

Elphinstone's conviction of the wisdom of the measure, and an order went forth for the formation of a Bheel corps.

This difficult and dangerous duty was entrusted to an officer who has since earned for himself one of the brightest names in the recent history of India. It was entrusted to James Outram, then a lieutenant in the Bombay Native Infantry, who had already foreshadowed those fine soldierly qualities which a quarter of a century of continued action have ripened and refined. He was then a very young man, full of animal spirits, active and courageous; but with all his energies and activities, tempered with strong sense and sound judgment; and he went about his work eagerly, and yet thoughtfully, measuring its difficulties aright, but resolute to overcome them. And he soon had practical proof of their nature and extent. The Bheels were at this time* in the very height of their lawlessness. They were carrying on their depredations up to the very picquets of the British camp, and sweeping off our cattle in triumph. A strange belief held possession of them, that we shrunk from encountering their robber bands, or following them to their mountain homes. And they thought that all this pretence of raising Bheel corps, and offering their people regular pay in the service of the Company, was only a snare to draw them into our camps, and to cut them off in detail. And so the enlistment of the Bheels was, for some time, only a thing talked of and desired. The people would not come at our call.

It is characteristic of Outram that he should have desired to show the Bheels at the outset, what our troops were willing and able to do, and to convince them that in no part of the country were they secure from the vengeance of the British Government. He longed to attack them on their own hills; and he soon found fitting opportunity

* In 1825.

With a handful of his old regiment he beat up their quarters, surprised a strong party just as they were about to start on a marauding expedition, and scattered them like chaff. A cry was raised that the red-coats were upon them, and the Bheels were soon in panic flight. A few were killed; but far more important, a few were captured, and the prisoners, whom Outram had taken in their own mountain homes, enabled him to lay the foundation of his corps.

Releasing some of his captives, and despatching them with friendly messages and offers of employment to their relatives, he contrived to draw the people to his tent, and soon effected an intercourse with some of their leaders. With them he went about, freely and fearlessly, in their jungles. He listened to their stories; he joined in their pastimes; he feasted them when they were well, and doctored them when they were ill; in his own words, he "won their hearts by copious libations of brandy, and their confidence by living unguarded among them;" and it might have been added, their admiration, too, by proving how bold a hunter he was. Keen sportsmen themselves—trusting often to the chase for their daily food—with something of religious faith in the accidents of the field, these wild heathens looked with wonder on the exploits of the Christian Nimrod, and recognised a mighty spirit in him.* It did not seem that he had come among them

* I am no sportsman myself, but I can appreciate all developments of manliness, and I know that the fine sportsman-like qualities of the English have done much to raise them in the estimation of all the harder Indian tribes. It is not difficult to imagine the effect which such prowess must have had upon the Bheels, especially when we learn that during Outram's connexion with the corps, he and his comrades killed 355 tigers; 18 panthers; 42 bears; 19 wild buffaloes; and numerous hogs, deer, and other smaller game. Among a number of papers re-

lating to Bheel civilisation, I have chanced upon a memorandum by Col. Outram, containing the following curious anecdote relative to the superstitions of the chase, to which I have made allusion in the text. "The Bheels," he says, "have the belief that those who slay a tiger maintain power over that animal in the next world; but that those slain by a tiger are rendered hereafter subservient to the animal. On the occasion when Cundoo Havildar was mortally wounded, he implored me to hasten to kill the tiger, whilst he was yet alive, saying that as

as an enemy, but as a friend and a companion. He was himself, indeed, one of them ; and they felt unconstrained in his presence.

And recruits came in at last—slowly at the outset, it is true ; but there was no fear of ultimate success when the beginning had once been made. His muster-roll, at first, contained the names of only five men ; but the number had soon swollen to twenty-five, and a few months afterwards had risen to a hundred. And in spite of temporary hindrances—in spite of the occasional recurrence of their old fears and suspicions, and the false reports of evil men,* the Bheel corps, once doubted and despaired of, became a substantial fact. Outram brought his wild recruits into familiar contact with high-caste Sepoys of his own regular corps—Brahmins and Rajpoots—and the conciliatory manners of the old soldiers, who conversed freely with them as comrades, and courteously presented them with beetle-nut, went far to rivet the confidence which the bold, frank manner of their young leader had engendered within them. And soon did they settle down into orderly subjects

he had marked the animal down, and left scouts to watch him, its death would be attributable to him, and he might then die in peace. I succeeded in slaying the monster, and hastened to assure Cundoo of the fact. He was just dying when I went to him, but had sense left to understand and express his satisfaction, immediately after which he expired. Several gentlemen witnessed my interviews with the poor Bheel before and after the death of the tiger, and were much affected by the anxiety he expressed at the former time, and the satisfaction and resignation he evinced at the latter. On all occasions of danger the Bheels displayed astonishing presence of mind and *pluck*; and almost invariably when in tracking a tiger they suddenly came upon the animal, they caused him to slink off, from the bold front they maintained. Whether the Bheel singly became opposed to a tiger, or several were together, he never thought of turning or running, but caused the brute to walk

off instead, by literally staring him out of countenance. Often in critical moments when hunting on foot has a tiger been turned from me by my faithful Bheels; and on one occasion when a panther had got me down, they killed him with their swords, when rolling with me on the ground, with my head in his mouth."—[*MS. Records.*]

* "They were told at one time by the evil-disposed, that the object was to link them in a line like galley slaves, and to extirpate their race; and for a long time there was a fear existing in the minds of most that this assembly or corps were merely drawn together to be destroyed. At the very place where the head-quarters had been fixed, Dhurmgaun, there had been a most cruel and treacherous massacre of those people under the former Government. This strengthened their suspicions."—[*Report on the Bheels of Candeish, by George Giberne, Esq., Collector, 1828, MS. Records.*]

and good soldiers—learning the English drill system with diligence and attention, and keeping all their old bad propensities in control. So peaceful was their bearing, that it was soon officially reported that, for many miles around the neighbourhood where they were encamped, no excesses had for some time been committed by the Bheels. Indeed, they not only reformed themselves, but helped to reform the manners of their brethren, and began to exercise very efficiently the duties of a military police. A year after the first attempt to establish the corps, Outram wrote to Mr. Bax, collector of Candeish: “I believe there is no offender at large now within many miles of my headquarters, and no robbery is ever now heard of within thirty miles of it; and I trust that in the course of a short time the beneficial influence of the corps will extend over the whole province.”*

In the mean while our civil officers in Candeish were exerting themselves to bring other remedial measures to bear upon the reformation of the offending Bheels. Several European officers, under the denomination of Bheel Agents, were appointed to aid the Candeish collector in carrying out this good work. They were instructed, by every means in their power, “to preserve the peace of the country; to ameliorate the condition of the Bheels; to keep a watchful eye of superintendence over those in the range committed to their charge; to inspire them with confidence in the Government; to encourage them to turn their attention to industrious pursuits; to be careful that those on whom pensions were conferred were duly paid; to attend to and redress their complaints against each other, as well as against other classes—under certain circumstances pointing out the means of redress against other classes; to act as arbitrators when the parties mutually agreed; to apprehend offenders and commit them for trial, if of a serious nature—if otherwise, to inflict such punishment as might

* *Lieutenant Outram to Mr. Bax, July 1, 1826. MS. Records.*

be customary among themselves ; and if advisable, a punchayut of their own tribe might be resorted to ; and, lastly, to superintend such military operations as might be considered necessary to reduce to order any tribes or bands committing depredations." "To superintend the Bheels," it was added, "the agents should call upon them to give an account of the manner in which they obtain their livelihood ; to restrict them from assembling in masses ; to prevent them from quitting their regular places of abode without intimation of the same, and to check all assemblage in hutties under any pretence whatever. Security should be taken from all against whom strong suspicions are entertained, and in failure thereof the agents are called upon to report all the circumstances of each case to the collector. The agents, to a certain extent, should reward meritorious conduct in aiding the police, or for remarkable industry—such rewards as land, rent-free for a given time, a bullock or plough, or other implements of husbandry or grain, &c., might be given ; they should call on the Potails for correct returns of all the Bheels in their range of the mode by which they subsist ; and when not adequately provided for, should recommend land and "tuccavee" to be given. The Potails should be encouraged to assist in promoting these objects ; and on their distinguishing themselves it should be reported, &c., and marks of approbation should be bestowed."*

Such substantially, stated in official language, were the measures by which it was hoped the reformation of the erring Bheels might now be accomplished. And all this was to be done mainly, as Outram had done his work, by mixing familiarly with the people—by disarming them of their suspicions—by showing that we were really their friends. The great thing was to convert them, if it were possible, into an agricultural population—to convince them that there were better modes of earning a subsistence than

* *Report on the Bheels of Candeish, by George Giberne, Esq., Doolea Collector, 1828.*

by ravaging the country and plundering their neighbours; and to give them every facility for entering advantageously upon their new avocations. Immunity was, therefore, granted for past offences, with written engagements to this effect. At the same time grants of land for cultivation were given to them, under the signature of the Bheel agents, and formally recorded.* And soon a number of peaceful little colonies were established, and a number of ploughs were at work.

The foundation of these Bheel settlements was laid by Mr. Graham, then assistant to the Candeish collector, in whose hands was the charge of the Agency until the autumn of 1825, when it devolved on Major Ovens, whose name has since become especially identified with these measures. The experiment was at first considered a hopeless one; and, doubtless, the difficulties in the way of its success are not easily to be exaggerated. But the might of mildness was everywhere triumphant. One by one the chiefs† were induced to present themselves at the Agency, to receive their grants of land, their written engagements with the Bheel agent, and, perhaps, the advance of money or farm-stock, which was necessary to enable them at once to commence their operations. Many kindly influences were set at work to secure the adhesion of these men to the great reformatory scheme. "The Bheel," wrote Major Ovens, in a very able report of these proceedings, submitted to

* The following is a translation of one of these engagements:

"To — Bheel, of the village of —, Pergunnah, —.

"You have lived in the hills, and plundered the roads and country of the Sirkar, and committed thefts and various crimes; now you are prevented and have petitioned the Sirkar that if pardoned you will not again offend, and that if Tuccavee be given to you you will cultivate and thus earn a subsistence; on this your prayer has been considered, and the Sirkar has shown favor to you, and has this once pardoned your past crimes, and has given you for your support Tuccavee and land to

cultivate, and this Kowl is written and presented to you that you may remain in your village and cultivate, and thus gain your livelihood. After this, if you again commit any offence, your former crimes will not be considered as forgiven, but you will have to answer both for them and the new crime.

(Signed) " —, Bheel Agent."

—[*Captain Graham's Historical Sketch.*]

† I use the word most familiar to the English reader. These head-men were known as "Naicks." The Bheels clustered together under the government of these men, and submitted themselves, in all things, to their guidance.

Sir John Malcolm, then Governor of Bombay, "is wonderfully susceptible of being worked upon by kind and liberal treatment. By attention to his little wants and petitions — by a present to his women, and by showing that you take an interest in him and his affairs, anything may be done with him. The true secret, however, of the power we now possess over the minds of this wild people is, that they feel themselves secure in the faith of our 'kowls' (engagements). This they never did before; and it is owing to this implicit reliance on the sanctity of our word that they submitted themselves so readily, and have re-established themselves so generally with their wives and children in the villages on the plains, where upwards of six hundred families are now settled at the plough alone."*

But although much reliance was to be placed on the good feelings of these poor people, it was hardly to be supposed that the erratic desires and habits of a life were to be rooted out in a few months. Ovans wisely determined, therefore, to surround the colonies with a cordon of mild restraint. He established a system of registration, whereby he was enabled to deal with the Bheels of the Agency each in his own individual distinctness. They were required never to leave their village, even for a day, without the permission of the Naicks or Potails; and if this rule was infringed the offence was at once reported at the Agency. A darogah, or police superintendent, was appointed to each talook, or division, whose duty it was to proceed from village to village, and to see that these regulations were enforced, whilst in every colony one of inferior rank was appointed to control and report upon the proceedings of the colonists.

Nor was the establishment of these colonies the only ameliorative measure which took shape under the hands of the Bheel agents. It was a great thing now to re-organise

* *Major Ovans to Sir John Malcolm, August, 1830. MS. Records.*

the police of the country, and to call the Bheels back again to their old profession of village watchmen. Indenting upon each village for the materials of this protective body, and providing for them the means of subsistence in such a manner as to warn them against the necessity of ever again resorting to their old predatory ways, he established an effective village police. In conformity with their ancient usages, he placed these men under the supervision of salaried superintendents, residing in their own villages, and entrusted with the preservation of the general peace of the district ; and nothing could have worked better than this organisation of Bheel police.

The good effect of these humanising measures was soon apparent. At the very commencement of 1829, the collector reported that the province was in the enjoyment of entire repose. "For upwards of five-and-twenty years," he wrote, "Candeish has been subject to regular organised bodies of Bheels headed by desperate leaders. The enormities committed by them have been so often stated that on the subject no remark is required. But how satisfactory it is to report that the past year is the first after this long period, during which not a single gang or leader of Bheels has existed. The liberality of Government—the anxiety and exertions of its agents towards the reform of this class, is now amply repaid. The same characters exist. Their evil propensities can certainly not be yet eradicated ; but the wise measures in force have corrected the one and checked the other."*

From this time the civilisation of the Bheels, under the superintendence of our English officers, a mixed agency of soldiers and civilians, proceeded rapidly to its consummation. Occasional local outbreaks showed that in parts which our influence had not yet reached, the natural character of the Bheels remained unchanged ; but even these grew more and more rare, as our operations

* *Mr. Giberne's Police Report, January, 1829. MS. Records.*

proceeded, and the country which had once, across its whole length and breadth, been visited by continual fierce spasms of unrest, was soon lapped in general repose. "The districts," to use the comprehensive language of one of the ablest of the Bheel agents, "formerly the scene of every outrage, where neither life nor property were secure, now enjoyed tranquillity ; the roads formerly hazardous for the armed party, were traversed at all hours by single passengers, the formidable list of crimes had dwindled down to the report of a few petty thefts, and the Bheels, from outcasts, had become members of the society, daily rising in respectability and appearance, and becoming useful and obedient servants of the State. It was matter of astonishment to behold the rapid change produced by the liberal system of Government, in a race of miserable beings, who without a rag to cover their backs, and hardly a morsel of food to put into their mouths, had so shortly before sued for life and food from the foreigner, and were now fat and sleek and decently clad, living in their own huts, surrounded by swarms of healthy children, ploughing their own lands, and many in the honest possession of flocks and herds. . . . The Bheel now feels a relish for that industry which renders subsistence secure, and life peaceful and comfortable ; he unites with the Ryot in the cultivation of those fields which he once ravaged and laid waste, and protects the village, the traveller, and the property of Government, which were formerly the objects of his spoliation ; the extensive wilds which heretofore afforded him cover during his bloody expeditions, are now smiling with fruitful crops ; and population, industry and opulence, are progressing throughout the land."*

This was written towards the close of 1843. The language of the Bheel agent is not exaggerated. It reflects no more than the truth. Indeed, the whole is not yet

* *Captain Graham's Historical Sketch.*

told. If there were anything to qualify our admiration of the vigorous humanity of Colonel Dixon in the Mairwarra country, it is the fact that this able and benevolent administrator has thought less of educational measures than I should have expected or desired. There is no remedial agent like the schoolmaster. He was not forgotten in the Bheel country. Outram introduced him to his rude levies—and the civil officers soon dotted the province with schools. A new generation of Bheels is now springing up, among whom the lawlessness and violence of their tribes are mere traditions. A quarter of a century has passed since the work of civilisation commenced. The crooked ways have been made straight, and the rough places plain; and now a new race, trained to habits of peace and industry, are gradually replacing the old marauders who had been bred and nurtured in violence and wrong. There can be no fear now of a relapse. The schoolmaster has taken the young Bheel in hand; the life of an outlaw has no charms for him. He has been brought within the pale of civilised life; and he is well contented to abide there.

I need hardly say that such measures as these received the earnest support and warm encouragement of the Company. The Court of Directors had from the first recommended the adoption of kindly, conciliatory measures towards the erring Bheels, believing that they were not irreclaimable; and in April, 1835, they wrote out to the Bombay Government to express their hearty, unqualified approbation of what had been done. "From the period," they wrote, "when measures of severity were abandoned and conciliatory means resorted to, the rapine and disorder which had prevailed for years previously without any sensible diminution, and in spite of the strongest efforts for their suppression, almost immediately ceased, and the admirable conduct of the officers to whom the immediate executive duties were confided, especially of Major Ovans

and Lieutenant Outram, has been the means of effecting a complete change in the habits of the Bheel tribes. They have universally abandoned their predatory habits; they are now a prosperous agricultural community; from among them a corps has been formed, which has attained so high a state of discipline and efficiency that to its protection the tranquillity of the country is now in a great degree confided; and by its means a degree of security both of person and of property appears to be maintained, which is scarcely excelled in any part of India.

"This signal instance," continue the Court, "of what we have so often impressed upon you—the superior efficacy of conciliatory means in reducing uncivilised and predatory tribes to order and obedience—is one of the most gratifying events in the recent History of British India; and we trust that the success of your measures will impress upon our Indian Governments the policy, as well as the humanity, of pursuing the same course in all similar cases. This wise and benevolent policy was first adopted by the late Mr. Cleveland in the district of Bhaugulpore, some fifty years ago, and was attended with singular success in reclaiming the Hill people of that district from a state of the utmost barbarism; and the memory of that excellent officer is, we understand, held in reverence, even at the present day, by the rude tribes that inhabit the hills as well as by the inhabitants of the more civilised portion of the district."*

* *MS. Records*.—Although I have incidentally mentioned the name of Cleveland in connexion with this great subject of the civilisation of savage tribes, I cannot help experiencing a feeling of shame and self-reproach as I read this affectionate notice of his labors in the above letter of the Court of Directors. I have been anxious, for the most part, to draw my illustrations from more recent history; but the good deeds of one, who at the early age of twenty-eight had done so much to reclaim the savage people by whom he was surrounded,

deserves prominent notice in such a volume as this. Even now I may do something to repair the omission. The history of the civilisation of the Hill people of Bhaugulpore is well sketched in an early volume of the *Asiatic Researches*, from which I may not disadvantageously exhumate it:

"Colonel Brown, in his account of these hills, forwarded to Government in 1779, observes that it was about fifteen years since the Hill people had any government among themselves of a general nature, during which period they had become dangerous and troublesome

I trust that these pictures will not be thrown away. They are to be pondered over thoughtfully, and I would

to the Low Country, that their ravages had been the more violent, as they were stimulated by hatred against the Zemindars, for having cut off several of their chiefs by treachery. The colonel might have added, that during that interregnum or dissolution of government, it was a common practice for the Zemindars on the skirts of the hills to invite the chiefs in their vicinity with their adherents to descend and plunder the neighbouring Zemindarees, for which, and for the passage through their lands, the mountaineers divided the booty with them; thus, at one time, from repeated acts of treachery in the Zemindars, the mountaineers were provoked to take ample vengeance on them and their unhappy Ryots; and at other times, from their engaging the chiefs to make predatory incursions, to which they were strongly incited, no less from a desire of plundering their more opulent neighbours, than from the difficulty of obtaining salt and tobacco from the boats, all friendly intercourse was at a stand, the low country bordering on the hills was almost depopulated, and travellers could not pass with safety between Bhaugulpore and Furruckabad, nor could boats, without danger of being plundered, put to for the night on the south side of the Ganges between the before-named places. It was at this period of double treachery on the part of the Zemindars, and predatory hostilities on the part of the mountaineers (from which it may not be a strained inference, that the machinations of the former were in a great measure the cause of that necessity which compelled the latter to such frequent and fatal descents, when these public and private incendiaries were making large strides in ruining these once fertile districts), that Captain Brooke was stationed with a corps of light infantry to avert their utter destruction. On this duty it is well known that he acquitted himself with great credit, from his uncommon exertions and success in pursuing the unfortunate mountaineers into their hills, where numbers must have unavoidably fallen; for it became unquestionably necessary to impress them with a dreadful awe of our prowess; and in this harassing and

unpleasant warfare I have been well informed, by officers who were with Captain Brooke, that his gallant conduct could not be too much commended. He made them sensible of the inefficacy of opposing him in the field, and invited the chiefs to wait upon him, and negotiate, when he gave a feast to those who came in, and made them presents of turbans. But before any permanent establishment took place, he was succeeded in the command of the light infantry by Captain Brown, who made further progress in conciliating the minds of the discomfited mountaineers. He placed them on the road from Furruckabad, near Calgong, to protect the Dawks, on which duty they still continue.

"From this and other measures of his, Captain Brooke, and he, it will be allowed, laid the foundation for the most permanent and happy settlement concluded with the Hill Chiefs by the late Mr. Augustus Cleveland, that could possibly be attained: he was sensible from the rapine and decay of these districts, that the peaceable deportment of the mountaineers ought to be purchased; and while he was reconciling them to become subject to the British Government, he bestowed liberal presents, in money and clothes, to the chiefs, and to all the men and women who came down to him. Of his generosity they speak with gratitude; and for the blessings and benefit which they derive from the wise and judicious conditions which he granted, and which were confirmed by Government, I hope they will ever have reason to be thankful: as long as that Government lasts, the comforts and happiness which they derive from them must ever ensure their obedience. To engage their confidence, Mr. Cleveland, in the early part of his intercourse with the mountaineers, entertained all who offered their services as archers, and appointed many of the relations of the chiefs, officers; they were not (nor are they as rangers, though they very seldom now ask their discharges) bound to serve for any limited time; the corps, of course, constantly fluctuated, and was frequently, I understand, above a thousand strong: he clothed them, and in less than two years after they were formed,

hope benignantly, by those who affect to believe that our career in India has been one of continued spoliation and

from the confidence he had in their attachment and fidelity, obtained firearms for them, in the use of which, I may venture to observe, that they are expert, and have address; and I can also without hesitation assert, that they are capable of as high a degree of discipline as any native corps in the service; and I trust I shall have the happiness to prove this in due time. Exclusive of having thus employed so many of the mountaineers, Mr. Cleveland fixed the salary of ten rupees per month for each chief of a Tuppah, three rupees ditto for each of his Naibs, and two for the Maungy of each village, from which there shall be a man enrolled in the hill rangers; but from such as supply not a man, the inferior Maungy receives no monthly allowance. In consideration of these establishments, I understand the chiefs are not only responsible for the peaceable deportment of their own adherents, but bound to deliver over all delinquents and disturbers of the public peace within their own limits to the collector, to be tried by an assembly of the chiefs, either at Bhaugulpore or Rajamahall, as already related. It has ever been customary on these occasions to feast

the chiefs so assembled; when any report is to be made to the collector, it is the duty of a Naib to wait on him with it, should the chief be indisposed or otherwise prevented.

"From these happy and admirable arrangements, digested by Mr. Cleveland, whose name ought to be dear both to the natives of the hills and lowlands, the ease, comfort, and happiness of the former is ensured (for which they are grateful, and speak of him with reverential sorrow), and peace and safety secured to the latter; and if they have any goodness, they ought not to be less thankful. These solid and essential benefits are attended comparatively with but a trivial expense, and must ultimately be an advantage to Government. I have been led to say more on this subject than I intended; yet it may not be thought foreign to it to add, that the Aumlah and Zemindars erected a monument to the memory of Mr. Cleveland, nearly in the form of a pagoda, and that another was also erected at the expense of Government, by the order of the Honorable the Governor-General and Council; on which is the following inscription:

"To the memory of AUGUSTUS CLEVELAND, Esq.,
Late collector of the districts of Bhaugulpore and Rajamahall,
Who without bloodshed or the terror of authority,
Employing only the means of conciliation, confidence, and benevolence,
Attempted and accomplished
The entire subjection of the lawless and savage inhabitants of the
Jungleterry of Rajamahall,
Who had long infested the neighbouring lands by their predatory incursions,
Inspired them with a taste for the arts of civilised life,
And attached them to the British Government by a conquest over their minds;
The most permanent, as the most rational, mode of dominion.
The Governor-General and Council of Bengal,
In honor of his character, and for an example to others,
Have ordered this monument to be erected.
He departed this life on the 13th of January, 1784, aged 29."

Few of my readers, it is probable, are acquainted with the above, but few are not acquainted with Bishop Heber's delightful "Journal," in which there is a becoming notice of this "excellent young man."

Cleveland was the cousin and beloved friend of John Shore, who was

so afflicted by the intelligence of his death, that his health was severely injured by the blow. After a while he gave vent to his sorrow in verse, and an elaborate "monody" was the result. There is so little verse in this volume, that perhaps I shall be forgiven for extracting a few lines from the piece:

"Let History tell the deeds his wisdom plann'd,
His bloodless triumphs o'er a barbarous land,
Bright in his hand the sword of justice gleam'd,
But mercy from her eyes benignant beam'd—

oppression. A philosophical modern historian, in a work which is laid before me whilst I am writing these sheets—it is the first sentence of his book—has truthfully written, “There are many kinds of war and many degrees of heroic renown, but the highest praise is due to those who by their victorious arms have opened new scenes for the civilisation of mankind, and overcome barbarism in some important portion of the world.”* This overcoming of barbarism is very pleasant to write about. It seemed a very difficult thing to achieve in Mairwarra and Candeish, but English benevolence and English energy accomplished it at last; and the victory has been complete. The servants of the Company have reclaimed men whose savage propensities had been aggravated and seemingly perpetuated by the cruel discipline, the unscrupulous oppression of their native masters. Instead of endeavouring to extirpate, we endeavoured to civilise them. The good work was done. It was done by the personal energy—the fearless courage—the patience and charity of a very few English gentlemen hoping against hope, and finding possibilities in the impossible.

And mercy won the cause;—the savage band
 Forsook their haunts and bowed to his command;
 And where the warrior's arm in vain assail'd,
 His gentler skill o'er brutal force prevail'd—
 As some fond sire mistrusts his darling son,
 With fostering care he led wild nature on;
 And now, where Rapine mark'd the blood-stained field,
 The well-till'd glebes a smiling harvest yield;
 Now mended morals check the lust for spoil,
 And rising letters prove his generous toil.
 The traveller secure pursues his way,
 Nor dreads the ruffian ambush'd for his prey;
 And gaping savages with ravished eyes,
 See their lord's name in magic symbols rise.
 Humanity surveys her rights restored,
 And nations yield, subdued without a sword.”

I need hardly say that these lines are as applicable to the civilisation of the Mairs and the Bheels, as to the civilisation of the hill-people of Rajmahal.

* *Ranke's Civil Wars and Monarchy of France in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries. Translated by M. A. Garvey.*

CHAPTER III.

Operations in Goomsur—The Hill Tribes of Orissa—Religion of the Khonds—Prevalence of Human Sacrifice—Efforts for its Suppression—Captain Macpherson—His Measures and Success—Subsequent Efforts—General Results.

I CANNOT dismiss this subject without adducing another noble illustration of the truth with which I prefaced the last chapter. I have taken one example from Bengal, and another from Bombay. I now take a third from Madras.

In the district of Ganjam, which lies on the northern frontier of the Madras Presidency, is the Zemindarry of Goomsur. It was tributary to the British Government; and this relationship might have continued, but that the tribute was not paid, and, after a vain attempt to bring about an amicable arrangement, resort was had to a military force. Early in November, 1835, the British troops occupied Goomsur. The adherents of the Zemindar fired on our camp. Martial law was proclaimed. The forfeiture of the Zemindarry was declared. A reward was offered for the apprehension of the offending chief. And before long it became clear that we were about to be involved in an inglorious but difficult campaign.

The whole country, indeed, was now in a state of open rebellion. Favored by their local knowledge, the insurgents fired from their hills and jungles securely on our advancing troops. We warred against invisible enemies; and one invisible enemy greater than all the rest was striking down our people by scores. The pestilential climate was doing its sure work. Everything, indeed, was against us. We had not a friend in the district. The

people abandoned their homes at our approach. Nothing but forsaken fields and deserted huts greeted us as we advanced. No offer of reward—no threat of punishment—brought in adherents to our cause. It seemed altogether a hopeless, profitless adventure. We were being beaten by an enemy whom we could not reach, and perishing in a country which we could not hold.

The Zemindar fled to the hills. The Khond tribes received him with hospitality, and promised him their protection; but he was not suffered to live to see the redemption of their pledge. It seemed that we had hunted him to death; for in the first pause of the chase he laid himself down and died. Twenty years before, the ladies of his Zenana had been dishonored by a British force, and now, with his dying breath, the Goomsur chief, solemnly as in the presence of their gods, bound the tribes not to suffer the *capture* of his family,* in any event, by our advancing troops.

