's habit. On arriving at Cambay, the Viceroy in the first instance took up the Ceylon project eagerly, but political reasons soon forced him to drop it.

To a man of Xavier's sanguine temperament this check, fortunate as we may deem it for his fame, was no doubt a disappointment; but it did not affect his plans for the future. He had already made up his mind that he had done all the work among the fishermen which he was specially fitted to do, and he had turned his eyes in other directions. He had found the hindrance arising from the bad character of the Portuguese traders and officers an intolerable evil, and he longed to begin his labours afresh in a country where the taunt could not be thrown in his teeth that his religion could not be worth much if it produced such Christians as the Portuguese. Notwithstanding the number of conversions which had rewarded his labours, he had formed a very poor opinion of the quality of his converts, and had come to the conclusion that, except in the way of education from childhood, the attempt to instil religious truth into the half-brutalised lower classes was futile. He had worked out his experiment for himself, and had resolved in future to try the more educated classes, and work downwards from them to the common people. He had heard tidings of islands in the Eastern Archipelago, where Princes had embraced the Christian faith. Accordingly he left five Priests on the Fishery Coast to maintain Christian discipline and to carry on the education of the young, and in the summer of 1545 he left India for Macassar.

For this brief detail of Xavier's labours in India, we must thank Mr. Venn, the accuracy of whose facts deserves all praise. If he could have contented himself with pruning away the exaggerations and inventions of later writers, the story still left him to tell, of which we have given the bare outline, would have been a noble picture of heroism and self-denial. But then it would have tended to the glory of a Roman Catholic Priest, whom it was Mr. Venn's special duty to disparage. Accordingly, in order to destroy the grandeur of Xavier's Missionary work and Missionary spirit, he was obliged to fill out his biography with unfair suggestions and injurious conclusions, which we are obliged in our turn to answer and refute.

First, we will take Mr. Venn's strictures on the amount and nature of his Missionary work. He quotes Xavier's account of his labours in the Christian villages, where, after describing the course of instruction through which he put them preparatory to

baptism, he says :— ‘ How great is the multitude of those who are gathered to the fold of Christ, you may learn from this that it often happens to me that my hands fail through the fatigue of baptising, for I have baptised a whole village in a single day ; and often by repeating so frequently the Creed and other things, my voice and strength have failed me.’* On this Mr. Venn remarks that there were only thirty Christian villages in all ; and that Xavier never learnt the vernacular of the place, at least not so as to speak it with ease. He adds :— ‘ In Xavier’s examinations for baptism, there was no questioning to ascertain whether the words were understood, no spontaneous enquiry of the converts, nothing beyond the Missionary’s imperfect utterance of an unknown tongue and the response in a prescribed form ; when all these circumstances are taken into consideration, the position of Xavier, in the midst of a crowd of natives, with his failing arms and voice through the multitude of his baptisms, sinks from something which sounded very grand, to that which is very small.’†

Does it indeed seem small ? Can Christian charity and purest religious zeal, and philanthropic ardour, and utter self-denial, ever seem small in this world of ours ? Grant that the method was wrong and inefficient (though Mr. Venn greatly underrates what may be done through an interpreter, and indeed, in the latter part of the above paragraph, ignores the interpreter’s presence altogether) and that after three centuries’ practice modern Missionaries have struck out a more effectual plan. Grant that the villages were not numerous, though Mr. Venn omits all mention of the heathen villages, which Xavier certainly visited, and to which his account of baptising a whole village would seem to apply, as in a Christian village many must have been baptised already. Grant even that the results were not lasting. Still, after all deductions, the *position* of Francis Xavier, royal in descent, the darling of a Court, the idol of a University, now a lonely labourer on a distant and unknown coast—preaching to one of the most degraded tribes of heathen,—cut off for months together from communication with his friends and even from the sound of his own language,—protecting his converts from the oppressions of marauders, and from the violence of the Portuguese traders,—going day after day through his monotonous task of teaching the formulas on the repetition of which he deemed, however mistakenly, that eternal life depended,—living in the huts of the

* Venn, p. 35.

† *Id.* p. 38.

people as one of themselves,—travelling on foot from place to place—giving up the whole of his fiery zeal and his tender brotherly love with no *arrière pensée*, or longing look towards any home but the heavenly one,—such a position is in our opinion as grand as any that the human mind can conceive. We are bound to say, though we say it with pain, that the man who can count such a position small must be wanting himself in all knowledge of proportion, and all true appreciation of greatness.

Another part of Xavier's method with which Mr. Venn finds fault is that he habitually baptised infants 'even though their parents were heathen.' Although Xavier's principles would probably not have been opposed to this, yet it is remarkable that none of the extracts from his letters given by Mr. Venn mentions his baptising the infants of heathen parents. One instance of his scrupulousness in performing the ceremony is recorded, where he refused to baptise a Brahmin who seemed to be really converted, but who wished to keep his profession of faith secret. He reports that in the course of a year he had baptised (or 'managed to baptise,' as Mr. Venn writes it) 1,000 children who had died before they could commit sin. This would not be a very extravagant number, even if it included only the infants of the thirty Christian villages on the coast. All therefore that is proved against Xavier is that he baptised infants. A complaint against infant baptism would sound strangely from the pen of an English clergyman. But Mr. Venn manipulates it into a charge by the following artifice. He quotes at length an extract from the Romish 'Annals of the Faith,' published in 1845, which relates how emissaries of the Mission sought out sick children and, pretending to prescribe some medicine and to commiserate the mother, took the opportunity of dropping some water on the forehead of their infants and declaring them baptised. Mr. Venn expressly adds:—'I am unable to say whether Xavier began this practice',* and yet he does not scruple to picture 'Xavier and his successors seeking out children likely to die,† or to state that his 'chief comfort was in the baptism of moribund infants,' and that 'such baptisms as Xavier's were not allowed by the primitive Church.'‡ That is to say, he confessedly has not the slightest grounds for supposing that Xavier and his successors acted in this dishonest way; but he is not ashamed to insinuate

* Venn, p. 44.

† *Ibid.*, p. 44.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 79.

that he did. It is hardly necessary for us to tell our readers our opinion of such disingenuousness.

We turn next to Mr. Venn's strictures on Xavier's Missionary spirit. The first is based on a discrepancy observed between the tone in which Xavier wrote his annual letters to Loyola or to the Jesuit Society at Rome, and those written hastily, under the influence of passing events, to his coadjutor Francis Manilla. Both on account of the interesting character of these letters, and the importance of the charge based upon them, we propose to place large extracts from them before our readers.

In one of his annual letters he writes :—' Vast are the numbers in ' this country who do not become Christians, only because there ' is no one here to bring them over to Christianity. Often does ' it come into my mind to make the circuit of the Universities of ' Europe and especially of Paris, crying out even at the risk of ' being taken for a mad man to those who have more learning than ' charity, Alas, what a great multitude of immortal souls are shut ' out from heaven and plunged into the depths of eternal misery ' through your neglect.....God is my witness that I have ' formed the design, since I am myself debarred from returning to ' Europe, of sending a letter to the Universities of Paris and especially to our Professors Corne and Picard, to shew them how ' many millions of savages might be brought without any trouble ' to the knowledge of Christ, if only there were a sufficient number of men who would seek not their own things, but the things ' which are Christ's. Dear brethren, pray the Lord of the harvest that he will send forth labourers into his harvest..... ' I have nothing further to write upon these topics, except ' that such is the force and abundance of my joys, which God ' is wont to bestow upon the workers in this part of his vineyard, ' who diligently labour for the conversion of the heathen, that ' if there be in life any solid and true happiness, it is here to be ' found.....For truly the man who has once tasted by spiritual ' perception the sweetness of His gift, must find this life bitter ' without the light of His countenance.*

With this letter Mr. Venn contrasts those written to Mansilla. The first quoted by him runs thus :—

' God give you patience, which is the first requisite in dealing ' with this nation. Imagine to yourself that you are in Purgatory ' and are washing away the guilt of your evil deeds.'†

* Venn, pp. 46—48.

† *Ibid.*, p. 49.

