

ART. II.—*Schools of Art and Design for India.*

WHEN the Great Exhibition of 1851 was about to win the wonder of the world, there were few but feared that English Taste would make a sorry show. Men who knew that the productions of Britain would be marked by honesty of work, thought they might be no less marked by a lack of all those qualities as well of form as colour, which cultured Taste alone can plan; or, when both planned and executed, can admire. The fact made good the fear. The public voice, indeed, as heard through the public organs, was slow to make the acknowledgment. Lumbering blocks, which would now-a-days be rated as of lowest worth, were made the subjects of exaggerated praise. While those lighter and more graceful works for which France had long been famed, and which even then were turned out in some, if but the fewest, of the British factories, were voted weak; pretty, indeed, but void of that bulk and weight, which durability was thought to need. It would be invidious to name any special articles, which in 1851 were greeted with a praise which never could be given now. No one who was there, but must remember instances of what is meant; bedsteads so heavy, so shut in, so laden with carvings misapplied, that they suggested nightmare rather than sweet sleep; drinking goblets, modelled after funeral urns; bookcases, bristling with showy stucco flowers and leaves in putty-work, that must have chipped away whenever touched; sideboards, clumsy, heavy, common place; fitly coupled with the dreary bulk, that looked like a sarcophagus, but meant in truth to hold the wine, and not the household skeleton.

The English articles exhibited at Paris in 1855 were very far in advance of those displayed in 1851. Here, however, the report of Mr. Digby Wyatt was far from flattering. He remarks on 'the extreme inequality of the English, who, in one set of specimens, touched nearly the highest point of refinement, both of idea and execution; and in others sank down into clumsy and heavy common-place, as though Art were too exceptional with us.' It is needless to say that, as the English works of 1855 were in advance of those of 1851, the former in their turn were at least as far in the rear of 1862. We shall hereafter enter

more fully into this. Enough now to urge that, if the goods exhibited in 1851 were wrong in Taste, they were at any rate the rightest that the time could shew. That, if the Taste was heavy in the English Courts of the Hyde Park Palace, it was a hundred-fold more heavy in the dwellings of the people. Again, common-place as was the display in 1851, it was vastly better than any thing that could have been brought together in 1811; and, leagues in advance of the first years of the century. In advance of the days, when the Regent reigned; when Wyatt ruled; and Brummell was dictator. In advance of the days, when Christian Churches seemed to claim kinship with old pagan temples; and when a sacrificial fillet was deemed for them a happier symbol than a cross. In advance of the period, when the mawkish tameness of Harley Street and Portland Place, was varied only by the meretricious stucco of Regent Street and the Quadrant. In advance of the age, when they wrought the dull, heavy furniture for those dull, heavy houses. Who but with a shudder must recall the grim sideboard of Egyptian weight; the fell sarcophagus; the stiff, straight-backed, ease-despising chairs; the solemn four-poster with its load of dusty hangings; the curtains, fusty enough, and thick enough to shut out half the light which, through the narrow windows, else had struggled in; the carpets atrocious in colour and bestrewed with roses, and posies, and baskets of flowers that broke through every principle of Art; the wall-papers with their contrasts of colour, and their attempts by shadow and relief at perspective imitation, that were, if it might be, worse even than the carpets.

In 1862, the display of British manufacture, and especially of such as had regard to the wants of daily life, was wonderful. Household furniture, porcelain, glass, carpets, and draperies of every sort, were of such excellence as to call forth the praises of rivals, as of friends. The best of our Continental critics felt that they must bestir themselves if, in Beauty no less than in Wear, the British makers were not to carry off the palm. The great French Economist, M. Chevalier, in his report on the Exhibition says:—‘The upward movement is visible above all among the English. The whole world has been struck with the progress which they have made since the last Exhibition, in designs for stuffs and in the distribution of colours, as also in carving and sculpture, and articles of furniture’; and he further anticipates, with patriotic dread, the time when the fresh grown taste of the English worker shall trench on, what he

calls 'the pre-eminence of France in the domain of Taste.' Another French Juror says as to the like subject:—'It is impossible to ignore the fact that a serious struggle awaits France 'from this quarter.' M. Merimée speaks of the English advance, in terms no less decided:—'It is our duty,' says he, 'to remind our workmen that defeat is possible, that it may be 'even foreseen at no distant date. English Industry has during 'the last ten years made amazing progress, and we may soon 'be left behind.' A like uneasiness may be traced in the efforts to get up the admirable display of the Fine Arts applied to Industry, which was one of the great features at Paris, in September 1863. The Committee in their preliminary address hope that their work will be of use 'at a time, when men's 'minds are seriously turned to the efforts which rival nations 'now are making in order to snatch from France her supremacy 'in Art, and Art manufactured.' It is of interest with reference to what we shall hereafter say as to the worth of Art training, to observe that, at this Exhibition, great weight was attached to the works of pupils in the Paris Departmental Art Schools. The great hall of the Palace of Industry, in the Champs Elysées, was filled with the works of the manufacturers; while in the galleries were hung the drawings from no less than fifty of these Schools.

In the International Exhibition of 1862 it must be borne in mind, that these confessedly beautiful works were seen but to poor advantage. With exception of the admirably lighted picture galleries, the Exhibition Building was marvellously ill-fitted for the purposed end. In lieu of the graceful pile of 1851, was a confused mass of courts, galleries, annexes, with leaking roofs, and useless domes; a structure voted ugly, even as compared with Brompton's other growths. While, for the clear and open nave, with its symmetrical array of courts attached, which was the leading feature of Sir Joseph Paxton's airy edifice was given a nave, which, at first sight, looked like a Lowther Arcade from Brobdingnag. A nave where a light-house and a life-boat; where Mr. Peter's drag and a pair of monster iron gates; where a jewel case and a wardrobe; where a telescope and a Mersey steel gun; where pyramids of toys, and piles of candles, soap and food blocked the view; and where the outrageous prettiness of 'The Sleep of Sorrow and the Dream of Joy' was raised a-top of that still feebler specimen of false elaboration and wax-work imitation—'The Circassian Slave,' with its peep-show front, and tinted trickeries that might have

better fitted Bartlemy, or Greenwich Fair. So great was the crowding, so close the packing, that the South Kensington 'Moderns' might fitly, with the Elgin 'Antiques,' in Count Platen's lines, have cried :—

Here have ye piled us together, and left us in cruel confusion ;
Each one pressing his fellow, and each of us shading his brother ;
None in a fitting abode, in the life-giving play of the sunshine.
Here in disorder we lie, like desolate bones in a charnel,
Waking, in all that can feel, deep sense of sorrowful yearning
For the magnificent days when, all but alive, we were honoured.

Still in spite of over-crowding and of bad arrangement, all judges were of one mind as to the worth of the Art displayed.

From what cause soever springing, then, English Art production has thriven within the last five and twenty years ; and during the last decade of such period has bounded forward with redoubled force. A revival so strong must well deserve enquiry ; and here, as elsewhere, we shall find that great results have only sprung from great and well-directed efforts. We shall find that the difference between the workers of to-day, and of forty, or even fewer years ago, is simple enough. To-day they strive with study after that artistic fitness of design and ornament, which before was deemed, like Dogberry's clerkship, to come by nature. The one wonder is, that men were content, for so many years, to ignore in Art what they allowed in every matter else. The scholar won his way to fame only after long and careful training. The lawyer, the doctor, the merchant, all had their special education. Strength of material, cheapness of construction, honesty of finish, fitness for the special end,—all were matters which in theory and practice, in the school-room and the shop, were drilled into the craftsman, engineer, mechanic. Beauty, grace, and symmetry of form ; fitness, harmony, and relation of colour ; these, alone, were not deemed worthy of a thought. There was in Art no training ; and there could, in Art, be no assured success. At last men felt the want ; became aware that if Art were worthy of praise, Schools wherein Art might be studied should be worthy of support. It is curious to know that the first acknowledged School of Art and Design in Europe is scarcely more than a century old. This earliest attempt was made in 1754, in Saxony, at Meissen ; where, in that year, was founded the *Kunst-ewerbachule*, supported by Government, and under control of the painter Dietrich. Here were taught drawing, painting, and modelling ; all with special regard to improvement in pattern and design

of the Dresden China, turned out of the Factory, established in 1710 at Meissen, by Augustus I., under care of the celebrated Böttcher. Paris saw its first School of Design in 1767: About the same period was founded a like Institution in Edinburgh; the funds for its support were mainly drawn from lands forfeited in the '45, and hence it was known as 'The Trustees Academy of Drawing'. In England, although nothing was actually attempted in this direction until a very recent period, a proposition to found Schools, wherein students might be taught drawing, with a view to those ornamental designs, 'which are of great use in our manufactories,' was put forth by John Evelyn in 1662. His plan, set out in a book called 'Sculptura,' was to establish a number of such Schools in all the local centres of industry; all in affiliation to, and having masters appointed by, a grand, central Academy of Art in London. The scheme, judicious as it was, came to nothing; troublous times were again in store; the Art-loving Stuarts went; taste sank to the lowest ebb under rulers who either cared not for it, or who, like the early Hanoverian monarch, hated alike both 'boetry and bainting.' In the middle of last century came Hogarth, with his sturdy soul, and was the first to lead the way to better things. In 1760 was held by the Society of Arts the first exhibition of the works of British painters. In 1768 George III. ratified the proposed constitution of the Royal Academy; and, since that period, Painting, at least, has marched with rapid strides. Still, Evelyn's idea of local Schools of Industrial Art was allowed to lie buried in the pages of an unread book. The first direct attempt at any scientific culture in Art, as applied to manufactures, was not made until some five and twenty years ago. In 1840 certain Schools of Art were founded in London, and in some of the larger provincial towns; and, from their foundation, dates the real growth of a right feeling for ornament among us. So completely was France then allowed to have the lead in all matters of Taste, and especially in the education which made Taste its object, that, by a too literal rendering of the French title 'Ecoles de Dessin,' these fresh Institutions were called 'Schools of Design.' The name produced some misconception; and this, added to the novelty of the purpose, stunted the growth of these early endeavours. For years there was a stout, if passive, resistance to the new-fangled notion that people should be trained to do with certainty and grace, that which, in as lasting fashion, people had been wont to do with no special training at all. Then, when at last the need was on every hand

acknowledged, there sprang up endless difficulties of detail in the mastering of it. The idea might seem simple; the execution was wearisome and slow :—

On n'exécute pas tout ce qui se propose ;
Et le chemin est long du projet à la chose ;

Sure it is, that these Institutions did not 'take' with the public; were looked on as places where dilettanti amateurs might pass a pleasant hour, not as earnest helps in furtherance of Industry and Art. In 1851, the whole number of such Schools did not exceed twenty; and of these, many were weak, struggling, able to do little more than keep their galleries open.

Rich among the rich results of that 1851 Exhibition was the conviction, which it forced on all, that the greater taste claimed by and for the Continental workers was no mere idle boast. The work of the English makers was smooth, sound, strong; well-fitting, and well-planed. Their drawers were perfect in slide; their tables perfect in strength; their chairs did not creak; their carpets did not fray. Perfection of finish; of polish; of usefulness; of wear. Lack only of design; of graceful form; of harmonized colour. Lack of cultured thought and fitting principles of ornament. There was a bald and mawkish lack of ornament, which was bad; or a clumsy, overcrowded mass of it, which was worse. There was general failure; and what, perhaps, was worse than failure, vagueness, and uncertainty. With best intentions, one article was very nearly right in form, or colour; with no less good intentions, another, from the same workshop, was wholly wrong. There were laws which ensured a general oneness of sound workmanship; but there was an utter absence of like laws with regard to decoration. Every man produced what was good in his own eyes. There was fair ornament, and fairish ornament, and execrably bad ornament; but there was no acknowledged authority to bind men to one right principle of ornament. In the present day, in the Schools of Art, whereof we are about to speak, this want is felt, and striven to be cured. On the walls of the class-rooms hang large placards, whereon are printed rules with reference to the broad principles of decoration. Take, as example, the following, on the application of ornament to metal-works, pottery, and plastic forms in general :—

1. The form should be most carefully adapted to use, being studied for elegance and beauty of line, as well as for capacity, strength, mobility, &c.

2. In ornamenting the construction, care should be taken to preserve the general form, and to keep the decoration subservient to it by low relief or otherwise; the ornament should be so arranged as to enhance, by its lines, the symmetry of the original form, and assist its constructive strength.

3. If arabesques, or figures in the round are used, they should arise out of the ornamental and constructive form, and not be merely applied.

4. All projecting parts should have careful consideration to render them as little liable to injury as is consistent with their purpose.

5. It must ever be remembered that repose is required to give value to ornament, which in itself is secondary, and not principal.

These rules, once laid down, seem so clear, so self-evident, that one wonders why their formal enunciation should ever have been needed. The few, indeed, had always known that the laws of Art, and of the Taste which judges of Art were changeless; beyond the power of caprice to shift, or gusts of feeling to destroy. These laws they knew, like those in Shelley's *World of Beauty* in the 'Hellas' were:—

Built below the tide of war;
Based on the crystalline sea,
Of thought and its eternity.

Still, not until the last score years did the many feel that the few were in the right; and that if, for uncertainty, we would have sure results, Art must be made the subject of systematic study; its laws be mastered, and its problems solved, or at least be bravely grappled with. 'Difference of Taste,' said Dr. Johnson nigh a hundred years ago, 'is, in truth, difference of Skill'; and here, as in so many matters else that seemed beyond his sphere, the grand old man was right. Surely, and not slowly now, this truth is winning its way. Once let the many grant the position, and single-hearted act upon it, and we may hope that the better days for Art have dawned; the days, when blind caprice shall no more scathe by idle blame, or still more idle praise. Once allow it, and we may fairly ask the man who ventures an opinion on a work of Art for the grounds of such opinion. Then, in all Art criticism, we shall be entitled to demand such reasons, and such evidence as we should crave—in proof of assertions as to other things or persons; and be free to set aside, as frivolous, both insolent expressions of unsupported opinion, and references to authorities of name however great. Where we can have the

primary authority of Nature, we have a right to it, in preference to any secondary laws of man's production. Allow Johnson's saying to be true, and allow too, perforce, that there can be no degrees of perfect Taste; but that the perfect Taste, which is perfect Knowledge, must be unchanging and unchangeable as Truth. Hear, as to this, the words of one of our most promising of critics, Mr. F. Palgrave:—' Good Taste is merely sound Knowledge; human feebleness, and our short life can never carry it to infallible law, but, like any other science, it is open to question, examination, and perpetual reference to the one and only standard—Nature. By this, right and wrong in Art are tried as surely, as right and wrong in Morality, by the standards of conscience and religion. Some points in all will always be doubtful; about many we shall doubt long, whilst we analyze or wait for experience to test them. By the last thing an honest man, and clear intellect could do, would be to retreat within the complacent egotism of *de gustibus non est disputandum*—' my taste is indisputable.'

Real growth, then, in Taste and in Artistic Skill implies such systematic training as every science else demands. The ten years ending with 1862 was a period of real growth. In 1851, when English taste was feeble and uncertain, its special means of education, its Schools of Art,—were crude, callow, fragile, struggling for sheer life. Mark, what they were in 1862, when France was fain to own that England pressed her hard on that field of Taste which, till then, she had been wont to call her own. Take first, the number of the English Schools of Art; in 1851, there were nineteen or at most twenty in existence; in 1862, —no less than ninety were reported as in perfect working order. In these ninety Schools, no less than 70,000 pupils were taught; and the number of admissions was on the increase. Next, in proof of the great weight which the Home Government sets upon these Schools, look at the number of prizes which it yearly gives. The highest reward of all, is called the National Medallion prize; of these eighty-nine were granted in 1862 against seventy-six in 1860. The number of first class prizes allotted in 1862 amounted to something more than 3,700, against some 2,700 in 1860. In other words, there was in these two years an increase of at least 1,000 prizes; and, as the standard in both years was the same, the growth in artistic knowledge was in like proportion. The local authorities are no less well disposed to these Schools; and here, the growth is just as clearly marked. The Local Medals awarded in 1860 were 861; in 1862 they had increased to

1,068. The Government returns are published yearly in May ; it is, therefore, impossible to say whether the growth in 1863 was in proportion to that in 1862. There can be small doubt, however, that the returns of May 1864 will be far more flattering than those of any former year. If it be otherwise, the failure will have sprung from no lack of interest, or support on the part of those best fitted to give help. Those speeches of our leading statesmen in the late recess, which have won the greatest notice have been all in furtherance of these Schools. On the 9th September, Lord Stanley gave an eloquent address when distributing the prizes to students of the Preston School of Art. On the 22nd October, the Duke of Newcastle laid the first stone of a School of Art at Nottingham, and spoke most strongly in support of such Institutions. On the 26th October, came that Burslem Essay, thoughtful as brilliant, wherewith the Chancellor of the Exchequer inaugurated a School, and Museum of Art in memory of Josiah Wedgwood. While, last in time, but not in interest, was the most valuable address delivered on the 2nd January in the present year, by Sir Stafford Northcote, at the yearly meeting of the Exeter School of Art.

Very worthy of remark it is that in these several speeches the economic worth, no less than the æsthetic good of education in Art, is strongly dwelt upon. These men, with other views so much at variance, are here, without mistake, at one. Beauty, say they all, is no mere accident of things. Beauty is Truth, and Art its minister.

——— Art's the witness of what Is
 Behind this show. If this world's show were all,
 Then imitation would be all in Art ;
 There Jove's hand gripes us !—For we stand here, we,
 If genuine artists, witnessing for God's
 Complete, consummate, undivided work ;

Beauty is always compatible with Use, at times essential to it ; and that statesman best will help the commerce of his land, who fosters best the general conviction of this fact.—‘ For manufacturing success,’ said Lord Stanley, ‘ a certain training in Art is indispensable. Coarse and cheap goods may, indeed, go into all the markets of the world ; resting on their utility and cheapness as the sole and sufficient recommendation. For the production of such we, in England, have great natural and acquired advantages. But for the more refined and not less useful class of fabrics, it is not enough to have good materials and honest workmanship. There must be something to please an educated

‘eye and Taste; and it is well known that, as regards these, English Taste has, until late years, been a bye-word throughout the Continent; ... I think, therefore, that in promoting Schools of Design, intended for the better culture of Art, we are supplying a real want, and a real tendency of our time.’

As to the economic worth of liberal and well-directed outlay on Schools of Art and Design, Sir Stafford Northcote makes some startling statements. In a comparison of the exports of England between the years 1840 and 1862,—a period which synchronizes exactly with the movement for the Schools of Design,—he finds that, while the increase on general productions was from £36,000,000 to £82,000,000, or at the rate of some 127 per cent.; articles upon the production of which Taste was more particularly needed, increased from £2,700,000 to £8,000,000, shewing a total increase of £5,300,000, or at the rate of nearly 200 per cent. ‘I think,’ says Sir Stafford, ‘it is not a little remarkable that during the very time in which we have admitted the goods of all other nations, who were supposed to be so much our superiors in Taste, to compete freely with us,—while we admitted the goods of France, and of all other countries where Art has been for so many years encouraged, to enter into free competition with our own, we, nevertheless, have been able to export these particular goods in respect of which we have competed with them—goods in the production of which Taste enters so freely—able to meet our rivals, and to beat them upon open ground.’

Hear next the thoughtful eloquence of Mr. Gladstone, in the Burslem Address:—‘I do not believe it is extravagant to say that the pursuit of the element of Beauty, in the business of production, will be found to act with a genial, chastening, and refining influence on the commercial spirit; that, up to a certain point, it is in the nature of a preservative against some of the moral dangers that beset trading and manufacturing enterprise; and that we are justified in regarding it, not merely as an economical benefit, not merely as contributing to our works an element of value, not merely as supplying a particular faculty of human nature with its proper food, but as a liberalizing and civilizing power, and an instrument, in its own sphere, of moral and social improvement.’—To kindred purport, in another passage, are his words:—‘While all the objects of trade and manufacture admit of fundamental differences, in point of fitness or unfitness, probably the greater part of them admit of fundamental differences also in point of Beauty or of

‘Ugliness. Utility is not to be sacrificed for Beauty; but they are generally compatible, often positively helpful to each other; and it may be safely asserted that the periods, when the study of Beauty has been neglected, have been usually marked, not by a more successful pursuit of Utility, but by a general decline in the energies of man: ... Of Imagination, Fancy, Taste, of the higher Cultivation in all its forms, this great nation has abundance. Of Industry, Skill, Perseverance, Mechanical Contrivance, it has a yet larger stock, which overflows our narrow bounds, and floods the world. The one great want is to bring these two groups of qualities harmoniously together.’

Grand, but not new, is the thought thus wedded to such noble words. Not new, because what now our greatest statesmen teach, has been for years the practice of our leading manufacturers. Hence is it, that designs for textile goods, which, in former days, were always brought from abroad, are now so freely framed at home; and framed of quality so good that foreigners are glad to take them in exchange for their own inventions. Readiness of judgment as to design, harmony of colour, and truth of drawing, is indispensable to the man who deals largely in the products of the Lancashire Mills. A Manchester, Bolton, Preston, Rochdale cotton-spinner may be as money-loving as he will, but still the genius of his craft will overcome him. He may deem himself the votary of trade alone, but be he stiffnecked as he may, Art will force him, if but for sordid gain, to bow before her; and what, at first, might be an irksome service, must in the end become a work of love. The man who trains his eye to judge of patterns and designs for calicoes, and of fresh forms and models for machines, trains it to judge of colour and of form in the abstract, and in their general combinations. He uses Art, at first, as but the handmaid to his growth in wealth. Art, in the end, makes use of him to spread her glories, and bear witness to her power. This is no idle assertion; facts fully prove it. Ask our leading Academicians, where the greatest of their works have found a resting place; they will say within sight of the mill, and within ear-shot of the foundry. Ask the great dealers, who of late have sprung up as middle-men between artist and purchaser,—ask them, where they find the most open-handed of their customers; they, too, will tell of mill-owners and contractors, of shipwrights and engineers. In other matters, it would be idle to claim for these men any special refinement. As a rule, they are marked by rough energy, rather than by keen sensibilities; and still they are the willing slaves of Art. They buy largely;

they buy well; and above all, they rightly use that which they buy. None are more ready to shew to strangers the treasures they possess. Of late years, the public have had opportunities of seeing many of the glorious pictures which are scattered through the land, but, it must never be forgotten that Manchester was first to shew the way. In 1856, when the Great Art Treasures Exhibition was first talked of, there were not a few to sneer at the idea. 'What,' said they, 'has Manchester to do with Art? Let her stick to twist and twills, 'to piece-goods and grey shirtings.' But while some sneered, and some refused to lend their pictures, the staunch promoters stoutly held their course; and, in the end, produced a display which, if not the finest possible, was the noblest that had then been seen; in some respects, better even than that in the South Kensington Galleries of 1862. At any rate, Manchester led the way. It was first to plan, and first to execute; while the finest of the modern pictures shewn had no long road to travel.

As with masters, so with men. If mill-owners buy good and costly paintings, the men in their employ are no less ready to buy prints as good and costly as their earnings will allow. Since the shadow of American distress has fallen chill upon South Lancashire, small funds have been available for outlays of such sort. But before the evil days the fact was so. The great print publishers—Graves, Gambart, Agnew, Lloyd,—all say that the readiest market for good prints, not exceeding a guinea or guinea and a half in cost, was found in the manufacturing districts; and that the bulk of the purchasers were grimy pale-faced men with paper caps, who found in such Art as fell within their reach, a solace after the rattle, bustle, and unsavoury smells of factory work. Solace they found; but who shall say what richer good they gleaned from tastes so cultured? Not one, but many influences have helped to refine the public mind. Still, strong among such, must surely that of Art be reckoned. The very genius of Art is catholic; it struggles ever to break down mere class distinctions; and to bring within its sphere the rich and poor, the happy and distressed. The late Prince Consort, in his address to the Executive Committee at Manchester, lays special stress on this influence of Art as creating 'a generous feeling of mutual confidence and good will between the different classes of society.' Shall we, then, be wrong, if we give to Art some credit for the bearing of the mill-hands during the black time which, for so many months, has weighed them down; and which, even now, is not yet wholly overpast? Think how calm, patient, manly, has been the bear-

ing of these folks ; how, in a moment, they have been robbed of luxuries, which long previous fortune had gone far to make necessities ; how, they have been sunk to bitterest straits, to hunger, cold, and lack of clothing ; and how, with scarce a murmur and with never an outbreak, they stood against the storm, which, as we trust, they now have well nigh weathered. Then,—think of what, under half the pressure, the fathers of these mill-hands would have done ; aye ! did ; and that less than fifty years ago. Think, of the seething turbulence of the days when the factory lads were in chronic revolt. When William IV. greeted Dr. Dalton, on his first presentation, with an eager hope that ‘ Manchester was quiet ’ ; as though the metropolis of cotton were a maddened swirl of sedition, where calm intervals were rather to be hoped than looked for. Think of those days, and of these ; of that frenzy and this calm ; then say, if the spread of Taste, the refining power of Art, the knowledge of the Beautiful in life, in form, in action, have not wrought much to bring about the happy change.

One great element in the success of the British Schools of Art should here be noted. To wit that they were called for, as well by the public who bought, as by the artists who produced. For some years previous to 1851, the eye of the purchaser had been in advance of the hand of the producer. Habits of travel ; study, more or less close, of works of Art abroad ; galleries, more or less complete, of pictures, sculptures, and antiquities at home ; societies, more or less well organized, in most of our provincial towns, for furtherance of Science and of Art ; all helped to train the public mind. A training feeble, indeed, and common-place, but still of certain worth. Helping, if not to create, at least to make men feel how wrong was most of what was being spawned in name of Art. A worth negative, indeed, but serving to clear, the ground for better culture. As for the hands that wrought, theirs was the bitterer pain ; with execution toiling, ever blindly on, far in the rear of conception. The head was in advance of the hand. The hand might waste itself in doing ; but, for lack of knowledge, and fit husbandry of strength, there came nought save a doubtful, or a common-place conclusion. So, when the first excitement of the ’51, Display was spent, all classes felt that the reality fell far short of the conceived possibility. The public craved a purer and more equal Art in the goods they were asked to purchase. The workers felt that to meet such craving, the principles of Art must be studied with loving care ; and not, as things of doubtful bearing, be left to whim or chance, or handled in ‘ irreverent haste and busy idleness.’

The great movement, therefore, in favour of these Schools of Art came from two great classes of society; from the many who purchased, and from the few who wrought. Thus was insured such union of technical and theoretic training, of idea and execution, as should meet the wants of both. If the theoretic element alone had prevailed, there might have been failure; there would have been, if the technical alone had been considered. But with the double need, there came the wider scheme. Well considered lectures on the laws of Art, and on the history and practice of its several industrial developments, satisfied the wants of some; while collections of casts, models, practical instruction in drawing, perspective, and the laws of form were there to give what others needed. The avowed object of the Schools was to spread abroad right theories of Taste; but with such admixture of professional instruction as might serve to make their use more wide. Still, it must be ever borne in mind that the technical element has always been made subservient to the theoretic; the one being held to be the principal, the other the accessory. The intention of the promoters of these Schools has ever been to train in Art, and not to lay down royal roads for money getting. These Schools do, indeed, furnish to the thoughtful student what may, in the end, be mighty levers of advancement; but they offer no purely technical instruction, and refuse to be made the stepping stones to present gain. They would not, if they could, treat their pupils as though they were apprentices to trade; while all experience has shewn that, for real good, such School teaching of technicalities is an absurdity. Schools of Art may teach the laws of colour, laws of form, laws of decoration and design; they may record the triumphs which have been won and shew what victories are still in store; they may dilate on the several modes whereby former artists won a deathless name; but it is idle to suppose that such teaching can have more than an indirect effect on professional advancement: or that Schools, however good, can turn out artists worthy of the name. All the technical details must be learnt elsewhere. The School of Art is invaluable; but it is so as the help and the supplement to the studio and the burin, the gallery and the shop. Even in a School of Art so purely professional as the Royal Academy, the impossibility of teaching technicalities to a class is now allowed in terms, as for years it has been in practice. The laws of perspective are set forth, opportunities of drawing from casts and from the life are given; good specimens of Art are available for study; but there is and can be no more purely techni-

cal education. Each of the Academicians, in turn, is, or may be, called upon to attend the classes; and under the name of 'Visitor' to give such instruction as he deems proper for the students. Now, with reference to the worth of purely technical instruction in Art, the very highest authority is that of the leading Academicians themselves, as given in their evidence before the recent Royal Academy Commission. Take first Sir Edwin Landseer; his answer to Question 1267 is as follows:—'The students (of the Academy) teach themselves; 'you cannot teach a man, beyond giving him a preliminary 'education. There are only a few things which can be taught 'in Art; perspective and anatomy are the most essential; 'and if I were to educate a landscape painter, I would begin 'by giving him a perfect knowledge of the human skeleton.' Again, with reference to the teaching in the Life School, Sir Edwin says:—'The Visitors who are present there do not 'in point of fact teach; they are there as books of reference; 'when a student has a difficulty, he says:—'May I ask you to 'give your opinion on so and so?' Of the younger men, Millais, in reply to Question 1666, gives utterance to a like belief. But most valuable of all seems to be the opinion, and practice too, of the veteran Mulready; most valuable, because while he lays stress on form and drawing as the main elements of good in class instruction, he is for that very reason held by all to have been the ablest Visitor the Academy ever had; Maclise, another master of form, being the only one that could be ranked with him. Speaking of Mulready's power, Sir Charles Eastlake (Question 540), says:—'I consider him the 'best and most judicious teacher the Academy has ever had 'in my recollection. I consider him the best judge of draw- 'ing in this country.' In answer to Question 644, Eastlake again says:—'I have no doubt that, if such a man as Mr. 'Mulready were the constant teacher of Drawing in the Royal 'Academy, the degree of excellence in that department would be 'higher.' So Mr. Redgrave (Question 1038) says:—'The 'teaching power is quite different from the art power—we have 'both combined in Mr. Mulready.' Sir Edwin Landseer says (Question 1271) of Mulready:—'His drawings are remarka- 'ble for their accuracy; every thing seems to be done on 'oath by him; he can account for every truth, and he is a 'good anatomist. So far he is an admirable example for 'students; indeed we have some of his drawings as speci- 'mens to give the students an opportunity of drawing 'in the same style.' What then was the practice, in the School,

of this confessedly first of teachers? Take it from his last answer, given on the 9th March 1862, only four months before his death, to the following question from Sir Edmund Head :—‘ I think that you yourself are in the habit of drawing when you attend the Life-school ?’ Mulready, who for more than half a century had laboured in that School, replied :—‘ I have from the first moment I became a Visitor in the Life-school, drawn there as if I were drawing for a prize.’ Many a lesson may be called from this reply of one, whom others deemed a Master, but who knew that he was learning to the very last. But what we would here especially advert to is, that all attempt at individual teaching, at helping every member of the class in turn, is boldly scouted as impossible, the only useful training being for the Visitor to set the model ; to give, by his own careful work, an example to be followed ; and to answer questions, if his opinion should be asked. The system of teaching in the Academy is beyond all doubt capable of improvement ; still, while there are a multitude of opinions as to the mode in which the present system should be modified, or what other should be given in its room, there is but one belief as to the hopelessness of giving in the Schools a merely technical training. Holman Hunt finds the Painting School of no real help ; Woolner declares that for Sculpture the Academy is of no avail ; the Architects all ignore the instruction which the Academy gives in matters pertaining to their own profession. But all—Painters—Sculptors—Architects extol the worth for all of theoretic views of Art, and of that skill in drawing, and knowledge of anatomy and general form, which, by judicious changes, they would seek to render more complete.

On the Continent this principle is still more strongly insisted on ; and this both in the Schools for teaching ornamental Art, and in the Academies for furtherance of the Fine Arts proper. Dr. Lyon Playfair, in a most valuable Lecture delivered by him in 1851 on the various Continental Schools of Art and Design, made this the subject of particular remark :—‘ In all of the systems,’ says he, ‘ there are differences with regard to the mode of giving instruction, but they are almost uniform in the feeling that the object of Industrial Schools is only to teach a pupil how to become an intelligent manufacturer, without attempting to make him one. They content themselves with communicating to him a knowledge of the principles upon which his technical art depends ; but for its practice he must go to the workshops of industry. Some of the Institutions, as, for example, the Trade Institute of Berlin, endeavoured at one time to teach practice in workshops attached to the Institution ; but this plan,

‘as might have been anticipated, was found to be of little advantage, and it is now abandoned by almost all the Schools; only one or two being still found hovering on the outskirts of this error. In addition to the folly of attempting to teach the practice of an Art within the confines of an Institution chiefly devoted to other objects, it was found to be highly detrimental to the progress of the students, who were glad to escape from the mental labour of the classes, to the muscular labour of the workshops.’

The aim, then, in such Schools should be to train in Art, and cultivate the Taste; not to put a mere commercial lever in the pupil's hand. They should be looked on, not as substitutes for practical teaching, but as means whereby that may become more sound and thorough. To be of best avail, they should address themselves to the widest possible circle; not cramp their power by undue care of any single branch. Art can flourish only in a cosmos of its own. It needs, beyond the thought to plan, and hand to carry into act, an inner round of brother workers who shall bring the laws of professional criticism to bear; and needs, besides, an outer world of those who, with small technical knowledge, do yet possess a theoretic judgment more or less advanced. That School would, therefore, best fulfil its debt to Art, which best should meet these several needs. Which should, by a theoretic training well supplied, be the truest help in practice to the artist, in whatever field; which should set forth well-fixed rules for the professional critic; and which should teach the public eye to know, to value, and to love the beautiful and true.

Technical teaching alone may, under certain circumstances, be useless, even in a money-getting sense; as, where the skill of the producer is so far ahead of the public Taste, that he can find no market for his works. In such a case, the fewest only will decide to work for Art alone, and bide their time until the public Taste have caught them up; most will be fain to take up lower ground, and rather float with, than strive to stem the flood of general bad Taste. This, unfortunately is now the case with many of the works of our best English decorators. The state of things which existed in 1851 is reversed: the producers have advanced, while the buying public has not made like rapid strides. In the ceramic Art, indeed, in all its branches, from cheapest potter's ware to finest porcelain, public Taste and artistic Production seem to have gone hand in hand; but the like can be said of scarcely any other branch of manufacture. The very best specimens of furniture, of tapestry, of carving,

are just those that find the rarest purchasers. Condemn the cumbrous, false, unreasonable decoration of a pretentious Louis Quinze cabinet, or console table, and the carver will be likely enough to join in the blame; still, until the public eye is educated enough to know and buy the good, the producer is forced to turn out what will sell. In wall papers, especially, the ignorance and want of theoretic training on the part of the public is most striking. The English specimens in the International Exhibition were generally void of originality, or artistic worth; confessedly inferior to what many of the manufacturers had turned out in former years. The fact was, that the public still yearned for the old, flashy style of decoration; and could not understand the quiet well-harmonized papers which more cultured Taste would substitute. Let a man go to any of the leading London decorators, in search of wall papers, and, after his time and patience have been wasted in looking over the execrable specimens which it is presumed that he, as a member of the untrained Public, must admire, let him ask for some thing more artistic; he may see specimens, which in quality are better, and in colour, harmony, and pure design, as good as anything that Paris, or that Brussels could produce. Unfortunately, however, the good designs find no market, while the tawdry and worthless are bought up as soon as offered. Here is but a new rendering of the old story; the man who lives to please, must please to live. No dealer who lives by his productions, can run utterly counter to the whims and fancies of his customers. In time, no doubt, and indirectly, he may work a slow improvement; but he can only hope to do in years, what might be done at once if the eye of the public had kept pace with the hand of the worker; and if artistic education had given as well its theory to the many, as its technical details to the few. Good work of any kind does, indeed, at every time put forth a bracing influence; and that, irrespective of other special means of training. If good work once gets admittance, insensibly it trains the eye; and makes its owner's growth in Taste to be, if slow, yet sure. One good picture will make a man impatient of the daubs, which once he prized. An engraving in line, by Morghen, or Schiavone; a mezzotint by Cousins, or by Atkinson; a Wedgwood service, in very plainness perfect; a well carved cabinet, which tells of brain as well as hand; a rug well harmonized, and low in tone; draperies, where the patterns have been wrought to suit the hanging of the folds; all, or each of these will, when ownership has proved their worth, make it impossible for a man to live at peace with works of like aim, but lower

purity and excellence, around him. The daubs find their way to the auction room; the foolish mezzotints are banished to the nursery; chairs, carpets, tables, if of ill design, are ousted; and other pictures, prints, and furniture, which more accord with the works whose excellence has wrought this revolution, take their place. If a man, who by any chance gets possession of any superlatively good work, whether of use or ornament, can afford so to educate his Taste, he may in the end come very near the truth; but he will do so, at no small cost of time and money. Far better would be his position, if, from the first he had known the principles of Art; and not been forced to grasp success through failure. A theoretic education in Art is, then, of highest worth to all; to the artist, lest his mind be narrowed in a struggle after bare professional details; to the critic, lest he give to skilful handling that praise which fertile thought should best deserve; and to the public, lest, save at heavy cost, they fail to know what works are sound, and what on fixed principles, they should admire.

England, then, like every European country else, at last allows the worth of an artistic education; of a training as well in Art manufacture, as in the Fine Arts proper; of a system wherein theory shall march evenly with execution, and where the Taste of the Purchaser shall keep pace with the Skill of the Worker. It is not a little strange that India has, as yet, done so little in the like direction. From the days of Warren Hastings, the Government of India has founded, or fostered Schools of various aim. The science of the West has been both well and fruitfully set forth in Indian Colleges and Schools. The literature which more than all her laurelled victories, has made Great Britain what she is, has overspread the great peninsula; and forces even those who once were jealous of its growth, to sue that India may have it in yet fuller and more liberal drafts. Medicine and surgery have won their way, and conquered every obstacle of caste and creed. Law, the science no less than the art, wins pupils by the hundred to the lecture rooms of its professors. Civil Engineering, if of more slow development, has yet received from Government its ample meed of care; can boast its special Colleges, and full instructive means. But, while all else is fostered, artistic training is ignored. Art, which underlies and interweaves itself with every study else;—Art, which, even on commercial grounds, should be a matter of imperial concern;—Art has, in India, been the very Cinderella of the sisterhood of intellectual aims. In time, no doubt, the kindly fairy will appear; the prince will come; the slipper will be fitted, and Art in India

will win the homage she deserves ; meanwhile she is left to drudge and struggle on by dint of mere mechanical contrivance. In Bombay and Madras certain efforts have been made ; and, though we have no special information as to what has been done, it is generally understood that some success has come from them. Calcutta, where one might have looked for efforts stronger and more truly aimed, has done absolutely nothing in the way of right artistic training. We say this advisedly ; for, as we shall hereafter shew, it would be idle to consider in the light of education the mere empiric skill which a handful of pupils may have gleaned in the so-called Calcutta School of Industrial Art. The School was itself no better than a co-operative store ; the head—a master tradesman, making profit by the works his pupils could turn out ; the pupils—apprentices, freed indeed from articles to bind them for a fitting time to learn their craft ; eager only for chance crumbs of knowledge, wherewith they might make silver of their shallow skill.

Very wonderful, is this apathy ! Wonderful that Art should be untaught in the land which was its cradle ; untaught among peoples, with whom gracefulness of form seems an instinct, and harmony of colour an intuition. Grand must have been the power of those who, before the Parthenon was thought of, and when Phidias was unborn, hewed from the living rock those temples which, in Southern and in Western India, defy the ravages of time, and make contemptible the puny efforts of to-day. Grand, the skill which raised those cities larger, as Macaulay says, and fairer than Saragossa and Toledo, whose ruins still are eloquent of beauty as of wealth. Grand both the power and skill, and exquisite the sense of loveliness which ruled in the days, when in Northern India those marvellous mosaics wakened into life ; when the Kutub reared its graceful shaft ; and when that Titania of monuments, the peerless Taj, in virgin marble, flushed with gems, sprung like a fairy vision from the plain ; a miracle of loveliness,—a thing of beauty, ‘ won from the void and formless infinite ’ to be a joy for ever, and a possession to all the generations of the earth. For all the general qualities of early Art, the world has got no nobler works than these. For deep repose of power, India can shew remains exceeded scarcely by the giant forms of ancient Egypt. For unshackled boldness of design, she has works as full of life and vigour as Assyria could carve. While for flowing form and tenderness of outline, she has friezes and mouldings, not unworthy of the noblest days of Greece.

Deep graven, too, were the lessons which those early workers

taught ; for, while the old thought has died away, and the old science has been lost, the manual skill still lives. Lives, while all else has perished. Wave after wave of conquest has overspread the land ; for centuries the people have been harried, and ground beneath the hoof of this ruthless horde or that ; truth, independence, moral strength, and manly bearing are venturing only now, beneath a kindlier rule, to re-appear ; yet, in all these gloomy days, the old manual dexterity, and the old love of right colour, and fit form, refused to die. Clinging to life, although benumbed and nerveless ; although languishing and helpless to advance. Keeping just such amount of passive vitality as served to copy the old mechanical skill, and to follow out the old mechanical contrivances. Architecture and Sculpture are well nigh extinct ; Painting is wholly so ; but in all the ordinary manufactures, in all that belongs to the luxuries or wants of daily life, the Hindoo of to-day works, just as worked his forerunner long centuries ago. His tools are just as rude ; he has just the same models ; is fettered by just the same rules ; and produces just the same results. Save in the case of the Greek religious School of Painting, there is no parallel to this ; no such instance of an artistic pseudo-life ; so utterly powerless to originate, and yet so grimly clinging to its ancient modes. M. Didron, in his wanderings among the monasteries of the Levant, found herein his greatest riddle ; go where he would, in every church, and in precisely the same place in every church, he found the same pictures, the same colours, the same stiff figures, the same rigid folds, and the same inscriptions ; yet, of these pictures, some dated from the 5th century, while, in some, the paint was scarcely dry upon the canvass. ‘The Mareote painter of the 18th century,’ says the perplexed traveller, ‘continues to do ‘as the Venetian of the 10th, or as the Athonite of the 5th or ‘6th.’ He afterwards found that in all matters that concerned his Art, the Greek religious Painter is, under pain of ecclesiastical censure, bound implicitly to follow the rules and details set forth in a book, called ‘The Painter’s Guide,’ written in the 11th century by one Pausanias. What Pausanias is to the artist-monk in Greece, the oral traditions of his craft are to the Indian worker. He will not even use a tool less rude than what his fathers had. The potter’s wheel which now he turns is coarse as in the very childhood of the potter’s art. A few weak stakes of bamboo, stuck into the ground, still serve the Dacca weaver for a loom. A blow-pipe, and a pair, or so, of clumsy pincers are all that the worker from Cuttack in silver filagree requires. The rudest knives alone are used for carvings the most delicate,

in ivory or wood. Yet, rough as are the tools, how well-nigh perfect the results. Potter's ware, wrought often of the roughest clay, but of forms as flowing, and as truly fitted to the purposed ends, as any thing that Burslem could produce. Filagree silver, fine as the spider's web, and delicate as any work of Genoa, or Malta. Muslins, soft as silk, transparent as gauze, fine as the beetle's nether wing, such as European skill, with all mechanical appliances can never hope to parallel. Enamels, glowing with colour, as by instinct true; and inlaid work wherein, in cheapest as in costliest wares, true principles of ornament are never misapplied. Carvings in sandal and in harder woods, as cleanly cut as though a lifetime had been spent on each. Carpets, tapestries, embroideries, shawls, of colour so harmonious, and of design so pure, that Belgian, French, and English makers take them as models, and strive, with only scant success, to equal them. Rich lacquer work from British Burmah; and *repoussé* silver that Cellini might have envied. All beautiful; yet all, but the spasmodic efforts of a nerveless Art. Mere servile copies of models that were fashioned centuries ago; wrought in helpless trust on the traditions, and the maxims of thinking workers long since passed away. There remains much of the old manual skill; there is no trace of the old fertile fancy. In lack of strong effort from without, there can be no advance in Indian Art production. The Hindoo workers of to-day are as hopelessly the slaves of rules whereof the principle is veiled, as were the Artist-monks, whom M. Didron speaks of, slaves of Paucellinus and his Book. Unless the nobler theory be added, they must be mere mechanics to the end of time. Working but not growing; 'continuing,' as Dr. Royle most justly has remarked, 'to venerate Sciences which they know only by name, and to practise Arts of which they know not the principles; and this with a skill not only remarkable for the early period at which it attained perfection, but also for the manner in which it has remained stationary for so many ages.'

In Art, as in Religion, he who, in India, would be of real use, must not be slow to rate at proper worth the fact of an hereditary possession stretching far into the remotest past. In one case and the other, there is less need to create a new, than to awaken from the sleep of centuries all that is of value in the old. The year-worn truths, once again cleared from the dross that clogged them, should be chosen as the common standing ground of all. Of the Orientals, to whom they have come down as precious heritage and of the Children of the West who, while acknowledging the worth of that heritage, would supplement it

by gifts more precious, and by principles yet higher and more full. But, though this stock of inherited truths is of highest worth; and though, if it be ignored, no real growth is possible, still its presence, oftentimes, appears a real hindrance. Assuredly advance more rapid might be made if it were not there. A crop will spring more quickly in a clear, and fallow soil; but, in the end, the gain may be the richer if the soil must first be cleared, the rank weeds rooted out, and the old fruit-bearers made the stocks on which to graft shoots of the yet more fruitful new. A mere Fetish worshipper, who has no real creed at all, may thus more rapidly become a convert to the Christian Faith, but the Brahmin who has inherited a body of religion, dogmatic and ethical, may be a slower convert, but a nobler prize when won. The like in Art. It is comparatively an easy task to teach the theory and practice of any special branch of Art production to a man who has the willing head and ready hand, and has besides no former crotchets of his own to overcome. A hundred-fold more difficult the task where the pupil has, from earliest years, been wedded to empiric modes quite opposite to those now sought to be impressed on him. Most difficult of all, where these empiric modes have served to produce results not wholly bad. Mediocrity in Art, as in every matter else, is of all stumbling blocks the gravest. The man whose works are so bad that all the world cries shame on him, may be forced to better things. But hardly so, will he, who turns out what is 'fairish'—yet not fair; dexterous not thoughtful, and who, by the readiness with which his works are sold, finds that at any rate, they are not in the rear of public Taste.

An Education which would avail itself of all that the old has good to offer, and which would seek to turn to better channels the traditions and the skill of generations is, beyond all others, one most difficult to carry to a fruitful end. Not impossible, indeed, but calling for highest patience, tact, and temper; for thoughtful care and dauntless energy. To qualities less high than these success is here impossible, and unless such be enlisted, it were wiser far to give the matter wholly up. In lack of such, time, labour, money will be spent on what will not alone be failure; will be real harm. For it should be ever borne in mind, that a School of Art, so conducted as to teach any, save the highest lessons and to spread a right knowledge of the principles of Art, will be a hindrance rather than an aid. Under the seal of its authority will be tolerated works which would be scouted else; while the public, taking its standard of

excellence from the productions of what it takes to be an accredited body, will fail of that true pinnacle of excellence to which, with better guides, it might have come. Mr. Redgrave in his admirable Report on Design, published officially among the Records of the 1851 Exhibition, speaks of such attempts as the sources not alone of possible, but even, then, of positive and actual injury. Having spoken, as an Artist must, in highest praise of the arrangement, harmony, and tone, which form the ground work of all Indian ornament, he is forced to dwell upon the harm that has been wrought on Indian Taste by those who, with more zeal than knowledge, close their eyes to the rich artistic glories of the soil, and seek to implant the lisps of an alien, and immeasurably weaker School. 'It is painful,' says he, 'to observe the attempts made to vitiate the sound taste of the native Artists. It has, no doubt, been done by those who are unaware of the true knowledge and just principles evident, more or less, in all the Indian manufactures; but it seems not the less necessary to be commented on, since a School of Industry is actually in operation at Jubbulpore for teaching the reformed Thugs to make carpets in the worst European style, and at Bangalore the same teaching seems in operation. It is to be hoped that, when the admiration excited by the display of the Indian fabrics at the Great Exhibition is re-echoed to the land that produced them, this strange error will at once be remedied. Even if good, such patterns are not consonant with Indian Taste; and it is perhaps fortunate, that they are really so extremely bad, that they must fall at once before the better knowledge which the European judgment of the merit of Indian ornament will call forth and support.'

But even with the fittest means and best aimed efforts all true artistic growth in India must be slow. Not at once will the better works, sprung from a wiser handling of the old traditions, find favour in the eyes of the wealthier classes; the men who call for, and who buy that which the craftsmen make; and until they be trained to know the true thing when they see it, no general advance is possible. Then, as regards the workers, there is sure to be a time of stagnation, and of passive resistance on the part of the human tools, who see their old traditions set at naught. Also, sure to come a time of baldest imitation; a time when the Indian workers are busied in copying the new forms given them; and before they have taken the further step, of fusing and welding the new gains with the old heir-looms; and of creating those new forms of loveliness which, to the wealth of an inherited skill and of an acquired power, add that

final charm which the creative faculty alone can give. In imitation, however, there is no danger, if right theory be superadded. Imitation is bald and baneful only where, in lack of knowledge, men would still produce results. Nor this in Art alone. The mechanic, set to construct a machine, will copy every fault in some similar machine given him for a model; he can avoid those faults, and suggest improvements, only if he have learned the scientific laws which govern such machines. If, in Art a right training be given, there is no fear that the pupil, of average power, who begins with copying, will there also end. A man so trained must strive to improve upon his model; slavish imitation will be of all things the most irksome to him; he will blunder, perhaps, in his attempts at improvement; but still in spite of many a stumble, will make way. Very hopeful are such stumbles, as signs of a new spirit striving at all cost to find an utterance; yet for a time, many will be inclined to consider them with dread; to deem them marks of retrogression rather than of real growth. Nay, possibly enough, there may be real falling off in accuracy of finish and in manual dexterity. The work, which was wrought with so great speed and accuracy when made by one who, human in form, was but a slavish tool; will be wrought more slowly and with less nicety of finish, when that breathing tool becomes a thinking man. A man compelled continually to stop, and doubt, and hesitate as to whether this change will suit, or that proposed adjustment act. There will be loss of finish; but there must be gain of dignity and power. Never was Ruskin more indubitably right, than when, with regard to this loss so nobly counter-balanced, he wrote:—

‘You are put to stern choice in this matter. You must either make a tool of the creature, or a man of him. You cannot make both. Men were not intended to work with the accuracy of tools, to be precise and perfect in all their actions. If you will have that precision out of them, and make their fingers measure degrees like cog-wheels, and their arms strike curves like compasses, you must unhumanize them; all the energy of their spirits must be given to make cogs and compasses of themselves. All their attention and strength must go, to the accomplishment of the mean act. The eye of the soul must be bent upon the finger-point, and the soul’s force must fill up all the invisible nerves that guide it, ten hours a day, that it may not err from its steely precision and so soul and sight be worn away, so far as its intellectual work in this world is concerned: saved only by its Heart, which cannot

‘go into the form of cogs and compasses, but expands after the ten hours are over into fireside humanity. On the other hand, if you will make a man of the working creature, you cannot make a tool. Let him but begin to imagine, to think, to try to do any thing worth doing, and the engine-turned precision is lost at once. Out come all his roughness, all his dulness, all his incapability; shame upon shame, failure upon failure, pause after pause; but out comes the whole majesty of him also; and we know the height of it only, when we see the clouds settling upon him.’

Few things are stranger than the extent to which Europeans in India ignore the grand traditions of the native Art; and the carelessness with which they look upon its present works. In Europe, the rich design, the tone and harmony of colour which never fail in Indian manufactures, are matters not alone of admiration by the many, but of study by the best; there is not a School of Design in Europe in which they are not prized as specimens of sound ornament, and of right application of true principles. In India the results are admired, perhaps, in a loose desultory fashion; but looked on as happy chances, rather than as skilful handling of well-considered laws. If the matter be deemed worthy a thought at all, the Hindoos of to-day will be spoken of as people singularly void of all the higher qualities of Taste and Artistic sympathy; able to imitate very closely, but without a trace of invention. In proof of the assertion will be instanced, the low tone of household furniture and ornament which undoubtedly exists in Hindoo families, both high and low. Houses, even of the wealthiest, are wretched in construction and tawdry in decoration; the furniture, either scanty to baldness, or as absurdly over-crowded, and in both cases, wholly contemptible in design; the walls staring with whitewash, or still more vilely coloured; if not utterly bare, covered with crudest daubs in oil, or yet more meretricious lithographs, or feeble prints from France. The houses of the lower classes are, of course, examples yet more flagrant of an utter lack of comfort, cleanliness, or taste. Yet, spite of all this open violation of every principle of Art, most sure it is that the old traditions live, and are most widely spread through every corner of the land. Nor, after all, should this inequality be greater matter for surprise in India than it ought to be at home. With all our vaunted, all our real strides in Art, it is wonderful to find how thoroughly ignorant the mass of the people are of its merest rudiments. From the highest to the lowest classes; from the Fine Arts proper to the commonest articles of daily use, the Taste of the English

public is still raw and unfashioned. So raw that few are able to rid themselves of the common grooves of thought, when judging of objects within their sphere of daily observation. While none, save the fewest, are competent to criticize aright the works of peoples having other needs, and other modes of meeting them. These, fashioned for unheard-of ends, puzzle by strangeness; and displease, through their contrast with the well-worn moulds which, if monotonous, have yet, by use, been made familiar.

Take the highest classes and the noblest works. Go to the Royal Academy, and listen to the sapient comments on the pictures there displayed; the rapturous 'Charming—sweetly pretty' of the Impulsia Gushingtons, the 'Exquisitely fine, Sir!' of the Modeloves, at sight of every simpering bit of waxwork prettiness, or foolish imitation. The scarceless silly carps and sneers, wherewith the Fretful Plumes, and Flutterers seek to gain a name for shrewdness and discernment. As for the mass, they wait to hear what Tom Taylor tells them in the 'Times'; and praise or blame as he admonishes. They are driven to their opinions by the pushing picture-dealers; just as Lord Foppington, in the play, was forced by the self-asserting tradesman to keep the shoes that pinched him:—

'Your Lordship may please to feel what you think fit; but that shoe 'does not hurt you. I hope I understand my trade.'

Foppington might limp, but did not dare to contradict so wordy an expert. The public may not care for a picture; yet they pretend a pleasure which they do not feel, because the babbling dealer presses them. A right opinion of a picture is most rare; a hearty, and sincere one rarer still. Sincere, at any rate, was the opinion which Mr. Frith once told us he heard passed upon his picture of the 'Derby Day.' It was at the time when all the world was crushing to see it; and when policemen were needed to keep order in the well-dressed mob. The critics were a couple of stable-lads who forced their way, through silks and crinolines up to the rail placed to protect the picture. Bill's feelings were too deep for words; he vented them in one long, low, and plaintive whistle. Tom looked at the canvass; stared at his companion; stared again; and looked again; then with a disappointed growl, he hoarsely whispered:—'Vell Bill, so that's what the Swells calls a Darby Day is it!—Come along! let's go and have a drain;' Bill must have been related to John Lecch's 'Sarah-Jane', who found that Gibson's coloured Venus was so 'Hexactly like our Hemmer.'