A detachment of British soldiers was sent forward to penetrate the mountain passes, and to secure possession of the family of the deceased. The attempt was, in the first instance, successful. The family of the Goomsur chief were seized; but the tribes, eager to redeem their pledge to the utmost, came down upon a party of our troops, who were escorting some members of the family, overwhelmed them in a difficult defile, and put to death seven ladies of the Zenana, to save them, as they believed, from threatened dishonor. Heavy chastisement descended upon the offending tribes; but they had partially redeemed their pledge.

There was then a lull in our operations. The pestilence which fell upon our troops compelled a season of inactivity. But with the cold weather the war was recommenced. A fresh force of all arms prepared to attack the tribes in their mountain homes. We demanded their unconditional

* Captain Macpherson's *Khond Report*. Calcutta, 1842.

submission. We demanded the surrender of their patriarchal chiefs. We demanded the betrayal of the officers of the Goomsur Zemindar, who had trusted themselves to the protection of the tribes. But they refused to bring either their guests or their patriarchs to the scaffold; and so our troops were let loose upon the land. I need not dwell upon the history of this "little war." I only wish to speak of its results. Here, on this chain of hills skirting the great province of Orissa, our English officers were first brought face to face with a new and a strange people. The tribes of whom I have spoken were the Khonds. Up to this time, the English had known nothing of the Khonds. And the Khonds had known nothing of the English. They had dwelt for nearly a century within a short distance of each other, but there had been no intercourse between them. Now, therefore, when the civilised white men, after the first excitement of war was over, began to inquire into the nature and habits of the heathen barbarians by whom they had been opposed, they found that they had been brought into contact with a people possessing religious creeds and rituals, national usages and social customs, utterly unlike any with which, in all their ethnological experience, they had ever made acquaintance before.

It was at first, to our unaided comprehension, something rather vague and astonishing than clear and intelligible. We only caught glimpses of what we desired to know. We had for a long time, indeed, only a dim perception of the religion of these strange people. Their external usages and ceremonials were speedily revealed to us, but it was only after the patient investigation of years, that we learnt all the articles of faith upon which these usages and ceremonials were based. And then it was mainly, if not wholly, to the laborious researches of one man—researches prompted by the best feelings of humanity, that

we were indebted for our knowledge of the inner life of the Khond tribes of the Orissan hills.

The officer of whom I speak, Lieutenant Charters Macpherson, of the Madras Army, during the Goomsur war, in 1836-37, had been employed in the survey of a part of the country at the foot of the hills; and being naturally a man of a thoughtful and inquiring nature, and of an energetic benevolence of the best kind, he no sooner obtained a little general outside knowledge of the peculiarities of the Khond tribes than he formed the determination of pushing his investigations far beneath the surface, and of mastering the whole subject of the religious and social life of the strange people who had awakened such a kindly interest within him.

Goomsur was subjugated—pacified—and the Khond tribes of that district became British subjects.* There were many other tribes who owed no allegiance to us, and with whom we had no intercourse. But it was enough for Macpherson to prosecute his inquiries among those with whom his official duties brought him into contact, and he spared no pains to acquaint himself intimately with all the peculiarities of this strange variety of mankind. One of the first things which had arrested his attention was the painful fact, that among these people the barbarous rite of human sacrifice was observed—that the tribes were in the habit of offering up to their deities living sacrifices purchased or bred for the purpose.† And it was mainly with the humane desire of rooting out these abominations that Macpherson now labored to render himself familiar with the social institutions of the Khonds, and with all the peculiarities of the dark faith

* Goomsur was exempted from subjection to the Regulations.

† It was not until some time afterwards that he discovered how female infanticide was with other Khond tribes,

as with some of the more civilised tribes of Central and Western India, a practice held in no dishonor, but generally observed by the heads of families as a matter of social convenience.

which either ordained or sanctioned such iniquities as these.

What this belief is may be briefly told. The Khonds are divided into two great sects. They have certain common articles of faith. They all believe that the Supreme Being, or God of Light, the source of all good, created for himself a consort, who became the Earth-Goddess, and was the source of all evil. The Supreme Being, the source of good, created the world and loved it; and the Earth-Goddess became jealous of God's people. Then she rebelled against the Supreme Being, and introduced moral and physical evil into the world, and from that time there was strife between the powers of Light and Darkness.

And so far this is the common faith of the Khond tribes. But here begin the divergences of sectarianism. The issue of this great strife between the powers of Light and Darkness is the grand subject of dispute between the two contending sects. The one believes that the God of Light utterly overcame the Earth-Goddess, and has ever since held her in thrall, employing her as the agent of his will—the instrument of his rule. The other holds that the Earth-Goddess is still unconquered; that she holds in her hands the balance of good and evil—that the destinies of man are under her control—and that whatever of happiness is vouchsafed to him is only by her sanction or concession, by the dispensation of blessings in her own gift, or the withdrawal of that antagonism which might prevent their emanation from the God of Light. And thus regarding the supremacy of the Earth-Goddess, they recognise the necessity of a propitiation, and they believe that, only by the worship of the power of Darkness, through the agency of human sacrifice, her favor can be purchased for the tribes.

Therefore, by this one great sect of the Khonds the abomination of human sacrifice is esteemed a sacred rite.

The atoning efficacy of the sacrificial blood is an article of faith among these barbarous people, cherished with as much solemn conviction as it has been by some of the most civilised nations of the world. It is necessarily a very lively, operative faith, one that can never exist in a state of semi-animation; it must be everything or nothing to a man. If he entertain it at all, it must be a part of his daily life. It must enter largely into all his worldly calculations. The health of his children, the state of his crops, the condition of his flocks and herds, his immunity from the ravages of wild beasts, from the assaults of his enemies, from the storm-blast and the lightning-stroke, all depend upon the observance of this one ceremonial rite. To neglect it is, in the belief of these people, to draw down upon them the anger of the Earth-Goddess, and with it all human ills. Of all superstitions it is the most enslaving; for it is based on fear, abject fear of immediate retribution. The worshipper of Tari Pennu, or the Earth-Goddess, dare not neglect the act of propitiation. All that he has is too immediately under her almighty control.

The Mexicans, before the Spanish invasion, sacrificed human victims by thousands and tens of thousands. The bloody oblations which they offered to their false gods are too stupendous in the recital for human credulity to entertain. And yet their extent is susceptible of proof. No such wholesale sacrifices as these ever defiled the country of the Khonds. The victims were comparatively few.* They were furnished by a regular class of procurers, who either supplied them to order, or raised them on speculation. They were bought, perhaps, from their parents in hard famine-times, or they were kidnapped on

* It was very difficult to ascertain the number of victims offered up every year—especially as many portions of the Khond country were unvisited by our officers. As far as I can arrive at

an approximative estimate, it may have been about 500 a year. But even this approximation I venture upon with great diffidence.

the plains ; or were perhaps the children of the procurers themselves. Devoted often in their childhood to the Earth-Goddess, they were suffered to grow up as consecrated, privileged beings, to marry wives, to hold lands, and flocks and herds, and other worldly goods—cherished and endowed by the community, for whom they were to die, and in spite of the tremendous curse that overshadowed them, leading happy lives to the last.

It would seem that these human sacrifices were of two kinds. Principally they assumed an associative character ; they were the joint offerings of certain tribes or villages on the occasion of their public festivals. But sometimes they were individual—exclusive—intended to avert the wrath of the Earth-Goddess, when there was special reason to believe that it had been awakened against a particular family, and could only be so averted.

“The periodical common sacrifices,” says Captain Macpherson, “are generally so arranged by tribes and divisions of tribes, that each head of a family is enabled, at least once a year, to procure a shred of flesh for his fields, and usually about the time when his chief crop is laid down.” In the protective virtue of this shred of human flesh the worshipper of the Earth-Goddess had unbounded faith. A representative of each tribe or village was sent to the place of sacrifice to obtain it, whilst his brethren at home, in rigid fast and solemn prayer, awaited his return. Bound to a stake, the victim received the first signal blow from the officiating priest, and then the crowd of attendant deputies rushed forward with their axes, completed the sacrifice, and tore the quivering flesh from the Meriah’s bones.* The human shred was then carefully wrapped in leaves, carried home to the village, laid on a cushion of grass in some public place, where the heads of families, attended by the priest, went out to give it solemn recep-

* This was the most generally received other modes of immolation. Sometimes ceremonial of sacrifice—but there were the victim was destroyed by a slow fire.

tion. Then the priest divided the sacred flesh into **two** parts—one of which he buried in the ground, whilst **the** other he subdivided into minute particles, and distributed among the attendant heads of families. A scene of **wild** excitement followed. There was shouting and holloaing—wrestling and fighting—heads were broken, and houses thrown down. This over, the recipient took his apportioned remnant of the sacrifice, and buried it in his favorite field. Then the people returned to their homes—ate, drank, and were merry. Three days of ritual observance followed; on the fourth, “they assembled at the place of sacrifice, slaughtered and feasted on a buffalo, and left its inedible portions as a gratification to the spirit of the Meriah.”*

Such is the history of these human sacrifices as ascertained and recorded, after much laborious inquiry, by Captain Macpherson. But, long before we had this amount of knowledge to base our remedial measures upon, our English officers had been endeavouring to root out the horrid custom from the hill districts under our rule. As early as 1836, the broad fact had been announced by Mr. Russel; and it was afterwards ascertained that other Khond tribes were in the habit of murdering their female children, in their infancy, purely as a matter of family convenience. Indeed, among some of the tribes, save in the case when a woman's first child was a girl, no single female infant was spared.† These were lamentable facts, which early arrested the attention of the British authorities, but until the Zemindarry had been formally resumed and the settlement of the country commenced, it was not probable that our consideration of the remedial measures to be adopted should take any definite shape.

* *Macpherson's Account of the Religion of the Khonds in Orissa. Transactions of the Asiatic Society.*—At the place of sacrifice there were three days of feasting, attended with much sensual license.

† “Villages,” says Captain Macpherson, “containing a hundred houses, may be seen without a single female child.”

But as soon as these objects had been attained, Mr. Russel began fairly to consider the "best mode of effecting the abolition of this barbarous custom." In an elaborate paper on the subject, he declared that he was "fully impressed with the belief that it can be accomplished only by slow and gradual means." He sincerely believed that "a law denouncing human sacrifices and providing for the punishment of persons engaged therein would, as a general measure, prove abortive, and involve a compromise of character which should not be hazarded." "In my judgment," he added, "our aim should be to improve to the utmost our intercourse with the tribes nearest to us, with the view to civilise and enlighten them, and so reclaim them from the savage practice, using our moral influence rather than our power."* In these views the Madras Government entirely concurred. Time and the contact of civilisation were to be left to do their slow work.

It does not, however, seem that this resolution was persevered in to the entire exclusion of all active efforts for the suppression of the practice. But the measures which from time to time were adopted seemed rather to attack incidental symptoms than to strike at the root of the evil. On one occasion, for example, Captain Campbell, assistant to the collector of Goomsur, ascended the ghauts, with a party of armed peons, just before the periodical season of sacrifice, and rescued a hundred victims. In 1838, Mr. Bannerman, the collector, went himself upon a tour of inspection among the Hill tribes, and determined to surprise a Khond village just as the people were preparing for the ceremony of the sacrifice. "The preparations for the ceremony," he wrote, "appeared to have been completed. The entrance to the hamlet, which was in the form of a square, had been newly fitted up with wickerworks, and in the centre, close to

* *MS. Records, quoted in the Calcutta Review.*

the rude village idol, had been erected a bamboo pole about forty feet high, on the top of which was an effigy in the shape of a bird, with peacock's feathers." This was the stake to which the wretched victim was to have been bound, previous to the sacrifice. "A young woman from the plains" had been prepared for immolation; but she was rescued by the British officer from her cruel fate. And subsequently seven other victims, concealed in different villages, were reluctantly given up to him. He attempted to reason with the chief people; but he found that their perceptions were somewhat clouded and obscured by the strong liquors which they had drunk, in anticipation of the murderous festival, and nothing came of the controversy. No new light broke in upon the mind of the benevolent British functionary; and on his return from this expedition he could only report that, sensible as he was of "the anxiety felt by Government to put a stop to the barbarous custom of sacrificing human victims," he could but "feel difficulty in proposing any practicable measure with the view of carrying its humane wishes into effect."*

There was a suggestion, however, in his report, which seemed worthy of all attention. I have said that the Meriah victims were supplied by a regular class of procurers. It had been decreed that no compassion should be shown to this abominable race of men. They were, therefore, when occasion offered, apprehended, and tried in our criminal courts. But it was not easy to satisfy all the formal requirements of these tribunals, and to substantiate, by a regular chain of recognisable evidence, as evidence is considered by such courts, the actual commission of the offence as set forth in the indictment. This had been the difficulty in the cases of Thuggee and of professional Dakoitee, and it had been found necessary to authorise a certain relaxation of the law for the purpose of checking

* *Report of Mr. Bannerman. MS. Records, quoted in the Calcutta Review.*

the progress of these crimes.* It was now suggested by Mr. Bannerman that a similar relaxation of the law should be authorised in the present instance, and that a regularly appointed officer should have the power of dealing summarily with persons charged with the offence of trafficking in human life. This measure had, I believe, the approbation of the Court of Directors. It seemed a good idea to strike terror into the minds of the procurers, and so to stop the inhuman traffic. But it does not seem that any special enactment emanated from the Legislature.

In fact, for some two or three years after these expeditions to the Hill country, great as was the desire of both the civil and military officers in the Goomsur country to suppress the barbarous practice, and praiseworthy as were their efforts, little or nothing of an effectual character was really done. Lord Elphinstone was at this time Governor of Madras. It must be recorded to his honor, that he was deeply interested in the painful subject, and that he addressed himself, in an earnest and enlightened spirit, to its consideration. In an elaborate minute on the subject, written in 1841, he acknowledged that hitherto our measures for the suppression of Meriah sacrifice had been attended with little success; and he recommended a more systematic and comprehensive scheme than any which had yet been tried—though some of its details had been previously recommended—embracing, *firstly*, the opening of routes and passes through the wild tracts inhabited by the Khond tribes; *secondly*, the encouraging of commercial intercourse between the hills and the plains by all available means, and the establishment of fairs and marts for that purpose; and *thirdly*, the raising of a semi-military police force from among the Hill men. And the better to carry out these objects, it was proposed that a special agent should be appointed, under the Commissioner

* See the chapters on *Thuggee and Dakoites*—ante, pp. 354—380.

of Goomsur, to proceed into the Khond country, to obtain the assistance of a petty Rajah on the other side of the Hills, towards the opening of the communication. This measure was sanctioned by the supreme Government; but when delivering their assent, they thought it necessary to issue a *caveat* to the effect that the Agent "should cautiously approach any inquisition into human sacrifices, and confine himself very closely to the immediate purposes of the Mission."

The officer to whom this Mission was entrusted was Captain Macpherson,* of whose first acquaintance with the Khond tribes I have already spoken. He had sent in an elaborate report upon the social and religious institutions of these strange people—indeed, had brought together a mass of information relating to them, which sufficed at once to indicate that there was no other officer in the service to whom this difficult and delicate work could be more advantageously entrusted. With characteristic earnestness he set about his work; but at every step as he advanced, formidable difficulties met the inquirer. They were very much the same difficulties as, in the Bheel country, had stared Outram and Ovans in the face. There was the extreme unhealthiness of the climate,† and the seemingly insuperable mistrust of the people. But Macpherson determined to brave the one, and to spare no effort to overcome the other. Sickness assailed him; his life was threatened, but he did not turn aside from his purpose. The people fled at his approach. The villages were deserted. But Macpherson did not despair. He halted; he waited; he did everything that could be done to assure the tribes; to prove that he was a man of

* Captain Macpherson, during the first exploring expedition, had suffered so severely in his health, that he was compelled to seek change of air at the Cape of Good Hope. He returned to Madras in the cold weather of 1840-41, when by the direction of Lord Elphin-

stone, he wrote the elaborate report which is the basis of our information respecting the manners and customs of the Khonds.

† In the space of twenty-eight days ninety per cent. of the attendants of the Mission were struck down by fever.

peace ; and to bring the fugitives back to their homes. And little by little he succeeded. In the neighbourhood of the white man's camp, the villagers who had fled at his approach, soon began to shake off their fears. It was plain that he had not come among them to destroy the people and desolate the country ; so they emerged from their protecting forests, and a few of them, doubtfully and mistrustfully at first, came unarmed to the British tents, and were received with encouragement and kindness. Then others, who had been anxiously awaiting the results of the experiment, cautiously crept forward, and were in turn encouraged and assured. And then Macpherson moved forward into the hills ; halted again ; and again the people came around him ; until hostile tribes contended for his favor, and what he sought lay within his reach.* He learnt from the Khonds themselves what were their social institutions, and he learnt—but with greater difficulty, and often longer delay—what was their religious belief.

From any direct interference with the practice of human sacrifice, Macpherson was at this time precluded by the nature of his instructions. But he cautiously felt the ground before him, and spared no pains to ascertain the state of feeling among the Khond patriarchs regarding the wishes and intentions of the British Government. And this much he soon ascertained. “ Two general impressions prevailed among them. The first was, that the Government was indifferent to the sacrifice. This view was founded upon the fact, that no decisive and comprehensive measures had been adopted with respect to it, while partial interference had taken place. . . . The second was, that although Government certainly disap-

* The line of Macpherson's advance was between the tracts of country inhabited by the sacrificing and non-sacri-

ficing sects—among the latter of which female infanticide obtained.

proved and desired the abolition of the practice, it **was** conscious that it had no just right to interfere with it.*

It was plain that no spasmodic efforts for the suppression of the abominable rite could be attended with any general or permanent results. Macpherson did not, therefore, attempt to rescue any particular Khond victims. But he exerted himself to imbue the chiefs with a thorough knowledge of the views and wishes of the British Government; and he especially endeavoured to impress them with the conviction that our "designs were those of paternal benevolence alone." In this he was at least partially successful. He mixed familiarly and conversed freely with them. He made the men presents of cloth and tobacco, and gave them money to purchase liquor. At every station he distributed beads among the women, who received them with expressions of gratitude and delight. It was his object to conciliate them by every means in his power; and he soon made them believe that he had no hostile design in his visit to their mountain homes. He had no lack of argument, either, for their benefit, and perhaps he may have done something to shake their belief in the efficacy of human sacrifice.

As time advanced, it seemed to Macpherson that his prospects of success were beginning to brighten. In the month of June, 1842, "the two tribes of Goomsur, which were best known, most under influence and most accessible, freely and intelligently consented to place themselves in practical subjection to the British Government, on the condition of receiving its protection and justice." They "stipulated that Government should support them with its whole authority in making this diffident and trembling movement."† Nay, indeed, they sought more than this. Still clinging to the old belief in the retri-

* *Captain Macpherson to Mr. Bannerman, April, 1842. MS. Records.*

† The same to the same, September, 1843. *MS. Records.*

butory power of the Earth-Goddess, they demanded that they should have full permission to denounce to their gods the British Government in general, and certain of its servants in particular, as the grand authors of their apostacy, and so to render us the vicarious recipients of the divine wrath.

But although even such doubtful concessions had some encouragement in them, it did not seem that, until we could more securely establish our position and our influence as their rightful rulers and protectors, any permanent advantages would result from such uncertain demonstrations as these. "I conceive," said Captain Macpherson, "the establishment of distinct relations with these tribes as subjects, to be the necessary basis of the authority by which, combined with influences derived from every source within our power, we may hope to effect the suppression of the rite of sacrifice. The relations which I propose to establish are for the nearer tribes—submission to laws directly administered by us. For those more remote the practical acknowledgment of our supremacy."* This matter of the administration of justice among the Khonds was the great pivot upon which all Macpherson's measures subsequently turned. These strange Hill people had a wild unsatisfactory method of settling all disputes among themselves, and they were eager for the establishment of better ordered tribunals to which, in their difficulties, they might betake themselves for substantive justice. They saw at once, indeed, the advantages of this appeal to a power beyond the reach of all sinister influences, and they were glad to divest themselves of the undivided and unsupported responsibility which entailed upon them a world of difficulty and embarrassment, and often involved them in internecine strife.

* *Captain Macpherson to Mr. Bannerman, August, 1842. MS. Records.*

Macpherson undertook to preside over their judicial councils, and they hailed the offer with delight.*

It would have been something to see one of those primitive Khond Courts—Macpherson, under a tree, in a Khond village, sitting on a chair, with his chief people, native assistants and others, on their carpets on either side—the Khond chiefs sitting opposite, in tiers, three or four deep, according to their rank—the plaintiff and defendant volubly pleading each his own cause, and bringing in his several witnesses—and the fluctuating crowd of people in the background eagerly watching the proceedings, made up a picture as suggestive to the inner sense as it was striking to the outer. The case was stated. The witnesses were heard. Then the chiefs, one by one, were called upon to pronounce their opinions. And soundly and intelligently for the most part these opinions were pronounced. Then all having been heard, and notes of their several decisions taken, Macpherson proceeded to state what was the collective result. The judgment which he then pronounced was the judgment of the chiefs themselves; and they never doubted that the final decree of the Court was a correct exposition of their wishes.†

This great boon of pure and systematic justice worked mightily among them. “The result,” said Macpherson, “surpassed my expectations. A movement began which gradually acquired force and distinctness. The estimate formed by these tribes of the value of the justice dispensed, which relieved society from the accumulation of public and private questions by which it was distracted, was higher than I could have imagined, and the direct

* It was his especial object not to supersede their authority, but to associate himself with, and to support, the chiefs in the administration of justice, after their own fashion.

† The general proceedings of the

Court were carried on in the Khond language, but it was interpreted into Oores, through which dialect Macpherson always communicated with the Khonds.

authority, therefore, derived from its administration was great. But that justice was not less important, regarded as a means of subjecting the people to the influences best calculated to sway them. The adherents and the opponents of the religious change sought it alike. But none could sue for it without full exposure, in some measure, at the discretion of its dispensers, to all the general and personal influences which could be devised to promote the extension and confirmation of the movement.* And under these influences, after a little while, 124 victims were voluntarily given up to the British officer.

Nor was the assistance thus rendered to them in the administration of justice the only benefit which they derived from their close connexion with the British. Increased facilities of traffic with the Low Country were afforded to them. Hitherto they had been much exposed to the chicanery and extortion of the merchants and dealers on the plains. These wild mountaineers were no match for the astute traders of the more civilised districts,†

* *Captain Macpherson to Mr. Bannerman, September, 1843. MS. Records.*

The following illustration of the results of this administration of justice, taken from the letters of Macpherson's moonshee, Baba Khan, is worth reading, for more reasons than one:

"My master had not at all an inclination to punish those prisoners as those that steal in the Low Country, for these had thought that in plundering they only obeyed the Rajah's orders and the Deity's will. But if he had not done so, the sacrificing Khonds and those others who carried on thefts would not be in future afraid. The principal ringleader of these thieves could not be apprehended at first; but on hearing the punishment awarded to the prisoners, he came in most submissively of his own accord to my master, and prostrated himself at his feet, at full length, holding a bit of straw in his mouth, which is the general custom in surrendering to a superior, and begged my master's pardon and protection, and declared that 'the Khond country is now the Sircar's (British Government's), and that I cannot hide myself anywhere in its hills, and as the

Khonds having given over sacrificing victims, so will I give up robbery from this day, and will never commit thefts; and if there be any others that rob, he would bring them to my master.' Whereupon the poor fellow was pitied and forgiven. He has now reformed, and associates with the best of Khonds very honestly, subsisting himself entirely by work and traffic."—[*MS.*]

† The Hill people, however, laughed at the superior civilisation of the Low Country, and reasoned about it in a very amusing manner:

"The Khond witnesses who came to give their evidences against the prisoners lived in Lunjapilly, a village of Soondera Singh's, granted to him by Government. One morning on a sunshiny day, while Soondera Singh was coming in his palanquin to see my master with these Khonds, one of them remarked with astonishment and laughter, 'See! that palanquin was made in the Low Country; it is very beautiful, painted with colors, fixed with boards, lined with cloth, and iron fixed to it—how well it looks!' Another said, 'The senses of the Low Country people are not worth a cowry. How many men must

and when they came down from the hills to buy and sell, bringing their turmeric (it is the best that is sold in London) to market, and taking back in exchange scarlet cloths, brass pots, and other commodities in demand among them, they were generally overreached and defrauded. Especial protection was now given to their trade. They were enabled to buy and to sell on better terms than had ever been obtainable from their neighbours. Fairs were established for their especial advantage; and soon they found themselves in the enjoyment of such commercial prosperity as they had never even dreamt of before. This was something readily intelligible to the most obtuse, and appreciable by the most apathetic; and greatly it tended to strengthen and perpetuate British influence among the Khonds.

But these successes, great as they were, had some element of discouragement in them. And for a time, Macpherson was perplexed by new doubts and opposed by new difficulties. In spite of the pledges given, occasional sacrifices, from time to time, were consummated.* His authority was obviously insufficient for the full accomplishment of so great a work. Government had not declared themselves with sufficient distinctness, and there was an enemy in the way. One Sam Bissye,† a Hindoo here-

(it) have taken—how much trouble in making the palanquin! They felled wood, sawed it into planks, placed them together, and formed them into a palanquin—and then it is only comfortable for one individual—and great wastage of money, whilst on account of one person many suffer much labor. If that man were to walk and go, he would save his money and not give trouble to others. Is not this a wise business? If a quarter part of the money expended by Soondera Singh on that palanquin was spent on purchasing good meat and the marrow-bones of buffaloes for himself, and all was so consumed by him, it would give vast strength to his limbs, be palatable to his mouth, and fill his stomach for a long time to his heart's content. The

Low Country people have, I think, little sense." [*M.S. Correspondence of Baba Khan, Moonshiee.*]

* These, however, were very few. There was always a small recusant minority, who desired to practise the rite, against the wishes of the general body. But the tribes collectively never wavered, and their anger against the offending exceptions was great.

† It is not easy to describe the exact position of this man. He was a kind of agent or minister to the tribes, managing their internal affairs, and communicating, on their behalf, with foreign Courts. He was rich, clever, and of great personal influence. He had been set over the general body of the tribes by the British Commissioner, on our first settlement of the country.

ditary office-bearer, whose influence with the tribes had been diminished by Macpherson's ascendancy, was striving manfully to neutralise all the efforts of the English officer. He declared that the authorities, to whom Macpherson was subordinate, had sanctioned the continuation of the sacrifices; he promulgated a dangerous report to the effect that the British were about to tax the tribes; and for a time it seemed that the machinations of this man would arrest the onward progress of reform.

In spite of shattered health, the English officer set himself bravely to work to counteract the evil influence of the wily Hindoo. Watching his opportunity, he contrived to blacken the face of Sam Bissye in the eyes of the tribes, and to exercise his own authority in matters very dear to them, so as to increase his own influence over them, and to prove that the higher authorities were with him. In a little while the overthrow of Sam Bissye was complete. He was suspended from office, and seized as a criminal.*

* From the interesting letters written by Captain Macpherson's moonshee, I take a passage or two, illustrative of the evil machinations and the punishment of Sam Bissye. Of the former, the writer says: "Last season the old wolf-faced Sam Bissye summoned the Khonds, on whom he had engrafted nectarious (nefarious?) words, and told them 'Captain Macpherson has agreed with the Government to assess and raise taxes in the Khond country, for his own profit, when you give up the Meriah sacrifices; consequently he is now allowing you all very civilly. Should you, therefore, discontinue from sacrificing, the whole of us will be utterly ruined, and, also, it is very wrong to desist from our ancient rites. If you hearken to the advice of Captain Macpherson, at least perform the sacrifice in secret.' This season Sam Bissye was with Mr. B(annerman), the collector, while we were in the Hill country, and after our return he proceeded to his country and summoned all the Khonds, and told them that 'Mr. B. has given me permission to sacrifice six victims, and my whole body is affected with leprosy, on ac-

count of your having discontinued the sacrifice. Come and see; I am going to kill a sacrifice.' He gave them food, and liquor to drink, and asked a Mullick, a chief man in Rissinghur, a friend of his, whether he would kill a sacrifice now or not—that leave was granted by Mr. B. He replied: 'If you give me authority I will do it.' When Sam Bissye gave his consent a victim was sacrificed, and the flesh was taken away by the Khonds. A sacrifice was also executed at Rodunghia, but very secretly, and immediately buried. This is the way Sam Bissye is throwing severe obstacles in our way."