From a second we extract this passage :—‘ I shall turn my thoughts into another direction, and seriously take in hand a design which has long allured me like a charm, of abandoning India, where so many obstacles to the promulgation of the religion of Christ are raised from quarters where it was least to be expected, and transferring myself to Ethiopia, where I am called to publish the Gospel by a hope and probability of signally advancing the glory of our Lord God, where there are no Europeans to resist us by overturning what we build up.’*

Another letter is quoted entire by Mr. Venn, but we extract only the parts which affect the present argument :—

‘ Your letters have greatly refreshed me. Again and again I beseech you to behave to these men, who are the scum of the human race, as good fathers are in the habit of doing to their wicked children. Do not suffer yourself to be cast down, however enormous their wickedness may be, for God Whom they so grievously offend does not exterminate them as He might do by His single word.....It is in this way that I wish you to maintain an equanimity of temper and cast from yourself all needless uneasiness.’†

On this subject Mr. Venn remarks :—‘ It is impossible not to be startled at the inconsistency, to use no stronger term, between these letters to his fellow-labourer Mansilla, and those which Xavier sent to his friends in Europe.....How is Xavier to be acquitted of dishonesty ?’‡ He was a man of strong impulses, of quick transitions of feeling, liable to pass from extravagant hope to unreasonable despair. This we conceive to be the solution of the contradictions in his letters. He probably wrote from the impulse of the moment. He lacked in fact that stable confidence in the enterprise he had taken in hand, which every true Missionary derives from a supreme regard to the Word of God. It is impossible otherwise to reconcile his sudden abandonment of India after so short and imperfect a trial, with his previous profession of spiritual comfort and success in his work,—or his sublime appeals to men of learning and science in the Universities of Europe to become his associates, with the fact that his chief comfort was the baptism of moribund infants and the dumb show of a crowd of adult worshippers.§ And again, in his final summary of

* Venn, p. 50.

† *Ibid*, pp. 51-52.

‡ *Ibid*, p. 55.

§ *Ibid*, p. 79.

Xavier's character, he says, 'a want of thorough truthfulness is conspicuous in all his European correspondence.*'

Nothing can be a greater proof of Mr. Venn's candour than the fact that, though he had already come to such conclusions as to Xavier's work and character, he was not afraid to print the documents which utterly disprove them. On the general charge of inconsistency of character, we shall have more to say. But we have already disproved the charges of baptising moribund infants, and of contenting himself with dumb show. Our readers can judge from the extracts we have given what there is in these letters to justify the charge of 'unreasonable despair' and the statement that the tone of the two sets of letters is contradictory. In the first place we may remark that the letters to Europe were written in Dec. 1543 and Jany. 1544, and those to Mansilla in March 1544. A change of feeling might very easily come over a man in the space of three months, but on looking closely into the first and third letter to Mansilla, it becomes very apparent that they are not spontaneous expressions of Xavier's own sentiments, but references to Mansilla's feelings, which Xavier is trying to soothe and repress. The exhortation 'God give you patience' is clearly an answer to Mansilla's impatient letter. The advice to maintain equal equanimity of temper and to cast away needless uneasiness, was obviously called forth by the tone of Mansilla's correspondence, not by the tendency of Xavier's own thoughts. The fact is that these letters to Mansilla, as quoted by Mr. Venn, contain no expression of Xavier's feelings except a general impression of ill success as to results; nothing in any way at variance with his glory in his vocation, his conviction of its importance, or his peace of mind.

But even if there was such a discrepancy, if the home letters painted all things in glowing colours, while the letters to a fellow-labourer were affected by the heat and burden of the day, would this give rise to even a suspicion of dishonesty in any mind untainted by the *odium theologicum*? What man has ever lived of high-wrought enthusiastic nature who has not had his moments of deep depression? Who that has ever aimed at an apostolic height has not been deeply wounded by the sense of failure? Where is the tender loving spirit to whom the mere thought of the far distant home has not shed a rose-coloured light over all circumstances of distress and pain? Even we in this present time, in writing to our friends at home, keep silence as

* Venn, p. 257.

to our little troubles and disappointments, and fill our letters not with what is false, but with such truths as are pleasant. The commonest subaltern who prates at mess about the 'cursed country' writes to his widowed mother that India is a fine country after all, and that he hopes to do great things, and to make a name there yet. But what is praiseworthy in an ordinary Christian is 'want of thorough truthfulness' in an apostle.

The second stricture on Xavier's Missionary character to which we think it necessary to advert, is made with reference to his plan for an invasion of Ceylon, of which we spoke above. On this Mr. Venn remarks :—

'See Xavier on the look-out for a hostile and murderous expedition, which he himself had instigated, for the advancement of true religion; in what did his spirit then differ from that of a Mussulman?'* Now it is impossible to defend Xavier's prudence and common sense with regard to this expedition; but it is very clear that the spirit in which he planned it was not a hostile and murderous one. The prospect he held before himself was the possible conversion of the King of Jaffnapatam,—or else his execution as a just reward for his murder of so many Christians: but not the dragooning of a whole country into Christianity by the offer of conversion or the sword. To quote from his own letters :—

'The Viceroy has given his generals command to restore the elder brother to the throne of Jaffnapatam, and to put to death the King who slew the neophytes, or else to deal with him as I shall determine. Indeed, I confidently hope that, through the intercession of those whom he has made martyrs, he will be brought to acknowledge his crime and blindness, and by salutary penance will at length obtain pardon from God for his atrocious cruelty. In Jaffnapatam and the opposite coast more than 1,00,000 will easily be added to Christianity.'†

These letters breathe the spirit of an unpractical enthusiast, but not of a sanguinary bigot. He was a man who had not sufficient practical clearness of view to foresee the means necessary to his end, not a man who considered that the end justified the means.

Of the charge of 'inconsistency' which Mr. Venn brings against Xavier, we shall be able to speak more appropriately when we have concluded our sketch of his career. We will only notice

* Venn, p. 79.

† *Ibid*, p. 69.

here his remark of astonishment at Xavier's expression that, as soon as he perceived his labours were not at all needed in India, he went on his way to Macassar. On this Mr. Venn says:—

'Xavier's labours not at all needed in India! What then was the meaning of his earnest appeal to the Universities of Europe to send fresh labourers to reap the field white to harvest.* Throughout this book Mr. Venn seems to have written in total disregard of the terrible *'tu quoque,'* which may be hurled back at every one of his attacks on the character and results of Xavier's Missionary life. In this case he seems to be utterly oblivious of the cavil so often urged against Missionaries, that there is plenty of work for earnest men in the mining and manufacturing districts, and the purlieus of London, without going thousands of miles to seek it. The cavil against modern Missions is unjust, but it is equally unjust when applied to Xavier.

It is indeed refreshing to turn from contrasting Mr. Venn's accurate history with his inaccurate conclusion to the less detailed but more life-like sketch given in Mr. Myers's lectures. We trust our readers will reciprocate the pleasure with which we quote part of his description of Xavier's work on the Fishery Coast:—

'All about them he finds utterly miserable: themselves, their country, their dwellings, their mode of living: no one comfort or visible blessing. His language, however, in writing from among them to Loyola, breathes only of thankfulness and joy and deep delight in the work he was engaged in. He lives just as they do on rice and water; associates with them as one of themselves; learns their rude utterances, teaches them little arts, becomes in every way their friend. He gradually preaches to them of God—and even of Christ—symbolically chiefly; he teaches them letters, and then to read simple words which he writes: he gets them to build little Chapels, and interprets the Creed and Crucifix to them. All but three hours and a half of the twenty-four he wakes and works. Except these hours for sleep the night is given to the improvement of his own soul through meditation, and prayer, and discipline: as soon as the day lights up the waters, Xavier calls his people to worship: all day he teaches the children and the new converts, visits the sick, goes inland to other villages, and at twilight again summons all to worship and vesper benediction.....A more unweariable man you shall not find under the sun..... This we see, that, little acquainted with the language of the people as he was (and

* Venn, p. 73.

'Xavier never was a good linguist,) he has a marvellous faculty of making an impression on the minds of rude men : that he exercises, if any one ever could or can, a kind of spiritual magnetism over men : that he can infuse his earnest thoughts into others with little help of articulate utterance, and can make his own feelings as it were infectious. I know of no one of whom are recorded such instances of communicative energy as of Xavier : no one who seems to have had so much influence over uncivilised men as he : none who by this alone has so thoroughly entitled himself to the appellation he was known by among his own, the Thaumaturgus or wonder-worker of the later ages of the Church.'*

The attraction which drew Xavier to Macassar was the report that the King of the place had already been baptised, and that there was a general movement in favour of Christianity. His outfit and passage were provided for by a merchant named Deyro, who came to him for confession, and was so wrought upon by his contagious enthusiasm, that he sold his property, distributed the proceeds to the poor, and devoted himself to Xavier's service. They left Madras in the summer of 1545, and reached Malacca in October. There Xavier learnt that a Missionary had recently sailed, under the protection of soldiers, for Macassar, and he was persuaded to wait for the return of the ship which had conveyed them, and for further tidings of their progress. For three months he remained at Malacca, living, as he had done at Goa, in a hospital, preaching and ministering to the sick. As the expected ship from Macassar did not arrive, he took a passage with the annual fleet which visited the Spice Islands. The voyage of this fleet seems to have been a long one. They visited Amboyna, where they remained three months; then the Moluccas, where they also remained three months; and lastly, they remained three months at the islands of the 'Mauricæ'. Returning thence by the same route, they stopped again for three months at the Moluccas, and one month at Amboyna, on their way to Malacca. Thus the stoppages alone occupied thirteen months, and the whole voyage probably not less than eighteen.