Picture buyers are no better, as a rule. A work by Frith, or Phillip, Faed, or Marcus Stone, or Stirling is eagerly snapt up; the name is taken as a warranty of excellence, and gives a rising market value to the canvass. A clever picture, by an unknown man, will probably be never thought of, never asked after in the Octagon Room; doomed to be returned unsold upon the luckless artist's hands.

Then, pictures find buyers from size, often, rather than from excellence; because they cover a certain number of square inches. They must be of this size, or of that. Not over-large; not over-small. Fitting this recess; matching that companion canvass. Any one who haunts the auctions at Christie's, or Foster's, may parallel that sale recorded in the good old Play, of near a century old:—

'There was the divinest Plague of Athen sold yesterday at Langford's, the dead figures so natural, you'd have sworn they'd been alive. Lord Prinross bid five hundred——six, said my Lady Carmine——a thousand, said Ingot the Nabob:——Down went the hammer. A rouleau for your bargain, said Sir Jeremy Jingle; and what answer do you think Ingot made him?

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'Sir, I would oblige you, but I buy this picture to place in my nursery: the children have already got Whittington and the Cat; 'tis just this size, and they'll make good companions.'

That love of the cheap, and passion for hunting after bargains, which is so great a foe to any wide-spread growth of Taste, works just as prejudicially in England as it can in India. Still, it no more shews a lack of better knowledge of artistic principle in the one hand than the other. Manchester goods are bought by Hindoos, just as Tottenham Court Road furniture finds folks to purchase it at home; both may be ugly, but still both are cheap; cheap at first, if not the cheapest in the end. No lesson is more hard to learn by any people, whether of East or West, than this, that Beauty has a market worth; is, as Mr. Gladstone said at Burslem, a new element imported into the process of production, and one which, like every other, must be paid for. 'The beautiful object,' continued he, 'will be dearer than one perfectly bare and bold; not because Utility is compromised for the sake of Beauty, but because there may be more manual labour, and there must be more thought in the 'original design.' There is not a manufacturer of eminence at home, but has been checked in his strivings after a purer Art, by this foolish lust for cheapness. In the potter's Art, Wedgwood and Bentley complain of it; they speak of it as an error common with people not well versed in Art, to 'say that a beautiful object can be manufactured as cheaply as an ugly one.'

From cabinet-makers and house-decorators the like complaint is general. Messrs. Holland and Sons, whose business lies among those who should be free from all such falsely economic ways, are loud as any on the theme: 'Our customers,' say they in a letter to Mr. Digby Wyatt,—'and you are aware our connexion 'is among the most noble and wealthy,—continually drive at 'cheap articles, except some few important pieces for the dining-room, library, and drawing-room, and require as much teaching 'as the present race of draughtsmen or designers.' Until a knowledge of the worth of thoughtful Taste is more broadly acted on at home, we have no right to cast a stone at the artistic capabilities of the natives of India; men who, with simpler needs, have, as a rule, yet smaller means.

It is scarcely necessary to say that, if the wealthier classes are in England, only just beginning to display the benefit of a wiser system of artistic training, those lower in the social scale shew scarcely any traces of its influence. The old sarcophagus style of furniture finds still its purchasers; and sanguine is the man who, in a lodging-house, would look for anything less cumbrous. Lower still, the lack of even decent Taste becomes more glaring. Among the hard-handed workers, coarseness is the rule. The mill-hands at Manchester, Preston, and some of the Lancashire towns are better than they were; but a 'Rachda' lad, or a Sheffield tyke is as rough a specimen as any thing that India could shew; while the folks in the 'Black Country,'—who live within the shadow of the Works where Wedgwood modelled, and where Minton and Copeland execute their shapes of loveliness—are rude as they were a century ago; less riotous perhaps, but as cheerless in their homes, and as well inclined as ever to heave their 'arf brick' at a stranger.

The old cry, that Hindoos can only copy,—cannot create, is simply absurd. Their fathers could, at any rate, invent those grand designs which all the world admire. They did discover that wondrous treatment of form, and those glorious arrangements of colour, which, as to principles, are problems yet unsolved by our artificers at home. Nor is the skill worn out. The Hindoo of to-day produces ornamental works with ease, such as Europeans can accomplish only after painful thought. One sees this power in cheapest, as in costliest works. Look at the embroidered slippers, which may be bought at Delhi for so small a sum. They are infinitely varied in design, but never fail in perfect harmony and effect; are always refined in colour, and in beauty of line; never violate the true laws of surface decoration; and never offend the eye with those shadings and

foreshortenings, which so often mar such works at home. Here variety is called for; and here variety is never found to lack. In more important works, if there be sameness and imitation, the fault is surely rather in the public who buy, than in the workers who produce. If in shawls, for example, the old 'Indian Pine' pattern is repeated to weariness, it is because the designers in Cashmere are ignorant of the true wants of European purchasers. For so many years, this particular pattern has been bought and praised—in so many feeble repetitions has been copied and tormented into more exaggerated forms at home, that the Indian designers have come to believe that nothing else will sell. Only let them know their error, and they will put forth designs at striking in novelty, as lovely in arrangement. The Paris and the London Exhibitions both proved that, when called upon, India could furnish marvels of original design and combination; rich diapers and geometrical arrangements, floral ornaments, and flowing lines of perfect gracefulness, where one knew not whether most to praise the freshness of the fancy, or the unerring fitness of its carrying out.

In the case of the productions of Cashmere, the first step has just been taken by the present vigorous ruler of that land. The Maharajah finds, that buyers in Europe complain that Cashmere shawls are coarser than was wont; that the ladies call for greater choice of pattern, and find the present fabrics over heavy to be worn with comfort. To meet these wants, the Maharajah loses no time in taking earnest steps. Judges for himself, in a personal tour through his dominions; makes advances to the weavers, for purchase of raw material, of sums equal to a hundred thousand sterling pounds; and publishes a list of stringent rules for regulation of the trade. Here are some few of the more important; worthy, for many reasons, to be noticed; striking at the heart of the alleged needs; doing so in calm despotic fashion, somewhat new to European minds.

Rule 1 ordains that shawls shall be uniform in size.

Rule 2.—Any shawl badly woven to be destroyed,—the value to be recovered by the proprietor from the weaver. Should the fault lie with the proprietor, he will be punished by the Government.

Rule 3.—A designer to be at liberty to dispose of his designs; but should he attempt to conceal any part of a design which is purchased from him, he shall be severely punished.

Rule 4.—Any person convicted of robbing a firm of a design will be severely punished.

Rule 5.—One designer is not at liberty to transfer designs to another; and, as the Government has now relinquished the

tax, it is hoped there will be a considerable improvement in the art.

Rule 6.—Not more than six shawls are to be woven from one design, or a heavy fine will be inflicted.

Rule 7.—The seller of a design is not to retain a duplicate, or attempt to form another exactly like the one sold; in such case, a fine will be levied equal to one-fourth of its value.

Rule 8.—In future, duty will be levied by measurement of wool and worsted, and not by weight as heretofore. This will induce spinners to produce a finer description of the material, and will be more profitable to the wearers.

Cashmere, under a nervous rule, now knows the wants of customers; and, knowing, strives to meet them. Elsewhere, in India, such wants are utterly ignored; and Indian art-workers, doubtful as to what they are, refuse to quit the well-worn tracks. They will not cast aside designs which, though old, do still, as experience proves, find customers; nor try the risk of others which, if newer, yet may fail to gain so quick a sale. Take Dacca muslins, for example. As compared with the harsher muslins of Europe, the greater softness of these, together with their superior gracefulness of fold and fall, cause them to be highly prized at home. Still there are, for English purposes, certain wants in Dacca muslins which are well enough known at home; but, which the native weavers do not know, and therefore never strive to remedy. The Jurors in the 1851 Exhibition, thus pass their verdict on these fabrics:—‘their cost is relatively high, and ‘their finish universally defective; the yarn, too, is uneven and ‘frequently overtwisted.’ Now, these are plain, sensible objections; easy to be understood, easy to be overcome, if but the Dacca weaver knew of them. As it is, if a specially good piece of muslin be ordered, the weavers pay no attention to the real European needs; strive only to excel in what they have themselves been trained to look on as of special worth. They seek to produce what shall be a marvel of transparency, of fineness, and of lightness. Let them make a ten yard half-piece, that shall weigh little more than three ounces and a half, and they care nought for the rest. Now, though this transparency may have a worth in native estimation, it is, of all qualities, the one which makes the fabric useless for an English lady’s wear. Even in Rome, it was not honorable matrons, honest girls, who wore the *Tela arenarum*, or the *Ventus textilis*,—pellucid webs which must have been so like the finest efforts of the Dacca skill. If the Hindoo weavers only knew the real wants of England, they might revive a demand which now has well nigh died

away. They would give more care to finish; more to preparation of the yarn; and would make a slightly thicker, but a far more useful article. They would, besides, be able to produce the better fabric, at a greatly lower rate; and would not, as at present, waste time on textures fitly named as 'running water,' or as 'morning dew,' for every yard of which a guinea is but reasonable pay.

Until then, Indian workers know what is wanted in the marts of West and East, they must remain mere copyists of the old; their skill be stagnant, and of baldest imitation. Schools of Art and Design alone can meet this want; Central Schools in the larger towns, where both the public and the worker shall be trained in the principles of Taste; and local Schools where the manufactures of the district shall receive especial care.

Allow, then, that the Art worker in India does copy, does imitate, does use the old designs, and seldom frame a new one, but allow, further, that he does so because he thinks, in this manner, best to please his customers; not because he lacks the power to plan aught new. Yet, were it otherwise, England should not be the first to blame for that offence whereof, in Art at least, she is herself the guiltiest. In England, more than any European country else, a work of Art, or of artistic aim, is valued just in so far as it is known, and common, and the fashion. In it, above all other lands, original design, and daring thought in Art, are viewed with suspicion, jealousy, and doubt. In furniture, unless a man will pay the heaviest cost for a new design, he must put up with one of, at most, some half-dozen stereotyped styles of decoration. A new scroll, or a happy moulding, ventured on by some of the better houses, is repeated until all the world is weary of it. The master tradesmen, who take no pride in their calling, and their men, who know more of beer-shops than of galleries, are by this constant copying saved a world of pains. The one need not think; the others need not draw; but neither can speak of slavish copying as a fault peculiar to Hindoos. In jewellery and silver-work the like; if a man want forks, or spoons, he is looked on as unreasonable, if he ask for anything more fresh in pattern than the time-honoured 'fiddle,' 'thread,' or 'Queen's.' In the Fine Arts proper, this rage for copying and for repetition of a work once praised is more injurious still. How often was Bailey called upon to reproduce his 'Eve'? As to Painting, the case is worse. An artist can scarcely gain a true success, but he is deluged with commissions for other works of kindred import. Danby paints a grand evening effect, and is doomed for ever to

exaggerate the blaze of western skies. Let grand old Linnell limn a harvest field that glows beneath a burnished sunset, all alive with flame; half the picture-buying world strives for a specimen of like effect, and, for years, the Linnell family are at work, on what the public craves, not what the artists' powers might better like to give. 'Sherry! Sir,' involves 'Did you ring?', and, if the artist be, as here, too strong to give way wholly to the public cry, other and weaker hands will do what he declines; doing with coarseness, what his tender handling could alone make bearable. Mr. Cope presents a stronger case; years ago he painted a baby; the public praised, the critics were friendly, and poor Mr. Cope has been cooped in the nursery from that day to this. 'Baby's Turn' might be borne with, as the first of its kind; but, when it gave birth to a line of babies, busied in most infantine pursuits, the case became 'most tolerable and not to be endured.' It is pleasant to think that, if the public has been bored, the artist has been bored no less. The Terrible Baby must have been in Mr. Cope's mind, when, in his answer to Question 1798, he said before the Royal Academy Commission:—

'An artist, when he exhibits in the Academy, does not exhibit to please its members, but to please some portion of the public outside, and in that way his works are influenced. The majority of works on commission are painted for merchants in Lancashire. They like a particular class of Art, and they select the painter whom they most approve of, and with whose works they have the greatest sympathy.'

Natives of India are not, then, copyists above other men and mannerists; nor are they lower than others in power to master all the truest principles of Art. Needs but, to call forth the originality that is in them, and the feeling for form which seems their heritage. Needs, therefore, to train the workers, so that they may feel why this work ought to be preferred to that. Needs too, to train the public, that they may know the good work when they see it; and may spend their cash on things chaste not flashy, on thought rather than on finish. Artistic education, in the highest sense, and true development, is called for; mere instruction will not do, nor weak attempts to transplant fancies raised in other climes. Here, doubtless, is the real difficulty. It is not hard to find a teacher competent, in any School of Art, to give instruction in all technical detail. Not hard to find men qualified to lecture on the principles, the history, and the biography of Art. But, it is well nigh an impossibility to meet with any one man fit to do both. Fit to give professional students such amount of detail as can, judiciously,

be taught in any School; and, at the same time, fit to give to those who attend the classes from other than hopes of professional advancement a wider range, and views more deep and generous of the meaning of the laws of Art, pure and applied. In Europe, every where, this difficulty is acknowledged. In England, the Masters of the several Schools of Art are picked men; capable, if any could be so, of giving both a technical and an extra-technical education to the pupils in their care. Yet, in all the English Schools of Art, other aid is constantly called in; and men of the stamp of Redgrave, Richard Westmacott, and Digby Wyatt are asked to supplement, by further lectures, the sound, though still, at times, too technical instruction of the Schools. This was one of the many rocks on which was wrecked the old Calcutta School of Industrial Art; and on this must split, if not by timely care prevented, the new School, which is suggested as to accomplish that wherein the old one failed. A School of Art which looks to mere professional instruction, fails of its noblest end; it may teach a handful of craftsmen, but it leaves the people where it was. It stunts, too, the growth of the pupils to whom it most devotes its powers. It turns out artistic mechanics, never real Artists, in whatever grade. It may give that neat style of handling which is of certain worth; but it fails to impart—nay, never seems to feel, the want of that inventive theory, in lack of which no real growth is possible.

It would be hardly possible to conceive of any known principle whereon a School of Art should be conducted, which was not set at nought in the original Calcutta School of Industrial Art. This Institution was founded in the spring of 1854 by a private Society: the avowed objects being to encourage a taste for the 'Arts, with more particular reference to their practical application to provide employment for the East Indian and native students of the Christian Schools; and to stimulate and improve the indigenous manufactures of this country.'

Of the promoters, none had any practical knowledge of the working of like Institutions at home. The School was founded in haste; with no endowment, other than the gifts and subscriptions of a Society, above all others fluctuating. Government aid was early asked for, and was ungrudgingly afforded; at first a small donation, afterwards an annual grant equivalent to £720 was sanctioned. This grant continues, while all else has died away. There are now no subscriptions; donations are unknown; and the sum received in the shape of schooling fees, which never averaged £50 a year, is scarcely now enough to pay

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the cost of a collecting clerk. There never was a responsible Director. Of the Teachers, some drew small pay ; some, no pay at all ; but each might make what gain he could from the works his pupils could turn out. The end, of course, was failure ; the public grant, indeed, staves off utter extinction, and serves to prolong a useless life. The School is, however, soon to be closed as a private, aided Institution ; to be re-opened as a purely Governmental School ; and, with more full appliances, to enter on a wholly new career.

Did space allow, one might say much of the curious features on this Road to Ruin. Of the Teacher of modelling, and virtual Head, who at first gave his services gratuitously, from simple love of Art ; who, after a very few months' experience applied for, and got some £360 a year ; who had besides a private workshop,—dignified by the title of *Atelier*,—where all the labour was supplied by the Institution, and where all the profits were his own. Of the Teacher of wood-engraving, who, as his pupils could not draw, was compelled to 'do most of the work himself'; and, of whose pupils, another Report gravely records that, considering they had small knowledge of drawing, and no knowledge of perspective, they evinced 'a marvellous aptitude for the Art.' Or, of the photographic Teacher, who, with no salary, was 'allowed to make what he could out of the work of the department.' The Modeller had his *Atelier*; the Engraver, his *Burin*; the Photographer, his Chamber of Horrors; and for a while there was a certain commercial success. There was, certainly, no attempt 'to improve the indigenous manufactures of the country;' but a few half-educated lads were able, in these several branches, to earn an average of seventeen rupees a month. The market became brisk. Renaissance garlands and festoons, said, by the vendor, to be of work 'equal to that of Paris,' were turned out by the hundred weight; were encrusted on walls; were wreathed round niches, regardless of fitness, and in violation of every law of ornamentation. The buyers, who knew no better, praised; the seller, who kept the *Atelier*, thrived; but true Art waned. The Engraver, who did 'most of the work himself,' found a field unoccupied, and market ready for his cuts. He, also, thrived; but easy must have been the man who did not feel that Art had suffered. As his assistants were wholly ignorant of perspective, and well nigh wholly so of drawing, of the simplest kind, there could be no great room for wonder that the engravings were what they were; utterly void of accuracy; with no delicacy of handling, without effectiveness of light and shade, without a trace of half-tints; senseless black and white, such as even better paper,

and less careless printing never could have made enduring. The three thousand photographs, which are reported as, in one year, to have met with purchasers, were doubtless of some service to the energetic gentleman who was left to make 'what he could out of the work;' but no one, even in Calcutta, ever thought that Art was thereby benefited; or 'the indigenous manufactures stimulated and improved.' The latter generous aim was, from the first, avowedly postponed. To raise, in every class, the tone of feeling as to Art, was never even mentioned as a noble end; and much less, in an Institution so conducted, was it ever tried. In lack of such attempt, the School, with an economy as good as it was actually bad, must still have failed. To do its perfect work, to prove a social lever of undoubted power, the first steps should have been to improve the public Taste; to spread a knowledge of, and feeling for, true Art; and not alone to give increased skill to workmen, well nigh perfect from the first, in mere hereditary handicraft.

The idea of a new School which, with direct support of Government, should supersede the aided failure, had its rise as follows:—The old School fell from bad to worse. No one was satisfied. Public interest, at no time keen, died utterly so soon as even the first weak gleams of promise had been darkened. Every thing connected with the Institution pined and dwindled. There was but the sorriest gathering of pupils. Of those who did come, few but grudged the monthly fee of one rupee. They used to come for one month; promise to pay in the second; and, failing to do so, vanish in the third. The one fixed element was the public grant; that came with wonted regularity, and gave an air of faded respectability to what was else so rickety and puny. At last even this stay was in danger. Government shared the general suspicion; felt that its money was scarcely bearing seemly fruit; threatened its withdrawal. The threat was serious; forced the Committee into action. In 1862, on submitting their usual application for continuance of the grant, they pledged themselves, within six months, to submit a definite scheme for the more beneficial conduct of the School. The Committee, as is the nature of such bodies, appointed a Sub-Committee to enquire more fully into the needs, and fittest modes of meeting them. The Sub-Committee, partaking of the evanescent character of the whole affair, eventually resolved itself into a single Member. The Report of that one Survivor,—Captain Lees—was, in due course, made. A very interesting document, artistic in its few, but sufficient touches. Tracing, from its birth, the School's spasmodic strugglings for life; freely

acknowledging its failure ; shewing, too, a very just perception of the many causes which combined to work its fall.

The suggested changes, so far as they go, are founded on right principles. With slight modifications, they have been ratified by the general Committee; approved by the Government of Bengal; and sanctioned by that of India. The new scheme provides for the transfer to Government of the School; together with 'the whole of the collections, apparatus, and materials belonging to the Institution.' Considering the state of the School; and considering that the property thus spoken of, is comprised in a few worn tools, a few soiled drawing copies, and a few, not absolutely well selected, casts, the gift was at best a doubtful one. Had gain, or rapid good results been looked for, Government might fairly have refused the transfer; in view of present consequences, might have turned the back, not only on the sorry proffered casts, but on the real glories of Hellenic Art; on Dionysus of the Parthenon, and on the marvels of the Frieze; with seemly caution might have cried :—

Timeo Danaōs, et dona ferentes.

But, by acceptance, Government has clearly shewn that it appreciates the principle involved; and, implicitly, binds itself to foster that which it thus acknowledges to have so strong an influence for good.

The new scheme provides for the appointment of an Educational Staff of three persons only, namely :—

(1). A Principal, on a monthly salary of 700 Rupees. This gentleman is to be chosen and sent from England, by 'Mr. Redgrave, or other person of European reputation'. It is expected that this officer will be 'in such a position that the Government may henceforth rely on his knowledge and judgment 'to superintend the general working, and advise the Government on all matters connected therewith. He is further to 'be capable of undertaking the instruction in certain of the 'higher branches, and of delivering occasional lectures to the 'students on the principles and application of ornamented Art.'

(2). A Head Master, on a monthly salary of 300 rupees. The Committee recommend that the present Teacher should be retained; and deem him competent to teach elementary drawing, wood-engraving, and lithography.

(3). A Teacher of modelling and pottery, on a monthly salary of 60 rupees.

For actual education, a monthly aggregate of 1,060 rupees is thus provided. The Committee further recommend a monthly

grant of 100 rupees, for purchase of Specimens, and Books of Art ; a sum ludicrously inadequate, in face of the known costliness of all such works. For Scholarships, the very insufficient sum of 105 rupees is given ; to be divided among six recipients of five rupees, three of ten rupees, and three of fifteen rupees a month ; each tenable only for one year. Contingent charges are rated, as at thirty rupees ; house rent, as at 150 rupees ; and office establishment with servants, as at fifty rupees a month. The total monthly cost of the amended scheme is estimated at 1,495 rupees. The former grant-in-aid was of 720 rupees. The Committee, therefore, value total support against partial help at 775 rupees a month ; and consider that certain failure may be converted into possible success, at an increased outlay of some 106 per cent.

Whether the sum suggested is enough to carry out the proposed scheme may well be deemed a matter of doubt. It is assuredly less by 355 rupees a month, than that recommended by the Sub-Committee ; while the sum named by the latter was avowedly fixed with a view, less to the exigencies of the School, than to the possibility that Government might hesitate about a larger outlay ; ' it will be more prudent', so run the words, ' for the Committee to confine their recommendations within these outlines at present.' The liberality of Government cannot be called in question ; it freely took charge of the School, with its responsibilities ; and, without a question, sanctioned the sum named as sufficient for its prosperous conduct. If that sum be inadequate, the want is, of judgment on the part of the Committee ; not by any means, of generous sympathy on that of Government. By granting all that it was asked to grant, Government implied a wish to do all that such grant was then deemed able to accomplish ; implied, besides, its readiness to make yet further grants when once the greater need should have been proved to it.

All question as to the sufficiency or non-sufficiency of the sanctioned grant depends upon the nature of the end intended. If the School were meant to be of merely local worth, the grant is large enough ; not so, if it is to exercise an influence in places beyond its own immediate circle. Large enough, if the intention were to give a special training to a few ; not so, if the object be to raise the general tone of taste and feeling, among men of every class. Not large enough, if the Institution is to be the centre whence shall radiate right principles of Art, to be a guide and rule, as well for those who purchase as for those who make. It were idle, herein, to affect a doubt. That general advancement

was the aim, is sure. Else, what more feeble than, by such a scheme of small reforms, to strive at perpetuating what has worked so little good. Better, far better, let the puny bantling die, than seek to prolong a life which has not been of use to any. Of no use, to the people at large, whose wider wants it never strove to meet. Of no use to the handful of lads, to whom its special lessons were addressed. Of no use to these, if the machinery had been a hundred-fold more perfect than it either ever was, or is ever like to be. Giving to its pupils what, in lack of a sympathising public, is, and must be, a hindrance rather than an aid. Sending them adrift, their education over, with a modicum of culture, with a certain sum of manual skill; but without the means of turning to account the culture, or of rendering available the skill. So far refined by education, as to shrink from the old associations of the class from whence they sprung. Yet doomed, in penury, to be for ever members of that class. Unable to find a market for their better works, because the monied men are still untrained to know the right; still wedded to the ancient forms of ugliness and error.

If the School be meant—and meant it clearly is,—to be of more than local benefit, the scheme falls very short of what is called for. The sums asked for, and, by consequence, those sanctioned, are, in many cases, far below what would be needed to ensure success. It is an evil plea, to urge that a sum inadequate was asked for, simply to prevent the risk of a refusal; that a grant, even though too small for fullest use, was better than no grant at all. It is not better; will be infinitely worse. No failure, but has an influence for ill beyond its own immediate circle. The experiment of an ill-paid, ill-managed School has already been made; already failed. The men who before were ready with good-will and support, and money have been discouraged. They will not readily again come forward.

Where was indifference, is now mistrust. Tact only, and fine handling can set right the harm that has been done. Fresh failure, or that half success which would be bad as failure, must drive back for years the possibility of any real growth. Better to risk refusal at the first, than loss and disappointment in the end. Besides, no well considered scheme of education ever yet was known, in India, to fail for lack of funds. It is hard to frame plans, which recommend to themselves to all, and give fair promise of success; hard to meet with men fit to work them; but with the men, and with the plans, the readiness of Government, to grant the necessary funds, can always be relied on.

Within its bounds, the scheme proposed is sound ; we do but cavil at the narrowness of these. There is provision only for the pupils in a single School ; nor is there any inducement in the shape of Free Admissions, or sufficient inducement in the way of Scholarships, to render certain any real increase even here. Next, there are no suggested means for the growth of an appreciative love of Art, among the wealthier classes. While lastly, there is no hint of any wider, if yet undeveloped scheme, whereby the higher culture may be spread throughout the land ; no mention of a cherished hope, that a day may come when with the main School shall be connected Local Institutions in the several manufacturing centres, all combined in one great system, for the furtherance of trade and culture, industry and taste.

As to the first of these suggested wants it may be urged, that the genius of the day is contrary to such attempts. That, education should not be petted, and pampered by too lavish grants of free admissions, stipends, and the like. That, education, as a hardy plant, should be trained in the open air of work-o'-day life ; not forced, as an exotic, in the stoves of patronage. This is one of those half truths, which at times work so much mischief. The tree may be hardy, and grow bravely without support when once well rooted and acclimatized ; but it will be none the worse in strength, and vastly quicker in development, if the seed be sown in fitting soil, and if the years of early growth, be years of outlay, watchfulness, and care. No one would wish to go back to the days when no payment was ever asked of any pupil in a Government School, and when the majority were bribed to come by stipends, given with open hand, without regard to conduct, progress, diligence, or zeal. But it does seem right that, on the first launch of a new branch of special education, regard should be had to the days when the system of general education, which now prevails in India, was in its infancy ; right, that there should be meted to the special system of to-day, that liberal aid which, less than thirty years ago, was given in its first weak stages to the general system which since then has thriven so well. No one but knows, vaguely it may be, of the help which Government afforded in those early days when English Education in India was a foreign graft that struggled for a doubtful life. Few, but have heard what pains were taken to persuade fathers that their sons would not come to any harm at School ; what care was taken that no prejudice should be ruffled ; how many and how large the Scholarships ; how small the fees ; how rarely even they exacted. It is, however, worth while here to shew, from actual records, what amount of

pecuniary aid was, at that time, deemed expedient. To no finer record can we turn than to Lord Auckland's celebrated Minute of November 1839,—a Minute which stands out glorious, among the proverbially great State Papers of India; a Minute, which supersedes every effort made before, and which contains the earliest hints and germs of every subsequent development. Among other matters, this Minute deals with the question of pecuniary rewards. Stipends, regardless of merit, are abolished. Scholarships, the reward of merit, are recommended in their place. Poverty alone was to be no plea for aid. Poverty wedded to desert, was declared to be worthy of the State's best care. 'We are dealing,' wrote his Lordship, 'with a poor people, to the vast majority of whom the means of livelihood is a much more pressing object than facilities for any better description, or wider range of knowledge. Our hold over the people is very imperfect, and our power of offering motives to stimulate their zeal of very limited extent.' As to the number and money-worth of the Scholarships to be created, Lord Auckland's views are liberal and clear. 'In consequence of the very general poverty of students, I would fix the ratio on a high scale, say at one-fourth of the number of pupils, if that number should afford proof of peculiar capacity and industry.' And again:—'The amount ought, from the commencement, to be enough for the decent subsistence of a Native student; and there might be some small increase admitted after a year or two, as an incentive to continued effort.'

This is no place to enter into details more close; enough to say that, with some slight changes, Lord Auckland's liberal views were carried out. Scholarships of forty rupees a month to Senior, and of twelve rupees to Junior Scholars were freely granted to those whose merits claimed them; and the proportion of one in four was never deemed too large. It was felt that, if it were intended that the infant scheme should thrive, the fostering hand of Government must be widely stretched. Now, it is most clear, that such arguments for pecuniary aid, as were strong in behalf of a general education, must be trebly strong in support of one that is special. Special too, not as is Law, or Medicine, or Civil Engineering, where careful study cannot fail to lead to honourable subsistence. This, is a special education where the end is doubtful still; where the students, will either be of smallest means, who look to carrying on ancestral trades with wider skill; or, if of higher social position, will need, at first, to be induced, by every lawful means, to study, what it may be long before they dream of turning to pecuniary gain. If the pupils are very

poor, Scholarships must be given to enable them to come and live in decency. If they lack the spur of poverty, still pecuniary needs have always proved, in India, of force enough to fill the class rooms. If, as is hoped, students should be won to the Calcutta Central School from Dacca, Benares, Patna, and other seats of manufacture,—students who, when they return to their homes, may spread the culture they themselves have gained, the need of aid of such kind is more pressing still. It might, indeed, be here a question whether Lord Auckland's fullest theory might not most usefully be brought to practice. Whether, besides the general Scholarships awarded to deserving students in the Central School, certain of the Local Committees of Education might not be authorized to nominate to one or more Local Scholarships, to be held only in the Calcutta Institution.

What has been said of pecuniary aid, applies no less to pecuniary privilege. Until the new scheme is in active work, and until its benefits have been brought home to the public sense, it seems most impolitic to insist on the payment of a schooling fee by all. It were needless to dwell on the facilities given to poor students in the Austrian, French, and Belgian Schools of Art; but in England, the principle of Free Instruction in these Schools has been fully acted on. Very recently, indeed, an inclination has been displayed to limit the Free Admissions; and the result has been to call forth so much ill-feeling, that a return to the old system is probable. If Free Admission to Schools of Art be advisable in Europe, where students are less poor, and where the benefits derived are beyond discussion, surely it must be far more so in India, where to poverty is added doubt. No general Free Admission, as of right, is here advocated; the evils of irregular attendance, and weakened discipline, must ever be a bar to that. It should be accorded as a boon; to those alone whose conduct seems to merit such a boon. Some authority, whether the Director of Public Instruction, or the Local Committees, or the Principal of the Calcutta School, or any of these, should be at liberty to recommend certain pupils for this privilege. A privilege, to be forfeited at once in case of irregular attendance, ill behaviour, or failure to make reasonable progress. If schooling fees be rigorously levied from all, the total sum received will, for a long while, be most insignificant. At small cost to itself, the Government might gracefully accord what would be a real benefit to many, and would vastly help the general chances of success. So soon as the numbers do increase so greatly, as to make the fees a matter of importance, the active

aid may gradually be withdrawn. Time enough, then, to levy fees in payment of instruction, the worth of which will thus, by that surest test, have been allowed. This is one of those cases in which, the great objection to a system of quite Free Education in Government Schools, can have no existence. There is, as yet, no privately supported School of Art and Design; there can be, therefore, no 'unequal competition'; no unfairly weighted race between the public and the private drag.

Regard, then, had to the danger of fresh failure; regard, to the principle so widely acted on at home; and, more than all, regard, to the general poverty of those who should be won to the benches of the contemplated School; it does seem that the inducements held out in the sanctioned scheme are weak and insufficient. The grant for Scholarships should be increased; and, if meritorious candidates appear, Lord Auckland's ratio of one-fourth might well be acted on. Orders for Free Tuition should, with lavish hand, be given to lads who come with good credentials; lads who, by their conduct, shew that they appreciate the gift bestowed.

Next, as to the want of any suggestion, in the scheme proposed, for the spread of an appreciative love of Art among the general community; and especially among those wealthier classes who, by judicious purchases, may lend the best assistance to the scheme. Here, doubtless, is a difficulty. We cannot find in India, as we do at home, a public which, so far as many of its members are concerned, craves for and welcomes heartily the better work. In India a double labour must be undergone. To teach the workers, and to leave the buying public where it is, would simply be to offer stones for bread; to crush the workers, and to starve the scheme. Of nothing are folks more jealous, than of interference with their old domestic ways, and plans, and decorations. What they are used to, that they like; and brook change, only when the gain is made most plain to them. This, true every where, applies with double force to India. Here, to the force of habit, is added that of superstition. All change is looked on with mistrust, as the possible veil to some concealed stratagem. As general education spreads, this religious horror of all change will fade away. One cannot think that those who have been educated in English Colleges and Schools, remain in much subjection to it. One might therefore hope that the attempt to inculcate more fitting theories of Art should prevail more readily among such, than among the less enlightened of their countrymen. The latter present the double front of habit and of superstition.

The former, rid of one great obstacle to progress, are hampered only by inveterate habit. Still, even this one bar needs greatest care and diligence to move. The new works must be long before they win their way to general recognition. It were idle to hope that even the most intelligent Native, in furnishing a house, should avoid the time-honored forms of decoration, and purchase, in their stead, shapes and combinations wholly strange; avowing, that he does so, just because a School of Art declares one right, the other wrong. With all the spread of better culture at home, people have not yet arrived at this. The quite best works are often those which are the slowest to find purchasers; the public is only clambering still to reach their higher level.

Never can one too strongly insist on it, that national growth in artistic feeling is possible only where theory goes evenly with practice; and where the public is kept educated to appreciate the efforts of the workers. The highest training aims at both; and is successful so far as it can compass both. Look, for example, in the Fine Arts proper, at our British School of Painting. No one will say that this School would have held its present place if he, whom all acknowledge as its Founder, had not been able to write as well as paint: if the Pictures of Reynolds had not been coupled with his grand Discourses. With the pencil Gainsborough might run him close; but with both pen and pencil was Sir Joshua pre-eminent. The Portraits did much for Art: but the Lectures did far more. The few were refined by the sight; the fewest by the ownership of his pictures. The whole educated world was swayed and moulded by his Discourses. It may be doubted which of these two was at any time the instrument of greater good; sure, now, it is that, while the subtlest colours of his brush have fled, the clear, keen touches of his pen remain. Time has paled the dainty triumphs of the Master's skill; the thoughtful sentences, which taught a nation Art, live still, and teach still. Heat, cold, a thousand accidents, may cause the rest to fade; but these,

no injuries of heaven can feel,
Like crystal faithful to the graving steel.

While, however, the Committee wholly overlooks the wider field which must be cultured, if the central plot is meant to bear its richest harvest, it does suggest that, for the pupils in the School proposed, some Theoretic might, with gain, be added to mere Technical Instruction. It expresses an opinion that the new Principal should, over and above the duties of general supervision, and of such instruction in higher branches as would fall to his

share, be able to deliver 'occasional Lectures, to the students, on the principles and application of ornamental Art.' Leaving, for the present, the question of limiting such Lectures to students in the School, it is still conceived that the hope entertained may possibly be too sanguine. To organize a quite new Institution ; to teach, practically, the higher branches ; and, besides, to compose and deliver well-considered Lectures on the principles, and application of Art ; would probably be a work beyond the power of any, whom this scheme is likely to tempt from home. To do such a work thoroughly, powers of the very highest order would be needed. The hoped-for Crichton must be a good administrator ; a clever Artist ; a man of extensive reading ; an easy writer ; a fluent speaker. Unselfish, too, he must be ; willing to forego every prospect which such powers must open out at home, and bind himself to drudge in India, on a pittance of 700 rupees a month. The Committee seems unaware that in the English Schools of Art, such Paragons are rare. Be the staff most fully furnished, still the course is supplemented by Lectures from gentlemen, unconnected with the School. No doubt there are men in England who do superintend, do teach, do lecture ; and who do all well : but who can dream that men like Wilson of Glasgow, Scott of Newcastle, Raimbach of Birmingham, and the rest, are likely to be tempted by anything that India has to offer. And if they were, even they would be crippled. What is possible at home, where the general plan is well laid down ; and, by able assistants, nobly carried out, would be impossible in India ; for years, at any rate. Impossible, until the whole machinery of the School is in working order ; impossible, until the staff of assistants is more able, and more fully furnished ; impossible, until careful enquiry, and calm consideration of the wants, both of School and Country, has shewn what system should most gainfully be followed. Most unlikely is it that any man who would accept the post of Principal, should be able both to teach practically, and to lecture ably. Most impolitic it would be to press him even if he could, and would. The work of general supervision, and of practical instruction in higher branches, would be quite as much as any man could fairly carry through. Let him do thus much well, and he will have scant time to prepare, or to deliver Lectures ; Lectures, at least, such as would benefit his hearers, and do credit to himself. Whoso attempted both, would fail in both. He would be a compromise between the Professor, and the technical Instructor ; doing, indifferently, the work of each. Like the Bat in the fable, neither perfect Bird, nor perfect Mouse ; a halting Lecturer, an inept

Artist ; avowing himself, now this, now that, to suit his hearers :—

Je suis Oiseau, voyez mes ailes ;
Vive la gent qui fend les airs !

* * * * *

Je suis Souris, vivent les rats
Jupiter confond les chats !

Still, Lectures should be given by some one ; and Lectures addressed less to the professional aspirants in the School, than to the general public whence are to come the future patrons of the higher culture. The question is, where to find an audience of the class required. The Lecturer, of course, must be appointed for the special work. Now, as has before been said, the prospects of success in any such movement must vary greatly with the previous general culture of the class addressed. They will be increased in proportion as the opposing element of superstition is removed ; increased, therefore, among those who have already been trained, to some extent, in European modes of thought and feeling. On such, then, should the first experiment be made. In the Presidency College of Calcutta are now enrolled more than four hundred students. Young men of every rank are gathered here ; ancestral wealth finds here, like ancient family, its representatives ; poor Scholars too, there are who struggle after, and will gain, the highest prizes which professional careers can give. Not from Bengal alone, but from every part of India are drawn these throngs of students to the class-rooms of the great Calcutta College. The local Colleges and Schools are robbed of their best pupils ; does a student shew promise, in whatever branch, straightway he leaves the country School, betakes him to the Presidency College, where, with wider means of instruction, he can measure strength with more vigorous competitors, men whom to beat is glory, and by whom to be beaten, is no shame. Then, bear in mind, the overpowering love which every Hindoo has for his place of birth ; of all these throngs of students, every one looks forward to the day when he can go back and settle in his own district. The rich men may go there so soon as their academical career is finished ; the less rich may wait, and toil in their several professions for years, or until they have the wished-for wealth ; but soon or late, mediately or immediately, each hopes to make his home in age, that which was his home in youth. Is not this the very kind of audience that should most be courted ? Here are crowds of young men all one day likely, as well from higher general culture, as from their means, hereditary or acquired, to exercise a real influence on the mass of their country folk ; and to exercise it, most of all, on the dwellers in their native

districts; by whom, when they do return, they will be looked on with feelings not unmixed with reverence and awe. It is impossible to imagine any body of persons, by whom the higher theories of Art could be more usefully received; or any, in whom the good seed, duly planted, might be looked to bring forth richer harvest.

The Lectures on Art, at the Presidency College, might be fixed, like those on Law, so as to clash with none of the settled hours, and subjects of study. The Lectures in the general department commence daily at 10-30 A. M.; law students attend on certain mornings in the week at 9 A. M. The earliness of the hour has never proved any hindrance to a full attendance of the Law Classes. It is sure that, if two Lectures a week were delivered on Art, and kindred subjects, and the hour of meeting fixed at nine, or half past, there would be no interference with the work in the general scheme; and no objections would be raised on account of the earliness of the hour. Here, also, might arise the question of requiring an admission fee: if one were levied at all it should, at first, not exceed one rupee a month; but, probably it would be more politic to open the doors freely to all actual students of the College, exacting a small fee only from students not in any wise connected with the institution. A certain number of prizes, in the form of Books, and Specimens of Art, should annually be awarded to those who had been most regular in attendance, and who had made the greatest progress.

The Lectures should be most comprehensive; treating of the general principles and history of Art, discussing its literature, and dealing with the several theories which heretofore have been propounded. The work should be entrusted to some gentleman with special qualifications for the post, who would be placed on the Professorial staff of the College, and might be designated, 'Professor of the History and Theory of Art.' In addition to his two weekly Lectures at the Presidency College, the new Professor of Art might be asked to deliver once a week at the School of Art a more colloquial Address on some subject having reference to the technical instruction and business of the week. The Professor of Art might also be considered as *ex-officio* Visitor of the School of Art; might be asked to confer with the Principal of that Institution on matters of common interest; and in unison with him to suggest to Government, at times, such changes as time and experience might prove it useful to adopt. It being always borne in mind that the grand aim should be to improve the Art and Taste of the whole country, and not of the metropolis alone, or of any other district. Borne in mind, therefore, that the Calcutta School of Art should be

viewed merely as the germ whence other Schools are to be developed ; the nursing mother of kindred Institutions which hereafter shall be founded in all the leading marts of local industry.

With a well selected, zealous Principal, and with an able Professor of Art to lecture in the Presidency College, and, as Visitor, to give some portion of his time and counsel to the School, there should be good reason to hope that the old loss may be made up, and the real gain, once dreamt of, become a reality. One great element of success would be, that at first there should be given, both to Principal and Professor, a certain freedom of action ; a liberty to foster the development of the scheme in such form as experience might prove to be the best. If, at first, this free action be grudgingly bestowed ; if there be an endless correspondence when this charge is adopted, or that practice stopped ; or if the infant scheme be sucked into the frothy whirlpool of bureaucratic influence, there must be failure. In England, even, all education in Art is still tentative ; feeling cautiously its doubtful way. Men, who for years, have given their best energies to the work, are still of many minds, as to how the good which all desire may best be got at. Government at home felt its powerlessness to decide, were men, more to the matter trained, were still unsettled : did, therefore, the one thing as to which there could be no dispute, gave, in the onset, liberal grants. Then, having further exercised a careful judgment, in the appointment of the best men, it gave those men the fittest spur to action in a sense of responsibility and personal interest. There was in the early days of Art-training at home, no attempt to cripple the powers of able teachers by thrusting them into any Procrustean bed of rules and systems. The ruling Powers were wise enough to feel that regulations, which might be very useful in the continental Schools of Art, might, also, be most baneful if forced upon the growing Schools at home. Money, therefore, was given ; Teachers were given ; and, together with the fullest encouragement, was given also, Freedom of Development. What the growth has been, all know ; what it would have been with treatment less enlightened, most men may suspect.

We have nothing, here, to do with the changes which are impending on the British Schools of Art. These Schools are now some twenty years of age ; they have gained a sure hold upon the public sense ; are vigorous, thriving ; and the Government of to-day thinks that its helping arm might fairly, in some measure, now be shortened. There are grave doubts as to the expediency of this ; there has been hot discussion on the question, during the recess ; and, in the coming Session, the matter is sure to be so warmly argued, that it is still possible the old

system of liberal grants may be upheld. Here, in India, however, such questions affect us not. We have, here, a right to ask, at the hands of Government, for such consideration on behalf of the infant system of to-day, as, twenty years ago, was offered by the English Government to the sister system in its infancy at home. In India do, what England did; what England does; and what she only, after years of fostering care, threatens to do less fully, simply because such artificial culture now is needless. Endow liberally; choose the best men to work out the general scheme; give those men the fullest confidence; free them from needless checks on action; and there is good hope that Schools of Art may be as rife with benefit in India, as they have ever proved to be at home. That the work is noble, one which deserves a Government's best favour, and a People's heartiest sympathy, will hardly now be questioned. All Europe is of one mind here; and England, latest in the field, has bravely still made up for past shortcomings.

When one thinks how cultured are the men who now in India have the power to unclothe the public purse, one cannot think that there should be the slightest hesitation as to granting freely for so grand an end. With persons of Taste so acknowledged, all arguments on behalf of Taste are needless. Fairly to state the need to such, implies on their part, an eagerness to meet it. But were things other than they are; were the Powers that be as grasping, as they are generous, one might, with triumph, point to the wondrous oneness here of all the great Financiers at home. One might turn, from the Chancellor that is, to him that is most like to be; and shew how the measured eloquence of Gladstone, and the startling figures of Sir Stafford Northcote on this one theme coincide. Coincide, in extolling the general worth of well-conducted Schools of Art; the worth to Trade, no less than Taste; the worth economic, no less than the worth æsthetic; the worth to the nation, no less than to certain of its members. The Age which has seen Trade freed from its fetters, is that which most has striven to improve its products. Trade may be left to regulate itself; but, within just bounds, to guard the rights of toil, to train the manufacturer, and to strive to raise the standard of the works produced, are aims which no wise Government would willingly forego. 'The same spirit of policy,' says Mr. Gladstone, 'which has taken from the producer the enjoyment of preferences, paralyzing to him, and most costly to the community at large, has offered him the aids of knowledge and instruction, by whatever means, whether of precept or example, public authority could command.'

W. GRAPEL.

ART. III.—*The Relations of Landlord and Tenant in India—A series of Articles contributed to the "Friend of India," with Additions and an Appendix*,—Serampore Press, 1863.

THAT the Legislature should exercise the right of fixing the amount of rent to be received and paid by landlord and tenant in Bengal; and of making terms so imposed binding on both, as contracting parties, must seem to any one who regards the matter merely by the light of English experience, a strange and anomalous proceeding, if not an unwarrantable interference with the rights of property. That there should be many different opinions on the subject among those, whose experience embraces also the state of things in India, is very natural, considering the many difficulties that the Law of Land has offered in most countries, the importance of this law to the progress of a country, and the many mistakes on the subject that have been made in all countries by Administrators, Legislators, Politicians, and, not least of all, Writers. Look, for instance, at Mr. Mill. A writer of the most profound thought and most studious care, he is yet singularly wrong in his treatment of the Cottier System in Ireland. It is not that his reasoning is bad; but that his *data* are erroneous; and right Logic applied to wrong data will evolve erroneous conclusions as assuredly as will wrong Logic applied to right data. It was with good cause that the late Archbishop Whateley so strongly insisted upon the necessity of looking closely in all argument at the fundamental points of discussion. The essence lies in these, lies at the bottom, and not in the mode of argument adopted to evolve deductions from assumptions. Why is it that often in reading a book, a pamphlet, or an article, though unable to combat a single argument used therein, we cannot go with the writer, and will not be convinced of his conclusions? Simply because his arguments may be irresistible, but he has started with wrong data, and therefore his conclusions are wrong. He has commenced by telling us something as a fact which we have assumed to be true on his assertions,—perhaps not having leisure or opportunity to ascertain otherwise; but which, had we examined into it, we

should assuredly have rejected together with all the inferences deduced therefrom. In this way all theories are dangerous. An acute Reasoner or Politician assumes that something A is the cause of something else B, and proceeds to devise remedies and propound cures, which he vainly expects to be all-effective. Now had he assumed that A is *one* of the causes of B, he might have been right; but his inferences would have been different. Mill assumed that the cause of Ireland with equal if not greater advantages being so much behind England and Scotland, was the Cottier System. Another distinguished writer assumed that it was the want of an Encumbered Estates Court. One thought that the law of the tenant,—the other that the law of the landlord needed improvement. Each was right so far, but each was wrong in thinking that he alone had found the only cause of stagnation or decline. Both were causes, but neither was the sole cause; and there are other causes beside both. Famine and Emigration have well nigh obliterated the Cottier System. The Encumbered Estates Court has been at work for many years. Both events have worked much good, as a comparison of Ireland now and Ireland sixty years ago will prove; but other causes must be found out and removed, before the entire work of renovation be finished. The incidental mention by Mr. Mill in his Political Economy of Ireland and India together, connected with the subject of land, has led us to illustrate our argument by a reference to the former country.

The writer of the pamphlet before us on the Relations of Landlord and Tenant in India shares much of the feeling which would naturally belong to one whose experience had lain in Great Britain. This with two or three erroneous assumptions has led him, in spite of clear reasoning and no contemptible *acumen*, into several errors, although on the whole his pamphlet is no useless addition to writings too few in number, on a subject which is of very considerable importance. Speaking of the Permanent Settlement of Bengal in 1793, he calls those Regulations by which Government raised the Zemindars into independent landholders a *gift* to the tenants-at-will of the Government. Again he calls it a boon, and in many places he speaks of the Zemindars as co-recipients of the Government bounty. That this language is quite suitable, and that this is the proper light to regard the settlement of the position of the Zemindars of 1793, there cannot be a shadow of doubt. As Dr. Trench has so clearly and beautifully pointed out, a word often records and perpetuates an historic fact. The Persian termination *dar* means a holder, or keeper, or manager; in fact, one to whom some-

thing is entrusted by a third party; *khazanadar* no more means the owner of the treasure; nor *killadar*, the owner of a fort; nor *cohbdar*, the owner of the mace; nor *abdar* the owner of the water; nor *Sherishtadar* the owner of the Sherishta, than *Zemindar* means the owner of the land. All these words mean that the person denominated by the termination *dor* holds or keeps, or manages for another; whether it be the treasure, or the fort, or the mace, or the water, or the land: and the *Zemindar* was the holder or manager of the land for the State; the proprietary right vesting in the State and no one else. That Government then gave up the proprietary right and made a present of it to those who were before but agents, was a great boon, a great gift, and is very properly spoken of as such. But when, after speaking of the measure in these appropriate terms, he further on applies the word '*compact*' to the very same measure; and denominates certain Regulations of Government acknowledging and defining the position of the ryot as violations of the *compact* of 1793 made with the *Zemindars*, we are forced to cry 'stop' and ask 'what compact?' Surely the boon, the gift of 1793 was no compact. A *compact* is a stipulation. Dr. Johnson defines a *compact* to be a *contract*, a mutual agreement, and this implies an equivalent; implies that the contracting parties are to do something mutually for each other, there is to be a *quid pro quo*. A moment's consideration will shew that this term cannot be applied to that Act of 1793 whereby Government gave all and received nothing. This is the very assumption of a fact to which we referred above. Allow the word '*compact*' to be substituted for '*boon*,' '*gift*,' and we must perforce allow all the inferences that follow. We agree with all the writer said in the first few pages. How is it, then, that we cannot agree with his deductions? Because he has shifted his premises, as logicians say, and this is a fallacious mode of argument. Had he adhered to the original word *boon*, *gift*, he could scarcely talk of a '*breach of boon*,' or '*a breach of gift*'; but by substituting the word *compact* he gets a phrase, '*breach of compact*,' which has an important sound when applied to the acts of Government. When, by a semblance of reasoning, this phrase has been evolved, one fancies that a new light has been thrown on the legislation of the Indian Government, and once deceived into allowing the correctness of this phrase, you cannot help admitting all that follows. It is the point of the wedge, which once inserted, forces open the block, and disperses all preconceived notions; by talking thus fast and loose, and dealing at random with the meaning of words, the acts of any Government can be shewn up in an

odious light. To make a successful democrat, no point of education is more useful than the study of logical fallacies. The skilful use of them will make a great sensation writer; and the unintentional use of them will lead the best men with the best motives into an erroneous line of conduct. Conscious of starting with right intentions from facts which they themselves could vouch for, with stern integrity they throw themselves into the line of conduct suggested by their own conclusions from these facts. But the conclusions have been fallaciously deduced; and therefore the conduct is wrong. We have touched so far upon this point, not because the fallacy in the pamphlet before us is likely to do any harm, but because it is easy to imagine a state of things in which it might have done harm. If the Zemindars as a body were dissatisfied with Government, the notion that Government had committed a breach of its compact with them would increase that dissatisfaction; and after the train of argument by means of which that notion was originally struck out, had been forgotten, the idea would remain and produce evil results, not unlikely, in the minds of men who never heard or cared to hear the arguments from which it originated. We have heard of a nation going to war for an idea: we do not wish to hear of another rising into rebellion for a misconception. The notion that Government has committed a breach of compact with the Zemindars is erroneous for the very simple reason, that no compact was ever made or ever existed. 'Falselhood,' says Colton, 'is never so successful, as when she baits her hook with truth: and no opinions so fatally mislead us as those that are not wholly wrong, as no watches so effectually deceive the wearer, as those that are sometimes right.' Now we are very far from supposing that the writer of the pages we criticise, even suspected that he was writing any thing but what was wholly true. We have however said enough to shew that fallacies will creep in with the most honest reasoners if unskilled: and once let fallacies creep in, the amount of mischief they will do, is in no wise to be measured by the amount of the deviation from correct views in the first instance.

As then Government has committed no breach of compact with the Zemindars, because no compact ever existed; let us see in the next place if Government promised any thing in 1793, which it has not given, or which it took back by legislating for the improvement of the condition of the ryot; in fact, whether by so legislating Government broke its promise made in 1793. In the first place every Government, as a broad principle, has the undoubted right of legislating for the

benefit of all classes of the community, and of easing the yoke borne by any class at the expense of another class, if the interests of the entire community require it. Whether they do or do not require it, is a question of fact or expediency to be dealt with in each particular case, but in no wise affecting the general question of right. On this ground alone, had Government afterwards discovered that the measure of 1793 bore hard on one class, or caused an unequal division of rights, the readjustment of the balance would have been a perfectly warrantable exercise of that power which all Governments possess, and the non-exercise of which at the proper time on some occasions has led to the subversion of the Governments themselves; just as the safety valve of a steam engine if it refuse the work and relieve the pent-up steam within, will be involved in one common ruin with the machinery of which it was the *governor*. Not only then would the measures so mistakenly denominated a breach of compact, where no compact existed, have been defensible on these grounds; but measures of such a kind in certain contingencies may be easily conceived to have become a necessity.

But the conduct of the Indian Government in legislating for the improvement of the condition of the Bengal ryot after the Code of 1793 became law, is capable of being defended on grounds, which are still plainer and stronger, and which can be brought home to the comprehension of the most ordinary abilities. Section 8, Article 7 of Regulation I. of 1793 runs as follows:—

‘To prevent any mis-construction of the foregoing articles, the Governor-General in Council thinks it necessary to make the following declarations to the Zemindars, independent Talookdars, and other actual proprietors of land.

‘*First*.—It being the duty of the ruling power to protect all classes of people, and more particularly those who from their situation are most helpless, the Governor-General in Council will, whenever he may deem it proper, enact such Regulations as he may think necessary for the protection and welfare of the dependent Talookdars, ryots, and other cultivators of the soil: and no Zemindar, independent Talookdar, or other actual proprietor of land, shall be entitled on this account to make any objection to the discharge of the fixed assessment, which they have respectively agreed to pay.’

Here then in the plainest language, in the good substantial prose of the Old Regulations, is a reservation made by Government, when conferring the boon or gift of proprietorship on the Zemindars of 1793. It says as plain as may be, ‘the ownership

'and proprietary right in the soil belonged to the ruling power. 'That ownership and right we confer on you, Zemindars ; but do 'not misunderstand, make no mistake about the matter; we 'most particularly reserve any right which we could have had as 'proprietors to protect the welfare or improve the condition of the 'cultivators of the soil.' Every Zemindar therefore who accepted the boon conferred by the Code of 1793, accepted it subject to this reservation, and when Government in the exercise of the right thus reserved subsequently legislated for the improvement of the ryot, neither the Zemindars of 1793, nor their descendants, nor any who derived their rights from them, have reason to utter a single complaint on the ground that legislation was resorted to. The expediency of what was done is altogether another question ; and must be considered separately and apart.