Another instance given in the same letters has double value, as an illustration, partly of Sam Bissye's influence—partly of the domestic history of these Meriah sacrifices. Such a complication of misfortunes as is here described might well have sent a wavering Khond back to his victim-medicine. "My master questioned Jeetoo Mullick. 'Why did you sacrifice?' He answered: 'My family were sick. A barn fell unawares on my wife, and she died; a tiger devoured my buffalo; and another woman died in childbirth; and I also

And for a while the tide of success was turned in his favor. In May, 1844, he was able officially to report to the Madras authorities: "I have the high satisfaction to state that the great season of sacrifice is past, and that there has been no apparent tendency to sacrifice, in any part of the Khond country of Goomsur."

So far as the Goomsur tribes were concerned, Macpherson's success was well-nigh complete. But now arose the great question of the extension to other tribes of these ameliorative measures. The sacrificing tribes were scattered over a portion of the Hill districts of Orissa partly under the Madras, and partly under the Bengal Presidency.* Macpherson's authority extended only to the former; and in the tracts subordinate to the Bengal Government, though efforts had been made to suppress the inhuman rite, they had not assumed a sustained

was dangerously ill.' Then Gunda Mullick told me, 'What are all these sufferings? Why not sacrifice a victim? I will go and take Sam Bissye's permission to offer one, as I have heard that he has got permission from the Sircar (British Government) to sacrifice victims?' Then I told Gunda M. that 'I have no victims to sacrifice, and am unable to go just now. You had better go for me.' Upon which Gunda M. said: 'You have a piece of land in Hodzogher, and I will procure you a victim for it; then sacrifice and get the better of your sickness.' Then Gunda M. went to Sam Bissye and related of Jetoo's ailment. Sam Bissye stated to him, that although the Sircar prevents you from sacrifice, do not you relinquish it, as that is the most precious medicine, and no other medicine is worth."

The moonahce, in another place, thus graphically relates, after his own fashion, the story of Sam Bissye's seizure:—"While my master sat on a chair, the Zemindarry Sherishtadar of the collector's cutcherry, the principal assistant agent's magistrate's moonshy, with Soondersing and myself of the assistant cutcherry, and several of the Sirdars and principal men of the villages, Ryots, Peons, &c., standing around, Sam Bissye came up with twenty Peon

attendants, brought a goat, some oranges and yams, to my master, and one rupee laid at his feet, and stood before him. My master then told Sam Bissye as follows: 'Government has sent orders to suspend you, and you are suspended from this day, and to be placed in confinement.' When Sam Bissye heard this, he stood as a post of wood, not uttering a single word, and all those present at that moment were motionless as a flock of sheep, flocked together in the evening. Awhile, after every one began to disperse, frightened in their minds as the same sheep, when a tiger gets into the flock and devours a large sheep out of it. The large-toothed like a jungle hog, Madara Poricha, who was always Sam Bissye's right arm, was also there; but weapons were taken from him, and he ordered into confinement, with Sam Bissye, because he was accused of robberies. When the Peons went to take them into confinement, Sam Bissye told the twenty Peons who came with him, 'Oh children, come!' But my master told him that he had nothing to do with them, nor they anything with him."—[*MS. Correspondence.*]

* And partly, it might be added, in the Nagpore territory.

character. So the Khonds argued among themselves that it was plain the Government had no very strong impressions on the subject of human sacrifice—that, indeed, their desires and intentions respecting the suppression of the practice were anything but clearly manifested, and that probably, after all, they cared little or nothing about the matter. The two Governments seemed not to be acting in concert with each other, if it were not indeed altogether the crotchet of a single inferior officer, whose acts would not be supported by the authorities above him. This was, indeed, a stumbling-block in the way of the movement; and Macpherson represented the difficulty to the Government. It was plain that if his labours were to be effectual, he should be invested with authority more extensive and more defined. Nor were his representations without avail. Early in 1845 he was appointed Agent to the supreme Government for the suppression of human sacrifice and infanticide in the Hill tracts of Orissa.

Macpherson's course was now comparatively easy. This authoritative manifestation at once convinced the tribes what was the will of the supreme Government. Armed, therefore, with these new powers, and surrounded by the prestige of authority, the Khond Agent stepped at once across the boundary and began to extend his effort to the tribes inhabiting the great district of Boad, under the Bengal Presidency. They had been watching with intense interest the progress of the great experiment that had been going on in Goomsur. Moved by a strong spirit of inquiry, they had crossed the border, attended the Goomsur councils, mixed familiarly with the proselytes, and received from them distinct ideas of the advantages of the relationship subsisting between them and the British Agent. The new light, indeed, had already broken in upon the mind of the Boad tribes. They not only understood the nature of the change, but they clearly saw its advantages. They saw how peaceful and prosperous the country had become, and how happily

their neighbours lived under the reformation. There was a great living argument, indeed, better than all theories and speculations, in support of the advocated change. The Goomsur tribes had ceased to defile their hands with the sacrificial blood of their fellow-creatures ; and yet there had been two unusually healthy seasons, and two unusually abundant harvests. Providence, in this, had wrought mightily for us. The Boad tribes viewed the result with wondering admiration. They called us Boora Pennu's people—the agents of the God of Light—and believed that superhuman power was in the hands of the people who had done such things. The wrath of the Earth-Goddess, it was clear, could not avail against us.

It was Macpherson's wont, I believe, in all his arguments with these poor people, to deal tenderly with the abomination of human sacrifice, rather as a religious error than as a great practical crime. He did not fail, indeed, to tell them that other nations had, at different periods of time, clung to a belief in the efficacy of human blood as a means of propitiation, but that as those nations had advanced in civilisation, they had abjured the false faith, and abandoned the pernicious practice. And he especially dwelt upon the fact that our own nation, once sunk in darkness and barbarism, had practised the unhallowed rite ; but that since we had abandoned and denounced it, we had become the kings of the earth. These arguments were now repeated to the Boad tribes, and listened to with marked respect.*

In the mean while, in the Goomsur country, the crown was set upon the great reformation, and a brilliant incident inaugurated the appointment of the Khond Agent. On a given day, the entire body of the Khond tribes prepared, in their several villages, publicly to perform a simultaneous ceremony of final abjuration of their murder-worship, and their adoption of the religion of the God of

* It is only fair, however, to say that the Khonds were by no means wanting in polemical adroitness, for they contended that it was not impossible that, by reason of their sacrifices, all the world had been saved.

Light. And now the tribes of the non-sacrificing sect really believed that the reformation was complete and permanent, and began to associate with them as brothers. They were no longer polluted by drinking the same water, and using the same fire; and they welcomed the erring ones, fully and unreservedly, into their own fold.

Then the Boad tribes, seeing how matters had progressed in the Goomsur country, prepared to follow the example of their neighbours. They declared, not that all along they had been in error—that their worship had been false—but that a change was now imposed upon them by the triumph of the God of Light. Taking, therefore, solemn farewell of the great distinctive doctrine of their sect, by a stupendous act of immolation, they slaughtered 120 victims, and with this valedictory offering to the Earth-Goddess, declared that they had turned their back upon her for ever.

Knowing that they were in this state of mind, Macpherson prepared to take advantage of it. But a new element of difficulty presented itself, and it needed some address to deal with it aright. The Rajah of Boad, a tributary chief of influence and authority over the tribes, looked askance at his operations. It was Macpherson's desire to ally the Rajah's power with his own, and when he went into the Boad country, the man promised to assist him with all the influence he possessed over the tribes. A meeting was then arranged between the Rajah and the British officer, in the presence of the assembled Khond chiefs. But sinister influences had been at work upon him; and when the time came, he was ready only with vague assurances and delusive protestations. He said that the tribes were opposed to the abandonment of a practice which had been observed by remote generations of their ancestors—that he could only so far overcome their obduracy as to induce them to give up a few victims—and he promised that some twenty Meriahs should be handed over to the British Agent. They were all, he said, of

whom he had distinct cognisance. Macpherson held in his hand an authenticated list of some hundreds of Boad victims, but the Rajah still continued to protest that he could do no more with the tribes.

So Macpherson appealed to the assembled Boad chiefs, who had heard the Rajah's declaration. He had brought with him some of the ablest and most zealous of his proselytes, and he now called upon the people of the other district to hear what the men from Goomsur had to say of the great change which had been effected. Well and earnestly the converts bore witness for the truth. Eloquent and striking were their enunciations. But the Boad chiefs declared that they needed not this evidence to convince them. They had crossed the border themselves, and seen with their own eyes the grand results of the reformation. They knew all that the Goomsur men advanced. They admitted, too, that the great oblation of which I have spoken was intended to be a final act of sacrifice, and they declared their willingness to surrender all the victims in their hands. And in the course of a few days a hundred and seventy were in Macpherson's camp.

In the mean while Macpherson had given the Boad tribes a specimen of the manner in which he assisted the Goomsur Khonds to settle their internal disputes. A day was spent in the investigation of a difficult case. And the adjudication was so satisfactory, that one of the staunchest of the opponents of the proposed reform cried, "Now we understand the magic by which the Goomsur Khonds have been gained."

Finding the Boad Khonds were in this satisfactory state of mind, and always desiring to practise as little interference as possible, Macpherson now prepared to withdraw across the border, and to leave the rest to be worked out by the Rajah. But it soon appeared that this man, wrought upon by evil advisers, was bringing all his secret influence to bear upon the counteraction of the Agent's designs. He spread that it was Macpherson's

intention first to disarm, then to tax them, and to reduce them to a general condition of servility identical with that of the Khonds of the plains. The horror of this loss of liberty was great. It was intended by the insidious circulation of the report, to incite the Khonds to rebellion; and by these, and similar representations, he induced them to demand back the victims they had surrendered. Victims no longer, for their atoning efficacy had been destroyed—their sacred character profaned—they were given up to the Rajah. The responsibility of their safety, and the onus of this retrograde movement, were thrown upon him; but, indeed, without this protection they would have been safe. There was no fear after this pollution of their being sent to the stake.

Fearing that he might be visited by the displeasure of the British Government, the Rajah now declared his willingness to co-operate zealously with Macpherson. But a storm was impending over the country. Rebellion was breaking out on both sides of him. The people were rising both in Ungool and in Goomsur. These movements were unconnected with the question of Meriah sacrifice; but it devolved upon Macpherson to superintend, in his political capacity, the operations which then became necessary. And here the inquirer, who up to this time has been intent on tracing only the beneficent measures of a British officer engaged in an honorable warfare, as the champion of civilisation and humanity, with barbarism, cruelty, and superstition, finds himself plunged at once into a sea of troubled controversy from which he hastens to extricate himself. The disturbances in Ungool and Goomsur brought new actors upon the scene. The political and military authorities came into collision. General Dyce, who commanded the troops, ordered Macpherson out of the country, and sent in a string of charges against him. Sir Herbert Maddock, who was then Deputy-Governor of Bengal, and President of the Council, dismissed Macpherson and all his assist-

ants, down to the lowest native servant of the Mission,* and with that his connexion with the Khonds, for whom he had done so much, was brought precipitately to a close.

I make no comment on these things. It is sufficient to state that one of the ablest of the Company's civil servants† was commissioned to inquire into the charges against Macpherson—the substance of which was that his maladministration had driven the people to rebellion, and was keeping it alive among the tribes—and that the result of the inquiry was a most honorable acquittal upon every charge. "Captain Macpherson," said the Governor-General in Council, "has, with a very little exception, cleared himself and his administration of all General Dyce's accusations;" and he would have taken an opportunity of evincing his undiminished confidence in Macpherson, had he not been compelled, by ill health, to return to Europe. That justice was rendered to the two assistants of the Khond Agency, Dr. Cadenhead‡

* It would seem, however, that Sir Herbert Maddock had resolved on Macpherson's removal before General Dyce's charges had been received.

† Mr. John Peter Grant.

‡ When, in 1844, Capt. Macpherson was driven by sickness from his post, Dr. John Cadenhead, of the Madras army, was appointed to act for him, and carried on the Khond work for above twelve months with entire success. At the close of the inquiry referred to, the supreme Government adopted the following estimate, formed by the Commissioner of Dr. Cadenhead's recent conduct and services:—"During the whole of this period of three months and a half, from the first outbreak in Gullery, he was constantly, in good health or in bad health, scouring these unwholesome jungles and hills, accompanying the troops in all their movements, and present with them in every action; . . . and my opinion of those proceedings is, that they were conducted with rare spirit and energy, and with great skill, and that they reflect great credit on the conductor of them."

Dr. Cadenhead was afterwards appointed principal assistant in the South-West frontier agency, and on the as-

sumption of the extensive Zemindarry of Sumbhulpore, was selected for the important and delicate task of bringing its rude and turbulent population under the immediate authority of the Government. That duty he executed so as to command the entire approbation of his official superiors, while, by his unceasing devotion to the interests of the people, alike in the lines of public and of private duty, he gained in an extraordinary degree their confidence and affection. Amongst his works of private benevolence may be noticed the institution of a school, which opened in April, 1850, with seven pupils, who soon increased to sixty, including youths of the highest families in the district. The system of tuition was that pursued by Dr. Duff, of Calcutta. On Dr. Cadenhead's death, the people of Sumbhulpore petitioned the Government to maintain the school. The Commissioner warmly seconded their petition, "not only for the direct good which would accrue from the permanent establishment of the school under Government patronage, but as a monument of the active and characteristic benevolence of the founder." The Government immediately apportioned the sum of 240*l.* per annum for its efficient maintenance.

and Lieutenant Pinkney, by immediately appointing them to offices of equal responsibility.

But although Macpherson had been removed from office, and soon after the conclusion of the investigation into his proceedings he was driven home by the warnings of a constitution shattered by long residence in the Khond country, the good that he had done lived after him. It does not seem that, during the disturbances which rent the country, his proselytes fell back into their old errors, and resorted to their old evil practices. The Khond agency survived, though Macpherson had been recalled ; and Colonel Campbell, who had long been employed in that part of the country, was appointed to fill his place. The good work is going on, under diminished difficulties, towards a prosperous conclusion. It was obviously, indeed, a work of which the beginning may almost be said to be also the middle and the end. The Khonds offered human sacrifices because they believed that in no other way they could propitiate the Earth-Goddess, and that their failure to lay these dreadful offerings at her feet would be visited with the infliction of the most terrible calamities to which humanity is exposed. The *premier pas* was everything in such a case. "The first operations," it is truly said by Colonel Campbell, "among a wild and strange people, always the most difficult and the most hazardous, having been successful, those of succeeding seasons, if the same principles are adhered to, are mere gleanings."* The sacrificing Khonds had made the terrible experiment, and yet the earth had yielded her increase with unwonted prodigality, and the pestilence, which walketh in the darkness, had never been so idle before. And the result was, that in the minds of all the intelligent men in the Khond districts—and the Khonds were by no means wanting in intelligence—the

* *Colonel Campbell to Supreme Government, April 10, 1852. MS. Records.*

omnipotence of *Tari Pennu*, the Earth-Goddess, sank down into a delusion and a sham.*

But although the way was smoothed by these initial successes for all subsequent efforts, the later operations in the Khond country ought not to be passed over with this brief incidental notice. Colonel Campbell, as I have said, has been carrying on, with undiminished success, the good work commenced by Macpherson. He has pushed on his inquiries and exerted his authority among tribes unvisited by his predecessor, and the result of each new visit to the hills, in succeeding cold seasons, has been a progressive diminution in the extent of the great crime. Tribe after tribe has yielded to the good influences of the Christian officer.† Victims have been brought in; pledges have been subscribed; and the promises which have been freely made have been faithfully performed. The last report of the Agent for the suppression of Meriah sacrifice contains the most cheering evidence of the progress of the good work; and it may reasonably be hoped that a few more years of continued activity, animated by the same humanity and intelligence, will see the utter extinction of

* The Court of Directors watched these proceedings with the greatest interest, and wrote out to recommend the same mild, conciliatory measures as Cleveland and Ovens had prosecuted with such good success. "We would recall to your recollection," they said, "the happy effects produced at a former period by the benevolent and judicious arrangements of Mr. Cleveland, the then Collector of Bhaugulpore, to effect the civilisation of the Hill tribes of that district, who bear a strong resemblance in many particulars to the barbarous tribes in the Goomsur country. Similar measures have also been successfully pursued to improve the condition of the various Bheel tribes in different parts of our territory."—[*Court's Letter*, June 16, 1847. *MS. Records*.]

† I must give at least one extract from Colonel Campbell's last report, in

illustration of the character of his proceedings and the difficulties which he has overcome. One of the tribes regarding his approach with fear and suspicion, "I used my best endeavours," he says, "for several days to undeceive these wild people, but they either did not comprehend me, or there was some underhand influence at work which I could not detect. After repeated threats and demonstrations, emboldened by the smallness of the force at my disposal and excited by liquor, about three hundred of them attacked my camp, shouting and yelling more like demons than men, supported by as many more, uttering cries of encouragement from the rocks and jungle which surrounded the camp, but a steady and resolute advance soon drove them off, a few shots over their heads, which did no harm, completed the rout, and we pursued them rapidly over the mountains till they

the barbarous rite throughout all the tracts of the Orissan hills.*

were lost in the jungle dells on the other side. The next day delegates arrived from the several villages of the confederation, and the day following, all came, made their submission, delivered up their Meriahs, entered into the usual agreement to forsake the sacrifice of human beings for ever; confidence was established, and my camp was crowded with our late foes, gazing with astonishment at all they saw. The whole population of the neighbouring Mootahs, including those of Chinna Kimeddy, were intensely watching the result of the struggle at Lumbragaum, the successful termination of which exercised a most favorable influence on the proceedings which followed in the large Mootah of Sirdapore."—[*M.S. Records.*]

* The following passage from Colonel

Campbell's report, touching upon the subject of the colonisation of the rescued Meriah victims, to whom grants of land were made by Government, will be read with considerable interest:—

"The several Meriah families settled as cultivators in Goomsur, are doing very well—about a third of the number (those originally established) have this year, for the first time, paid the rent of their land. From a third the full amount was collected; but remitted to support them till next harvest and for seed; and a third or more, recently settled, are maintained at the expense of the state. By the next harvest I anticipate that nearly all will be in a condition to support themselves."—[*Colonel Campbell to the Supreme Government, April 12, 1852. M.S. Records.*]

CHAPTER IV.

Suttee—Its Antiquity—Its Origin—General Features of the Practice—Its outward Manifestations—Suttee under the Moguls—Its frequency under British Rule—First idea of its Suppression—Lord Amherst—Lord William Bentinck—Opinions and Instructions of the Court of Directors—Views of the Company's Servants—Suppression of Suttee in the British Provinces—Our Efforts in the Native States.

IN the preceding chapters I have endeavoured to show the manner in which the energies and activities of British officers in India have been put forth for the civilisation of savage tribes inhabiting tracts of country brought under our rule, within comparatively recent periods of Indian history, and not subjected to the formal administrative system embraced by the Regulations. In continuation of this interesting inquiry, it is proposed to devote the two following chapters to the consideration of certain specific measures of the same humanising tendency, not confined to any particular tract of country—measures for the suppression of those abominations of cruelty and unrighteousness, engrafted upon the social institutions of the country, which generation after generation of priest-ridden Hindoos, in their ignorance and credulity, have practised.

Foremost among these abominations is the unholy custom of "Suttee," or widow-burning. Whence it came—what its origin, it is hard to say. Religious sanction it has none.* The great Hindoo lawgiver

* I have come to this conclusion after much consideration and inquiry. Mr. Ward, in his "Account of the Hindoos," quotes no less than eight texts from the Hindoo sacred writings in recommendation of the practice—one of

ordained it not. Constructively he legislated against it. All that can be said positively on the subject is, that it was an ancient custom handed down to the present generation of Hindoos, from remote periods centuries before Christ.

Little more is known about it than this. But many conjectures have been hazarded. It has been suggested by some that the custom was instituted to check an ill habit common among Hindoo wives, who were, it is said, addicted to the vice of poisoning their husbands. Others attribute it, in no small measure, to the selfishness of surviving relatives eager to possess themselves of the widow's share of the inheritance. Then, again, it is said to be only the unhappy result of the degradation to which the Hindoo widow is reduced—a cruel escape from the miseries of a more cruel existence. These are different shapes assumed by the expediency-side of the question. But more tolerant interpretations are not wanting; and charity sometimes assumes that it is an enthusiastic desire to win Heaven for her lord and for herself, that guides the Hindoo widow to the funeral pile of the departed.

Of course it has a traditional origin. Every atrocity and absurdity in Hindooism has some sort of traditional origin. It is said of Suttee, that on the demise of the mortal part of Brahma, his wives, inconsolable in their misery, determined not to survive him, and burnt themselves with his corpse—that the wives of the chief Rajahs and other great personages followed this heroic example—and that the early Brahmins gave currency to

which is from the *Rig-Veda*, and is thus translated—"O Fire, let these women with bodies anointed with clarified butter, eyes colored with stibium and void of tears enter thee, the parent of water, that they may not be separated from their husbands, but may be in union with excellent husbands, be sinless, and jewels among women."

Some high authorities, however, as Rammohun Roy, Colebrooke, and Wilson, deny that this is the correct interpretation of the text. The subject is of so much importance, in its practical relations to the question of Suttee-suppression in the native states, that I shall advert to it again in a note at the end of the chapter.

the doctrine, that the spirits of those heroines, then purged of their guilt, ceased from their transmigrations and entered into Paradise without further probation. Others of less note, encouraged by these promises, sought the privilege of dying in the same heroic style, and Suttee became engrafted on the customs of the Gentoos. But for all this, it can hardly be said that widow-burning was ever a national custom. At no time has the practice been so frequent as to constitute more than an exception to the general rule of self-preservation. Still, even in this exceptional state, it was something very horrible and deplorable in Christian eyes, and something to be suppressed, if suppression were possible, by a Christian government established in a heathen land.

But horrible and deplorable as was the practice, even a Christian writer may say, that there was often an unearthly grandeur in the bearing of the deluded woman, which filled the spectator with scarcely less of admiration than of pity. You saw a young woman—one, in our eyes, perhaps, little more than a child—ascend, with heavenly composure, the funeral pile of her husband, and with an unaltered countenance resign herself to a cruel death. You saw her calmly and gracefully performing the last offices due to the dead, and the last courtesies to the living; serenely decorating her person, as for a bridal, and in an unbroken voice repeating the formulas of prayer dictated by the un pitying priests; then walking with steady tread around the pyre, mounting it without a shudder of fear, and perishing without a murmur. No martyr, in the grand old times of Apostolic Christianity, died with a nobler fortitude, than often did these unhappy women, under the curse of a degrading superstition. But it was not always in this wise. Sometimes the miserable victim went feeble, trembling, in a state of pitiable reluctance, to the funeral pile, was forced upon the sacrificial faggots by the bamboos of the by-standers, and held

down among the flames, while the noise of the surrounding drums and the shouts of the spectators drowned the shrieks of the wretched woman, as the flames gathered closely and destroyingly around her.

There are not many of my readers who have not perused, in some volume of travels, or of ethnological research, a touching narrative of the self-immolation of a Hindoo widow. I have a pile of books before me, from any one of which I might take a fitting illustration ; but I do not know any better than the following, which is given in old Mr. Holwell's tracts. The incident here narrated occurred more than a century ago, "at the Company's factory in Cossimbazaar, in the time of Sir Francis Russell's chiefship." The author and several other gentlemen of the factory were present, and the details were written down at the time. "At five of the clock on the morning of the 4th of February, 1742-43," thus runs the story, "died Ram Chund Pundit, of the Mahratta tribe, aged twenty-eight years ; his widow (for he had but one wife), aged between seventeen and eighteen, as soon as he expired, disdaining to wait the time allowed her for reflection, immediately declared to the Brahmins and witnesses present her resolution to burn. As the family was of no small consideration in Cossimbazaar, and her relations left no argument to dissuade her from it, Lady Russell, with the tenderest humanity, sent her several messages to the same purpose ; the infant state of her children (two girls and a boy, the eldest not four years of age), and the terrors and pain of the death she sought, were painted to her in the strongest and most lively coloring. She was deaf to all. She gratefully thanked Lady Russell, and sent her word she had now nothing to live for, but recommended her children to her protection. When the torments of burning were urged *in terrorem* to her, she, with a resolved and calm countenance, put her finger into the fire, and held it

there a considerable time ; she then with one hand put fire in the palm of the other, sprinkled incense on it, and fumigated the Brahmins. The consideration of her children left destitute was again urged to her. She replied that 'He who made them would take care of them.' She was at last given to understand she should not be permitted to burn ; this for a short space seemed to give her deep affliction, but soon recollecting herself, she told them death was in her power, and that if she was not allowed to burn, according to the principles of her caste, she would starve herself. Her friends, finding her thus peremptory and resolved, were obliged at last to assent. The body of the deceased was carried down to the water's side early the following morning. The widow followed about ten o'clock, accompanied by three very principal Brahmins, her children, parents, and relations, and a numerous concourse of people. The order of leave for her burning did not arrive till after one o'clock, and it was then brought down by one of the Soubah's own officers, who had orders to see that she burnt voluntarily. The time they waited for the order was employed in praying with the Brahmins and washing in the Ganges. As soon as it arrived, she retired and stayed for the space of half an hour in the midst of her female relations, amongst whom was her mother. She then divested herself of her bracelets and other ornaments and tied them in a cloth, which hung like an apron before her, and was conducted by her female relations to one corner of the pile. On the pile was an arched arbor, formed of dry sticks, boughs, and leaves, open only at one end to admit her entrance. In this the body of the deceased was deposited, his head at the end opposite the opening. At the corner of the pile to which she had been conducted, the Brahmins had made a small fire, round which she and the three Brahmins sat for some minutes. One of them gave into

her hand a leaf of the bale-tree (the wood commonly consecrated to form part of the funeral pile), with sundry things on it, which she threw into the fire; one of the others gave her a second leaf, which she held over the flame, while he dropped three times some ghee on it, which melted and fell into the fire (these two operations were preparatory symbols of her approaching dissolution by fire); and whilst they were performing this, the third Brahmin read to her some portions of the *Aughtorrah Bhade*, and asked her some questions, to which she answered with a steady and serene countenance; but the noise was so great we could not understand what she said, although we were within a yard of her. These over, she was led with great solemnity three times round the pile, the Brahmins reading before her; when she came the third time to the small fire, she stopped, took her rings off her toes and fingers and put them to her other ornaments; here she took a solemn majestic leave of her children, parents, and relations; after which one of the Brahmins dipped a large wick of cotton in some ghee, and gave it ready lighted into her hand, and led her to the open side of the arbor. There all the Brahmins fell at her feet. After she had blessed them, they retired weeping. By two steps she ascended the pile and entered the arbor. On her entrance she made a profound reverence at the feet of the deceased, and advanced and seated herself by his head. She looked, in silent meditation, on his face for the space of a minute, then set fire to the arbor in three places. Observing that she had set fire to leeward, and that the flames blew from her; instantly seeing her error, she rose, set fire to windward, and resumed her station. Ensign Daniel, with his cane, separated the grass and leaves on the windward side, by which means we had a distinct view of her as she sat. With what dignity and undaunted a countenance she set fire to the pile the last time and

assumed her seat, can only be conceived, for words cannot convey a just idea of her. The pile being of combustible matters, the supporters of the roof were presently consumed and tumbled in upon her."

Simply and truthfully told, and with an authenticity of detail, abundantly corroborated by other narrators, this story may be taken as a fitting illustration of the unholy practice as it existed under the Mahomedan Governments, and for too many years under our own. But the account is less curious in itself than it is for the comments which accompany it—comments which exhibit the state of feeling among English gentlemen before the conquest of Bengal regarding a practice at once so dreadful and so absurd. "If we view," says Mr. Holwell, "these women in a just light, we shall think more candidly of them, and confess that they act upon heroic as well as upon rational and pious principles;" and then he proceeds to show how their "ideas are raised to a soothing degree of dignity befitting angelic beings." "Although these principles," he adds, "are in general so diametrically contrary to the prevailing spirit and genius of our fair countrywomen, who (from a happy train of education) in captivating amusements and dissipation find charms sufficient in this world to engage their wishes for a perpetual residence in it, yet we will depend upon their natural goodness of heart, generosity, and candor, that they will, in future, look on these, their Gentoo sisters of the creation, in a more favorable and consistent light than probably they have hitherto done; and not deem that action an infatuation which results from principle. Let them also recollect that their own history affords illustrious examples in both sexes of voluntary sacrifices by fire because they would not subscribe even to a different mode of professing the same faith." There was little hope for the suppression of Suttee, whilst the question was argued in this manner by the most intelli-

gent of the Company's servants. The practice, however, was not always so regarded as one based upon angelic principles to be respected by Christian men. Mr. Holwell himself admits that "there have been instances known when the victim has by Europeans been forcibly rescued from the pile. It is currently said and believed (how truly we will not aver) that the wife of Mr. Job Charnock was by him snatched from this sacrifice."