None of these islands, however, answered to Xavier's expectations, or supplied the peculiar sphere in which he wished to labour. We have seen that, as the result of his Indian experience, he had resolved to seek for some country in which his work

* Lectures, &c., pp. 95—97.

would not be frustrated by the example of his profligate countrymen, and where he could begin by converting or favourably influencing the King of the place. Amboyna and the Moluccas were both occupied by Portuguese garrisons, and the Mauricae were a tribe more barbarous and brutalised than the fishermen of the Comorin Coast. The scene of labour for which Xavier was peculiarly adapted, was not to be found in their islands.

But, though frustrated in his search for an encouraging field of work, Xavier had not wasted his time during this voyage. At Amboyna there were six or seven Christian villages, and to these he ministered. At the Moluccas he found a Mahomedan ruler who was very favourable to Christianity, and whose brother-in-law, as well as the mother of the former ruler, were converted. He also preached to the garrison at Ternate, and had a special class of the native wives of the Portuguese soldiers. The islands of the 'Mauricae' or of the Moors (which Mr. Venn identifies with Mortay) were inhabited by cannibals and by natives 'famous for poisoning each other'; a tribe of whom, like our Thugs, exalted murder into a religion. Xavier's friends entreated him to abstain from going among them, and brought him antidotes against poisons, which he rejected. Mr. Venn makes it a charge against him that he did not fix his abode among them. To have done so would have been to commit the same folly that distinguished Captain Gardiner's Mission to Patagonia. They did not present the field he sought for. He had made no preparations when he left Malacca with the fleet for remaining behind on a desert island. 'He describes the islands as a volcanic formation, very sterile, and having no sheep or cattle, only pigs and wild boars. The inhabitants were utterly uncivilised, and lived in constant jealousies and wars. Great numbers were destroyed by poison. They had no written language, and nearly every island had a different dialect'.

Yet this did not hinder him from living among the people for three months, while the trading fleet remained at the island, and during this time the danger and strangeness of his position stirred up his enthusiastic spirit to more lofty emotions than usual. He describes them thus:—

'I write these things that you may know how greatly these islands abound in spiritual joys. Truly all these perils and discomforts, encountered for the sake of our Lord, are treasures

* Venn, p. 114.

'filled with heavenly consolations, so that you may believe these islands to have been pre-ordained to destroy the sight of the eyes by weeping tears of joy. I never, indeed, remember myself to have been so penetrated by a flow of perpetual happiness, nor to have borne labour and bodily trials so lightly; although I traversed islands in the midst of enemies and faithless friends, although they be destitute of all remedies for disease, and even of all safeguards for life itself, yet they appear to me to deserve the name of the Isles of divine hope rather than the region of the Moor.'*

On his return to Malacca, which must have been about the middle of 1547, he remained for some time, teaching and visiting as before, till he found a ship to take him to India, which he reached in January 1548. Why, on his return from the Spice Islands, he did not carry out his original plan of visiting Macassar, is not apparent; and in the absence of all reason stated, we cannot concur with Mr. Venn in attributing it to his 'habitual inconstancy of character.' Probably the reports brought of the success of the Missionary who was sent there were not encouraging; or else the fact of soldiers having been despatched to the island deterred him from again incurring the hindrance of their evil example.

In India Xavier remained for fifteen months, employed in inspecting outposts, visiting again his converts on the Comorin Coast, and setting in working order the machine of religious discipline and Government.

This work was by no means a slight or unimportant one. About twenty associates of the Jesuit Order had reached him, and more were on their way out; these he had to make acquaintance with, to test and to appoint them, according to their respective fitness of character, either to reside at great centres of trade, in religious charge of a large European population, (such as Ormuz in the Persian Gulf, Socotra at the mouth of the Red Sea, Malacca, or Goa itself,) or to superintend distant Missions, such as those on the Comorin Coast and in the Moluccas, or to preside over the great Missionary College at Goa, and its affiliated branches at Cranganore and Ternate. It will be easily understood how difficult such a selection was, and how hard to maintain strict discipline and settled order among a body of men so little homogeneous, and so widely scattered.

Mr. Venn has some judicious remarks on the additional

* Venn, p. 115.

difficulties arising from Xavier's position as Royal Commissioner on the part of the King of Portugal. The authority this gave him over the regular Civil Officials placed him in a kind of antagonism to them, made him feel doubly sensible of the hindrances their coldness or opposition threw in the Missionary's way, and led him to attach an unreasonable value to their assistance. He even went so far as to propose to the King that a scale of rewards should be established for Governors who had gained converts, and a scale of punishments for those who had not. Certainly Xavier shewed little wisdom in his admixture of politics with religion, and we are well pleased to see him shake off this additional responsibility, which was only an incumbrance to him in performing the work to which he was specially devoted.

But when Mr. Venn remarks unfavourably on the tone of authority adopted by Xavier in his directions to his subordinates, he seems to us to miss the whole spirit of the Order to which Xavier belonged. On this point Mr. Myers says:—

‘Loyola's grand assumption is that all things are conquerable assuredly to him who will first conquer himself; and this leads him to consider all virtue as comprised in that which is the mere soldier's,—obedience to his brother-man.’ Thus Xavier was only carrying out the principle which had been inculcated on him by his Chief.*

But indeed the remarkable point in Xavier's character is not his insistence on the duties of obedience and self-abnegation, but his abstinence from all peremptory orders, and his consideration and forethought for the unexpected difficulties which might arise. In the abstract he is authoritative enough, but in practice he leaves a wide margin for discretion. This Mr. Venn does not fail to see, although with singular inconsistency he seems to forget it. Again, when summing up the results of Xavier's Missionary life in India, he speaks of the one great fault in his system which would have proved fatal to success—namely, that he ‘attempted to carry every thing by authority.’† But in another place he forms a truer estimate of his character.

‘This peremptory and absolute authority which Xavier assumed, was never pressed in a way to offend the feelings of his brethren. Its exercise is mingled with so much tenderness of affection, and with such expressions of personal humility

* Lectures, &c., p. 86.

† Venn, p. 146.

‘and Christian courtesy, as cannot but excite our admiration at the natural magnanimity of the man.’*

Take, as an instance of this, his orders to Missionaries at outposts not to leave their stations except under a very special necessity, in spite of which he says in his letter of instructions to Father Paul Camerti, whom he left as his *locum tenens* in India, ‘yet if any of them for urgent reasons should without your direction come to you, I would have you receive them kindly, and treat them with the utmost affection, attending to them with all care, whether they need the strengthening and support of their physical or mental constitution; whether they come of their own accord, and upon their own responsibility, or by the persuasion of their companions, to seek the spiritual medicine of penance and correction, or of temporary retreat; whatever offices you can perform for them, see that you behave yourself with parental tenderness, lest they fall away, or suffer some serious evil.’†

If some Missionary in a moment of faint-heartedness were to leave his post at Peshawur or Tinnevely, and to appear suddenly in London, we doubt if the Secretary to the Church Missionary Society, although he does not insist on ‘peremptory obedience,’ would treat the deserter in quite this spirit; or whether there would not be some parental objurgation mingled with parental tenderness.

But while the duty of internal arrangement and discipline was occupying all Xavier’s energies, his heart had long been given to devoting himself to open up a new Mission in Japan. The way in which his thoughts were turned in this direction was remarkable enough. A native of Japan, named Anger, had fled on board a Portuguese vessel, to escape from the consequences of a family quarrel. The Captain of the vessel, Ferdinand Alvarus, happened to be an intimate friend of Xavier’s, and excited in the mind of the Japanese the desire of seeing him, and of being instructed in the Christian Faith. He accompanied Alvarus to Malacca, arriving there at the time when Xavier had gone on his eighteen months’ tour among the Spice Islands. After waiting some time in vain for his return, Anger lost patience and set out to return to Japan, but was beaten back by a violent storm, and arrived in Malacca again, to find Xavier there, and to be most kindly received by him. Xavier sent him to the Missionary College of Goa, where he received Christian instruction for

* Venn, p. 125.