Section 52 of Regulation VIII. of 1793, upon which the author has laid such stress, and which empowers '*the proprietor of the land to let the remaining lands of his estate in whatever manner he may think proper,*' must be received subject to the above reservation. It is clear that this will at once overthrow all conclusions deduced without regard to the right reserved by Government.

It is argued that the only class of ryots protected by the Code of 1793 were the *khodkast* ryots then in existence, and the author regrets that the aid of a village schoolmaster had not been called in by the framers of Act X. There are some who would not be surprised to see the elevation of this latter functionary to the rank of a Member of the Legislature in the course of time, and under present tendencies which they are pleased to deprecate ; but while we dissent from these, we do not see why a definition of the term '*khodkast*' should have been required in framing the law of 1859, in which the word never occurs ; the discussion of its meaning here is therefore a little out of place. We cannot agree with the writer in thinking that the '*khodkast*' ryots referred to in Regulation VIII. of 1793 are only such '*khodkast*' ryots as were *then* in existence, exclusive of any that might be created afterwards. The term is surely applicable to '*khodkast*' ryots then existing and those subsequently created. This will greatly extend the class of protected ryots created by the Code of 1793 in express terms. But all ryots were impliedly protected ryots by the application of the reservation pointed out before ; and Government had an undoubted right to make them so in express terms whenever it saw fit to do so.

The writer has taken great pains to shew what in the estimation of the village pedagogue should be the terms of a '*khod-*

'kast' lease; but it is a well known fact that the leases directed by Regulation VIII. of 1793 to be granted to ryots were never given, and this part of the law became a dead letter. In districts where the ryots have cultivated their lands for long periods without removing the experience of any officer engaged in trying rent cases will shew that in nine-tenths of the holdings of this kind no pottahs or leases are forthcoming. The village schoolmaster may doubtless preserve and impart an oral tradition of what 'khoodkast' leases used to be; but in the absence of such leases, in most cases, the present usage of the country, founded on the experience of more than half a century, is a much safer guide for the Legislator. The Code of 1793 made a great change in the state of things which existed under former rulers; and this change must naturally have worked downwards. If the Sudder Judge of 1846 or 1849, or the legislator of 1859, found that, as an effect of the working of this change, a usage had sprung up different from anything legislated for in 1793, and established by the use of half a century, who will say, that it was not right to act on such usage, rather than on an obsolete conception of existing rights?

Another point argued in this pamphlet is that the phrase 'discretionary power to grant leases and to fix the rents,' occurring in Regulation XLIV. of 1793, applied to the Zemindar, meant that he was to have the power of granting what leases, and fixing what rents, he pleased. This phrase, too, must be accepted subject to the reservation we have alluded to, which, as a sort of general exception, must be applicable to the entire Code of 1793, as the general exceptions in the Penal Code, though not repeated with every Section of this Code, are yet applicable throughout. Again, the meaning argued for would have been expressed by absolute power better than by 'discretionary power.' The very use of this latter phrase implies that some discretion is allowed, and it is obvious that this was the intention of Government in the present case.

The Pergunnah Rate, says the writer in another place, from 1812 to 1845, was close upon the rate the land would have brought as yearly rent if let to the highest bidder in the open market. Now we will hereafter shew what an open market for land means in India. As no statistics have been laid before us to prove the above assertion, we are unable to judge of the merits of the reasoning by which the conclusion has been deduced. To prove it would, we opine, be a matter of no little difficulty. If the writer means that the Pergunnah rate fixed or existing in 1793 continued unchanged down to 1845, then the assertion amounts

to this, that there was no progress in all these years. If it is meant that the Pergunnah rate varied at intervals from causes originating in the advancement of the country, the Pergunnah rate was a market rate in the sense the writer uses the expression. The former inference will scarcely be credited on a mere assertion. If the latter inference be correct, there is no reason why the Pergunnah rate should have stopped short in 1845, and not have kept up with the market. In a pamphlet that professes to instruct the Legislature in the way of amending the law, we could wish to see such important asseverations supported by adequate and convincing proof. This off-hand way of assuming as granted some of the most important points connected with the subject, is an illogical and deceptive mode of argument—deceptive to the writer as well as to a majority of his readers.

The writer professes to test Act X. by Political Economy. We think this part of the Pamphlet is a failure. We will take his deductions in order. He asserts that Act X. is fast leading to a universal creation of idle middlemen in consequence of the rent of the protected class of ryots being fixed by the working of the Act below the market value of the land, or the rent at which the land can be sublet. Now we do not know what the experience of the writer has been in the interior, or what opportunity he has had for forming this opinion. This deduction is drawn from a premiss which he takes for granted, *viz.*, 'that the 'khoodkast' holding is generally now enough to support two 'families instead of one, and as soon as that occurs the 'khoodkast' 'ryot now sublets the whole or a sufficient portion of the land, 'and lives in idleness on the difference between the rent he receives and the rent he pays.' If he keep and cultivate any portion, he cannot be said to live in idleness. The force therefore of the distribution, 'the whole or a sufficient portion,' does not appear. The first part of the above assertion, that the holding has become enough to support two families, we know from experience to be correct enough, adding the words 'to support two families in the manner of life which prevailed fifty years ago.' But the same experience tells us that the increase has been devoted to additional comforts,—luxuries, we might almost say, in the sense Adam Smith uses the word,—to *tamashas*, *shadees*, *sraddhs*, and other forms of expenditure by which the Bengal peasant indicates his prosperity. Again, the quantity of gold and silver ornaments in the possession of the women has increased during the tranquillity of more than half a century. The events of the antecedent period must have left few of these

luxuries in the country,—but that they are by no means scarce now, any officer who has tried half a dozen dacoity cases knows right well. This is an indication of prosperity that does not from the peculiar manner of the people meet the eye openly. That, as a universal rule, the ryot sublets his land and lives in idleness on the difference between the rent he receives and the rent he pays, we deny. Our experience has been to the contrary. Occasional cases of this may happen, but it has on tendency to become a rule. This statement, on which is founded the inference that Act X. is leading fast to a universal creation of idle middlemen, should of all points have been most clearly proved before taking its place among the writer's data. That the subletting of land in Bengal is no new thing, no habit that has sprung up since Act X. became law, is proved by the existence of the words *koorpha*, *petao*, &c., in the Bengalee language denoting this mode of tenure. The *ootbundee* tenure in Nuddea is something similar—the name being often applied to under-leases for a yearly term. Now the enhanced rates decreed under Act X. have in many instances exceeded the old *ootbundee* rates; and though there have been loud complaints that the enhanced rents are too high for the ryot to pay, we have never heard that they were too low as rent for the landlord to receive, especially now that the High Court has decreed one rupee per *beegha*. With respect to the term 'unconditional holding' applied to the right-of-occupancy ryot's *jot*, we certainly consider the terms as quite inapplicable to a holding the rent of which can always under the law be enhanced to the limit of the market rate, and from which the ryot can be ejected if he fail to pay that rent.

In what we have just written, we have considered, in the course of argument, the objection that Act X. depresses rent or at least the rent of the protected ryot below the market value. The writer argues also that the tendency of the law is to raise other rents above the market value. Now this assertion is so strange, that we will give it in the words of the author. It runs thus:—

'But Act X. of 1859, by its mistaken philanthropy to occupancy ryots, has added an unnatural and injurious element, and has thus raised the market rate of land rent for non-occupancy tenants higher than it would otherwise have been. The occupancy ryots, who have been thus secured a large margin from their occupancy holdings, compete with the non-occupancy ryots for any land in the thickly peopled parts of the country that becomes vacant, and, having an exceptional profit secured to them from one holding, are able to offer terms for the new holdings beyond what the non-occupancy ryot can afford to pay.'

Now they must want the land for one of two purposes, either to relet it, or to cultivate it, and so make a profit by speculation. It cannot be to relet it, as the rent which they have offered, and at which they have taken the land, is by the terms of the proposition so high as to put the land above the reach of non-occupancy tenants, who would otherwise have taken it. They must therefore have taken the land to cultivate it, and thereby make a profit. Now let us instance a case and apply the unerring law of Political Economy, *viz.*, that every man in the ordinary business transactions of life will do what is for his own interest. A is an occupancy ryot and has a holding at fifteen rupees a year which he can relet to B, a non-occupancy ryot for twenty-five rupees. The total value of the crops produced, after allowing for all out-goings, is thirty rupees, by which B makes an annual profit of five rupees. A similar holding is put up for competition in the market. A, by reason of the *exceptional profit secured to him from his own holding*, sublet to B, can offer twenty-six rupees rent for this holding,—which B cannot afford to pay; A therefore gets the land, cultivates it, and makes four rupees profit,—the value of the crop, after deducting for outgoings being thirty rupees, as we have supposed both holdings alike. A therefore gets ten rupees from B, equal to the difference of the rent paid by A to his landlord and the rent paid by B to A, and makes four rupees profit on the land he himself rents and cultivates, *total* fourteen rupees. Now if A had cultivated his own holding, he would have realised fifteen rupees, the difference between the rent he has to pay, and the value of the crop after deducting for outgoings. A therefore loses one rupee and has beside all the risk arising from subletting to B, and not being paid by him,—and this rupee goes into the pocket of the landlord of the second holding, thereby benefiting one of the class by the very effect by which it is argued they are injured. We may therefore conclude most indubitably that the writer's inferences are erroneous. Had he thoroughly comprehended the principles of Political Economy, he would never have spoken of *any* competition in the market for a reproductive commodity raising the market rate above what it would otherwise have been, *i. e.*, above its natural market value. If it were a non-reproductive article, an article of consumption, such a result might be conceived as likely to take place. If a limited supply of some valued wine, or article of apparel or ornament were brought into Calcutta, and every person wished to become a purchaser, while the quantity imported was enough to suffice for only one-fourth of the community; if some very large beads were brought to the coast of Africa by a vessel trading for gold or ivory, and became

a particular object of desire to the natives bartering with the traders, while there was only a small quantity of the coveted article among the cargo ;—in either of these cases it would be easy to imagine the market rate of the wine or beads being raised to the denizens of the City of Palaces, or the subjects of the King of Dahomey. In both cases the article is required for use or consumption, and not for reproduction. But land in the case before us is supposed to be a reproductive article. We use the word in this sense,—that he who invests in it, does so expecting to realise profit on his investment, *i. e.*, interest on his money. Now, if there is a market for land, no one will invest unless his investment bring him in the ordinary rate of interest on his money, which he can realise by other investments. If the profit to be derived from investment in land be universally high, capital will be attracted and will flow in, till by the working of the well-known rule, the profits of land investment fall to a level with the profits of other investment. The demand for land will meanwhile have given the opportunity of raising rents to the landlord, and thus the class in behalf of whom the writer is arguing would be benefited by the very operation of which he complains.

Further on it is stated that Act X. has created a fear in the mind of English grantees of waste lands, that at some future time Government may, by a similar measure, transfer their rights as landlords to their tenants, and that when they might wish to take in more of their land for the cultivation of tea, coffee, or cotton, they will find that the Legislature has conferred such rights upon ryots whom they may have permitted to settle and clear the jungle on favourable terms, that the landlords will be unable to evict them and take the land into their own hands. They will therefore, it is said, prefer that the land should remain jungle, till they require it, to allowing any ryots to settle upon it, and in this manner a wide field of prosperity is unnaturally closed by Act X. Now, if it be a result of the working of Act X. that ryots will not be permitted to settle and clear lands, from which, when cleared and rendered capable of productive cultivation, they may be summarily ejected or forced into the condition of day-labourers, we must say that we cannot understand how a wide field of prosperity is closed for the community at large, though it may be so for a small portion whose prosperity ought not to be desired by themselves, and will not be consulted by the Legislature, at the expense of the rest of the community. But if such a fear really exist among the grantees of waste lands, we think that the provisions of Section 7 of Act X. ought to be quite sufficient to dispel it. No law can ever be passed by the Indian

Legislature, unless under circumstances created by a revolution or something like it, which will have the effect of annulling written contracts made under the guarantee of this Section, in which anti-occupation clauses have been inserted. Waste lands are granted in a manner very different from that in which the rights of proprietorship of land was conferred on the Zemindars of 1793. The title conferred is quite different. There is no reservation, no general exception like that which we have shewn to be contained in the Code of 1793. We have shewn that not the slightest imputation of bad faith can be made against the conduct of the Indian Government in passing Act X. Why therefore should bad faith be suspected for the future? Such a fear is as groundless as the arguments used to warrant it.

Further on it is argued, 'the rise of prices has of late been so great that, except where a landowner had a paramount motive for keeping his rents low, as a wish to get his ryots to grow Indigo, he naturally would not let his rents stay at their former low rates, while he saw his tenants-at-will making large profits from his land.' Yet the Indigo districts are those where the Enhancement law has been worked more than in any other part of the country subject to the provisions of Act X. 'He therefore, of course', continues the writer, 'gives them notice of enhancement all round. From that day he gets no more rent, high or low.' This last is a most sweeping assertion. In some cases, those who are served with enhancement notices do not pay any more rent till the question of enhancement is settled, but we are from experience in a position to say that in the vast majority of cases the old rent is either paid and accepted; or if not accepted, as frequently happens, lodged as a deposit in the Collector's Court under the provisions of Act VI. of 1861 (B. C.).

In the fourth Chapter the writer contends that '*the occupancy clauses of Act X. create impediments to the natural progress of Society by the creation of new and obstructive rights, throwing a fairly developed Landlord system back into an early stage of peasant property which, under a rule of law and order, cannot but ultimately grow again into the very system we are now destroying, but will only attain that partial development after a lapse of time, the waste of which the fast growing necessities of India cannot afford.*' We are entirely at a loss to understand in what acceptation of the terms the rights conferred by the occupancy Clauses of Act X. can be denominated rights of *peasant property*. The High Court has ruled that all the right the occupancy-ryot has is the right of refusal. At a fair and equitable rent he has the first offer. If he will not give this rent, or if he fall into arrears for a single

year and be unable to pay up within fifteen days after a decree has been obtained against him, go he must. Surely such a right as this cannot be termed a right of property. 'The idea of property,' says Mill, 'does not necessarily imply that there should be no rent, any more than that there should be no taxes. It merely implies that the rent should be a fixed charge, not liable to be raised against the possessor by his own improvements or by the will—of—a landlord.' The rent of the right-of-occupancy ryot is not a fixed charge, inasmuch as it is liable to be enhanced whenever the progress of the country makes it inadequate as the landlord's share of the surplus accruing after the deduction for outgoings. (This rent is not, however, liable to be raised against the possessor of the land by his own improvements, for by Section 17 of Act X., in order to enhance, it must be proved that the value of the produce or the productive powers of the land have been increased otherwise than by the agency or at the expense of the ryot; nor yet by the will of his landlord, for the enhancement will be tried in a competent Court if the tenant thinks he is asked more than is fair. But the argument remains the same, as the rent is not fixed). Therefore the inference that Act X. retards improvement by creating a peasant right is erroneous. But the proposition 'Act X. retards improvement by creating 'rights of peasant property' is a deduction from two premisses. It assumes that Act X. does create such a right, which we have shewn to be false, and also that such a right retards improvement. The latter premiss is contained in these words of the writer:—'As the improvement of the soil is better attained by 'landlord than by peasant ownership'. Now this is one of the strongest cases in the whole pamphlet of the fallacy referred to at the beginning of this article,—setting down as an ascertained fact a proposition which admits of considerable discussion, about which many opinions prevail, and which few of those acquainted with the subject are prepared to concede; and upon a premiss so assumed proceeding to build up inferences, which rest solely on the truth of the premiss. There are few Indian readers of the pamphlet before us, who, when they read the words 'as the improvement of the soil is better attained by landlord than by 'peasant ownership,' are prepared from previously formed opinions to concede or disallow the truth of the words; fewer still who will care or who have leisure to consider the subject so as to be able to form an opinion, and very many who, having some preconceived notions against Act X., and delighted to find their notions confirmed by the statement of an instructed writer, will never stop to consider the words at all, will unheedingly accept

their introduction, and hurry on to the conclusion that Act X. retards improvement, because it creates rights of peasant property. Now that the improvement of the soil is better attained by landlord than by peasant ownership, is a proposition so far from being universally true or admitted as such that writers have been found and those no mean authorities, who have asserted just the opposite to be true. Mill writes :—(vol. I. p. 307, *third edition*.) ‘The advantage however of small properties in land is one of the most disputed questions in the range of political economy’; and the pages that follow this remark contain a mass of facts on the subject collected from Switzerland, Norway, Germany, Belgium, the Channel Islands, and France, which, in the eyes of those who care to read them, will render somewhat doubtful the assumption made so unhesitatingly by the writer. After a most careful and elaborate disquisition on the subject, Mr. Mill sums up in these words ‘as the result of this enquiry into the direct operation and indirect influences of peasant properties, I conceive it to be established that there is no necessary connexion between this form of landed property and an imperfect state of the arts of production; that it is favourable in quite as many respects as it is unfavourable to the most effective use of the powers of the soil; that no other existing state of agricultural economy has so beneficial an effect on the industry, the intelligence, the frugality, and prudence of the population, nor tends on the whole so much to discourage an improvident increase of their numbers; and that no existing state therefore is on the whole so favourable to their moral and their physical welfare. Compared with the English system of cultivation, by hired labour, it must be regarded as eminently beneficial to the labouring class.’ Now this is not a statement made without consideration, not a proposition assumed without adequate proof; but the calm and deliberate judgment of a deep thinker and a careful writer upon a mass of facts collected from various and diverse sources. If by peasant property the industry, the intelligence, the frugality, the prudence of a peasant population can be elicited into healthy action, or can at all be promoted, surely such an agricultural economy must be good for Bengal, the peasantry of which are wanting in precisely these virtues. If moral as well as physical welfare be induced by such a state of things, it must be the state of all others fitted for the country, where morality and *physique* alike require improvement. If Political Economy, a science founded and built upon the habits of a race far different from those that people our Indian Empire, is to be a test for, or is to be applied at all to, legislation for India, the

Legislator, having read the above words of one of the greatest Political Economists, involving a deduction directly the reverse of what the writer before us has, without a word of comment, argument, or proof, assumed as granted, might well exclaim 'Eureka! I have at length discovered the remedy for India's ills! I have found out the Elixir to give vitality to its progress:—

'Non usitata nec tenui ferar

'Penna biformis per liquidum æthera ;—'

and certainly his fame would be spread in lands unknown to the friend of Mæcenas.

Whether Political Economy, meaning by the term the science as it exists and is taught in Europe, can fairly or advantageously be applied to Indian Administration, we have some doubts; but that a science of Political Economy, which takes its date and forms its inferences from the state of society we find here, ought to be so studied and applied, we are very certain. And just now when the theory that India is best governed by a man of much experience of England, and as little as possible of India, has so far become exploded, that her Governor-General and her Minister of Finance have been chosen for their Indian experience, we may safely ask the question, where such a science is to be cradled and reared, if not with those the best part of whose life, and the years of whose prime are spent in collecting the very data from which the necessary inferences can be deduced. To condemn Act X. and to carp at its framers is easy, but common sense will admit that they had the best means of judging of the wisdom of the measure they advocated. Calumny itself cannot accuse them of looking to personal advantage, and it remains to accuse their ability, discernment, or want of foresight. It will be seen hereafter that we are far from regarding the Act as faultless; but we claim, as wishing to argue fairly and be fairly argued with, that it be not condemned on illogical reasoning and assumptions directly contrary to the ordinary economic teachings of science.

If we can credit Mr. Mill that peasant proprietorship has its advantages as an agricultural economy, and if the deductions of European Science are in place when applied to the analysis of Act X., we can claim for that measure some of the above advantages. We denied above that the right of occupancy conferred by the Act could be called a right of peasant property, because the rent was not a fixed rent; but though on this account the term property will not apply, the rent, being incapable of being changed except at recurring periods marked by the general prosperity of

the country, is to such an extent a fixed rent, that the tenant or occupier of the land knows that it cannot be changed from year to year, and that when once it has been fixed at one of these recurring periods, it will remain unchanged for some time to come. The fixing of the rent in this way has then all the advantage of a long lease without many of its disadvantages. For instance, there can be no renewal fine, and the terms of the renewal do not depend upon the arbitrary will of the landlord, but on certain principles affecting the country at large, and affecting all the members of the class concerned in an equal degree. This undoubtedly brings the occupancy holding very near to the peasant property, and may account for writers not observing the distinction between them. The knowledge that his rent is fixed for a time and cannot be arbitrarily raised at the will or at the need of his landlord, is then certainly an element, which ought to stimulate the industry and thrift of the right-of-occupancy tenant. But there are other points, which possess this element in a still higher degree. The tenant has so far a right of property under the Act, that so long as he pays his rent, he knows he cannot be dispossessed. The former point was one of encouragement. This latter works on his fears. Surely the knowledge that, if he give himself up to sloth, he may lose all prospective advantages, and be evicted, ought to stir him up to exertion, and that this will be no indolent exertion, at least just after the refixing of his rent, and until progress widen the margin between total value of produce and outgoings, will be evident on considering how little, by the decision of the High Court, lies between the remainder after deducting the value of the outgoings from the total value of the produce, and the limit of rent. This is a spur to industry admirably fitted for the character of the Bengal ryot, and one which we should like to see well tested before it be thrown aside. Again, Act X. embodies a Tenant Right Law, fair to landlord and tenant ;—a Tenant Right Law, which the agitators at the Monster Meetings in Ireland ten years ago would have deemed sufficient to satisfy the claims of those for whom they agitated. Section 17 says :—

‘No ryot having a right of occupancy shall be liable to an enhancement of the rent previously paid by him except on some one of the following grounds, namely :—

‘1stly. * * * * * *

‘2ndly.—That the value of the produce or the productive power of the land have been increased *otherwise than by the agency or at the expense of the ryot.*’

Therefore if the ryot improve the land by his own labour, or if having capital, original or accumulated, he invest it in his farm, improving and making the land more productive; all the benefit of such improvements will go into his own pocket; and he is protected against his landlord, who can neither turn him out and let the land thus improved at a higher rent to another, nor raise the rent on a tenant to whose labour or capital or both the increased value of the land is safely attributable. Now we have known of English farmers, and Scotch farmers, and Irish farmers in the north of Ireland, where the thrifty descendants of the Scotch Colonists of King James's time remain settled to this day; who had some little money of their own, and above all had their strong arms, both of which they were right willing to employ in improving their holdings, if they had some guarantee that the benefit resulting from such improvements would be secured to them. But they had only a lease of their lands, and they knew that, at the expiry of their lease, the increased value of the land which was due to their toil or their little capital would benefit them in no wise; but would go into the pocket of the landlord in the shape of a fine on a new lease, or a higher rent for the holding. And their murmurings would be met by the same answer always: 'You had the advantage of your improvements, while you were in possession.' It requires very little knowledge of such matters for the most casual reader to understand that during a lease of ten or twenty or even thirty years, it would be almost impossible to recover the principal and interest of capital laid out on improvements, many of which could scarcely shew any reproductive return till after the losses of several years. We are well aware that there were many great and noble exceptions to this state of things; there were many landlords, who, in a more enlightened spirit, shared the expense of improvements by allowing a deduction from the rent, or assisting with a gross sum, or who, at the expiration of a lease, would allow a valuation for improvements, or allow the tenant to have a renewal on favourable terms, or to sell his good-will to another. But all these were exceptions, and only made the injustice and hardship felt still more deeply by the victims of a gripping landlord, or of the unscrupulous agent of an absentee. We are also aware that things in these respects have improved much of late, and landlords have come to see their own real interests in a clearer light. But we have seen these facts discussed and complained of in the public papers and in the farmer's cottage, and in the presence of Monster Meetings convened by Democrats who, to carry the people with them for their own

purposes, were but too glad to have some real hardship of the peasantry to gloat over and enlarge upon, who were astute enough to cover the cry of sedition with that of 'Tenant-Right'; but whose pretext would have been taken away, and their mouth stopped, whose ignorant listeners would have been kept from the mistake of confounding their fancied with their real wrongs, and would have returned home contented and happy,—had the provisions contained in Clause 2, Section 17 of Act X. been made a law for *them*. If the knowledge that the tenant will derive the sole benefit accruing from his labour, industry, frugality, and abstinence, must, as all Political Economists are agreed, be eminently effective in educing these virtues in an agricultural class, and if of all agricultural classes, the want of these virtues is most noticeable in the Bengalee ryot, then the provision we are discussing is one admirably suited for those for whom it is meant. We said above that this provision is fair to the landlord as well as to the tenant. It is fair to the landlord, because it takes from him nothing that he has a right to keep, while it leaves him all that is justly his, *viz.*, all the increase of the value of land derivable from the progress and prosperity of the country at large. All political economists are agreed that this increase goes of right to the landlord. Again, if the landlord be a capitalist, or if he save, and improve his property by the outlay of his capital or savings, and thereby make the land productive, he can obtain an immediate return, for he is entitled to enhance his rents up to the limit of the increase of the value of the produce or productive powers of the land brought about otherwise than by the agency, or at the expense of the ryot. Now, just as much as the want of industry, frugality, and abstinence is deplored in the Bengalee ryot, so much is the want of a spirit of improvement and the careless disregard of all but present returns deplored in the Bengalee zemindar; and the provisions of this law are calculated to remedy the one as well as the other evil. But we must wait for results. Four years will not change the habits, manners, propensities, and tendencies of any class. We must wait till a new generation spring up, whom the teaching of the law and the circumstances created by the law shall have schooled and influenced; who will have been brought up amid a new state of things; who will have learned thrift and abstinence—we use the word as Senior uses it in his admirable little work on Political Economy—amid the very difficulties into which their fathers are fast plunging by endless litigation,—unwilling to unlearn their old traditions, perhaps even unable, for there is a period of life, when

men, especially men of an Eastern clime, will sink before the force of a change rather than commence anew under the altered state of things. We must wait, and we must cease legislating anew for every generation, giving no measure time for trial, changing the law just when results are about to ensue. And we must cease to listen to those who come out from home, fresh from an advanced state of civilization, to deplore the backward state of society here, and wish, by half a dozen blows of the hammer of progress, as by a mighty Nasmythian weapon, to weld the crude mass into comely shape and form; and we must tell them that importations by British vigour are good, and necessary for many things, but that steam cannot be applied to the car of progress, nor civilization flashed along the lightning wire; that the child must creep before it can walk, and walk before it can run; that science is the handmaid and not the mistress of Civilization, following, but not always directing, her footsteps; that Progress is educed from within rather than impressed from without; and that the heart of man is harder than iron or steel, and will less easily and quickly be remoulded into a new shape.

But, to return to the writer, we quote a passage from the fifth chapter :—‘ A hundred years ago England was full of small yeoman freeholds, which have been gradually absorbed into the larger landed properties by the ordinary working of the selfish laws of political economy. Scotland was even then starving under the rude cultivation of clannish cottiers, and pauper low-land holders of heritable feus. Ireland’s cottier peasantry were just renewing a lease of life by the introduction of the potatoe on their half-reclaimed patches of bog. Scotch and Irish cottiers have, by the working of the same laws, been cleared off the land they kept unproductive, and have either emigrated or risen from cottiers into day labourers. All this has been a source of constant regret meanwhile. The decay of a

‘ Bold peasantry, the country’s pride,
Which once destroyed can never be supplied,—

‘ has been made the theme of much humanitarian nonsense in the interval. But it is certain that, if the landed tenures of Great Britain were now in the same condition as in the middle of last century, she could not support half her present population; that famine and misery would be yearly decimating her people; that she would never have attained her present commercial and manufacturing supremacy; and that all the new regions of the world which she has since peopled with her redoubled energy would be still lying waste under their former savage rulers.’ As far as the deprecation of humanitarian nonsense goes, we cordially

agree, but no farther. The author wishes to prove that all this happened as a result of the inevitable tendency of the progress of society to fix the property in land in the hands of a landlord class. In the first place Great Britain does not, by the produce of her own land, support one-half of her population. Where then does the remainder get food? It is imported in return for her manufactures exported. The proportionate increase of population in England was, if anything, greater than that in Ireland, during the same period. Why then did all the mouths of England find food, while the peasantry of Ireland was starving? Because England was able to pay for her food with her manufactures, while Ireland had no manufactures. Terrorism and a despotic priesthood had kept capital out of Ireland; had prevented her resources from being developed. Except in the North of Ireland, where the Linen Trade flourished, and where there was and is a marked superiority in the appearance of comfort presented by the people, Ireland had nothing but the produce of her own land badly cultivated to feed a superabundant population; while England had the produce of her own land improved by the expenditure of capital that overflowed from other sources; and could afford to pay for the produce of land in other countries beside. Ireland had yet less, for every absentee landlord drew and spent his rents in London, or Paris, or anywhere out of Ireland; and how did he get those rents? By a bill on a banker. Yes, but that bill only represents value forwarded by another source to persons, who, on receipt of the value, will pay the bill. Ireland produces no gold or silver, or precious stones, therefore the value must have been otherwise represented. It was represented by the fine droves of cattle and sheep, by the poultry, the butter and the eggs, that are brought across the channel into the markets of Liverpool, Manchester, and elsewhere. Ireland therefore had less than the produce of her own land to feed a population that was starving, and could have eaten more than the produce of that land, while her neighbours in England were sleek and well-fed. What was the reason? Certainly not, the difference of the land tenures, but the fact that England had her manufactures, while Ireland had none. It was by her manufactures that England (and Scotland too) fed her increasing population, and improvements in land and land-tenures will be found to have resulted from not to have caused the progress of these manufactures. England is what she is solely in consequence of her manufactures. Her land-tenures at this day are entitled to no particular praise, and if they were just what they were a century ago, she would be just what she

is notwithstanding. The improvements in the art of agriculture are due to capital, little of which has been created by land, and to machinery, which has been applied to land as to every thing else.

There are few who will agree with the writer in the opinion that the destruction of the yeoman freeholds was a benefit or a mark of progress. Mr. Mill's opinion on the subject is given thus:—

'Whoever would study the reverse of the picture may compare these historic periods, characterized by the dismemberment of large and the construction of small properties, with the wide spread natural suffering which accompanied, and the permanent deterioration of the condition of the labouring classes which followed the 'clearing' away of small yeomen to make room for large grazing farms, which was the grand economical event of English history during the sixteenth century.'

A little lower down the writer states that 'before the passing of Act X. the cultivator's rent being unwisely limited to the pergunnah rate, the peasant paid the owner about an average of a rupee a beegha all over Bengal, and only produced beyond that enough for his own wants for fear of raising the pergunnah rate.' Before the enhancement law was worked in Nuddea, three to four annas was the pergunnah rate; will the writer tell us that the growing of such profitable crops as chillies and oil seeds, was producing only enough for their own wants beyond this three or four annas? The pergunnah rate was the same before these crops were introduced, yet the people must have had enough for their own wants even then. He continues:—'Now that he has got rights of occupancy given him with leave to underlet, he at once makes over his land to some other, universally on the tenure called 'Adhie.' This consists in the peasant landlord supplying the seed and lending the plough bullocks. The cultivator has to repay from the crop, first, twice the amount of seed supplied, then a certain proportion more for the loan of the bullocks, and lastly has to pay half the remainder of the crop for rent. Under this system of course the land has to be made to yield more than when it had only to support one cultivating family and to pay one rupee of rent, but the surplus produce is thus diverted to the support of a host of idle and useless middlemen, instead of going to the head landlord and thus putting him in a condition to accumulate capital for the improvement of the estate.' This might be all very well if it ever was asserted that the Bengal Zemindars during all those years that they were benefiting by the progressing prosperity of the country, pocketing a large share of the increase of the value of products

in the shape of cesses, abwabs, &c., ever devoted a single pice to improvement. They have hoarded or they have squandered according to their peculiar idiosyncracies, but expenditure on improvement has never been laid at their door. The epidemic fever that has been generated in the districts about Calcutta, solely on account of the want of the commonest sanitary regulations and the outlay of a little money, is proof positive on this point. No host of idle middlemen, (were we inclined, as we are not, to admit the creation of such) could be worse than these landlords. If middlemen were created in the way argued for, they would quickly become middlemen in another sense of the term, they would form a middle class, with time to devote to education, and the result would be the improvement of the people at large. If the system called by the writer 'Adhie' universally existed, and if under it the land was made to yield more than before, will it be regarded as a fault in Act X. that it has in this way, if in no other, given a stimulus to production? Allowing the inferences that the writer has deduced, we consider good rather than evil likely to be the result of the effects he has inferred.

In the sixth Chapter the writer argues that, by acknowledging any right of occupation in the rent, we acted as if the French were to conquer England and Ireland, and, in settling the land tenures of those countries, were to be guided by the claims of the descendants of those who were formerly dispossessed by the Saxon or Norman conquerors, and not by rights found existing. 'Mr. Grant,' he adds, 'and the other supporters of the peasant's right to be declared the landowner instead of the Zemindar, set up the same antiquated claims on behalf of the Bengal peasant. They were obliged to admit that, in the actual state of things as we found them, such rights were at least dormant if not obsolete, but this of course was attributed to the usurpation of the Zemindars. The East India Company was urged by them to act on claims of right instead of on existing facts, and to declare the peasants of Bengal the landowners, dismissing the Zemindars, whom they called Tax-Collectors, with some pecuniary compensation. A policy of the same kind was initiated in Oudh by Lord Dalhousie on the annexation of that country.' Against this, we will set the opinion of Mr. Mill, expressed as follows:— 'It has been in general the very rational practice of the English Government in India to pay little regard to what was laid down as the theory of the native institutions, but to inquire into the rights which existed and were protected in practice, and to protect and enlarge those. For a long time, however, it blun-

‘dered grievously about matters of fact, and grossly misunderstood the usages and rights which it found existing. Its mistakes arose from the inability of ordinary minds to imagine a state of social relations fundamentally different from those with which they are practically familiar.’ Now, as Mr. Mill was not a man of Indian experience, he must have got his notions on this subject either from the professions of the Government, or from the representations of their opponents. In either case the opinion is valuable as an index of the policy which was professed, it is moreover in itself natural and reasonable. The policy of the Government was to settle the social condition of the empire on the basis of existing right. The difficulty was to ascertain those rights in a vast tract of country peopled by many races, speaking different languages, and ruled by the unwritten law of customs that varied in every district. To find out the tenures of England and Ireland would be a simple matter in comparison. There is much similarity every where,—and the statute-book of the present century can supply nearly all the information required. But when India fell into the hands of the English, there was no written law acknowledged as in force to be a guide in ascertaining rights acknowledged in practice;—years of misrule, strife, and anarchy had disordered every thing; and it would scarcely be too much to say that no one knew what his rights were. Then, amid this confusion, any attempt to discover the real state of things was rendered abortive, or nearly so, by falsehood and fraud, by forgery and perjury, and those entrusted with the task had, as yet, small training or experience, in the habits and manners of the people. Can any one then with reason consider that the Legislature of 1793 knew more about the people and their social condition than that of 1859? Or, would it not rather be a source of wonder, if those entrusted with the task of legislating for India, did otherwise than blunder for a long time about matters of fact, and grossly misunderstand the usages and rights which they found existing?

We now come to the remedies proposed by the writer. We shall give these in his own words:—‘We would make,’ says he, ‘a *general law* applicable to every tenant’s holding, where the landlord’s property in the soil was absolute, and the tenant had no permanent rights either adverse to, or given him by the landlord. We would make an *exceptional law* applicable to every holding, where the tenant either had rights not derived from the landlord, or had permanent rights given him by the landlord and adverse to the landlord’s absolute power over the land; and we would give either landlord or tenant of every holding under the exceptional

'law the power of forcing a division of that holding, each be-
 'coming the absolute owner under the general law of the portion
 'of the holding allotted to him. We would give the absolute
 'landlord, under the general law, uncontrolled power of raising the
 'rent at will, and of summarily evicting his tenant on the expiry
 'of his term, as well as summary power of recovering his rent by
 'distrain, but would deprive him of all feudal power whatever
 'over his tenant. * * * * * We would limit the landlord's
 'claim for rent from tenants of holdings under the exceptional
 'law to one-fourth of the produce, with such customary feudal
 'powers as existed in Bengal before Act X., for ascertaining and
 'realising that proportion. We would make all such existing hold-
 'ings permanent without reference to the lapse of time, and would
 'give power to the landlord to create at will, but only by registra-
 'tion, new holdings of this exceptional character, and permanent
 'from their creation, but would prevent any new rights of this
 'kind from growing up against the landlord by limitation or
 'prescription.' In Bengal under the reservation of 1793, the land-
 lord's property in the soil is not absolute,—but this could be got
 over by Government giving up the power reserved. Does the
 writer mean by 'rights not derived from the landlord,' and per-
 manent rights given by the landlord, and adverse to the land-
 lord's absolute power over the land, such rights as are now in
 existence, or such as he contends should have alone been acknow-
 ledged. If the latter, what a field would be opened for fresh
 litigation, fresh perjury and forgery! If the former, then
 occupancy rights, *istemraree* and *mokurreree* tenures, and *putnee*
 holdings would all come within his definition. A common limit
 of one-fourth applied to all in common would breed, we appre-
 hend, more disturbance than Act X. has yet done. The object of
 the writer is to make a landlord and a tenant class like those
 which exists in England; to make the right of the landlord over
 the soil as absolute as that of any owner of any other kind of pro-
 perty: and to leave to competition in the market to fix the price
 of land. With respect to the latter point, *viz.*, the fixing of the
 rent or price of land by competition in the open market, we will
 speak when we come to the subject of enhancement. With
 respect to fixing an absolute ownership in the soil, in a landlord
 class, we candidly express it as our opinion that it is unsuited
 to India; and that the results of such a measure would be deplora-
 ble in the extreme to the country at large. The best political
 economists do not deny the fact that, where a landlord class
 exists, where land is owned by the few who do not cultivate it
 themselves, but exist in luxury on their rents, the labouring

classes never stand high in the social scale. England is herself a proof of this; but the tendency has in England stopped far short of its possible results for many reasons. The peculiar temperament of the Anglo-Saxon, indisposed to give himself up to idle ease, has prevented the landlord class from wasting in luxuries the capital made over to it in the shape of rent. Trade and manufactures have given a suitable investment for this capital, and one suited above all to the restless energetic character of the race. Other sources of employment have thus been opened out both to landlords and tenants, to employers and labourers, which have prevented both classes from subsiding into the makers and receivers of rent. But India is wholly different. Her trade and manufactures are inconsiderable as compared with the millions to be affected by the law of the land. Since 1793 both law and custom have united to prevent Indian landlords appropriating in the shape of rent all that remained above the bare sustenance of their tenants. Had there been nothing to restrain them, there are few capable of forming an opinion on the subject, who do not know that nothing would have been left to the ryot except a bare sustenance, while all beyond that would have gone to the landlord class. There are countries, where this evil would have been productive of good, for what came to the landlords in this way would have become capital, which, finding employment in other channels beside agriculture, would have given employment to the superabundant agricultural population. Thus a sort of competition for labour would ensue, and those labourers, who, while employed in agriculture, could only obtain a bare subsistence, finding they could do better at other employments, would leave off cultivating the ground, and go where they could better themselves. The landlord class would then find that they would have to give better terms,—such terms, in fact, as would induce the tenant labourers to stay. But in India such a result would never ensue. The landlord class, like all Orientals, would spend on their pleasures, their selfishness, and their sensuality all that they could extract from the diggers of the soil. No improvements would be made; no capital would be accumulated; and any law tending to promote such a state of things would only stereotype in India the condition of society that has always existed in the East. Take away both law and custom, and leave the Indian landlord to extract what he can from the ryot, and no criminal laws that can ever be enacted will prevent the landlord from becoming a despot and the ryot worse off than a slave. The master of a slave will

feed his slave to enable him to do the work of which he (the master) is to receive all the profit, but the zemindar will leave nothing that he can take this year to keep the ryot alive till next year, confident that he can get some one to till the land every year, as the ryot has no other resource to obtain a livelihood. To speak more plainly, in nine-tenths of India, the ryot has no other occupation than that of tilling the soil. He cannot become a day labourer upon wages, for there is no one to employ and pay him. If he do not work at the land, he must starve. There is no poor law; no Relief Fund for him to look to. If then the owner of the land has his demands limited by neither law or custom, the cultivator must till the soil upon whatever terms the landlord chooses to make. These terms would include present food, or the *mahajun* would supply him with food till harvest, and when the harvest was gathered, the landlord might appropriate as much of it as he pleased. There would be nothing to hinder him from taking all that was left after paying for the food consumed up till the period of harvest. The ryot would thus be left in a starving condition till he could agree with some one else to feed him for his labour in helping to raise the next season's crops. Now it may be objected that this is an extreme picture, that if this ever occurred its effects would be to keep down population through disease and starvation to such limits as would necessitate the landowner's giving favourable terms. But population has exceeded these limits now, and the attempt to put things upon the footing we deprecate, before the reduction of population to these limits, could not but cause widespread misery. That, in the case stated, there would be a tendency to such results there is no denying; and such a tendency, so long as it continued in operation, must and would not only retard all progress, but would cause a retrograde movement. What this writer advocates, if put in practice, would undoubtedly throw India farther back in ten years, than she has progressed during all the years of our rule. What is required to improve and civilize India is to raise the masses and to train them to the industrial virtues. In a country where so large a portion of the community is composed of the agricultural class, any law that produces those effects among the members of this class must be a good law for the community at large. We have pointed out above how the tenure given to the ryot under Act X. directly encourages industry and frugality by appealing both to the hopes and the fears of the peasant—his hopes, because he alone will enjoy all the benefit of his own abstinence—his fears,

because if he remain idle, he is liable to be evicted. We have attempted to point out how no such encouragement could exist under the system of landlord and tenant advocated by the writer. On both points we shall have more to say.

We now come to the three fundamental axioms laid down by the writer. The first is that it is a fallacy to think that to raise the rent is oppression, but who has thought so? Act X. gives the power of raising the rent, legalizes such power. Surely then *this* fallacy cannot be attributed to Act X. The second axiom is that it is a fallacy to think that there can be any fair and equitable rate of rent except the market rate. We will admit this too, but it implies the existence of a market, and we shall shew that there is no market for land in India. The third axiom is that all legislative attempts to interfere between the owner of land and those who wish to cultivate that land, are necessarily futile for that purpose, and only effective to transfer the property in such land. This we deny *in toto*. It does not follow by any logical induction from the two previous axioms. And so far from being an axiom or self-evident proposition, we deny that it is capable of proof. As no attempt to prove it has been made, we shall make no attempt to disprove it directly, but we think that the sequel to this article will have that effect indirectly.

In the concluding chapter of the pamphlet, the writer states that the decision of the High Court in the great enhancement suit takes away the great objections he had to urge against Act X. Now if it be conceded, as it is not likely to be gain-said, that the High Court has put a correct interpretation on the law, this is tantamount to admitting that those objections should not have been made against the law itself, but against the subordinate administrators of it. Now therefore that the law has at length been properly interpreted, even the writer is disposed to admit that it is not such a bad law after all. We think the 'philanthropic legislators' may even without their philanthropy accept this as the *amende honorable* for the preceding pages, but we think at the same time, if the writer's opinions were so utterly changed by the promulgation of the decision of the High Court, that it would have been wiser to have kept back his opinions and the recantation of them from the public; unless indeed he thought that, as the opinions had already appeared in print, it was due to his candour to publish his recantation with a simultaneous rehearsal of his error.

We shall continue this subject in a future Number, as much remains to be said with regard to several points in Act X., as to which the effect of the law has been greatly misunderstood.

ART. IV.—*Selections from the Calcutta Gazettes of the years 1784, 1785, 1786, 1787, and 1788, shewing the political and social condition of the English in India eighty years ago.*
By W. S. Seton-Karr, c. s. Calcutta : Military Orphan Press, 1864.

SOME months ago, whilst Mr. Seton-Karr, the President of the Record Commission, was taking a preliminary survey of the Records preserved in the various public offices in Calcutta, he found in the Home Department a series of quarto volumes entitled the *Calcutta Gazette and Advertiser*, commencing as far back as the 4th of March 1784, when Mr. Warren Hastings was still Governor-General, and running on to the commencement of the present century, when the Marquis of Wellesley was completing the foundations of that great British Empire in India which Hastings had begun. It appears that this *Calcutta Gazette* was published by a Mr. F. Gladwin ; and in the second number it was announced that the Governor-General in Council had permitted Mr. Gladwin to issue a *Gazette* under their sanction and authority ; and that heads of offices were therefore to publish in this paper all such announcements and notifications as might be ordered on the part of the Honourable Company. The result was that a heterogenous mass of contemporary literature, belonging to the official and social life of Calcutta eighty years ago, has been preserved in one and the same serial, together with numberless curious and suggestive allusions to contemporary events which have long since become matters of history. Mr. Seton-Karr now appears to have examined the earlier volumes extending from 1784 to the end of 1788, and to have made such extracts as are likely to amuse and interest Anglo-Indians generally, as well as such English readers as pay attention to Indian affairs. These extracts, however, form something more than a mere attractive and readable volume, inasmuch as the work supplies some valuable material to the future Macaulay of India. The days, when mere narratives of events, enlivened perhaps with characters of individuals, were dignified with the name of history, are fast passing away ; and thus the pretentious histories of the last century have become insipid after the graphic pictures of Macaulay and Thackeray. In a word, the modern reader requires to be fami-

liarized with the habits and customs of the actors both on and off the stage, as well as with the life and manners of the audience. In this respect our Indian historians have been hitherto lamentably deficient, and but too often have attempted to construct ideas of India out of the depths of their moral consciousness, as the German drew the camel, instead of photographing the people and the scenery. Mr. Mill's history, for instance, is very philosophic, and adorns most of our libraries; but where is the man who reads off a chapter with the gusto with which he would peruse the third chapter of Macaulay? and how even the story of the famous trial of Warren Hastings fades away into weariness by the side of the life-like and graphic narrative of the trial of the seven Bishops. Yet one story is capable of the same artistic treatment as the other, and might equally excite the sympathies of the present generation; and surely Mill might have invested such characters as Burke, Fox, and Sheridan, with at least the same interest as Macaulay has invested such men as Pemberton, Pollexfen, and Somers. But the fact is that Mill had never set foot in India, and was as incapable of judging of the conduct of Warren Hastings, as he was of apprehending the character of Native Princes; whilst his notions of Anglo-Indian society were gathered, not from any personal experience of Madras or Calcutta, but from the exaggerated accounts current at the time.

Mr. Seton-Karr's work thus fills up a void. It furnishes us with a pleasant view of Calcutta society, when our grandfathers were still young gentlemen in cocked hats, and our grandmothers were young ladies with elaborately dressed hair; and it deepens our historical impressions of the period when English Officers were still pining in the cruel dungeons of Tippoo at Bangalore; when a French Army was serving under the Nizam; when the Mahrattas were masters from Guzerat to Cuttack, and from Delhi to Mysore; and when the whole European community in India were occasionally thrown into fits of alarm, lest the British dominion should be overwhelmed by a confederacy of Hyder, the Nizam, and the Mahrattas.

Whilst thus brightening up such notions of Indian History as we may have derived from Mr. Mill's elaborate narrative, the *Selections* before us exhibit a curious and faithful picture of Anglo-Indian life at head quarters; of balls and theatricals, masquerades and concerts, assemblies and races, reigning toasts, bloody duels, and runaway slaves. In truth, it was a strange time, and strangely is it brought before our eyes in this motley chronicle. Suttees, comedies, a revolution at Delhi, a song

written by a European in Tippoo's prison at Bangalore, a notice of fifty people being found dead after a heavy rain on the road between Chowringhee and Russapugla, dacoits, addresses to Warren Hastings, addresses by Sir William Jones, burglaries, auctions, official notifications, raffles, houses to let, advertisements of hair dressers, riding masters, fencers, new books, and past or coming festivities,—all follow one another in endless variety, and many of them call up pleasant pictures of Calcutta society, and its effusive convivialities, in days which have long passed out of the memory of man. Before, however, attempting to describe the varied contents of these old world annals, we propose to test the value of the work as a repertoire of historical materials, and ascertain for ourselves how far Mr. Seton-Karr has added to the attractions of Anglo-Indian history.

The *Gazette* begins just when the administration of the Hon'ble Warren Hastings was drawing to a close ; and a review of the Indian career of this famous personage, spreading as it does over a period of some thirty-four years, would form a fitting introduction to the perusal of Mr. Seton-Karr's *Selections*. This, however, has been so elaborately executed by Macaulay, that we need do little more than note the salient points. Warren Hastings landed at Calcutta in the year 1750, and in the seventeenth year of his age. At that time the British Empire in India had literally no existence whatever. The East India Company possessed three extensive fortified factories respectively at Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay, each of which was the centre of other factories, from which cottons and other commodities were received for exportation to Europe, and through which coloured broad cloths, steel goods, and other European manufactures were sold to the neighbouring zemindars and military officers. Trade was thus the sole occupation of the Company's servants ; and the transactions of the Calcutta settlers with the native powers were confined to keeping on good terms with the Nabob of Bengal, and in doing the best that could be done towards defending the settlement at Calcutta against any stray incursion of the Mahrattas, who, both at that time, and for a long period before and after, were a terror throughout India, and were just as threatening in the direction of Fort St. George and Bombay Castle, as in the neighbourhood of that mysterious Mahratta Ditch, which our predecessors created but a little more than a century ago somewhere about the Circular Road, but of which not a vestige now remains. A war, however, between the English settlers at Madras, and the French settlers at Pondicherry, had already commenced in the south of India, in

which the rival Merchant Companies appeared as supporters of rival claimants for the so-called thrones of the Nizam of the Dekkan and Nabob of the Carnatic, and in which young Captain Clive gained his first laurels. In 1756, after six years' service in Bengal factories, Hastings learnt his first lesson in native politics. He had had some preliminary training in the Secretary's office in the Calcutta Fort. Thence he had been appointed to the factory in the neighbourhood of Moorshedabad, the residence of the Nabob of Bengal. In 1756, a young Nabob, at once childish and vicious, succeeded to the Government of Bengal. The ignorant Princeling hated the English and longed to plunder Calcutta, and accordingly soon picked a quarrel with the English authorities. Suddenly he fell upon the defenceless factory in his neighbourhood, and Hastings found himself a prisoner. Immediately afterwards he marched on Calcutta, and whilst some of the English escaped on board the shipping in the river, the remainder were thrust into the dungeon known as the Black Hole, and were nearly all stifled to death in one terrible night in June.

If we were reviewing the life of Warren Hastings, instead of merely indicating the salient points in the early history of Calcutta, we should dwell upon the peculiar training which the young Civilian underwent at this period; a training which so strangely resembles that of more than one young Officer during the Mutiny of 1857. Being a prisoner at large, in the immediate neighbourhood of the Nabob's Court, he became transformed in a few hours from a Merchant's Clerk to a Political Agent. He dispatched information to the Calcutta exiles who had escaped to a small Island at the mouth of the Hooghly; and he was admitted into that secret conspiracy which terminated in the dethronement and death of the Nabob, and the ascendancy of the English in Bengal.

It was at this eventful epoch that Calcutta first began to assume the size and magnificence of an English city. At the time of the Black Hole tragedy in 1756 there existed the Fort, with a Church and large warehouses; but the houses belonging to the English were only seventy in number, and mostly lined the banks of the river. The native town lay, as at present, on the side further up the river; and the site now covered by the Esplanade, the Maidan, and Chowringhee, was a jungle, only partially cleared to make room for a few groups of huts thatched with straw after the same wretched fashion which still prevails in some of the purlieus of Calcutta, with here and there a few patches of grazing and arable land. Of course, during the rains,

the whole was interspersed with pools of stagnant water, and a deadly malaria was exhaled, which scattered fever and dysentery in all directions. The state of society under these conditions exhibited the striking contrast between the English and the Natives. On the one hand the Europeans but too often sought to shut their eyes to their danger by drinking and feasting, though, at a later date, they began to clear away the jungle and do something towards drainage. The natives on the other hand were as superstitious as in any other part of India, and practised in all their naked deformity those darker Turanian rites and sacrifices which are connected with the worship of Kali, and which belong to what may be called the primitive formation of Hindoo mythology, and can be traced back to a period when the more civilised worship of Vishnu and Siva was utterly unknown.

In the year 1772, just sixteen years after the Black Hole tragedy, Warren Hastings was appointed, after twenty-two years' distinguished service, to be Governor of Bengal. The factory had become the seat of an empire. After a few unsuccessful efforts to find a Nabob who could protect the country as well as squander its revenues, Clive had cut the knot by reducing the Nabob to a pageant, and taking Bengal, Behar, and Orissa under the Company's rule. The British now ranked as one of the great powers in India. The area of British rule was bounded on the north by Nepal and Bootan; and on the east it was separated from Burmah by a number of independent and barbarous tribes, who now, under British rule, are being converted, not to Christianity, but to Hindooism. West and south, however, lay those great powers which our forefathers held in partial dread. The large native State of Oude, which lay immediately on the western frontier of the British dominion, and which the Directors at home had fondly hoped might be converted into a rampart against the Mahrattas, was indeed fast sinking into that condition of effeminacy, weakness, and grinding oppression which invariably characterizes the rule of all Hindoo and Mussulman States under British protection, unless that protection is accompanied by an intervention of a somewhat more active form than mere advice or remonstrance. But still there were three powers, of no older date than the English Company, that were at times regarded with serious alarm. The Mahrattas, under different and not unfrequently conflicting rulers, were virtually the dominant power over that large territory which stretched from Oude in a south and westerly direction towards the Malabar Coast; and, indeed, would have been the masters of the Dekkan but for the Nizam; and masters of the whole Southern Peninsula, but for the

presence of Hyder in Mysore. Thus three great powers appeared prepared to contest with the English for the possession of India, namely, the Mahrattas, the Mussulman Nizam of the Dekkan, and the Mussulman freebooter named Hyder, who had managed to secure possession of the Hindoo kingdom of Mysore. Division was the source of the weakness of the Native powers, and, but for their constant wars and intrigues against each other, the English would have been unable to maintain their hold in Bengal. Thus even supposing that the Mahrattas had formed a united confederacy ; that the Peshwa had been on terms of real union with Scindia, Holkar, and the Bhonslas of Nagpore ; yet under these circumstances they could only bully from a distance and demand chout, for the moment a Mahratta army entered Bengal, the Nizam and Hyder might each be severally or jointly prepared to wipe off old scores by the invasion of the Mahratta territory. So too, if Hyder invaded the Carnatic, the Mahrattas would be on the move for Seringapatam and Bangalore ; and the moment that the Nizam thought fit to help Hyder, another Mahratta army of marauders would be marching towards Hyderabad. Warren Hastings was thus compelled *nolens volens* to adopt a secret and intriguing policy, which appears to us so undignified, and which appeared to the public at home so reprehensible. The principle of non-intervention was even more impossible of realisation in India than in Europe. Bengal was a rich and highly coveted territory, and there was nothing but fear of resistance from the Company's troops, or the influence of the fears already indicated, to prevent the advance of a Mahratta army at any moment. The theory of a balance of power was equally inapplicable, inasmuch as treaties with native powers had no intrinsic force ; and no native ruler could understand our wanting an alliance with him, unless we were prepared to help him against some enemy with whom we wished also to be friends. Thus the Nizam was prepared to swear eternal friendship with the English, and at the same time to join Hyder in invading the Carnatic ; whilst Hyder would only accept our friendship on the terms that we should assist him in fighting the Mahrattas. The policy of Hastings which Mill has represented as so dark and tortuous, and which Macaulay has represented as a mere matter of money, thus becomes clear and intelligible. He had to maintain as large a standing army as possible without bearing too heavily upon the revenues of Bengal, and therefore he quartered as many forces as he could upon the Nabob Vizier of Oude. He had to defend the territory of Oude, which the Nabob Vizier was incapable

of doing for himself, and this was another valid reason for maintaining troops in that quarter. He had also, if possible, to keep his three enemies at a distance without committing himself to offensive and defensive alliances, and therefore he carried on a secret correspondence with agents in all directions, in order that he might be fully informed of all intrigues threatening a confederacy against the English, and be able to counteract them by exciting the fears of one or other of the confederate powers. That some of the measures of Warren Hastings were unjustifiable cannot be denied, but should ever the whole truth come to light, it will be found that his errors chiefly arose from the fact that in the earlier part of his administration he was deceived and victimized by the Nabob Vizier, that in the notable instance of squeezing money out of the Begums he was nothing more than a cat's paw.