I have said that this practice of Suttee has never been anything more than an exceptional abomination. It never has been universal throughout India—never in any locality has it been general. "It never," says Elphinstone, "occurs to the south of the river Kishna; and under the Bombay presidency, including the former sovereignty of the Brahmin Peishwas, it amounts to thirty-two in a year. In the rest of the Deckan it is probably more rare."* Mr. Forbes, who lived during the greater part of his life in Western India, and mixed largely with the people, says that he never saw a Suttee. In Bengal and Hindostan Proper, it has been more common—I believe, that in no part of the country has the abomination flourished more than in the immediate neighbourhood of Calcutta.

Under the Mahomedan Governments the practice of Suttee seems at least to have been tolerated. Akbar, it is true, discountenanced it, and by something more effectual than empty words. His abhorrence of the cruel rite was expressed by an act of personal interference. On one occasion when other means had failed to save a doomed widow from the funeral pile, he rode out to the place of cremation and carried her off on his horse. But it does not seem that his successors exhibited any like noble in-

* Mr. Orme in one of the notes of his *Historical Fragments*, says:—"The Jesuits in Jarrie say that three hundred and seventy-five women burnt with the Naique of Tanjore, who died in 1602—

which we suppose to be the honest but enthusiastic credulity of missionaries lamenting the infernal state of the heathens they wished to convert."

stances of humanity. The Hindoos were compelled to obtain the permission of the Mahomedan officers before a widow proceeded to the sacrifice ; but this permission was never withheld. It seems, indeed, to have been a source of profit to the local authorities. The Mussulman governors had their pickings before the Brahmins came in for their share. It seems, however, that some compunctions bubbled up in the midst of their cupidity, or that they made a pretence of endeavouring to dissuade the wretched creature from burning herself, for Tavernier says, "The governor, finding that no persuasion will alter the woman's resolution, but more especially perceiving by the signs which his secretary makes him that he has received the coin, in a surly manner gives the woman leave, bidding the devil take her and all her kindred."

And, practically, for a great many years, it must be admitted, this was our own mode of dealing with the evil. We let the women burn according to their pleasure—or according to the pleasure of their friends—or according to the pleasure of the priesthood. Indeed, we officially recognised the right of these poor people to destroy themselves by issuing regulations against the compulsory performance of the ceremony. A circular order of the Nizamut Adawlut* of Bengal set forth the particular circumstances under which the performance of Suttee would be illegal in the British provinces, and so recognised its general legality. The result, as might be expected, was that the abomination steadily increased.†

* April 10, 1810. Mr. Harrington, in a minute, dated Feb. 18, 1827, says that Mr. H. Colebrooke prepared this order—but Mr. Colebrooke denied the charge, alleging that he was at the Cape when the order was issued.

† The Bombay Government, however, claimed credit for having acted with greater wisdom in this matter. "There is a marked difference," wrote Mr. Warden, in a council minute, "in

the policy pursued by the two Governments for the purpose of checking Suttee. The supreme Government has promulgated circular orders, containing as well a recognition of the ceremony as a prohibition against its compulsory performance. The Bombay Government has, on the contrary (except in the instance of the form in which the pile was to be constructed, and in respect to which I now regret

It appears by the Bengal returns for 1819, that 650 cases of Suttee were reported, of which 421 were said to have occurred in the Calcutta division alone. The latter number was 43 in excess of the gross amount reported throughout all the Bengal provinces in 1815. The reported increase, it was alleged, might be partly attributable to the greater vigilance of our officers. It might not have been, it was said, so much that more cases had occurred as that more cases had been detected. But making all due allowance for the result of the more energetic inquiries that were instituted, I fear it must still be admitted that the circular orders which had been issued in 1810,* with the humane intention of diminishing the extent of the evil, in reality tended to increase it. Mr. Courtenay Smith, one of the ablest and best judges who ever sat on the Indian bench, officially declared that these orders had "spread and confirmed the execrable usage." It is true that many offenders had been tried and punished for abetting the illegal, or irregular performance of the rite, but it was of little use to strike at accidental symptoms—to prune the offshoots and excrescences, whilst we were laying manure to the very root of the evil itself.

That it was a very grievous and intolerable evil—that the abomination was one to be deplored and execrated by all Christian men, need hardly be asserted in this place; but the Company's servants although, with one consent, they deplored and execrated, were not all of

that we interfered at all), kept the recognitionary principle of the law entirely in the background and prominently brought forward and enforced its prohibitory provisions. . . . The effects have been equally remarkable. It has gradually declined in the old and new provinces dependent on Bombay, but seems stationary under Bengal." It appears to me, however, that in prescribing a regulation pattern of funeral pile, the Bombay Government recognised the legality of the practice in the

clearest and most unmistakeable manner. Would they not have legalised murder if they had issued an order decreeing that the people should thenceforth only kill each other with regulation swords?

* April 10, 1810. See also circular orders of 29th April, 1813, January, 1815, 25th of June and 11th September, 1817. The police were instructed to ascertain that the ceremony was performed in conformity with the rules of the Shastre.

one opinion regarding the duty or the expediency of authoritative interference with a custom hallowed at least by time. Many doubted and wavered — were timid and irresolute—unwilling to take the initiative and recommend the withdrawal of the constructive sanction which had been given to the ceremonial murder of Hindoo women. But the Court of Directors had for some time been brooding over this painful subject—“the killing,” as they described it, “the killing (and that in the most horrid mode) of an individual at the desire of the party slain ;” a great movement had taken place among them and clearly perceiving their duty, as a Christian Government, they did not hesitate to declare their righteous convictions, and to endeavour to secure their practical enforcement. “It is undeniable,” they wrote, “that in tolerating the practice, under any regulations or restrictions whatsoever, you tolerate what you have virtually forbidden in those regulations, and afford the natives grounds for concluding that the practice of Suttee was to be excepted from their operation.”

They then proceeded to state the ground on which they believed that the toleration of the practice might be withdrawn. They urged—1stly. That Suttee is not founded on or enjoined by any Hindoo law, and is only recommended, not enjoined, by the Shastres ; and as to the law, it is, on the contrary, continually discouraged by their most eminent and venerated lawgiver, Menu, whose decree for the guidance of widows is thus translated by Sir W. Jones. “Let a widow emaciate her body by living voluntarily upon pine-flowers, roots, and fruits, and let her not when her lord is deceased even pronounce the name of another man. Let her continue until death forgetting all injuries, performing harsh duties, avoiding all sensual pleasure, and cheerfully practising the incomparable rules of virtue, which have been followed by such women as were devoted to one only husband,” &c.

2ndly. That other barbarous customs and unknown Hindoo practices had been prohibited without dangerous consequences—without even exciting disaffection or murmur. 3rdly. That the British Government having ceased to recognise the impunity of Brahmins without any evil consequences, there could be no ground for supposing that the abolition of Suttee would have an ill effect. 4thly. That there is a great difference of opinion on the subject of Suttee among the Hindoos—that it is discountenanced among the upper and educated classes—that in some districts it is unknown, and in others of rare occurrence. 5thly. That the practice was not permitted by the Foreign States when they held power and territory in India.

And lastly, say the Court, “which we think in itself conclusive of the practicability of abolishing the practice, or, at least, of the safety with which it might be prohibited, that in many instances it has been actually and effectually prevented from taking place, without exciting even a murmur, by either direct interference on the part of the local authority, or by refusal of permission, or by a procedure similar to that which was adopted by the criminal judge of the Zillah of Masulipatam as we have recently noticed.”

This was written in 1824. Lord Amherst was then Governor-General of India. There were some very able men around him, and there were, too, some very able men on the Sudder bench. The question now to be submitted to them, and to all the leading civil and political officers in the three presidencies, was one of the deepest interest and the most pressing importance. Called upon to express freely their opinions, they enunciated their views upon all its religious and legal, its social and political bearings; and never, perhaps before or since, has any question of Indian policy been so thoroughly sifted and so minutely explored. I can only afford to

give a few illustrations of the varied opinions which were recorded in response to the inquiries then instituted by the supreme Government.

Foremost among those who recorded a strong opinion in favor of the withdrawal of all authoritative sanction of the cruel rite was Mr. Courtenay Smith, one of the judges of the Sudder. "There would be no discontent," he wrote,* "no disturbance—no general disturbance, certainly, anywhere; and if any local and partial disturbance occurred it might be put down as easily as any breach of the peace. Our native military, were it necessary to call them in, would assist as readily on this as on any other occasion. . . . I sincerely hope that this foul stain will be removed from the Company's Government before its final expiration, supposed to be near at hand. . . . So long as having the power we want the will, or having the power and the will, we want the energy to abolish it, it may be fairly doubted whether we are *de jure* rulers of the country."

Mr. Alexander Ross, another judge of the Sudder—a man of a benevolent and thoughtful nature, whose quiet manner and retiring habits were the outer teguments of moral courage and resolution of a very high order, thus wrote with reference to the report which had been called for from the Nizamut Adawlut—"In the report on Suttee now to be submitted to Government, I think the Court should again urge its total abolition. . . . My opinion is that an enactment prohibiting the sacrifice of Suttee would be regarded by the native army with nearly total indifference, as the civil enactments of the Government generally are."

Another judge of the Sudder, Mr. R. H. Rattray, when called upon for his opinion, boldly declared that he recommended the authoritative suppression of Suttee, and was prepared personally to give effect to his recom-

* Nov 1, 1826.

mentation. "I would have," he wrote,* "a regulation prepared with a studied perspicuity, explaining in simple but forcible language the religious, the moral, and the legal grounds upon which this rite, abhorrent to God and man, could no longer be tolerated; and by this enactment I would abolish the sacrifice at once and for ever. I would not recommend for execution by others what I should shrink from or evade myself. If this danger be apprehended, and as an executive officer my personal services can aid this consummation so devoutly to be wished, I am as ready to support it as I am to urge the measure; but I maintain that nothing is necessary to its accomplishment but the expressed fiat of the ruling power."

But there were able and conscientious men in the Company's service at this time, who doubted the expediency of any comprehensive measure for the authoritative extinction of Suttee in the Company's domains. At the beginning of 1827, Mr. Butterworth Bayley, one of the most distinguished and experienced administrators in the country, drew up an elaborate minute, in which he recommended that experiments should be made in the first instance in the Non-Regulation Provinces. About the same time Mr. Harrington, who fully concurred in this suggestion, drew up a Regulation, declaring the inhuman practice of burning or burying alive the widows of deceased Hindoos, to be illegal and punishable by our criminal courts. He did not believe that the time had yet come when publicity could be given to such an order, but he submitted it for future consideration. About the same time Mr. C. B. Elliott, after expressing a very strong opinion regarding the iniquity and illegality of the custom, recommended that the experi-

* August 26, 1826.

ment of abolition should be made in the Ceded and Conquered Provinces, because the practice was comparatively rare in that part of the country, whilst it was rife in Bengal.

Upon a review of all the opinions that had been laid before him, Lord Amherst came to the mortifying conclusion that it would not be wise to authorise any direct interference with a hoary custom which the priesthood had an immediate interest in maintaining inviolate. It appeared to him that the wisest course would be to trust to the progress of education, and to leave Suttee to die a natural death. "I am not prepared," he wrote, in March, 1827, "to recommend an enactment prohibiting Suttees altogether. . . . I must frankly confess, though at the risk of being considered insensible to the enormity of the evil, that I am inclined to recommend our trusting to the progress now making in the diffusion of knowledge among the natives, for the gradual suppression of this detestable superstition. I cannot believe it possible that the burning or burying alive of widows will long survive the advancement which every year brings with it in useful and rational learning."

Nor did further consideration and further information induce him to modify this opinion. "The reports of our different officers," he wrote in the following year, "do not appear to me to point out any specific course short of absolute prohibition, by which this barbarous practice could be suddenly checked, or the number of victims very suddenly reduced. But I think there is reason to believe and expect that, except on the occurrence of some very general sickness, such as that which prevailed in the lower parts of Bengal in 1825, the progress of general instruction and the unostentatious exertions of our local officers

will produce the happy effect of a gradual diminution, and at no very distant period the final extinction of the barbarous rite of Suttee.”*

But the period of Lord Amherst's tenure of office was fast drawing to a close. Before the year in which this minute was written had expired, his successor was occupying the vice-regal chair. The high moral courage of Lord William Bentinck faced the abomination without shrinking. He knew that it was his duty, as a Christian statesman, to incur some risk with so great an object before him as the emancipation of the country from the cruel slavery which an interested priesthood had long riveted upon it. But he did not fling himself hastily and heedlessly into the good work. He advanced with energy, but with caution. He sought the opinions of all qualified to declare themselves with authority on the subject; and having weighed these opinions—many they were and most conflicting—he deliberately formed his own. One thing he knew, which greatly encouraged and sustained him. The Court of Directors had, some time before, spoken out in plain, unmistakeable language, clearly enunciating their views of this great question, and combating all the arguments that could be adduced against the abolition of the rite. The Governor-General, therefore, if he had not before leaving England received the instructions of the Court, or listened to their recommendations, knew that he would be supported by the home authorities if he struck a blow at the abomination. He did not needlessly protract his investigations, or hesitate when once he was in a position to decide. So before the year 1829 had worn to a close, an act was passed in the Council Chamber, prohibiting, under stringent penal enactments, the

* *Minute of Lord Amherst, April 10, 1828. Published Papers.*

practice of Suttee throughout the provinces subject to our rule. The importance of the measure induces me to give the Regulation entire :

A Regulation for declaring the practice of Suttee, or of burning or burying alive the widows of Hindoos, illegal, and punishable by the Criminal Courts. Passed by the Governor-General in Council on the 4th December, 1829.

The practice of Suttee, or of burning or burying alive the widows of Hindoos, is revolting to the feelings of human nature. It is nowhere enjoined by the religion of the Hindoos as an imperative duty; on the contrary, a life of piety and retirement on the part of the widow is more especially and preferably inculcated, and by a vast majority of people throughout India the practice is not kept up or observed. In some extensive districts it does not exist; in those in which it has been most frequent, it is notorious that in many instances acts of atrocity have been perpetrated which have been shocking to the Hindoos themselves, and in their eyes unlawful and wicked. The measures hitherto adopted to discourage and prevent such acts have failed of success, and the Governor-General in Council is deeply impressed with the conviction that the abuses in question cannot be effectually put an end to without abolishing the practice altogether. Actuated by these considerations, the Governor-General in Council—without intending to depart from one of the first and most important principles of the system of British government in India, that all classes of the people be secure in the observance of their religious usages, so long as that system can be adhered to without violation of the paramount dictates of justice and humanity—has deemed it right to establish the following rules, which are hereby enacted to be in force from the time of their promulgation throughout the territories immediately subject to the Presidency of Fort William.

I. The practice of Suttee, or of burning or burying alive the widows of Hindoos, is hereby declared illegal, and punishable by the Criminal Court.

II. First. All Zemindars, Talookdars, or other proprietors of land, whether Malguzaree or Lakheraj; all Sudder farmers and under-renters of land of every description; all dependent Talookdars: all Naibs, and other local agents; all native officers em-

ployed in the collection of the revenue and rents of lands on the part of the Government or the Courts of Wards; and all Munduls and other head men of villages, are hereby declared especially accountable for the immediate communication to the officers of the nearest police-station of any intended sacrifice of the nature described in the foregoing section, and any Zemindars, or other description of persons above noticed, to whom such responsibility is declared to attach, who may be convicted of wilfully neglecting or delaying to furnish the information above required, shall be liable to be fined by the magistrate in any sum not exceeding two hundred rupees, and in default of payment, to be confined for any period of imprisonment not exceeding six months.

Second. Immediately on receiving intelligence that the sacrifice declared illegal by this Regulation is likely to occur, the police Darogah shall either repair in person to the spot, or depute his Mohurrir or Jemadar, accompanied by one or more Burkundazes of the Hindoo religion; and it shall be the duty of the police-officers to announce to the persons assembled for the performance of the ceremony, that it is illegal, and to endeavour to prevail on them to disperse, explaining to them that in the event of their persisting in it, they will involve themselves in a crime, and become subject to punishment by the criminal courts. Should the parties assembled proceed, in defiance of these remonstrances, to carry the ceremony into effect, it shall be the duty of the police-officers to use all lawful means in their power to prevent the sacrifice taking place, and to apprehend the principal persons aiding and abetting in the performance of it; and in the event of the peace-officers being unable to apprehend them, they shall endeavour to ascertain their names and places of abode, and shall immediately communicate the whole of the particulars to the magistrate, or the joint magistrates, for his orders.

III. Should intelligence of a sacrifice, declared illegal by this Regulation, not reach the police-officers until after it shall have actually taken place, or should the sacrifice have been carried into effect before their arrival at the spot, they will nevertheless institute a full inquiry into the circumstances of the case, in like manner as on all other occasions of unnatural death, and report them for the information and orders of the magistrate to whom they may be subordinate.

IV. First. On the receipt of the reports required to be made

by the police Darogahs, under the provision of the foregoing section, the magistrate, or joint magistrates, of the jurisdiction in which the sacrifice may have taken place, shall inquire into the circumstances of the case, and shall adopt the necessary measures for bringing the parties concerned in promoting it to trial before the Court of Circuit.

Second. It is hereby declared, that after the promulgation of this regulation, all persons convicted of aiding and abetting in the sacrifice of a Hindoo widow, by burning or burying her alive, whether the sacrifice be voluntary on her part or not, shall be deemed guilty of culpable homicide, and shall be liable to punishment by fine or by imprisonment, or by both fine and imprisonment, at the discretion of the Court of Circuit, according to the nature and circumstances of the case, and the degree of guilt established against the offender; nor shall it be held to be any plea of justification that he or she was desired by the party sacrificed to assist in putting her to death.

Third. Persons committed to take their trial before the Court of Circuit for the offence above mentioned, shall be admitted to bail, or not, at the discretion of the magistrate, subject to the general rules in force in regard to the admission of bail.

V. It is further deemed necessary to declare, that nothing contained in this Regulation shall be construed to preclude the Court of Nizamut Adawlut from passing sentence of death on persons convicted of using violence or compulsion, or of having assisted in burning or burying alive a Hindoo widow, while laboring under a state of intoxication or stupefaction, or other cause impeding the exercise of her free will, when, from the aggravated nature of the offence proved against the prisoner, the Court may see no circumstances to render him or her a proper object of mercy.

The event justified the expectations of those who believed that no danger would result from the publication of this prohibitory enactment. It was a great experiment, and a successful one. Its success was fraught with a great lesson. The prime want of human governments is a want of faith. A bold policy is generally a successful one. It is always successful

when the boldness is the result of a strong determination to do what is right, and to leave secondary considerations to themselves. We have been continually conjuring up bugbears in the distance only to discover, upon a nearer approach, that they are the merest conceptions of the brain. If we could only believe the great truth, that a righteous policy is sure, in the end, to be a successful one, how much groundless alarm and unnecessary anxiety we should be spared in all our dealings with our fellows.

In our own provinces the work was now complete. The promulgation of the Act gave the death-blow to Suttee throughout the Company's dominions. But it still was a living reality in other parts of India, and had many homes in the Native States. The British Government knew well the existence of the evil under the rule of the native princes, but at first they rather desired its suppression than sought to suppress it by any direct exercise of their influence or authority. In these Native States we have always a staff of British political or diplomatic officers. In the internal administration of the country, they are expressly prohibited from interfering; but the influence of these representatives of the paramount power at the native Courts, though it may differ according to the personal character of the functionary himself, is in all cases very considerable. It is the influence partly of superior intelligence, partly of the weight of authority derived from the accident of his position. Without any direct interference, any open attempt to dictate or to control, he may, by friendly intercourse with the native officials, and a gentle insinuation of serviceable truths, quietly instil sound opinions, and bring about great reforms. To what extent this influence was exercised, during the few first years after the suppression of Suttee in the British

provinces, to induce our native allies to follow our example, I do not pretend to know. I believe, however, that little was done until about the year 1840, when a great movement seems to have been made in Western India and the Guicowar, and several princes of less note, prompted by our British officers, issued proclamations to their subjects prohibitory of Suttee.

But of all the efforts made in the Native States, that made in Rajpootana is the most noticeable, both on account of the obstacles to success, and the energy and adroitness with which they were overcome. In that part of India nothing of the kind had ever been attempted before. Colonel Sutherland, Political Agent in Rajpootana, one of the most distinguished Oriental diplomatists, a man of equal courage and humanity, had never conceived the idea of interfering with an ancient custom held in such high esteem by these sensitive people. It was supposed to be "against the principles of Government" to interfere with such things.

But there was one of his assistants, at that time in charge of our relations with the Jyepore state, who had long been brooding over the great iniquity, and thinking whether something could not be done at least to mitigate the evil. Major Ludlow had achieved great success in an effort to induce the states to co-operate in a measure tending to check the crime of female infanticide; and it occurred to him that, perhaps, his influence might be exerted with the same result to check the kindred abomination of Suttee. But he was obliged to tread warily in such a work—warily but very firmly. First of all, he won over the Finance Minister to his cause—and, through the Finance Minister he contrived to enlist the sympathies and stir the convictions of the High Priest. The arguments of the British officer told upon the sacerdotal mind, and in less than

six months he put forth a document, publicly declaring that the right of Suttee had no warrant in the Hindoo Scriptures.* Such a manifesto as this was not without its due effect on the minds of the Jyepore chiefs. The Council of Regency began to waver. Some of the small tributary states actually abjured the rite; then the Jyepore Government, on the 23rd of April, 1846, publicly declared the act illegal; and before the end of the year eleven out of the eighteen Rajpoot states had publicly renounced the rite. Other states subsequently gave in their adhesion. The most important recent adhesion is that of the Rajah of Joudhpore. Of the same clan (Rhatore) are the chiefs of Bekaneer and Kishengurh, who may be expected very soon to follow the example of Joudhpore.

* There is a very interesting record of Colonel Ludlow's measures in Rajpootana, in a recent article in the *Quarterly Review*, which has doubtless rendered them familiar to the public. I give the account of Ludlow's first step: "As an essential condition to success, and on pain of having his operations summarily suspended, Major Ludlow was compelled to work unseen. He determined, if possible, to induce two or three trustworthy and influential natives to undertake the cause; to ply them with the critical objection drawn from the older Scriptures; and by declaring his own resolution to remain neutral till public opinion had declared itself, to excite in them the ambition of taking the lead. He found a person admirably adapted to his purpose in the Financial Minister of the Court at which he was accredited. Seth Manick Chund belonged to a sect whose distaste for destruction in all its forms is singular even in the East. The Oswal tribe do not wilfully slay the meanest animal. . . . One result of this tenderness for life in every form is, that they disapprove of Suttee. To the Financial Minister, therefore, and to his own head Moonshee, Major Ludlow communicated all the arguments he thought likely to be of use; and thus charged, they betook themselves to the High Priest of Jyepore. . . . Warily,

and as if on their own account, they pressed this important dignitary with the omission of all mention of Suttee in the Code of Menu; with the inferential prohibition of the rite in the denunciations contained in that work against suicide; and with its promise to widows living chastely of eternal felicity with their husbands—whereas even the writings which countenanced the sacrifice, limited the duration of its recompense to the comparative bagatelle of forty-five millions of years. . . . Major Ludlow wound up these arguments by a shrewd appeal to national pride. Suttee (urged his emissaries), unwarranted by Menu, was the evident invention of some degenerate race, whose women were worthless, and whose widows, if they survived, would bring reproach on the memory of their lords. To such it might be left. The honor of Rajpoot husbands was in safer keeping, and the fair fame of their daughters was aspersed by the mere retention of so disgraceful a security. The High Priest received these representations with surprising candor. In less than six months he was induced to put forth a document, in which he adopted all the theological arguments, and declared authoritatively that the self-immolation of widows was less meritorious than their practising 'the living Suttee of chastity and devotion.'"

With the exception of Oodepore, the Rajpoot states, which are not yet ranged among the abolitionists, are, as regards position and influence, comparatively unimportant.

In distant parts of India, the good example was largely followed ; and before the end of 1847, the Governor-General, Lord Hardinge, announced that “ Suttee, Infanticide, and Slavery, are prohibited throughout the territory* forming the remotest Hindoo principality of India.”†

* Cashmere. A proclamation was issued by Golab Singh, declaring that Suttee, Slavery, and Infanticide, were “hateful to God and man,” and setting forth that if any persons were convicted of these crimes, the whole of their property should be confiscated, and they themselves imprisoned. Lord Hardinge published in the *Gazette* an abstract translation of this proclamation, and recited at the same time the names of other native chiefs who had pursued the same righteous line of policy. The members of the Bombay Government considered whether it would be expedient also to publish the names of the principal chiefs under that presidency who had suppressed the atrocities mentioned ; but Sir George Clerk declared his opinion that they did not like to be gazetted.

† In a note at the commencement of the chapter I said that I should refer

again to the alleged sanction given by the Rig Veda to the practice of Suttee. I had collected some authorities, from the writings of Colebrooke, Rammohun Roy, &c., but the attention of Professor Wilson has recently been drawn to the subject, and he has examined the doubtful texts. At all events, in a lecture delivered in January to the Asiatic Society, he thus settled the question, and I am quite satisfied with the settlement:—“It was scarcely to be expected that any warrant should be found for the burning of widows, as that practice is not enjoined by the lawgiver Menu, a later authority. One passage in the Rig, cited as authority, has been verified, but with a very unexpected result; for the only passage relating to widowhood inculcates the very reverse of self-immolation. In fact, it seems almost certain that they did not burn but bury their dead.”

CHAPTER V.

Infanticide—Varieties of the Crime—Love of Offspring among the Hindoos—Rajpoot Honor—Its Excesses—Causes of the prevalence of the Evil—Our First Remedial Efforts—Jonathan Duncan—Colonel Walker—Failure of our First Endeavours—Disparity of the Sexes—Renewed Attempts—Mr. Willoughby—Major Ludlow—Increased Success—Present State of Infanticide in India.

IN this Christian country it is to be feared that the dark crime of infanticide is painfully increasing amongst us. This much at least has been said of late by wise judges on the bench, and by earnest writers in the public journals; and the records of our criminal courts unhappily show that this is no imaginary complaint.* It is a grave fact, wretchedly significant of the state of morals amongst us. Still it is only a crime—incidental, exceptional. In some parts of India it has been, for many generations, a *custom*.

It is curious to contrast the causes of the crime in the two countries. A sagacious Rajpoot arguing the question with us, might, perhaps, point triumphantly to the circumstances which engender the crime in England, in justification of the custom which obtains among his own people. It is, he might say, in anticipation and prevention of those very circumstances that the dreadful practice has been instituted. But to demonstrate the fact is not to prove the justification.

* Mr. Raikes, in his very interesting volume of "Notes on the North-Western Provinces of India," says: "Infanticide is a world-wide crime. Except the land of our own Saxon forefathers, we can scarce name a country unstained by the blood of its infant children." Would to God that we were free from the stain!

In England infant life is secretly destroyed by unmarried females. In an agony of shame and terror a poor girl who has become a mother, but is not a wife, strangles or suffocates her illegitimate babe. In all probability she has been betrayed and deserted, and there is a male offender, of whom the law takes no cognizance, more guilty than the actual murderess. Still, it is the unchastity of the female that is the proximate cause of the crime. The Rajpoot assumes that unchastity is the necessary condition of unmarried life. And to preserve the purity of his daughters, and the honor of his family, he murders his female children a few hours after their birth.

Marriage, in both cases, is the remedy; but the difficulties in the way of its application are diametrically the reverse. In England, marriage is honorable; but celibacy is not disgraceful. In India, celibacy is disgraceful. An unmarried daughter is a reproach to her parents, and a reproach to herself.* Indeed, more or less, the birth of a daughter is always a calamity. It is a disappointment in the first instance, because to beget sons is glorious in the estimation of a Hindoo, and there cannot be too many born into his house. And it is a care to him afterwards, because marriage is a necessity, and the circle of suitability is narrowed by the exclusiveness of caste. The higher the social degree of the family, the greater the difficulty. In England infanticide is peculiar to the lower orders; in India it is peculiar to the higher. In England it is the activity of degradation; in India the activity of pride. In England male and female infants are murdered with equal recklessness. In India the destroying hand is laid only on the latter. But in both cases, it is the non-attainment

* "So great a disgrace," says Ward, in his account of the Hindoos, "is incurred by remaining unmarried, that on one occasion a number of old maids

were married to an aged Koolin Brahmin, as his friends were carrying him to the river to die."

of honorable marriage in *esse*, or in *posse*, which impels to the commission of the crime.