† *Ibid*, p. 145.

more than a year. It seems to have been his accounts of his native land, and his anxiety and distress at the thought of the religious darkness of his fellow countrymen that first turned Xavier's thoughts towards Japan. Here was an unexplored country, discovered only six years before, where there were no European traders or soldiers to discredit the Christian name, and to impede the progress of the Gospel. It was a highly civilised and well-governed country, on whose rulers Xavier might hope to make that favourable impression which he had learnt to think a necessary preliminary to Missionary enterprise. The Japanese was sanguine as to the readiness of his countrymen to accept the Christian religion. Xavier's enthusiasm caught fire from his, and he entertained no doubt that the impulse was divinely sent. Though he heard before starting that Japan has closed its ports against the Portuguese, his resolution was no ways shaken. He wrote:—'By God's help I will go, for there is no better enjoyment 'in this miserable world than to live in peril of death, when 'death is encountered from the sole motive of His love, and a 'desire of pleasing Him and spreading His holy religion. Believe me, it is sweeter to live in the midst of such peril than 'to be free from it, and at ease.'*

In this spirit of apostolic devotion and lofty self-abnegation, he set out on his perilous mission to the unknown country of Japan. No more now of 'Royal patronage and Ecclesiastical influence'; for he was going to a country where the very names of the King of Portugal and the Pope of Rome had never been heard. No more of 'absolute authority and peremptory orders'; for he was going almost alone, a 'simple Missionary,' to a country where letters could only reach him by accident. His chosen companion for the voyage was Cosmo Turrianus, who had been for many years a roving sea-faring man, and who, having been impressed with religious feelings by seeing the labours of the Missionaries, had lately joined the Society of Jesus. They were also accompanied by the Japanese convert, Paul Anger, and a servant of his, by a lay-assistant, Fernandez, and a Chinese youth, called Amator. They left India in April 1549 for Malacca, from which place the Governor forwarded them in a Chinese junk, probably on account of the prohibition to the trade of Portuguese vessels. They reached Caugoxima,† a port on the south coast of Kiu-Siu, the most southern island of Japan, in August 1549.

* Venn, p. 175.

† Now too well known as Kagosima.

Their reception by the natives and the Governor of the place was very favourable. Paul Anger's relatives crowded about him, anxious to learn the nature of his new religion, and by no means disposed to reject or despise him on account of his conversion. The Governor received a visit from Xavier most graciously, and his mother requested to have the chief articles of the Christian religion given her in writing. Two Buddhist Priests, or 'Bonzes,' went off to Goa to the Missionary College there, commended by Xavier to his friends with the simple message:— 'be careful to treat them kindly and courteously, even as I 'treated Paul when I was with you.' The singular tolerance of the Japanese, and the simplicity of their Buddhist faith, made them peculiarly ready to entertain and accept the new doctrine. Xavier remained at Canguoxima for a year, and during that time he had obtained 100 converts, and had made a deep and lasting impression on the mind of the country.

The Buddhist priests, however, beginning to be jealous of his success, persuaded the Governor to oppose the spread of Christianity by an edict punishing conversion with death. Checked by this order, Xavier and Cosmo left Paul behind among his own people, and proceeded themselves to a town in the kingdom of Amanguchi, a place not now to be found in maps; but the town is identified by the biographers of Xavier with Firando, a seaport on the north-west of the Island of Kiu-Siu. At Firando, Xavier found the people so well disposed to hear the new religion, that he left Cosmo behind and went on alone to Amanguchi. Here again he was well received by the King, who sent for him, and listened to his exposition of the Faith with interest and attention. But Xavier was at this time weaker-handed than probably he had ever been before; and being himself always a bad linguist, and having no interpreter with him, it is not to be wondered at that he failed to attract general attention, and even suffered from popular ridicule. Leaving Amanguchi he crossed over to the chief Island of Nippon, and, after a painful journey of two months, arrived at Miako, which was, as he was told, the residence of the most important King of the country. From Xavier's casually mentioning that the other Kings and rulers held his temporal authority in contempt, and we may gather that this King was the spiritual Emperor of Japan, or Mikado. To him Xavier found it impossible to gain an entrance; and disappointed thus in his hope of gaining over the chief potentate to his side, he judged it best to return to Amanguchi and secure the favourable inclinations of

the King of that place, whose good-will he had already experienced.

On arriving at Amanguchi, Xavier presented to him the letters and gifts which he had brought from the Viceroy and Bishop of Goa, and which he had hoped to present to the Mikado at Miako. The King in return shewed his favour by issuing a proclamation that it should be lawful for Xavier to preach the Christian Faith, and for the Japanese in his kingdom to become converts to it. Xavier was here joined by Cosmo Turrianus again, and his lay-assistant, Fernandez, had become skilful in the language, so that the impediment which had hindered him at first was now removed. Before long he records the conversion of 500 people. Two of these are specially mentioned as being very learned and able men, and one of them joined the Society of the Jesuits.

While thus engaged, Xavier was invited by the King of Bungo, a province on the east of the Island of Kiu-Siu, to visit him and was warmly received. Soon after he left Amanguchi, a civil war broke out there, which ended in the King committing suicide, and a step brother of the King of Bungo being elected in his place. He was animated by the same friendly spirit towards the Missionaries as his predecessor had been, and promised them his support. The King of Bungo was desirous of making a friendly alliance with the King of Portugal; and Xavier persuaded him to send an ambassador to Goa, and prevailed on two Japanese converts to visit Portugal, and arranged for their being sent on to Rome, 'that they might witness the Christian religion in all its magnificence.' Having thus established two flourishing Missions, to which he had conciliated the good-will and approbation of the local rulers, Xavier thought it high time to return to watch over the important interests entrusted to him in India. He sailed in the same ship with the King of Bungo's ambassador to Goa, and reached India in January 1552, after an absence of two years and eight months.

This Japanese Mission has always been looked on as the great success and the crowning glory of Xavier's life. It is not so much what he accomplished himself, as the door he opened for others, by his bold conception of carrying the Gospel into so distant a country, and his wise selection of the men he took with him and left in charge of the work, and yet what he accomplished himself was no small work to be passed over lightly. He himself records about 700 conversions as having been made

during his stay in the island. It was his wise courtesy and noble presence that gained over the Rulers of Firando, Aman-guchi, and Bungo, to be more than patrons, to be almost converts, to his faith. His letters are meagre exceedingly as to his own life and actions, but they tell us enough to paint a noble picture for the eyes of those who can see. Mr. Myers says:—‘A strange sight truly was this toiling, travel-worn man: no carriage of any kind, nor servant; no state, no pomp, no comfort even; literally of apostolic guise. And had you seen him passing wearily and footsore across the dreary and dangerous wastes of Japan, you could not but have called to mind, in spite of some strange differences, how the noble prototype of all Missions minded himself to go afoot from Troas unto Assos When persecuted in one city they flee to another, and despite of all opposition Xavier keeps preaching, and baptisms follow his preachings wherever they halt awhile, and catechisings, public disputations, and conversions. He ordains elders in almost every city, and writes letters to his converts and fellow-labourers at a distance, of which some portions are almost apostolic. His sanctity does as much as his sermons, and his companions are helps-meet for him, displaying the peculiar virtues of the Christian in the midst of danger and reproach of all kinds; and when he leaves the Mission in their hands, as he does shortly, he does so with the confidence that the unparalleled efforts and successes of the past are but as the first-fruits of the future.’*

That future was indeed as bright a one as any Mission ever enjoyed, and to the present day, when the friends of Missions deplore their ill success, they refer to Japan as an example of what Missionaries under favourable circumstances can effect. Mr. Venn tells us, what from the circumstances is exceedingly natural, that he has searched in vain for any accurate statistics of the numbers of the converts, but undoubtedly they were very great. ‘At the close of the 16th century (in 1586) a fierce and bloody persecution commenced against Christianity, on the part of the political Emperor (Tycoon) on the old plea of persecutors that the peace of the State was endangered. From the great number of influential people said to have been involved, it may be inferred that the profession of Christianity had been very widely extended; and from the length of time, amounting to forty years, for which the struggle was continued, it is evident that multitudes firmly held to their adopted faith. In the year

* Lectures, &c., p. 98.