Whilst Calcutta had been thus transformed from a mere trading settlement into the capital of an empire, and whilst the Directors of a Company of Merchants began to rank as a sovereign power, the changes in the Company's servants were stranger still. The chief factors and merchants in the olden time had lived in a style of commercial splendour and respectability on the banks of the Hooghly, and had occasionally indulged in public and private entertainments, and in junketings on the river; whilst from their various adventures to China and the Islands, and the private inland trade which they enjoyed between Calcutta and the various ports up the river, they were generally enabled to amass, after a series of years, a very respectable fortune, and return home in peace and competency. But from the hour when Clive avenged on the plain of Plassey the outrage committed in the Black Hole, all was changed. One Nabob was changed after another, and at every revolution large sums fell into the hands of the principal merchants who served as Members of Council; whilst the inland trade became a gigantic monopoly, in which writers could save within a very few years fortunes equal to those which the merchants of the olden time had only been able to secure after a long period of servitude. Within a few years afterwards, when men who came out as merchants' clerks, were employed to collect the revenues, and otherwise administer the affairs of an empire, the additional prizes of corruption and perquisites were so enormous, that almost every man was tainted with the evil spirit. Meantime, the most absurd notions of the wealth of India began to spread in England; and every impoverished member of the aristocracy was anxious to send

out a son or near kinsman to Madras or Bengal. Young men with expensive tastes, but previously without the means for gratifying them, suddenly found themselves in this unhealthy capital with resources which seemed inexhaustible, and were impelled by the force of example, and by the extravagant charges which prevail in this most expensive city, to live at a rate which would have almost exhausted any resources, however large. In addition to this evil, Calcutta was already a Metropolis, and consequently the seat of Government, and seat of patronage and pleasure. Civil and Military Officers posted at distant stations in the Mofussil, where it was only too easy to hoard up rupees, and next to impossible to spend them, were but too glad to escape occasionally from the solitude of an isolated factory or cutcherry, to spend a few weeks of wasteful profusion and high living amidst the gaities and dissipation of Calcutta. Against this universal extravagance the Directors at home preached and blustered in vain; for, with strange, though not uncommon inconsistency, the very men who were the loudest in enforcing economy and reducing salaries, were the men who in this country had enjoyed the most lucrative posts and realised the most princely fortunes. Sumptuary laws were productive of the usual results, aggravating the evil they were intended to cure. We shall see that at one time it was enacted that no Company's servant should be permitted to resign the service who could not swear that his private fortune was under a certain amount; a rule which seemed almost to promote wastefulness, inasmuch as it required those who wished to evade the law to get rid of any objectionable surplus before taking the oath.

With this preliminary sketch of the state of affairs in Bengal about eighty years ago, we proceed to review specially the subject matter in the *Gazettes*, extending from the beginning of 1784 to the end of 1788. The turbulent period of Warren Hastings' administration had passed away. He had no longer any opponents in Council, and even his inveterate enemy, Philip Francis, had returned to England, there, however, to gratify his implacable malice and passion for revenge. The great native confederacy which had threatened to overwhelm the English power had done its worst, but had now been broken up by the able diplomacy and energetic action of Warren Hastings. The danger, however, had really been of a most serious character, for the union of the great Native Chiefs had been almost accomplished. It had been arranged about the year 1779 that Hyder was to invade the Carnatic, whilst the Nizam entered the Northern Circars;

and that the Mahrattas of Poona were to threaten Bombay, whilst those of Nagpore entered Bengal and demanded chout. Hyder carried out his share of the arrangement by ravaging the Carnatic up to the very walls of Fort St. George. The Nizam dilly-dallied, but the Mahrattas were on the move. In that hour of extreme peril Hastings proved himself fully equal to the emergency. He dispatched Sir Eyre Coote against Hyder, and thus both checked the Mysore usurper and overawed the Nizam. He dispatched General Goddard through the heart of Hindoostan to hem in the Mahrattas of Poona. Meantime a large army of the Nagpore Mahrattas had invaded Cuttack, and were encamped in English territory; but Hastings sent a secret mission to the Rajah of Nagpore, and induced him to recall his forces from Cuttack and to withdraw from the confederacy. In the year 1784, which is now under review, Hyder was dead, and peace was concluded with his son Tippoo. The Nizam had settled down into a life of pleasure, and appeared to have forgotten the ambitious schemes in which he had erewhile indulged. The Mahrattas agreed to terms of alliance, and for some years all was quiet and apparently secure, and the British power was respected and feared. The one plague spot in India was Oude, and there every evil which can possibly exist under oriental rule, had gathered to a head under British protection; and there it has continued to fester, until annexation became the only remedy for evils too great for any people to bear. Accordingly, early in 1784, Hastings determined on paying one last visit to the Nabob Vizier. He left Calcutta on the 17th February, and on the 27th March arrived at Lucknow. What transpired there is foreign to our purpose; but with the *Gazette* before us we can see what was the external appearance of Calcutta at the time.

During the absence of Warren Hastings, Mr. Wheler, a Member of Council, appears to have officiated as head of the Government. In March 1784 a great lottery was advertised of 400 tickets, at Rs. 100 each, with jewels for prizes, which is subsequently said to have been highly successful. A Mr. Tom Fatt, a Chinaman, also advertised the somewhat incongruous professions of clearing out tanks and making loaf sugar. In April Mr. Wheler gave a public breakfast at the Court House, after which he laid the first stone of St. John's Church, with the usual ceremonies. Next we learn that "Hamlet" was performed at the Calcutta Theatre with great applause. In May a commercial mission to Thibet *via* Bootan was projected and announced. The same month it was announced that the prisoners, who had been confined by Tippoo with the utmost cruelty at Bangalore, consisting of

eleven hundred Europeans and between two and three thousand Sepoys, had finally been released ; and a subscription was immediately opened at the Bengal Bank for the relief of the sufferers. In June news arrived overland *viâ* Bussorah, that Mr. Fox had introduced his new India Bill, a proceeding which of course created great excitement. In July Lieutenant White died of a wound which he had received in a duel the preceding afternoon. The same month the Chaplains of the Presidency announced that, as the existing undertaker had neglected his duty, they had determined to support a Mr. James Palmer, who resided near Cossitollah, and in another advertisement Mr. Palmer gladdened the hearts of the Calcutta public with the news that he had 'laid 'in a stock of new and elegant coffin furniture.' In August appeared a poetical epistle from a lady in Calcutta to a friend in England, from which we make the following extract as descriptive of Calcutta life :—

' Dear ————— down I'm set,
 ' Here to discharge my scribbling debt.
 ' How shall I paint the plagues I bore,
 ' To reach this so-much-talk'd-of shore ;
 ' What hours of sickness, spleen, and hip,
 ' Pent in that odious thing, a ship ;
 ' What rocks and storms to raise one's fear,
 ' What broad discourse constrain'd to hear,
 ' With calms and swells so teased and tumbled,
 ' With such strange folks together jumbled !
 ' Well, thank my stars ! those plagues are past,
 ' A social air I breathe at last.
 ' A little close I must confess 'tis,
 ' Where Sol's broad beam a constant guest is.
 ' And yet, dear girl ! this place has charms,
 ' Such as my sprightly bosom warms !
 ' No place, where at a bolder rate,
 ' We females bear our sovereign state.
 ' Beauty ne'er points its arms in vain,
 ' Each glance subdues some melting swain.
 ' 'Tis true the foe's not very stout,
 ' Nor form'd to hold a combat out ;
 ' So flimsy this exhausted race is,
 ' Threadpaper forms, and parchment faces.
 ' But stay, let me reserve my rhyme,
 ' To shew you how I spend my time.
 ' After a sultry restless night,

' Tormented with the hum and bite
 ' Of pois'nous insects out of number,
 ' That here infest one's midnight slumber,
 ' I rise fatigued, almost expended,
 ' Yet suddenly when breakfast's ended,
 ' Away we hurry with our fops
 ' To rummage o'er the Europe shops :
 ' And when of caps and gauze we hear,
 ' Oh ! how we scramble for a share !
 ' Then should some two with keen desire
 ' The self-same lace or fringe admire ;
 ' What sharp contention, arch remarks,
 ' Whilst tremb'ling wait our anxious sparks.
 ' What smart rejoinders and replies,
 ' Whilst lightnings flash from gentle eyes :
 ' Let Prudes declaim on ease and grace,
 ' This animates a charming face,
 ' This sets the blood in circulation,
 ' And gives the town some conversation.
 ' At table, next, you'd see us seated,
 ' In liberal style with plenty treated.
 ' Near me a gentle swain, with leave
 ' To rank himself my humble slave.
 ' Well, here I know I'm at my task,
 ' Ten thousand things I know you'd ask,
 ' As " what's his shape, his size, his face ?"
 ' His mind and manners next you'd trace.
 ' His purse, dear girl ; the custom here
 ' First points to that ; so *en Premier*
 ' A Chief, my Strephon was before,
 ' At some strange place that ends with *pore*.
 ' Where dext'rously he swell'd his store
 ' Of lacks, and yet is adding more.'

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Immediately after the poetry the public are informed that the comedy of the 'Clandestine Marriage' had been performed to a very full house with great applause, and that they intended bringing out the 'Merchant of Venice.' In September the subscribers to the Calcutta Assembly arranged for a series of entertainments to commence in November. The doors were to be opened at half-past seven in the evening, the minuets were to commence at half-past eight ; supper was to be served at half-past ten ; and dancing was to commence immediately after

supper: two country dances and a cotillon being continued alternately through the evening: no hookahs were to be admitted upstairs. In October Mr. Wheler died. In November Mr. Warren Hastings returned to Calcutta, and on the 9th December gave a public dinner, followed by a Ball, in honour of His Majesty's Birthday.

The great event at the commencement of 1785 was the final departure of Warren Hastings to England, previous to which a great meeting was held at the Harmonic Tavern to present him with an address, which was subsequently duly presented and graciously received. Mr. Hastings was succeeded by Mr. Macpherson as Governor-General, and Mr. Macpherson commenced the task of reduction and economy with all the gust of an immaculate statesman on large pay; and as a preliminary it was announced that any Civil Servants who liked might return to England for three years on half pay, and at the end of that period, if they did not wish to return to Bengal on the reduced rates of salary, they were graciously permitted to resign the service. No man, however, was to leave for England unless he previously declared upon oath that his fortune did not exceed the undermentioned sums:—

Senior Merchant	Rs. 28,000
Junior Merchant	„ 24,000
Factor	„ 19,200

For those servants who are thrown out of employ through the abolition of their offices, the following allowances were to be granted:—

Senior Merchant, not married	Rs. 800 per mensem.
Ditto, married	„ 1,000 „
Junior Merchant, not married	„ 600 „
Ditto, married	„ 800 „
Factor, not married, and quarters	„ 300 „
Ditto, married, and quarters	„ 500 „

These allowances were subsequently disallowed by the Court of Directors as being too liberal. No senior merchant was to be allowed more than £400 per annum, no junior merchant more than £300, and no factor or writer more than £200, and, moreover, the interest of their private fortune was appropriated towards making up these small amounts of pension.

Shortly afterwards the following rates of passage and accommodation were laid down for the voyage out and home, and these rates were not to be exceeded, or any further gratuity given, directly or indirectly.

For every Cadet entertained at the Commander's table, by the Commander's consent or the Company's order	£ 60
For Writers, Lieutenants, and Ensigns, each ..	80
For Factors and Captains	100
For Senior and Junior Merchants and Majors, &c.	100
For a Lieutenant-Colonel	120
For a Member of Council, or Colonel... ..	150
For a General Officer	200

Any Commander taking a further sum than here laid down, was to forfeit treble the amount, and the fine was to be paid over to the Poplar Hospital.

In February 1785 a suttee took place near Chandernagore. The horrible story is recorded at length in the *Gazette*, but we need not notice the particulars, which are all of the usual character; a poor girl terrified into submitting to her fate in that agonizing moment when she has just lost her husband, then intoxicated with *bhang* and adorned with flowers, and finally bound to stakes and burnt alive.

Meantime the reduction of salaries seems to have created much uneasiness, but for some months masquerades and entertainments seem to have been as numerous as before. There was, however, an outcry against the increased rates of wages granted to domestic servants, and the rates of 1754 were compared with those of 1785 as follows:—

‘Copy of rates of wages recommended by the zemindars of Calcutta to the President and Council, for their approbation and concurrence, in the year 1754—

‘Messrs. Bechar, Frankland, and Holwell, zemindars.

			Rs.	As.
‘ Consumah	...	...	5	0
‘ Chobdar	...	...	5	0
‘ Head cook	...	...	5	0
‘ Coachman	...	...	5	0
‘ Head female servant	...	...	5	0
‘ Jemadar	...	...	4	0
‘ Khidmutgar	...	...	3	0
‘ Cook's first mate	...	...	3	0
‘ Head bearer	...	...	3	0
‘ Second female servant	...	...	3	0
‘ Peons	...	...	2	8
‘ Bearers	...	...	2	8
‘ Washerman to a family...	...	...	3	0

	Ra.	As.
' Washerman to a single gentleman ...	1	8
' Syce ...	2	0
' Mushalchee ...	2	0
' Shaving barber ...	1	8
' Hair-dresser ...	1	8
' Khurtchburdar ...	2	0
' House mally ...	2	0
' Grass-cutter ...	1	4
' Harry-woman to a family ...	2	0
' Ditto to a single gentleman ...	1	0
' Wet-nurse ...	4	0
' Dry-nurse ...	4	0'

Present monthly wages in Calcutta (1785.)

	Sicca Rs.
' Consumah ...	10 to 20
' Chobdar ...	6 to 8
' Head cook ...	15 to 30
' Cook's mate ...	6 to 12
' Coachman ...	10 to 20
' Jemadar ...	8 to 15
' Khidmutgar ...	6 to 8
' Head bearer ...	6 to 10
' Bearer ...	4 0
' Peon ...	4 to 6
' Washerman to a family ...	15 to 20
' Ditto to a single gentleman ...	6 to 8
' Syce ...	5 to 6
' Grass-cutter ...	2 to 4
' Mushalchee ...	4 0
' Barber ...	2 to 4
' Hair-dresser ...	6 to 16
' Khurtchburdar ...	4 0
' Metrany ...	4 to 6
' Wet-nurse, besides cloths, &c. ...	12 to 16
' Aya, ditto ditto ...	12 to 16'

In September 1786 the Earl Cornwallis arrived at Calcutta and took up the office of Governor-General. The *Gazette* this year is by no means of a cheerful character. The impeachment of Warren Hastings had commenced at home, and created great excitement in Bengal. The Nawab of Bengal visited the Governor-General at Calcutta, and was shewn over the Fort, on which occasion a shell burst to the temporary disquiet of the illustrious

party, but seems to have caused no particular damage. The Nawab subsequently gave an entertainment in return at his house in Chitpore. Dramatic performances and assemblies appear to have continued; but the advertisements are more than ever taken up with houses to let, at sums varying from Rs. 300 and 400 per mensem to Rs. 800 and 900, as though people in general were becoming more economical, and left off residing in such large dwellings.

In 1787 we have an address delivered at the opening of the Sessions by Sir William Jones, which would be just as applicable to the state of affairs now as it was to the state of things then. We give the notification in full :—

‘The Sessions opened at the Supreme Court on Saturday last, when Sir William Jones delivered the charges to the Grand Jury in a very eloquent speech, replete with humanity and sound sense. He pointed out the extremely deficient state of the Police in Calcutta, and adverted to the instance of a Greek merchant, who not long ago was desperately assaulted by four ruffians in masks, none of whom had yet been apprehended. The number of arrack shops and the houses of the thannadars (which, he had been told, were the receptacle of gamesters and drunkards,) he considered as amongst the principal causes of the number of thefts and murders which swelled the calendar.

‘He mentioned how little the evidence of the lower natives could be depended on, and recommended the most solemn form possible for administering oaths, and wished that offenders, upon conviction of perjury, might be most severely punished, as an example to others.

‘He concluded by recommending to the Jury to enquire into any complaints against the Jailor for cruelty or oppression in loading them with irons, or extorting money, that no reproach might lie against Government or the Nation, and to render the loss of liberty as light as possible.’

The same year a new pukka bazaar was completed in Fort William. The old bazaar must have been a nice place if one may judge from the following description :—

‘The plan of a new pukka bazaar in Fort William, as intended by Sir John Macpherson, and laid out by the Chief Engineer, is now completed, with many extensive improvements under the eye of the Commandant, whose cares seem to extend to the repair of every defect, and the correction of every abuse within the Garrison. The new shops in this bazaar are all registered,

'and the tariff of rates so precisely fixed, and under such
'nice checks, as to prevent every imposition of the native ;
'none are retained in it without a special license of the Com-
'mandant, and previously subscribing to all the rules and
'restrictions within which he has thought proper to confine
'their conduct.

'The old bazar, composed of an irregular and confused heap
'of straw huts, not only collected filth and threatened contagion,
'but proved in fact an asylum for every thief that escaped the
'hands of justice in Calcutta : robberies were of course daily
'committed, without the possibility of detection, and the ser-
'vants of Officers corrupted and seduced either by example, or
'the easy opportunities offered them of disposing of the property
'of their masters ; while a dark arcanum of roguery was to be
'met with in every corner of the bazaar, and an alchemist
'ready, who could, without any decomposition of its parts, con-
'vert, by a few strokes of the hammer, a silver spoon into a pair
'of bracelets in a trice.

'All the straw *choppers** in Garrison have been levelled, and,
'it is said, the demolition of several other posts and temporary
'places erected for the use of the Engineers is in contempla-
'tion, as being of no real benefit to the Service.'

This year there was a tremendous storm, which is described at full length, but for which we must refer the reader to the Selections. Indeed it is scarcely necessary for us to indicate more than the character of the subject matter, whilst it would be impossible to exhaust the numerous and varied topics which are started on every page. There are, however, some points deserving of notice. Thus, amidst the polish which characterised society, and the evident taste which prevailed for books, pictures, and the drama, the general ignorance and credulity are truly surprising. Fancy a paragraph like the following appearing in a modern Calcutta newspaper :—

'Whether a want of curiosity, or a neglect to communicate
'what is deemed generally known, has occasioned the silence of
'travellers, we know not ; our readers, however, may be many
'of them ignorant, that at Oudh, near Fyzabad, is a tomb of
'Seth, (Adam's third son,) twelve feet long.

'Sujah Dowlah's father repaired the tomb, and one of Job's,
'adjoining it. Not more than a mile from these tombs, is a
'fragment of Noah's Ark ; perhaps by examining the wood,
'whether of Oak or Teak, we can ascertain whereabout it was

* Roofs.

'built, or discover a timber for ship-building more durable than either of these.

'The man who preserved these antiquities enjoys a jaghire, which has devolved to him from a thousand generations.'

Again, how our predecessors in this malarious City of Palaces managed to go through such a round of night dissipation seems a marvel. True, we may gather that the exhausted race of beaux with their 'threadpaper forms and parchment faces,' were no favourable specimens of manhood, but how such exhausted characters could manage to attend such balls and masquerades, assemblies, harmonic meetings, and theatres, after a heavy day's work, seems a marvel to a generation that goes to sleep as soon after nine o'clock in the evening as can be conveniently managed. But it seems that the social habits of that period were altogether different from our own; then people dined at one, or two o'clock in the day, and enjoyed a comfortable siesta afterwards, so as to wake up fresh for a ride or drive, a little dance or supper, and then the customary midnight jollification. Thus the Secretariat Offices opened at nine o'clock in the morning, and were closed at twelve o'clock or half-past one in the middle of the day, according to the season; and then if there remained any further work to be done, it was done in the evening, and on dispatch nights every office in Calcutta was alive. Whether the unfortunate officials of the present generation, wearied with the constant exercise of the brain in a heated temperature, would not be all the better for early dinners and light siestas, is a question which we leave to the faculty to solve. Could we become a Viceroy for a few hours, as Abou Hassan was a Caliph for a day, we, too, would try the effect of opening offices from seven or eight to twelve or one, rather than from ten to four or five; and leave extra work for the evening. Judging from the mortality which still prevails, we are doubtful whether the brain work of the present day be not more injurious to health and happiness, than the undue conviviality of society eighty years ago. At any rate, we trust that the day is not far distant when our social economists may succeed in discovering the happy mean.

One point more we may mention, and then our task is done. In August 1788 the news of the Revolution at Delhi was published in the *Gazette*. This story is half forgotten now, or is only obscurely alluded to in the pages of the historian. The *Gazette* account is also very imperfect, but a detailed and authentic narrative may be found in a journal drawn up in

Persian by an eye-witness, and translated by Jonathan Scott ; and whilst reflecting on the state of European society eighty years ago, it may not be amiss to glance at the horrors which were transpiring under native rule during that fearful interval of anarchy, when the Empire of India was passing away from its former possessors. The unhappy Mogul Emperor, Shah Alum, had for years been a mere puppet in the hands of Scindia, but about this period Scindia had driven the Rajpoot Chiefs into an insurrection, and a savage Rohilla chief, named Gholaum Kadir, marched to Delhi and subjected the unhappy Emperor and his family to the most grievous afflictions. The inner apartments of the harem were ransacked ; the ladies were scourged with whips ; princes were beaten with clubs ; and Gholaum Kadir stabbed out the eyes of Shah Alum with his own dagger ; whilst Princesses and others died of sheer starvation. The subsequent revenge which was exacted for these cruelties was even more horrible than the original outrages. The acts of Gholaum Kadir strengthened the hands of Scindia, who thereupon returned to Delhi, and mutilated the chief in a manner so horrible that we shall not describe it, and then sent the unhappy wretch to Shah Alum, but the latter fortunately died before reaching his destination. But this second revolution afforded but little relief to the unfortunate Shah Alum. He lived for many years afterwards in utter blindness and hopeless misery under the doubtful protection of the Mahrattas, until rescued by Lord Lake in 1803.

Such was India in the olden time, and we can only express the hope that a few more publications similar to that of Mr. Seton-Karr may appear in due course ; so that in time the history of India may cease to be a mere narrative of forgotten campaigns, and become a faithful picture of that Native and European life, which is fast passing away, as well as a just exponent of that generous line of policy which has continued with but few breaks down to our own time.

- ART. V.—1. *Can India be colonized by Europeans? Reports from the Select Committee on Colonization and Settlement (India); with the Minutes of Evidence taken before them: 1858.*
2. *Could the Natives of a Temperate Climate colonize and increase in a Tropical Country, and vice versa?* By Arthur S. Thomson, M. D. *Transactions of the Medical and Physical Society of Bombay for 1843.*
3. *A Brief Review of the means of preserving the Health of European Soldiers in India.* By Norman Chevers, M. D. *Indian Annals of Medical Science: 1859.*
4. *On Ethno-Climatology; or the Acclimatization of Man.* By James Hunt, PH. D., in the *Report of the Thirty-First Meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, held at Manchester in September 1861.*
5. *Introduction to Anthropology.* By Dr. Theodore Waitz. Edited by J. Frederick Collingwood, 1863.

THE question—*Is it physically possible to colonize India by Europeans?* comes home, in some way or other, to the feelings or the interests of every man dwelling between Cape Comorin and Peshawur. The enterprising speculator, the world's pioneer, seeks in Assam and Cachar, in the Dhera of the Dhoon, upon the slopes of the Himalayas, of the Neilgherries and the Shevaroy Hills, for lands, which, although now waste and of low value, promise, hereafter, under the skilled labour of the British agriculturist, to become the sites of such tea plantations as China never saw, and of cinchona forests, in comparison with which the ill-regulated and failing bark-supplies of the Peruvian Andes will be but as withered leaves and rotten wood. The English mother, as she gazes—how possibly for the last time in this life—on the sweet little white face and tearful eyes of him who, yesterday, was the tyrant and the darling of a Mofussil bungalow or a Calcutta mansion, now ranged with some fifty other troubled little white faces down at the Outer Floating Light, around the tables of our Toynbees and our Daniells, turns away from the fatherly assurance of the kind seaman's voice, and sobs, 'Has God set apart no place in India, where my child might live?' Our Government—deeply conscious of the terrible fact that, in their European Army stationed here, every regiment has

lost, by death, on an average, a company,—one bayonet in every ten,—every twenty months during the last hundred years,—is earnest in seeking out cool and elevated spots, where their troops may be advantageously posted out of the fierce rays of the sun and above the range of the deadly fever-steam.

It is known to this benevolent Government that, in the barracks of the Plains, the mortality among their soldiers' children, of pure European race, more than trebles that frightful death-rate which prevails among the infants of the poor at home. They, therefore, at the instigation of Henry Lawrence, maintain schools for soldiers' children at Sanawur, Murree, Mount Aboo, and Ootacamund, and are, we believe, deeply solicitous to save many more of these little brands from the burning, and to rear them in the Hills to become, hereafter, wielders of their fathers' arms.

The same Government, perceiving how greatly the extensive introduction and wide diffusion of an European industrial element in India would tend to develop the vast and still almost uncomputed resources of this country, equally to the benefit of the natives and of ourselves, seek anxiously to ascertain whether there are not extensive tracts of country in the three Presidencies, where the stout agriculturists of Britain may form colonies, and fields, and homes, and rear around them a race at least equal to themselves in vigour and intelligence.

Thus it will, we think, be perceived, even from these few and very scanty illustrations, that there are not many amongst us whom this question, as to the practicability of colonizing India by Europeans, does not practically concern.

Wherever a nation has assumed a forward place among the dominators of the world, it has become a centre of immigration. It has sent forth its armies to conquer new lands; and, in those subjugated territories, it has established, on a more or less extended scale, commerce, its own standard of civilization, its language, its arts, and often its religion.

In eliminating these first elements of colonization, we begin to perceive the wisdom and goodness of the Almighty in placing swords in men's hands. Here the natural development of God's ordinance provides that, at no distant period, the falchion of the invader becomes changed into the reaping-hook of the colonist.

All the nations with whose histories we are fully acquainted have been peopled by a succession of what may be termed immigrant waves. Everywhere, whether by warlike invasion or peaceful immigration, race has followed and supplanted race.

Into Britain flowed successively, during a course of centuries, the armies and the colonists of the Roman, the Dane, the Saxon, and the Norman, dispossessing and supplanting the Celt, (who clearly owed his origin to some race of Aryan strangers from the East,) and driving him into the remote mountainous fastnesses of the land.

In India, the Turanian (doubtless, himself, an interloper from the North and East,) has been, in like manner, displaced by the early Aryan, the Hindu, and the worshipper of Mahomed, among whose descendants the power of England has, for the last century, been paramount.

The text-word of the world's history is PROGRESS. Throughout all time we perceive mankind ever pressed forward by a Divine impetus towards a standard of perfectibility fixed by the All-Wise.

Our Faith and our Science combine to teach us that the life of the world is, like our own lives,—finite.

As it has been ruled that intellectual man shall, in passing from his cradle to his grave, accumulate knowledge, experience, skill, the power of fitting his mind for that immortality which is its sure inheritance, so the spirit of the world, emerging from infant barbarism, steadily advances, by arms, by arts, by civilization, and by the spreading of the True Faith, towards that happy millennium which has been promised as the crown of its green old age.

Like the life of the world, and the life of every man and animal inhabiting it, the life of every nation (with perhaps one exception) is but a finite thing. Excluding the instance of that peculiar people, the Jews, we find all historical experience demonstrating the fact that every nation, be it strong or weak, has its period of infancy and also its term of senility—upon which, sooner or later, its political death ensues.

Carrying on the analogy, without at all overstraining it, we may say that Colonization and Settlement are to the nation what birth, marriage, and death are to the individual. The first shout of the immigrants, when they see stretched before them the plains of that promised land towards which they have travelled from afar, is the same as the first cry of the infant at its birth, the first self-gratulatory murmur of the heir when he enters upon his inheritance. The extensive settlement of foreigners in a nation is that nation's marriage, whereby it extends its alliances, whether for good or evil, and, by an intermingling of races, either improves or deteriorates its population. Again, if any law in the history of mankind can be looked upon as fixed

and certain it is this :—Whenever a country becomes the seat of extensive and successful colonization, its former occupants, with the exception of a scattered remnant, speedily die out. The old man passes away, and the heir reigns in his stead.

Whether this last result be the development of an immutable natural law, or the avoidable issue of certain errors on the part of the conquerors and the conquered is, however, a questionable point, which we are not called upon to discuss here.

What may be termed the instinct of colonization,—that impulse to go forth, discover, and conquer, and then to multiply in and replenish new territory,—has been implanted by the Creator in all animated beings.

As surely as the fledgeling, conscious of possessing the gift of flight, casts himself from the nest and spreads his pinion to the breeze, as certainly do many of the tall sons go forth from the castle and the homestead, never to meet sire and mother again, until fame and fortune have been won, or until, at the sounding of the last trump, the sea shall give up its dead, and the voice of an archangel shall call over the muster-roll of those who have died in battle for their countries' cause. That same power, which sends the dragon-fly from the alders to hover above the mill-stream, and to spend the few bright hours of its existence among the wild flowers on the other bank, mans our navy and recruits our army. The same God implanted instinct which, yearly, leads hundreds of delicately nurtured children to tear themselves from their mothers' arms and to dare the sufferings and the perils of a seaman's life, urged Humphrey Gilbert—ever intent upon the discovery of a North-West passage to India—forth upon his last voyage, and prompted his dying cry in that dreadful tempest which swallowed up his ship—'Courage, my lads, we are as near heaven at sea as on the land.' This noble instinct, we may be assured, sustained Franklin and the learned, brave and devoted men who accompanied him upon his quest straight into the unknown region of eternal snow, right onward even unto death.

A practical-minded modern writer states the case very much as it stands, being content with the fact without troubling himself about the reasons, when he tells us that 'It is the genius of our restless, discontented English nation to go blundering about the world like buffaloes in search of fresh pasture.'

This migratory spirit has ever been most actively aggressive among the young, the strong, and the ardent of the dominant races. It assumes every form, from the noblest to the basest,—patriotism, ardour for conquest or for the propagation of

religion, scientific zeal, independence, curiosity, daring, love of travel and adventure, ambition, cupidity, the greed of gain. Divested of this instinctive migratory spirit, this stirring of the Viking blood, no country could ever assume the position of a military, naval, or mercantile power.

We need not occupy much time in explaining the broad, practical difference which exists between *Settlement* and *Colonization*. The settler enters a foreign country as a guest, sometimes as an intruder, or, at least, distinctively as an alien. The colonist goes in and occupies as an invader or an heir.

Settlement is, of course, colonization on a small scale, and the less frequently runs into the greater.

In these remarks, we shall understand that the *Colonist* is one who, adopting a new home in a foreign country, determines that he and his children's children shall continue to inhabit that land as their own proper and permanent abiding-place. We shall consider that the *Settler* is one who merely holds himself to be a bird of passage, a foreigner, and temporary sojourner, still belonging to his native country. The Pilgrim Fathers, who, in 1619, landed from the Ship *Mayflower* on Plymouth Rock, in Massachusetts Bay, were colonists. We Britons, who pass a certain number of our years in India with an energy proportioned to our expectation of being allowed to die at Home, are settlers.

No race can be regarded as colonists in a land, the climate of which is such as to preclude them from fully engaging in field labour.

It is a very remarkable and certain fact that the Creator has laid down a system of purely physiological laws, (into which we, as ethnologists, are only now beginning to obtain an insight); which laws most potentially limit and control man's power of settling in and colonizing foreign lands.

For the sake of practical illustration, these laws, or rather their manifestations, may be divided into three leading classes.

1. Those which freely permit and encourage Settlement and Colonization.

2. Those which utterly prohibit either Settlement or Colonization.

3. Those which, permitting Settlement, absolutely forbid Colonization.

Let us briefly consider these laws in detail. *First*, those which freely permit and encourage Settlement and Colonization. The strongest type of these laws may be found in those passages of Scripture which lay down the conditions under which the people of Israel, emigrating from Egypt, colonized the Holy Land.

Behold I have set the land before you, go in and possess the land.—*Deut.* i. 8.

The Lord thy God bringeth thee into a good land.—*Deut.* viii. 7.

I will give you the rain of your land in due season, the first rain and the latter rain, that thou mayest gather in thy corn and thy wine and thy oil.—*Deut.* xi. 14.

Then will the Lord drive out all those nations from before you and ye shall possess greater nations and mightier than yourselves.—*Deut.* xi. 23.

Every place whereon the soles of your feet shall tread shall be yours.—*Deut.* xi. 24.

There shall no man be able to stand before you, for the Lord your God shall lay the fear of you and the dread of you upon all the land that ye shall tread upon.—*Deut.* xi. 25.

By little and little I will drive them out before thee, until thou be increased and inherit the land.—*Exod.* xxiii. 30.

The Lord God of your Fathers make you a thousand times as many more as ye are, and bless you, as he hath promised you!—*Deut.* i. 11.

There shall not be a male or female barren among you, or among your cattle.—*Deut.* vii. 14.

Blessed shalt thou be in the city, and blessed shalt thou be in the field.—*Deut.* xxviii. 3.

Blessed shall be the fruit of thy body, and the fruit of thy ground, and the fruit of thy cattle, the increase of thy kine and the flocks of thy sheep.—*Deut.* xxviii. 4.

In blessing I will bless thee, and in multiplying I will multiply thy seed as the stars of the heaven and as the sand which is upon the sea-shore.—*Gen.* xxii. 17.

And the Lord will take away from thee all sickness.—*Deut.* vii. 15.

Your threshing shall reach unto the vintage, and the vintage shall reach until the sowing time, and ye shall eat your bread in the full, and dwell in your land safely.—*Levit.* xxvi. 5.

I will rid evil beasts out of the land, neither shall the sword go through your land.—*Levit.* xxvi. 6.

It will here be seen that the Creator, from whose liberal hand flow all the blessings of life, strength, health, and wealth which we enjoy, favoured the physical circumstances of his chosen people, the Jews, in a preternatural manner upon their entrance into the Land of Promise. The extremely rapid increase of the immigrant race is, however, even in the present day, the leading test of success in colonization. Thus we are told that England doubles the number of her people in about one hundred

years, Scotland in about one hundred and fifty ; in America, not many years ago, they were being doubled in about twenty-five years ; and it is reckoned that, in less than ninety years, if the rate of increase which prevailed before the present lamentable war continues, the American population will be more than two hundred millions. We, however, know that, whenever a country becomes adequately peopled, the rate of increase in its population abates. In 1790 the United States contained less than four millions white inhabitants. In 1840 this population had risen to upwards of seventeen millions. The rate of immigration into the United States from Europe was quite inadequate to account for this great and rapid increase.

Some idea of the manner in which the population increases in healthy and prosperous colonies may be obtained from the following obituary notices which appeared in one page of the *Gentleman's Magazine* for March 1791 :—‘ 1789, at Northampton, ‘ in Massachusetts, in North America, aged ninety-two, Mr. Josiah ‘ Clark. He was the youngest of eleven children (six sons and five ‘ daughters), three of whom lived to be above ninety, four above ‘ eighty, and three above seventy years of age. From the six ‘ sons only have descended 1,158 children, grand-children, and ‘ great grand-children, of whom 925 are now living.

‘ *December*.—At Dedham, in Massachusetts, aged ninety-two, ‘ Captain Ezra Morse. He had 262 descendants, of whom 216 ‘ survived him, and of these, thirty-five were of the fifth genera- ‘ tion, several of whom have reached their fifteenth and sixteenth ‘ years.’

At present this remarkable law of prosperous increase is said to be most remarkably prevalent in California.

We cannot but think that a study of the laws of population in thriving colonies, to which we have now so slightly alluded, would lead Bishop Colenso to qualify much that he has so confidently stated, especially in his 17th Chapter, on ‘ The number of the ‘ Israelites at the time of the Exodus.’

In alluding to the fact that, under their admirable system of discipline, the Roman soldiers maintained health and vigour in all climates, including parts of Asia and Africa, Gibbon remarked that ‘ man is the only animal which can live and multiply in ‘ every country, from the Equator to the Poles ;’ this truth has to be received with many and considerable qualifications.

It is unquestionable that, even under the most successful circumstances of colonization, as for example in the great European colonies of North America, Australia, and the Cape of Good Hope, the later colonial offspring display a very general and

manifest tendency to degenerate physically from the robust and vigorous type of the original parent stock. This falling off is principally displayed in deficiency of muscle and remarkable slenderness of figure, and in that tendency to the early decay of the teeth, which renders the profession of dentistry so flourishing an undertaking in most of the Colonies.

It is, indeed, held by some very high authorities that the races of men can thrive and permanently maintain themselves only in those localities to which they appear originally to belong. There is a foundation of truth in this idea, but we think that the rule can only be rigidly applied to those who colonize regions, the climate of which is very different from that of their native land. A very able writer thus states the extreme view—‘Is the Spaniard thriving in South America, the Celt or the Saxon in the Northern half? Is there true Colonization in India? Does the Englishman flourish in the islands of the Gulf of Mexico? Could the Negro inhabit Lapland, or could the Northman long flourish on the Senegal or Gambia? Is the Red Man fitted for a large portion of the Western Hemisphere, and does the White Man wax strong amidst the forests of the Far West? Is the standard of health as high among the inhabitants of the Union as it is among their progenitors’ [brethren?] ‘in the British Isles? To point to quarters of the globe at present peopled by races foreign to the land, and apparently flourishing commercially, as facts opposed to such doctrine, is to be open to the reply that annually into these countries have been and still are imported thousands upon thousands of immigrants representing some of the best blood of the colonizing stock. To be able to form a satisfactory conclusion, this constant replenishment must be arrested, and a sufficient length of time allowed to elapse to enable us to see how the foreign race could then propagate and maintain itself in its adopted clime. We believe it would fail and generally die out, and that the period would come, however distant, when the Saxon would no longer be found in Australia, in Kentucky, in Tennessee. Again, we all know that, in the usual places of resort of Europeans within the tropics, the aliens can continue to reside with comparative impunity if moderate caution be adopted. But this is all, whether it be the Rio Formosa or the Rio Colorado, Ashantee, or Madras, whether it be Bengal or Jamaica, Cape Town or Canada, Hispaniola, Chili, Cuba, or Peru, no true European stock can *permanently* colonize the place. We have held India for more than two hundred years, yet we cannot colonize an inch of it. We have planted the white man in America, and there he degenerates!’

It is strikingly remarkable to how very short a distance, whether north or south of his own proper habitat or ethnic circle, man can remove without sustaining considerable detriment. In the paper on Ethno-Climatology, the title of which stands at the head of this article, Dr. James Hunt shewed that the English, when sent to any part of the Mediterranean, suffer far more than in England. It has been proposed to locate British troops at the Mediterranean stations for a time before they proceed to India. This authority suggests that, under such an arrangement, the soldier might gain some advantage in acquiring those habits of caution which a hot climate demands, but he, with great show of justice, apprehends that, if the troops were located in the Mediterranean for a few years before coming to India, the mortality would be far higher when they arrived here, as a large proportion of the men would land with deteriorated constitutions.

Having thus given a mere glimpse of the laws which govern Colonization and Settlement in their more successful aspects, we shall now allude to those which utterly prohibit either Settlement or Colonization.

All countries in which there is much of that deadly poison or miasm, generated in marshes, which gives rise, in its mildest and simplest form, to ague, and in its more concentrated and pernicious developments to dysentery, remittent fever, and cholera, are peculiarly unfavourable to strangers. Thus it very rarely indeed happens that any stranger, whether Native or European, fails to suffer, more or less, from illness during the first month of his sojourn in Calcutta. There are tracts in the Himalayan Terai country where, although the aboriginal inhabitants contrive to exist, all settlers from outside either die or are driven out by disease. Other parts of the Terai are absolutely uninhabitable, and can only be entered at certain seasons. Most of our readers must retain stamped upon their memories Lord Macaulay's last great word-picture,—his narrative of the Darien calamity in 1699. Lured on by the brilliant speculations of an honest but over-ardent financier, and by very narrow historical research chiefly into the accounts of missionaries and pirates, who appear to have visited Darien only during the healthy season, and to have described it as a paradise, unaware or regardless of the warnings contained in the works of Hakluyt and Purchas, which shewed that Darien was noted, even among tropical climates, for its insalubrity,—twelve hundred seamen and colonists embarked from Leith in the summer of 1698, determined to form a settlement upon that narrow isthmus which unites the North and

South American continents, their design being to construct roads along which a string of mules or a wheeled carriage might, in the course of a single day, pass from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean, concentrating in that point the whole traffic between India and Europe, thus securing what Sir John Dalrymple called 'the Gate of the Oceans,' and wholly obviating the necessity for the tedious and dangerous voyage to India and China round the Cape of Good Hope. They reached their destination in November, and established their settlement of New Edinburgh on a small peninsula. The accounts of the first settlers were so encouraging that, in the following August, thirteen hundred more adventurers embarked to join them. Two months later, it was known in London that the Colony of New Caledonia was no more, and that only a few men, broken alike in spirit, fortune, and constitution, had found their way to New York, muttering the tale of a destruction only surpassed by that which the waters of the Red Sea concealed from light. During the cool months which immediately followed their landing, but few deaths occurred; but, before the equinox, pestilential marsh fevers became prevalent, and the deaths gradually increased to ten or twelve a day. Those who were not laid on their beds were so broken by disease as scarcely to be able to move the sick and bury the dead. The shattered remnant embarked on three ships. Upwards of three hundred and ninety persons died on the voyage to New York. Meanwhile, the second expedition reached Darien about four months after the first settlers had fled. 'They had,' in the words of the great historian, 'expected to find a flourishing young town, secure fortifications, cultivated fields, and a cordial welcome. They found a wilderness. The castle of New Edinburgh was in ruins. The huts had been burned. The site marked out for the great capital, which was to have been the Tyre, the Venice, the Amsterdam of the eighteenth century, was overgrown with jungle and inhabited only by the sloth and the baboon.' They, however, re-occupied the ruins and commenced repairs. 'The months which immediately followed their arrival were,' we are told, 'the coolest and most salubrious of the year.' But, even in those months, the pestilential influence of a tropical sun shining on swamps rank with impenetrable thickets of black mangroves, began to be felt, and the mortality was great. Before the end of March they were compelled by the Spaniards to evacuate their settlement. They departed early in April, having lost by disease, in the four healthiest months of the year, three hundred men out of thirteen hundred.

We have evidences of the fact that, where a sufficient number of human lives have been expended in the destructive labour of improvement, spots quite as pestilential as New Caledonia have been made inhabitable ; but this has no special bearing upon the point in question, as, practically, it is impossible to form settlements, much less colonies, in such localities.

We shall now, in considering the developments of those laws, which, permitting settlement, absolutely forbid colonization, begin to deal with the question immediately before us ;—the Settlement and Colonization of India by Europeans.

It has been truly remarked by Dr. William Aitkin, that the white races reach their highest physical and intellectual development, as well as most perfect health and greatest average duration of life above 40° in the Western and 45° in the Eastern Hemispheres ; and that, whenever they emigrate many degrees below these lines, they begin to deteriorate from increased temperature, either alone or combined with other morbid influences incident not less to change of climate than to habits of life. In a tropical climate, like that of India, the European is literally, ethnologically, and physically, an ' Outsider ' and ' Interloper.' He is, in no sense of the term, a colonist. He is scarcely even a settler ; because he can never permanently settle down in a climate, the nature of which is so absolutely inimical to himself and his progeny. He must ever be an ' adventurer ' in the land, adventuring his life with the absolute certainty of having a greater or less portion of it curtailed by the slow or rapid destructive influence of a climate to which his constitution can never thoroughly adapt itself. It was long believed that this adaptation of the constitution to climate, or acclimatization, was a law of nature constantly operative among settlers in tropical climates. But no European ever becomes truly acclimatized in India ; the shock of the first change from a cool to a hot climate has to be got over, and many, by learning the proper mode of living in the country, enjoy better health after a few years' residence than they did on first landing ; but, as a general rule, the rate of mortality increases in proportion to the length of residence in India.

In like manner, Dr. Armstrong and others (as cited by Mr. James Hunt) have observed that Europeans resist the cold of the polar regions better the first year than they do the second, and that every subsequent year they feel the effects of the climate more. Further, Dr. James Hunt has amply proved, by statistical evidence, that, as age increases, so does the mortality in any place out of the native land of a people.

The injurious influence of tropical climates is not at all confined to the human race; the lower animals share it equally. English dogs, horses, and kine are generally unhealthy and short-lived in the East and West Indies, and their breeds cannot be maintained.

We shall consider as proved and granted the facts that the mortality among Europeans in India largely exceeds the Home rate, and that the annual death-rates from the most prevalent diseases, such as dysentery, inflammation of the liver, cholera, and pulmonary consumption, are, by a very large amount, higher among our European troops in this country than they are among the Sepoys.

We have already hinted that no body of men deserve to be regarded as colonists in a country where, feeling themselves incapable of enduring the necessary toil and exposure, they are compelled to engage the services of the natives of the soil in that field labour, without which the existence of a community can nowhere be maintained.

Few men can regard themselves as absolutely independent of the assistance of their fellow-men, but if there is any human being in the world who ought to feel that, to live, he must, under Providence, be absolutely self-reliant, it is the colonist—the opener out of new lands. Recently a local journal, in commenting upon some judicious but by no means novel views lately propounded by Dr. Lewis upon the restorative influence of the sun's rays in certain diseases, remarks:—‘We have always thought that soldiers in India, and indeed Europeans in general, are too much afraid of the sun, and would be far more robust if they exposed themselves to its rays more than they do. It is not the sun that kills our men in India, but the seclusion to which they are restricted to avoid its effects, and the course of diet they pursue.’ Here the remark on diet is not without justice, but the writer falls into the great mistake of confounding the sun's light with the sun's heat. The unwise experiments here recommended have been tried in India only too frequently. In their results they have resembled those of the man who attempted to keep his horse without food, and of the Czar Peter, who imagined that children could be inured to drinking sea-water. Just as the experimenters began to grow most sanguine, those experimented upon died. Hear what Dr. James Hunt has lately said on this point:—‘Many writers have observed that, with the natives, those most free from disease are those who toil all day in the burning sun with no covering at all to the head. Ignorance as to the difference of race has induced some commanders to attempt

'thus to *harden* the Europeans, with results something frightful to contemplate. One of the regiments that had been longest in India, the Madras Fusiliers, is stated to have been reduced from eight hundred and fifty to one hundred and twenty fit for duty.' Many similar cases have been produced by needless exposure. Mr. Jeffreys says that 'Her Majesty's 44th Regiment, in 1823, were 900 strong, and a very fine body of men. The Commanding Officer insisted that confinement of the men during the day was effeminate, and continued drilling them after the hot season had begun. But the men suffered the penalty of the officer's ignorance.' 'For some months,' says Mr. Jeffreys, 'not less than one-third, and for some weeks, one-half of the men were in hospital at once, chiefly with fever, dysentery, and cholera. I remember to have seen, for some time, from four to ten bodies in the dead-room of a morning, many of them specimens of athletes.'

Every medical man who has seen much practice in India knows that natives are frequently killed by sun-stroke, and we may take it for granted, that nowhere in India, whether in the Shevaroy Hills, at Ootacamund, or in the Dhera of the Dhoon, will any circumstances of season, temperature or altitude justify us in employing Europeans continuously in field labour.

One of the chief impediments to the colonization of India by Europeans is the almost absolute impossibility of raising healthy children in the plains. Nearly every one understands this, practically and painfully, and the following illustrations of the fact are, doubtless, familiar to many of our readers.

According to Major-General Bagnold, the oldest English Regiment, the Bombay 'Toughs,' notwithstanding that marriages with British females are encouraged, have never been able, from the time of Charles II. to this time, to raise boys enough to supply the drummers and fifers.

In giving evidence before the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the affairs of the East India Company in 1832, Colonel Charles Hopkinson remarked that, when he was a subaltern in his Corps, it was his custom and duty to go round the places where the Europeans lived, to see that they were comfortable, and had got their houses and streets clean. In going there so frequently, he had an opportunity of seeing children in great numbers of pure European blood, yet, as long as he had been in the service, *he could not recollect above one instance where one of those children attained maturity.* The circumstance made a deep impression on him, and, for many years, he made enquiries on this subject, but he never could

ascertain that, in any Corps, the children ever lived ; if they did, many would then have borne arms or been serving in the public offices. This struck him the more forcibly from the circumstance of many young men who have come out as recruits in the artillery, wanting to get their discharge, to obtain which it was necessary a substitute should be provided. Now, if any, even a very small, proportion of those children born had lived to attain the age of maturity, there would have been no difficulty whatever in getting substitutes ; but he never knew or even heard of one single instance, in the Madras establishment, where one was so procured, or where a man born in India, of pure European blood, ever attained an age sufficiently mature to be taken as a substitute.

So long ago as the year 1835, Dr. Twining, of Calcutta, published the question, ' Does the third generation of the European race exist in India, all the individuals being of pure European descent, and having been born and reared in this country ? ' This plain question has been known, probably, to every medical man throughout India for nine and twenty years. Many medical officers long engaged with European troops and attached to invalid depôts, have, to our knowledge, been greatly interested in its investigation, but, in no single instance has it ever been answered in the affirmative.

Of late years, much has been done to improve the condition of the European barrack children in the Military Stations of the plains of India, and the facts above stated and many others of equal significance led to the institution of those noble charities, the Lawrence Hill Asylums. We have, however, already shewn that, in the plains, the mortality rate among the barrack children is enormously high. (Here we must bear in mind Mr. Simon's remark,* that ' it cannot be too distinctly recognized that a high local mortality of children must always necessarily denote a high local prevalence of those causes ' which determine a degeneration of race '), and it is much to be doubted whether, in its politico-economic point of view, the experiment of bringing up soldiers' children in very remote hill stations, at a cost for which gentlemen's children could be boarded and educated for professions in Europe, can fairly be regarded as any part of a working system of true colonization.

Many of the details contained in the periodical reports of the Lawrence Asylum are very interesting and encouraging. Thus,

* Preface to Greenhow's Papers on the ' Sanitary Condition of England,' cited by Dr. Moore, of Bombay.

in that of the Mount Aboo School, for the year before last, it is mentioned that only three children have died there in nearly eight years, during which the strength of pupils ranged from twenty in 1855, to from fifty to sixty in 1860-61. The general appearance and development of the little ones are said to display the beneficial results of their sojourn in so favourable a climate. During the year under report two of the eldest boys, aged fifteen and a half and sixteen years, were provided for, and two girls were married at the respective ages of sixteen and seventeen years.

On the other hand, the cost of this experiment must again be adverted to. It cannot be anticipated that the average of European colonists in India could afford to pay, say £20 to 25 annually, for the maintenance of each of their children in the Hills. Those who could do so would much prefer to send their children home. Two years ago, Mr. Walker, of Bombay,* shewed that the revenue of the Byculla, Poonah, and other Bombay Schools would afford £22 11s. 7d. per head annually, and argued that, with such a revenue as this, the soldiers' children could be well fed, clothed, and educated in a fine healthy part of Yorkshire, where food, fuel, and clothing are cheaper than in any other part of the world. The experiment of the Lawrence Schools is so new that we are still not in a position to judge how far the children brought up in these isolated spots, within or not many degrees above the tropic line, will equal their English cousins in mental and bodily vigour. In writing on the climate of the Neilgherry Hills, Dr. Mackay remarks—'Children brought up here, apparently strong and healthy in their youth, in after years shew constitutional weaknesses, and this I have observed to be the case particularly with females.'

Further, it is greatly to be feared that the best of our Hill Sanitaria will, the longer they are occupied, and the more the various insanitary influences almost inseparable from residence within very limited spaces accumulate about them, lose much of that reputation for great salubrity, which, in every one of them, with the exception of Darjeeling, Nynee Tal, and Murree, is already on the wane. The extra-tropical hill Sanitaria of the Bengal and Bombay Presidencies generally afford but little dwelling space for large bodies of men, and we have strong medical grounds for believing that, should these localities ever become overcrowded, maladies partaking of the most malignant characters of the diseases of both cold and tropical climates will attack the settlers.

* The *Times of India* for November 25th, 1861, as cited by Dr. W. G. Moore, of Bombay.

In the mountain Sanitaria of Madras, the pernicious influence of a fierce tropical sun, which no elevation or atmospheric rarefaction can wholly counteract, will always prove an insuperable obstacle to Europeans seeking to maintain themselves by labour in the open air.

It is by no means certain that the climate of these great altitudes would, in the long run, prove favourable to any race, whether European or Native, immigrant from plain countries. It is known that, although the native Peruvian thrives and remains free from pulmonary complaints at an altitude from 7,000 to 15,000 feet above the level of the sea, such altitudes, as in Quito, are frequently destructive to the white.* D'Orbigny goes so far as to assert that in Peru, at the altitude above mentioned, the form of the trunk is changed by the influence of respiration, the body is short but compact, whilst the inhabitants of the damp lowlands are more slender in form. Recognising the fact that the anatomical construction and physical constitution of every animal is distinctly adapted to that habitat in which Providence has located it, we have the strongest doubts whether any people, coming from the plains of Europe, could successfully colonize the mountains of India.

The world has never yet seen a truly successful attempt to colonize, in anything like an adequate sense of the term, a tropical district by Europeans, and here it must be borne in mind that all the extra-tropical country of our three Presidencies is visited by an almost more than tropical heat and by the worst tropical diseases. The only instance of the apparent success of such an undertaking is that of the Spaniards, who have been, for many generations, settled in tropical America. The evidences of this success, however, are neither strong nor encouraging. Upon this question Dr. Hunt has the following very striking remarks:—"Some authors think that the question of the European propagating himself in the tropics has been settled by the fact that, for three centuries, the Spanish race has lived and thrived in tropical America." Mr. Crawford says:—"The question, whether the European race is capable of living and multiplying in a tropical or other hot region, seems to have been settled in the affirmative on a large scale in America. Of the pure Spanish race there are, at present, probably not fewer than six millions mostly within the tropics. But it is a wholly gratuitous assumption, unsupported by facts, to suppose that anything like this number of the Spanish race exist in America. If

* Waltz.