In a country where polygamy is common, and concubinage not dishonorable—where an unconnected man, indeed, is rarely to be found—it might seem that women would be too much in demand to warrant, at any stage of existence, the destruction of female life. And, in truth, the customs of the country are such that any widely-diffused system of female infanticide must be wholly incompatible with them. Their co-existence would be a physical impossibility. The number of child-murders, committed in the worst of times, has never been sufficiently great to have any general effect upon the population. But confined as it has been to certain localities, and to certain tribes, the sacrifice of life, viewed in connexion with those limits, has been something terrible to contemplate. It has amounted, indeed, to an almost total annihilation of female life in a large number of high-caste families.

The infanticide of which I am now writing is, the systematic female infanticide of Central and Western India. Child-murder among the Hindoos has assumed other forms, but the evil has been less extensive, and more easily repressible when it has been the growth of religious superstition, and has taken a more overt and violent shape. In the latter case, it has been an open sacrifice, with the intent of propitiating one of the bloody deities of the Hindoo mythology. In Southern and Eastern Bengal, children of both sexes have been offered up by their parents sacrifices to Gunga. Here, however, the object that is sought to be attained by the commission of the atrocity, is the very opposite of that which the Rajpoot of Malwah, Jusselmere, or Goojrat sets before him when he commits, or decrees the commission of the crime. In Bengal and Orissa these sacrifices have been consummated in fulfilment of a vow, and are

thank-offerings in return for a favorable response to the prayers for offspring with which childless women have wearied their gods, when the curse of barrenness has seemed to press heavily upon them. Slaves to a dreadful superstition, they vow to offer up their firstborn to Gunga if the deity will answer their prayers. In the fulness of time the vow is consummated. The child, doomed from the hour of its birth, is suffered to live long enough to root itself deeply in the affections of its parents, and then, on a given day, is deliberately thrust into the cruel stream.* These, however, are exceptional cases—accidental crimes. The law can reach them, and has reached them; and it may be said that they are now almost blotted out from the catalogue of Pagan atrocities. The love of offspring—the desire to surround themselves with children—has driven these wretched people to offer up these dreadful sacrifices to their false gods. But among the Rajpoots of Central and Western India, it is the desire to lessen the number of their children that impels them to destroy the infant life of their female offspring. There is nothing of a religious sacrifice about it. It is simply a matter of convenience. In very many parts of the world infanticide is a common thing—a rite, a custom. But I believe that in no part of the world is there anything nearly resembling the female infanticide of which I am now writing.

In all parts of India the desire for offspring is very strong. A childless woman is a miserable woman—a

* "The people in some parts of India, particularly the inhabitants of Orissa, and of the eastern parts of Bengal, frequently offer their children to the Goddess Gunga. The following reason is assigned for the practice: When a woman has been long married, and has no children, it is common for the man, or his wife, or both of them, to make a vow to the Goddess Gunga, that if she will bestow the blessing of children upon them, they will devote their firstborn to her. If after this vow they have

children, the eldest is nourished till a proper age, which may be three, four, or nine years, according to circumstances, when, on a particular day, appointed for bathing in a holy part of the river, they take the child with them and offer it to this goddess; the child is encouraged to go further and further into the water till it is carried away by the stream, or is pushed off by its inhuman parents."—[*Ward on the Hindoos.*]

hissing, a reproach. She believes that a curse is upon her. She is despised by herself, and scorned by her husband. She thinks—and if she gives birth to children who are taken away from her by death, the same thought comes upon her—that she is thus afflicted for some grievous sin committed in a pre-existent state. The parental instinct is as strong among these people as among any in the world. And even where the parental instinct is not, the tenderness with which strong bearded men devote themselves to the care of young children, is as touching as it is remarkable. It is not indifference, therefore, to infant life, out of which this horrid practice emanates. It is simply the existence among these “chivalrous” Rajpoots of a strong delusion, which some call honor, some pride of birth, and others grossness of ignorance, deadness of conscience—barbarism—devilry—what you will.

It is hard to designate the feeling aright. I shall not attempt to provide the fitting nomenclature. It would be better to illustrate than to define. A score of examples of the strange working of Rajpoot honor readily suggest themselves; but I know not one more striking than the following, which Mr. Forbes, an old Bombay civilian, has set down in his “Oriental Memoirs:”—“About four years before my appointment to Baroche,” he writes, of the last quarter of the eighteenth century, “some Mahomedans, walking through a village where a family of Rajpoots resided, approached their house, and accidentally looked into a room where an elderly woman was eating. They intended no insult; they saw her at her meal, and immediately retired. But this accident occasioned a disgrace on the Rajpoot lady for which, on her part, there could be no expiation. She at that time lived with her grandson, a fine young man, who was absent when the Mahomedans committed their trespass;

on his return home she related the circumstance, and her determination not to survive it. She therefore entreated him earnestly to put her to death—a step which she had only deferred that she might fall by his hand. The youth's affection and good sense induced him to remonstrate with his venerable parent, whom he endeavoured to dissuade from her purpose, by alleging that none but her own family knew of the disgrace, the very men who were the innocent cause of it being unconscious of the offence. Persevering, however, in her resolution, but unable to persuade either her grandson or any other person to perform the sacrifice, she calmly waited until he next went from home, and then beat her head against the wall with dreadful violence. On his return he found his venerable parent in this agonising and shocking state. She again entreated he would finish the sacrifice, and release her from misery; he then stabbed her to the heart.”*

This is Rajpoot honor—Rajpoot chivalry. It may be called by ennobling names, but, in reality, it is nothing but the densest barbarism. It is easy to understand, and even to admire, the feeling which impels the Tartar warrior, at the approach of a victorious enemy, to slaughter his wives and children. All nations, more or less, comprehend the great aphorism, “Death is better than dishonor.” We know what is that dishonor which follows the assault and capture of a hostile town. But the dishonor incurred by an old woman seen by a

* *Forbes' Oriental Memoirs*, vol. i., p. 490.—The sequel of this story is worth telling, if only as a proof that in those days such atrocities were not sheltered, under any plea of religion or custom, from the just vengeance of the law. “By the English laws,” says Mr. Forbes, “he was secured as a murderer, sent to Bombay for trial, and confined in the common prison until the ensuing sessions. The grand jury

found a bill for murder; the petty jury, composed half of Europeans and half of natives, found him guilty; and the judges condemned him to death. The Rajpoots in general have a noble mien and dignified character; their high caste is stamped on their countenance; this young man possessed them all. I saw him receive his sentence, not only with composure, but with a mingled look of disdain and delight not easy to de-

passing stranger, in the act of eating her dinner, is not very readily appreciable. The only thing that is very clear about the matter, is that, if a woman is so easily dishonored, it were better that she should eat her dinner in a place where curious travellers cannot see her.

But such being the turgid sense of honor which inflates these chivalrous Rajpoots, it is not strange that the disgrace of unmarried daughters—a disgrace of which all Hindoos are more or less sensible—should be keenly appreciated by them. An overweening idea of the necessities of caste and the suitability of matrimonial alliances renders marriage a matter of difficult achievement. A husband is to be found for the Rajpootnee damsel among the members of her own caste. On no account must she ally herself with one of inferior rank. Within this narrow circle she must find a husband, or the family is disgraced. Nor does the difficulty end with the attainment of the husband. Among the Hindoos there is always a wretched waste of money, varying, of course, according to the rank of the parties, on occasion of marriage ceremonies. Among the people of whom I am speaking, it is a point of honor that these festivals should be celebrated at a cost which must press heavily upon the financial resources of men with whom poverty and pride are too often yoke-fellows. It is not

scribe. Unconscious of the crime laid to his charge, he said that he had nothing to accuse himself of except disobedience to his parent, by permitting humanity and filial affection to supersede his duty and the honor of his caste; that life was no longer desirable; nor, if acquitted by the English laws, would he survive the ignominy of having been confined with European culprits and prisoners of the lowest castes, with whom he had been compelled to eat and associate in a com-

mon prison—acts so contrary to everything which he esteemed right and honorable, that the sooner he was transferred to another state of existence the better. However inclined the Government might be to clemency, it would evidently have been fruitless; the noble Rajpoot would not survive the disgrace, and the sentence of the law was executed, in the hope that it might prevent others from following his example."

convenient, therefore, that daughters should grow up in the house. They must be *sarf-kard*, or cleared away.

Such are the causes of female infanticide as it exists in certain parts of Hindostan. There is no religious warrant for it. The Hindoo Shastres are sufficiently clear on the subject of the enormity of child-murder. Indeed, it is almost the one exceptional case of a barbarous custom, that has not the sanction expressed or implied, by precept or example, of the monstrous faith which these people profess. There are, doubtless, some obscure fables, some dim traditions, among them, in which it is pretended that the origin of the enormity is to be found; but even these do not impute to it a divine origin. No god commanded the horrid rite, or set the example of its perpetration. The patron saint of female infanticide is at best no better than "a powerful Rajah."*

It was not likely that on such an iniquity as this the English in India would look with passive unconcern. It was an evil very palpable to the understandings of men, but the proper remedy was not equally apparent. It was, indeed, something very difficult to deal with—an abomination propped up and sustained by feelings deeply implanted in men's hearts, and not to be eradicated without such rendings and revulsions of the whole social and domestic system as might be fraught with the most dangerous results. Still the effort was to be

* Colonel Walker says: "The Jharigahs relate that a powerful Rajah of their caste, who had a daughter of singular beauty and accomplishments, desired his Raj-goor, or family priest, to affianc her to a prince of rank and descent equal to her own. The Raj-goor travelled over many countries without discovering a chief possessed of the requisite qualities. In this dilemma the Rajah consulted the Raj-goor, and he advised him to avoid the disgrace which would attend the prin-

cess's remaining unmarried, by having recourse to the desperate expedient of putting his daughter to death. The Rajah was long averse to this expedient. The Raj-goor at length removed his scruples by consenting to load himself with the guilt, and to become in his own person responsible for all the consequence of the sin. Accordingly the princess was put to death, and female infanticide was from that time practised by the Jharigahs."

made—made, wheresoever British influence extended, not merely in districts under our immediate administration, but in parts of the country where the native princes held dominion; and we could only exercise indirect control over the acts of the people through the agency of the British Residents at the foreign Durbars. And it is to the honor of the Company and their officers, that, in spite of all discouragements and denials, all difficulties and all obstacles, they have now for half a century been engaged in this good work, and have achieved an amount of success which, if not full and entire, is at least meet reward and glorious compensation for all the painful labor it has cost.

In the van of those active and benevolent British officers, who have endeavoured to suppress this inhuman practice, stands Jonathan Duncan, many years Resident of Benares, and afterwards Governor of Bombay. He was a simple-minded man, of enlarged benevolence, who, wheresoever his lot was cast in the East, made for himself a place in the affections of the people by whom he was surrounded. Mackintosh said of him that he had been *Brahmanised* by long residence in India; but the word, coined for the purpose by the accomplished Recorder of Bombay, conveys but a half-truth. Inasmuch as that Duncan knew the people of India well, conversed with them as freely as though they had been his own countrymen, and from long intercourse with them, had contracted some Oriental rust, which, in the eyes of one fresh from the literary coteries of the English capital, was something new and strange, he had been *Brahmanised*. But the word unfitly describes the character of one who regarded the people around him, from the highest to the lowest, with deep paternal interest, and whose enlarged toleration and extended sympathies partook not at all of the cruel exclusiveness of the priestly aristocracy of Hindostan. He had been Indianised in-

deed, but not Brahmanised. He had no toleration of things, which Brahmanism not only tolerates, but encourages ; and he set himself against the iniquities which were done in the name of the religion, and sanctioned by the priesthood of the country. And foremost among these iniquities was the female infanticide of Central and Western India. He had first been made acquainted with the existence of the evil in the neighbourhood of Jaunpore,* about the year 1789 ; and had subsequently, on his removal to Western India, clearly traced the extension of the cruel system to the provinces of Cutch and Kattywar. "I am well assured," he wrote, with respect to the former, "and it is, indeed, here generally believed (and being so, it is my duty not to keep such enormities, however sanctioned by usage, from the knowledge of Government), that it is no unfrequent practice among the tribe of Rajkoomar to destroy their daughters, by causing the mothers to refuse them nurture ; whence this race of men do often, from necessity, marry into other Rajpoot families. The greatest exception to this melancholy truth that I can find is, that men—and these the more wealthy Rajkoomars—will sometimes spare and bring up their female issue, especially when they happen to have none of the male line. This horrid custom is said to exist also among some other tribes, more especially in the Vizier's dominions, and it is thought to be founded in the extravagant desire of independency enter-

* Sir John Shore, in 1794, speaks of this in a communication to the Asiatic Society:—"That the practice of infanticide," he says, "should ever be so general as to become a custom with any sect or race of people, requires the most unexceptionable evidence to gain belief; and I am sorry to say that the general practice, as far as regards female infants, is fully substantiated with respect to a particular tribe on the frontiers of Jaunpur, a district of the province of Benares, adjoining to the country of Oude. A race of Hindoos called Rajkoomars reside here; and it was dis-

covered in 1789 only that the custom of putting to death their female offspring had long subsisted, and did actually then very generally prevail among them. The Resident at Benares (Mr. Duncan, afterwards Governor of Bombay), in a circuit which he made through the country where the Rajkoomars dwell, had an opportunity of authenticating the existence of the custom from their own confessions ; he conversed with several ; all unequivocally admitted it, though all did not fully admit its atrocity."

tained by this race of men, joined, perhaps, to the supposed necessity of procuring a suitable settlement in marriage for those devoted females were they allowed to grow up, and the disgrace which would ensue from any omission in that respect. Nor is this species of atrocity of recent institution ; for a similar prejudice, as existing among the Indians, was known by the ancient Greeks and Romans, as is found in the relations they have left of this quarter of the world.”*

This was written in October, 1789, and is remarkable as containing the first official notice of the subject of female infanticide in India. In less than three months from the day on which Jonathan Duncan announced his discovery of the horrid custom, he wrote to Lord Cornwallis that he had taken measures for its suppression. “I have prevailed on those situated within our frontier,” he wrote, “to agree to renounce in future this horrid practice, to which effect they have entered into the engagement which will be found translated in the accompanying extract of my proceedings.” The words of the covenant are worth quoting:—“Whereas,” proceeds this curious document, “it hath become known to the Government of the Honorable East India Company, that we of the tribe of *Rajkumar* do not suffer our female children to live; and whereas, this is a great crime, as mentioned in the *Brehma Bywant Purana*, where it is said that killing even a foetus is as criminal as killing a Brahman; and that for killing a female or woman, the punishment is to suffer in the Naraka, or Hell called *Kat Shutala*, for as many years as there are hairs on the female’s body, and that afterwards such person shall be born again, and successively become a leper and afflicted with the *jakhima*; and whereas, the British Government in India, whose subjects we are, hold in detestation such mur-

* Jonathan Duncan to Lord Cornwallis, October 2, 1789. *Moore’s Hindoo Infanticide*.

derous practices, and we do ourselves acknowledge that although customary among us, they are highly sinful; we do therefore hereby agree not to commit any longer such detestable acts, and any among us who shall (which God forbid!) be hereafter guilty thereof, or who shall not bring up and get our daughters married to the best of our abilities among those of our own caste, shall be expelled from our tribe, and shall neither eat nor keep society with us, besides suffering hereafter the punishments denounced in the above Purana and Shashtra. We have therefore entered into this engagement.—(*Dated 17th December, 1789.*)”

For many years it was believed that this engagement had been observed, and that the Rajkoomars had ceased to murder their female infants. But excellent as was the intention of the covenant, and undeniable as were the truths set forth in its preamble, this great measure had everything in the world to recommend it but practical success.

Meanwhile, happy in the belief of the beneficent issue of his ameliorative efforts in Central India, Jonathan Duncan, now appointed Governor of Bombay, was endeavouring, in like manner, to suppress the barbarous custom as he found it to exist among the Jareejah Rajpoots of Cutch and Kattywar. He was fortunate in the agency he employed. In Major Walker he found an officer combined in whom were the purest philanthropic zeal, sound intelligence, and unfailing perseverance. The difficulties to be encountered were many and formidable. The natives around him declared that the custom would never be suppressed until the Company should take possession of the country in their own name. But, in spite of these discouragements, Walker entered on the great undertaking with sanguine expectations of success. “I conceived,” he said, “that reason and feeling would effect the relinquishment of a barbarous custom uncon-

nected with the principles of society, and which all the passions of the human mind, and all the forms and maxims of religion were combined to destroy. As it was evident, also, that the most disinterested humanity had led the Honorable Company to interfere for the abolition of female infanticide, I conceived that this reflection, and the respect due to their mediation, would have disposed the Jareejahs to comply with a request which it was scarcely to be supposed could be at variance with their own sentiments." All this, however, was a mere amiable delusion, and Major Walker was compelled presently to acknowledge that "sentiments of nature and humanity have no influence with the Jareejahs," and reluctantly to abandon his favorable expectations of success.

Undaunted, however, by the discovery that nothing was to be hoped for from the good feelings of the Jareejahs, Walker began now to turn his thoughts towards a new course of action. It was a distasteful—a sickening game that he was called upon to play. 'The amount of selfishness and bigotry—of falsehood and avarice—of cowardice and chicanery—that he had to encounter, can hardly be over-estimated. But the English officer looked it all steadily in the face. He made this great matter of Female Infanticide the subject of continual discussion, oral and written, with the Jareejah chiefs. He believed that it would be no small thing to familiarise their minds with the idea that the practice of female infanticide, so long unquestioned, was something at least of questionable propriety—something which other nations, and especially that great nation from which springs the paramount power in India, regarded with horror and detestation. And, at all events, from this constant obtrusion of the subject there came this amount of good—that the chiefs seeing how extreme was the eagerness of the British Government to carry this point of the abolition

of Female Infanticide, bethought themselves of turning our solicitude to profitable account, and trading upon our humanity. These chivalrous Rajpoots seemed not unwilling to yield, for a consideration, at least an outward assent to the proposals of the British officer. And it seems to have been mainly in expectation of some advantage to themselves that at last they consented, in a cowardly reluctant manner, each endeavouring to push the other forward, to become parties to an engagement similar to that which Mr. Duncan had extracted from the Rajkoomars in the neighbourhood of Juanpore. They *did* sign the covenant at last; and Major Walker saw many good reasons for believing that they would fulfil the promises they had made. And so it came to be considered that, both in Central and in Western India, Infanticide had been suppressed by Duncan and Walker; and learned writers in Encyclopædias, and in brave independent quartos of their own, set forth the gratifying announcement without a doubt of its truth.

But though Duncan and Walker deserved success, it was not in their power to command it. They were the pioneers of humanity and civilisation in that direction, and bravely they labored with axe and hatchet to clear away the dense jungle of barbarism that lay before them; but they did not apply the fire to the root, and the noxious wilderness soon sprung up again above the delusive clearings they had made. For a while it was believed that the horrid custom had been suppressed, alike in the East and the West; little or nothing was heard of the abomination, and no new efforts were made to suppress it. But about the year 1816 it was officially announced that the Rajkoomars were murdering their children after the old fashion. Mr. Shakespear, then acting as Superintendent of Police, reported that though the Regulations of 1795 and 1804 "contain provisions for the prevention and punishment of the inhuman prac-

tice prevalent among the tribe of Rajkoomars of causing the female infants to be strangled to death, there is reason to believe that this practice still obtains among them to nearly the same extent as formerly, though a greater degree of caution is preserved to prevent detection;" and the Governor-General in Council expressed his regret that "the measures adopted by Mr. Duncan whilst Resident at Benares, and the provisions of the Regulations, had failed to prevent the inhuman practice." The same lamentable tidings came also from Western India. Major Carnac, Resident at Baroda, officially reported to the Bombay Government that "the abolition of the inhuman practice in Cutch had not been accomplished." And in the following year Captain Ballantine reported, with reference to the Rajpoots of Goozrat, that "the object of our interference for the suppression of this singular custom has too generally failed to select any individual party for the just vengeance of Government and offended nature." To make the extent of the evil, as then existing, more apparent, this energetic officer drew up a statistical report, containing a register of all the Jareejah families known in Kattywar, with "the age and number of their female offspring saved, or now living, since the introduction of the Infanticide arrangement by Colonel Walker in 1808;" and from this census it appeared that during the space of ten years only sixty-three female Jareejah children had been preserved in the whole of Kattywar; that in none of the large *talooks*, or estates, of the Jareejah chiefs, was there more than one female child to be found, and in some not even one, though containing four hundred families.* Such, in spite of the laudable efforts of Duncan and Walker, was the result of our first humane efforts to suppress this dreadful abomination.

But this mortifying discovery moved the Company's

* Parliamentary Papers, quoted in the *Calcutta Review*, whose admirable summary I have mainly followed.

Government and the Company's servants to order, and to prosecute new efforts for the suppression of the great crime. The Court of Directors wrote out to the Bombay Government, "enjoining them in the most serious and earnest manner to be unremitting in their endeavours to accomplish this humane object in the countries where British influence can be felt and exerted." But it was not very clear, even to the most humane and energetic servants of the Company, how these unremitting endeavours were to be prosecuted, so as to accomplish the great object. The difficulty, indeed, was very great, and, seemingly, insurmountable. Some of the most large-minded men, believing that we could make an impression on the evil only by the adoption of measures so objectionable that it might be questioned whether the remedy were not worse than the disease, seemed, in spite of the strong instincts of humanity which urged them forward, almost inclined to counsel an adherence for the future to the old measures of moral discouragement, which had proved so abortive in the past. The great standing difficulty was this. The general prevalence of the crime was acknowledged. Its results were sufficiently apparent in the fact, that the number of female children to be found among the Jareejahs was only *one-sixth* of the number of males. But it was difficult—indeed, impossible—to bring to light specific acts of infanticide without such an intrusion into the domestic privacy of high-caste Rajpoot families as would be regarded with horror, and resented with indignation. This systematic child-murder, indeed, was altogether an affair of the Zenana. The mother was herself the executioner. She rubbed the nipples of her breasts with opium, and the babe sucked in poison with its first milk.* Every-

* A significant hint from the fathers, not conveyed in words, generally sealed the fate of the child. "Simtook Ram, minister of Amjherra," writes Sir John Malcolm in his *Central India*,

"told me he was sitting with Prem Singh, the present Thakoor, when he heard the birth of a female child whispered in his ear. He saw him preparing between his fingers the

thing was done so secretly behind the *purdah*—even the very birth of the child was so little noised abroad, that the disappearance of whole families of female children, one after another, in individual succession, could not be clearly traced. Public notoriety pointed vaguely to the general fact. But the lips of all who were competent to speak to individual offences were closed. No man willingly bore witness against his neighbour. How, then, were we to penetrate the obscurity, and break down the exclusiveness of domestic life—an exclusiveness so jealously guarded, so religiously maintained, that it almost seemed as though dishonor would enter the female apartments with the sunbeams or the west wind? It was proposed that hired informers should be employed; but the proposal did not find favor in the eyes of authority. Mount-Stuart Elphinstone—a statesman of equal wisdom and humanity—set his face steadfastly against it. “No effectual check,” he wrote, “can be imposed on this atrocious practice, so long as it is so completely congenial to the general feelings of the people, unless by employing hired agents, as proposed by Major Ballantine, whose duty it should be to detect offenders of this description; and such a measure would lead to so much intrusion into the most private and domestic proceedings of the superior castes (among whom alone infanticide prevails), and would be open to so many abuses on the part of the informers, that I do not think the chance of success would compensate for the disaffection which it would create. It may also be doubted how far we have a right to interfere to such an extraordinary pitch with the private life of a people, with whose civil government and internal policy we do not pretend to have any concern. We must therefore be content to follow the foot-

fatal pill of opium (the usual signal), little girl (added Simtook Ram), now but he implored that the child might eight years of age, is always called my live: his request was granted, and this daughter.”

steps of our predecessors (without attempting to go beyond them) in their most meritorious endeavours to discountenance this enormity; and we may safely flatter ourselves, that as the manners of the people become softened by a continuance of tranquillity and good order, they will gradually discontinue a practice which is not more inconsistent with reason than repugnant to natural instinct."

This was written in 1821. There was, seemingly, nothing very hopeful in it. The *laissez-faire* system was to be tried again. Moral discouragements were to be left to work out their slow results. "In speaking to those natives," writes Sir John Malcolm, with reference to the Rajpoots of Central India, "who enjoyed superior rank and station under the authority or control of the British Government, I have always expressed my horror at self-immolation (Suttee), and my hope that through their influence in society, and their desire not to outrage the feelings of their European superiors, it would in time be abolished. But with regard to infanticide I have ever, when it was mentioned, stated my abhorrence of the murders that were committed under the plea of this usage, and refused to see those who practiced it. Such sentiments," he added, "were never known to give offence." In Western India the same discouragements were at work; and they were not wholly without success. Many good and able European officers, among whom may be especially named Colonel Miles, Major Barnewell, and Mr. Blaine; and, subsequently, in the regions of Cutch, Henry Pottinger and Alexander Burnes exerted themselves to put down the abomination by such gentle, moral force as they conceived themselves justified in applying, and the result was not wholly a blank. It is officially reported, that whilst the number of female children belonging to the murderous tribes in Kattywar, preserved from destruction in 1808, only

amounted to 32, it had risen, in 1817, to 63; and in 1824, to 266. In Cutch, the numbers had increased from 93, in 1823, to 143 in 1826; and, a few years later, Captain Burnes reported that the number had risen to 211. This last calculation was made from a census of more than a hundred villages, in which it was ascertained that there were, at the same time, 1167 male children; the girls being thus shown, in proportion to the boys, to be little more than as one to six. These returns, however, must be received with some caution. It is difficult to obtain a correct census of the people in these Rajpoot villages; and the returns, therefore, must be regarded rather as approximations, than as accurately ascertained results.

In the interval, however, of which I am now writing, between the years 1820 and 1830, there is one successful episode in the history of this great war against infanticide, which is worthy of especial recital. Among the rude people of Mairwarra, Colonel Hall had exerted himself to some purpose; for in a report dated July 31st, 1827, he reported "the complete and voluntary abolition of the two revolting customs—female infanticide and the sale of women." "Both crimes," he wrote, "were closely connected, having had their origin in the heavy expense attending marriage contracts. The sums were payable by the male side, were unalterable, equal for the rich and the poor, without any abatement whatever in favor of the latter. What first established the payment is unknown; but it was so sacred and inviolable, and even a partial deviation so disgraceful, that the most necessitous of the tribe would not incur the imputation. . . . Hence arose Infanticide. The sums payable were beyond the means of so many, that daughters necessarily remained on hand after maturity, entailed immortal disgrace, and thus imposed a necessity for all female progeny becoming victims to their family honor. On the establishment of

British rule, both evils gradually diminished. . . . Female Infanticide was at once prohibited, and though many, no doubt, still fell secret sacrifices from the great facility of undetected destruction, yet the danger, aided by improved feeling, increased the survivors so considerably, as to force upon the Mairs a due sense of the root of the evil, and a general wish for its removal by a reduction of the regulated sum of contract; but they were averse—indeed, declared their inability—to alter their long-established sacred custom themselves, and earnestly entreated that it might be done by an order of authority, binding all to obedience by heavy penalties. This was promised in a general way in case of necessity; but as there were many points to be settled, and it was advisable to ascertain the general feeling with accuracy, as well as to avoid interference, if possible, a general *punchayut* was strongly urged either to decide the matter, or, at all events, aid in the framing of appropriate regulations. After the lapse of a few months allowed for consideration, the whole was settled in public *punchayut*, and its resolutions were confirmed without the slightest alteration; so that the proceeding originated with, and has been carried through by, the inhabitants themselves; nor has there been a single petition against it, either pending or subsequent to adjustment. They have lowered the sum payable on marriage contracts, abolished all right of subsequent sale, and fixed a year's imprisonment, or 200 rupees fine, with exclusion from caste, as the punishment for deviation.* The result seems to have justified the sanguine expectations of Colonel Hall. Writing more than twenty years afterwards, his successor, Colonel Dixon, says: "Thus Infanticide received its death-blow through the diminution of the expenses attending on marriage, which was now brought within the reach of all sections of society. For many years

* *Report of Colonel Hall, July, 1827, quoted in Dixon's Mairwarra.*

past no female children have been put to death. The practice has fallen altogether into desuetude. Indeed, so greatly have the ideas of the people changed on this and other usages since the introduction of our rule, that the commission of such an act would now be viewed as a most heinous crime.”*

Thus the first unequivocal success resulted from the establishment of sumptuary regulations. But it was easier to deal with these rugged Mairs, just rescued from a state of extreme barbarism, than with the “chivalrous” Rajpoots of Central and Western India. It is not improbable that if the British, or any other Government, had undertaken to portion the Jharijah girls, the dreadful custom would have been annihilated. The plan was, indeed, proposed, and negatived by the higher authorities. And the extreme alternative of putting down the abomination by force was rejected upon the ground that the Rajpoots of Western India were not our subjects, but our allies, and that such a mode of procedure would be inconsistent with the terms of our treaties. In 1831 Sir John Malcolm, then Governor of Bombay, went down to Booj and addressed the assembled Jharijah chiefs on the enormity of the crime so prevalent among them. He told them that so strong in England was the feeling against such abominations, that the nation would call upon the East India Company to sever their connexion with a people so polluted. The chiefs, seemingly abashed, falsely denied their participation in the prevailing guilt—and promises and pledges were not wanting. Indeed, the “chivalrous” Rajpoots were at no time chary of their promises and pledges—and now, as our English officers became more and more energetic in their efforts to put down the abomination, these promises and pledges became more and more plentiful.