‘ 1637 the reigning Emperor discovered, as he affirmed, a traitorous correspondence for dethroning him, between the Native Christians and the King of Portugal. He therefore issued orders for the butchery of the remainder of the Christians, estimated at 37,000. This order was barbarously carried into effect. Thus the Mission, planted by Xavier, was extinguished in blood, after existing for nearly ninety years.’ *

We have not space to quote here any of the noble letters written by Xavier during his stay in Japan, but we trust our readers will be sufficiently interested by the specimens of them we have already given, to look themselves for them in Mr. Venn’s pages. But before we leave this important part of Xavier’s life, we must notice two cavils, (we can hardly call them charges,) which Mr. Venn brings against his personal success, and the system on which he based his Mission. The first passage is as follows :—

‘ We must remember that, though he spent more than two years in the study of the language, he was obliged even to the last to employ his lay helper as an interpreter. He has himself expressed, in emphatic terms, the insufficiency of his personal efforts. Looking forward to a visit to China he said :—“ I shall succeed in opening it for others, since I can do nothing myself.” This single sentence, beautiful in its humility, nevertheless points to the simple fact that his personal efforts to evangelise the natives were a failure everywhere, but that he led the way for others to follow, and encouraged numbers to do so.’ †

Now we ask any one if this is a legitimate deduction from Xavier’s words. The sentence which Mr. Venn justly calls ‘ beautiful in its humility ’ is the natural expression of a mind depreciating its own powers, not the careful and deliberate summing of the work of a life. Besides, it applies to the future, not to the past; and its reference cannot be properly understood without the context. We could hardly have defended such an argument as this from the charge of disingenuousness, if it did not happen that Mr. Venn had placed in close juxtaposition to it two most remarkable proofs of its erroneousness. It is impossible to attribute to want of candour a judgment which clearly arises from some strange intellectual distortion.

The proofs of Xavier’s great personal influence that we refer to, are two letters written, one in 1555, and the other about the same date, by the Rulers of Firando and Bungo respectively; the former writes to a Missionary in China, Melchior Nunez :—

* Venn, p. 210.

† *Ibid.*, p. 208.

'When the Father, Master Francis, had come into this kingdom, he made some Christians, much to my delight, whom I have taken charge of, and kept them from all injuries.*'

The King of Bungo, who had much more personal knowledge of Xavier than the King of Firando, at which place Xavier had remained so short a time, writes thus to the Viceroy of India:—

'I Yacalandono, King of Bungo, Tacataa, Amanguchi, and the countries of the two seas, Lord of the petty Kings of the Islands of Tosa, Xemenarequa, and Miaygina, do give thee to understand by this letter that Father Francisco Xavier, having been not long since in this country, preaching to them of Amanguchi the new law of the Creator of all things, I secretly promised to him that, on his return into my kingdom, I would receive from his hands the name and water of holy baptism, however the novelty of so unexpected a thing might put me on bad terms with my subjects. Wherefore he also promised me on his side, that if God gave him life he would come back to me as speedily as he could. And for as much as his return has been longer than I looked for, I have sent thus expressly to know both of him and of you the cause of this retardment of his. Wherefore, my lord, I desire you that he may hasten away to me with all the speed that the first season proper for navigation may permit.†'

After reading such a letter as this, it is almost laughable to be told that his personal efforts to evangelise the natives were a failure 'every where.'

In all probability, Mr. Venn draws an exaggerated inference from Xavier's expressions as to his inability to speak the language. Mr. Myers is probably nearer the mark, when he says that Xavier was a bad linguist. Two years is a short time to master an Oriental language in; and from the instances we see everyday in this country, we may easily conceive that Xavier may have had a sufficient smattering of the language to preach written discourses, and to leave a strong personal impression of his earnestness and piety, while yet, on occasions of argument and dispute, he may have required the help of an interpreter.

The second point we have to advert to is Mr. Venn's favourite aversion,—the 'reliance on an arm of flesh.' He says:—'Xavier erected a Mission on the treacherous foundations of secular support.‡' That is to say, he nearly converted the King of

* Venn, p. 192.

† *Ibid.*, p. 204.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 209.

Bungo, and secured his converts against persecution. And again:—
 'The Mission Xavier planted was extinguished in blood, after existing for nearly ninety years; and this through the political power on which Xavier leaned in all his Missionary enterprises.*
 Or, in other words, when the remedy Xavier provided had failed, the evil which he provided against occurred. If he had not obtained the support of the Governors, the persecution which destroyed a Church of a hundred thousand souls would have nipped his conversions in the bud. Does Mr. Venn esteem the existence of that Church for ninety years as nothing? Or has he reflected on the terrible '*tu quoque*' which impends over every cavil he utters? Do not Missionaries in India rely upon the 'arm of flesh' or, in plain English, on the Civil Government? How many Missionaries, how many converts would remain if we lost India and another Tippoo held it? Or, to take a practical instance, why did the Madagascar Mission, which, as far as regards the Missionaries, had been utterly crushed by persecution, burst into sudden popularity, except because a ruler favourable to Christianity had come into power, and English and French are struggling for political influence there? If trying to convert King Yacatandono, was a sinful reliance on the 'arm of flesh,' by what name are we to describe the crime of trusting in King Radama the Second?

On his return to India in January 1551, Xavier found that his long absence and the difficulty of communicating with him had made room for much dissension and jealousy of authority among the Missionaries, as well as a want of cordiality between them and the Civil Government. The official paymasters had refused or delayed to pay the sums assigned to the Mission by the King of Portugal. The Missionaries had quarrelled, and even gone to law among themselves. Xavier's letters record the dismissal of a priest and a layman, and express the fear that more will have to be dismissed. Paul Camarte, whom Xavier had left in charge of all the Missionaries, had quarrelled with Antony Gomez, who was placed over the Missionary College of Goa. The biographers record that the latter had, *contrary to Xavier's instructions*, 'turned this College into a Jesuit Novitiate Establishment,'† a sentence which contrasts strangely with Mr. Venn's former censure of Xavier himself (p. 26) for 'having set himself to turn the Missionary College into a Jesuit Establishment.' In every way his plans had been thwarted, and his hopes frustrated,

* Venn, p. 210.

† *Ibid*, p. 216.

and his letters do not conceal the disappointment he felt. He writes :—

‘ I had hoped on my return from Japan to enjoy some repose after all the fatigues I had undergone. But no! there was no comfort for me. Far from that, I found only grief upon grief, and each in succession more poignant than the preceding. I found law suits arising from a quarrelsome temper. Nothing is stirring around me, but squabbles, disputes, divisions, to the great scandal of the people. Alas! this was not the work I so earnestly enjoined at my departure for Japan.’*

We cannot agree with Mr. Venn in considering this trial as decisive of the unadvisability of appointing an absolute Head, with despotic authority over Missions. Xavier’s long absence, and the impossibility of exercising any control from Japan, are quite sufficient to account for the result. It would be far more reasonable to argue that discipline in an army was unadvisable, because the officers mutinied against Lord Clive. A system of centralization obviously requires constant communication with outlying posts; and even if Xavier had remained at Goa, he would probably have been baffled by the distance of many of his subordinates. But now that communication is regular and speedy, the conditions under which the experiment of a Missionary Bishop would be tried are completely altered.

Xavier’s stay in India was very brief, for the position of a mere Superintendent of Missions was irksome to him, and he had only returned to his head-quarters to gather strength for a new project, more arduous and more advantageous even than any of those he had planned before. This project was a Mission to China. It had been first suggested to him by the reverence that the Japanese entertained for China, and their argument ‘how is it, if what you preach is true, that the Chinese never heard of it?’ It was probably fostered by the success he had met with in Japan, and the knowledge that China was, like Japan, a well-governed, philosophical country, where his doctrines, could he once attain an entry, would probably be met by reasonable argument and not by violence. Perhaps too the danger and difficulty of the project was no slight attraction to Xavier’s enthusiastic and devoted spirit. No European was allowed, under the severest penalties, to enter the Celestial Kingdom. Trade was conducted on the island of Chang-chuen, not far from Canton, where the Chinese met the Portuguese merchants and exchanged their stores. Thus far it

* Venn, p. 215.

was easy to get, but to enter the continent seemed an impossibility. But in order to meet this difficulty and render the mission feasible, Xavier proposed to make use of his authority as Royal Commissioner:—that authority, the possession of which, as we have seen, derogates so much in Mr. Venn's estimation from the worth of his labours as a simple Missionary.