“we were to read for Mr. Crawford’s ‘millions’ the word ‘‘ ‘thousands,’ we should, perhaps, be nearer the truth. In ‘‘ ‘Mexico, it is estimated that there are not more than ten ‘‘ ‘thousand of the pure race, reckoning both Creoles and immi- ‘‘ ‘grants.* What a small proportion is this to those who left ‘‘ ‘their native land and have never returned again! For three ‘‘ ‘hundred years Spain has poured out her richest blood on her ‘‘ ‘American Colonies, almost at the price of her own extinction, ‘‘ ‘without the slightest prospect of being able to establish a ‘‘ ‘Spanish race in Central America. Never was there a greater ‘‘ ‘failure than the attempt of the Spaniards to colonize tropical ‘‘ ‘America. Those who have watched the gradual change of ‘‘ ‘the Spanish Colonies must be convinced of the fallacy of ‘‘ ‘quoting this as a case of successful colonization of tropical ‘‘ ‘countries by Europeans. When the continual influx of new ‘‘ ‘blood from Spain was taking place, the change was not so much ‘‘ ‘observed; but now immigration has ceased, the pure Spanish ‘‘ ‘race is diminishing rapidly. All recent observations shew ‘‘ ‘that the Indian blood is again shewing out in a most remark- ‘‘ ‘able manner. Instead of the Spaniards flourishing, there ‘‘ ‘seems every prospect of their entire extinction, unless fresh ‘‘ ‘blood is sent from Europe. The extinction of the Spanish race ‘‘ ‘in America was likewise predicted, more than twenty years ago, ‘‘ ‘by Dr. Knox. There is no doubt that this result has been ‘‘ ‘greatly owing to the mixture of Spanish and Indian blood.’ ”

The evidences of the fact that the European race degenerates miserably in South America are overwhelmingly strong.

Many years ago, M. Pauw stated that the Creoles, descending from Europeans and born in America, though educated in the Universities of Mexico and Lima, and of College de Santa Fé, have never produced a single book. The Creoles, both of North and South America, he adds, come to a maturity of intellect, such as theirs is, more early than the children in Europe; but this anticipation of ripeness is short-lived in proportion to the unseasonableness of its appearance; for the Creole falls off as he approaches to puberty; his vivacity deserts him, his powers grow dull, he ceases to think at the very time that he might think to some purpose; hence it is commonly said of them that they are already blind at the time that other men begin to see.

* It has since been asserted, in the Cortes, by Don Pachero, that the pure Spanish race in Mexico does not amount to more than eight thousand. In 1793, Humboldt estimated the pure Spanish race, in New Spain, to consist of 1,200,000.

Dr. Waitz has accumulated a vast mass of proofs to the same effect. We shall quote some of his facts, omitting the references for the sake of brevity :—

‘ In the plains of Cordova and San Luis (Argentine Republic) the pure Spanish race predominates ; the young females are frequently of a white rose colour and delicate structure. Yet living in a state of isolation, the Spaniards have not exhibited greater activity and a stronger tendency to civilisation than the Aborigines of that country. The German and Scottish Colonies south of Buenos Ayres, with their flourishing and neat villages, form a decided contrast to the former. The white settlers south of Buenos Ayres are scarcely less rude and barbarous than the Indians. Criminals and the scum of all nations who take refuge among them instruct them in all that is wicked. Many cruelties and devastations are committed by these lawless men, over whom the Indian Chiefs have no authority. The Creoles of the La Plata States are almost as godless and dirty as the Indians. To construct windmills is beyond their mechanical talent, and, notwithstanding the great fertility of the soil, there is no garden to be seen on the high road from Buenos Ayres to Barranquitos. Except in the villages there is no cultivation of the soil. To catch lice is the chief amusement of the women, who offer them to strangers as dainties. They are dirty beyond measure ; they are even deficient in curiosity. A similar description is given of the inhabitants of Tucuman. The Indians of Rioja are simple-minded, sober men, whose disputes never lead to bloodshed ; they are more industrious and persevering than the Spanish Creoles, and their festivals never exhibit the same coarseness which distinguishes those of the Creoles. Many of the common utensils and tools of the Chilians, carts, looms, ploughs, are extremely clumsy, scarcely better than those of the Indians ; the axe is chiefly used, the saw but little. They are outdone by the superior agriculture of the Araucarians—they are very cleanly in their persons, they bathe several times daily, and by their cleanliness in the villages the Indians of the Tropics in America contrast with the immigrant South Europeans. In the vicinity of Talcahuano (Chili) D’Urville found such miserable dirty huts, that they could scarcely stand comparison with the habitations of the Polynesians. Helus, after describing the indolent habits of the Creoles of South America, adds, ‘ The Indians are the only industrious class in the country.’ The colonists in the Llanos of Curracas are too lazy to dig a well, though they know that they could find the finest springs at the depth of

‘ ten feet. Even at this day there may be found in New Spain flourishing Indian villages and a well cultivated soil, near miserable villages of white Creoles. Ploughs are there in use made of wood without any iron, and are always drawn by oxen, never by horses; and the Spanish Californians, whom Simpson has described as lazy and degraded, still avail themselves of a miserable plough and the canoe of the Indians. In Brazil the structure of bridges is neglected even on the high road from Rio Janeiro to Villa Rica, and agriculture is carried on according to the model of the Indians. The forest is burnt down: they sow, reap, and abandon the land after a few harvests. The Brazilian peasant, especially in the central and northern provinces of the Empire, is both lazy and proud; he despises labour as dishonourable, he cares little for habitation and dress, suffering rather from heat and cold. His religious ideas, his belief in wood-spirits and other spectres, is as absurd as that of the Botocudes. The children of the Portuguese settled in the Sertajo grow up indolent and become prodigal; their farms fall into decay. Ignorance and superstitious belief in witchcraft, spectres, and amulets are universal; they have lost all the dignity of human nature, and only pass from their apathy to the grossest sensuality. Though pacific and hospitable, they are devoid of any intellectual or moral activity. Women and gambling form the sole objects of interest, and there are here some few Portuguese refugees who have forgotten religion, the knowledge of the use of money, and even of salt.

‘ In Goyaz it is not much better; the colonists are enervated by early excesses; concubinage is so common amongst them that a married man is an object of mockery. Poverty is prevalent; their indolence is remarkable; fraud, especially falsification of the gold, is general. Something similar may be found in other mining and gold districts. The thirst for gold and labour is succeeded by wealth and prodigality; then succeed enervation, misery, poverty, and all vices. There has, for a long time, existed in the islands Fernando Noronha a Portuguese criminal colony. No trace of agriculture is visible there, nor is any amelioration of their miserable condition thought of. The people smoke, gamble, or lie in their hammocks; they have but a miserable ferry-boat, so that Webster exclaims in astonishment:—‘ Is it possible that these people are the progeny of the seafaring Portuguese, who were so eminent as navigators? In Africa the condition of the Portuguese is equally miserable. On the West Coast, where they settled in the sixteenth century, they have intermixed with the Negroes,

'and are pretty numerous ; they live in forests ; and it is their influence which obstructs the progress of the Siberia Republic among the Negroes. The indolence of the Portuguese on the east coast of Africa nearly equals that of the Negroes ; their chief object is an existence which may be attained with the least possible effort. The horrors of their dominion and of their own degeneration are described by Omboni. In Angola, they have introduced no other agricultural implement but the hoe ; and manioc, which affords but small nutriment, is still the chief vegetable aliment. The condition of the Europeans in the Banda Islands is but little better. Nearly all the Spanish and Portuguese Colonies rival each other in proving how little these nations are able to spread civilization in other regions ; since, separated from their native country, they are not even capable of preserving the culture they have brought with them. The English and the French have, in this respect, proved more successful ; but this superiority can only partly be ascribed to the superiority of the original stock, and to the care of the Government of their mother-countries to keep up the intercourse of the Colonies with the civilized world. Nevertheless we learn that, in the Mauritius for instance, the population of which is chiefly French, the condition of agriculture before the advent of the English (1810) was as bad as in the Spanish Colonies ; ploughs were scarce, and the fields were not manured.'

Dr. Waitz adds :—' It may be objected that several of the instances cited referred to mixed populations and not to pure Europeans. Still it must be admitted that, even in these cases, the European blood, despite the improvement of the race which is usually ascribed to its infusion, has not proved its efficiency in raising the breed one step above the condition of the aborigines ; and that even in such cases there was no intermixture, or a very slight one, the degeneracy of the population was nearly the same. The assertion that the European alone is capable of taking the initiative in civilization, and that the impulse thereunto is a peculiarity of the race, must, after the quoted facts, be considerably modified, for they prove, at least, that the white man is not much less dependent on external circumstances in his progress towards civilization than the black man. This is plainly shewn when we consider man in his individual capacity.'

In discussing this Spanish American Colonization question, it has always been considered that, in all probability owing to the strong interfusion of Moorish blood in Spain, the Spaniards,

like all the other dark Europeans, endure the heat of the tropics better than the white Europeans do. Colonel Flinter, long ago, observed that the Spanish soldier suffers less, and the British soldier more from the effects of the West India climate than those of any other nation. This, he considers, may be partly attributed to the climate of Spain being warmer than that of England. Judging by latitude, which, however, is not always a valid criterion, residence in Mexico ought not to be more trying to a native of Madeira than removal to Kamptee would be to a Sikh of Lahore.

In the present day, it is needless to devote much time to the argument that the increase of a mixed race in India would prove a failure both ethnologically and politically. Such races are never vigorous. Dr. Waitz shews that the half-breeds of Negroes, Indians, and Whites in Panama, are very prolific between each other, but cannot easily rear their children, whilst families of pure blood are less prolific, but bring their children up. The progeny of Chinese by Malay women in the East Indian Archipelago are said to die early. According to Dr. Yvan, the children of the Dutch and Malay women in Java are said to be only productive to the third generation. They are well developed up to the fifteenth year, when they remain stationary. In the third generation chiefly daughters are born, and these remain barren. It is also asserted that the children of Europeans in Batavia become frequently sterile in the second generation.

It was shewn in the *Calcutta Review* for September 1858, that,—while the respectable and provident portion of the East Indian community of Bengal are, at certain ages, subject to a less rate of mortality than that which prevails among any other class of Christians in India;—the mortality rate among members of the Uncovenanted Service Fund between the ages of twenty-six and fifty years was by no means favourable as compared with English rates, being 20·78 in the thousand. The mortality rate among East Indian ladies between the ages of fifteen and sixty-eight is higher, being 22·55 per mille.

The above facts and comparisons lead us to the conclusion that India comes fully within the category of those regions, which, permitting settlement, absolutely forbid colonization by Europeans. If it be considered a fact, proved on ethnological data, that it is physically impossible that our race should colonize India in the strict sense of the term, it, of course, becomes needless to waste time and argument in enquiring whether it would be either wise, humane, or profitable to attempt such a measure upon a national scale.

There can, however, be no doubt whatever that the extension of European *settlement* in India is one of the most interesting and important questions of the day. There is, undoubtedly, a great call for European settlers in India. And, with the assistance of native labour, abundance of profitable work lies before them in directing the clearance of jungle in Oudh and the Dhoon, in rearing cinchona trees on the slopes of the Himalayas and the Neilgherries, and in coffee and tea planting in Assam, Cachar, Darjeeling, and Kumaon. This measure, while it will tend vastly to confirm our power in India, will, strictly conducted, prove a large source of good to the natives of the soil, by the employment and agricultural teaching of multitudes of labourers, and by increasing the value of vast tracts of land which, at present, lie waste in the occupation of Zemindars. It is also to be borne in mind that the influence which is most inimical to the health of Europeans in India is the ill-distribution of trees and water throughout the country. Jungles and swamps are the main sources of Indian pestilences; the want of trees in the plains of Upper India, as barriers against the hot blasts from Sahara, was fully recognised and profitably remedied, for a time, by the ancient native rulers. By judicious clearing, planting, drainage, and irrigation, India may still be made what similar measures had rendered the lands of Babylon when Herodotus viewed them, the garden of the World, possessing a not disagreeable and tolerably healthy climate, in which European settlers may expect to lead industrious, pleasant, and happy lives in their plantations, sending their children home for education and re-invigoration, and calling them hither again, at full age, to become their successors in the land.

The men of England have been called to India by Divine mandate for many works, among which the systematic colonization of the country is not one. Industrially our mission here is to develop Indian enterprise, and to lay open the rich resources of the country. Morally, we are called upon to teach and civilize the people. To succeed as settlers in any land, we must first decipher from historic evidence those laws which the Father of All has legibly recorded for the governance of the dominant races when settling among rude and heathen people. The buccaneering settlers of ancient times neglected the true aims of colonization, and they reaped the fruit of their evil labours in disappointment and curses. We see Hernando Cortez in his progress towards Mexico, El Dorado acting like a magnet upon every sword-blade in his Company, coveting whatever he saw, grasping whatever he coveted,

exchanging collars of glass for armour and carkanets of beaten gold, burning the villages which refused to victual him, empowered only with the falsehood that to his master 'the monarchie of the universall did appertain,' and with the jibe that 'hee and his fellowes had a disease of the heart, whereunto gold was 'the best remedie.'*

About a hundred years later, we see Walter Raleigh going forth upon the same search for Mexican gold, professing, and probably with sterling truth, a desire to deliver the Indians from the tyranny of Spain, but ever intent upon 'the Star that directed him 'thither,—the great Guiana mine,' with utter disregard to the prior rights of the Spaniards, retorting upon those who accused him of piracy, 'Did you ever know of any who were pirates 'for millions? They only that wish for small things are 'pirates,' and, at the very last, encouraging his men with the cry, 'Come, my lads, do not despair. If the worst comes to the 'worst, there is the Plate Fleet to fall back upon!' Cortes sinks a heart-broken and disappointed man at the feet of the Monarch whom he served better than he served his God. Raleigh, beyond all comparison the noblest spirit of his time, ends that most brilliant and most disastrous career on a scaffold in Old Palace Yard, vainly attempting to prove to the gaping crowd that he had striven to live an honest man.

Certain lands have been, providentially, baited with gold, palm oil, diamonds, pearl-oysters, not that greedy men should flock thither, and, having filled their hands, their pockets, their chests, and their ships, return home to enjoy the profit or the plunder, but rather that, with the tide of trade, the wise, the pious, the educated, the largely humane should be attracted thither to spread among the people of the soil, whom their Father loves well, commerce, religion, civilization, agriculture, arts.

Thus England reads her duty in the present day, her religion and her policy alike teach her that the first principle of colonization and settlement is to render those subject nations for whom she legislates more virtuous, wiser, healthier, more prosperous, happier than they ever were before our standard was planted on their shores.

All revelation and all history combine in teaching us that the power of conquest and its inseparable attribute, the duty of civilization, are the Almighty's chief instruments in working out the moral and social advancement of mankind.

* Purchas, his Pilgrimage.

From age to age these have, manifestly, wrought together. Wherever the angel with the drawn sword has sped forth, the angel with the open book has followed—at an appointed time. Our rulers know and act upon these principles, let us who throng hitherward with our swords, our learning, and our arts, be careful that we do not forget them.

ART. VI.—*Sir Charles Trevelyan and his Budget.*

THE Budget system is now fairly established throughout the length and breadth of our Indian empire, and it must be admitted that few administrative changes have proved so productive of good. Five years ago the finances of India were hopeless, only because they were unintelligible. Like the accounts of a household after severe domestic affliction, little was known beyond the fact that there existed a heavy amount of liabilities and an entire absence of ready money, whilst it was apparent to every Native and European mind that the excess of expenditure over income was daily aggravating the evil. The sheet anchor of the old Indian Financiers in those days lay in that mysterious treasure known as the cash balances, which nobody rightly understood, but which were expected to form a very handsome set off to the Indian debt, had any machinery existed for rendering them available for the purpose. Certain accountants too of large imaginations indulged in vague dreams of the vast savings which would be effected by the non-payment of pensions to the mutinied sepoys. But even these assets proved to be singularly small when brought under critical review, and accordingly a reduction of the public expenditure was sagely determined upon. It is difficult to estimate the patriotic efforts which were made in this direction. A band of severe and inflexible economists commenced the task of discharging office peons, stopping punkahs, and compelling office clerks to write on half sheets of foolscap instead of whole sheets. At last it became evident that new taxes were desirable, but then arose the difficult questions who and what were to be taxed? To tax the Natives seemed a difficult operation, as there was little, if any thing, to tax but their clothes, and a tax upon these would have reduced whole classes to a Paradisean simplicity and uniformity. So the European and East Indian communities were selected as the victims, and a prohibitory tax was laid upon some of their pleasantest little vanities, such as jam and pickles, beer and ladies' bonnets. The results were extremely mortifying; every body was dissatisfied, the imports rapidly declined, and the amount raised was a trifle.

Yet did these feeble and tentative efforts arise from no want of ability in our Indian administrators, but simply from pressure exercised at home. In olden times, when India was six months from England, we should have tided on by means of loans, until

some vigorous Governor-General began to apply the shears to the military expenditure. Such was the precedent established at the end of the last Mahratta war; and old warriors still remember how the deficit created in the days of Lord Hastings was endured till the administration of Lord William Bentinck. But in 1859 the aspect of Indian affairs had undergone a complete change. Victories had been achieved, but no fresh territories had been conquered. The Home Government, which had ever regarded India with eager eye, suddenly wrested the empire from the Company, and in the true commercial spirit sought to raise the public credit by the announcement that the Crown would take up the direct administration of the country, but declined to be responsible for the Indian debt. The ablest men in this country and at home, amongst whom Lord Stanley was pre-eminent, still expressed the most hopeful views of Indian resources, views which we need scarcely say have been more than realised. But the Whig opposition held that India was in a state of hopeless insolvency, and exercised such a pressure, that the Government of India was literally forced into premature action; and under these circumstances, and while their eyes were not quite clear from the mists with which the great mutiny had overcast them, it is not surprising that errors should have been made, that measures of reduction and taxation which were to prove utterly futile should have been proposed, that erroneous balance sheets should have been sent home, and that Government should have borrowed five millions more than were required.

But if mistakes were made in India, those made in England were infinitely greater. Philanthropists clamoured for the repeal of the salt tax, moralists wished to give up the opium duty, political economists urged the repeal of the land tax, whilst reckless irrigationists pressed upon the Government to borrow a hundred millions or thereabouts for the purpose, as far as the lay mind could judge, of damming up all the rivers and flooding the country. Then arose the outcry for a home-made Chancellor of the Exchequer. Sir Charles Trevelyan, then Governor of Madras, had pointed out as early as 1859, that the introduction of the Budget system, and the reduction of the overgrown military expenditure, would suffice to place the Indian finances on a sound footing. But public opinion must be respected, and in 1860 the late Mr. James Wilson landed at Calcutta as Indian Chancellor. Mr. Wilson's merits were his own, and require no acknowledgment here; his errors were such as any English-bred statesman would naturally commit. His

grand panacea for the depressed state of the Indian finances—an income tax and a license tax—was an error of this class. True, he took the opinion of certain native Zemindars upon the subject, but few of these have minds capable of grappling with a foreign idea such as that of an income tax, while a sense of politeness, and a desire to avoid offence, would lead a native gentleman to acquiesce in the opinions of an English statesman of such reputation as Mr. Wilson, especially upon a point which he could not understand. It was thus by means of his personal reputation, by the prestige which accompanied his appointment, by his declaration that there was no other course to pursue, and that the native aristocracy were prepared for the measure, combined with the financial pressure, which enabled Mr. Wilson to carry his Income tax into effect. At the same time the Budget system which had been recommended by Sir Charles Trevelyan a year previously, was fairly initiated.

It was at this epoch that the direful collision took place between Sir Charles Trevelyan and Mr. Wilson. The character of Sir Charles Trevelyan is less easy of apprehension than that of the purely English Financier, inasmuch as it has been formed in many and widely different schools. Sir Charles was for many years a Bengal Civilian in civil and political employ; he was afterwards for twenty years a Secretary in the Treasury at home; and since then he has been Governor of Madras and Financial Minister at Calcutta. Few men have been more misunderstood, and few have received more undeserved blame or unintelligent eulogy; and perhaps a brief statement of facts may not be without its use in arriving at a clear conception of the measures and policy, as well as the personal idiosyncracies, of a statesman who is destined to fill so prominent a place in the history of the period through which we are now passing. His early career as a Bengal Civilian was passed within that interval of profound peace, which is still one of the most remarkable periods in the annals of British Indian administration. In 1826 the last smouldering embers of the Mahratta war were trampled out at the capture of Bhurtpore, and twelve years passed away before the public tranquillity was disturbed, the national progress was arrested, and the British prestige seriously damaged by our senseless interference in the affairs of Cabul. In truth, those were halcyon days; the British Government was generous and just, and the British name was honoured and revered throughout the length and breadth of the land. Perhaps there was a superabundance of sentiment, and a gushing Pecksniffian tone which has not altogether passed away, but the tran-

quillity was undoubted, and the reconciliation of the subject races was real and progressive. This was the school in which Mr. Trevelyan passed his first years of public life, and those who can remember him thirty years ago, when the young Deputy Secretary in the Foreign Office was equally enthusiastic in the cause of education, Roman alphabets, and abolition of transit duties, speak of him as being even then apparently destined to hold a high position in the public service of India. This prophecy has been fulfilled—but not in the way expected, nor to the fullest extent. Mr. Trevelyan became overshadowed and over-influenced by Mr. Macaulay, and began to weary of Indian life, and to turn an eager eye to English politics. This to some extent was unfortunate for himself. Sir Charles is a master of the pen, but no public speaker; and in England oratory is essential to success, whilst a reputation is chiefly gained in India by a clear and ready pen. But then Sir Charles possessed a power which his bitterest opponents cannot deny him, and which invariably wins in the long run, namely, a power of work, a power of getting up and exhausting any subject, no matter how foreign to his previous training, and of retaining the results in his memory for ever. Thus, there is scarcely an official question which can arise in any department either in India or in England, that Sir Charles cannot say he has studied for the last thirty years or thereabouts; and, however overpowering and unpleasant to a political adversary such a statement might prove in controversy, there would be no doubt of its truth. After leaving Bengal, Sir Charles enjoyed twenty years' experience as Secretary of the Treasury in Downing Street, for in his case the term Assistant Secretary was a misnomer. The work he performed there can only be known to home officials, but it is known to every home official. Before his time the Public Offices at home were singularly corrupt. At every change of Government, whether the new Ministers were Tories or Whigs, they were called upon to reward not merely their Parliamentary supporters, and the dependents of those supporters, but even those who had voted for those supporters in borough or county elections; and thus patriotic publicans, butchers, and others, would refuse the vulgar bribe of a "flimsy" or a bag of sovereigns, and demand a clerk's place in the War Office, the Admiralty, or the Customs for the most hopeful scion of the family. This evil was conquered by Sir Charles Trevelyan after a struggle which lasted for years. The system of examinations was introduced; every one of the thousand and one public establishments in the British Empire was reorganized; whilst the system of promotions was rendered so intelligible,

that a public servant at last discovered that the best way of attaining success was not to dun his Parliamentary friends into bringing their influence to bear upon his official superiors, but simply to deserve it by doing his work zealously and well. All this is due to Sir Charles Trevelyan, and we mention it not as one great measure accomplished, so much as a type of the class of measures which he carried out. In like manner he reorganized the whole system of keeping the public accounts; and he drew up a plan for abolishing the purchase system in the army, which we yet expect to see adopted, or made the basis of future measures. What he did in the matter of public works; or how much and how often he has aided different Cabinets by exhaustive minutes on many other questions, whether Indian, Home, or Colonial, Civil, Military, Judicial, or Financial, is beyond all calculation. Some of these measures were open to criticism, some may have been, as they have often been called, the crotchets of a doctrinaire; yet we may safely say that the labours of Sir Charles Trevelyan have done more towards the purification, the organization, and the efficiency of the public service than the labours of any single public servant since the memory of man.

In 1857 and 1858, amidst the convulsion of the great mutiny the letters of Indophilus largely attracted the attention of the Government and the public; and thus it was that early in 1859, Sir Charles Trevelyan was appointed Governor of Madras. Here his public character was for the first time justly estimated. We may sum it up by saying that he is an admirable administrator, with a weak point which may be rather indicated than described, as the absence of that Parliamentary tact which conciliates opposition by compromise, and knows when to surrender a detail in order to conserve a principle. It is precisely this facility which training such as that of Sir Charles Trevelyan cannot confer; and all that is regrettable in his public career is due to the want of it. That inflexibility and pertinacity are valuable qualities no true Briton will deny; and they must lead to victory in the long-run; but there are times in which to avoid a battle is worth twice as much as a victory; and at such times qualities which never prevent, and often necessitate, fighting are not to be indiscriminately applauded. But Sir Charles Trevelyan's training furnished him with elements of strength as well as of weakness; especially with the experience which has been of such service to him. He was the first statesman who landed in India with an exhaustive knowledge of English administration, combined with a practical experience of

Indian affairs; whilst he had already achieved enough to gain for him the prestige and public confidence which are so important in strengthening the hands of a statesman eager for reorganization and reform. He was known as having laboured earnestly and successfully as a Bengal Civilian in bringing about the abolition of the transit duties; and as having carried out as Chief in the Treasury that reorganization of public establishments, and purification of the public service, which we have already noticed.

The history of Madras prior to 1859 was almost as well known to the external world as the history of Timbuctoo. The country is poor, the people are poor, and the commerce is insignificant. The Madras army proved loyal during the mutiny, and there had been no war within the Presidency since the days of Tippoo. Throughout the whole period of English rule, a period of more than a century, there are only two Governors who have earned for themselves an enduring place in the history of India; these are Sir Thomas Munro and Sir Charles Trevelyan. Munro was a hardworking, old-fashioned, deaf gentleman, and who had originally landed at Madras in 1780 as a cadet in the Madras Army, and served against Hyder under Coote and Hector Munro. In later years he was employed to settle the provinces wrested from Tippoo, and this work he accomplished with all the exhaustive knowledge of a native revenue official, and with all the straightforward honesty and purity of a thorough English gentleman. Throughout his long career, closing with his Governorship of Madras from 1820 to 1827, he conciliated the Natives by his popular manners and kind-heartedness, and gained a high reputation amongst his countrymen by his zeal, knowledge, and literary ability. His appearance had always been primitive, especially in the matter of costume; and it is said that, whilst out in camp, he would tie up his pig-tail with the official red tape; but that bit of red tape was more significant, and more revered, than many a ribbon and garter. To Governor Munro Madras owes that little understood and greatly vilified system known as the Ryotwary, which is only now by a reduction of assessment getting fair play, and which though still encumbered by a multiplicity of useless rules and pedantic distinctions of soils, is in itself so well adapted to an agricultural population in a poor country, that the poverty-stricken ryots of the Carnatic after generations of depression are fast rising in prosperity, whilst the extension of cultivation is proceeding at a rate elsewhere unparalleled. To Munro also are owing many judicial and revenue reforms which are still preserved in the

memory of Madrasees, and some admirable Minutes which will be a guide to the student and administrator of Southern India for generations to come. One more title to fame links him with the immediate subject of our sketch; he was the first Governor in this country, who appears to have given any attention to the education of the Natives. From his sudden death in 1827 to the arrival of Sir Charles Trevelyan in 1859, the memory of Sir Thomas Munro was held in grateful remembrance throughout Southern India; but since that period Sir Charles seems to have succeeded to his place in the popular affections. But upon this point we need not comment. It will be sufficient to say that during the fifteen months Sir Charles Trevelyan ruled at Madras, he carried out more reforms and devised more plans for reform than any other Indian statesman within an equal period of time. Education, Public Works, a revision of the Judicial and Revenue establishments, the reorganization of the Police, a People's Park, a new and delightful promenade open to the sea breeze, and a thousand other measures were either carried out or planned out; whilst public officers were kept in a state of wholesome activity, not unmixed with dread, by his unceasing vigilance and his perennial craving for information and reports. But the great measure and the one by which Sir Charles Trevelyan has really earned for himself a lasting reputation, was the settlement of Madras Enams; and the successful issue of this measure is the more startling, as every attempt made in Bengal and Bombay to settle these provoking and intricate tenures, had proved a failure. In Madras, however, where the difficulties were increased twenty-fold by the multiplicity of small holdings, the settlement has been carried out in a manner highly satisfactory to the Enamdars themselves, whilst adding more than ten lakhs per annum to the public revenue. Much of this success may be attributed to the ability and good sense of Mr. Taylor, the Enam Commissioner; but the chief credit of the measure must be given to the Governor. One significant fact connected with this Enam settlement is worthy of general notice. Both in England and in this country, endless rubbish has been talked and written upon the redemption of the land tax; as if it were not well known that few landholders have any capital except jewels, and that native capitalists generally can find infinitely better modes of investment than land at twenty years' purchase. However, during the progress of the Madras Enam settlement, every Enamdar was offered the redemption on easy terms of such revenue as he might be called upon to pay; and we understand that out

of the whole ten lakhs per annum, not a thousand rupees have been redeemed.

But amidst all these useful measures and energetic schemes, it was tolerably well known that the Members of the Madras Council were not on the best of terms with their President; and more than one of the 'honourable colleagues' complained that they were silenced by the expression that His Excellency had made this or that subject his special study for upwards of thirty years. In a word Sir Charles Trevelyan shewed far more skill as an administrator than tact in replying to objections, or comprehensiveness in the consideration of views opposed to his own. At last came the Income-tax crisis of 1860, which resulted in his recall, and respecting which we need only say, that while all admit and regret the error of judgment into which he was led by his uncompromising zeal, all who are qualified to judge are now agreed that his opposition was founded on sound principles—in a word, that as regards the proposed taxes he was right, and Mr. Wilson wrong.

Sir Charles Trevelyan left Madras in the middle of 1860, and within three months afterwards Mr. Wilson was no more. Though Mr. Wilson's administration was not free from a wrong bias, it was such as time and experience would soon have corrected, while there can be no doubt of his energy and ability. With rare financial genius he solved the problem connected with the cash balances, and pointed out the true way of rendering them available to the public service by making them the basis of a paper currency. This important scheme has never been utilized, as our home financiers have so committed themselves to the banking monopoly system, as to be impatient of any other. With an inexhaustible credit based upon a yearly income of seventy millions, Great Britain still prefers paying largely in the shape of interest on Exchequer bills which she could discount herself with a paper currency of her own, at no cost whatever, and without the trouble or possibility of the loss which even the Bank of England must encounter in times of pressure. Mr. Laing fell into a similar error, by carrying out the modern principles of banking to an extreme which in fact exposed the fallacy of the whole system by a reduction *ad absurdum*; and to this day Government hugs a delusion which it perceives when applied to this country, but will not give up at home. To Mr. Laing, however, assisted as he was by the long experience and exhaustive knowledge of Colonel Balfour, is due the credit of having cut down the military expenditure to its necessary level; and both to Mr. Wilson and to Mr. Laing is due the credit of having, to

use the words of Sir Charles Trevelyan himself, laid broad and deep the foundation of a sound financial system on an English model, leaving to their successor the work of extending 'the application of these principles through the whole field of Income and Expenditure, so as to remould the entire system into 'one consistent whole.'

Sir Charles Trevelyan arrived in Calcutta as Financial Minister at the commencement of 1863, and his first Financial Statement was delivered in the following April. Since then another financial year has passed away, and a second Statement has been delivered. From a broad comparison of Sir Charles's Budgets with those of his predecessors, it will be patent, as he himself intimates, that a new era has opened upon India. Within the last five years the annual revenue has increased by the sum of nine millions; in other words the income, which in 1858-59, had only reached thirty-six millions, had in 1862-63, exceeded forty-five millions. The surplus on 1862-63 was nearly two millions; that in the year 1863-64 is said to be a little under a million, owing to the Sittana war and the fall in opium. This yearly surplus however demands some notice. If the surplus is carried on, and entered under the next year's income, it is not a surplus on the single year, but an accumulation of the surpluses of previous years. In other words if the surplus income for 1862-63 has been entered in the receipts for 1863-64, then the surplus on the year 1863-64, which is stated to be £800,000, shrinks into a deficit of one million. This is the Budget's vulnerable point. A surplus, well ascertained to be a surplus, should not be carried over to meet the exigencies of a coming year; it should be treated as savings, and applied to the extinction of debt. But Sir Charles tells us (page 21) that the whole of the estimated surplus in 1863-64 will be held to meet the exigencies of 1864-65 and 1865-66. Then we ask what has become of the surplus on 1862-63?

The Land Tax has risen to twenty and a quarter millions, shewing an increase of three-fourths of a million, or four per cent. on the previous year; and this increase on Land corresponds in amount to the estimated surplus on the year. It has been brought about, not by an increase in the assessment, but solely by the extension of the breadth of land under cultivation. Four per cent. more of the culturable area of India in the very least has been utilised since last year; a circumstance which may be attributed partly to the rise in the prices of grain, partly to the demand for Cotton and Jute, and perhaps in the Madras Presidency to the lowering of the assessment. This extension of cultivation in a country like India,

where vast tracts of culturable area are literally lying waste is of enormous importance, especially as tending to solve the problem of rise of price. Sir Charles Trevelyan is of opinion, that prices cannot recede to their former level; but how can he be confident of this, when cultivation is increasing at the rate of four per cent.? Moreover if we are to compare the present condition of the Bombay Presidency with Ireland in 1846, we ought to satisfy ourselves not only that the results are similar, but that like results have been produced by like causes. Ireland in 1846 was only just recovering from the potato famine. Land was abandoned in Ireland, because in the place of food it brought forth poison. But famine arising from a decrease in the supply, implies a widely different state of things from famine arising from an increase of demand. We admit that both in Ireland and in Bombay, the rise in prices was in a great measure attributable to the public works; but in Bombay there is an increased cultivation and a demand for Cotton, for which we have no corresponding data in Ireland in 1846, nor in England in 1847.

But if we glance for a while at the changes in the condition of the masses which have taken place during the last few years, we shall see that this rise of prices, which may complicate future budgets, will be balanced by increased income, and undergo further modifications of no small importance to the future welfare of the people. Rise of price was in the first instance attributed to the Railways; and secondly to the Mutiny. One thing is certain that the disbandments of sepoys which followed the mutiny would have been accompanied by a fall of price and very much distress, but for Railways and public works. These high prices of grain and cotton, notwithstanding the absorption of labour by the public works and Railways, have led to a large increase in the cultivation; but there has also been an increased cultivation in some quarters consequent on the lowering of the assessment, and this increase is obviously but to a very small extent indicated by the increase in the land revenue. If land at two Rupees per acre, be reduced to one Rupee, and a ryot cultivates four acres in the place of one acre, then the land revenue is doubled, but the cultivation is quadrupled. But further, increased cultivation may be expected not only from the lowering of assessment and increased demand, but also from an increase of capital. During the last two years an unprecedented amount of money has been absorbed in the rural parts of India. It may have been hoarded somewhere; for one thing at least is certain,—that it has not been invested in Manchester goods. But a portion has probably been made capital, and is now devoted to the

payment of additional agricultural labourers, *i. e.*, to the increase of cultivation either in breadth or depth. The rise in the labour market leads at the same time to an increased demand for machinery, or as regards agricultural labour, for improved agricultural implements. These forces are now at work, and are as certain to produce the results indicated, as increase of wealth is certain to produce an increased demand for luxuries. Whether the prices of grain will ever recede to their former level, we may reasonably doubt, though it is not unlikely in the event of a sudden fall in Cotton inducing an extraordinary cultivation of grain in its place; but with increased cultivation and improved means of communication artificial rates created by monopolists or mere local demand must cease, and natural rates such as represent the fair profits of the ryot will alone prevail. The efforts of our legislators should be directed towards giving these fair profits to the ryots, and taking effectual means to prevent an undue share being seized by landholders who are not cultivators.

Then again the rise in the price of labour has been too indiscriminate to be lasting. It has affected all classes from the coolie upwards; and affected them not so much in grades as in masses. But day by day the difference between the cost of skilled and unskilled labour is widening, and the carpenters and bricklayers are receiving far higher rates of pay than the mere coolie or field labourer. No doubt the price of skilled labour will yet rise higher. The progress of public works and the example set by Europeans will lead the natives to improve their dwellings, and add to their furniture. At the same time the introduction of machinery will reduce the artificial rates of pay which have recently ruled for unskilled labour to more natural rates. These varied operations will give such a stimulus to the labour market, that professions will cease to be hereditary; the sons of weavers will become carpenters, and the sons of jewellers will become workers in iron. But we must repeat the warning uttered by Sir Charles Trevelyan. If the social phenomena now taking place, are disturbed by such artificial causes as an undue outlay on public works, the healthy progression will become a fever, which nothing but starvation will cure. A certain outlay upon public works is necessary to promote the future prosperity of India; and a certain amount of surplus income may well be so invested; but Government has need to be cautious lest it should fall into the error of the sapient nobleman, who borrowed at five per cent. to purchase land which could only repay him three. Then again the system of guarantees must be carefully watched. There are no such reckless speculators or contractors in the world as those who act under a Government guarantee; checks may

be established, the most stringent rules may be laid down, the heaviest punishments may be inflicted, but corruption, under such circumstances, like smuggling under a system of high duties, must and will prevail. The system is rotten to the core.

The only other question in connection with the Budget which appears to demand a hurried notice is that of the currency. Sir Charles Trevelyan was thoroughly correct when he said that the increase of copper coin was more urgent, more a necessity than the introduction of gold or issue of paper. The question of copper is simple enough; the demand is pressing, and the supply should be forthcoming. The only difficulty is whether it would be possible to introduce bronze annas and pice corresponding to the bronze halfpence at home. The question of a gold currency can be best settled by the gradual introduction of the English sovereign, and in process of time,—it may be a quarter of a century or half a century hence,—an imperial coinage will follow, to be succeeded in time by one universal coinage for the whole world. The question of a paper currency is less difficult. The Utopian idea of the time when some international understanding will give to every nation a supply of paper money corresponding to its income, we leave to visionary enthusiasts; but in India we have still the cash balances, and it is due to Mr. Wilson to say that he has solved the problem. Sir Charles Trevelyan remarks:—‘The Government note currency has stood the trial in a very satisfactory manner. So completely is its identity in value with silver established in people’s minds, that even at the time of the greatest scarcity of coin at Bombay, Rupees continued to be sent to the Currency Department to be exchanged for Notes.’ Again he tells us that the home expenditure is worked by a cash balance of six millions, whilst the cash balances in India amount at this moment to more than sixteen millions. Why then is the hesitation as regards the extension of the paper currency in India?

Here our hasty survey must close. Much remains to be said which our space does not at present permit. Sir Charles Trevelyan has left the income tax to run to its legitimate close, and in so doing has sacrificed his personal inclination to the wants of Government. The tax will now die out, and we trust that after the present year we shall hear of it no more. The revision of establishments is still an all-important measure, and one for which Sir Charles Trevelyan is specially qualified. We should wish to see him invested with plenary powers, subject to the fine sanction of Government, to carry out this great work, while perhaps no living man is so capable to fulfil, and which is almost wanting to place the coping stone upon his Indian reputation.

ART. VII.—*Books of the Quarter.*

Diary of a Pedestrian in Cashmere and Thibet. By Captain Knight, 48th Regiment. Bentleys. 1863.

THIS book is a mystery. Why did it ever come into the world? What is its final cause? What purpose is it intended to serve? It does not amuse; it does not instruct; it can never put money into the author's purse; and yet there it lies, an expensively got-up production of some 350 pages on thick paper, embellished with learned and mysterious devices on the cover, with some really pretty tinted lithographs and woodcuts within, which bear, however, too small a proportion to the mass of letterpress to suggest the notion that they are the real book, and the description but padding;—a book that would never have existed but for the author's crave to be an author, for the sake of the agreeable titillation which seems to accompany the sight of one's name on the title-page of a 'work,' however frothy and feeble. All is fish that comes to our net, and it is our duty to bring before the Indian reader all that the press of the quarter has produced on Indian topics; else no power on earth would have dragged us beyond the first ten pages.

The King of France, we are told, marched up the hill, and then—marched down again. Captain Knight, in humble imitation, may be, proceeds from the plains to Srinugger and Ladak, and returns to the plains, without having seen anything new, learnt anything interesting, or shot anything ferocious. The eye only sees what it takes with it the power of seeing, or those stainless heavens, those everlasting snows, those solemn pines, those rose-crowned peaks that looked down on the forefathers of our race, might have told the Captain something worth telling us again,—might have taught him how to put into words, halting it may be, but impressive from their very feebleness, something of the awe and the mystery which we should have thought must thrill through the soul of every child of Adam, when the glorious scene first spreads itself before him. But no—our Captain's thoughts are mainly of his dinner, and whether Rajoo, his bearer (whom the Captain, funny dog! speaks of throughout as the Q. M. G.) will bring the coolies up

in time. Mr. Kinglake and Lord Dufferin have much to answer for:—and this book counts among their sins, for the author fondly deems himself a master in the facetious style of travel-writing, and, empty as is his sense, his nonsense is emptier yet. Not that he has made no discoveries. He discovered on August 7th, 1860, at Khurboo, in Little Thibet, (it is as well to be particular in the date and locality of so momentous an occurrence) a stone bearing an inscription, explained by a philological sepooy of the party as ‘*Om mani padmi om,*’ and we are treated to many learned disquisitions as to the probable meaning of those mystic syllables, which he finally explains to signify ‘the Supreme Being,’—possibly on the principles on which the Oscan inscription, ‘*Hi diddle diddle,*’ &c., was interpreted to mean ‘God the protector of highways; God to whom eggs are broken at cross-roads,’ &c. ‘*Avec ton Être Suprême tu commences m’embêter,*’ it was said to Robespierre; and we can hardly conceive it possible that any educated man, much more that any person travelling of deliberate and preconceived purpose into a Buddhist country, should not be familiar with, should never have heard of, the mystic formula till he stumbled across it that day among the wilds of Thibet. We are thankful to perceive that the Captain took the trouble, after he returned from his journey, and before he ventured into print, to read up all he could upon this and kindred subjects, and we have an appendix bristling with Klaproth and Huc and Sakya Muni and other Buddhistic lore, which if the gallant Captain had only read a little earlier, we should have been spared not a few incoherent queries and irrelevant conjectures.

The Captain is not only a man of speculation; he is a man of action; and shoots, as a Captain should, but not always more successfully than he speculates. The beasts are as new to him as the inscriptions. He comes upon ‘a kustura, a sort of ‘half-goat, half-sheep, with long teeth like a wolf.’ He is unable to get a shot. On page 58 he sees ‘four little animals’ called ‘markore,’ and fires—with ‘indifferent results,’ i. e., they all scampered off. On page 60 we come across some more markore which, ‘after an arduous and protracted stalk, finally gave us ‘the slip.’ On page 61 we are close to a party of five, but they give us ‘no opportunity of getting a shot.’ Then we meet ‘a solitary gentleman,’ but ‘the pace we had come, and the ground ‘we had crossed, so unsteadied our aim’—that we did not hit him. After this we went to tiffin. On page 65 another failure, and on page 66 another; indeed, there is no trace of the death of a single markore throughout, though the patience of the traveller is at length happily rewarded by a bear.

Of incidents there are very few. The author lost his cook at one time, whereat the reader rejoices. At another time the Captain being in want of milk 'proceeded to make signs of bringing a house down,' and so called out an old gentleman whom he forced 'at the point of the stick' to introduce him to a friend who had some milk. As this latter gentleman would not get up on the Captain's arrival, our impatient hero gave him a thrashing, and afterwards discovered that he had lost the use of his limbs through rheumatism. All honour to the Saxon *lattee*, 'in a stout Saxon hand'! Afterwards the Captain, wanting a pony, carries off one belonging to a family of Punjabee mountebanks, and is obdurate in retaining it at his own valuation, although the family go down on their knees *en masse*, and a poor blind girl cries at his feet. Tall doings these; yet told as if they were in some way creditable.

Our readers have, we trust, heard enough of Captain Knight and his doings. The halfpenny-worth of bread is in the illustrations, which are all good, and the views of Ladak and Lami-eroo very striking.

A Brief Review of Ten Years' Missionary Labour in India between 1852 and 1861. By Joseph Mullens, D. D., Missionary of the London Missionary Society in Calcutta. London: 1863.

There is much striking truth in that essay of John Foster's, (like all his essays, a little too heavy for the taste of the present day,) in which he argues that much of the dislike felt by the educated classes for Evangelical Religion, or in other words, for aggressive Christianity, arises from the adoption, for religious purposes, of phraseology needlessly offensive to men of taste and refinement. We do not (nor did Foster) believe this to be a solution of the whole question; were it so, it would be highly dishonouring to the judgment of the men of taste. We cannot and need not conceal that there is, on important and fundamental questions, much difference of opinion between the ordinary scientific or literary man of the day,—we may say the average cultivated gentleman, on the one hand, and the Missionary or evangelical preacher on the other. But this difference of opinion need cover no aversion; there is no reason in the nature of things why the cultivated layman should not recognize the goodness and usefulness of the work in which the preacher is engaged, except that the latter speaks a language which is to the former unintelligible, strange, and unseemly, disfigured by affectations, Hebrew idioms, and technical terms, and proceeding throughout on the assumption that the phraseology which is good enough for the world, which he himself employs in



secular matters, is not good enough when religion is the subject. The term "unction" used in all good faith by many good people as the expression of an admirable quality, describes exactly what we mean. The *world*, rightly or wrongly, objects to unction; it will never look twice at anything written in the dialect of unction; and the more a man is educated and cultivated, the greater his aversion to unction. There is a weekly publication at home which is conducted with much taste and talent, and which is looked upon by persons professing evangelical religion with much fervour of hatred. The opinions of the *Saturday Review* are not our opinions; nor is its spirit our spirit; but we really think that in this matter of aversion to religion, it will be found in most instances that the *Saturday Review's* real guilt is a dislike of the tone and language in which religious men express themselves.

It matters but little in ordinary cases. Exeter Hall is strong enough to do its own work as if there were no *Saturday Reviewers* or other scoffers in existence; and the scoffers also have for the most part their work to do, and do it. But in some cases, and more especially in the case we have now in mind, that of Indian Missions, it is most important that all classes should have correct notions, that the periodical press, that the Officers of Government, that the limited European society of India, (which operates far more than proportionally to its extent upon the views and action of Government) should be enlightened upon the proceedings of Missionaries, upon their plans and their progress, upon the nature of their relations with Native society, upon their prospects of success. What are these Native Christian Churches really worth as viewed from within, by those who are most competent to judge what is the character of the converts? Are they in morality, in straightforwardness, in integrity, in mental energy, in peaceableness, distinctly superior to the ordinary Native population around them? Are they growing in numbers and in influence; and is there any vitality, any reproductive power in the new principles as assimilated by them? It is impossible to obtain satisfactory answers to these questions out of ordinary Missionary reports; they are all written in a rose-water tone of triumph; with a fair amount, sometimes an excess of the *unction* we have before referred to, and with an absolute ignoring of all the points of general interest that would enable candid men to judge of the progress Christianity is making. The consequence is that almost anything interests the general public more than the records of Missions, and that Missionaries themselves have to contend against, and to complain of, an apathy that is almost wholly their own fault.

With these feelings we are naturally pleased to see a temperate, well-written, liberal, and apparently honest review by Dr. Mulens of Missionary work during ten eventful years of Indian history. We have got what we want;—a report in a calm, judicial style, keeping to the point in hand, and steering fairly clear of unction generally, and especially of its most offensive species, that continual recurrence of unmeaning panegyrics on the Almighty, as if He were not better praised by silent work than by the Babel of second-rate and second-hand psalmody which we find in the inferior class of Missionary writing. There is a vein of subdued gratification throughout, amply warranted by the progress reported, and not beyond what we see in ordinary administration reports, and there is a real appreciation of the questions of deepest interest.

Many will turn first to the section headed "Influence of the Mutiny," and will find, what we can readily believe, that, although it inflicted vast material damages, and suspended Missionary operations through a vast tract of country, its influence has been most beneficial: "if it has left its marks on the Church " towers at Futtehgurh and Ranchi, it has written deeper lines " upon the character of the native converts, and instead of injury " has done a vast amount of good." The behaviour of the converts seems to have been on the whole excellent. The Christian churches lost many members by massacre, none by apostacy; and the native Christians rendered active help to the English wherever they could. This is more than we should have expected;—it was more than the Missionaries themselves expected; but beyond this the mutiny has imparted to the converts a permanent vigour and decision which has produced most useful results. Before the mutiny the Secundra press and the tent factory at Futtehgurh were managed *for* the native Christians; since that epoch they have been managed *by* the native Christians, and the Missionaries have been set free for more legitimate work. Persecution naturally deepens conviction; it impels you to take up a side; it gives you something to live for and to fight for; and has a beneficial influence over the whole man. Great virtues as well as, or even more than, great errors, always shew themselves in the midst of a really violent contact of opinions. As a rule there is hardly enough persecution in India, there is no blood to sow the seed of the future Church; Hindoo and Mahomedan do not care enough for their own faith, or live in too constant a fear of the civil Government, to raise a violent hand against any man, because he has adopted Christianity; and the Christian accepts his position as one among thousands, belonging to one out of the fifty castes, environed by persons of

a different faith to his own, without longing either to convert or punish them, any more than they care either to punish or convert him. This nonchalance of the natives in matters of religion may be a good thing in itself; it is not likely to further the cause which the Missionary has at heart. The civil Governor naturally rejoices at it. What he wants is peace. In the Roman times he regarded all religions as equally useful; for the religious man was more *bound* to the order of things, more prone to regularity of life than the irreligious man. Since an aggressive religion arose, and the others, at least in that one respect, moulded themselves after its type, the magistrate has been perturbed and confounded by this new element of disturbance. Not peace, but a sword. Where, as now in India, a nation has been frozen into apathy about its religious concerns, one of the greatest and most pressing anxieties of the civil power is removed; and the solitude that ensues, though it be a dearth of all noble and productive and generous sentiments, is welcomed by the magistrate as peace. We are very doubtful whether the philosophical observer from his point of view would be right in regarding the present state of Hindooism, either among cultivated or uncultivated classes, as a hopeful sign; we are sure the Christian Missionary would not be right. The hold of Brahminism on the lower classes is becoming feebler and feebler. The book before us gives proof of this, and any person acquainted with the social state of the natives can supply further evidence of it from his own experience. But there is no tendency to any other form of faith. A strong attachment to old customs, because they are old customs, prevails and will prevail, till some external shaking of the nations introduces a new element,—the element of general and of religious activity. Juggonath may fall in time by the pure operation of the physical laws of gravitation, aided by the growth of the *peepul* tree in its chinks and crannies. It will not be pulled down by a sudden access of religious zeal:—not at least if things go on according to the ordinary operation of historical laws. Nor have we any ground to expect a miracle. Providence works by agencies susceptible of scientific analysis, in the growth and decline of religions as in other matters. Some mighty social convulsion may shake India and induce men to take a side. Till then the decay of Hindooism will be gradual and barely perceptible, and will not favour, though it will not retard, the operation of the principles of a purer faith.

If we look to the educated classes of Bengal, we see a sight unmatched perhaps in the history of the world, but not affording any definite anchorage for hope. Nurtured by Christian

teachings and Christian feeling, a religion is springing up, which is not a religion, which has no faith, no creed, no hold upon any but a few enlightened minds, fed upon English literature, devoutly attached to English morality, but not more prone than their ancestors were to embrace Christianity. They have got the spirit, they say, and perhaps with some truth, but care not for any forms. Their views and those of a large class of Englishmen of the day are much the same. But such views will always be confined to a highly educated class, and in this country, to those who hover on the border of European Society. The tiller of the soil, the worker for his daily bread, is shut out from them. One entire sex is shut out from them. While we look with the deepest interest on the progress of these enlightened, if not definite, views among Calcutta Baboos, we cannot but feel that no new life for the nation can grow out of such a source.

“ See, thou that countest reason ripe
In holding by the law within,
Thou fail not in a world of sin
And even for want of such a type,”

as is given to the weak and ignorant and busy by what we call “historical Christianity.”

What the upshot may be, time will show : meanwhile the very last conclusion that ought to be drawn from a state of things such as we have described, is that Missionaries and other educators should relax their efforts. A great deal is paid by the public at home for the support of Missions ; the result, if they could see it clearly, might not be in their eyes quite worth the cost ; but it is worth the cost nevertheless ; the moral protest which these men raise, which England through these men raises, against vice and evil and ignorance, is of more value than any other work done by Englishmen in India.

It is very interesting to learn, as we do from Dr. Mullens's pamphlet, what the Native Churches are doing themselves in the way of conducting and supporting Missionary operations. The native pastorate is increasing ; many of its members are said to be very useful ; it is calculated that one male convert in every seven is engaged in one of the forms of Mission work. This is how the Church must grow. England will never afford to send out Europeans enough to preach to, and to teach, every one ; it is hardly likely that the number of Missionaries will be very extensively increased ; and it is to native agency that the societies must mainly trust for the extension of their operations. There is a feeling in many places, as was strongly exhibited in the late Punjab Conference, that the European Mis-

sionaries take too much upon themselves of the care of the Churches, that they are apt to overrule the Native Christians, and to treat their Churches somewhat too despotically. It is but natural that this feeling should rise. Christianity, in its Protestant forms, so distinctly and so constantly teaches religious equality, declares so emphatically that there is neither Jew nor Scythian, bond nor free,—all are one in Christ, that it is not to be wondered at if the Native members and especially office-bearers of the Churches chafe at tutelage, even while tutelage is yet good for them, and repudiate altogether the notion that the European as such has any right to special authority in the Church. At Tinnevely it seems that a schism arising from a personal dispute between a Missionary and his flock has assumed unusual proportions, and has complicated itself with caste feelings and national feelings in such a way as to produce some extraordinary results. They have abandoned infant baptism, and ordained ministry, and Sunday observance, as European additions to pure Christianity. Of course they have cut themselves off from European help; yet, says Dr. Caldwell, “they have sustained their own religious ordinances with considerable public spirit and zeal, for more than five years, and “I have not heard it said that any one of their number has returned to heathenism.” Heresy of this sort is a hopeful sign;—wherever there is intellectual life and growth, there is variety, there will generally be extravagance; uniformity is dullness, mediocrity; the sap that feeds the acorn, feeds the gall; and the more vitality the tree has, the more of these eccentric excrescences will you find. Heresies sprang up when the Church was young; heresies abounded at the Reformation; anything that wakes up the individual belief in a personal influence of the Spirit, leads also to the belief in personal inspiration and esoteric teachings; leads to wild wanderings far from the simple and straightforward path. The extension of Christianity in India will bring with it many results at which Exeter Hall will look askance, some at which it will stand aghast. The Puritan spirit of these Tinnevely schismatics, determined to retain nothing in Christianity which savours of the West, would, if spread over half India, produce consequences in Church and State that few yet dream of. Seldom or never can we shape the future, even that to which we ourselves contribute, as we would have it; we must leave it to itself, knowing that all is well.

Stray Leaves ; or Essays, Poems, and Tales. By Shoshee Chunder Dutt. Calcutta : 1864.