In Central India, promises were as readily made and

* *Dixon's Mairwarra.*

as readily broken as in the West. Many earnest-minded men were exerting themselves, about this time, in Rajpootana, to push forward the good work. Distinguished among these was Mr. Wilkinson, whose name is ever to be held in remembrance by those who would record the good deeds of the Company's servants. He was a man of the kindest and the most catholic sympathies, of large intelligence, and unwearied perseverance. He lived and toiled for the people, and he died, at his post, amongst them, warmly loved and deeply deplored. All that earnest desire and energetic action could do to wean the Rajpoots of Central India from the accursed practice of Infanticide, was now done by this full-hearted civilian. He assembled the chiefs; he addressed them; he reasoned with them; he expostulated with them; and at last he persuaded them to adopt certain resolutions, by an adherence to which it seemed probable that the iniquity might be suppressed. And many of the petty sovereigns of Rajpootana not only undertook to prohibit the practice, but issued proclamations declaring it illegal. Other officers in Central India, as Colonel Sutherland, Captain Richards, Captain Ludlow, and others, had been exerting themselves in the same good cause, and there were many encouraging promises and seemingly genuine renunciations to reward their labors.

The Rana of Oudipore, the chief of the independent sovereigns of Rajpootana, was forward to set the example—a potential one—of prohibition; and in January, 1834, Lord William Bentinck wrote to express the “pure and unmixed satisfaction” which he felt, and to utter words of further encouragement; but all these promises and renunciations were mere unmeaning words. The princes and chiefs had not been convinced, or they feared to reduce their convictions to practice. At all events, Wilkinson, who had labored so long and so diligently, and whose heart was so thoroughly in his work, was

forced back upon the mortifying conclusion that no real impression had been made upon the minds of the magnates of the land. Only two months after he had explained to the chief people the enormity of the crime of infanticide and received their assurances of renunciation, he ascertained that two of their number had since put their daughters to death. The promised proclamations might have been issued; but no pains were taken to circulate them. He found, in the course of his circuits, that some of the States had not even heard of the prohibitory edict; and, under the government of that very Rana of Oudipore whom Lord William Bentinck had so commended, some of the people told Mr. Wilkinson that it was true they had heard it whispered "that female infanticide had been prohibited some time before along with the killing of peacocks."

All this was very discouraging—but still Mr. Wilkinson did not despair of the effect of moral influence. He secured the services of some learned Brahmins to write pamphlets condemnatory of the crime, which he circulated among the people. He bethought himself, too, of the effect upon their minds of pictorial representations; but all this was of no avail. "It has been my object," he wrote, "to excite such a genuine and general feeling of execration as should lead to a voluntary abandonment of the practice. Still, when we reflect on the inveteracy of habit, and the extreme tardiness with which new ideas are spread in the world, it would be idle to hope that the abandonment of the practice will be effected by the measures already taken."

In the mean while a great experiment was being initiated in Western India. In 1831, Mr. J. P. Willoughby, of the Bombay Civil Service, was appointed Political Agent in Kattywar. He soon began to give his thoughts to the painful subject of Female Infanticide, and collected all the information he could acquire

regarding the dreadful practice and all that had been done towards its suppression. Reviewing the labors of his predecessors, and deriving wisdom from the past, he sent in an elaborate report to Government, in which he took a comprehensive view of the results of our bygone efforts, and then sketched out a plan of future proceedings.

The measures suggested by Mr. Willoughby were these. *First*, that steps should be taken to obtain a complete census of the Jharjah population, as without it no data could exist for computing the number of female infants who were born, and thence deducing an approximation to the number actually destroyed. *Second*, that every Jharjah chief should be called upon to furnish a half-yearly register of all the marriages, betrothals, births, and deaths occurring among his tribe residing in his district; and that, if he failed in this obligation, or furnished a false return, he should be severely punished.* *Third*, that the Political Agent should furnish an annual report on the subject of Infanticide, together with a register of all marriages, betrothals, births, and deaths that have occurred among the tribe within the year reported on. *Fourth*, that a proclamation should be issued by the British Government throughout Kattywar, requiring the Jharjah chiefs to enforce the observance of their Infanticide engagements, and noticing in terms of approbation or condemnation their adherence to or departure from these engagements, and guaranteeing to all able or willing to supply information relating to the commission of the crime, a reward in proportion to the rank of the

* Mr. Willoughby, in the admirable Report which contains these suggestions, shows that this important matter had not escaped the attention of the Court of Directors. "This is no new suggestion," he says, "on my part, for in the correspondence on my records I find allusion made to instructions issued many years ago by the Honorable Court of Directors, that in addition to

such intermediate reports as might become necessary, one general statement should be submitted at the end of each year, showing how far the amended system had been acted on and observed, what deviations are known or suspected to have been made from its rules, and what measures pursued for their enforcement, with an estimate of the number of lives saved."

party convicted, and the protection of the British Government. *Fifth*, that every Rajpoot in Kattywar should be enjoined to make it an express stipulation in every marriage contract on giving his daughter to a Jharajah chief that the issue of the union should be preserved. *Sixth*, that presents of cloth, money, &c., should be made, out of the *Infanticide Fund*, to the chiefs and inferior members of the Jharajah tribes who preserved their female children.*

These measures, approved and sanctioned by the higher authorities, were pushed forward with promptitude and energy. The vigilance of the British officers was not without its results. In the course of eighteen months, it was reported that seventy-three female infants were preserved by the Jharajah tribes; of these, forty, it was said, would have perished but for our humane intervention. Still, in spite of all our efforts, there remained the lamentable fact, that at least one-half of the female infants born were murdered by their remorseless parents. It was, however, no small thing to convict certain offenders of specific acts of infanticide; and charges were now brought and fully established against the chief of Rajkote. "The barbarous insensibility evinced by him on the occasion, proved him to have little claim to forgiveness." He was fined 12,000 rupees, to be paid to the Infanticide Fund; and his estate was attached as security for its payment. This conviction produced the most salutary effect throughout Kattywar, and was soon followed by other cases. Another petty chief, convicted on the clearest evidence of

* "The Infanticide Fund was established in 1825. It is composed of all fines, under 20,000 rupees, imposed upon the tributaries for breaches of the peace or other misconduct, and of realisation under the head of Mohsullee. The British Government set the example. His Highness the Guicowar, being subsequently induced to consent that all fines imposed upon his tributaries should be similarly appropriated.

From this source occasional remissions of tribute, presents to the chiefs, and pecuniary assistance on the marriage of their daughters, have been granted to those who have practically renounced the custom; and another mode of testifying approbation to those who have preserved their daughters, is by postponing the payment of the tribute to suit their convenience." — [Mr. Willoughby's Report.]

the same offence, was sentenced to suffer twelve months' imprisonment, and to pay a fine of 3000 rupees. These were followed by other cases of detection and punishment. But though the evil sensibly diminished under these influences, it was not entirely suppressed. Here and there a case was brought struggling into light, but scores of cases of cruel child-murder, behind the sanctity of the purdah, escaped detection and exposure.

Perhaps, it would have been unreasonable to expect in such a case anything more than progressive improvement. It was, indeed, the hardest task that we had ever set ourselves—the hardest we have ever set ourselves since. I believe that in this country, where we all of us live comparatively out of doors — *coram populo*—an extensive system of Female Infanticide might be carried on without detection. I believe that married women in England might murder their sucklings by hundreds without suspicion. A little seemingly accidental neglect—a little want of active care at particular periods, will snap the thread of infant life, and give no sign of premeditated crime. But the nursery of the Hindoo woman, even of the poorest, is surrounded by social screens and fences which, however flimsy may be their material structure, are morally so impassable, so impenetrable, that the vigilance and activity of authority is utterly baffled and repelled by them. It was this that rendered the task so difficult—that rendered success, even under the best and most encouraging circumstances, so vague and uncertain. With such formidable obstructions before us it was a great thing to make any progress. It was a great thing that the Bombay Government should be enabled to write: "The complete suspension of the crime, originating in ignorance, prejudice, and false pride, must doubtless be the work of time; yet, looking back to the past, and seeing how much had been accomplished within the last few years, they were encouraged strongly to hope that a

steady and constant perseverance in the measures in operation would, in the end, be rewarded by full and complete success."

Mr. Willoughby, promoted to higher office, quitted Kattywar in 1835, and was succeeded in the Political Agency by Mr. Erskine, who continued the good work which had been pushed forward so energetically by his predecessor. But it was plain still that there was much to be done. In 1837, upon a census of twenty-seven districts, it appeared that there were 1422 boys, and only 409 girls. In 1841, Captain Jacob, who was associated with Mr. Erskine on this great field of humanising labor, reported that the number of males under the age of twenty was 2923, whilst the females reached the encouraging amount of 1209, little less than one-half of the entire juvenile population. The result, indeed, led Captain Jacob to observe: "It must be highly gratifying to those benevolent men who had labored for the suppression of Infanticide, to see the progressive return to the order of nature, in the relative proportion of sexes, that must be attributed to their labor alone;" and called forth the commendatory remark of the Bombay Government, which I have quoted above.

Nor were these anticipations of the gradual suppression of the horrid practice unjustified by the result. I cannot afford to trace, year by year, the progressive improvement in the appearance of the census of the male and female population of Kattywar. But, perhaps, the good effects of our humanising measures may be best illustrated by passing on at once to the cheering details contained in the two last Infanticide Reports which have made their way into official record. In the Infanticide Report for the year 1849, from Kattywar, of which Major Lang, who has long been zealously employed in that province, is now Political Agent, there is this cheering announcement: "The proportion of female children to males in all the

tribes is now so nearly equal, and the progressive increase of the female population so regular, that if the returns can be depended upon in other respects, there would appear to be every ground for believing that the practice of Infanticide must have become almost entirely extinct in this province." And then he goes on to report these encouraging statistical facts. "When the census for 1845 was forwarded with my Report of the 25th of August, 1846, there were two Jharijahs with five daughters each, 19 with four, 105 with three, and 387 with two. . . . By the returns now submitted there are one Jharijah with six daughters, 11 with five, 49 with four, 159 with three, and 522 with two."* The Report of the following year, though less detailed, is equally satisfactory. It shows that the female Jharijah population has increased to a greater extent than the male. The former had increased, during the year 1850, by 186; the latter only by 149. "The only accusation of Infanticide," writes Major Lang, "which was brought forward during the year under review, was that reported in my letter of the 25th of September, 1850, which was found on investigation by my assistant, Captain Barr, to be entirely groundless."† But to make the progressive results of these great measures fully apparent, it would be well to give a brief tabular statement of the male and female Jharijah population of Kattywar, extending over the six years from 1845 to 1850, inclusive :‡

* *Major Lang to Bombay Government. MS. Records, December 31, 1850.* I have omitted the details of the smaller tribes, which are no less gratifying.

† *Major Lang to Bombay Government, December 26, 1851. MS. Records.*

‡ Well might Mr. Willoughby, when a seat in the Bombay Council gave him an opportunity of commenting on such results as these, congratulate himself on the success of his measures.

"I trust I shall be pardoned the expression," he wrote, "of the high gratification I have derived from the perusal of this and other similar Reports, establishing that the success which

has attended our measures for the extirpation of the crime of Female Infanticide from Kattywar and Cutch has been far greater and much more rapid than the most sanguine could have anticipated. It was my good fortune to have been the originator of these measures, the success of which is mainly to be attributed to the vigorous manner in which I dealt with several proved cases of Infanticide before I left the province. I recollect that, by some whose opinion I valued, I was thought to have invaded too strictly the sanctity of Rajpoot domestic privacy, and that the measures I had

	1845.	1846.	1847.	1848.	1849.	1850.
Males.....	6617	6600	6844	7356	7353	7502
Females.....	2334	2429	2779	3090	3273	3423

It must necessarily take many years to restore the balance of the sexes, fearfully disturbed as it has been from generation to generation; but with such results as these before me, remembering that the time was when the number of female children to be found among the Jharijahs was only *one-sixth* of the number of males, and that on some large estates containing as many as 400 families not one female child was to be found,* I think I am justified in saying that what has been done is most honorable to the British nation, and that the rest is but "a work of time."

Whilst these measures were being thus energetically pursued in Western India, another group of British officers were carrying out the same good work in the Central Rajpoot states, with the approval and co-operation of the princes and chiefs themselves. The process, however, by which they hoped to attain the same great result, differed from that which Mr. Willoughby had introduced into Kattywar. It was based upon the admitted fact, that in those states the one great sustaining cause of the unholy practice was the extreme costliness of marriage ceremonials. To marry his daughter was often to ruin a man. There was a wretched brood of men known as "Charans" and "Bhats," who turned to vile uses two of the noblest functions of humanity, and degraded the priestly and the bardic office into a sort of

recourse to were too harsh, and likely to outrage the feelings of the whole Rajpoot community. But I argued that those philanthropic men, Governor Duncan and Colonel Walker, never intended that the engagements which they induced the Jharijahs to enter into should be waste paper; and although I was aware that I was touching on delicate ground, I felt assured

that I should find a powerful ally in those feelings of parental affection which exist in the human breast in every stage and degree of civilisation. The result has certainly proved I was not mistaken."—[*Minute*, March 28, 1851. *Bombay Consultations*. *MS. Records*.]

* See *ante*, pages 559, 560.

tyrannous mendicancy, which the Rajpoots feared to resist. The exorbitant fees claimed by these men,* who would have cursed the grudging giver, or, worse still in the estimation of the proud and sensitive Rajpoot, pilloried him with ridicule, constituted the heaviest tax levied upon the luckless father. It was admitted that these large sums of money were reluctantly paid—that the thralldom of this aristocratic custom sat heavily upon the tribes.† They would have escaped from it if they could, but they feared to take the responsibility of such an innovation upon themselves. The Durbars, timid and hesitating, though not unwilling to co-operate for the suppression of what they knew and acknowledged to be an abomination, shrunk from an authoritative demonstration without the open support and encouragement of the paramount power. They were fearful, indeed, of taking the initiative in such a procedure ; but if they could push forward the British Government as the instigators of the needed reform, they might venture to co-operate with us and set their seal upon the sumptuary enactments which our officers were eager to suggest.

The right men were in Rajpootana. Colonel Sutherland, Major Thoresby, and Major Ludlow, all gave their hearts to the work. The two great objects were these: firstly to limit the influx of these bards on the occasion of nuptial ceremonies—to keep out the incursion of foreigners,‡ who swelled the chorus of hungry appli-

* It is said that the Rana of Odeypore, though in an impoverished state at the time, gave a lakh of rupees to the chief bard. The profession, being a lucrative and not a laborious one, is considerably over-stocked. The Joudpore Vakeel stated that there were 20,000 Charans in Marwar, and sometimes 4000 or 5000 graced the nuptials of an important chief.

† This is very clearly stated by one of our political officers in Rajpootana, who has been forward in the good work

of Infanticide-suppression. "Far from having prejudices to combat (as we should unquestionably have as regards the rite of Suttee, and to a certain extent in the question of Surna), we shall in the course proposed carry with us the sense of the whole of the Rajpoot tribes, who have hitherto been forced reluctantly by the tyranny of custom to destroy their female offspring."—[Major Ludlow to Major Thoresby. *MS. Records.*]

‡ That is, of Charans and Bhats not

cants ; and secondly, to fix a ratable amount to be paid to the domestic bards who were suffered to have a legitimate right to enrich themselves on these occasions. It was not difficult to persuade the princes of Rajpootana to enter into engagements for the enforcement of these measures, and to issue edicts enunciating them. Thus, instigated by Major Ludlow, the Jyepore Durbar, which was then the organ of an infant prince, sent forth "a proclamation of the Raj of Jyepore made by Major Ludlow and the Council of Regency," containing a forcible denunciation of the crime of Infanticide* and a clear specification of the suggested remedies. The lawful tax thenceforth to be paid was not to exceed a tithe of the annual income of the father of the bride. This was to be the maximum sum payable by the Jagheedars, but people with a less settled income were allowed only to disburse a smaller amount. The Jyepore authorities enforced these regulations with good effect; and Ludlow was soon able to report that an incursion of foreign bards had been successfully resisted, and had withdrawn, ungorged, unsatisfied, without a breach of the peace.

Nor was this all that was done. The other states, through Ludlow's instrumentality, were induced to follow the example of Jyepore. They responded, indeed, with acclamation to the appeal, and followed the letter of the Jyepore proclamation. Not one of the states, after these edicts were issued, admitted the foreign bards to their nuptial ceremonies. Indeed, so glad were the

belonging to the particular part of the country in which the marriage was celebrated, but who scented a far-off wedding as a jackal scents carrion, and hurried in flocks to their prey.

* "It is notorious that many Rajpoots kill their female daughters at the birth, and the cause would appear to exist in the distress and annoyance arising from the demand of Tyag (nuptial presents) on marriage occasions made by Charana, Bhata, &c., and from the abuse and revilings showered by

these persons upon those who are not in circumstances to satisfy them to the extent of their demands. The act of Infanticide is a grievous tyranny and a great sin, which attaches alike to those who perpetrate it, and the sovereign in whose territory it occurs, and therefore the amounts receivable in future by Bhata, Charana, &c., are represented in this proclamation, &c., &c." —[*M.S. Records.*] Cause and effect are here very plainly indicated. *Sublati causâ tollitur effectus.*

Thakoors to rid themselves entirely of the intolerable tyranny under which they had groaned so long, that they made the proclamations an excuse for not listening to the claims of their own "Bhats," and "Charans," whom they now learnt to send away empty-handed, under the pretext that the order of the Durbar for their payment must be first obtained. These people were the terror of Rajpootana. Their influence is now thoroughly broken down; and they dare not even enforce the payment of the tithe permitted by the Sumpuary Regulations.

The effect of these measures on the great crime itself in Central India did not so distinctly appear as in the case of the Jharijah and other tribes of Kattywar, inasmuch as the results were not represented by a detailed census of the population. But it was not to be doubted that at least one great thing had been done. A change had been wrought in public opinion. It was clearly the interest of all classes of Rajpoots to resist a tax which often involved them in frightful pecuniary embarrassments. Nor was this all that was done. There was something more than an appeal to their purses. In Jyepore, Ludlow, seeing clearly where lay the only real remedy, exerted himself to appeal to their intelligence. He did everything that he could to encourage the diffusion of education in the states. And neither Suttee, nor Infanticide, nor Thuggee, nor human sacrifice, nor any other kindred abomination, can long stand up against so mighty a conqueror as that.

These measures for the suppression of Female Infanticide in Kattywar and in the Rajpoot states of Central India, it must be understood by the European reader, were carried on not within the dominions of the East India Company, but in the territories of the native princes over which we exercise only a moral control through the agency of our British Residents. But it may be asked whether, all this time, in our own provinces,

there was no such thing as Female Infanticide. And I am afraid it must be answered that there *was*. The extent to which the crime was perpetrated, under our own immediate rule, was very limited; and it was confined to one or two collectorates. But still under the very eyes of British authority child-murder was going on, for some time, unchecked. The Purdah screened it from our sight. It was long before we ascertained the fact. And when we did ascertain its existence, both in Western and Central India, the evil appeared to be one not easily to be held in subjection. It may be thought that nothing could be easier than to drag the offenders into our criminal courts, and to convict them of the capital offence. And so it would have been if a woman had beaten out the brains of her child against the walls of the cutcherry or the magistrate's house. But perpetrated as the crime was in secret, nothing was more easy than accusation—nothing more difficult than conviction. The Regulations, powerful as they were, could not deal with this abstruse abomination.

The districts in Western and Central India, under which it was discovered that the crime of Infanticide was practised by certain tribes, were Ahmedabad, in the Bombay Presidency, and Mynpooree, under the government of the North-Western Provinces. In Ahmedabad the existence of the crime was first brought to the notice of Government by Mr. Fawcett, at the end of 1847. The disparity of the sexes had been pointed out to him by a native functionary, and he knew the meaning of that terrible sign. The native officer was instructed to exert himself to bring the chief people into an arrangement tending to annihilate the dreadful practice. They were not unwilling to discuss the subject. They assembled and set forth the facts of the case. Admitting the truth of the charge, they said it was simply the extreme costliness of marriage ceremonials which com-

pelled the people of the child-murdering tribes to suppress the growth of female life. They knew that it was a great evil; and they entered into an agreement to reduce the sums paid, on these nuptial occasions, to less than an eighth of the old amount.* But, I fear that those compacts were not observed; and that the great evil was unsubdued. "Past experience," wrote Mr. Willoughby, in a Council-minute, "has unhappily elsewhere proved, that written agreements are insufficient to extirpate the offence, unless unceasing vigilance is exercised to secure adherence to them." And he then, in 1848, recommended that an annual census of the castes, in which the offence was supposed to be committed, should be forwarded to Government; and that the Sudder Judges should be requested to issue a circular to all magistrates, directing them to institute inquiries as to whether the crime was perpetrated in any part of the country within their jurisdiction. The result of that investigation was, that only among the marked tribes in the Ahmedabad and the Kaira collectorates were there any indubitable traces of the existence of the atrocity. Broach was suspected, but upon closer examination the suspicion was shown to be unfounded.†

* The compact was entered into by fifty-eight villages, inhabited by the Lewa Koombee tribe. The chief people promised to reduce the expenses paid them from 3800 to 480 rupees. The Lewa Koombees of the city of Ahmedabad afterwards came into the arrangement, and undertook to reduce their expenses to one-third of the whole amount.—[*Minute of Mr. Willoughby, Sept. 9, 1848. M.S. Records.*]

† In one of the answers returned, a circumstance is mentioned which illustrates the benefit derived from the publication of those summaries of facts which make up the staple-contents of "review articles :—

"Opposed to the conclusions thus derived," wrote one of the magistrates, "I confess to having approached the subject with no knowledge of my own, nor

did the records of this magistracy in any way assist me; they were absolutely silent on the subject. Neither should I up to the present time have improved my stock of information, but for accidentally meeting with an able article in the *Calcutta Review* for August, 1844, from which, it appears, that Parliamentary Papers have been published giving the results of all the inquiries set on foot into the practice of female infanticide in Central and Western India; and I must here be permitted to suggest respectfully that a copy of this record would be of material importance in every Zillah, not only as conveying the most authentic information hitherto collected upon a most interesting topic, but as leading the uninformed into approved channels of further inquiry."—[*M.S. Records.*]

Turning now to another part of the country, I would show what has recently been done in the neighbourhood of Mynpoorie. A statement on this subject was recently drawn up by Mr. Charles Raikes, magistrate and collector of that district. Originally published in a local periodical,* it was subsequently printed in a detached shape, and, in accordance with that system of diffusiveness of which I have spoken in another part of this work, widely circulated by order of the Government of the North-Western Provinces.† I cannot do better than quote from this paper the following statement of encouraging facts :

“ Many of our readers will recollect the famine of 1838 (none, indeed, who were then in the N. W. Provinces will ever forget it), when mothers sold their children for a morsel of bread, when the rage of hunger obliterated even the distinctions of caste, and the Brahmin might be seen devouring the leavings of the Dhom. Nowhere did hunger and disease press heavier than in the plains of the mid Doab. Whole villages were depopulated, and every effort of public or private benevolence failed to meet the wants of a starving population. The Government did much to relieve the sufferers at the time, but a merely temporary assistance was not sufficient, and it became necessary to lower the revenue demand in many villages. Mr. Unwin, then collector of Mynpoorie, was in 1842 engaged in fixing the amount of this revision, and his camp was pitched in the midst of the villages of the Chohan Rajpoots. In the course of his proceedings it was found desirable to ascertain how far the population had been affected by the famine, and with this object Mr. Unwin determined to take ten villages in each pergunnah, and selecting one house in each of these villages, to count in person every head in it. ‘ In so doing,’ we use his own words, ‘ I observed what previous information led me to expect, that no single Chohanee (female Chohan), young or old, was forthcoming. I remarked this to the Zemindars and people themselves, who, of course, were in numbers all about me on these occasions, and told them I knew the cause, and should look after them in future.’

* The *Benares Magazine*.

volume of “Notes on the North-Western

† It was subsequently embodied in *Provinces of India*,” from which I now quote.

“ Mr. Unwin acted with zeal and discretion, and above all things (in India) with *promptitude*. At once and on his own responsibility he established a system of watchful inspection, which was thus described by the officiating magistrate of Mynpoorie (in 1848), in reply to a call for information from the Court of Directors:

“ ‘ In Chohan villages the watchmen are ordered to give information of the birth of a female child forthwith at the police-station. A burkundauze goes to the house and sees the child, the thanadar informs the magistrate, upon which an order is passed, that after one month the health of the new-born child should be reported. The watchmen are further bound to give information if any illness attack the child, when a superior police-officer (either thanadar, jemadar, or mohurrir) at once goes to the village, sees the child, and sends a report to the magistrate. In suspicious cases the body of the child is sent for and submitted to the civil surgeon.’

“ The effect of Mr. Unwin's measures was soon felt in the district. Amongst other incidents we may quote the following, as partaking of that almost grotesque character which in these matter-of-fact days seems peculiar to India. The Government had watched Mr. Unwin's proceedings with approbation, and took an early opportunity to notify in a public manner the interest which was felt in the success of his measures.

“ There is at Mynpoorie an old fortress, which looks far over the valley of the Esun river. This has been for centuries the stronghold of the Rajahs of Mynpoorie, Chohans whose ancient blood, descending from the great Pirthee Raj and the regal stem of Neem-rana, represents *la crème de la crème* of Rajpoot aristocracy. Here, when a son, a nephew, a grandson, was born to the reigning chief, the event was announced to the neighbouring city by the loud discharge of wall-pieces and matchlocks; but centuries had passed away, and no infant daughter had been known to smile within those walls.

“ In 1845, however, thanks to the vigilance of Mr. Unwin, a little grand-daughter was preserved by the Rajah of that day. The fact was duly notified to the Government, and a letter of congratulation and a dress of honor were at once despatched from head-quarters to the Rajah.

“ We have called this incident, the giving a robe of honor to a man because he did not destroy his grand-daughter, a *grotesque*

one ; but it is very far from being a ridiculous incident. When the people see that the highest authorities in the land take an interest in their social or domestic reforms, those reforms receive an impetus which no lesser influences can give them. The very next year after the investiture of the Rajah, the number of female infants preserved in the district was *trebled* ! Fifty-seven had been saved in 1845 ; in 1846, one hundred and eighty were preserved ; and the number has gone on steadily increasing ever since. This is the best answer to those who would sneer at the *paternal* style of government, and who would advocate mere red-tape, law, and bayonets for the people of India.

"Influence is everything in Hindostan. Indeed in all countries good government, like true religion, depends upon influences and motives quite as much as upon mere rules and restrictions. In England, influence does *much* ; in India, we repeat, it does *all*. To go against the *law* is nothing to the native of India, but he rarely consents to go against the *magistrate*. When a government of mere law comes in, when *codes* instead of *men* are to rule India, the sooner the English are off to their ships the better. Let us see what local influence, supported by the influence of the Government, but scarcely assisted by legal sanction, has done for the suppression of female infanticide in Mynpoorie. In 1843, not a single female Chohan infant was to be found in the district ; at the present moment there are fourteen hundred girls living, between the ages of one and six. We subjoin an extract from the official Registers, from 1844 to 1850, inclusive. The girls born during the year, and still alive at the end of the year, are only entered.