In Xavier's former letters he mentions one James Pereira, a merchant at Malacca, as his best friend in connection with the Mission to Japan. He was determined to make use of his friendship to further the Mission to China. Whether by the express orders of the King, or by virtue of the authority delegated to himself, does not appear, but probably by the latter, he appointed this James Pereira to be Royal Envoy to the King of China, proposing himself thus to obtain admission to the King's presence, under cover of the embassy. He writes to King John of Portugal:—

'We carry with us many precious gifts to the King, which Pereira has bought partly by the royal funds, and partly by his own. We carry also a precious gift, such as I doubt if ever King sent to King within the memory of man, namely, the Gospel of Jesus Christ, which, if the King of China knows its value, he will place far above all his treasures however great. I have a good hope that God will look in mercy on that vast nation and people, and will open the eyes of men made in His likeness, that they may know their Maker and Jesus Christ, the one Saviour of mankind.*'

With his mind full of such high hopes and visions of noble results, Xavier and Pereira sailed from India in April 1552. But at Malacca a great discouragement awaited him. The Governor of the place laid an embargo on the ship and forbade the embassy to China. Whether Xavier had overstepped the limits of his authority in planning this embassy, or, whether the prohibition was merely the act of personal enmity or political disapprobation, we are unable to tell; but it shews clearly how almost independent was the power of a local Governor in those days, and it justifies Xavier in his constant admonitions to Missionaries to keep on good terms with the authorities. The blow was a sudden and a very bitter one. In Xavier's estimation it was the work of one who 'had no fear of ecclesiastical censures or the Divine wrath,' one who 'opposed the propagation of the Christian religion and the efforts of pious men' as well as

* Venn, p. 236.

disregarded the pontifical authority under which Xavier acted. Accordingly he presses for his punishment and excommunication in terms which do not bear out Mr. Venn's charge of vindictiveness, but which painfully remind one of the curse pronounced against Meroz, 'because they came not to the help of the Lord, 'to the help of the Lord against the mighty.' But vindictiveness implies a personal element in the anger, and this was totally wanting to Xavier's wrath. He thinks nothing of the indignity to himself, but a little of the loss to Pereira's trade, and a great deal of the hindrance placed in the way of religion. He writes to Pereira :—

'It is all my fault! on account of my great sins, God has 'frustrated our Chinese enterprise! God is my witness how 'sincere was my desire to serve Him and yourself; had not this 'been so, I should now have felt far more bitter sorrow. May our 'Lord be your guardian, and the leader and companion of my 'present enterprise.*

For Xavier had not been quite overwhelmed by this check, nor were his plans so lightly formed, that when prevented from carrying them out in one way, he abandoned them altogether. He had determined to persevere in his enterprise, and, as he could not enter China in the train of an ambassador, to sail for the island of Chang-chuen and there to look out for any available means of carrying the Gospel into China, despite the cordon of prohibitive laws.

This conduct draws down upon him Mr. Venn's severest censure. 'On the failure of the legation, instead of receiving 'this check with submission as coming from the hand of God, the 'course which Xavier pursued indicated a hasty and angry temper, as well as an inordinate self-importance. He obstinately 'determined to carry out the plan, notwithstanding the altered 'circumstances, and to seek an interview with the Emperor of 'China.†

It is really painful to have to deal with such criticism as this, which no fair-minded man would stoop to except under the influence of party spirit and foregone conclusions. If Xavier, after two years of labour, leaves the Fishery Coast or Japan, or, if he abandons a plan he had formed of visiting Macassar, then he is guilty of inconsistency. If he adheres to a plan and perseveres

* Venn, p. 239.

† *Ibid*, p. 240.

in it in spite of obstacles, then he shews an angry temper and inordinate self-sufficiency. We may safely leave such inconsistent criticism as this to stand or fall by its own merits.

After a wearisome delay at Malacca, Xavier sailed for China in one of James Pereira's trading ships. Conscious of the personal risk he was running, he took no European companion with him, only a single native interpreter. But Pereira's loyal and hearty service could assist him in his journey no further than the island of Chang-chuen, on which the trading ship landed him. From thence he had to devise his own scheme for obtaining admission into that forbidden continent for the conversion of which his heart yearned so eagerly, but which he was never to enter.

On landing at Chang-chuen he was seized with a fever which lasted for fifteen days. Then he recovered, and for three weeks he was busily engaged in trying every scheme for securing a passage to China, and in writing to his friends to inform them of his success and to plan the details of the larger Mission which was to follow at once if he could clear a way. No Portuguese trader would convey him to China. The natives were deterred by the terror of a law which threatened with death any one who should abet the entrance of the foreigner into the sacred soil. By an enormous bribe of nearly £300, he persuaded a Chinese merchant to undertake the risk of carrying him merely to the nearest point of the shore, and leaving him alone there. But the Chinaman's heart too failed him when the time came. Xavier's native interpreter deserted him. The fever, lurking in the low swampy island, finding him now at a disadvantage, weary and heart-sick, attacked him again, and could not be shaken off. For three weeks he fought against it, but the struggle ended on the 2nd of December 1552. Lying among strangers, mostly Chinese, in a mean hut scantily thatched, close to the crowded bazaar, the Royal Commissioner and Pontifical Legate and Head of all the Missionaries in India, yet deserted by his only servant, and untended by any friendly hand,—thus was Xavier found in his last moments by some Portuguese merchants whom chance brought that way. They watched by his death-bed, and closed his eyes, and buried him in a coffin in the sand hard by, and when they left the place, they carried the coffin to a mourning populace in Malacca. Thence it was subsequently removed and buried in great state, followed by the Viceroy and all the European population in Goa.

Xavier when he died was forty-six years of age, and had been only twelve years a Missionary. Seeing how much he had done in

that period, what might he not have accomplished if he had spared himself, and had lived to old age! Looking at it in this point of view, it is excusable for any one to regret his China Mission, and even to blame it as ill-considered and foolhardy. Indeed, it is quite clear that the law against the entry of foreigners was very stringently carried out, and that Xavier underrated the difficulties in his way. But still the fact that the Jesuits very soon afterwards did effect an entry into China, and gained an enormous number of converts there, is a proof that the difficulties were not insuperable, and that Xavier's was no diseased enthusiasm. What obstacles could China present to terrify a man who had triumphed over all the hindrances he met in Japan? There was nothing unsound or unpractical about his plans. He went well provided with money and with all his preparations for a party to follow him, completed. He had certainly an unbounded faith in the effect which the preaching of the Gospel would produce, but he did not, like the promoters of the insane and disastrous Patagonian Mission, set out unsupplied with necessities, or expect Providence to work a miracle in his favour. The same fate might have befallen him in Japan or the Cannibal Islands of the Mauriciae as in Chang-chuen; we cannot therefore fairly affix any blame of rashness to his Chinese enterprise, or accuse him of having thrown his life away.

Mr. Venn concludes his narrative of Xavier's life with a summary of his character, in which he repeats most of the charges which, in the course of the story, we have taken occasion to answer and disprove. The charge of want of thorough truthfulness in his correspondence, we have shewn to be based on a misunderstanding of his letters to Mansilla, which are not the voluntary effusions of his own spirit, but attempts to relieve the despondency of the other. In the plan to set on the throne of Ceylon a Prince, who was favourable to Christianity, and who was also the rightful heir, we consider him to have shewn a great want of political foresight, but his own letters clearly prove how little he had realised the bloodshed that would follow. So also his advice to the King, to reward and punish his officers according to the number of converts they had made, was highly unwise; but Mr. Venn's statement that he pushed a false principle to an unusual length 'and shewed an unchristian spirit,' is much stronger than the facts will bear out. Indeed, nothing is more remarkable than his abstinence from using any of his authority, as Legate, Royal Commissioner, and private friend of the King, towards influencing any of the local Governors, and his entire reliance in practice

(whatever his advice may have been) on personal influence and sheer Missionary labour. When we consider how strongly the opinion prevailed in those days, that it was the duty of a sovereign to put down heresy, Xavier's advice to the King, which applied only to the heathen in Portuguese dominions, will seem very natural. When we remember what was done in England by Cranmer and Mary and Elizabeth, in what way Luther converted the Anabaptists, and Calvin Servetus, how closely the sword followed the creed even to the end of the seventeenth century, we shall see Xavier's character in a still nobler light; for, while he yielded intellectually to the error of the time, his moral instinct prevented him from adopting it in his acts; and thus we must confess him to have been of a higher and purer nature than any of the great men of the day, who, though they all erred in this respect in act as well as in thought, have yet left names which we have learnt to honour and hold dear.