Several of the essays contained in the volume before us ap-

peared first in this Review. *Ergo*, we cannot expect fair criticism of them, says a carping public. But in all good faith, viewing the book simply as the book of an outsider, we cannot but congratulate Shoshee Chunder Dutt on having brought together a quantity of interesting information, which will not be easily found elsewhere, and on having said his say in a simple and unpretentious manner. With Mr. Maine's remarks at the University Commencement, (we were about to write Commemoration, but the catalogue of founders and benefactors is yet a blank) still ringing in our ears, with the recent memory of hundreds of examination papers, abounding in tawdry ornament and inflated diction, we were relieved to find in the author of this book a Bengalee writer who looks more to matter than language, who feels that the object of writing is not to darken counsel by words without wisdom, to hide the meaning like the cuttlefish in a cloud of ink, but to state in the simplest and briefest language what the writer has to say. We have read the Essays, which occupy about half of this work, with the greatest pleasure; those on Vedantism and Puranism are full of interesting facts. The latter, taking it with the essay on the popular superstitions of the Hindoos, gives perhaps the best account extant of the domestic and popular religion—the religion of the masses;—for Ward's book, though full of erudition, is disfigured by prejudices. Of the article in Vedantism we should give some account, but that we hope to take up the subject more fully in a future Number. The social essays 'Women in India,' 'Hindoo Female Education,' 'Home Life in Bengal,' are marked by good taste and good sense, with a leaning towards a favourable view of the native character, combined with a sense of the social and moral advantages of female education, and to the word *education*, the author gives as wide a sense as we could wish. Much in these writings will necessarily not please those who take their stand on a high pinnacle of Anglo-Saxon excellence, and who deny the right of native authors to criticise us, as we criticise them. Some of our ways of life and modes of thought are noticed rather sharply by our friend, and his judgments have rather more truth in them than we generally find in the judgments of men of one nation upon another nation. Nothing in the whole range of criticism is more lamentably and ridiculously wrong than the estimates we daily see and hear made of native character. Genius itself can catch but a few surface peculiarities, a few salient points. Lord Macaulay probably never intended his well-known sketch of the Bengalees to illustrate more than a single feature of their character, but he labours it out

with his wonted *intensification* till we take it to be an exhaustive view, and as an exhaustive view, it is a wrong one. The 'Competition-wallah' who now publishes in *Macmillan*, is a writer of undoubted genius; his good feeling towards the natives is patent, and the expression of it does honour to his courage; yet if his deliberate view of the native character were the true one, it would justify the most 'rabid' Anglo-Saxon in the contempt with which he regards the race. We can only support the 'Competition-wallah's' conclusions by denying his premises, and it needs no longer experience than that of older 'Competition-wallahs' to enable us in many cases to do so. But years of labour in the country, though they may give a man a right to be heard, by no means save him from the possibility, nay, the certainty of error in judgment on so vast and difficult a subject. Yet never will the free-born Briton surrender his right of freely criticising men and things; and as he seldom does it with the modesty and discretion which are shewn by Shoshee Chunder Dutt, he should check the temptation to use strong language which will probably occur to him while reading some of Shoshee's incidental remarks on points of European life and manners.

There is a certain amount of poetry in this volume. We confess that we think the poetry a mistake. The prose style is pleasing and without affectation:—the style of a man whose thoughts are more of his matter than of his manner. But the verse, though occasionally clever as a *tour de force*, though often a passable school-boy imitation of Moore or Byron, never rises above the school-boy standard, and there are faults in prosody, which are ordinarily corrected by another instrument than the pen. Would however that English aspirants would never publish worse! Mediocre poetry was the curse of literature, as far back as the Augustan age, and we doubt whether gods, men, or columns have since seen reason to change their views. The third portion of the work consists of tales of a patriotic character, which also have little in them to justify publication. They display some knowledge of the best models. When we read 'what ho! Bessus! harness Bucephalus early at dawn, and bid 'a large party of our personal guards be ready for immediate 'service' and 'by Libyan Jove, this is a bragging bully, not a 'chief;' we think instinctively of the great G. P. R. James, and look back for the two cavaliers.

The author appears to have been about thirteen years before the public, and he is not therefore a very young man; but if, as we hope, he looks to future literary usefulness, we would earnestly counsel him to shun the seductive though unfruitful paths whither his imagination would lead him, and to keep to

plain history, plain English, and plain sense. Nothing could be better than the first half of his book, and we should be glad to see another half-volume like it, or, better still, an elaborate work on one of the subjects which he has here sketched out for us. A treatise on the Hindoo Mythology of the day, drawn not from the study of Puranas, but from the knowledge of what people actually do believe in and worship, and a popular account of the ordinary ceremonies enjoined by religion and custom, would be a work of great service, and Baboo Shoshee Chunder Dutt has shown that he could perform it.

History of India. By John Clark Marshman. Part I. From the earliest period to the close of the Eighteenth Century. Serampore: 1863.

THIS is a good and useful book. It is intended as an Epitome of Indian History for the Native Youth of Bengal; and for that and other educational purposes, it is incomparably better than anything which has preceded it. The English is correct; the style is simple and forcible; and the subjects are treated with that due sense of proportion which we should expect from a practised political writer. In Murray's History, if we remember right, while every petty expedition is duly commemorated, even to the number of field-guns and howitzers, the author forgot to mention the Perpetual Settlement. Here it is discussed fairly and favourably, (though the remarks upon its effects on the ryot appear to have been written before the passing of Act X.) and we have no doubt that in the coming portion of the book, the victories of peace will occupy still more space in comparison with those of war than we can expect them to do in the earlier history. The author is naturally more *au fait* in dealing with modern times and the germs of the present state of things than in treating of the antiquities of Indian history. The European reader will thank him for that; but we can fancy the Native Youth chafing at the hurried way in which the ancient glories of his country are disposed of, and we really think that the work might have been rendered more popular, though not perhaps more intrinsically valuable, if greater space had been devoted to the purely Hindoo period, and if the conclusions of modern scholarship about the commencements of the Hindoo history had been more freely incorporated into the text. Two faults we would venture to note: *firstly*, that there is little or no reference to authorities; and *secondly*, that there betrays itself here and there a disposition to defend eminent Englishmen, even when their actions seem to merit, and have generally re-

ceived, emphatic condemnation. We could wish that there had been a free statement of the sources whence the author derived his materials. It is well to encourage the Bengalee student to carry his historical studies further than any one text book can bring him. Schoolboys will at first regard Mr. Marshman, as schoolgirls at home regard Mrs. Markham, as an original and independent authority, and when they come to find that much of his history of the Mahomedan period is, as it naturally and unavoidably must be, a transcript from Elphinstone, their respect for him will go down many degrees. No man can write the history of that period, and not be indebted to Elphinstone; but it would have been as well to note the fact of his obligations. Niebuhr never made a reference to an ancient author, to which he had been guided by an intermediate historian, without acknowledging such guidance, which was perhaps further than any man need go in the direction of historical probity; but his example is worth following to some extent. As to our second objection, it is probable that Mr. Marshman really does believe that palliation, if not excuse, may be found for Clive's treachery to Omichund, for the execution of Nundkoomar, the Rohilla war, the spoliation of the Begums. But, if he does, we must think it a pity that his admiration for the great men who founded our Eastern empire has deprived him in their case of the distinct perception of right and wrong; while, if he does not, he has given in his sanction to the French Imperial School of historical teaching, which looks not to the actual truth of history so much as to the impression which it is desirable to make on the pupil's mind. The French professors teach that Louis Quatorze was a demi-god, that liberty is a name, that the nation never was so great, so prosperous, as when tied to the chariot-wheels of an enlightened and glorious despot. We are to teach our Bengalee schoolboys that their English rulers never do or did wrong, and that what is contemptible trickery or selfish violence in a native must be called by very different names when we are dealing with an English pro-consul. We cannot fancy that a healthy-minded and clear-sighted Bengalee schoolboy would grow in reverence for Hastings, for Mr. Marshman, or for ourselves generally, through the study of these excuses and arguments. It is not the really great nation or the really great man that requires 'cracking-up,' it is the intrinsically *small* nation (or man) aiming to be great, or to be thought great. Lord Macaulay, always sound, always touching the heart of a moral question, is much more likely to please the plain common sense of Englishmen, and we may add, of Bengalees too; and Lord Macaulay, admiring Clive and Hastings as much as

any man, never spares his indignation when he has to narrate their breaches of faith and moral law. Clive's deception of Omichund is palliated by a singular argument. 'It is due to his memory to state that he'—gloried in the transaction, and vowed 'that he would do it a hundred times over.' So may Jack Sheppard have said; so, we know, does Townley say to this day. A common rogue who should say this would be styled a 'hardened criminal,' yet it is to increase our esteem for Clive! Truly, hero-worship and the Carlylean reverence for force, lead good men strange ways. But these are very minor blemishes in a most useful work, and we shall look with great interest for the second volume, for the account of events which happened in Mr. Marshman's own time, *et quorum pars magna fuit*, and of characters which a man may safely love and admire,—Bentinck and Metcalfe and Dalhousie.

A Personal Narrative of thirteen years' service among the wild Tribes of Khondistan. By Major-General John Campbell, C. B., Hurst and Blackett. 1864.

WE thought so. *Sic vos non vobis*. No man ever did what the world are agreed to admire him for doing. Everything was done by some one else. Bacon wrote Shakespeare, and Samuel wrote Moses, and Columbus did not discover America, and Harvey did not discover the Circulation, and Fowke did not build the 'International' Exhibition, and Macpherson did not quell the savage spirit, and abolish the barbarous rites, of the Khonds. We always thought that he had at least something to do with this. We (of this 'Review') took great pains to spread our belief on the subject. We published more facts regarding the Khonds than are to be found in any other quarter. We recurred again and again to the subject, and the public appeared to be thankful to us. But we and the public were all wrong; though we have been forced to wait till the year of Grace 1864, to find out that it was so. Major-General John Campbell, C. B., says 'alone I did it,' and rings the changes on his own exploits through many wearisome pages. His judgment was never at fault. His labours were unwearied, and were rewarded by unbroken success. Heaven itself was signally on his side, (page 130) not to speak of the Governor-General. On the other hand, Colonel Macpherson committed deplorable mistakes of judgment; his assistants oppressed the Khonds and drove them to revolt; he lost prestige; he dismissed Sam Bisoi (who was Captain Campbell's pet savage*;) he did not, so far as we can

* It has been proved that Sam Bisoi was one of the mainstays of the Conservative, or sacrificing party, among the Khonds.

learn, accept a light for his cigar from the villagers, which appears to have been one of Captain Campbell's principal means of conciliation; and he committed many similar atrocities. Moreover, he was imposed upon by his butler, whom he made a Moonshee, and who invented for his benefit a singular system of Khond mythology, demonology, and psychology.* Captain Macpherson himself knew neither Khond nor Ooriah. (We can judge by Colonel Campbell's spelling of the extent of *his* knowledge of the latter language.)

It is painful to see these forgotten calumnies reiterated against one no longer able to defend himself from them; one who has passed away, loved by his friends, and honoured by his Government, out of the reach of human censure. Colonel Macpherson needs no vindication at our hands. He was vindicated by the Supreme Government, after a long and arduous investigation; and able pens were employed in his defence in this 'Review'† and elsewhere. But we pause to consider what motive—of jealousy stronger than death, and wounded self-esteem,—can have dictated this servile attack, unsupported by evidence or authority, and yet clearly the prominent feature and the final cause of General Campbell's book. In other respects, this is the sheerest book-making; there is not a new fact throughout. England has long been familiar with the Meriah sacrifice, and the success of the efforts to suppress it. No one ever doubted that General Campbell was a brave officer, and that his work deserved and obtained praise. He had far better, for his reputation's sake, not have written this book. It concludes with a curious specimen of the book-maker's art. Finding the work too thin, he was prevailed upon to add a chapter on the geology and botany of Orissa. The geology is correctly taken from Mr. W. T. Blanford's report, but unfortunately the part of Orissa occupied by the Khonds has never been geologically examined; and the concluding chapter bears the same relation to the rest of the work which an account of the geology of Sussex might do to a history of the tenure of Gavelkind, in Kent. The botany is stranger still. We looked with some interest to this part of the book, as we are convinced that many botanical treasures exist among the unexplored recesses of the Orissa jungles, but all we find is a short extract from Hooker and Thomson's Introductory Essay. Then follows a description of

* General Campbell argues that this mythology must be an invention, because Mr. Long, in his 'Notes and Queries' on Orissa, does not refer to it. Naturally enough, as Mr. Long never went near the Khond country, or conversed with a single Khond. He found more than enough in the plains to occupy him during his short visit to Cuttack and Pooree.

† See especially Nos. 12, 15, and 20.

the *Manis*, and lastly General Campbell exhibits his 'chits;' and thus ends this weak and ill-judged production, which can serve no purpose except to gratify an old man's harmless garrulity and less innocent spite.

Tara, a Mahratta Tale. By Captain Meadows Taylor, M. R. I.A. In three volumes. Blackwood and Sons. 1868.

WE have read this book with great interest. It is the most successful novel of native life that has ever been published. The local colouring is good in the extreme; and in this country the book will undoubtedly command success. At home, we should say, it will be thought wearisome; partly because it is rather long, and here and there undoubtedly tedious; but more because it is extremely hard to interest English people in characters and modes of life so different from our own. We are insular in our feelings. We cannot throw ourselves into other ages and other climes. An historical novel to please us must give us not history but masquerade, must shew us ourselves in costumes and modes of speech drawn from some distant era or country. So much of *vraisemblance* we insist upon. Cato in top boots, and Brutus in a bag wig, will not go down. If we are reading of the ages of chivalry, there must be a certain sprinkling of 'I prythees' and 'gramercys,' but that condition satisfied, we look to other merits than that of historical fidelity. Scott interests us rather for his singular fertility of incident, and for the liveliness of his description, than for any special historical verisimilitude. The most popular historical novel of the present day—Charles Kingsley's *Hypatia*—is just what its title-page expresses, 'new foes with an old face.' We delight in seeing Henry of Exeter under the mask of Cyril, and Lancelot Smith, *alias* Charles Kingsley, promenading as Raphael-aben Ezra. We smile to recognize Newmanism, Eclecticism, Scepticism, Pantheism, Pot-theism, and Muscular Christianity in the quaint habiliments of the fourth century after Christ. *Hypatia's* lecture on Homer is a parody on Strauss, and just so far as it is so it interests us. An incomparably greater work which has since appeared has been all but ignored by the public. Few care to read Romola; it is too Florentine, too sixteenth century, in a word, too true. We cannot take the trouble to throw ourselves so far out of our ordinary surroundings. Now this book of Captain Meadows Taylor's, so far as it is a good description of life and manners in Maharastra two hundred years ago, will by many be found wearisome. Where the author has yielded to the temptation of dressing up his story to suit the English market, he has made it untrue to life. Two contending tenden-

cies,—the struggle to be faithful, and the struggle to interest, are visible throughout, and mar the artistic effect of the work. Take Sivajee. Sivajee's is a character in itself inconceivable to the ordinary novel reader. He was simply a type of the Mahratta,—crafty, cruel, and calculating, with that unshaken belief in himself which is the characteristic of all uneducated conquerors. His steady and life-long pursuit of a single object (and that an object which will always command sympathy) has alone redeemed his character from common-place, given it a handle, so to speak, for the imaginative and poetic English mind of Captain Taylor to seize. What the simple boy-like Easterns admired in Sivajee, and admire in men like him, is the consummate coolness and craft, the legerdemain tricks and hair-breadth scapes; we ourselves have something of that feeling, as witness the popularity of broad caricature, such as that of Dugald Dalgetty. And had Captain Taylor taken that view, he might have made Sivajee an attractive character. But Captain Taylor never condescends to be humorous; his story is not such as those which must have circulated round a thousand Mahratta watch-fires in honour of their great hero; he has two endeavours: one to be strictly and gravely truthful; the other to enlist our imagination, our patriotism, our higher emotional feelings in favour of Sivajee. If the two were consistent, he would have succeeded; but they are not consistent. The noble and fearless hero, the patriot whose every breath breathes love for his race and country, the divinely inspired one, the worshipped of a myriad homes; for whom grey-haired warriors die, for whom maiden hearts sigh in secret, as for a star; this man is by no means of the chivalric order. He entraps the noblest of his foes, old Afzul Khan, into a series of wooded ravines, where the troops can be slaughtered in detail;—invites the chieftain to a friendly conference, goes forth armed with 'tiger's claws,' a deadly weapon concealed within the hand, and as the old man unsuspectingly grasps his hand in the friendly conference to which he has been invited, drives the murderous steel into his bowels. 'Art thou in health, my brother? And he smote him under the fifth rib.' So it has always been in Asia; and we fear that in stern truth, the annals of our own middle ages would shew that the spirit of chivalry, as we have been taught to regard it, never flourished except in rare and isolated minds. We find it in a Joinville here and there; but far more in Scott and Fouqué; for one Bayard there are ten Outrams, and indeed, as it has been reserved to our modern poet to describe the highest ideal of chivalry, so chivalry in its actual development has probably never approached the ideal so nearly as among the great soldiers of the present

day. But we choose to believe otherwise,—we expect high-minded heroes in our fiction, and this episode of the tiger's claws, with many another truthful little trait scattered through these three volumes, will widely shock the child-like faith with which we are apt to repose on the unshakeable perfection of our favourite characters. Not that Fazil, *the hero*, (at least he marries the heroine) shows any of these uncomely traits. He is a high-souled, generous, pure-minded, guileless youth, incapable of a plot, and honouring braveness and goodness wherever he finds it, a much better Christian than Guy Livingstone or any of his brood; in short, as the enthusiastic chambermaid expressed it 'he is not a man; he is a Thaddeus of Warsaw.' Now it is not for us to say that such a young Mussulman never existed, but we can hardly conceive him; and we suspect that he owes his creation rather to the exigencies of the novelist than to the experiences of the 'Political.' Again, a young and gallant lover has been provided,—there must be love, both pure and romantic; and hence we have Tara, and a wonderful train of events devised to call forth the passion; which, so qualified, is in itself an anomaly in the East. But Tara differs from Fazil; the latter is made untrue in order to be interesting, the former is too true to interest us. Like the German for his notion of a camel, we draw upon our moral consciousness for our notion of a Hindoo lady; but we confess that the result of the process is something very like Tara, something all gentleness and grace and trembling timidity; something that would follow and watch you like a dog or pet fawn, and with very little more power of expression; not the intelligent, appreciative, hearty, perhaps wilful, but none the less affectionate, being which an Englishman likes to call 'wife.'

We have said enough to shew that Captain Taylor's novel has no claim to be called a novel of 'character'; it pleases us in a totally different way from the way Jane Austen pleases us. It is a landscape in which are painted carefully and with a conscientious elaborateness of touch, a country, a race, an era. The pictures of life scattered through these volumes are admirable, and form a complete panoramā, in which the manners, feelings, and environments of every class, from king to peasant, from the Mussulman noble to the Mahratta freebooter are described. We have pictures of Tooljapoor hanging on its mountain edge, with its temple in the ravine beneath, and the sacred fountain of Pāp-nās crowded by adoring and bathing pilgrims;—of the Brahmin's house with its floor plastered with liquid clay by the women-servants, and decorated by the wife and daughter with

designs in white and red chalk powder dropped between the finger and the thumb, and the walls covered with paintings in distemper of favourite deities; and the quiet court beyond, with its *toolsee* tree and marigolds;—of Tara's procession in the sacred litter when she has devoted herself to the goddess, while the temple-trumpets and conches blow a quivering blast, and the chant rises and falls, and men and women join the pomp from street and alley round with shouts of Jay Kalee! Jay Bhowani! Bome! Bome! till as the first beams of the sun fall upon the procession, the hymn is changed, and the noble old-world strain goes up:—

Risen in majestic blaze,
Lo, the universe's eye,
Vast and wondrous host of rays,
Shineth brightly in the sky.

See he followeth the Dawn,
Brilliant in the path above,
As a youth by beauty drawn
Seeks the maiden of his love.

Hear us, O ye Gods, this day!
Hear us graciously, we pray;
As the sun his state begins,
Free us from all heinous sins.

Mitrà, Varun, Aditi—
Hear, O hear us graciously!
Powers of Ocean, Earth, and Air,
Listen, listen, to our prayer.

The scene changes, and we are watching with the Rajpoot Jemadar, Gopal Sing, and his companions, the Mahratta twin hunchbacks, Rama and Lukshmun, waiting through the rain storm beside a stony pile where grows a large *bur* tree, with its gnarled boughs stretching their white gaunt arms into the sky, against the leaden grey of the clouds; some of them detached from the parent trunk, and upheld by stems which had once been pendant roots; haunted by black lizards with scarlet throats, and wide-eyed horned owls;—a wild weird spot, where dacoits met to distribute their spoils, where clay crucibles and the ashes of charcoal fires often told the shepherd lads in the morning that gold and silver had been melted there at night, where murder had more than once been done, and may be done to-night, for our three friend's matchlocks lean against the wall of the little temple, and the matches are lit, and they are looking with an evil and eager gaze toward the villages of Great and Little Kinny, surrounded by their crops of grain in ear, and pulse, waist-high.

But at this rate, we shall despoil the book of all that makes it most interesting; and we will only venture to sketch one other scene, perhaps the most impressive in all the three volumes. Ali Adil Shah, the young King of Beejapoor, has discovered through some letters which have fallen into his hands the treachery of his vizier, who, as well as the Kotwal of the city, has been corresponding with the Emperor's court and with the fearful Sivajee Bhonslay. He calls a durbar to consult what is to be done, and to conciliate wavering allegiances. Afzul Khan, the principal noble of Beejapore (next to the Wuzeer) and his son Fazil, are absent; the king doubts their fidelity; but in fact they have been entrapped by the Kotwal, have overcome him in turn, and have possessed themselves of the proofs of his treason. The hall of audience is an immense room, unbroken to the roof, and fronted by a lofty Gothic arch, flanked by lancet-shaped side arches. As the nobles and their retinue arrive, they are conducted into the presence by chamberlains with gold sticks and plaited petticoats. The King is seated on a dais,—undecorated, and dressed in plain white muslin, as are most of the assembly, except the servants who stand in files against the wall, in many-coloured satin, cloth of gold, and brocade. From beyond the great entrance arch you could see in the tremulous heat the serried masses of troops, elephants, and litters,—glowing colours, and flashing armour. News of Afzul Khan's detention arrives. His *paigah* or guard are sent with the royal guard to bring him from the Kotwalli, and the greatest excitement prevails in the assembly. The King addresses his subjects:—

“Did ye hear, friends?” he continued, after a pause. “Do ye desire to serve under the infidel? I am young. I have no experience. I am a humble worm before God; but I am the son of one who led ye to victory. I am one who has been nursed in war, and will lead ye again! Choose, then, between them and the King of your ancient dynasty. If I have a place in your hearts, bid me stay; if not, a Durwaysh's robe and staff are mine, and at the blessed shrine of the Prophet I will adjure the world and die. I will trouble ye no more. No, no more—me, or mine.”

For an instant the same sweet trembling murmur of the king's voice arose to the roof—but for an instant only. As if with one accord, a shout of ‘Deen! Deen! for the faith! for the faith! we will die for you!’—rang through the building, as men, no longer able to control their emotions, started to their feet and shouted the war-cry of Islam. Those who were without had observed the emotion in the hall, but had not been aware

'of its cause. Now, however, the familiar battle-shout fell on willing ears, and was returned, from the thousands gathered there, with an enthusiasm which knew no bounds. 'Deen! 'Deen!' accompanied by the battle-cries of the various nobles and chiefs whose escorts were drawn up together.

'Just then, and as the excitement within and without had somewhat subsided, a strong body of horse, known to all as belonging to Afzul Khan, swept round the corner of the building with its standard unfurled, and its kettle drums beating loudly.'

He brings a palki containing the old Khorassani Kotwal, Jehándar Beg, who, convicted as a traitor, is ordered off for execution under the Goruk Imlee, a group of majestic Adansonias near the citadel of Beejapoor. But meanwhile news is brought that the Wuzeer has been set upon and murdered, and the informant says that a Fakeer was present crying 'Ulla dilâyâ to léonga!' 'Hark!' he continued, 'there he is.'

'Ulla dilaya to leonga! Ulla dilaya to leonga!' the cry came nearer and nearer, never changing or faltering in its cadence or time—heard above all other noises and confusion within and without—'Ulla dilaya to leonga!'—up the steps, along the great corridor, into the hall, where every one made way before the brawny form and excited looks of the crier—who paused not, nor yet looked right or left, till he reached the dais. Afzul Khan and Fazil would have stopped him, but he strode on.

'Ulla dilaya to leonga!' he cried, looking at the king without saluting him. 'Khan Mahomed is dead, from a hundred wounds. As I closed his eyes I saw this on the ground; it had fallen from him, so I have brought it;' and flinging a case containing papers to the king, he turned away without salutation; shouting the old cry with his right arm bare, and stretched high above his head, he strode out of the hall, continuing it as he passed out of the building through the attendants and troops, and so away.'

Who the Fakeer is, we shall not here say. But the result of the meeting is that the king lays down a gage for him who would punish Sivajee Bhonslay to take up, that old Afzul accepts it, and, all being over, the Burkhast is proclaimed, and that there will be preaching in the Jumma Mosque daily at noon till the army advances.

So much by way of intimation of the nature of this book—meanwhile there are escapes, disguises, abductions, and the sacking of a town, for those that like strong reading; but the quiet beauty and truthfulness of some of the descriptions will linger longest in our memory.

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No. LXXVIII.

ART I.—*Physical Characteristics of Backergunge.*

THE district of Backergunge is situated near the south-eastern corner of the common Delta of the Ganges and Brahmaputra rivers. To the east, some insular alluvial formations lying in the main outlet of these two great rivers, and the flat country of Noakhali or Bullua, intervene between it and the hills of Chittagong. To the west, a low flat tract of deposited sediment stretches far beyond the Hooghly, up to the laterite of Midnapore and Beerbhoom, whilst northward the Delta stretches on the one hand up to the Rajmahal hills, and on the other to the Garo and Khasia ranges.

Towards the south the district fronts the Bay of Bengal. This bay has the shape, if we may use the expression, of a truncated triangle. Originally its northern extremity must have branched off into two gulfs, somewhat resembling those at the head of the Red Sea, though more irregularly shaped. Between them lay the high land which constitutes the Mudhoo-poor jungle, and which probably then stretched away north-westerly in the direction of Rungpore, so as completely to separate the waters of the Brahmaputra entering at the head of the eastern gulf, from those of the Ganges which were received by the western. The accumulation for ages of successive layers of alluvium has surrounded and overlaid the slopes of these hills to such an extent, that the Brahmaputra river is no longer confined by them, but, flowing on a bed of sediment raised by itself, passes over a low portion of the ridge, and joins the Ganges west of Dacca.

There can be no doubt that a large portion of Mymensingh and Sylhet, now elevated plateaus, and the whole of Dacca and Furreedpore, were once below the surface of the sea. The advance of the Delta has filled all these tracts up, and the coastline now runs nearly east and west from Hidgellee to Chitta-

gong, presenting a slightly convex front to the assaults of wind and wave during the period of the south-west monsoon.

Considering the adverse circumstances under which it has been formed, the Delta of the Brahmaputra and Ganges appears one of the most remarkable in the world. The tides and currents of the Bay of Bengal are very strong, and are strongest at its northern extremity. Its waters too are subject to the most violent agitation, and every adverse marine condition is present. Yet it is almost the only instance of a large Delta *growing* in the ocean.

So unfavourable are the conditions under which this Delta is forming, that many have doubted whether it can still be said to increase. In the history of all Deltas there is a stage at which extension ceases. The coast-line of the alluvial formations becomes in time so long, that the river is unable to repair annually more than the ocean, attacking with equal violence every part of the line, is able annually to destroy. In a Delta which has arrived at this stage of growth, increase will sometimes still continue in the neighbourhood of the principal mouths of discharge, but at the other parts of its front, the ocean will eat into the coast, or, penetrating by inferior openings, wash away the soil from its interior, and bear it at ebbtide to the sea.

If this be the present condition of the Ganges Delta, we may expect that, while towards the Megna and Hooghly mouths, (at either extremity of its coast line,) the land will still gain upon the sea, yet, towards the the centre, it will gradually fall a prey to the waves, and such channels as the Raimangal, the Pussur, and the Mutwala or Mutla, become gradually wider and deeper from the erosion of their banks and beds, till they can fairly be entitled estuaries or arms of the sea.

Whether this latter process is going on or not, it is difficult to say. It is certainly not inconsistent with what has been observed. The Mutla, it is known, has improved rather than deteriorated of late years as a navigable creek, and this improvement is obviously due to the action of the tide.

The gain of land at the extremities outside the mouths of the functionally active channels may also perhaps be contested by one who only knows the mouth of the Hooghly. It must be remembered, however, that the Hooghly, though not yet reduced to the condition of the Mutla or Raimangal, is still slowly silting up at the points of its connexion with the Ganges. Much accretion cannot be expected at the mouth of an offset never, comparatively, very large, and now deteriorating. At the opposite extremity, however, nearly the whole volume of the Ganges and Brahmaputra united, pours forth into the bay. Here con-

sequently the gain is very rapid; so rapid that every year a visible increase is effected. The islands south-east of Don Manik's islands, not marked at all in old maps, are rapidly approaching a condition in which vegetation will exist upon them. Others, somewhat older, are already inhabited.

Whether the Delta be advancing or not, its present magnitude, in spite of the obstacles above enumerated, is sufficiently striking. To account for this we must consider the position of the Delta with reference especially to the great Himalayan chain.

If we look at the mountains which run along either side of the Indian Peninsula, we see that a belt of deposited soil stretched along their skirts almost every where divides them from the sea. These mountains are of inconsiderable elevation, and the belt is consequently of no great width; yet it is sufficiently extensive to support a vast population of the most civilized inhabitants of the Deccan.

The denuded material of the Himalayas, on the other hand, from Jumnotri to beyond Sudya, whence once the valleys of the Brahmaputra (the Assam valley) and of the Ganges were filled up, were all concentrated on an extent of sea-coast which bears no greater proportion to their vastness and extension than the coast-line between the mouths of the Nerbudda and Taptee bears to the whole chain of the Syhadrees. In addition, the northern slopes of all the central India chains contribute their quota, whilst from the east, the Soorma, rising near the sources of the Irrawaddy, brings down soft clays from the parallel ranges of Jyntea and Cachar. Moreover, in consequence of the peculiar course of the Brahmaputra, there is to be added the detritus from the whole northern slope of the Himalayas, east of the latitude of Gangotri, from the great spur of that chain which divides the sources of the Sampoo from those of the Sutlej and Sinkhabab, or Indus, and from that chain which, but little inferior to the Himalayas in height, runs parallel with them in Thibet.

It is interesting, amidst the monotonous scenery of Backergunge, to reflect that by geographical position it is connected with the most picturesque and beautiful, as well as the wildest and most magnificent scenery in the world; and, when tracking along its muddy creeks, to speculate whether the water, which in the rainy season is perfectly fresh, came originally from the ice cavern of Gangotri or the desert table-land of Thibet, from the vicinity of Mount Aboo or the sacred springs of Amarakantak.

The position of Backergunge, bounded on one side by the principal channel of discharge of the two great rivers, and on the other by that of one of the most functionally active offsets of the Ganges, is likely to affect in a very material degree the future

of the district. It is by some supposed that the Hooghly itself, and all the more or less inefficient channels which intervene between it and the Balesswar or Gorai, have been in their turn occupied by the whole volume of the Ganges. Certain it is that rivers which are continually occupied, as the Ganges, in its lower course, is, in raising their beds and the banks on either side, by deposition of sediment, must, where not confined by hills, periodically change their course. It is impossible to conceive a river accustomed annually to overflow its banks, continuing to preserve a course along the ridge of such an elevated mound as it must in time build up.

The Ganges then is supposed to have gradually forced its way towards the east as the low land which intervened between its (present) right bank and the sea became elevated, by the successive occupation and abandonment of some ten or twelve channels, vestiges of which are still visible in the 24-Pergunnahs and Jessore. At last it reached its eastern limit of variation, where it met the Brahmaputra from the north-east, and the united stream impinged upon the elevated alluvial deposit which skirts and fringes the Tipperah (Tripura) hills; at which point it turns to the right, and rushes into the ocean between Backergunge and Noakhali.

Now the fresh water that the river poured down these channels successively rendered the tracts contiguous to each of them culturable as far as to the sea-coast. The influence of the tide was of course manifested in the rise and fall of the waters, nearly as far into the interior as at present, but the salt water scarcely intruded within the coast even in the season when the stream is weak, and then in a very diluted state. Villages were consequently built, and tanks dug, the vestiges of which are still visible, though the land, known as the Soonderbuns of Jessore and the 24-Pergunnahs, has, since its abandonment by the river, strip by strip, fallen a prey to salt-water and sterility. Other explanations of these relics of an extinct population have been attempted, but the one given, which has previously been offered in this Review, is obviously correct; and deserves repetition of only to stop the mouths of those who would attribute to mis-government what is clearly the result of natural causes.

What the western Soonderbuns were formerly, we may see in the present condition of the Backergunge Soonderbuns. On the banks of the Megna, they are cultivated as far as the sea-coast. The shore of the Balesswar is being rapidly cleared, and the intermediate country, though more liable to irruptions of salt water, is not unculturable. To obtain any profits from the

grants in the western Soonderbuns, expensive embankments and sluices must be constructed. In many parts of those of Backergunge it is only necessary to cut down the trees.

But how long is this state of things to continue? The main volume of the Ganges has now for many years, probably a century and a half, flowed down the Megna channel. But it is obvious that, when the country east of Furreedpore has been raised to an equal elevation with the western portions of the Delta, there will be nothing to prevent its retracing its course. It is true that if the Ganges were an extra-tropical stream, not subject to great variation in volume, the high banks which it raises on either side of its channel might be sufficient to restrain it for many years in one fixed course, even though the tracts beyond those banks were comparatively low and afforded a shorter passage to the sea. But where the river rises annually many feet above these natural embankments, it is impossible to suppose that the moment its old course becomes on the whole less short and steep than some other, it will not abandon its old direction and take to that other.

It does not appear that very long periods are required for changes of condition in the Ganges Delta. The whole Delta is supposed by the hypothesis to have been traversed within the historic period, and probably two centuries have witnessed the birth, the growth, and the decay, of each of the channels of variation. And now that the Brahmaputra waters spread their deposits simultaneously over the same area as those of the Ganges, the process must go on more quickly.

As Fergusson has remarked, the fact of the Brahmaputra abandoning its old beds to the east of the Mudhoopoor hills, and bursting open a new channel west of them, is a proof that the plains of Mymensingh and Sylhet have at last been filled up to an equal height with other similarly situated portions of the common Delta. This river has not hitherto been remarkable for variation in the lower part of its course such as characterises the Ganges; which is easily accounted for by the great extent of the alluvial plain or upper Delta which it has been for many years employed in elevating, in the districts of Sylhet and Mymensingh; from which there is only one comparatively narrow outlet towards the sea. Whilst flowing on the nearly horizontal surface of the plain, the greater part of its sediment deposited the water and entered the estuary of the Megna comparatively clear; and in consequence the tracts on either side of that estuary were left comparatively low, and no variation was to be expected. Now however that this alluvial tract has been raised to such an elevation above the sea, that

the Brahmaputra refuses to enter it at all, and pours all (or nearly all) its water through the direct channel of the Jaboona by Jaffiergunge, there is no reason why its variation should not be at least as rapid as that of the Ganges.

From these considerations it appears to be probable that many years will not elapse before the Megna channel is filled up, raised a little, and deserted by the main stream.

This alternate visitation of every part of the Delta by the river is in harmony with all the operations of Nature. Putting aside sudden and secular elevation by the dynamic agents of the earth's interior, by some such process alone would it be possible for alluvial formations to become permanently raised above the sea as pleasant habitations for men? If the channels were fixed, the Gangetic Delta would consist only of swamp traversed by water-courses flowing along the summits of narrow mounds of alluvium raised to an elevation so dangerous that every rainy season would be a time of complete devastation. Some slight idea of the effect may be obtained by visiting those districts where rivers have been prevented for a few years by artificial embankments from producing the changes natural to them; only a slight idea, however, for, from considerations of expense, artificial embankments are seldom raised to a dangerous height, and are indeed inefficient after a few years.

It has been rumoured for a few years that the Gorai or Balesswar, which bounds Backergunge to the west, has been, to use technical language, opening out at the head. In plainer terms it is said that, near Kooshtea, where this offset leaves the Ganges, the channel, which for many years was very shallow and narrow, has been growing deeper and broader, so that more water enters it in the rains. This of course may be a temporary phenomenon. Various considerations however compel us to believe that this river indicates the general course which the Brahmaputra and Ganges will follow whenever they abandon the Megna estuary.

The main stream of the Ganges, if it ever flowed down the bed of this offset, can have so flowed only for a very short time. It is possible that some unusually great accumulations of deposit made during successive years in the upper portion of its course near Kooshtea, forced the stream eastward before it had had time to elevate duly the lower portions between Jessore and Backergunge, and in the south of Furreedpore. Outside the coast-line too at this part of the Delta there is a marked deficiency of submarine accumulations. Within ten miles of the Haringhatta (the mouth of the Balesswar) is situated the Swatch, where, as every one knows, no soundings have been made, though on either side

the shoal water is nearly continuous to the extreme limit of the Delta coast. Along the swampy beels which run on either bank of the Baleswar down to the "Swatch of no ground" seems *a priori* the proper course of the future river.

The district of Backergunge is situated wholly within the lower Delta of the Ganges, that is to say, in that part of the Delta where the beds of the water-courses are all below the level of the sea at high tide. All of these are in consequence subject to tidal influence, and, although during the height of the rains, the water does not turn in the principal channels, but flows constantly towards the sea, it rises and falls as considerably as in the dry season. Owing to the incessant motion of the water at a considerable velocity, all the channels (which are innumerable) are kept open and navigable for boats proportioned to their size, and there is probably no part of India where such perfect access by water to every part of the district can be obtained. The district is in fact covered with a net-work of khals most intricate in their windings and intercommunications, and apparently without any order or regularity. But although in a district so essentially flat, an organized system of natural drainage would scarcely be looked for, we find that in fact the whole district, except where the great Megna and Aryal khan river have obliterated the old features of the country by recent deposits over its northern and eastern portions, may be divided into distinct drainage districts, each of them containing corresponding features.

In undulating tracts of country the drainage ordinarily radiates from elevated centres towards the circumjacent coast-line. In alluvial formations, on the contrary, owing to the excess of deposit on the edges, the water flows inwards from an elevated surrounding and enclosing ridge to a central basin, from whence it is conducted to the exterior along water-courses, piercing through this surrounding ridge. And this order is followed not merely in tidal districts like Backergunge, but in all alluvial formations, however elevated, as for example in Sylhet.

Each of the drainage circles or districts of Backergunge then possesses its central basin or reservoir of swamp towards which the surface slopes in every direction from the exterior. On the exterior edge of the area, where it abuts on the large tidal rivers (which everywhere divide one drainage circle from another) the land is well raised and covered with villages. The intermediate space is covered with rice cultivation, and the centre is a lake or *beel*, varying in size and depth with the season of the year.

From points not very far from the centre of this beel and quite submerged in the rains, numerous little water-courses proceed in every direction towards the edge. These can only be recognized by the fact that a current flows along them, and by the narrow submerged rims of deposited earth which enclose them on either side and partially separate them from the beel proper. Beginning almost in nothing, many combine to form others, which, though still within the beel and with banks submerged by its waters, present more defined features. At last by the coalescence of many, a water-course is formed, with banks which, though but a few feet wide and sloping rapidly towards the beel water, are yet in the cold weather above the water. After further convergence of such channels we find ourselves (supposing we are attempting to find our way out of the beel by water) in a *khal* of moderate dimensions, with banks which are not submerged except in the height of the rains; we are still probably many stages from the great rivers, whose banks are permanently above the water, and which are some hundreds of yards in width. But it is useless to particularize further. The numerous khals which originate in the depths of the central reservoir terminate in some two or three considerable channels which open into the circumposed main water-course. Between this latter and the beel there is no water communication except through these two or three channels and their ramifications. Even if a short cut were artificially made direct into the beel, it would in a few rainy seasons, by sucking in at the ebb tide the water from all directions, create for itself a branched system of terminations under water, which in the dry weather would be exposed to view.

The whole system depends on the principle that inundating waters, if in a condition to lay down deposit, do so chiefly upon their actual banks, and thus tend to shut themselves off from the tract of submergeable country beyond. As the banks rise, the rush of water over them at ebb and flood is intensified, and at length bursts open channels of communication. These throw up enclosing banks in their turn, which process gives birth to new connecting channels piercing these new banks, and the process is repeated till the communicating channels become so small as scarcely to be noticed.

It is obvious that in this manner the drainage of flat surfaces is performed in the most effectual manner. In undulating or mountainous countries the drainage derives sufficient force from gravity to maintain the channels open, but in alluvial flats the slow passage of the water would scarcely suffice. If in a tidal district the drainage channels merely flowed from the interior of

each patch of land towards the circumference, they would soon fill with sediment brought in by the tide, which would ebb and flow in them with but slight velocity; but where these channels are the only means of communication between two considerable bodies of water constantly differing from each other in level, a high rate of speed is easily maintained.

In the rainy season the drainage reservoirs are connected much more directly with the exterior than during the remainder of the year. The water from various causes stands at an average at least six feet higher than in the dry season, and completely submerges all the interior articulations of the system of relieving channels. Only the larger and more external have their banks above the water; the smaller feeders are supplied both from their extremities and over their own banks. The greater volume of water which then requires passage is thus amply provided for; whilst in the dry weather, when the drainage volume is weak, the water is unable on account of the fall in its level to leave the reservoir except through the extreme ends of very small channels. The banks of the different classes or grades of channels, each in turn, begin to fulfil their proper functions, as the level decreases, and in this manner the water-way is always exactly proportioned to the volume to which it is required to give passage.

In districts of alluvium raised above tidal influence the rise and fall of the rivers during the rainy season produce similar effects. The water on the swamps being only connected with these by narrow channels piercing the banks of the rivers, is always, unless the river remains very long at exactly the same level, either above or below that level, and the channels are incessantly occupied in restoring the balance.

The swamps or drainage reservoirs are themselves an interesting feature in the physical geography of Backergunge. They vary greatly in size, in accordance with the area of the tract they drain, and the amount of *filling up* which they have undergone. In the eastern portion of the district, the alluvium from the Megna has completely obliterated the whole drainage organization, which has become enveloped in one uniform mound sloping towards the west, and forming the right bank of this immense water-course. In the western portion of the district where the system of drainage prevails which we have endeavoured to describe, the swamps during the rainy season fill up the whole of each drainage tract, except its extreme margin and the banks of the primary channels which penetrate that margin. In the dry weather they become reduced to the extent of the nucleus or central portion from which the relieving channels take their rise.

This nucleus is often of considerable depth, and is generally covered by a floating surface of matted grass and earth on which Nul, Hoogla, and Koonda reed sometimes grow; at other places it is covered with a short, coarse, but very green grass, abounding in snipe. In parts where the covering is thick enough to support the cultivators, rice is sown in the dry season. It is dangerous to tread on this shaking surface except where the straw *hiras* or small retaining embankments which mark the fields shew that people have been there before. Even through the midst of this quaking bog the small ramifying water-courses are to be found, and on their margins, though two or three feet deep under water, a firm footing is generally obtainable. Their beds also are ordinarily composed of a hard mixture of sand and clay, and it is only in the interspaces that the floating surface exists. The smaller beels are very useful as village boundaries. The inhabitants on either side cultivate as far as they prudently can, and abandon the centre to jungle and water-fowl.

From the beel on every side the country rises with considerable slope, the first footing being generally found in the water-courses. The drainage towards the beel is along successive terraces of rice fields, each a few inches lower than the next above it. The water is retained in the higher ground for cultivation by means of the little *hiras* or banks, (here constructed of straw as well as earth) common throughout Bengal. It may be repeated here that all the surface drainage of the tract surrounding each beel flows towards it, and never into the penetrating channels, whose banks are always higher than the ground outside and always slope away from the channel.

The level of the sea at the head of the Bay of Bengal and on the tidal water-courses of the Delta, is subject to a considerable annual alteration. It is a doubtful point whether this alteration is to be attributed to the influx of fresh water in such immense quantities, or to the banking up of the sea by the south-west monsoon. As the increased elevation occurs during the rainy season, when both these influences are at work, it is extremely difficult to decide the question, and both are probably concerned in the result. The change of level is not confined to the head of the Bay, but is found some distance down the east coast of India. In Backergunge the difference in mean level must be at least four feet. This is an important point, for, as the whole district of Backergunge is nearly horizontal, the water at high tide in the rainy season floods nearly the whole of it, and the inhabitants are obliged to raise their houses on mounds. It is owing to this alteration in the level of the tides rather than to the mere local rainfall, that the change in the level of the beels takes place.

The local rainfall of Backergunge is however extremely heavy. It varies from 200 to 300 inches in the year ; whereas that of Calcutta is only seventy inches. Throughout the hot weather the atmosphere is cloudy in this district. The south-west monsoon which blows upon the shores of Backergunge, probably contains much more aqueous vapour, than the monsoon which visits Calcutta, for the latter has been robbed of much of its moisture when passing over the plains of the peninsula, whereas the sea breeze at Backergunge does not, perhaps, pass over any dry land in its whole course from the Tropic of Capricorn.

The above are but a few of the physical peculiarities of this district, but they are perhaps quite as many as non-residents can take an interest in. If we have dwelt too long on such points as the natural drainage or the formation of the district, our excuse must be that they appear very interesting subjects, and that they have never been fully treated of.

- ART. II.—1. *The Law of Evidence, applicable to the Courts of the East India Company, explained in a course of Lectures delivered by John Bruce Norton, Esq., Barrister-at-Law. Fourth Edition. Madras. J. Higginbotham. 1863.*
2. *The Law of Evidence as administered in England and applied to India. By Joseph Goodeve, Esq., Barrister-at-Law, Calcutta. Thacker, Spink and Co.*
3. *Act II. of 1855.*

THERE is no branch of law which is attracting at the present time more attention from the reformers of the Courts of this country, than the Law of Evidence. This and a new edition of Mr. Norton's work must be our apology for entering on the enquiry how far the law now current in England can be considered applicable to the various Courts of India.

We are too much given to the habit of believing England to be blessed with better forms of Government, a better constitution, a larger amount of liberty, better laws both substantive and adjective, than any other country in the world. Flattering as such an opinion is to our self-love, it undoubtedly contains a very large element of truth, and is at the present moment amply vindicated by the long peace we have enjoyed, while our neighbours on all sides have been distracted by foreign or intestine troubles; but yet it is a truth requiring a certain amount of reservation, it should be predicated relatively and not absolutely, and the consciousness of it is apt to lead us into a natural error, that what is best for us, must be best for every one else. It deceives us into recommending one panacea for all the evils, civil or political, of other countries,—to assimilate their laws to ours, and to follow our example.

It must be admitted that this is precisely the course which Indian legislation has been following during the last few years; we have been passing through an epoch of Anglo-mania. Laws, Civil and Criminal, Finance, Police, even taxes have all been more or less modelled in the English system, and with a result we grant in the main good; it cannot be otherwise where the model is so far socially in advance of the copy, as England is of India. But even in Civil questions only (and the absurdity of

extending the process to Political, is so patent that it has hardly ever been seriously contended for) the process of assimilation requires to be carried out with many modifications necessitated by the different circumstances, habits, and national characteristics of the respective countries, which, if neglected, involve, as in the imposition of the Income Tax, inequality, oppression, evasion, and failure.*

The Laws of Evidence as far as regards the local Courts have only comparatively recently attracted the attention of the legislature; beyond extending to India the provisions of the successive English Acts (3 and 4 William IV. c. 42, 6 and 7 Vict. c. 85, 14 and 15 Vict. c. 95,) and laying down a few general rules almost identical with those now contained in the Code of Civil Procedure, nothing worthy of special notice was done, until the enactment of Act II. 1855. As far as this Act goes, it may (almost without any reservation) be asserted that all those Sections in which it alters the English law are improvements (we are writing of course with reference to India) and that in all those cases in which it rules or settles some disputed question, the ruling appears to be on the side of common sense, but our objection to it lies not in what it does, but in what it omits to do,—it bears on the face of it that it was constructed on the understanding that all the *principles* of English law were to remain intact.

This is then the main question to which we address ourselves in this article; are the principles of English law such as are in their entirety applicable to India?

Before proceeding to details we cannot help remarking that this view, that the law will prove to be in many respects inapplicable, and will require little less than radical alteration, is supported by many preliminary considerations. (1.) The old principles of evidence have even in England been rudely shaken, and in some cases openly condemned, by the innovations of the last thirty years; the system of exclusion has been especially made the object of attack; as we have so much to say on this head hereafter, it is premature now to proceed to details, but it is not unreasonable to contend that we ought not to be too confident or dogmatic in India as to principles with respect to which we have been so diligently retracing our steps in England.

* 'If much of the difficulty has arisen from the dominion of English prejudices, and especially that deep-rooted prejudice, that English law is the standard of perfection to which every thing should be fitted, considerable progress towards improvement will be made, as soon as we have emancipated ourselves from those prejudices.'—(Mill's History of India, Vol. V., page 425.)

(2). The English law of evidence has grown out of the growth of the country, has been framed and moulded gradually, and as experience dictated; in a body of law formed in this way, there are 'a certain class of defects which the national character instantly takes advantage of and in this way exposes; these are one by one carefully weeded out and eliminated. But there are other defects to take advantage of which is more or less contrary to the national character, and which as far as that country is concerned can scarcely be called defects; if however the same law be introduced elsewhere, they would be at once taken hold of and worked upon and become prejudicial in the highest degree. As an instance of this we may mention the rule that the number of witnesses that may be offered to prove any point is unlimited. In England, where, generally speaking, only genuine witnesses are tendered, and where all parties alike aim at as speedy and decisive a conclusion as possible, this rule may practically work well and produce little or no injury. In India on the other hand, where scores of witnesses can be procured, and are frequently offered to prove even the most trifling questions, some power of rejecting superfluous testimony is not only urgently required, but at present everywhere exercised in defiance of the law; in fact, without its exercise no Magistrate could hope to administer any justice at all; yet that a Court has not the right even in India to reject a single witness, has been decided in the most definite manner by the highest tribunal. In a suit* for the possession of certain Mehals in the Bombay Presidency in the year 1841, the defendant objected to the plaintiff's title as heir, that he was a spurious and suppositious son; to prove this plea he tendered fifty-eight (!) witnesses; after examining thirty of them, the Zillah Judge declined to hear the remaining twenty-eight and decided for the plaintiff; the defendant appealed on this point to the Sudder, which wisely, as we must think, supported the Zillah Judge; on a further appeal, however, the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council decided otherwise, and remanded the case for the evidence of the remaining twenty-eight witnesses to be taken. It is quite clear that the Privy Council's experience of witnesses was not gained in India.

(3.) The English law of evidence is largely based on the system of the Judges of fact being distinct from the Judges of law;—many of the principles of exclusion have their root in this separation of the two functions, and become useless if not untenable in Courts, where, with a very few exceptions, they are both united in one person.

* *Jeswunt Singjee, Ubby Singjee, v. Jet Singjee, Ubby Singjee.*—2 Moore's Indian App. 424.

(4). Even the Law of Evidence, in conjunction with other English Laws, has been stamped with the mark of the political struggles through which the country has passed; it is, probably, to the Court influence which has at times been brought to bear on the Judges, that the otherwise unreasonable respect for the decision of Juries is due; and it can hardly be doubted that the antipathy against Catholics, or rather against the caricature of Catholics which zeal rather than honesty has portrayed,* affords the correct explanation of the discreditable distinction, unknown even in America, by which the most sacred and solemn secrets of religion are denied that protection, which is afforded to legal confidences only.

(5.) Generally, it may be said that it is hardly probable that the same principles of evidence, above all in respect to the exclusion and admission of evidence, can be suitable to two countries where the character and credit of evidence so widely differs. Without disputing that the English people have their vices, it must be acknowledged that truthfulness is one of their most pre-eminent virtues,† and without denying many virtues to the people of India, we shall hardly be wide of the mark in selecting untruth as one of their most characteristic vices. The effect of this is that in England oral testimony is generally and as a rule to be relied upon, while here, if uncorroborated by circumstances or probabilities, it can scarcely be said, in the case of the majority of witnesses, to have any value at all. There the general question in estimating the testimony of nine witnesses out of ten is, 'what does it prove?' Here, in nine cases out of ten, what it proves is clear enough, being the whole question at issue, but the enquiry is, 'is it to be believed or not?' Can it be expected that the same artificial rules which are conducive to furthering the first, will be best suited in aiding the second enquiry? In each case truth is the object of search, but if the difficulties and obstacles are essentially different, must not the mode of conducting the search be different also? though victory be their common object, would it not be absurd for competitors to go through the same training where the palm is to be awarded in one case to skill, in the other to strength?

* 'If the papists have sometimes maintained that no faith ought to be kept with heretics, their adversaries seem also to have thought that no truth ought to be told of idolators.'—Hume's *History of England*, Vol. V. Note to p. 26.

† Kant at Königsberg was surrounded by Englishmen and by foreigners 'of all nations, foreign and English students, foreign and English merchants, and he pronounced the main characteristic feature of the English nation to lie in their severe reverence for truth.'—De Quincey.

It must be remembered that we are urging no mere abstract question, while practically an existing system works well. Practically the laws of evidence are unknown in the Mofussil Courts. Some of the various grades of Judges, it is true, are tolerably versed in them; but to put them in practice, it is requisite even in England that the Counsel or Agents for the contending parties should be equally instructed. It is not the province of the presiding authority to be constantly on the watch for the many insidious forms of hearsay, or to raise objections to entering on the record, statements which the person affected by them permits to pass unchallenged. Pleaders of this class can however rarely be met with away from the High Court, except perhaps in a few of the Zillah Courts in the neighbourhood of Calcutta, and the experiment, how the English law would work in the Mofussil, must be considered as still untried.

We confess that we believe it to be of the greatest importance, both for the respect due to the Law and also for the sake of justice, that the experiment should not be tried until the principles which now obtain have been modified;—or rather, as the trial is rapidly approaching and may be considered as now beginning that the requisite modifications should be speedily made.

We might even assert further, that it is not in India only that some changes are requisite;—it is a very patent and very pregnant circumstance, that there is no branch of English law which commands so little respect outside the circle of professional men as the rules of Evidence. At the Court Martial on Colonel Crawley, the President is reported to have said, when pressed by the technical objections for the defence, ‘we are not bound by the rules of evidence, our object is to elicit the truth.’ Of course it would be replied that it is the very object of the laws of Evidence to lay down the safest rules for attaining the truth; but men of common sense and great ordinary experience seldom admit this, and the judgment of professional men of any class as to the beauty of their own science, must always be accepted with very great reservation. Those who have mastered a difficult or anomalous science possess a power over others, especially useful where it is capable of being turned to such important account as the science of any branch of Law. Every intricacy simplified, every anomaly removed, has a tendency to destroy their advantage and to lower their pre-eminence;* and as it is

* In corroboration of this we may refer to the Lord Chancellor's speech in April 21st on the Land Transfer Bill, in which, after attributing the failure of the bill to the opposition of the Solicitors, whose interests it

almost useless to look to practising barristers for improvements and alterations, if any thing requires reform, it must be done either from without, or from Judges whose position is secured, or from theoretical as opposed to practising lawyers.