Name of Thannah.	1844.	1845.	1846.	1847.	1848.	1849.	1850.	Total.	Girls of 6 years and under, living in May, 1851.
Koorowlie ...	7	2	19	1	15	15	24	83	119
Shekoabad ...	9	8	2	6	13	15	22	75	80
Bhowgong ...	5	4	3	8	8	7	10	45	60
Koosmurra	11	3	3	2	5	3	17	44	55
Kurhul	1	7	5	4	9	7	10	43	33
Sumao	58	8	35	44	53	46	43	287	145
Mynpoorie ...	28	10	57	57	77	97	108	434	353
Ghurour	15	9	21	41	36	61	57	240	234
Sirsa-gunge	0	2	2	2	1	0	1	8	8
Kyleyee	0	4	25	43	29	38	43	182	140
Phurrah	0	0	8	1	15	13	13	50	38
Total	134	57	180	209	261	302	348	1491	1265

"To check these results, a census of the entire Chohan population of the district, of six years old and under, has been made in the present year. The plan adopted was, first to call upon the village accountants to report the number of boys and girls, up to the age of six, living in their respective villages. These returns were then tested as closely as possible by other independent officials, and, as the result of that examination, the number of females was reduced eleven per cent. The return thus corrected is as follows, and is given for pergunnahs, not for the thannahs, noted in the former table.

Names of Pergunnahs.	Boys 6 years and under.	Girls 6 years and under.
Ghurour	297	194
Souj	376	219
Kurhul	52	33
Koorowlie... ..	33	17
Mustafabad and Shekoabad ...	474	299
Kiahnee Nubbee Gunge... ..	261	102
Munchuna	364	246
Bhowgong... ..	283	150
Alseepoor Puttee	21	3
Total ...	2161	1263"

I will only add to this that Mr. Raikes himself has been active in this good work, and that he is now, I believe, pushing forward, with unabated energy and undiminished success, the enterprise of which he is here the exponent.

One more illustration of the good results of British interference must be adduced before I bring this chapter to a close. The practice of female infanticide was very prevalent on those Orissan hill-tracts, where Macpherson and Campbell achieved such great things for the suppression of the rite of human sacrifice. In some of the tribes it prevailed to such an extent, that no female infant was spared except when a woman's first child was a female. Villages containing a hundred houses were to be seen without a single female child. The practice had its origin in the social customs of the people, very different from those which obtain among the Rajpoots,

of whom I have heretofore spoken. "So far," says Captain Macpherson, "is constancy to her husband from being required in a wife, that her pretensions do not, at least, suffer diminution in the eyes of either sex when fines are levied on her convicted lovers; while, on the other hand, infidelity on the part of a married man is held to be highly dishonorable, and is often punished by the deprivation of many social privileges. A wife, moreover, may quit her husband at any time, except within a year of her marriage, or when she expects offspring, or within a year after the birth of a child; and she may then return to her father's house, or contract a new marriage; while no man who is without a wife may, without entailing disgrace on himself and his tribe, refuse to receive any woman who may choose to enter his house and establish herself as its mistress. Now, a bridegroom gives for a wife of these tribes in which so few women are brought up, a large consideration in cattle and money. The sum is chiefly subscribed by his near relatives and his branch of his tribe, and is paid to his wife's father, who, again, distributes it amongst the heads of families of his own branch. But, when a wife quits her husband, he has a right to reclaim immediately from her father the whole sum paid for her; while the father, at the same time, becomes entitled to levy a like sum from any new husband to whom she may attach herself. And, it being observed that every man's tribe is at once answerable for all his debts, and bound in honor to enforce his claims, it will be understood that these restitutions and exactions, whether to be made betwixt persons belonging to different tribes or to different branches of the same tribe, must be, even in the simplest cases, productive of infinite difficulty and vexation; while they have given rise to three-fourths

of the sanguinary quarrels and hereditary feuds which distract the Khond country. Thence, say the Khonds—‘To any man but a rich and powerful chief, who desires to form connexions, and is able to make large and sudden restitutions, and to his tribe—a married daughter is a curse. By the death of our female infants before they see the light, the lives of men without number are saved, and we live in comparative peace.’ ”

I cannot afford to trace in detail the efforts which were made by Macpherson to root out this dreadful custom from among the Khonds. His exertions were characterised by the same energy and the same success as had attended his great crusade against human sacrifice. To use his own words: “The practice of female infanticide was suppressed in the greatest portion of the Khond country of Sooradah, including Coradah, before the middle of 1844, and early in the present year throughout those Zemindaries—that the measures by which that change was accomplished materially affected the system of life and the chief interests of the Khond tribes, their aim being to establish an ascendancy over the Khond population founded upon a sense of benefits derived from their connexion with the Government—such as the benefit of justice, and that of protection in their intercourse with the low countries, and to remove the principal causes of infanticide, by preventing or settling disputes connected with property involved in marriage contracts, &c.”* To this must be added, at least, an allusion to the interesting fact that the female victims, whom Macpherson had rescued, were given from time to time, when of ripe age, in marriage to men of the Khond tribes, and that these women put forth their influence most suc-

* Capt. Macpherson to Mr. Halliday, Nov. 11, 1846. *MS. Records*

cessfully to wean the people from the hoary custom which had dwelt so cruelly among them.

There is every reason to believe that in this part of the country the efforts of our British officers have been attended with complete success, and that the good results of their humane efforts are likely to be abiding. The last report from the Khond agency contains these encouraging words:—"The lateness of the season," says Captain Campbell, "and the difficulty of procuring a sufficiency of water for my camp, prevented my visiting the infanticidal tribes, but many of the chiefs and a great number of the Meriah females, who had been married to Khonds of these tracts, visited me at Sooradah with their children, and from them I learnt with satisfaction that female children were now generally preserved; and in cases where they were destroyed it was done with great secrecy, and not openly as in former times. An officer of the Sebundies, well acquainted with the infanticidal tribes, and employed in superintending them, confirms this report."*

These good deeds require no gloss—I leave such statements to make their own way. It would be difficult to supply a fitting commentary, and impertinent to comment upon them in language not rising to the height of so great an argument. There are works which the English will leave behind them, mightier than any material fabrics which human skill can fashion and human labor construct. Let us rear what great substantial structures we may—and even in such works we are far surpassing the Moguls—History will be able to record nothing better of British rule in the East than that under the Government of the East India Company the widow ceased to burn herself on the funeral pile of her husband—the mother ceased habitually to destroy the

* *Colonel Campbell to the Government of India, April 10, 1852. MS. Records.*

infant life of her daughters—men ceased to purchase and to rear children for sacrifice to a cruel goddess—murder ceased to be a science and its practice an honorable profession—and that many wild tribes, by the conciliatory efforts of the servants of the Company, were weaned from a life of rapine, and raised from a state of barbarism, to become peaceful agriculturists and civilised rational men.*

* I have said nothing in this chapter about the suppression of Female Infanticide in Cutch, not because I was unmindful of the subject, but because I could not afford any further to extend the dimensions of this chapter. I believe that very gratifying progress has been made in that part of the world. My friend, Dr. Duff, when in Western

India, was assured by the Rao (how interesting must have been a conversation on such a subject between two such men) that there had been, for some years, a gradual diminution of the great crime; and the assertion was satisfactorily proved by detailed statistics.

PART V.

CHAPTER I.

Native Education—Parliamentary Enactments—Encouragement of Oriental Literature—Rise and Progress of the Hindoo College—Substitution of the English System—Lord William Bentinck's Measures—Native Agency—Education in the North-Western Provinces—In Bombay—The Jubbulpore School of Industry—The Roorkee College—Missionary Efforts—Statistics of Education.

IN the two preceding books, I have treated largely of what may be called the institutional crimes of India. I have shown how human wickedness, on a gigantic scale, has been fostered by error and superstition; and how the servants of the Company have brought all their humanity, all their intelligence, and all their energy, to the great work of rooting out the enormities, which from generation to generation have grievously afflicted the land. I have shown how they have toiled and striven, and with what great success, to win the benighted savage to the paths of civilisation, and to purge the land of those cruel rites which their false gods were believed to sanction. There is nothing in all history more honorable to the British nation than the record of these humanising labors. It is impossible to write of them without a glow of pleasure and of pride.

But noble as have been these endeavours, and great as has been the success, which up to a certain point

has attended them, there is something incredibly painful in the thought that, after all, they are fixed upon an insecure basis; that hitherto the action has been rather from without than from within; that we have not generally made an abiding impression upon the native mind; and that, therefore, there is always danger of relapse. In many of the cases which I have selected to illustrate the great victories of European civilisation, it will have been seen that it was the weight of external authority and personal influence which, more than anything else, enabled our countrymen to push forward their civilising measures to anything like a successful termination. The grand obstacle to complete and permanent success, was the gross ignorance of the people—that twofold ignorance which includes the darkness of the intelligence and the deadness of the moral sense. It was hard to awaken the heathens to a living belief in the absurdity of the superstitions to which they bowed themselves, and the wickedness of the practices which they observed.

In most cases, I say, the people yielded to the influences of authority, or were moved by self-interest, to conform outwardly to the wishes of their masters—but they were seldom convinced. It was a great thing to bring about even a diminution of the great crimes which had inflicted so much misery upon countless thousands of our fellow-creatures. But having achieved this amount of success, our officers by no means thought that the work was complete. They felt it might often happen that the people, withdrawn from the immediate sphere of these good influences, would subside into their old evil ways—that, indeed, we might be only casting out devils, to return again to find their old habitations swept and cleansed for their reception, and to wanton there more riotously than before: and they one and all said that the only certain remedy, to which

they could look for an abiding cure, was that great remedial agent—EDUCATION.

In many cases, the men of whose benevolent labors I have spoken, did their best, with the slender means at their disposal, to employ this great remedy in furtherance of their more substantial outward measures ; but such educational efforts were necessarily local and accidental, and of limited application. Thus Sleeman had established Schools of Industry, at Jubbulpore, for the children of the Thugs ; Outram had put to school in Candeish, the little Bheels, whose fathers he had reclaimed ; and Macpherson had turned to similar account his opportunities in favor of the victims whom he had rescued from the hands of the sacrificing Khonds. And, doubtless, these benign endeavours will bear good fruit in their season. But the disease, at which we have to strike, is eating into the very life of the whole country ; and it is only by a great and comprehensive effort that we can hope to eradicate it.

It is only within a comparatively recent period that the education of the people has taken any substantial shape in the administration of the British Government in the East. There was a sort of dim recognition, in some of the early charters, of the Christian duty of instructing the Gentoos ; but it was not until the year 1813 that there was anything like a decided manifestation of the will of the Government in connexion with this great subject. The Charter Act, passed in that year, contained a clause, enacting that “ a sum of not less than a lakh of rupees in each year shall be set apart and applied to the revival and improvement of literature, and the encouragement of the learned natives of India, and for the introduction and promotion of a knowledge of the sciences among the inhabitants of the British territories in India.”* What

* *Act 53rd George III., chap. 155, clause 43.*

this might precisely mean was not very clear; but it seemed to point rather to the encouragement of Oriental than of European learning, and those were days in which the former was held to be of prodigious account. Nothing, however, for some years, of a practical character emanated from this decree of the Legislature. The money thus appropriated, was left to accumulate, and not until ten years after the Act had passed did the local Government take any steps to carry out its intentions. Then a Committee of Public Instruction was established in Calcutta, and the arrears of the Parliamentary grant were placed at their disposal.

Such, in a few words, are all the noticeable officialities of native education up to the year 1823. But there was a movement going on of which no record is to be found in official papers. All that the Government even at this time thought of doing for the education of the people, was through the agency of Pundits and Gooroos; but there were men then in Bengal who held Oriental learning at its true worth, as an instrument of civilisation, and thought that better things were to be found in the writings of the great masters of the English language. First in time, and foremost in enthusiasm among these, was Mr. David Hare. He was a man of a rude exterior and an uncultivated mind—by trade, I believe, a watchmaker. He lacked the power of expression both in oral and written discourse. But for these wants a large infusion of earnestness and perseverance in his character did much to atone; and he achieved what learned and eloquent men might have striven to accomplish in vain. He originated the Hindoo College of Calcutta. He stirred up others to carry out his designs. The seed which he scattered fell on good ground. Sir Hyde East, then Chief Justice of Bengal, took up the project with hearty good will;

and on the 14th of May, 1816, a public meeting was held in his house for the furtherance of this great object. The scheme was fully discussed by European and native gentlemen—and a few days afterwards, at an adjourned meeting, it was resolved that an institution should be founded to bear the name of the “Hindoo College of Calcutta.” A committee and certain office-bearers were then appointed to give effect to the resolution.

It is generally the fate of great undertakings to be assailed by difficulties at the outset, and to struggle slowly into full success. The Hindoo College of Calcutta, in its infancy, put forth nothing but indications of a complete and humiliating failure. In January, 1817, the school was formally opened in the presence of Sir Hyde East, Mr. Harrington, and other influential gentlemen. Upwards of 6000*l.* had been raised by private contributions to give effect to the benevolent views of the projectors. But for some time there were thirty members on the committee, and only twenty pupils in the school. After the lapse of a few months the number on the books rose to seventy, and there for six years it remained. Every effort was made to render the institution acceptable to the natives of Calcutta. All sorts of compromises were attempted. The Bengallee and Persian languages were taught in the school—but still the people hung back, awed by the efforts to make their children familiar with the dangerous literature of the Feringhees. The college, indeed, was almost at its last gasp. European and native supporters were alike deserting it, when Mr. Hare came to the rescue. He sought the sustaining hand of Government; and he obtained what he sought.

This was in the year 1823, when, as I have said, the local Government first turned their serious attention to the subject of Native Education. They acceded to the

request that was made in behalf of the Hindoo College; and stretched out their hands in time to save the institution from the premature extinction that menaced it. They had money then at their command for educational purposes, and although the encouragement of Oriental learning was uppermost in their thoughts, they consented to contribute towards the funds of the new institution, and undertook to erect a building for its use.* But having granted this material support, they naturally desired to exercise some authoritative control over the proceedings of the managers. It was proposed therefore to appoint, on the part of Government, a Visitor ostensibly to see that the money-grant was properly appropriated, but really to watch over and direct the management of the institution. This at first the Baboos resented; but there were some among them who were ready candidly to acknowledge, that after seven years' operation the college had produced nothing better than a few "krannees,"† and that little in the way of enlightened education was to be expected, except from a larger infusion of European energy and talent into the agency employed to carry out the designs of its founders.

The native managers yielded; and a medical officer in the service of the Company was appointed in the capacity of Visitor to give effect to the wishes of the Government. The Indian medical service, from that remote period when Joseph Hume called himself an assistant-surgeon, down to the present time, when the science of William O'Shaughnessy is about to annihilate space between the Indus and the Cauvery, has been bright with the names of distinguished men. But

* That is, it was resolved to construct a building which would answer the purposes both of a Sanskrit and a Hindoo college.

† A *krannee* is a clerk, in a Government or other office—but the word is

hardly translatable into our language, as it by no means represents the high intelligence of the clerks in our own public establishments, or in our banking and mercantile firms.

I do not know that there is one member of that profession who has earned for himself a wider European reputation than Horace Hayman Wilson. He it was who, a quarter of a century ago, was appointed by authority to bring into good working order the fast-failing institution. A man of very varied accomplishments,* but with a predominant taste for Oriental literature, he was not likely to push to an excess the great educational reform which was now beginning to take shape in Bengal. But he threw no common amount of energy into all his proceedings. Under his hands paralysis became activity; exhaustion, strength; decadence, stability. The institution was soon in a state of vigorous energetic action. The Hindoo College became the fashion. Even the old bigoted Hindoo Baboos sent their children there without reluctance; and in the course of a few years, under Wilson's auspices, the class-lists contained the names of four hundred young Bengallees, many of them of good family and position, and all eager for the new knowledge which was opening out its fascinations before them.

But still there was nothing like a decided movement in favor of European learning. The Orientalists were paramount alike in the Vice-Regal city and the Provincial towns,† and Wilson himself was among the

* The following sketch of Professor Wilson's varied accomplishments is really not overcharged. It is written by one who differs widely from him on many essential points, and is uninfluenced by personal friendship:—"Perhaps no man since the days of the 'admirable Crichton,' has united in himself such varied, accurate, and apparently opposite talents and accomplishments. A profound Sanskrit scholar, a grammarian, a philosopher, and a poet, he was at the same time the life of society and a practical clear-headed man of business. On the stage as an amateur, or in the professor's chair as the first Orientalist of our time, he seemed always to be in his place. He has

written on the antiquities, the numismatology, on the history, literature, chronology, and ethnology of Hindostan; and on all these subjects not even Colebrooke himself has written so much and so well. His works show all the erudition of the German school, without its heaviness, pedantry, and conceit; and his style is the best of all styles, the style of an accomplished English gentleman."—[*Calcutta Review.*]

† The oldest educational institution in India supported by Government, is the Mahomedan Madressa, established in 1781, under the auspices of Warren Hastings. About ten years afterwards the Sanskrit College, at Benares, was founded by Jonathan Duncan.

chief of them. "Previous to 1835," says Mr. Kerr, the present principal of the Hindoo College, in his Review of Public Instruction in Bengal, "all the larger educational establishments, supported by Government, with the exception of the Hindoo College of Calcutta, were decidedly Oriental in character. The medium of instruction was Oriental. The mode of instruction was Oriental. The whole scope of the instruction was Oriental, designed to conciliate old prejudices, and to propagate old ideas." Professors and teachers of the Oriental languages were liberally paid. Stipends were given to the students in the Oriental Colleges. Large sums of money were spent on the printing and the translation of books. But under the influence of such a system, little progress was made in the enlightenment of the natives of India. Such efforts did not rouse them from the sleep of apathy, or stimulate their appetite for knowledge. The whole thing, indeed, was a dreary failure, consummated at a large expense.

Nothing was clearer than this fact. It was as clear in Leadenhall-street as it was in Calcutta. The Court of Directors, before the close of 1830, had openly recognised the expediency of a vigorous movement in favor of European education, and had written out simultaneously to the Government of all the three Presidencies, clearly enunciating their views on the subject.* The letters which were then despatched to

* See, for example, the following passage of the letter of the 18th of February, 1829, to the Bombay Government:—"It is our anxious desire to afford to the higher classes of the natives of India the means of instruction in European science, and of access to the literature of civilised Europe. The character which may be given to the classes possessed of leisure and natural influence, ultimately determines that of the whole people. We are sensible, moreover, that it is our duty to afford

the best equivalent in our power to these classes for the advantages of which the introduction of our Government has deprived them; and for this and other reasons, of which you are well aware, we are extremely desirous that their education should be such as to qualify them for higher situations in the civil government of India, than any to which natives have hitherto been eligible." The letters to the Bengal and Madras Governments are in the same strain.

India were conceived in a liberal and enlightened spirit. There was no reservation of the truth in them. They admitted that our assumption of the administration of the country had so far been injurious to the higher classes of the people of India as that it had deprived them of official employment; and urged that it was, therefore, the duty of the State to afford them "the best equivalent in their power." Nothing better could be offered than that sound European instruction which would gradually qualify them for restoration to much of the official employment of which they had been deprived. Lord William Bentinck was at this time at the head of the Government of India. His own unaided judgment had led him to similar conclusions; and he was well prepared to lay the axe to the trunk of the great tree of Oriental learning, with all its privileges and patronages, its monopolies and endowments. But it was not until 1835 that, thinking that as the old Charter of 1813 had been buried, the errors to which it had given birth might die with it, he gave the death-blow to the Oriental system, and in a famous minute, dated March 7, thus declared his opinions:—

"His Lordship in Council is of opinion that the great object of the British Government ought to be the promotion of European literature and science among the nations of India, and that all the funds appropriated for the purposes of education would be best employed on English education alone.

"It is not the intention of his Lordship to abolish any college or school of native learning, while the population shall appear to be inclined to avail themselves of the advantages it affords.

"His Lordship in Council decidedly objects to the practice which has hitherto prevailed, of supporting the students during the period of their education. He conceives that the only effect of such a system can be to give artificial encouragement to branches of learning, which, in the natural course of things, would be superseded by more useful studies; and he directs that no stipend

shall be given to any student, who may hereafter enter at any of these institutions; and that when any professor of Oriental learning shall vacate his situation, the Committee shall report to the Government the number and state of the class, in order that the Government may be able to decide upon the expediency of appointing a successor.

"It has come to the knowledge of his Lordship in Council, that a large sum has been expended by the Committee in the printing of Oriental works. His Lordship in Council directs that no portion of the funds shall hereafter be so employed.

"His Lordship in Council directs that all the funds, which these reforms will leave at the disposal of the Committee, be henceforth employed in imparting to the native population a knowledge of English literature and science through the medium of the English language."

Never was any reformation more complete and irresistible than this. The Orientalists stood aghast before it, for there lay their idol broken at their feet. The President of the Educational Committee, Mr. Shakespear, had thrown up his office in anticipatory disgust. But there were men of higher intelligence on the other side—men who had prompted Lord William Bentinck, and were now eager to support him. Foremost among these were Macaulay and Trevelyan.* The former

* I had written this before the appearance of Mr. Cameron's "Address to Parliament on the Duties of Great Britain to India in respect of the Education of the Natives," made me acquainted with the language of Mr. Macaulay's minute of the 2nd of February, 1835, in which he reviews, in a masterly manner, the whole question of Government patronage of education. I cannot refrain from quoting the conclusion of this paper:

"I would strictly respect all existing interests. I would deal even generously with all individuals who have had fair reason to expect a pecuniary provision. But I would strike at the root of the bad system which has hitherto been fostered by us. I would at once stop the printing of Arabic and Sanscrit books. I would abolish the Madrassa and the Sanscrit College at Calcutta.

Benares is the great seat of Brahmanical learning; Delhi, of Arabic learning. If we retain the Sanscrit College at Benares and the Mahometan College at Delhi, we do enough, and much more than enough in my opinion, for the Eastern languages. If the Benares and Delhi Colleges should be retained, I would at least recommend that no stipends shall be given to any students who may hereafter repair thither, but that the people shall be left to make their own choice between the rival systems of education without being bribed by us to learn what they have no desire to know. The funds which would thus be placed at our disposal would enable us to give larger encouragement to the Hindoo College at Calcutta, and to establish in the principal cities throughout the Presidencies of Fort William and Agra schools in

seated himself in the vacant President's chair; and from that time English education has been as dominant in the chief Government schools throughout India, as before it was languid and depressed.

But by the reader ignorant of all the bearings of the great educational controversy which twenty years ago agitated the learned world of Bengal, and was echoed in the other presidencies of India, it must not be supposed that Lord William Bentinck and his supporters ever contemplated the degradation of the vernacular. The blow which they struck was aimed not at the living but at the dead languages of the country—at the Sanscrit and the Arabic—at languages which were not employed as vehicles of intercommunication, and which contained little in their books to elevate the mind, to invigorate the understanding, or to facilitate the business of life. The importance of the vernacular language as a medium of instruction was admitted; perhaps, with no great heartiness and sincerity. The Court of Directors, however, had consistently urged upon the local Governments the expediency of promoting the extension of indigenous education.* And now the

which the English language might be well and thoroughly taught.

"If the decision of his Lordship in Council should be such as I anticipate, I shall enter on the performance of my duties with the greatest zeal and alacrity. If, on the other hand, it be the opinion of the Government that the present system ought to remain unchanged, I beg that I may be permitted to retire from the chair of the Committee. I feel that I could not be of the smallest use there. I feel, also, that I should be lending my countenance to what I firmly believe to be a mere delusion. I believe that the present system tends, not to accelerate the progress of truth, but to delay the natural death of expiring errors. I conceive that we have at present no right to the respectable name of a Board of Public Instruction. We are a board for wasting public money, for printing books which are of less value

than the paper on which they are printed was while it was blank; for giving artificial encouragement to absurd history, absurd metaphysics, absurd physics, absurd theology; for raising up a breed of scholars who find their scholarship an encumbrance and a blemish, who live on the public while they are receiving their education, and whose education is so utterly useless to them that, when they have received it, they must either starve or live on the public all the rest of their lives. Entertaining these opinions, I am naturally desirous to decline all share in the responsibility of a body which, unless it alters its whole mode of proceeding, I must consider not merely as useless, but as positively noxious.

"T. B. MACAULAY."

* See the Court's letter to Bengal, written in September, 1829: "We must put you on your guard against a disposition of which we perceive some traces

educational authorities declared themselves in nowise willing to deprive the people of the most obvious means of acquiring information through the spoken languages of the country; and directed that in all the Government colleges and schools the cultivation of the vernacular should go hand in hand with that of the English language.*

It was in furtherance of this great object of encouraging the study of the spoken languages of the country, that in the beginning of 1835, Mr. William Adam, a gentleman of considerable local experience, and of a thoughtful inquiring mind, who had originally gone out to India as a Baptist missionary, but who had lapsed into Socinianism, and become the editor of a Calcutta journal, was despatched by Lord William Bentinck on a special commission, to inquire into the state of indigenous education in Bengal and Behar. He prosecuted his inquiries with great earnestness, and amassed an immense store of information relating to the state of the vernacular schools, and, indeed, the general condition of native society in those pro-

in the general Committee, and still more in the local Committee of Delhi, to underrate the importance of what may be done to spread useful knowledge among the natives, through the medium of books and instruction in their own languages. That more complete education, which is to commence by a thorough study of the English language, can be placed within the reach of a very small proportion of the natives of India; but intelligent natives, who have been thus educated, may, as teachers in colleges and schools, or as the writers and translators of useful books, contribute in an eminent degree to the more general extension among their countrymen of a portion of the acquirements which they have themselves gained, and may communicate in some degree to the native literature, and to the minds of the native community, that improved spirit which it is to be hoped, they will themselves have imbibed from the influence of Eu-

ropean ideas and sentiments."— [*The Court of Directors to the Government of Bengal, September 28, 1830, quoted in Mr. Willoughby's Minute.*]

* See the following manifesto on the subject put forth by the Committee of Public Instruction:

"The general committee are deeply sensible of the importance of encouraging the cultivation of the vernacular languages. That they do not consider that the order of the 7th of March precludes this, and they have constantly acted on this construction. In the discussions which preceded that order, the claims of the vernacular languages were broadly and prominently admitted by all parties; and the questions submitted for the decision of Government only concerned the relative advantage of teaching English on the one side, and the learned Eastern languages on the other."

vinces. The reports which he furnished to Government are as interesting as they are instructive. The great fact which they set forth, clearly and unmistakeably, was, that there was very little education of any kind in Bengal and Behar, and that that little was lamentably bad. In some thannas, or police divisions, the per centage of educated youth—taking the period of education to lie between the fifth and the fourteenth years—was as low as two-and-a-half. In others it was much higher. But it was shown, at the same time, with equal clearness, that the per centage of adult education was considerably lower. And Mr. Adam arrived at the conclusion, “that within a comparatively recent period, certain classes of the native population, hitherto excluded by usage from vernacular instruction, have begun to aspire to its advantages, and that this hitherto unobserved movement in native society has taken place to a greater extent in Bengal than in Behar. Such a movement apparently will have the effect which has been found actually to exist—that of increasing the proportion of juvenile instruction as compared with that of adult instruction, and of increasing it in a higher ratio in Bengal than in Behar.” This mission did something for vernacular education; but, doubtless, it was not much.

The system established by Lord William Bentinck has been maintained with little variation by his successors. The Committee of Public Instruction, now known as the Council of Education, has numbered among its members some of the ablest and most enlightened men who have ever braved the damp heats of Bengal.* Under their superintendence, encouraged alike by the local and the home Governments, they have given due effect to this system, and the result has

* The Council of Education is an honorary Board with a salaried secretary. It is composed partly of European gentlemen (some of them not in the Company's service) and partly of natives.

been, that with the aid of a highly-cultivated staff of educational officers, they have rendered a large number of Hindoo and Mahomedan youths familiar with the amenities of European literature. The proficiency attained in the principal scholastic institutions is such as is very rarely acquired by boys of the same age in any other country in the world. I do not believe that there are half a dozen boys at Eton or Harrow who could explain an obscure passage in Milton or Shakespeare, or answer a series of historical questions, extending from the days of Alexander to the days of Napoleon, with as much critical acuteness and accuracy of information, as the white-muslined students who, with so much ease, master the difficult examination-papers which it has taxed all the learning and all the ingenuity of highly-educated English gentlemen of ripe experience to prepare, and who in any such trial of skill would put our young aristocrats to confusion.