There is another charge which runs through the whole of Mr. Venn's book, and is again repeated in this summary of Xavier's character, and which we feel bound to consider at length. It is the charge of 'impulsiveness and inconsistency, which contrast very unfavourably with the patient endurance and perseverance of the true Missionary.*' This charge is brought against him first when he leaves India for the Spice Islands, again when he gives up his plan of visiting the island of Macassar and visits Amboyna instead, and again when he only stops three months on the Cannibal Islands of the Mauricæ. Mr. Venn nowhere explains in what he considers the criminality of the inconsistency to exist. He uses the word inconsistency as if it had as definite and unfavourable a meaning as 'dishonesty.' And yet he cannot but know that there are many occasions when consistency is foolish and wrong, and inconsistency the highest praise, so that it is the duty of any one who assumes to sit in judgment on another's character, to shew not that he changed his plans or views, but that the plans or views which he adhered to were better or worse than these which he relinquished.

To do this in Xavier's case is particularly difficult, on account of the meagreness of our information and the singularity of his position as Legate as well as Missionary, and that in the very forefront of Missionary enterprise; the nature of the work was not so well known and had not fallen into such a system of routine then as now. Xavier had to learn every thing for himself, and

* Venn p. 257.

to find a field suitable to his great energies and powers. Is it surprising that he should not hit on such a field at first? He found his success in India below his expectations, and he felt that he was cramped by the evil example and influence of his countrymen; was it inconsistent to seek another place? He found no suitable opening in the Spice Islands, ought he to have stayed or settled there for his life? He had come to the deliberate conclusion that the place where he could be really useful was a country where there were no mercantile or military European settlers, and where he could obtain the support of the local Governors. The inconsistency, in our opinion, would have been if he had given up his views and had been content with less than this. At last, in Japan, he found what he had been in search of, and his estimate of his own powers was justified by the most astonishing success which has ever encouraged a Missionary Church. Can we fairly regret or blame any former experiments which ended in such a magnificent result?

The fact is that Mr. Venn's argument proves far too much. He himself probably never realised the way in which it could be applied. If it were inconsistency to preach the Gospel to all the villages on the Comorin Coast, and then to leave India for the Spice Islands, to form and then abandon a plan of visiting Macassar, to preach to all the Spice Islands which lay within reach and then to go on to Japan, by what name shall we call the acts of those who preached at Antioch and left it for Cilicia, who formed and then abandoned the plan of visiting Bithynia, who paid so short a visit to Athens, and who, instead of remaining with the patient endurance and perseverance of true Missionaries at Corinth, left it again for Jerusalem?

Mr. Venn has missed the chief point in Xavier's character, which gave him 'his famous title of the Apostle to the Indies.' He fails to see how essentially apostolic were Xavier's life and acts.

His energies, his sympathies, and his power of influencing others, were too vast to be confined to any one place. A new country requires settlers, but it also requires pioneers, and Xavier judged correctly of himself that he was peculiarly fitted for the work of a pioneer. 'I can do nothing by myself, but I shall succeed in opening it for others.' In India and the Spice Islands he was no more and certainly no less than any other Missionary; it was as a pioneer that he achieved his great success in Japan, and as a pioneer he would probably have done as much in China, had he been spared for the work.

On the other hand, after allowing for all these drawbacks, Mr. Venn gives Xavier full credit for his affectionate disposition, his energy in his calling, his boldness as a Missionary, his sympathy for his fellow-labourers, his zeal as a peace-maker, and his habits of correspondence. Some persons might compare this moderate estimate of Xavier's qualities to 'damning by faint praise,' but, remembering the foregone conclusions to which Mr. Venn was pledged by his principles and position, we are inclined to be thankful for everything that shews that his honesty and good sense were too strong to be entirely warped even by prejudices so rooted as his. How strong those prejudices were can be judged by those who read his comparison of Xavier's life with that of other modern Missionaries; a comparison which has already led us to say that Mr. Venn is completely blind to the true proportion of things. He places Xavier (forgetful of his solitary stay on the Cannibal Islands) below the rank of Marsden who, *with two European Catechists*, began the conversion of the New Zealanders, and who made such good speculations in trade among them that he left the country a very rich man. He places him below Henry Martyn, who did nothing except preach at the Indian Stations where he served as Chaplain, and make one journey to Shiraz: a man who (though of the noblest form of Christianity) converted no one, influenced no one, and of whom Mr. Myers says truly that 'he was more a Missionary in spirit, and 'less a Missionary in act, than any other whom we read of.' He even exalts above Xavier the wife of the African Missionary, Dr. Krapf, of whom all that we know, and all that he records, is that she followed her husband in his wanderings with true wifely loyalty. Of such stuff the comparisons of Exeter Hall are made!

But the great point which Mr. Venn takes especial pains to bring out is that Xavier's labour ended in nothing. We wish we could persuade ourselves that there is not a ring of exultation in the sentence where he attributes to Xavier's Roman Catholicism the contradiction between 'Xavier's natural force of character and his spiritual inefficiency—between the expectation that would be formed of his success in any secular pursuit, and his utter failure in the Missionary enterprise.* We fear this sounds very much as if the wish had been 'father to the thought'; at any rate we cannot fix the paternity of the thought on any facts stated in Mr. Venn's book.

* Venn, p. 260.

Mr. Venn's conclusions respecting the number of Xavier's conversions are briefly epitomised as follows:—That on the Comorin Coast the Christians have been so variously estimated from 12,500 to 80,000, (or including Goa and the other settlements up to 300,000) that no certainty can possibly be arrived at, but probably Xavier baptised about 20,000 people.* That in the Spice Islands also he baptised a large number, but that there are no statistics whatever to go upon there.† That in Japan the Christian Church was very numerous and widely extended, and took such deep root that a bloody persecution, lasting over fifty years, and involving the deaths of more than a hundred thousand people, was required to extirpate it.‡ Thus, after the closest scrutiny, and after making every possible deduction, we find that the numbers whom Xavier personally converted were greater than those recorded of any other Missionary or Apostle; while the direct results of his influence produced a larger Christian Church than all the Province of Bengal can shew after the unremitting labours of hundreds of Missionaries for half a century. If this was 'utter failure in the Missionary enterprise,' we would ask Mr. Venn what the results are that he calls success.

The fact is that the compilation of statistics is a science in itself, and it is no wonder if the numbers stated in Missionary reports are generally fallacious. They are as much guess work as the report in a despatch of the numbers of the enemy's army, and generally err in the same way. But Mr. Venn fails to see this, and in an elaborate chapter he attempts to prove all Roman Catholic reports of Missionary work to be 'vague, scanty, extra-vagant, and unsatisfactory,' while all Protestant reports are 'cautious, candid, and multitudinous.'§

We may concede all his charges of exaggeration, and yet totally deny his conclusion, for here, as usual, he supplies the antidote to his own argument, and shews himself totally incapable of judicial fairness. At the very time when he is engaged in proving the vagueness and exaggeration of the Roman Catholic reports, he quotes with approbation, and as a contrast to them, a report drawn up by the Missionaries of Southern India and Ceylon in 1858; in which, after some high-flown and inaccurate generalities, we come to the following statistics of the total results of Missionary labour:—

* Venn, p. 76.

† *Ibid*, p. 116.

‡ *Ibid*, p. 210.

§ *Ibid*, p. 317.

(1.) ' More than a hundred thousand persons who have abandoned idolatry, and are gathered into congregations, requiring Christian instruction.

(2.) ' More than 65,000 who have been baptised into the name of Christ, and have publicly made a profession of their Christian discipleship.

(3.) ' More than 15,000 who have been received as communicants.

(4.) ' More than 500 natives who are employed as Christian teachers.

(5.) ' More than 41,000 boys in the Mission Schools.

(6.) ' More than 10,000 girls rescued from gross ignorance and deep degradation, &c.*

Of all which we can only say that nothing can be more unsatisfactory and vague. These statistics remind us of nothing so much as the ' 30,000 converts' whom Dr. Wordsworth asserted to have been lately made in Galway, whereas the Census proved that the total number of Protestants in Galway, old and new, was only 7,500 !

Besides, these criticisms on the numbers of Roman Catholic converts, Mr. Venn is not deterred by the ' terrible *tu quoque*' from uttering grave strictures on the quality of their Christianity. He quotes the Abbé Dubois' gloomy conclusions as to the results of Missionary work, although he cannot but know that many careful and sincere observers, even many Missionaries themselves have given us unfavourable accounts of the converts made by Protestant Societies. He is not ashamed even to out-Carlyle Carlyle's doctrine of might being right, by declaring that the fact of all the converts being massacred, is a proof that they were not true Christians. ' The presence of Christ must depart from a Church before the gates of hell can prevail against it.' No doctrines of Jesuit casuistry can be more false or more immoral than this.