The consideration that an obsolete system now universally condemned has attracted admiration as unqualified as the existing rules should teach moderation to those who praise these rules so highly. What can be more complete than Lord Erskine's well-known eulogy? 'The rules of evidence are founded in the charities of religion, in the philosophy of human nature, in the truths of History, and in the experience of common life.' (!)

Yet by those very rules not only plaintiffs and defendants, but all persons pecuniarily interested in any suit, were excluded from being witnesses, 'a practice', as Mr. Norton expresses it, 'which involves the absurdity that the evidence of a man with the wealth of Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy would be rejected if shewn to be interested even to the extent of a single rupee in the suit at issue. To such a man the temptation to serve from the truth would be as nothing, yet the rule, stern as the bed of Procrustes, was equally fitted to him and to a person to whom the same sum might be sufficient to make him a "bazar witness."' Under those very rules an English Judge, an English Bench has been heard to say to a barrister, 'what will you demand next? I suppose counsel for prisoners will soon claim to be allowed to address the Court.* Of those very rules the preamble to Lord Durham's Act which has been adapted as the preamble of the Indian Act (VII. 1844) says *'the enquiry after truth in Courts of Justice is often obstructed by incapacities created by the present law*, and it is desirable that full information as to the facts in issue both in Criminal and Civil cases should be laid before the persons who are to decide upon them, that such persons should exercise their judgment on the credit of the witnesses adduced for the truth of the testimony' (6 and 7 Vict. c. 99). If this was true of the laws of evidence in England, hardly two dozen years ago, the burden of proving them to be so admirable now, should rest with those who make a statement which depends on so scanty an experience.

would have injuriously affected, he calls England 'a lawyer-ridden country, We do not in the least mean to attribute base or dishonourable motives to lawyers, but only to point out that, as in every other profession or trade, their interests cannot fail to influence and distort their opinions.

* It was only in 1836, by 6 and 7 Will. IV. c. 114, that counsel were allowed to persons accused of felony.

But it is not our object to find fault with the English system as regards England; even the defects in the system have there taken root, and to eradicate them with discrimination and judgment is no easy task. But it is a very different thing to *introduce* defects and to *remove* them; innovation is itself an evil, and the introduction of a false principle combines two evils without any countervailing benefit, while even the removal of a defect is inexpedient, unless it be so glaring and detrimental as to outweigh the corresponding evil of innovation. Only let it be remembered that, if some of the reasons which may be alleged against introducing the principles of the English law of evidence in India would equally apply to England, this is a conclusion from which we do not shrink, and in which not only almost all unprofessional men, but even many of the greatest ornaments of the Bench and Bar in England coincide.* Even Mr. Goodeve, to his credit, and in this, as indeed in many other respects we confess to a preference for his work over that of Mr. Norton, often acknowledges that in spite of its general excellence there still remain defects and anomalies in the English Law. (pp. 11, 590, 601, &c.)

It is almost an exhaustive decision to classify the laws of evidence, as,—1. The rules for procuring documents or the attendance of witnesses, for regulating the forms of their reception or examination, and generally the mode of procedure in taking evidence. 2. The rules for excluding or admitting evidence. 3. Rules regarding the artificial value and effect attached to evidence when received. With the first of these we are little concerned; the great object is to obtain uniformity and order, and these may generally be secured in one country in the same way that they are secured in another,—the third, though an essential portion of the science, is at the same time that portion which in the English law is most commendable and best suited to India. So far from curtailing it, it is rather in the direction of extension that any alteration should be made. The less trustworthy positive evidence is, the greater the gain by substituting for it artificial proofs and presumptions. It is the second head, that of the principles of exclusion, which we look on with such

* To those who are familiar with the tendency of modern legal criticism in England our assertion must be a truism; we admit that the criticisms even of the Law of Evidence do not generally embrace the points attacked in this article, but we readily acknowledge that what are grave defects in India, are, if defects at all, quite of minor importance in England. On one point however, to which we have addressed ourselves, the examination of accused persons, a well-known writer and thinker (Mr. Fitzjames Stephen) has recently published a work most strongly condemnatory of the English practice.

apprehension, and which requires so careful and in some respects comprehensive a revision.

Here we feel we are treading on dangerous ground, these are with most lawyers the tenderest of all points, the *arcana* of the science of proof, where laymen ought not to presume to tread. Still it remains, *firstly*, that these are the principles with respect to which the most sweeping and radical alterations have been made within the last thirty years in England, and that they stand now on an inconsistent basis, supported by reasons both good and bad, partly valid, partly exploded and untenable. *2ndly*. The arguments by which this part of the law is supported are, more perhaps than in any other branch of the same subject, peculiarly founded on the English character, are ignored by every nation, civilized or uncivilized, not of English extraction, and even in England are almost annually receding, under the assaults of experience and reason. There are, we admit, some perfectly sound and valid grounds for the exclusion of evidence applicable as much and perhaps even more to this country than to England. According to Mr. Norton 'the only proper grounds for exclusion in legal enquiries are vexation, expense, delay, ... and where none of these preventive obstacles presents itself, a wisely constructed law of evidence will strive to admit everything which can throw light upon the subject under investigation.'—Section 26.

We have no fault to find with this passage, except that it is insufficient to account for the exclusions requisite even in this country, and that though intended by the author to apply to the English law as current after the recent legislation, it is in reality totally condemnatory of it. The uninitiated might indeed be puzzled to know how such principles can be made to include the cases which frequently occur in practice. A single instance will suffice. A person is accused of a serious offence in Calcutta; the evidence against him is very strong, but he had gone up the day before to visit a factory of his perhaps in Jessore or Nuddea, where he met an official of the district who was encamped in the neighbourhood; unfortunately this officer shortly afterwards died or left for England on furlough, but, as it happened, on the very day in question, in writing to a friend in Calcutta, specially mentioned that he in the middle of writing was surprised by a visit from the defendant. The recipient, when the case becomes public, acquaints the accused of his having received this important letter. All his hopes centre on it, containing as it does his complete exculpation; but by the English law it cannot be admitted; if justice (?) is to be done, the persons who have to decide on

the guilt of the accused, whether Jury or Judge, ought to be *kept in complete ignorance* even of the very existence of the letter; it is mere hearsay evidence; if the accused in his own statement chooses to mention that he met this officer, he only lays himself open to a damaging suspicion from naming one who, he knows, cannot be produced. He is left to the evidence of his factory servants, in any case all but worthless, as they are testifying on behalf of their own master,—in this case probably positively injurious, as they will swear to an English date of which they have no real recollection, and the Counsel for the Crown will triumphantly expose them in cross-examination, and shew perhaps that many of them are actually ignorant of the date or day of the week, on which they being examined. Now on what principle is this letter rejected? Is it on account of vexation, expense, or delay? It certainly would at first sight appear that these grounds do not apply, and that some other principle must be brought in. This, however, Mr. Norton would not do, and would make his principles include the case in question by the following reasoning:—

‘The letter is evidence of facts which are neither given on oath nor subject to cross-examination. It is true that the person who produces it can be cross-examined as to the hand-writing and the date of receipt, and it would be shewn that the letter was perfectly genuine, and thus far the evidence would be both direct and admissible; but clearly as regards the *contents* of the letter, neither can an oath be administered nor cross-examination be applied. Being then devoid of either of these safeguards as they are termed, the evidence of the letter is so worthless that it is useless expense and waste of time to receive it, hence it should be excluded.’ The fallacy of this reasoning (and it is most fairly stated) is palpable; the principle of rejecting all evidence which is not tested by oath and cross-examination may be a sound one, and is worthy of further consideration, but to say that every statement not so secured is so *useless* as to involve mere expense and delay in taking it, is not only contrary to the daily experience of every one of us, but is an insult to common sense. By a similar train of reasoning the rule for rejecting secondary evidence, such for instance, as an authenticated copy of a document, can be forced under these heads, and yet such a copy would generally be more trustworthy and consequently, as far as *this* ground only is concerned, less worthless than ordinary oral testimony to any fact on oath.

In English law the *main* ground for rejecting secondary, including hearsay, evidence is that it points to better evidence behind; and Mr. Norton’s mistake is that he attempts to in-

clude this under the heads of vexation, expense, and delay instead of recognizing it as a separate principle; but this is not the only ground; for it is evident that, in the case supposed, the writer of the letter would not be produceable (at least if dead), so that the letter would be no violation of this rule. The further principle is that such evidence, not being (as we have shewn) given under oath or tested by cross-examination, is entitled to a less amount of credit than evidence given under those restrictions, and further that it is extremely likely to mislead and distract those who have to decide upon it. The opponents of the admission of hearsay evidence may perhaps, while admitting that it is not all worthless, contend that, as a *kind* and *class* of evidence, it is vastly inferior to direct. By opening the door to it we should be multiplying the length of our trials indefinitely, and the gain would be quite incommensurate with the expense and delay entailed by it. This may appear specious, but its weight entirely rests on the fallacious and exploded principle of laying down absolute and inflexible rules, and leaving nothing to the discretion of Judges and to the special character of unusual cases, which is precisely that Procrustean method condemned by Mr. Norton in the extract given above. We do not as will be seen, advocate the promiscuous admission of all 'hearsay,' nine-tenths of which, including all the most objectionable kinds, would fall under the head of secondary evidence and be excluded as such. Moreover we very much doubt whether the admission of hearsay in any form, at all events in the limited form we propose, would add to the length of trials at all. The time taken up in arguing about the receptability of evidence, often exceeds ten-fold the time which the most promiscuous admission would have occupied. It is, we suspect, to the rule about collateral issues and not to the rejection of hearsay, that an English trial owes the conciseness and comparative brevity which distinguish it so markedly from courts-martial and foreign enquiries.

We have dwelt on Mr. Norton's exposition, because it is the hinge on which the whole question turns, the root of the whole fallacy. Mr. Norton, by thus (we do not say intentionally) misrepresenting the English principles, shirks a discussion which he could not consistently with other portions of his work have undertaken. By putting forward unimpeachable grounds for exclusion, he carries with him the consent of his readers at this stage, and afterwards dexterously introduces the true grounds as merely falling under and included in these heads. Mr. Goodeve in his corresponding passage (p. 7) is more correct. 'Did the time capable of being allotted to each separate trial in Courts of justice afford

'opportunity for the investigation of all the discursive matter which the adoption of the first principle (indiscriminate admission) might let in? *and did the constitution of the Court, and the capacities of the human mind, secure that its admission would not rather tend to distraction than to sound judgment* (hearsay) and were there not some classes of evidence, the insufficiency for reliance on which is obvious on their very face (secondary evidence pointing to the existence of primary) there might be reason for the adoption of the first principle as the governing one for the guidance of the Court? On the whole, when read with the explanatory remarks which follow, but which are too long to quote here, this is a fair exposition of the question, though still it has a tendency to tone down and soften the rules under discussion. It will therefore be convenient if we state the principles more in detail.

1st.—The main and chief ground for exclusion is that the evidence tendered points to some better evidence in the background, which ought to be produced first; if A says I heard B make a certain statement, why is not B there to say so himself? If he says the contents of a document are so and so, why is not the document produced to speak for itself? or if a copy is tendered and sworn to as such, why is not the original forthcoming? If a letter is put into Court to prove that A the writer saw or knew something, why is not A put into the box to swear that the facts contained in the letter are true? This is a ground, the good sense and importance of which are obvious, but if it can be shewn that the original evidence has disappeared, as for instance that the document been lost or burnt, the rule is in most cases, and as we shall argue, should be in all, relaxed.

There are, however, other exceptional occasions not allowed in England for relaxing the rule which might advantageously be introduced here. These may be considered cases where two rules of exclusion clash. If the original evidence cannot be procured without great difficulty, annoyance, expense, and delay, while the secondary evidence happens to be of a particularly trustworthy character, the latter should be made receivable. What amount of difficulty or expense justifies its reception, must of course be left to the discretion of the presiding Judge. In support of our argument that the rigour of the English law requires relaxation, we may refer to Section 39, Act II. of 1855. Declarations against interest or made in the ordinary course of business are merely secondary evidence, and as such not receivable under that Act, while the maker of them is at hand. By the English law, on the other hand, they cannot be received, so long as the maker is *alive*. He may be insane or a prisoner of war, he may

be separated by the four corners of the globe from the spot where the trial is being held, he may not have been even heard of for six years, still the rule 'stern as the bed of Procrustes,' excludes the statement, because he is still alive or presumed to be so. It would have been well if the Indian Act, while removing this absurdity, had not been more tender to other restrictions equally untenable.

2ndly.—The next ground of exclusion may be stated as that of *privilege*, which is really one of the forms of 'vexation'; it is that evidence whether in the shape of important public documents, or of confidential communications, or of private matters the publication of which is unseemly, shall not for the mere personal interest or even whim of any suitor be dragged into Court; few will question the necessity of this, and most will agree that the privilege should rather be extended than curtailed, and *bona fide* medical and spiritual advisers be allowed the same protection which is now confined to legal advisers only.

3rdly.—Expense and delay are the grounds for excluding collateral enquiries. For example, if a witness to a theft is asked in cross-examination in how many similar cases he has previously given evidence, if he denies that he has ever or often given it, it is not allowable for the opposite party to produce evidence to shew that he has done so a dozen or more times; the reason for this is that it has nothing to do with the direct enquiry as to the theft, which, if allowed to branch out in this manner, might never stop; thus, for instance, the parties produced to prove that he had given evidence, might be themselves asked some indirect question, and the first witness, whose statement was being impugned, might claim to produce evidence to shew their answers to be incorrect, and in this manner the enquiry might go on *ad infinitum*. Although this argument is certainly entitled to a great deal of consideration, we cannot help thinking that even here a little discretionary power of occasionally relaxing the rule might be wisely vested in the Judge. Here too we have the authority of Act II. to support us to a limited extent; for Section 33* is a palpable violation of the rule. Though it confines the exception to a single instance, yet the principle of it extends much further; the reason for it is clear,—the assertion of the witness (that he has never been convicted) is one the correctness of which it is very important to ascertain

* 'A witness in any cause may be questioned as to whether he has been convicted of any felony or misdemeanour, and upon being so questioned, if he either denies the fact, or refuses to answer, it shall be lawful for the opposite party to prove such conviction.' The same exception has been introduced in England.

and the disproof (the production of the judgment itself) is remarkably decisive and conclusive. This should be extended to all similar cases (and they are very numerous) in which, in the opinion of the presiding officer, it is important to test the credit of some assertion of a witness, and in which the exposure, if untrue, is simple and final and at hand.

While however the law rigidly includes collateral enquiries for the reasons above stated, strange as it may seem, it entirely ignores these reasons on other occasions. Is it no vexation, no waste of time, that the Court should be obliged to sit and record statement after statement of witnesses, hardly any of them worth listening to, and the value of whom after a certain number have passed, must almost defy the range of the highest power of mathematical infinitesimals? To take the case in Bombay referred to above, after thirty witnesses had passed, each no doubt telling the same tale in the same words with the same fluency, what must be the denominator of the fraction below which the value of the remaining twenty-eight instances would not fall? We can wish no worse fate to the Members of the Judicial Committee than that they should be placed for a few months in sole charge of a District of heavy Sub-Division, and there be compelled to try cases on their own principles.

In the most trivial assaults or disputes about land, dozens or even scores of witnesses are daily tendered on both sides. Unless a Magistrate takes some steps to cut short enquiries, cases which in England are disposed of in five or ten minutes, would be protracted over hours, every point being most keenly contested and flatly contradicted by the opposite parties. Perhaps it may be said that in trivial cases a Magistrate may as a matter of course curtail a list of witnesses, and stop a tedious cross-examination, and that it was never intended that the laws of evidence should be strictly enforced in small and unimportant cases. If this is so, so much the better; as the number of minor cases vastly exceeds that of cases of importance, it would be a great thing to understand that in Small Cause or Revenue or Criminal Courts, the injurious portions of the laws of evidence are to be relaxed, though even here the distinction should be openly acknowledged instead of being tacitly permitted; but we are not contented to rest here, we are quite prepared to contend that in every case a Judge ought to be vested with the power both of refusing witnesses and of stopping a cross-examination which is uselessly protracted. The right of calling witnesses is abused, and therefore ought not to be unchecked,—it is frequently and notoriously made use of as well to annoy others by needlessly citing them, as to waste the time of the Court by producing redundant and

unnecessary evidence. The suit at Bombay is a fair instance of this, and an instance which happened under the notice of the writer of this article, not many months ago, aptly illustrates the argument in point.

The case was cognizable only by the Sessions, and as the parties were influential, several Calcutta pleaders were engaged on each side. About fifteen witnesses were examined for the prosecution by the committing Magistrate, and the cross-examination to which they were subjected baffles description; it was useless enough, but *not* irrelevant, for there is hardly any limit to the extent to which an ingenious pleader can expand a cross-examination directed to shake the general credit of a witness; all this of course had to be recorded in Bengalee, (one of the slowest languages of record perhaps in existence), and read over to the witness, the result being that the examination of these fourteen or fifteen witnesses occupied at least six whole days. The law does not compel a committing officer to take evidence for the defence, but it seemed that in the Sessions the case was likely to prove interminable, as the defendant named forty witnesses, chiefly to character, and the prosecution knowing but too well that the rules of evidence, though most rarely or never acted upon in England, allow evidence to character to be rebutted by counter-evidence, gave in a list of twenty-eight further witnesses to prove the bad character of the defendant. This looked threatening for the Sessions Judge, but in the mean time the defence had changed hands, and been entrusted to an English barrister. He began by refusing to allow a single Vakeel for the prosecution (nearly half the High Court pleaders were engaged on it) to address the Court, on the ground that no such address except in reply was sanctioned by the 'Sessions' Chapter of the Code of Criminal Procedure;* he cross-examined the witnesses for the prosecution briefly, discarded all his own, refusing to call one of them, addressed the Court, and the whole case was concluded in a single day! Whether he exercised a wise discretion or not is foreign to our argument;—the verdict was against his client, as it probably would have been had he spent a fortnight in cross-examining his opponent's witnesses and examining every one of his own, but it fairly shews the vast difference between England and India, between English and Indian lawyers. The tendency of the one is to err on the side of brevity, to manage with as little evidence as possible. The other errs on the side of prolixity and relies on an

* If his construction of the Code was correct, this should be amended.

useless and superfluous number of witnesses. Surely by this an amount of vexation, expense, and delay is incurred ten-fold greater than would be incurred in England by the admission of even collateral matter. Let then some power of checking it be granted. Such power is assumed daily, sometimes directly, and always indirectly, *i. e.*, by manifesting displeasure, fatigue, or dissatisfaction at the number of witnesses adduced. Without such power justice would come to a stand-still in six months. But what a reflection that the law is such that justice can only be administered by disregarding it! Let us be consistent to our principles, *ne lites immortales essent dum litigantes mortales sunt*.

4thly.—We believe that we have now cleared the way for the final cause of exclusion, that to which we are most hostile. The general truthfulness of the English character, and the extreme difficulty of testing different degrees and shades of credit, led our ancestors to the adoption of a general and grand principle that all evidence should be presumed to be true, unless in the clearest manner or by counter-evidence shewn to be false. So much was this the case that the science of evidence came to be regarded as almost identical with the science of proof, whereas in India it would more reasonably be designated the science of credibility; since assigning this high character to evidence, *they carefully excluded all of a questionable description*, in order that the orbit of reasoning might be as perfect, and as little deranged by the disturbing influences of non-credibility, as possible. Such was all evidence not taken on oath, not tested by cross-examination; all evidence given by persons pecuniarily interested in the case, or of infamous character, *i. e.*, convicted felons; and last of all, the evidence of the actual parties themselves. This at any rate was consistent; the rule was that any piece of evidence,—a single witness, a single authenticated document,—was enough to convict a prisoner or decide an issue, if, its truth being assumed, it proved the point. Hence naturally arose the idea that to allow doubtful evidence, was to hazard the risk of a conviction on it. Gradually however, experience began to shew that this rigorous mode of proof was fallacious and injurious, that the question of credit could not be excluded, and if admitted, the more widely the doors were opened to evidence of all shades, the better was the chance that a right conclusion would be arrived at and justice done. It must not however be supposed that the fortress of error could be captured in a day, and slowly and step by step the victory was gained. 3 and 4 William IV. c. 42 first led the way, this was followed by Lord Denman's Act (6 and 7 Vict. c. 85) the preamble of which we have previously quoted; by this Act, persons interested in the suit or convicted of any crime,

were admitted to give evidence. Actual parties to the record were still excluded, but this too was not to last long. The Law of Evidence Amendment Act (14 and 15 Vict. c. 99) made them both competent to give evidence, and gave the opposite party power to compel them to do so. The question of taking oaths still remained an obstacle, and the testimony of persons of defective religious belief, or who objected to be sworn, was denied to those who needed it. Even that doctrine however could not stand; by 17 and 18 Vict. c. 125 the privilege which Quakers and Moravians had hitherto monopolized, was now, subject to the discretion of the Judges, extended to all who urged conscientious objections, and a solemn affirmation substituted for an oath. Thus, almost every kind of precluded evidence was gradually admitted, and the barriers of an oath or affirmation and of cross-examination alone remained; the distinction between the admissibility and the credibility of evidence was openly recognized; the legislature no longer said to juries, 'you are not fit to decide on the credibility of *any* suspected evidence;' but the old rule was still maintained, that no proper value could be assigned to it without the tests of an oath or cross-examination. The difficulty of defending this has often been felt by writers on the subject; when for instance it is argued that even the senses are fallacious. Bentham and others reply that Mathematical certainty must not be aimed at, but merely such a reasonable moral certainty as a man acts upon in conducting the important affairs of life. To the enquiry, are we right and relying on testimony? Bentham (*Rationale of Evidence*, Vol. I. p. 110) replies that experience proves such reliance to be right, and continues:—'Established already by experience, by universal experience, it may be still further established by direct experiment, should any one be found willing to be at the charge of it; continue your belief in testimony, as you have been used to believe in it, the business of your life will go on as it has been used to do: withhold your belief from testimony, and with the same regularity as that with which you have been in use to bestow it; you will not be long without smarting for your forbearance.' But does not this same argument include every kind of evidence which we are called upon to reject? might it not be said, continue your belief in second-hand statements and letters, &c., as you have been used to believe in them, the business of your life will go on as it has been used to do; withhold your belief from them, you will not be long before smarting for your forbearance. This is the difficulty which the excluders have to meet; we do not deny that hearsay evidence is very often exceedingly untrustworthy

and worthless, the opponents of it do not deny that sometimes the exclusion of it leads to cases of hardship; why then should not the judges of fact be allowed to exercise their faculties of discrimination with respect to it, as much as with respect to other evidence of an equally untrustworthy character? We employ the word 'hearsay' as being the term generally in use, though by so doing we incur the risk of exciting a prejudice against our argument, by the impression of laziness and untrustworthiness which that word conveys. Hearsay in the sense of vague and floating rumours is scarcely ever tendered and should be accepted in none but the most exceptional cases;—in forensic practice the 'hearsay' which mostly attempts to creep in, consists of *letters*, statements made by one person and recounted by another, accounts whether public or private and generally *writings* of almost every description. Norton and Goodeve both advert to this.—(Norton's Note to Section 65, Goodeve, p. 418.) Of course a great deal of hearsay will be excluded under the head of secondary evidence, but is it so palpable that what does not fall under that denomination, ought to be invariably excluded even in England? Mr. Norton in his usual dictatorial spirit, seems to consider that even in India the question does not allow of argument. 'I give an instance 'almost incredible to those who are not accustomed to Mofussil 'practice. It is the twenty-sixth answer of the defendant's seventh 'witness in O. S. No. 1 of 1852 of the Cuddapah Court, in reply 'to the Judge, and taken down by the Judge himself. It is shocking that the record should be burthened with such rubbish; that 'public time should be taken up in recording it; still more 'shocking, that this should be admitted as a basis for decision.' The passage which follows is too long for insertion, otherwise it would be interesting for our readers to try and discern for themselves the 'shocking rubbish' of which Mr. Norton complains, but it is worth while, as shewing the difference between the language of a first-rate and a second-rate lawyer, between one who knows the weakness as well as the strength of his science, and one who can tolerate no rebellion against its infallibility, to place in juxta-position to Mr. Norton's censure on the unfortunate Judge of Cuddapah, who has been thus gibbeted for public contempt, the well known remarks of Lord Mansfield when referring to the same subject in the Berkeley Peerage case. 'Some inconvenience no doubt arises from such rigour, (excluding hearsay.) If material witnesses happen to die before the 'trial, the person whose cause they would have established may 'fall in the suit. But although all the Bishops on the Bench 'should be ready to swear to what they heard those witnesses

' declare, and add their own implicit belief of the truth of the declarations, the evidence would not be received. Upon this subject the laws of other countries are quite different: they admit evidence of hearsay without scruple. There is not an appeal from the neighbouring kingdom of Scotland, in which you will not find a great deal of hearsay evidence upon every fact brought into dispute. *But the different rules which prevail there and with us, seem to me to have a reasonable foundation in the different manner in which justice is administered in the two countries. In Scotland and most of the Continental States, the Judges determine upon the facts in dispute, as well as upon the law; and they think there is no danger in their listening to evidence of hearsay, because when they come to consider of their judgment on the merits of the case, they can trust themselves entirely to disregard the hearsay evidence, or to give it any little weight which it may seem to deserve.* But in England, where the Jury are the sole Judges of the fact, hearsay evidence is properly excluded, because no man can tell what effect it might have upon their minds.' What more can we desire? the practice is harmless in Scotland, *because the Judge determines the facts at issue*, the grand argument for the exclusion in England is that the *Jury* determine them. The very same ground is taken by Starkie in a passage quoted from him in the next page of Mr. Norton's work. But how does this apply to Cuddapah and the suit there? Was it the Judge or the Jury who had to determine the issues of fact in it? In truth, Mr. Norton has not a leg to stand upon in his wanton reflections on (possibly) an able and zealous officer; he knows full well that, in common matters, masses of *hearsay* are admitted in every case, and that even the strongest opponents of it only contend for its exclusion when objected to by the party it affects; when allowed to pass by him, it is neither the duty nor the province of the Judge to reject it. Mr. Norton does not enlighten us on this point, but we have no doubt that not a single objection was raised from the beginning to the end of the witness's answer.

Thus far we have been arguing the question as if we were dealing with an English or Scotch Court of Justice, the Judge only performing the functions of Jury. Our argument however becomes incalculably strengthened when we turn to India. The evidence chiefly excluded by the tests of an oath and of cross-examination, is both '*hearsay*' and, what we have omitted hitherto to advert to, *res inter alios acta*. It seems to be almost universally forgotten that these descriptions of evidence, while they lose the value of those two safeguards, almost always possess a counteracting safeguard not inherent in

ordinary testimony, *i. e.*, they were made without reference to the dispute and before the quarrel arose, in legal phraseology *ante litem motam*. In England possibly, where the sanction of an oath is generally deemed efficacious, even though the interests or sympathies of the witness are involved, the value of a statement made *ante litem motam* may not be deemed very much increased, but what person of experience will deny that in India, such a quality enhances the testimony ten-fold, and not only balances, but far overbalances the weight lent to the opposite scale by an oath, by cross-examination, and by the fear of punishment for perjury combined?—for the fear of punishment for giving false evidence is a third ingredient in ordinary oral testimony, which is wanting in hearsay. It is then a fact,—when fairly considered, an incontestable fact,—that by the English rules we are actually excluding what is sometimes the most valuable evidence which finds its way into our Courts. The mass of letters, documents, judgments, and even miscellaneous statements which would be excluded under the present rule, are precisely those little clues which lend the greatest aid to the Judge in determining which party he will believe, for it cannot be too often repeated that here the question almost always resolves itself into ‘which of two contradictory sets of proof, each complete in itself, is entitled to most credit?’

Let us take a few common illustrations. A and B are disputing about a piece of land, which each of them declares that he and his ancestors have occupied and cultivated for generations; each produces a number of witnesses, who of course stoutly support the statements of their principals; now it may be that B exhibits a plaint of a suit eight or ten years before for the arrears of rent of an adjacent piece of land, in which in describing the boundaries, one piece (clearly the land in dispute between A and B) is entered as belonging to B or to his father. Or it may be that in a Butwara of the estate to which the disputed holding belongs, in the Ameen’s or Deputy Collector’s papers drawing up the partition, the land is entered as belonging to B or one of his ancestors. Or it may be that, many years before, B was sued by the Zemindar for the rent of his land, and produces the decree which he perhaps shews was executed against his person;—the very strongest proof that it was a genuine case. Now these sort of papers are precisely the turning point in the suit, they extend back to a time before the dispute was even thought of, they are emphatically in real value the very best evidence B could bring, worth far more than all his witnesses and A’s put together; but they are *res inter alios actæ*. A was no party to the Plaint, the Butwara, or the rent decree; he had no oppor-

tunity of cross-examining any one. The law excludes all these papers, the Judge ought not, as the phrase is, to let his mind be poisoned (?) by even looking at them.* Again a Magistrate in riding by observes a fine crop of tobacco and casually asks two or three villagers who is the owner,—the reply which he then gets, with all the chances of mistakes or ignorance, is worth far more than any answer he will elicit, if a few months afterwards, he goes down with full paraphernalia to hold a solemn judicial enquiry about it. The fact is that the sanction of an oath, except perhaps among a few of the better classes, is almost valueless, and the fear of punishment for perjury in oral testimony is next to zero, for proof becomes all but impossible, and, our punishment for it being in the eyes of natives excessive, every one seems to sympathise with those accused of this offence, and does his best to tone down and explain away any unfavourable statements he may previously have made. A very short experience will convince any man that cross-examination effects little or nothing; where the witnesses are so carefully prepared beforehand, it is almost impossible to make them contradict each other in vital points, while on the other hand,—by pursuing a different plan and encouraging their propensity to exaggerate and pretend to more than they know—any witness, even the most truthful, can be easily led into any absurdity and impossibility. An instance of this occurred in the celebrated Hely case. Hely was committed on every charge extending from wilful murder to simple assault;—why all but the direct murder charge, the one offence of which no person ever did think him guilty, was abandoned, is a mystery which the committing officer cannot explain. The absurdities into which a judicious encouragement of the exaggeration, characteristic of natives of Bengal lead the witnesses, must have been perceived by every one who read the account of the trial, which ended in the Jury dismissing, with a sort of indignation, a charge the general truth of which was notorious, and to escape from which the accused had concealed himself for months. If then the reasons for the exclusion do not hold, why should the practice be retained? We know the pleas urged in defence of it in England,—will

* A case very similar to the illustration occurred in the High Court a few months ago, (No. 451 of 1863) on appeal; the Judges (the Hon. L. S., and the Hon. E. Jackson) remanded the case, because the Civil Judge had admitted a Butwara as evidence against a ryot. We do not of course question the decision,—the Judges were there to administer and not to amend the law,—but it is lamentable that valuable evidence should be thus sacrificed to a mistaken and inapplicable theory.

these pleas avail here? Illustrations might easily be multiplied to shew the mischievous operation of these doctrines; we must furnish a few more. In the leading case of *Wright vs. Doe dem. Tatham* the issue was the validity of a will (*devisavit vel non*) on the ground of the sanity or otherwise of the testator. To prove the sanity, letters from persons who knew him very intimately were tendered as shewing that they manifestly wrote as to one sane. The letters were rejected by the Judges in the Exchequer Chamber as being hearsay. Granting that in England such evidence might be excluded without serious injustice, yet in India these letters written *ante litem motam* would be probably far safer than any other evidence that could be obtained.*

A few months ago the People's Bank was sued in the Calcutta Small Cause Court for 400 Rupees embezzled by their 'Durwan;' it became important to prove that the letter containing the money had reached the 'Durwan,' and only in the previous Sessions he had been convicted for embezzling it; surely this conviction was an important point in the case; but the People's Bank was no party to that trial, hence it was not admissible. We do not argue that the conviction of a third party ought to have been held conclusive against the Bank, (though we are not sure that criminal convictions might not advantageously be treated as judgments *in rem* and made conclusive against all comers), but we maintain that the Judge would be in a better position to decide the fact of receipt or no receipt correctly, if he knew of the conviction, than if he were kept in ignorance of it, and this is the real point at issue.

Again Ward, an East Indian, was convicted at Beerbhoom about four years ago of embezzling some 12,000 Rupees belonging to the Railway Company. The Judge in sentencing him, omitted to fine him the amount embezzled. This necessitated a Civil suit on the part of the Company, at which the previous conviction could not properly be even produced. It should strictly have been treated as so much waste paper, where a Bazaar witness would have been attentively listened to. Our readers may think that the reasons for exclusion fail here, as Ward was a party to the previous trial. True, the lawyers reply, but there

* This case is referred to by Mr. Norton (Section 113.) We are sorry again to have to find fault with him, but we cannot help noticing that his remarks have a tendency to mislead as to the correct grounds for the rejection of these letters. 'For this purpose the parties themselves should have been called and 'sworn to the facts on which they had dealt with the testator as a 'sane man.' Of course they should and would have been called, had they been alive,—no one questions that,—but the reception was urged, *because they were dead.*

was want of mutuality; had he been acquitted, the acquittal would have been no evidence against the Company, hence the conviction must not be admitted against the defendant. Yet this is a law which prides itself in the proverbs, *Interest reipublicæ ut sit finis litium*, and *Res judicata pro veritate accipitur*.

It might as well be urged that the confession of a prisoner ought not to be evidence against him, because had he denied his guilt, it would not have been evidence for him.

The conclusion we come to is that no valid reason exists for excluding hearsay evidence, where there is no better evidence 'behind.' In England we doubt whether on principle it should not be admitted, at any rate in all cases tried without a Jury, but in this country the securities of direct evidence being comparatively so worthless, it is impossible to make out a case for its rejection.

In fact, there is something farcical in a Judge rejecting evidence bearing on credit, a decision on the admissibility of which necessitates his hearing or inspecting it. Suppose a prisoner to be on his trial for a grave offence. The charge is established to the Judge's satisfaction, the defence, perhaps an *alibi*, may be, as far as regards the evidence legally admissible, discredited by him. In this state of the case the defendant tenders a letter or some other evidence, an inspection of which satisfies the Judge both that it is inadmissible, and that the defence previously discredited by him is true. How should he act? He knows that, had he not seen this writing, he would have convicted,—he knows that, having seen it, he is satisfied of the man's innocence. Will any one venture to affirm that the Judge should divest his mind of all the effects of this evidence, and sentence to severe punishment one whom he now believes to be innocent? But if he should not act thus against a prisoner, why should he against the prosecution, or why in any case, Civil or Criminal, should he go against his conscience? We can understand that where it is incumbent on either party to prove a point, and where the evidence admissible is legally insufficient to do so, a Judge may conscientiously and rightly refuse to act on illegal though satisfactory evidence; but such cases, though generally selected as illustrations, are not of frequent occurrence in India, nor are they those in which difficulty is felt. In ninety-nine cases out of 100 there is abundant legal evidence on either side, but the question is which party shall be believed? It is in these cases that the Judge so needs a little of the light which excluded evidence can often shed, and it is in these cases that, if he once sees or hears the evidence, he cannot honestly destroy the effects of it. Until he saw it, his belief

was unformed or inclined to the other side; having seen it, he doubts no longer; but he only does what he had a right to do before the inadmissible evidence was tendered, he only attaches credit to what he had before a right to credit. Destroy the inadmissible evidence, his belief must remain, he cannot pretend to discredit what he believes, and to credit what he now disbelieves; as we have said where there is no Jury, rejecting evidence which bears on credit (not supplies a deficiency of proof) is a farce and an absurdity. Evidence once tendered is as good as admitted. This truth is well enough known already in England, where, if an answer can once be elicited, it is a well-known remark that, whether rejected or admitted, it has in any case 'gone to the Jury.'

As regards *res inter alios acta* our conclusion is similar, but stronger. The drawback of this kind of evidence is that the statements or writings are made without the attention of the maker being specially drawn to the point now at issue, and that the person affected by them had no chance of cross-examining on them. They have the advantage that they were made probably before, at any rate without reference to, the case in point, and that therefore they are necessarily impartial and unbiassed. In England the drawbacks may be considered as so far outweighing the advantages that it is better not even to admit the evidence at all, in India the drawbacks dwindle down to almost nothing, while the advantage is precisely that for which any sacrifice is desirable. To reject such evidence is unwise in the extreme. In the present state of the law the only course open to a prudent Judge is to form his opinion on all the evidence and write his judgment on that which is legally admissible. He may thus hope to solve the difficult problem of being legal without being unjust.

The last topic we will advert to is the examination of defendants in criminal cases. The law on this point as well as on confessions has long been felt to be unsatisfactory even in England. In that country a conflict of authority has been going on between those who would reject all confessions which are not perfectly spontaneous and voluntary, and those who would receive all however obtained, provided the nature of the inducement is not such as to render the truth of the confession doubtful. A constable's saying to a prisoner, 'we shall be happy to hear anything you can say in your defence'* 'or it would have been better if you had told all at first,'†

* R. v. Richards, 5, Carington and Payne, 318.

† R. v. Walkley, 6, ditto ditto, 175.

has been held to exclude the confessions which followed. On the other hand in *R. v. Court*, the Judge said, 'the object of the rule relating to confessions is to exclude all confessions which may have been procured by the prisoner being led to suppose that it will be better for him to admit himself to be guilty of an offence which he really never committed.*' Possibly in this uncertain state of the law all admissions except those made to Police Officers would in India be admitted *quantum valeant*, which is all we contend for. As regards examining accused persons it is needless for us to state the English law; it no doubt lends a certain dignity to the trial to omit any examination of the defendant, but it assuredly impedes the search for truth, sometimes to the injury of the public, sometimes, as perhaps in the Scotch case of *Jessie McLachlen*, to that of the accused.

The true question for consideration is whether the law is sufficiently well administered, and the conviction of prisoners sufficiently secured to warrant such a sacrifice to order and dignity. In England it may be that it is so;—generally speaking, if there exists sufficient evidence against a man, it will be found out and tendered, and will procure a conviction. All classes seem to lend their aid to assist the law against a criminal. Here on the contrary the detective element is painfully weak, and injured person or the friends of a murdered man will often prefer to pay off an old score with some opponent, by subjecting him to the annoyance which an accusation inflicts, though they know him to be innocent, rather than assist in following up the unknown offender. Even in genuine prosecutions, the accused has an excellent chance, in consequence of the tendency which witnesses have to exaggerate, and of the plausibility with which even the strongest evidence can be made to look like a spiteful and false charge. In these cases the examination of the defendant is of paramount importance in aiding the Judge, as its effect is to reduce the case to something like a civil suit, and direct enquiry to the controverted points. If a defendant remains silent, it may be that the witnesses contradict one another on some point the truth about which he would have admitted had he been told to give his account at first, but now, perceiving the difficulty, he of course takes his stand upon the contradiction; why in addition to all the other chances in his contradiction favour, should a defendant be entitled to the immense advantage of seeing the whole of the case against him, and then being able to concoct a story to suit the weak points of it? Even if he is innocent, why should the prosecution be broken down on

* 7, Carington and Payne, 486.

any except the points which are really false? and these the defendant can point out at the beginning of the case as well as at the end of it. Where every piece of evidence is open to question from the generally doubtful character of testimony, it is most important for both parties that the Judge should have his attention drawn to the critical point or points at once, and this is done by questioning the defendants. It may seem that our argument is superfluous, as by the present Code the Magistrate has the requisite power of examination. This is true, but it is evaded (probably contrary to the intentions of the Legislature) by the help of the provision that the defendant may decline to answer any question. In every criminal case (as far as our experience goes) in which a barrister is engaged, the advice is identical, 'do not open your mouth, refuse to answer any question, even your name.' This Section is then relied upon as shewing that he was not bound to speak, and that his silence should raise no unfavourable presumption against him. Is this the meaning of the law? If so, we strongly contend for its alteration. We believe the proper intention to be, to save accused persons from that rigorous and almost persecuting examination, to which they are subjected in France and other countries. To put a stop to this, an accused person may refuse to answer questions which appear unduly to press or entrap him, or rather he *can* refuse to answer *any* question, but if it appears to be plain and straightforward, such as no innocent man ought to have any difficulty in answering, the Judge is justified in letting the refusal weigh against him. To object to answer every question is totally subversive of the law allowing the examination to take place; and we trust if the point arises that it may be ruled this way. Such a distinction is thoroughly consistent with and recognised by English law. The privilege of a witness to refuse to answer criminating questions is precisely analogous. In *Boyle vs. Wiseman* it was attempted to construe this rule so as to exempt a witness from going into the box, because the points in which he was to be examined would necessitate self-criminating answers. It was therein decided that the rule only entitled a man to refuse to answer each question after it had been separately put to him.

The general tendency of our argument is obviously to vest a great deal of discretionary power in the presiding officer, and leave him as little as possible fettered by arbitrary rules and theories. The task of determining even the simplest fact is, in India, sometimes so difficult, and the methods of discrimination so varying and indirect, that a very heavy responsibility rests on those who would deprive a Judge of any even the most

uncertain light, and increase by artificial means the disadvantages under which he necessarily labours from the national characteristics of the country. We cannot do better than refer to an able article in a former number of this Review, as fully corroborating what we contend for. 'The consequence of this fearful abounding of perjury and forgery is startling. The common principles of evidence, having been found inapplicable to the state of society, have been to a great extent set aside; and recourse has been had to other, and as would be thought in England, more objectionable means of ascertaining the truth. Direct and indirect proof have changed places. An item of circumstantial evidence is of more value than an eye-witness. Probability goes beyond proof In all this there is nothing new. The numerous eastern anecdotes which relate the discovery of truth by some clever trick on the part of the Kazi, indicate most clearly the want of veracity on the part of the people, and the necessity in which the Judge found himself placed of applying to something more trustworthy than ordinary evidence The impossibility of trusting common evidence drives the Courts as well as the Kazis to seek for some other guide, and if the substitute be not good, it is at any rate better than that for which it has been substituted.'*

But we anticipate the objection, that with experienced and qualified Judges this might be true, but that the Judges of too many of our Courts, like Jurymen at home, are not fit to be trusted with deciding on the value due to 'hearsay' and mediate evidence. We doubt whether the various Judges of the Mofussil Courts do fall so far below the standard of ordinary Colonial Judges. At the present time, it is the fashion † to disparage them, and it also serves to point the arguments of a political party; now neither fashion nor political bias are generally sparing or discriminating in the measure of their praise or censure. But, however this may be, those who are unfit to exercise discretionary power, are precisely those who never will learn the principles or rules of evidence, which would act as a check upon them. Those who do study the subject may surely be trusted to practise it. The only effect of imposing the restrictions will be that the abler Judges will be hampered and fettered,

* 'The Anglo-Indian Courts of Justice.'—*Calcutta Review*, Vol. XVI. No. 32.

† Perhaps some among our readers may share the haziness of Sir Mordeant Wells as to the duties of Mofussil Officers. He is reported to have insinuated to the applauding members of the Bombay Bar, that the chief duties of a Civilian lay in collecting revenue, and being familiar with roads and bridges!

while the less capable will go on as before. Experience usually precedes theory, and a scientific knowledge of the character of evidence will seldom be found among Indian officials to be anterior to a practical knowledge of its value.

The importance of avoiding the temptation to generalise from English experience cannot be over-estimated ;—it is so attractive to argue from English statistics, to institute comparisons between one country and another, where no just comparison can be made. We find it in all the reports on our Universities, our schools, and our prisons. We practise it in our municipalities, our tenant-rights, and our railways. It gives such a tone of authority to those who censure, such an air of superiority to those who criticize. But fallacious as such comparisons are in all the instances enumerated, and injurious as they are in some, it is in the science of credibility that the injury reaches its maximum, and the fallacy its climax. Second thoughts are here worse than first, the early broken ejaculations of a witness more valuable than his solemn and well-considered deposition, careless statements weigh more than deliberate, and in the counterpart here to the interview between the attorney and witnesses in England, the parties exchange characters. ‘How am I to know what the witnesses can say, and who should be produced, if I am not allowed to speak to them?’ says the attorney. ‘How are we to know what to say, and whom to accuse, if we are not allowed to see the Mooktear?’ the witnesses might add in India.

We cannot but admit that we are dissatisfied with the manner in which the subject of evidence is treated in the two volumes under review. That the English law, both case-made and statutory, is adequately explained, and that further details would be superfluous, we readily allow; but in neither Mr. Goodeve nor Mr. Norton do we find any adequate attempt at criticism, any enquiry as to how far alteration is needed for this country, such as we should have wished to find in books which have become, and which were intended to become, standard works for Indian students. For instance, while the ineffectiveness of the oath is frequently adverted to, it does not appear to have suggested itself to the author; that this should make any difference in principles or rules the force of which depend entirely on its validity ;—specialties of English law are treated with the deference due to axioms of universal law, and mooted and contested points are referred to, as if finally and satisfactorily settled. The much-vexed question of the examination of accused persons, the advocates of which are daily increasing in numbers and weight of authority, is disposed of by Mr. Norton, even in his latest edition, by extracting the antiquated and

exploded, not to say weak and one-sided arguments of Best, and styling them as 'conclusive (!) in favour of the English practice.'—(Section 248.)

Unfortunately Mr. Norton, and, in a less pretentious degree, Mr. Goodeve also, belong to a school always too popular in the Presidency towns, who deem it the highest proof of superiority to criticise and run down 'Mofussil justice.' With contempt of local experience for their shield, and the perfections of English law for their sword, their choice arena the principles of evidence, they step forward to attack and to condemn. There are few things which can withstand criticism, and certainly the local Courts are far removed from the ranks of those few; were the criticism they are subjected to, enlightened or really directed to their improvement, were any attempt made to analyse and distinguish between abuses, to ascertain what portion are due to underpaid Omlah, what to dishonest Mooktears, what share to uninstructed Judges, and what to the law they have to administer, and to get at the residuum of abuses which are irremediable in a country like India, we believe it would be welcome, and we have no doubt that if made by competent persons it would be useful. The criticisms, however, of this school are notoriously in the contrary spirit, and as a rule the full weight of every abuse is laid on the shoulders of the Judges alone. Moreover it seems determined that as nothing can ever so metamorphosise India, as to imbue it with the *spirit* of English law, at least with that love of truth which is the spirit of the law of evidence, we shall at all events be hampered and burdened with the *letter* of it, in its pure, unadapted, and undiluted integrity.

Against this we cannot but protest. We do not deny that those who have to administer the law in India, can learn much and derive great aid from the English law of evidence and English law generally, but that study should be pursued in an intelligent and liberal spirit, somewhat analogous to the manner in which the Roman law has been studied in England. In this way the mental training and the formation of judicial habits of thought cannot but be highly beneficial. If on the contrary we aim at a servile and barren imitation, at moulding Indian law from English line by line, and feature by feature, it can only result in a product ill-suited to the country, and unpopular with all classes except those who live on the intricacies and uncertainties of litigation.

- ART. III.—1. *Lectures on the Tinnevelly Missions, descriptive of the Field, the Work, and the Results.* By the Rev. R. Caldwell, L.L.D., Honorary Member of the Royal Asiatic Society, Missionary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel at Edeyenkoody, Tinnevelly. London: Bell and Daldy, 1857.
2. *A Brief Review of Ten Years' Missionary Labour in India, 1852—61.* By Joseph Mullens, D. D., Missionary of the London Missionary Society in Calcutta. London: Nisbet & Co., 1863.
3. *Statistical Tables of Missions in India, Ceylon, and Burmah, at the close of 1861.* Compiled by Joseph Mullens, D. D.
4. *Report of the Incorporated Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, for the year 1863.* London: printed for the Society.
5. *Proceedings of the Church Missionary Society for Africa and the East. Sixty-fourth year, 1862-63.* London: Seeley, Jackson, and Halliday.

DR. CALDWELL informs us, in a note to his most instructive and interesting lectures, that on arriving at a certain rectory in England to attend a missionary meeting, he found the clergyman and his wife engaged in a hot dispute as to the position of Tinnevelly, the lady maintaining that it is in India, the gentleman that it is in South Africa. We do not suppose that any of our readers are in need of such elementary information as was required to terminate this controversy, but we are inclined to fear, from many recent indications, that some of them have very little conception of the work which is going on there, and of the progress which Christianity has made in certain parts of India. Partly no doubt from the fact that missionaries often fail to write their reports in an attractive style, but still more from a painful lack of interest in the subject, it seems the fashion to pass by even carefully prepared statistics as 'unsatisfactory and vague.' Indeed we observe with regret that some English writers take a pleasure in undervaluing what has been done, in blackening the character of their native fellow Christians, in representing missionaries as merely commonplace clergymen, who live in comfortable houses, and go through a certain amount of routine work, not differing very much from that of an English school or parish, and in proclaiming that the only true Gospel for India is the Gospel of railroads and

telegraphs. We can indeed understand why Cardinal Wiseman should have asserted that Bishop Heber had 'greatly exaggerated the number of Protestants in his time,' though in fact trustworthy returns shewed that he had underrated it. But it is less easy to perceive why persons who pride themselves on their Protestantism should misrepresent the reality through mere carelessness and imperfect enquiry. One writer, for example, has lately asserted that the native Christians in the whole of North India only amount to about 8,000, because he finds that number given as the sum of the converts of one Society of the Church of England.* The sympathy and liberality shewn towards the mission cause are not so excessive that we can allow them to be weakened by a statement that the result is less than one-third of that actually reached. The elaborate statistics of Dr. Mullens, carefully prepared from correspondence with the missionaries of all denominations, shew that the number of native Protestants in North India, *i. e.*, the Presidency of Bengal, excluding Burmah and the Straits, is 26,075. This result is obtained by adding to the converts of the Church Missionary Society, who alone amount to the abovementioned 8,000, those of the Propagation Society, the Established Church of Scotland, and the various nonconformist bodies.

We think then that, having met with many instances of this strange indifference to the facts of the case, we may do some good if we lay before our readers a sketch of one of the most successful missions in India, that in Tinnevely. What we shall say is gathered partly from reading, partly from our own observation. And at least we can assure them of this, that having ventured to remonstrate with those who depreciate the work of missionaries in this country without investigation, we shall take pains not to exaggerate its results, even in that province where they are most conspicuous. We shall record nothing but what we either saw ourselves, or believe on trustworthy authority.

It is hard for any one who has not visited Tinnevely to form an adequate conception of the peculiar character of its scenery. If the traveller ascends one of the church towers which are now happily scattered over the district, he sees before him an undulating plain, of the colour of fire, studded with straight stiff palmyra trees, and diversified at rare intervals by belts of bright rich green. These barren regions are called *téries*. A *téri* may be described as a gently sloping hill, consisting entirely of red sand, and supporting no vegetation but the palmyra.

* Macmillan's Magazine, Vol. X. p. 484.

Towards the lower part of this hill the water lies very near the surface, and thus the peasant is here enabled to cultivate a luxuriant garden of plantains, which relieves the otherwise desolate appearance of the country. This description however applies not to all the province, but to its southern portion only; for it is divided into two sections by the Tamravarni, or 'copper coloured' river, which, rising in the Ghâts, passes between the towns of Tinnevelly and Palamcottah, (the former the native city with its huge temple of Shiva, the latter the English station and fort,) and at last enters the Bay of Bengal a little south of Tuticorin. From the position of its sources it is swollen by the rain of both our monsoons, and hence interposes between the southern and northern portions of the province of Tinnevelly a rich tract which produces annually two abundant crops of rice. When we pass to the north of this fertilizing stream, we lose the peculiar features which have been just described, and find ourselves in a blistered black soil, from which, at present, a large number of bales of cotton are constantly travelling to Tuticorin, and are there shipped to supply our Lancashire brethren with work and subsistence.

But the scene of the tale now to be told is confined to the sandy region south of the Tamravarni. In Northern Tinnevelly the number of Christians is comparatively few, and the organization of the Church incomplete. Those who think it wrong that missionaries should have roofs to cover them, and complain that they 'follow in the steps of a train of predecessors and make no new experiment,' will hardly be prepared to hear that in this part of the country a mission was organized in 1854, which altogether confines itself to itineration. The missionaries have literally no fixed home. They 'move their tents from place to place throughout the district (1,200 square miles,) and thus in 1862 the Gospel had already been preached to as many as 300,000 souls in 1,400 villages. Four bodies of converts had then been baptized, and numerous enquirers were constantly presenting themselves.*' Xavier himself did not shew a brighter example of self-sacrifice than Ragland, the devoted founder of this itineration, who, after four years' ceaseless labour, laid down his life in carrying out a work for which he had abandoned the academic fame which gathers round a fourth wrangler, and the substantial comforts of a fellowship and tutorship. One peculiar feature of interest in this mission is that it is largely aided by the Church in South Tinnevelly, a regular monthly succession of catechists being supplied from the settled Christian districts, to

* Church Missionary Atlas, 1862, p. 39.

work under the English itinerating evangelists, and supported from the funds of a native missionary society.

And this recalls us to these settled Christian districts, which are to furnish the main subject of the present article. They are, as we have said, situated to the south of the Tamravarni, and they are from a variety of causes almost co-extensive with the cultivation of the palmyra, so that, as Dr. Caldwell says, 'where the palmyra abounds, there Christian congregations and schools abound also, and where the palmyra disappears, there the signs of Christian progress are rarely seen.' (p. 31). For the palmyra is cultivated by men of the Shánár caste, to that caste Christianity was first preached in Tinnevelly, and in the same caste its growth has been most rapid and extensive. These Shánárs, or palmyra climbers, who have scarcely spread beyond the limits of Tinnevelly and South Travancore, are probably not of Aryan origin, but belong to the non-Brahmanical or aboriginal people of India, and therefore are Scythians by race, and cousins to the Mongols, Turks, and Finns. Their language is the Tamil, the most classical and polished, and also the most widely spread of the Dravidian tongues. When the Brahmans arrived in South India, they introduced among the inhabitants the elements of civilization, and also separated them into a number of castes, which may be roughly classified under two well defined divisions. The higher of them consists of various castes falling under the general name of *Sudra*, the middle class of the South, the merchants, manufacturers, and artificers, who form the most important section of the population. Of the second division, which mainly consists of agriculturalists, the Shánárs are unquestionably the first. Below them come various other grades, including Pariahs and prædial slaves, and ending with wandering gipsy tribes. Though the conversions have occurred chiefly among the Shánárs, yet Christianity has also spread downwards among the Pariahs and still lower castes, while its influence has now begun to be felt both among Sudras and Brahmans, of whom a small number have joined the Church. Still it will be sufficient for our present purpose to confine our attention to the Shánárs, as infinitely the largest and most important section of Tinnevelly Christians. They are all engaged in cultivating, and the majority in climbing, the palmyra, the richer members of the caste being owners of trees, and the poorer working for them, while between them are some who are at once proprietors and labourers. The palmyra, most useful of palms, but not beautiful in the eyes of those who have seen the taliputs and kitools of Kandy, is straight as a ship's mast, from sixty to ninety feet in height, and crowned with a plume of fanshaped leaves. Its wood is used

for beams and rafters, its young root is edible, and its fruit when unripe contains a refreshing and wholesome jelly. Its leaves in their old age thatch the Tinnevely houses, in their infancy they are turned into stationery on which the natives write with iron pens. Mats too and baskets are made from them, and a single leaf is large enough and firm enough to be used as a bucket. But the most precious product of the palmyra is its saccharine juice, which supplies the whole country with food. Fresh from the tree it forms the family breakfast; boiled into a hard black mass called *jaggery* it is eaten at midday; and by its sale is procured the curry and rice which are the universal dinner. Refined into white sugar it is readily purchased in the European market, and crystallized into sugar candy, it is often seen distending the greedy jaws both of native and European children. If left to ferment it is changed into the toddy, which is commonly used as yeast, and too often by the lowest castes (though never by the strictly temperate Shánárs) as an intoxicating drink. In order to procure this sap it is necessary to ascend the tree, for it flows only from the flower stalks immediately under the leaves. Every day the Shánár labourer arms himself with a staff surmounted by a small horizontal piece of wood projecting on each side, a pail made of a palmyra leaf, some tools and small earthen pots in a bag attached to his waist, and then having placed his staff against the tree, stands on the top of it, fastens his feet together, and clasping the trunk alternately with his hands and bound feet climbs speedily to the top, where he bruises each flower stalk, attaches to it one of his earthen pots, or empties into the pail the sap which has been collected since his last ascent. Each tree must be climbed at least twice, and sometimes three times a day, for the purpose of either trimming the flower stalks, or emptying the sap into the pail, for if it is left too long in the little pot it infallibly ferments. The life is a sufficiently active one, for most of the Shánárs perform these operations on fifty trees day after day for eight months in the year. Their extraordinary agility may be admired every evening by the visitor to Tinnevely as he takes his sunset walk in the village or palmyra forest, and the remembrance of the scene remains behind as one of the most vivid impressions of his tour.