The question of the real effect of conversion on the moral and intellectual processes of the native mind is as interesting as it is perplexed and difficult. Ordinary residents in India have not the leisure or the opportunity for observing it on a wide scale ; and few Missionaries have at once the independence and the philosophical spirit to treat it without bias. The general opinion is that, politically speaking, all conversions are useful, but that very few are uninfluenced by the hopes of worldly gain. Even among

* Venn, p. 291.

Missionaries themselves, there are few in Upper India who will say that they know more than five or ten converts who seem to them to have been really influenced in life and action by the spiritual truths which have been inculcated on them. But for a worthy discussion of this important topic, we require the observation of such travellers as M. De Tocqueville, or Mr. Senior. Till then, we know no wiser principle than to avoid any argument on the subject, or to say with Xavier:—

‘ In the presence of a Portuguese take good care not to reprove or condemn the native Christians. On the contrary defend them, praise them, apologise for them on every occasion. Point out to their detractors how short a time it is since they embraced the faith, that they are still in infancy, that if one considers how many helps to a Christian life are wanting to them, how many obstacles are opposed to their Christian advancement,—far from being surprised at the defects of so rude a nation, one can only wonder that they are not worse.’*

We now take our leave of Mr. Venn’s book. It has not been a pleasant task to criticise the work of a man who has lived an honoured and useful life, and to have to convict him of uniformly unfair judgment, and of occasional evasions and suppressions which look very like disingenuousness. But we wish to be distinctly understood as using no mere *façon de parler* when we say that we acquit Mr. Venn of all intentional injustice. His book is a new and melancholy instance of the way in which party spirit may warp the judgment of an upright and honourable man; and of the bitter religious bias which can blind a man unusually devoted to Missionary work to the merits of the greatest and most successful Missionary who has lived in modern times. ‘ Let the man who has Xavier’s sanctity and self-devotion, let him, if he will, fling stones at his statue.’

To obtain a really true and appreciative summary of Xavier’s character, we must turn, as usual, to Mr. Myers’s Lecture:—

‘ In Xavier we have a remarkable instance of sanctity and self-sacrifice united with charity and zeal, and this alone is an approximation to the distinctive character of a Christian apostle. Power of endurance, and meekness beyond ordinary men, were also conspicuous in Xavier. The most marvellous self-control was his, enabling him to calm a fiery nature into acquiescence in insult. A uniformly cheerful man was he, always courteous, gentle, and genial. And joined to these singular passive virtues,

* Venn, p. 130.

‘was a peculiar continuous zeal, inspiring without inflaming him,—
 ‘manifesting itself rather by a fuller and more living development
 ‘of the ordinary graces of the Christian character, than by any
 ‘particular or irregular outbreaks; so that you could not say that
 ‘he was extravagant in any way, at the same time that you could
 ‘not deny that he was altogether extraordinary. For a model of
 ‘severe piety relieved by unceasing charity, of asceticism without
 ‘gloom and yielding gentleness never spoiled by insincerity, I
 ‘know not where to point you in these later ages better than to
 ‘Francis Xavier. A man whose life was passed in spiritual conflicts
 ‘and consolations, in continual contemplation and all the fluctua-
 ‘tions of the interior life—full of holy thoughts and emphatically
 ‘a man of prayer—was Francis Xavier: a man upon whom the
 ‘Invisible was more influential than the Visible: with whom you
 ‘can connect no selfish, mean, or mercenary purpose, a man in
 ‘whom is no error of Creed, in whom is no excess but of zeal.*
 ‘.....Severe only to his own sins, and allowing others indulgences
 ‘and excesses which he never tolerated for a moment for himself, of
 ‘singular persuasiveness and of the finest temper, he won men to
 ‘the Faith by his remarkable union of an example of sanctity
 ‘and of a preaching of love. In wisdom of manner the very model
 ‘for a modern Missionary, and indeed in spirit; for Missionary
 ‘enterprise was with Xavier almost as influential an impulse as
 ‘that of discovery was with Columbus. His whole soul was
 ‘absorbed by it; it haunted him sleeping and waking; so that
 ‘those words which had been treasured up as uttered by him in
 ‘sleep before he became a Missionary might well serve for a motto
 ‘to the latest moments of his life: “of sufferings and of labours for
 ‘“the Cross yet more, O Lord, yet more”! and as signs of an apos-
 ‘tle were wrought in him while he lived;—in labours most abun-
 ‘dant, in deaths oft; in journeyings often, in perils of robbers, in
 ‘perils by his own countrymen, in perils by the heathen, in perils
 ‘in the wilderness, in perils in the waters, in weariness and pain-
 ‘fulness, in watchings often, in hunger and thirst, in fastings of-
 ‘ten, in cold and nakedness, besides those things which came
 ‘upon him daily, the care of all the Churches. I think he has
 ‘well earned the title by which he was canonized after death—“the
 ‘“Apostle of the Indies,” and has made good his claim to be enroll-
 ‘ed among the great men of Christendom.’†

It is remarkable that this estimate of Xavier’s character based

* Lectures, &c., pp. 102-103.

† *Ibid*, p. 113.

on the vague biographical traditions should be accurately within the facts of the case, and that we should be able to quote it now, after testing the history by the severest criticism, without any change or reservation whatever.

But however noble and august Xavier's character was, we do not think that much practical result or teaching can be got from the actual recorded events and successes of his life. A combination of circumstances placed him beyond the imitation, and only within reach of the admiration, of ordinary men. His letters, though numerous in themselves, are often tautological from being written in batches together as the annual 'mailday' drew near; and very large gaps are left in his life about which we have only the most meagre accounts. The narrative of the Japan Mission is especially deficient in the details which alone, at such a distance of time, and under such different conditions, could enable us to argue with confidence on the relation of means to end, and the fitness of the steps taken to ensure success. We have already shewn that Xavier's position as head of the eastern Missions can supply no argument as to the advisability of appointing a Missionary Bishop, the more so as the duty of superintendence and organisation was a clog on Xavier's longing for personal work, and a duty for which his gentleness and sympathy unfitted him. We have also pointed out that Xavier was, and felt himself to be, essentially a pioneer. It is important to keep in mind in how totally different a stage Missionary work was then from what it is now. It had till then only followed humbly in the steps of trade, and the only conversions attempted were among native subjects. Practically speaking, the East was still unknown, the interior of India was not penetrated, Japan had only just been discovered, China was a mere *nominis umbra*. Under these circumstances 'prospecting' was as important a work as it is for settlers in a new country, and this was the work which Xavier did so well. He opened the way for others; he ran the first risks and underwent the first labours, (alas! he perished in doing this;) he stirred up other devoted and zealous men to follow him; and he created a favourable impression by presenting to the natives the noblest spectacle the world can shew—a combination of the perfect gentleman with the devout Christian. In what way can such work as this serve as model or lesson to modern Missionaries? They, for the most part, (in India at any rate) are settled quietly at their respective stations, as comfortably as many clergymen in England are; they know nothing of fear and danger; they

follow in the steps of a train of predecessors, and make no new experiment; many of them tacitly agree with Xavier that the conversion of natives over fourteen years of age is an impossibility, or at any rate is highly exceptional; their chief efforts are directed to the education of the young. Xavier's work was in so totally different a sphere from theirs, that no precedents drawn from the one case can be strictly applicable to the other.

And yet no truly great man can pass away from among us, whose character, rightly studied, does not supply principles which go to the root of all action, and lessons which will suit every condition of life. The great danger of the Indian Missionary is the falling into a habit of routine. The monotony of his life is wearisome. Day after day he preaches in the same town, is met by the same arguments, encounters the same indifference; day after day he teaches the same boys in the same school, and has the same hopes and fears over the dawning intelligence of his scholars, till the terrible recurrence of identity grinds out the life and stamps out the fire of devotion from his work, and to-day is only an irksome repetition of yesterday. He is not even excited by a friendly rivalry, such as the comparison of results in different Regiments or Districts stimulates in Military and Civil Officers. He is often alone at his station, and uncheered either by sympathy or success. To such a man Xavier's untiring energy and inexhaustible enthusiasm should be an example to shame away apathy and to spur him on to the highest endeavours. For Xavier, too, suffered from monotony and routine-work, from solitude and want of success, in his Mission on the Comorin Coast; and yet his projects never were so daring as then, his faith in the certainty of success never so unbounded. The bodily constitution has much to do with high-wrought sanguine spirits; and even putting that aside, all men cannot be Xaviers. But if there were more of his spirit and nature among both Missionaries and Laymen in India, the character and the value of conversions would not be so doubtful as it is, and we should see results in populous Churches, and in improved morality, more resembling those which attended the preaching of the great Apostle of the Indies.