The religion of the Shánárs, before Christian preachers came among them, was devil worship. This is a proof of their pre-Brahmanical origin, for their superstitions are identical with the Shamanism of the ancient Mongol and Tatar tribes, and may still be seen, not only in India, but among the Ostiaks and other heathens of Siberia. It prevails also in Ceylon, where it is mixed up in strange and impure conjunction with the nobler creed of

Buddha. For neither Brahmans nor Buddhist priests were ever intolerant of other religions, provided they could bend them to their peculiar policy, which is merely the establishment of their own paramount influence. If this point is conceded, then the foreign superstition becomes a *religio licita*, or rather, to quote Dr. Caldwell's expressive metaphor, it is united with the Hindu or Buddhist system in a 'cunningly devised mosaic.' Demonolatry is purely a religion of fear: bloody sacrifices are offered to avert the wrath of certain malignant spirits who take delight in blasting the crops, withholding rain, spreading murrain among cattle, and visiting men with sunstroke and epilepsy. They have no temples, but are honoured by the erection of whitewashed pyramids, generally of mud, or of thatched sheds open in front, and decorated with hideous figures of bull-headed monsters, or hags devouring children. Such a structure is called a *pe kovil* or 'devil's house,' and round one of them the demonolaters may be seen from time to time gathering for a devil dance, the most important and essential feature, says Dr. Caldwell, of their worship.

'The officiating priest or devil dancer, who wishes to represent the demon, sings and dances himself into a state of wild frenzy, and leads the people to suppose that the demon they are worshipping has taken possession of him; after which he communicates to those who consult him, the information he has received. The fanatical excitement which the devil dance awakens constitutes the chief strength and charm of the system, and is peculiarly attractive to the dull perceptions of illiterate and half civilized tribes. The votaries of this system are the most sincerely superstitious people in India. There is much ceremony, but little sincerity, in the more plausible religion of the higher classes; but the demonolaters literally "believe and tremble." In times of sickness, especially during the prevalence of cholera, it is astonishing with what eagerness, earnestness, and anxiety, the lower classes worship their demons.' p. 49.

These demons, it should be observed, are supposed to be the spirits of dead persons, who in life were conspicuous either for their crimes or their misfortunes. It is well known that in one place the spirit of an English officer, who had been the terror of the district, was supposed to be the presiding fiend,* and was propitiated at a *pe kovil* with offerings of cigars and ardent spirits. The story is sufficiently revolting, but is important as an illustration of the horrible superstition against which Christianity has to struggle, and of the hindrances which are

* Eastwick's *Handbook for India*, Part I. p. 142.

too often opposed to its progress by those who profess to be its disciples.

We must now shortly sketch the course of events by which this simple race has to a great extent been turned from the worship of devils and spectres to the worship of the Lord Jesus Christ. The fathers of Protestant Christianity in India are the two Danish missionaries, Bartholomew Ziegenbalg and Henry Plutsch, who were sent out to Tranquebar in 1705 by King Frederic IV, *great-great-great-grandfather* of our Princess of Wales. The work which they began, after many difficulties patiently borne or valiantly overcome, at last excited some sympathy and interest in England, and was recognized and aided by the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, which however for a long time only employed Lutheran missionaries from Denmark and Germany, a striking proof, we fear, of the stupor in which the English clergy were sunk during the last century.

In 1756 when the first jubilee of the mission was celebrated, it was found that 3,000 Hindus had been brought over to the Christian faith,* and the work had been extended from Tranquebar to Madras, Cuddalore, Negapatam, Seringham, Trichinopoly, and Tanjore. The last place was the special scene of the labours of Christian Frederic Schwartz, who arrived in India on July 17, 1750, and may be considered the founder of the Tinnevelly mission. For this great evangelist did not confine his labours to the province with which his name is indissolubly connected. His journeys were frequent, and in the course of them he came to Palamcottah. The first notice of the place and its inhabitants in his diary has a special interest, now that the grain of seed which he planted has become a goodly tree.

' At Palamcottah, a fort and one of the chief towns of Tinnevelly, about 200 miles from Trichinopoly, there resides a Christian of our congregation, Schavrimuttu, who, having been instructed, reads the word of God to the resident Romish and heathens. And an English sergeant, whose wife is a member of our congregation, has in a manner taken up the cause. A young heathen accountant had heard the truth with satisfaction. He was once at Trichinopoly, listened to all that was represented from the word of God in silence, and promised to place himself under further instruction. The sergeant made him learn the five principal articles of the catechism, and then baptized him. It grieved us that he should have baptized the young man before he had attained a distinct knowledge of Christianity. Besides, such an inconsiderate step might prove

* Kaye's *Christianity in India*, ch. III.

‘injurious both to the heathens and Roman Catholics. May God
‘mercifully avert all evil !’*

The date of this extract is 1771. Altogether Schwartz paid three visits to Tinnevely, and succeeded in forming a small congregation in the Fort, which he placed under the charge of Jänicke, another missionary of the Christian Knowledge Society, and a native catechist named Satyanáden, whom he ordained after the Lutheran manner. Satyanáden made many converts among the Shánárs, and these formed themselves for mutual protection into a distinct community in the heart of the palmyra forest, and built a village which they called *Mudal-úr*, or First town, a name intended to express their hope of many other Christian towns yet to come. It still remains as a station of the Propagation Society, with its parsonage and church, the latter spacious and convenient, but of a primitive ugliness which contrasts with the excellent taste shewn in some of the later ecclesiastical buildings of the province. Satyanáden however was recalled to Tanjore, and the mission was for a long time entirely neglected, till in 1815 it was visited by Mr. Hough, the excellent Chaplain of Palamcottah, who wrote to the Christian Knowledge Society a most encouraging account of the Christian order and steadfastness which he observed among the converts in Mudal-úr and its neighbourhood. Nevertheless small heed was paid to his statement by the authorities at home, for that was an age when Tory churchmanship was still represented by Bishop Pretymann, and Whig churchmanship by Bishop Watson. So the work must have fallen out of the hands of the Church of England altogether, had not the Church Missionary Society, from which a new life and energy was proceeding and gradually diffusing itself through ecclesiastical circles, stepped into the gap, and selected Rhenius, whom Dr. Caldwell describes as ‘one of the ablest, most clearsighted and practical and zealous missionaries that India has ever seen,’ to carry on the work which Schwartz had begun. Although this Society has the credit of sending to India the first missionary ordained in the English Church, in the person of the Rev. W. Greenwood, who was appointed to Chunar in 1815, yet Rhenius, according to the precedent set by the Christian Knowledge Society, was chosen from the Lutheran ranks. Hence it happened that after sixteen years of labour his connection with his English employers was unhappily closed, in consequence of his independent action on certain questions of ecclesiastical order and government, but not till he had, by himself or his agents, added to the flock of Christ above 10,000

* Pearson's *Life of Schwartz*, ch. XIV.

souls. We fully believe that the points on which he claimed free action were such as could not be yielded without violating the distinctive principles of the Anglican communion as an organized society, but yet it should always be remembered that the result of his pastoral superintendence was to infuse a real church life into the mission, and to establish practices which are specially valued by true-hearted members of the Church of England. By him female education was vigorously promoted, associations were established among the native Christians for religious and benevolent purposes, and the people of every Christian village were assembled morning and evening for united prayer in Church. Moreover, in one vital point his method was superior even to that of Schwartz; he was the first missionary labouring under the English Church by whom caste was systematically repressed. His body rests in the graveyard at Palamcottah, and, however much we may regret the peculiar line of action which marred his thorough usefulness and loyal allegiance to the English Church, yet there is hardly any missionary whose memory we should regard with heartier gratitude, since he was the true originator of the chief evangelistic triumph which has been won in India. His son did not share his scruples, but was ordained by Bishop Blomfield, and is now a Government Chaplain in the Diocese of Madras.

But our estimate of Rhenius's labours must not be limited to their immediate result. Indirectly they were of immense service in rousing from its slumbers the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, which had inherited the responsibility of that for Promoting Christian Knowledge, by taking over its Indian missions. In 1835 a missionary was sent to superintend 'the sheep that had been left to their fate in the wilderness,' and we have a strong testimony to the reality of Shánár Christianity, a forcible answer to the suspicion that if Tippoo were again to rule in India, all the native converts would apostatize, in the memorable fact that he found more than 3,000 persons who had steadfastly adhered to the worship of God in Christ, although neglected for a whole generation by their English brethren in the faith, persecuted by their heathen neighbours, and visited by a pestilence which swept away one-sixth of the population in South Tinnevelly. Since that day of renewed energy in England, the work has steadily and continually advanced, so that in 1857, Dr. Caldwell, who has himself taken a conspicuous part in carrying it forward, bore the following testimony to the progress which it had made in twenty-two years:—

'Missionary labourers followed from year to year, for the Church at home had awoke, the Propagation Society had awoke, the Madras Diocesan Committee of that Society had awoke, and

' when I now look around in Tinnevelly, instead of the two districts which existed when I arrived, (Mudalúr and Nazareth,) I am rejoiced to see seven, in addition to a new mission in the Rámnád country, each of which is provided not only with practical superintendence, but also in a greater or less degree with the means of extension and advancement. The Church Missionary Society also has been continually lengthening its cords, and strengthening its stakes, so that it has now thirteen or fourteen missionary districts, where it had only six when I arrived, and has established besides an organized system of missionary itineration in the Northern and less christianized portion of the province.' (p. 55).

It is another source of satisfaction to the visitor of Tinnevelly, that whereas he may have brought out from the heated theological atmosphere of England a notion that the Propagation Society is High-church, and its sister society Low-church, and may have seen some cautious canon or rector shake his head at the one for neglecting church principles, or heard perhaps a fervid rhetorician denounce the other for ignorance of the Gospel, he finds the missionaries of both working together in perfect harmony with no rivalry except the rivalry of good works, helping each other by counsel, by interchange of experience, by Christian sympathy, by intercessory prayer, and feeling that in the midst of pagodas and devil dances, both Church principles and Gospel principles are best promoted by a hearty union of labour in preaching Christ crucified, and training those who trust in Him in the sober piety of the English liturgy.

So the work proceeded languidly and with many interruptions for about sixty years, vigourously and with a hearty will, for nearly thirty. Altogether almost a century has past since Schwartz recorded his hopes and fears for the one doubtful convert in the Fort of Palamecottah, and now we find in Dr. Mullens' statistics a tale of 45,361 native Christians in Tinnevelly, from whom the word of life has spread westward over the Ghâts into the independent kingdom of Travancore, where the Congregationalist mission in the South numbers 22,788 Christians (still chiefly Shánárs, and the Church Mission in the North (where this impressible caste is no longer found), 7,919.* The Tinnevelly

* Altogether, taking Tinnevelly and the provinces immediately adjacent, the number of native Protestants is as follows :—

Tinnevelly (Church Missionary and Propagation Societies) ...	45,361
South Travancore (London Missionary Society)	22,788
North Travancore (Church Missionary Society)	7,919
Rámnád (Propagation Society)	4,997
Madura (American Board of Missions)	6,372

congregations are under the spiritual care of twenty-four European missionaries and fourteen ordained natives, besides a large number of catechists and schoolmasters. To this record of constant advances there has been one exception. As our Lord predicted that offences would come, as St. Paul said that heresies must test the constancy of those who are approved, as St. John lamented that many false prophets had gone out into the world, so the infant church of Tinnevelly has been distracted by a schism. Into the events which led to that schism we decline to enter, for we should be involved in a painful and profitless criticism on the judgment of those who had to deal with a most embarrassing dispute. Suffice it to say that, mainly in consequence of certain questions connected with caste prejudices, which too often retain a great influence over the Shánárs, even after their conversion to that faith in which 'all are one in Christ Jesus,' a number of native Christians, amounting, as we believe, to more than a thousand, in the districts of Nazareth and Megnanapuram, seceded from the Church, and formed themselves into a community in which caste-rules were restored. They have fallen, we hear, into various extravagances, and especially they have conceived a fanatical hatred for everything European, so that they have even restored the Jewish Sabbath, keeping Saturday holy instead of Sunday, under the strange belief that Europeans introduced the observance of the first rather than the seventh day of the week. Still even this melancholy perversion has furnished a testimony to the reality of their Christian belief, for amidst many aberrations from the doctrines which they were taught by their fathers in the faith, they have never shewn the slightest tendency to return to heathenism. Indeed, we lately heard that about half of them were already dissatisfied with their separatist position, and it was hoped that the influence of Mr. Thomas, the valued missionary of Megnanapuram, who has recently come back from England to the scene of his labours, would induce them again to join the Church. We earnestly trust that this expectation has been or soon will be realized.

Our readers may now perhaps, if they have had patience to follow us thus far, be desirous to know what a traveller actually sees in Tinnevelly, and what is the aspect presented by daily life in a Christian village. Many things at once remind him of a flourishing and well-organized English parish. There is a church, which sometimes, as at Megnanapuram, is a Gothic building of considerable architectural pretensions. There is the missionary's bungalow, a neat unpretending parsonage, standing in a pretty garden, and almost invariably provided with a capital

swimming bath. There are schools for boys and girls, generally with simple but airy and comfortable accommodation for boarders. And there are the native cottages, often laid out in regular streets, with a large tree in the centre of the village under which the headmen administer justice. For the Tinnevely Christians have not lost the national love of municipal organization. This system, perhaps the most striking feature of Indian social life, has afforded peculiar facilities for the consolidation of Christianity in the South. When a village becomes Christian, it forms itself at once into a Christian municipality, in which Church and State are united together by bands which Arnold himself would hardly have rivetted more tightly. The catechist is received as the counsellor and director of the headmen; and the missionary, resident at the central station of the district, is recognized as the superintendent of all the communities scattered through it. The complete acquiescence of the people in his rule was illustrated in an amusing way by an answer given to the Government Inspector, who was examining an aided Christian school in political knowledge. 'Who,' he asked, 'has the chief authority in this country?' 'The Queen,' said the children, as duly taught in the catechism. 'But she is 10,000 miles away: who carries on the government in the country itself?' 'The Queen sends her orders to the missionaries.' 'To the missionaries!' exclaimed the affrighted Inspector: 'is there not a great man who lives at Madras and rules over this part of India?' 'Yes, Sir,' replied the children, 'the Bishop.' The headmen employ themselves not only in settling civil and social disputes in their village, but in enforcing obedience to Christian rules and Church discipline, in securing the regular attendance of the children at school, and of all the congregation at church, and in collecting money for religious and charitable objects. They are elected by the people, and confirmed in their appointment by the missionary, but the office is almost hereditary, though it would not be conferred on an unworthy representative of a respected family. When anything goes wrong in a village, the missionary appeals to the headmen to set it right, and sometimes by personal visits from house to house, sometimes by assembling the people under the great tree and haranguing them, they do their best to effect their object. Those who are discontented with their decision are apt to appeal to the missionary, but in some places, as in Dr. Caldwell's district of Edeyenkoody, a central *punchayet* or court of appeal (called in Tamil the *nirjāya sabai*), has been instituted to free the missionary from the need of serving tables, and enable him to devote his time to the word of God. Though

this national habit of municipal organization certainly helps to consolidate a newly formed Christian Church, yet it is not always favourable to the extension of the Gospel, for when the divine message is first brought to a heathen village, the headmen often make strenuous efforts to oppose it. Hence too it happens that when a portion of a village becomes Christian, it forms itself into a separate municipality, which generally remains independent of the other, and sometimes happily absorbs it.

The catechist, as we have seen, is an official who stands by the side of the headman, a kind of Mikado to the Tycoon of a Tinnevelly village. It must be remembered that the ordained missionary is concerned with an entire district, comprising many villages, Christian and heathen. Thus Dr. Caldwell has the care of twenty-four Christian congregations, and Mr. Schaffter, of Suvishipuram (*Gospel-Town*) superintends nearly forty, and seems perfectly familiar with the general spiritual condition of each, able to say which is 'lukewarm,' which 'has a little strength and keeps Christ's word,' which 'has left its first love,' and which abounds in 'charity and service and faith and patience and work,' so as to administer to each the necessary counsel or exhortation or reproof. Residing himself at the central village, where are the church and boarding-schools, the missionary is represented in each out-station by the catechist, who has sometimes been resident there from the time when a few of its inhabitants were first persuaded to abandon their idols and place themselves under Christian instruction. When the Gospel is first preached in such a village, there is of course no school there, and none of the population can read. Accordingly a native teacher, carefully trained for the work in one of the two seminaries which have been established for this purpose, is sent to live among them, to give them daily lessons in the facts and doctrines of Christianity, to guide them in Christian habits, to prepare them for baptism, to assemble them for daily prayer, and to spread the Gospel among their heathen neighbours. At first the duty of teaching their children also falls upon him, but when the number of Christians increases, this part of his work is taken off his hands by the appointment of a schoolmaster to the village. These outstations are of course visited at regular intervals by the missionary, and it is hoped that in time an increasing number of the catechists will be ordained and become native pastors, supported mainly by their own flocks. We have seen that the foundation of an indigenous ministry has been laid, but in spite of the impatience of some friendly and some captious critics in England, it would be very wrong to hurry its progress by presenting any

native candidate for orders, till his character and qualifications have been thoroughly tested; for an inefficient or inconsistent clergyman is an evil scarcely to be endured even in a long-settled Church, and in one just struggling to maturity would be absolutely fatal to its growth in grace and the extension of its borders.

But the chief interest of a visit to Tinnevelly, or at all events of a Sunday in Tinnevelly, centres in one of the principal stations where the missionary resides, and where the congregation is most numerous and most completely organized. We have said that a short service, consisting of a selection from the liturgy, followed by an exposition or catechetical lecture, is held in each church twice a day, the morning worship being chiefly attended by women, as most of the husbands are then climbing the palmyras, and the evening by men, whose wives are preparing the family dinner. But on Sunday all attend, and the sight is most impressive and encouraging. Take Megnanapuram as an example, where is the finest church. On the floor are seated 1,400 dusky natives, the catechists and schoolmasters in full suits of white, the poorer men only with waist cloths, the women often in gay but not gaudy colours, the school-children massed together in two squares, all profoundly attentive to the service, kneeling reverentially during the prayers, joining heartily in the responses, and listening eagerly to the sermon, which is often broken up into a catechetical form. 'Can you finish that text for me?' enquires the preacher, or 'what did I say would be the second head of my sermon?' and an answer is given in full chorus from the part of the church to which he addresses his question. Moreover the more intelligent of the congregation keep up their attention by writing notes of the preacher's words with their own styles on slips of palmyra leaf, and any catechist from an outstation who happens to be present, often uses these notes as a foundation for his own sermon when he is next among his people. When to this we add that the singing is admirable; soft, melodious, reverential, and accompanied by an excellent harmonium, we shall convince our readers that a service at Megnanapuram impresses a visitor, even though ignorant of Tamil, with a sense of freshness, reality, and earnest Christian life, which is often wanting when he sees a fashionable English congregation lolling in their seats during the Confession and Lord's Prayer without a single audible response, or drowsily listening to a wearisome harangue which has been chosen almost at haphazard from some well worn stock of sermons, and is now repeated for the twentieth time.

But the missionary's Sunday work is by no means limited to his two services. In the course of the day he generally holds an

adult school, and in his instructions he is actually assisted, (at least at Edeyenkoody, and probably elsewhere,) by the children and grandchildren of the pupils. For it often happens that the young alone have received a regular education; the generations now in middle life were won from heathenism when their school days were over, and of these only a portion have been taught to read, the rest receiving *vivâ voce* instruction, and learning by rote portions of the catechism, or scripture texts, or summaries of history and doctrine.

‘It is wonderful,’ says Dr. Caldwell, ‘to see how patiently and goodhumouredly the older people submit to be taught by their juvenile teachers. Though they look to the teacher for the words of the lesson, and repeat them patiently again and again, till they know them by heart, it sometimes happens that they have a clearer insight than their teacher into the meaning of the lesson. The teacher depends, perhaps exclusively, upon his lesson notes, while the pupil has had the lesson written on his heart by the Great Teacher Himself. ...I was once examining a very old man who wished to be baptized, and according to custom I asked him, amongst other things, if he could repeat the Belief, which I knew he had been taught. He made the attempt, but after a few incoherent sentences gave it up in despair. At length he raised his hand and said: “I’ll tell you, Sir, the meaning of it. We are all sinners, and the Lord Christ undertook for us all, and if we believe in Him, we shall be saved. I know that, and that is all I know.”’ (p. 92.)

There are also many special services and classes for Christian instruction during the week: often the Litany and a short sermon on Wednesday at noon, when work ceases in the Hindu villages, and Friday is not unfrequently devoted to the instruction of the catechists, who come into the chief station, and are systematically trained by the missionary both in the theory and practical use of theology, in the theory by the study of Scripture, and perhaps of Butler and Pearson, in the practice by the preparation of sermons and their actual delivery in his presence. In fact, the teaching and training, church-going and school-going, are so constant, and the exercise of discipline so peremptory, that a Tinnevelly village feels the influence of its pastor to an extent which would be considered intolerable in an English parish; and there seems to be some danger lest the bow should be a little overstrained, and lest difficulties should arise when Christianity has spread more widely, and education made more progress among the wealthier classes. At present however there is no doubt that the people heartily enter into this rigid discipline, and regard it as perfectly natural. And the problem of adapting

the system to a state of things more nearly resembling the long established Christianity of a European country is one which the missionaries of our generation will perhaps hardly be required to solve; though we should be glad to be assured that their attention was turned to it, and that they were preparing for its solution. Especially we would have them careful about too much interference with harmless national customs, and imposing upon their converts a yoke of merely English habits, as distinguished from Christian feelings and practices.

Besides this watchful care of the older population, the missionaries have organized an efficient system of education for both sexes. In some of the more important Christian villages, the proportion of the population at school amounts to twenty-five per cent., and the general average in the part of the country occupied by the two societies reaches sixteen per cent. According to the statistical tables of Dr. Mullens, there are in the Christian schools of the province 12,044 children, in which total are included a considerable number of heathen. Most of the schools are vernacular dayschools, and the instruction includes, besides the indispensable three Rs, Scripture, catechism, geography, and a little Tamil poetry. It is fortunate that the Tamil language possesses a respectable literature, which is constantly receiving accessions from the labour of the missionaries in translating English books, so that its students are provided with a tolerable supply of intellectual food. There are as we have seen some superior boarding schools, among which that for girls at Edeyenkoody is distinguished for the beauty of the lace made by its pupils from European patterns, and for the very efficient manner in which it is worked partly as a training school for mistresses, and still more as a seminary in which 'the more promising daughters of the native Christians are brought up to be specimens and patterns to the rest of the community of what Christian women ought to be, so that by their influence the character of the whole community may be raised.' To this end they are taken into the school at a very early age, and are brought under the eye of the missionary and his family, by whom they are 'instructed, not only in useful knowledge, but in the habits and proprieties of the Christian life.'

But at the head of the education of the district are five institutions, four established at Palamcottah by the Church Missionary Society, and one, (which is, in fact, a combination of two) at a small village, twelve miles from Tuticorin, and bearing the singular name of Sawyerpuram (Mr. Sawyer's town) by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. The four institutions at

Palamcottah are a flourishing English school, attended by more heathen than Christian boys ; a training school for catechists, another for schoolmasters, and the ' Sarah Tucker Institution' for mistresses. The English school which is, strange to say, efficiently conducted by a blind master, has been an instrument for bringing to Christianity several of the heathen among the wealthier classes, but in its general aspect and course of study it does not differ from the kindred institutions with which we are familiar in Bengal. The seminary at Sawyerpuram, a large training school both for catechists and masters, under the care of Mr. French, a zealous and intelligent layman, is remarkable, among other merits, for the proficiency of its pupils in music. We listened with real pleasure to the performance by them of a selection of English anthems and glees, including such pieces as *Sleepers awake, Lord for Thy tender mercies' sake, Forgive blest shade, Come unto these yellow sands* ; and it was impossible to deny that art, as well as Christianity, has a powerful effect in bringing nations together, and effacing distinctions of race and colour, when we heard these swarthy Tamil boys singing melodies with which we had been familiar of old in English cathedrals and concert rooms. On the other hand the chief special characteristic of the training school for masters at Palamcottah is the ardour with which the pupils devote themselves to athletic sports. Not even Professor Kingsley, nay not Tom Brown himself, could be dissatisfied with such a development of muscular Christianity as they would witness in the playground. Rather we doubt whether either of those heroes would be eager to join the embryo schoolmasters of Tinnevelly in leaping and pole-climbing under the full blaze of the mid-day sun in N. lat. 9°, and with the thermometer at 85° in the shade. Some persons who have hitherto regarded a missionary institution as a kind of Trappist convent, only conducted on puritanical principles, will imbibe (as Coleridge said when he first read *Undine*), an 'absolutely new 'idea' from the following 'Programme of Athletic Sports,' for which prizes were given by the vivacious master of the Palamcottah training college, and contended for last Christmas by his pupils in the presence of all the Europeans in the station, civil and military, young and old, male and female. We will only premise, in explanation of No. 8 on the second day's list, that the words *across the bath* mean *through the bath*, and that the bath is a swimming-bath of considerable depth and width.

PROGRAMME
OF
CHRISTMAS GAMES.
PALAMCOTTAH VERNACULAR TRAINING INSTITUTION,
(REV. T. SPRATT'S.)
On the 28th and 29th December 1863
at 3. P. M.

FIRST DAY.

FOR ALL BOYS UNDER 14.

1. Flat Race.
2. Running Jump — Distance.
3. Do. — Height.
4. Standing Jump — Distance.
5. Do. — Height.
6. Throwing Cricket Ball.
7. Pulling Match.
8. Best performers on Parallel Bars.
9. Do. Horizontal Bar.
10. Do. Swinging Ropes.
11. Do. Ladder.
12. Best performers on Horse.
13. Hopping race.

OPEN TO ALL.

14. Throwing Cricket Ball.
15. Pulling Match.
16. Best performers on Parallel Bars.
17. Do. on Horizontal Bar.
18. Do. on Swinging Ropes.
19. Do. on Ladder.
20. Do. on Horse.
21. Hopping Race.

SECOND DAY.

OPEN TO ALL.

1. Flat Race.
2. Running Jump — Distance.
3. Do. — Height.
4. Standing Jump — Distance.
5. Do. — Height.
6. Hurdle Race.
7. High Cockolorum jig, jig, jig.

8. Steeple Chase (round the compound across the bath.)
9. Pickback Race.
10. Sack Race.
11. Camel Tournament.
12. Scramble for Squibs, &c.
13. Putting.
14. Chatty Race.
15. Jumping high with long pole.
16. Hop, step, and jump.
17. Climbing the greasy pole.
18. Long Race.

(There will be a display of Fireworks on the Evening of the Second day.)

There are some perhaps who may think that a list of high jumps and flat races is an incongruous element in so holy and sublime a work as the conversion of a nation to God. There are others to whom it will recall happy and healthful memories of their schoolboy days, and who will not grudge to their Hindu fellow-Christians the recreations which they once so heartily, and on the whole so innocently, enjoyed. And all, we trust, will call to mind the Apostle's prayer that, 'spirit, soul, and *body* may be preserved blameless,' and so come to the conclusion that the good missionary, who thus tries to train his boys in manliness and hardihood, as well as in Christian knowledge and mental culture, does well in regarding all three parts of human nature as alike objects of God's fatherly care, and designed for His service.

There is one difference between the educational policy of our two great missionary societies in Tinnevelly, which deserves a short notice, as it involves an important principle. The master of the Sawyerpuram college trains his pupils in English, which is not admitted into the *curriculum* of the catechists' and schoolmasters' institutions at Palamcottah. The reasons for this exclusion are not far to seek, but (with one exception) unsatisfactory. It is said that a knowledge of English tends to make a young native conceited, gives him European and anti-national tastes, produces in him indifference to his countrymen, and unfits him for the simple and humble employment of a village catechist or schoolmaster. But this is only arguing against the use of a privilege from its abuse. If the knowledge of English confers substantial intellectual benefits on its recipient, we may trust that God's grace will deliver him from any temptations which may follow; and undoubtedly the more truly Christian a student becomes, the less likely he is to be arrogant and unpatriotic. An illness is often made the means of sobering a

reckless profligate, and weak health escapes some moral dangers to which strong health is exposed, but we do not therefore cease to take precautions against disease, or voluntarily diminish our bodily vigour. Just so we have no right to deprive our native students of the chief means of cultivating their mental powers which we are able to give them. Without English they cannot obtain that knowledge of theology which a religious teacher ought to possess. It is true that some works of our standard English divines are translated into Tamil, but translations are but broken reeds for a student to depend upon, and some of these so-called translations of theological books are mere epitomes and abstracts of the originals, like the cram books and abridgments by which the inferior tutors at Oxford and Cambridge push their pupils through the littlego or greatgo, with the minimum of trouble to the crammers, and of profit to the crammed. Moreover the study of English is spreading more and more widely among the heathen. We must not allow the Christians to be inferior to them in knowledge, and in the power of taking a proper social position. It is true that 'to the poor 'the Gospel is preached,' and we welcome a Shánár or Pariah convert with no less thankfulness than a Brahman. But the goodly tree must push forth its branches upwards, the higher castes as well as the lower must be brought to the knowledge of Christ, and therefore the influence of native Christians should be such as gradually to leaven all society. Indeed there is among them an increasing desire to learn English, and any hindrance to this legitimate aspiration chafes them with a sense of injustice and unkindness, as was sufficiently shewn at the recent conference of missionaries in the Punjáb.* There is, however, one argument against teaching English to those who are to be masters of village schools, which undoubtedly requires attention. It is said that, as they are to teach in the vernacular, they must be trained in it, since otherwise they will never become familiar with the technical terms used in geography, arithmetic, geometry, and the other branches of knowledge which they are to impart to their pupils. Above all they should be thoroughly acquainted with the vernacular text of Scripture, which they must quote in giving religious instruction, just as an English clergyman in preaching cites the authorized version in his sermons instead of his own translations (possibly more accurate) of the Greek and Hebrew. But these evil consequences will be entirely averted by adopting a suggestion of Mr. Spratt, the same thoughtful missionary who so wisely

* Report of the Punjáb Missionary Conference, p. 159 ff.

encourages the Palamcottah gymnastics. He proposes that the ordinary lessons should be given through the medium of the vernacular, but that English should be taught for two hours a day as a foreign language, so that it would occupy the same place in the training college which Latin and Greek take in a public school at home. Such a plan would, we think, be an improvement on that adopted at Sawyerpuram, where the boys receive all their instructions in English, and so incur the risk of an insufficient acquaintance with their own language. Still more marked is its superiority to the system in which English is omitted altogether.

And now our readers will be asking, What are the results of this revolution? for to such a name the change which has been described is surely entitled. Are these Southern Christians clearly and decidedly superior in morality to their heathen neighbours? In abandoning heathenism, have they shewn signs of an inward change, a conversion of the heart to God, or have they merely adopted a new creed and profession? To this momentous subject, and another of scarcely inferior interest, the consideration of the causes which have led to so great a result, we shall address ourselves during the remainder of this article.

Now first as to results, it is almost sufficient to say that these Shánárs and other converts of the South were demonolaters, but are now Protestant Christians, that they did worship at *pe kovils*, but do worship in churches, and that they were left in absolute ignorance of things human and divine alike, till the missionaries came with their schools and sermons and Bible classes. So vast an outward change necessarily involves something of an inward change; they could not have been persuaded to prefer the peaceful simplicity of the Christian hymn to the frantic orgies of the devil-dance without a thorough alteration of their tastes and feelings. And in truth the visible and tangible results of the change are anything but insignificant. The civilizing influence of Christianity is shewn in the neatness and order which marks the Christian villages, in the cleanliness of the Christian compared with the dirt and untidiness of the Heathen Shánárs, in the social elevation of women, the happiness and purity of domestic life, the open and intelligent countenances of the children in the mission schools. It is not shewn in any diminution of drunkenness, for happily that hindrance to Christian work does not exist among the Shánárs; and it is a remarkable fact that, though their palmyras furnish them with an unfailing supply of intoxicating drink, they have never formed any taste for it. But it is shewn very remarkably in the

liberality of the converts. The sums which they contribute to religious and benevolent objects, and the interest which they take in them, may well put to shame the nominal Christianity of too many among our own countrymen. These poor agricultural labourers have their Church-building societies, missionary societies, societies for the relief of Christians in distress, Tract, Book, and Bible Societies. Their charitable funds are managed at a *Dharmmasangam*, a public meeting duly convened for the purpose of voting grants for good objects, and Dr. Caldwell relates as an illustration of the interest taken in such works of benevolence, that on one occasion, when he asked why no women from a certain village were present at a *sangam*, he was told that the river was swollen, so that the women had turned back, but the men had swum. He adds that the village was eleven miles off, so that for a purely disinterested purpose they took a walk of twenty-two miles in one day, and twice encountered 'perils of waters' in swimming a swollen Indian river. Dr. Mullens tells us that the whole contributions of the Tinnevely Christians to religious purposes in 1861 amounted to Rs. 19,326, a sum which will appear very considerable when we also read that the wages of a good labourer are about eight annas a week, and that there is not a single native Christian in the Edeyenkooddy district, whose weekly income averages more than two rupees and a half. Another tolerably fair test of the depth and earnestness of Christian conviction may generally be obtained from the attendance at the Lord's Supper. Now the proportion throughout Tinnevely of communicants to baptized persons is stated to be one in six; in some villages it reaches one in five; if it is anywhere less than one in eight, the religious condition of that village is regarded as deplorably low. Compare this with the state of any English regiment in India. Ask any earnest chaplain what would be his feelings of joy and thankfulness if, in a military congregation of 1,000 persons, including officers, soldiers, and their wives, 200 were regular communicants, and what an index such a proportion would furnish of the moral and spiritual condition of his flock. And yet the comparison is not a fair one, for in an English military station there is of course nothing like the number of children which we find in a Tinnevely village.

But though in general the aspect of the Church in the South of India is most encouraging, yet it would be irrational to expect that all the faults of the Hindu character should have been eradicated in the first or second generation of Christians. The civil authorities of the province complain that the converts are not free from a litigious spirit, and that when a Christian

appears in a court of justice, it would not be safe to assume that his evidence is necessarily trustworthy. And the same fault is found with the Kól converts in Chota Nagpore. We think it right to mention this, the one blemish alleged against Shánár Christianity by the English who observe it impartially, and admitted by the missionaries and the more thoughtful among the converts. But we do not think that too much stress should be laid upon it, or that it should diminish our sympathy with our native brethren, and our belief that God has worked among them a real and vital change. The most important part of the accusation, that of untruthfulness, results partly from the national timidity, partly from the lying and roguery which are so often paramount in our courts of justice, from the influence of native *mooktears* and other rapacious animals, and through which an English Judge has to wind his weary way with infinite labour and disgust. It must also be remembered, that only the inferior section of our native Christians come into the courts; the more advanced and spiritually-minded among them never appear there at all. But even if we overlook all these extenuations and view the sin in its worst aspect, we Englishmen must not censure too severely this hereditary taint in our Hindu fellow-Christians, when we remember with shame how drunkenness pollutes the poor and selfish worldliness the rich among our own countrymen. In comparing the Christianity of Tinnevelly with that of Europe, or the English communities of India, there is one important distinction which has been well pointed out by Dr. Caldwell, and which we must not forget:—

‘ In an old Christian country, especially in our crowded cities, many of those who call themselves Christians never enter a place of Christian worship, never bow the knee to God in prayer, never open God’s word, know nothing of God except as a name to swear by. Such persons have no right even to the name of Christians, and when they are called by that name it can only mean that they are not Mahometans or Buddhists. In Tinnevelly such persons would not be called Christians at all; their names would be erased from our church lists, and Christianity would not be discredited by the supposition that they are hers. When we speak of nominal Christianity in Tinnevelly, we speak of something which has a certain right to the Christian name. Our nominal Christians come to church, they send their children to school, ... they contribute to the funds of our various societies, they submit to discipline in a remarkably docile manner, ... in short, a considerable number of our “nominal Christians” would be reckoned very good Christians, and very good church-people too, in some parishes in England, and if we call them “nominal”

'Christians merely, it is because we have not seen in them what we have longed to see, "the power of godliness," the new life of real spiritual Christianity, and find it necessary to distinguish them from that much smaller, but much more interesting class of native Christians, who shew that they are animated by the Spirit of Christ.' (p. 126.)

But this extract reminds us that we originally put the question in a graver form than that in which we have answered it, for we asked whether in abandoning heathenism the Christians of Tinnevelly had been truly converted to God, whereas we have only recounted certain outward signs of morality and civilization. Yet perhaps the question was in truth too solemn either to ask or to answer, for it is not ours to judge of a true inward conversion, 'the things of God knoweth no man, save the Spirit of God.' We can only say that the missionaries, who certainly are not impulsive enthusiasts, painting everything around them with rose-coloured tints, but inclined perhaps to take too low rather than too high an estimate of their disciples, fully believe, amidst many disappointments and anxieties, such as St. Paul encountered among his converts, that in each congregation God has raised up a seed to serve Him, a little flock of Christians, who shew the genuineness of their Christianity by their eager interest in all means of improvement, their zeal in good works, the largeness of their almsgiving, the quiet consistency of their lives, the piety which sanctifies their homes, their conquest over caste prejudices and national faults, and their devout confidence in God's love. More than this it is not given to man to say, but we have in these signs a sufficient foundation for the belief that Christianity has not only brought to the people of Tinnevelly the blessings of knowledge and civilization and outward morality, but that in the divine book of remembrance will be recorded the names of many among them who have 'feared the Lord and thought upon His Name.'

We have spoken with entire confidence as to the results of the Gospel in Tinnevelly: we find it harder to add a few final words as to the human means and agencies by which they have been produced.

In comparing the rapidly successful and constantly progressive work of the missionaries in South India with the nearly stagnant conditions of too many missions in the presidency of Bengal, we cannot sufficiently account for the difference by any marked peculiarities either in the method pursued, or the character of those who have been brought under the influence of Christianity. The Karens of Burmah indeed appear to be a

people specially fitted for the reception of the Gospel, and the Kóls of Ranchi were at least free from the prejudices of Hinduism. The Tinnevelly peasants so far resemble them that they belong, as we have seen, to the aboriginal races of India, and not to the Aryan conquerors. The worship of devils is on the whole more revolting, and therefore more easily renounced than even that of Durga and Krishna, in which certain truths of religion are obscurely hinted, and with which at least great national traditions are connected, whereas the ceremonial of the *pe kovil* is the simple result of terror, and must vanish before a comparatively faint ray of enlightenment, or the simplest appreciation of the truth that God's essential character is love.

Still the Shánárs have certain prejudices which might well have prevented them from embracing a religion which involves the principle of spiritual equality and brotherhood. We have seen that they are naturally tenacious of their caste, and latterly there has been current among them a strange notion, (actively propagated, we believe, by the schismatics of the Nazareth district,) that they are a princely race like the Rajputs, and that their progenitors were palmyra-climbing kings. Some Venetian sequins are occasionally dug up in Tinnevelly, relics of a time when Tuticorin was a great trading port, and these coins, like others of the republic, are stamped with a bishop's mitre and pastoral staff. Some of the Shánárs fully believe these emblems to represent the toolbag and climbing stick used in mounting their beloved trees, to which they undoubtedly bear a considerable resemblance. Hence they conclude the sequins to be the coinage, not of the ancient spouse of the Adriatic, but of their own royal ancestors, cultivators of the palmyra like themselves. Fancies like these, intensified by the bitterness of caste feeling, are doubtless serious hindrances to the power of the Gospel, and may be set against the facilities afforded to its extension by the fortunate exclusion of the Hindu pantheon from the Shánár religion. And thus we must regard the success with which God has blest the missionaries rather as the reward of their own self-denying exertions than of the 'honest and good heart' of the people among whom they have sown the heavenly seed. One difference between the system which they have followed, and that which prevails in Northern India, is this. They have laboured, not in large cities, but in the heart of the country and in the very midst of the peasantry. Now in towns the personal influence of the ablest and most devoted missionary is as nothing when compared with that of the Brahmans and the power of caste. We believe that frightful persecutions have often been set on foot to prevent conversions to the faith of Christ in

a large town or thickly populated district of India. But in Tinnevelly the missionary has had a fairer field; he has taken up his abode among the peasantry, made himself acquainted with their wants and feelings, and so gradually taught them to respect his character, to place confidence in his friendship, to value his advice, to regard him as a teacher sent from God. Personal influence, important in the prosecution of any good work, is among the Hindus all-powerful, and in Tinnevelly the influence of the missionary and his family has happily soon been followed by that of the small congregation, by the sight of Christian worship, the boons offered through the Christian school, the growing intelligence, comfort, and respectability of those who follow the new way. The missionaries say that just at present our Lord's warning that a man's foes shall be they of his own household, seems hardly applicable in its full meaning to Tinnevelly; so frequent are the cases in which a family is brought to Christ by the influence of a single member of it, or a whole village through the electric flash communicated by a Christian household established in the midst of Heathenism.

There is however one policy which the Southern missionaries have not adopted, and on which we are desirous to dwell for a few moments, because of late there has been a tendency to revive the notion that it furnishes the true hope of converting India, and the starting point from which men should proceed towards that noble object, which of all others is most worthy of the great name of Christian England. They have not thought it necessary to wander over the country imitating the native jogis and casting off the amenities of European civilization. They do not feel called upon to sacrifice those very moderate comforts, such as a punkah or a glass of wine, which, though they might appear luxurious in a cold climate, are in many cases necessary for life and health in this. They do not think it wrong to 'bathe and change their linen twice in twenty-four hours:*' on the contrary, we have commented on the wide expanse of their swimming-baths, and he who has had any experience of bazaar preaching at the close of a hot Indian day, will hardly grudge the preacher the satisfaction of a clean shirt when he sits down to his evening meal. This same complaint that the missionaries cannot hope to christianize the people till they renounce their accustomed mode of life was made some years ago in an article of this Review,† and we

* Macmillan's Magazine, Vol. X. p. 488.

† 'If the missionaries are to have any success at all, they should be "a sort of Christian Nauuks in the land, English Gooroo Govinds, lighting "up the entire country into a blaze of awakened enthusiasm by the

may be allowed to cite the answer to it given in a charge which was then addressed to the clergy of one of our Indian dioceses:—

‘ So far as I have observed, the charge that missionaries lead luxurious lives is absolutely groundless. In this city indeed, considering the expense of living, and the extremely moderate scale of your allowances, I fear that it is difficult always to procure even all those comforts which are necessary for health and efficient work in India; and in no missionary’s house in the Mofussil have I seen anything inconsistent with the position of a man devoted to the task of building of Christ’s kingdom among unbelievers, and therefore clearly bound to lead a simple and self-denying life. But when you are advised to turn yourselves into Christian fakirs, you may answer that asceticism is no part of the Gospel system, that whatever you may attempt in that line can never rival the deeds of the Mussulman fakir, and the Hindu jogi, that the attempt to simulate native practices has already been made by Robert de Nobili and the Jesuit missionaries of the seventeenth century, and that the result was not such as to encourage a fresh experiment. In a higher and truer sense than theirs, though not certainly with more self-abnegation, which would be impossible, you will try to impress the people with the reality of your mission and the divine beauty of Christian morality, by your kindness, your devotion to your work, your earnest efforts to understand their wants and feelings, your readiness to meet their difficulties, and the entire consistency of your lives with the doctrines which you teach. In Cyprian’s time the preachers of Christianity did not spread the Gospel in Carthage by any attempt to rival the devotees of Astarte, but by devoting themselves, in spite of a bloody persecution, to the work of nursing the sick and burying the dead during a time of pestilence, “ knowing that it became Christians by well-doing to heap “ the burning coals of shame on the heads of their enemies” ’*’

We believe that the attempt to christianize the Hindus by a mimicry of the ascetic practices of their own jogis, if the

* contagious spectacle of their own downright, fiery, and eccentric earnestness. ‘ We should have Christian fakirs, wild, rough, fervent, not the sober and decorous, clockwork gentleman of the white neckcloth School.’—*Cal. Review*, Vol. XXX. p. 388. There is much to the same effect throughout the article, including the monstrous assertion, (put into the mouth of a native) that ‘ the missionaries ride in proud vehicles, indulge in costly and refined observances, their doors are besieged by pampered menials, at noon there is worshipful company being received, at eventide the *Auzoor* and his *mem* are proceeding forth to take the air.’ The same style of objection is reproduced in the recent article in *Macmillan’s Magazine*, only in a much kinder and less unreasonable spirit.

* Primary Charge of the Bishop of Calcutta, 1859, p. 52.

missionaries who ventured upon it escaped from it alive, could only result in a religion resembling that form of Romanism which prevails in some of the darkest corners of India, and of which it has been truly said that 'no element of heathendom is wanting in it: there are huge idols which the native congregations appear to appreciate under the titles of St. Christopher and St. Lawrence as readily as if they had been called by the more familiar names of their own mythology, and except that the incense is somewhat better, and the priests somewhat cleaner, one might fancy one-self in the Black Town during the Durga Poojah.* This was not the ideal with the missionaries of the English Church in Tinnevelly set before them; they aimed at building up a Church of intelligent and devoted Christians, capable of offering to God a reasonable service, and of knowing that, when they turned to Christ, they were not following cunningly devised fables. No doubt in all real Christianity self-sacrifice is an essential feature, and it has not been neglected by the missionaries of the South. Among them are men who are quite competent to take their place in the ranks of scholars and divines, and of enjoying keenly all the pleasures of refined and intellectual society. Yet they prefer remaining in the wild palmyra forest, that they may seek out the sheep of Christ who are scattered abroad in this naughty world'; they do not shrink, if need be, from the duty of 'sleeping in native huts, living on native food, going afoot from village to village through the sun of June and the exhalations of September, talking of Jesus to the ryots in the field, and to the women at the well';† but they believe that they are also preaching Christ practically if they exhibit in a half converted village the pattern of a Christian home, and the parsonage of a Christian pastor, such as is the spring of comfort and blessing to many a poor parish in England. One advantage, indeed, they have enjoyed which we are loath to mention, but which we suspect has told far more in favour of their cause than any assumption of the character of fakirs would have done. There is scarcely any part of India which is more removed from contact with Europeans than Tinnevelly. Dr. Caldwell says that in many of its secluded districts the peasants have never seen the face of an English layman. Now it is quite true that no healthier influence can be exercised over a Hindu village than that of a

* Macmillan's Magazine, Vol. X, p. 487. It is strange that the author of the article, seeing that this has been the result of the experiment made by the Romish missionaries, should wish it repeated by their Protestant successors.

† Macmillan, *u. s.*

brave, manly, and energetic English magistrate or settler, especially if his home is graced and purified by the presence of a good wife, not uninterested in the people around her. We thankfully acknowledge that such examples of the Christian life are becoming more and more frequent, but still we must confess with shame that too often the conduct of the English in India has been quite the reverse of this, and that their lives have often furnished the most formidable arguments against the religion which they profess. We are painfully convinced that the grievous inconsistency of European nominal Christians, and not any want of self-sacrifice in the missionaries, has been hitherto one principal reason why the progress of Christianity in India has been so slow and disappointing. Such a hindrance however has but rarely opposed the truth in Tinnevelly: the people have seen the Christian life exhibited to them only in its very best and purest form, and it is not wonderful that they have been attracted by it. But whether be the cause of the success of missionaries in this remote province, the fact cannot be gainsaid: their labour has received the seal of God's approbation, and they have their abundant and constant reward in the gradual ingathering of the harvest, for in Tinnevelly, unlike the rest of India, the same men who sow the seed are permitted also to reap the crop. Their work as we have seen is spreading in various directions: every year fresh bands of earnest converts are admitted into the ranks of Christ's army, and wherever the holy Church throughout all the world acknowledges its Lord, its members may thank Him for the genuine Christian piety which His Spirit, through the agency of these devoted pastors, has implanted in the hearts of many thousands of simple peasants in Tinnevelly and Travancore.

ART. IV.—*On the Currency of India.*

SO much has been said and written of late on the matter of the introduction of gold as a currency for India, in addition to or in substitution of the present silver currency, that a comprehensive and extended view of the entire currency system of India would not be out of place at present.

We shall first explain what is meant by the term currency. It is the money of a country that passes in general circulation in the dealings of the people, both in the ordinary daily transactions of life, and to supply the more extensive requirements of commerce. Money is defined* to be the commodity or article which the inhabitants of a country accept, either voluntarily or by compulsion, as the equivalent for their services, or for whatever else they may have to dispose of. In India the Gold Mohur, the Silver Rupee, the Copper Pice, with their multiples and subdivisions as coins, constitute the money of the people, and as all except the Gold Mohur are in general circulation, they form the currency of India. In addition to this Metal Currency, there is the Paper Currency lately issued by Government, composed of Notes representing 10, 20, 50, 100, 500, and 1,000 Rs. So that Silver, Copper, and Paper have been the articles used to establish the currency of India. Whether Gold should or should not also be used for this purpose, is the perplexing question of the day.

From the very first blow† that was struck in a Mint in India now nearly two centuries ago, the English Government constituted Silver the legal currency of India, although the coins that have from that date been issued by the English Government have varied in size, quality, and quantity of pure metal in each coin, and it was not till the year 1835 that the amount of pure silver, 165 grains Troy, was definitely settled as the quantity that was to be manufactured into one Rupee. This quantity of pure silver, with one-eleventh its weight of copper, makes a mixture that was then found to constitute the hardest of all kinds of alloyed silver, and this the experience of our

* McCulloch's Economical Policy.

† In the year 1757 Meer Jaffer Ali Khan, Nabob of Moorsheadabad, granted a perwannah to the East India Company to establish a Mint in Calcutta, and the first coinage took place on the 29th of August of that year, but as early as 1671 a Mint was opened at Bombay, when that island was ceded to the British as the marriage dowry of the Queen of Charles II.

Indian coinage has fully borne out, for the Rupees have stood the wearage of a circulation of thirty years without being much affected thereby. The Rupee therefore weighed 180 grains, and its weight, called a Tolah, furnished a complete equivalent to the Troy measure;—100 pounds Troy being exactly 3,200 tolas, or one maund. It was consequently made the basis of the Indian system of weights. With such advantages possessed by the Indian Rupee—its ancient hold on the people of India, and the amount of it now in circulation, which was estimated by the late Mr. Wilson at above 1,00,00,00,000—it would be folly even to countenance any suggestion to substitute this silver currency for a gold one.

Suppose the Government were to-day to declare that a certain gold coin, whether it be the Sovereign or the Mohur, was to be the only legal coin of India, for all large payments, it would by making silver subordinate to gold, throw out of circulation more than nine-tenths of the 100 crores of Rupees, and thus suddenly contract the currency until a corresponding value of coined gold was introduced into India. The direful effect of such a contraction would be as palpably felt in India as it was when the English currency was contracted by the resumption of cash payments in 1821, and again by the Bank Act of 1845 reducing the paper circulation from sixty to thirty millions of pounds, on both which occasions prices fell fully fifty per cent. with the natural result of calamity and disaster to the agricultural and commercial classes of England, and general discontent throughout the land.

But as the contraction of a currency is attended with consequences of so lamentable a nature, so on the other hand is its extension attended with beneficial results. As certainly and inevitably, says Alison,* as a plentiful harvest renders grain cheap, and an abundant vintage renders wine low priced, so does an increased supply of the currency, whether in specie or paper, render money cheap as compared with the price of other commodities, and when commodities maintain high prices, the general welfare of a nation, as taught by the Father of Political Economy, is the inevitable result of such a state of things. If therefore the specie circulation of India could be extended by the introduction of a gold coinage, it would certainly be desirable that it should be done. We shall shew how this can best be accomplished, but before we approach this intricate subject, let us consider what has been the effect of the Paper Currency of the Government of India now introduced upwards of two years ago.

* Continuation of History of Europe, Vol. I. p. 17.

The issue of paper money is based upon two principles diametrically opposite. The one renders it immediately convertible into coin which it represents;—the other throws it into circulation in lieu of coin. The latter is the resource of states during political convulsions, and is adopted to raise capital wherewith to meet the wants of the kingdom. It was adopted by the Revolutionary Government of the French Republic in 1797, and is now in full operation in the United States of America—both Northern and Southern,—in consequence of the great fratricidal war of extermination raging in those once peaceful territories.

The issue on the former case loaded the French nation with an immense debt (£700,000,000 sterling*, worth only one thousandth its value in specie,) which the succeeding Government ignored;—the latter is adding such a national debt to the United States that if they do not follow the example of France, the burden of taxation will be more heavily felt there than it is by the people of the British Isles. The Government of England also by the Bank Restriction Act of William Pitt, issued paper money not convertible into coin, until after the termination of the continental war then raging. This paper money enabled it to prosecute the war with Napoleon with vigour, and ultimately to emerge from it glorious and triumphant; and though widespread bankruptcy was the result, though the nation was sorely distressed, though agriculture was paralyzed,—wheat having fallen in price fully fifty per cent.,—though a revolutionary spirit manifested itself in parts of England and Scotland, still the Government adhered to its pledge, and resumed cash payments for its hitherto inconvertible paper money. In times of commercial crisis, the paper money of England has again been rendered inconvertible for short periods, as was the case in 1847 and 1857.

In India the paper money is a representative of coin; the public deposit silver coin with the Government and get paper money, called Government Currency Notes, in lieu. Notes are more handy than coin. One hundred Notes of 1,000 Rupees each enable a man to grasp within his right hand the equivalent of one lac of coined money, which requires fifty porters to carry. When the purposes for which Notes are taken in lieu of coin are accomplished—when coin is again required—the Notes have simply to be presented at the place where the coin for them is deposited, and they are readily exchanged. All the advantages, all the conveniences of a Paper Currency to the public are thus realized; while on the other hand, the Government, and

* Alison, Volume IV. p. 74.