All this is past dispute—the proficiency is admitted. But there has seldom been much more than the proficiency of the clever boy. A very few exceptional cases, just sufficient to prove the rule on the other side, might be adduced to show that European education *has* struck deep root in the native mind; but the good seed commonly fell by the way-side, and the birds of the air devoured it. All the enervating and enfeebling environments of Indian life, at the critical period of adolescence, closed around the native youth, to stupify and to deaden both the intellectual faculties and the moral sense. The Hookah and the Zenana did their sure work. And in a year or two there was little left of the bright-faced, quick-witted boy who could put the Penseroso into good English prose, tell you who were Pepin and Charles Martel, and explain the character of the “self-denying ordinance” as accurately as Hallam or Macaulay.

The children of India were, perhaps, the most impressionable—the most teachable children in the world. But, left to itself, the impression was soon effaced; the teaching soon became profitless. The mere mechanical power of reading and writing remained. The native students became expert penmen, and remained expert penmen to the last. Much of the copying work in the Government offices had long been done by them. But it was impossible to read any number of documents so copied without the conviction that the copyist had brought the smallest possible amount of intelligence to bear upon his work. The eye seemed to communicate directly with the hand; there was no intervention of the brain. The process was merely that of the machine. The member was instructed—but the mind was not cultivated. The intelligence of the well-tutored boy was seldom carried into the practicalities of actual life.

It was mainly to remedy this evil—to check the retrograde tendency of which I speak—that under the administration of Lord Auckland, certain scholarships were founded in the principal Government institutions. It was obvious that any system which would have the effect of riveting the knowledge, which we imparted, on the minds of the students, and preserving their literary ardor from early extinction, would confer great benefits on the people. Of infinite moment was it that the native student should not glide away from beneath the eye of his preceptor, just at that most important stage of life when the boy passes over the bridge to manhood. The scholarship system was designed to render the effects of all this good Government teaching rather an abiding influence than a transitory impression. And as far as its advantages have extended, I believe that there is a solid reality in them. In all the Presidencies of India scholarships have been

founded, both in connexion with the English and the Vernacular schools. And this alone is sufficient to associate the administration of Lord Auckland honorably with the cause of native education.

But the good effect of this encouragement was necessarily limited. Something more was required to give a general impulse to native education, even among the more influential classes of society. The Court of Directors, it has been seen, had always associated native education with official employment, and the local governments had, partially at least, given effect to the wishes of the Court. But it seemed that a more authoritative declaration of the views of Government should now be put forth, with respect to this important matter of public employment—that something, indeed, in the shape of a pledge, should be given to the educated natives, that their claims would be duly regarded. Lord Hardinge, before he was compelled to push aside the portfolio and take the sword into his hand, had given his mind earnestly to the subject of native education. Regarding it both in connexion with its general effects upon the elevation of the national character, and upon the qualification of the people for employment in the public service, he came to the conclusion that conformably both with the decrees of the Legislature, and the expressed desire of the Court of Directors, those objects would be best attained by a more authoritative enunciation of the views of Government—by a specific declaration that it was their intention, thenceforth, to recognise a certain educational test of qualification for the public service, and by so doing, both to encourage the diffusion of knowledge, and to raise the character of the native agency employed in the service of the State. Whether education were to be promoted that this agency might be improved, or whether these inducements were to be

offered that education might be promoted, was in reality of little consequence, so long as the reciprocal action of the two was secured. Lord Hardinge believed that both ends could be attained by an authoritative enunciation of his views and intentions ; and he prepared a minute, which has since become very famous in the later history of native education, wherein, under date, October 10, 1844, he thus declares the intentions of the Government :—

“ The Governor-General, having taken into his consideration the existing state of education in Bengal, and being of opinion that it is highly desirable to afford it every reasonable encouragement, by holding out to those who have taken advantage of the opportunity of instruction afforded to them, a fair prospect of employment in the public service ; and thereby not only to reward individual merit, but to enable the State to profit as largely and as early as possible, by the result of the measures adopted of late years for the instruction of the people, as well by the Government as by private individuals and societies, has resolved, that in every possible case, a preference shall be given, in the selection of candidates for public employment, to those who have been educated in the institutions thus established, and especially to those who have distinguished themselves therein by a more than ordinary degree of merit and attainment.”

To the Council of Education, as the general educational executive, it was left to carry out the details of a scheme at once liberal and wise ; but it often happens that the wise liberality of an original project, passed through the filtre of mechanical detail, is purged of all its heartiness and sincerity, and weakened and reduced to something narrow and exclusive, and most unlike the first design. Lord Hardinge's minute was subjected to this process of filtration ; and all its ca-

tholicity was left behind in the machine. The Council of Education prescribed a test, based entirely on the educational system of the Government colleges,* so that the pupils of those institutions which had been established "by private individuals and societies" were practically excluded from the competition.

The Court of Directors entirely disapproved of this decision. "It appears to us," they wrote, "that the standard can only be attained by the students in the Government colleges, and that therefore it virtually gives to them a monopoly of public patronage." "We are also of opinion," they added, "that this high test, instead of promoting, will in effect discourage the general acquisition of the English language. Those who cannot hope to pass this test will not think it worth their while to bestow any time upon learning the English language, at least with a view to employment in the public service." And they argued that men might be well qualified by their general character and attainments for public employment, although they were but imperfectly acquainted with the writings of Shakspeare and Ben Jonson, or, indeed, with the English language at all. "Where from local circumstances," they said, "the persons whom it would be most desirable to employ are found deficient in that knowledge, we would not, on that account, peremptorily exclude them from employment, though other qualifications being equal, or nearly so, we would allow a knowledge of the English language to give a claim to preference."

Nothing could have been heartier than the wish of the Court to have ever "at their disposal a body of natives qualified by their habits and acquirements to take a larger share, and occupy higher situations in

* The examination was to be similar to that to which candidates for the senior scholarships at the Calcutta and Hooghly colleges were subjected.

civil administrations than had hitherto been the practice." But this liberal desire soon overleapt itself. For the native students, encouraged by the known wishes of the Court, and the declarations of the local Government, so strove to qualify themselves for office, and so eagerly sought Government employ, that many were necessarily disappointed. Employment could not readily be found for them. And this discouraging, though inevitable fact, was emphatically pointed out by some of the heads of colleges to the superintending authorities. Thus, in the report of the Delhi College for 1850, it is stated, that "several of the more advanced students had, during the past year, been attending the civil courts, with the view of familiarising themselves with the forms of official business. The officiating principal, in noticing this, remarked, that from the press of competition, it not unfrequently happened that youths, whose qualifications were undoubted, remained long after quitting the college without any provision. He therefore proposed that any *élève* of the college who could procure a certificate of his fitness for official employment from the officer whose court he had been attending, should at once be appointed a supernumerary, on a small salary, till such time as a vacancy might occur. "The principal of the Benares College also observed, that much difficulty was experienced even by his best pupils in their search for employment after quitting the college. He therefore proposed that the passing of an examination of some fixed and high standard should entitle the successful student to immediate employment under Government, on a salary of 30 rupees (per mensem) or thereabouts: should no vacancy exist at the moment, the passed candidate might be directed to prosecute his studies at the college, and to employ himself under the direction of the committee in the preparation of translations

and treatises in the vernacular.”—“ A class,” it was added, “ like that of the fellows of our English colleges would thus be formed, the members of which might be drafted off as their services were required, into the educational or other departments.”

But these proposals did not altogether meet the approbation of the authorities. It was declared that there was no reluctance on the part of heads of departments to employ the passed students of the Government colleges and schools—that on the other hand every practicable effort would be made to afford them the encouragement which they sought; but that it was clearly impossible to find employment in the Government service for all candidates urging the claims of a collegiate education; and that it was inexpedient that a general impression should obtain among them that such education conferred upon them any *right* to official employment. No Government in the world could afford systematically to recognise such claims. It is one thing to hold out an inducement to exertion by showing that successful efforts will strengthen the chances of obtaining official employment; another, to admit that such efforts constitute a prescriptive right to office. All that Government could possibly do was to hold out encouragements of the former class. It was clearly impossible to pledge themselves to the latter.

It would appear from these statements that considerable difficulty has attended the efforts which have been made to give practical effect to the wise and benevolent intentions of the Court of Directors. The design was one of a reciprocal beneficial action—the hope of public employment giving an impulse to education, and education mightily improving the character of the public service. But there was a defect in the national character which did much to embarrass the

practical working of this admirable design. The natives of India, when once their expectations are raised, lean with child-like helplessness on the strong arm of Government, and, instead of exerting themselves, believe that everything will be done for them. Instead of something conditional, they thought that they saw something absolute in the promises of Government, and believed that they had only to conform to a certain test to secure official employment. The tendency of this was to give them narrow and exclusive views of the advantages of education, and greatly to limit private enterprise.

It was clearly mischievous that the natives should look upon official employment as the one great aim and end of education. Mr. Cameron, therefore, did wisely when he cautioned the native students of Bengal against this dangerous delusion. "Do not imagine," he said, "that the sole or the main use of a liberal education is to fit yourselves for the public service; or rather do not imagine that the public can only be served by the performance of duties in the offices of Government . . . Besides the public service and the pursuits of literature and science, there are open to you the learned professions, law, medicine, the highly honorable profession of a teacher, and that which has but lately become a profession, civil engineering."* It was a great thing that the natives should be encouraged to cultivate their minds by the promise of the high reward of official employment; but it was a still greater thing that they should learn to rely on themselves—to look to education as the means of independent advancement in life. So often is it that in the very best of human designs, there is some germ of failure at the bottom.

In the mean while a great experiment was going

* Address of the President (Mr. Cameron) of the Council of Education to the students under its superintendence.—[*Cameron's Address to Parliament, &c.*]

on in the North-West. In 1845 circular letters were addressed to all the revenue-collectors, calling their especial attention to the subject of education. These letters are a model of sound practical sense combined with the purest benevolence. They set forth a general admission that "the standard of education amongst the people is very low;" and then they proceed to show that "causes are at work, which tend rapidly to raise the standard and improve the intellectual state of the whole population." These causes were mainly to be found in the operation of the new settlement. "The people of Hindostan," continues the secretary of the North-Western Government, "are essentially an agricultural people. Anything which concerns their land immediately rivets their attention and excites their interest. During the late settlement a measurement has been made, and a map drawn of every field in these provinces, and a record formed of every right attaching to the field. The 'Putwaree's' papers, based upon this settlement, constitute an annual registry of these rights, and are regularly filed in the collector's office. They are compiled on an uniform system, and are the acknowledged groundwork of all judicial orders regarding rights in land." The case thus stated, as between the Government and the agriculturist, the former proceeded to show the direct interest which every man had, under such a system, in the education of himself and his children. "It is important," they wrote, "for his own protection that every one possessing any interest in the land should be so far acquainted with the principles on which these papers are compiled as to be able to satisfy himself that the entries affecting himself are correct. There is thus a direct and powerful inducement to the mind of almost every individual to acquire so much of reading, writing, arithmetic, and mensuration, as may suffice for the

“ protection of his rights; until this knowledge be
 “ universal, it is vain to hope that any great degree
 “ of accuracy can be attained in the preparation of
 “ the papers.”*

Thus, for the first time, was it plainly manifested to the people, that the maintenance of their individual rights was dependent upon their own power of ascertaining them—that without the rudiments of education they were liable to be wrongfully dealt with—that, in short, the power of reading and writing was essential to the very life of an agricultural population. An appeal was thus directly made to the self-interest of the people. It was something that every one could understand; and was far more likely to be responded to by the rude peasants of Upper India than any abstract propositions regarding the value of learning and the duty of improving the mind. But although this was to be the beginning, it was not to be the end. It was believed that if self-interest were to lead them a little way along the paths of learning, they would be induced by higher motives to advance further in the march of mind. “ When the mind of the whole people,” it was said, “ has thus been raised to a sense of the importance of knowledge, it is natural to suppose that many from the mass will advance further, and cultivate literature for the higher rewards it offers, or even for the pleasure which its acquisition occasions.”†

* Three years afterwards it was declared that the progress of time had tended to confirm these views of the connexion between the revenue-system and the education of the country:—“ Subsequent experience has confirmed the lieutenant-governor in his opinion that those features of our present revenue-system, which affect the registration of all landed property, afford the proper means by which the mass of the people may be roused to a sense of the importance of sound elementary in-

struction. If the people at large continue as ignorant as they now are, the system cannot work out for them all the advantages it is calculated to produce. These advantages are so palpable to their minds, that when rightly apprehended they form the strongest incentive to any exertion which will secure their attainment.”—[*Government of North-Western Provinces to Government of India, April 19, 1848.*]

† *Ibid.*

For the furtherance of these ends the collectors were exhorted, above all things, to endeavour to carry the people with them—not to think of introducing novel and barely intelligible systems among them—but to accommodate themselves, as far as possible, to existing institutions. “Judicious encouragement,” it was said, “would promote the formation of village schools, and enlist in the work of education the persons whom the people themselves might select as their teachers and support for that purpose.” The preparation of a series of village school-books was commenced for circulation among the people. Detailed instructions were given to the Tehsildars, or native revenue-officers, who were to be employed as the immediate agency for the prosecution of this scheme; and the utmost endeavour was made to collect, from all parts of the provinces, detailed educational statistics wherefrom to construct the groundwork of their operations. It was not the design of the Government to establish schools of its own, but to encourage the maintenance of old institutions, and to stimulate the people to extend the benefits of the existing system.

The statistical inquiries, thus directed, were pushed forward with hearty good-will. To the majority of those concerned in the new settlement it was a congenial task. A valuable series of reports was thus prepared, and a vast mass of information was collected. The aggregate result was a deplorable picture of the state of education in Upper India. It was ascertained that “on an average less than 5 per cent. of the youth who are of an age to attend schools obtain any instruction, and that instruction which they do receive is of a very imperfect kind.”*

* *Government of the North-Western Provinces to Government of India, November 18, 1846.*

In the preface to the “Memoir on

the Statistics of Indigenous Education within the North-Western Provinces of the Bengal Presidency,” to which I am indebted for the information contained

To supply this grievous want, Mr. Thomason now proposed the endowment of a school in every considerable village. The plan which he desired to carry out he believed to be in accordance with the feelings of the people and the character of their institutions. He suggested that the endowment should be secured by small grants of land—that jagheers of from five to ten acres each, yielding a rental varying from twenty to forty rupees per annum, should be granted to the village communities for the purpose of maintaining their schoolmasters. But this proposal* did not meet the approbation of the Court of Directors. They acknowledged, in the most unqualified manner, “the necessity for giving some powerful impulse to elementary education in the North-Western Provinces.” They declared themselves “prepared to sanction the adoption of some more comprehensive plan of extending and improving the means of popular instruction throughout the country;” but they doubted the expediency of sanctioning the proposed plan of landed endowments.

in this and some of the following pages, Mr. R. Thornton, the compiler, says:—“Out of a population, which numbered in 1848, 23,200,000 souls, and in which were consequently included more than 1,900,000 males of a school-going age, we can trace but 68,200 as in the receipt of any education whatever. In Prussia nine-tenths of this portion of the population is stated to be under instruction. In Russia, the most barbarous of the European monarchies, the proportion is as one to nine. In India, even with a large allowance for those receiving domestic and private education, it is as one to twenty-five. Low, however, as this proportion is, it is only when considered in connexion with the degree of information imparted, that it conveys any idea of the extent of the deficiency to be supplied.” But it was not only that the per centage was very low in comparison with that exhibited by the educational statistics of Europe, but that as compared with the state of the Lower Provinces of Bengal—the darkness of the Upper seemed to be

very apparent. “Assuming,” said the Agra Government, “boys from the commencement of their fifth to the end of their fourteenth year to be of an age best adapted for receiving instruction, it is calculated that, in the Lower Provinces, the per centage of such boys now receiving instruction varies from 32 in Bengal to a little more than 5 in Behar. In Bombay it appears to vary from 7 to 13. In Agra, one of the most favored districts in these provinces, it is only 5½.”

* The proposal was supported by an argument of a general kind, worthy of notice. “It is the standing reproach of the British Government,” wrote the Agra secretary, “that whilst it continually resumes the endowments of former sovereigns, it abstains from making any, even for those purchases which it considers most laudable. The present measure will in some degree remove this reproach, and that in a manner most acceptable to the feelings of the people at large.”

"It has, no doubt," they wrote, "the advantages ascribed to it, and is apparently the most economical arrangement for effecting the object proposed. Endowments of land are, however, open to obvious objection. They have an inherent tendency to assume the character of permanent and hereditary property, independent of any reference to the tenure by which they were originally held. An actual occupant, even should he prove inefficient, would think himself deprived of a right if he was removed, and a son would claim to succeed to his father whether he were competent or not. The evil would be aggravated by the extreme difficulty of exercising a vigilant control over such numerous establishments, and in one or two generations it might happen that the alienation of revenue would be of little avail in securing the education of the people."*

Moved by these considerations, the soundness of which is not to be denied, the Court declared themselves in favor of the expediency of moneyed payments. They were ready, they said, to give their attention to any plan inviting the payment of monthly stipends to the village schoolmasters, or a direct expenditure of money in any other manner most likely to secure the great end of the diffusion of knowledge among the people. "Too thankful for the liberality of these concessions to lay any stress on the rejection of his particular scheme," Mr. Thomason now set himself with earnestness to devise a plan which should meet the wishes of the Court. He frequently discussed the best mode of accomplishing this object with all the officers of Government with whom he came into communication in the course of his annual tour. And the result of this discussion was a strong convic-

* *Despatch of Court of Directors, August 25, 1847.*

tion that the system of moneyed payments to village schoolmasters was open to very grave objections. He proposed, therefore, that the ordinary village schools should remain as before, self-supporting institutions; but that in every tehseldarree, or revenue-district, a model school should be established at the general expense, "to provide a powerful agency for visiting all the indigenous schools, for furnishing the people and the teachers with advice, assistance, and encouragement, and for rewarding those schoolmasters who may be found the most deserving."* To each district was to be attached a Zillah visitor and three Pergunnah visitors—the system being one of visitation and superintendence—and these officers were to be emphatically enjoined "to conduct themselves with the greatest courtesy both to the people at large and to the village teachers." They were carefully to avoid anything that might offend the prejudices or be unnecessarily distasteful to the feeling of those with whom they have communication. "Their duty," it was added, "will be to persuade, encourage, assist, and reward, and to that duty they will confine themselves."

It was calculated that this scheme, when carried out in all its completeness, would necessitate an expenditure of about 20,000*l.* per annum. A partial experiment was proposed in the first instance; and it was suggested at the same time that a Visitor-general should be selected from among the civil servants of the Company to communicate with the subordinate agency, to direct and control their operations, and secure the efficient working of the entire scheme. The Court of Directors sanctioned the arrangement; and a Resolution of the Government of the North-Western Pro-

* *Government of the North-Western Provinces to Government of India, April 19, 1848.*

vinces, dated 9th of February, 1850, formally inaugurated the plan.

Turning now to the general statistics of Education, it would appear from the most recent statements that there are in the Lower Provinces of the Bengal Presidency 30 Government colleges and schools in which English is taught—that these schools are conducted by 283 masters, and that the number of pupils receiving instruction in them is 5465 ; and that among these 291 scholarships, of the annual value of 5000*l.* in all, are held up for competition. In the same part of the country there are 33 Government Vernacular schools, with 104 pupils, and 4685 scholars. The entire annual expenditure upon English and Vernacular schools in Lower Bengal is about 38,000*l.**

In the North-Western Provinces there are 7 colleges and schools, supported by Government, in which English is taught. In these there are 112 masters, 1583 pupils, and 232 scholarships, of the value of about 2300*l.* Besides these are 8 model schools, of the origin and intent of which I have spoken. The total expenditure in the North-Western Provinces amounts to 13,350*l.*

It appears from the same official record that, under the Madras Presidency, there is only one school in which English is taught—the Madras University High School—with 13 masters and 180 pupils. The number of Vernacular schools seems to be uncertain. The gross expenditure is 4350*l.* Education is in a more depressed condition in Madras than in any other part of the Company's territories.

From Bombay the reports are more encouraging. It

* In the last Report of Public Instruction in Lower Bengal (1853), prepared since these statistics were made out, it is stated that, "during the past year (1852), there were in the Government institutions of Bengal, including

the Vernacular schools, upwards of 11,000 pupils, of whom 108 were Christians, 791 Mahomedans, 189 Arricanese, Thugs, Bhangulpore Hill boys, and Coles—and the rest Hindoos."

appears that there are 14 Government colleges and schools in which English is taught, with 62 masters and 2066 scholars, amongst whom 84 scholarships of the aggregate annual value of 588*l.* are divided. Besides these there are 233 Vernacular schools, with the same number of masters and 11,394 students. The total expenditure, on account of education in this Presidency, is 15,000*l.*

It would appear from these statements that the annual expenditure on account of education in the three Presidencies is about 70,000*l.* The Madras returns being imperfect, the actual number of pupils under instruction in the Government schools cannot be given. Perhaps it may be estimated at about 30,000.

The number of scholars in the Government schools has, with a few exceptions, steadily increased. Thus, in the Hindoo College of Calcutta, in 1833, there were 318 pupils; the last returns (1851) exhibit a total of 471. In the medical college of Calcutta the advance has been rapid and striking. In 1835 there were 67 students on the books; the last returns show that the number had risen to 228. In the Dacca College the number has risen from 144, in 1835, to 383 in 1851. In the Midnapore School the number was 45 in 1836, and 125 in 1851. In the Chitagong School there has been an advance from 61 in 1837, to 125 in 1851. In Sylhet, from 62, in 1843, to 114 in 1851. These cases are all taken from the returns of the Lower Provinces of Bengal.* There are no comparative tables to the same extent in the reports from other parts of the country. The last Bombay reports give the returns of Vernacular education for the last two years, from which it would appear that in 1851 there were 10,965 pupils, and in 1852, 11,088. I can only gather the progress in the North-Western Provinces from scattered fragments in the different detailed reports. Thus, from

* In the last Report of the Committee of Public Instruction.

Saugor, it is reported that "the applications for admittance to the English class had exceeded in number those of any previous year, and the desire for English knowledge was evidently on the increase, whilst the institution generally appeared to be appreciated by the inhabitants of Saugor, and was resorted to by the children of all classes." From Jubbulpore it is reported that "the constituency of the school had increased during the past year by 94 pupils, a result which the head master attributed to the increased favor with which the institution was regarded by the inhabitants of Saugor and its vicinity." From the Delhi College it is reported, that in 1848 the number of pupils in the English departments was 218; and in the following year 234. From the last report of the Madras University, it would appear that the number of pupils had risen in the last year to 180 from 173, the number in the preceding year.

It is clearly beyond the scope of a mere chapter on Native Education to treat in detail of the different institutions established and supported by the East India Company. But there are two or three, of an exceptional and so interesting a character, that I must devote a few pages to them before the chapter is brought to a close. I think that the foundation of the Medical College of Calcutta is one of the greatest facts in the recent history of Indian Administration. Half a century ago, a project for the establishment of an institution, intended to convey to the natives of India instruction in European medical and surgical science, would have been scouted as the chimera of a madman. Even a quarter of a century ago, when Lord William Bentinck first arrived in India, men of sound judgment and long experience shook their heads and said that the natives of India, to whom the touch of a corpse is the deadliest contamination, could never be brought to face the science of anatomy as European

students face it in the dissecting-room. But the experiment, under his auspices, was tried. It was tried and it succeeded. The Medical College of Calcutta was founded; and Hindoos of the highest caste learnt their lessons in anatomy, not from models of wax or wood, but from the human subject. The beginning was small; but the progressive advancement was striking. In 1837—the first year, of which a record was kept—sixty bodies were dissected before the students. In the next year the number was precisely doubled. In 1844 it had risen to upwards of 500. The college was highly popular. There was evidently a strong desire on the part of the native youths for medical and surgical knowledge, and their prejudices gave way beneath it. But a greater victory, even than that which was to be seen in the dissecting-room, was now soon about to be achieved. In 1844, that liberal and enlightened native gentleman, Dwarkanath Tagore, offered to take to England and to educate at his own expense two students of the Medical College.

The proposal was communicated to Dr. Mouat, the secretary of the college—a gentleman of a large and liberal mind, to whose energy and intelligence the cause of Native Education is greatly indebted. In the assembled school he made the announcement, pointed out the advantages the proposal offered, and asked whether any were inclined to profit by the liberality of their distinguished countryman. On this, three native students volunteered unconditionally to cross the black water. They were all, with a fourth fellow-student, enabled to proceed to England,* and in our English colleges, competing with the best scientific scholarship of the West, they earned great distinction and carried off high rewards.

* Dr. Goodeve, one of the professors of the college, offered to take a third pupil at his own expense, and raised an additional sum, by private subscription,

which enabled him to take a fourth. "The four pupils who accompanied the professor, and started in the steamer Bentinck on the 8th of March, were

Of an equally practical, but of a different kind, is the Engineering College of Roorkee, in the North-Western Provinces. It was suggested by the progress of the great public works in the Deah, of which I have spoken in detail. Its object is to afford a good education in practical science both to Europeans and native—to train up a new race of public servants, by whose aid these great works may be successfully prosecuted to their completion. For many years past there has existed a large demand for skill in every branch of practical engineering. Efforts were made for some time to find the means of special scientific training in existing institutions, but they were found to be inadequate to such a purpose; and on the 25th of November, 1847, Mr. Thomason published a "Prospectus of a College for Civil Engineering," which is now established at Roorkee, and on the first day of the following year the first pupils were formally enrolled. By the middle of 1848 the establishment was completed, the buildings erected, and the classes opened.

An institution of this kind is calculated to be of immense advantage, both to the Government and the people. It is estimated that the expenditure on public works,* in the North-Western Provinces, including those the cost of which is defrayed from the road

Rholonath Bose, a pupil of Lord Auckland's school at Barrackpore, who was supported at the medical college by his lordship for five years, and was considered by the late Mr. Griffith, the most promising botanical pupil in the school—Gopaul Chunder Seal—Dwarkanath Bose, a native Christian, educated in the General Assembly's Institution, and employed for some time as assistant in the Museum—together with Surprize Comar Chuckerbutty, a Brahmin, native of Comillah, a junior pupil, and a lad of much spirit and promise."—[*Report of the Medical College for 1844.*]

* "The problem, then, for the Government to solve is, how they can most economically manage this large expenditure. Many civil engineers,

artificers, and laborers must be employed in the disbursement. Whatever will increase the science, skill, and character of these agents, will cause a material saving in the expenditure. Whatever tends to multiply the number of well-qualified agents will facilitate the operations and cheapen the supply. It cannot be an unthrifty course which appropriates less than one and a half per cent. of the whole estimated minimum expenditure to training up an efficient agency, and sending them forth with all the appliances which may make them intelligent and trustworthy servants of the State."—[*Report on Roorkee College, printed by order of Government of North-Western Provinces in 1851.*]

and ferry funds, is not less than 580,000*l*. It is of the first importance to secure an efficient and economical agency for the execution of these works. In no way can this great end be so well secured as by raising a class of engineers on the spot under the eyes of British officers. A great impulse will thus be given to Native Education. Few things are so much wanted as honorable professions attractive to the youth of the country; nor are the only advantages those which immediately occur to the employers and the employed. "It is evidently impossible," to use the words of the official exposition of the scheme, "that an agency, such as it is designed to connect with Roorkhee College, should be brought into exercise in the midst of the dense population of the Northern Doab, without materially improving the social condition of the inhabitants. The certain discoveries of modern science would be substituted for the crude and mistaken notions which now prevail on all subjects connected with natural philosophy. The people would have daily before their eyes some of the greatest achievements of scientific skill, and they would be taught the steps by which that skill is acquired, and the means by which it is brought into operation. A stimulus will be given to the native mind, which cannot fail to be highly beneficial. This is in itself an object worthy of the aim of a great Government. It is a purpose for which the State has appropriated large sums of money in all parts of the country."*

Of one other institution I must briefly speak. It is one of peculiar interest. When Sleeman and his associates had stricken down Thuggee, it seemed to them that it would be a great thing, and, as it were, set the crown upon their work, if a school were to be esta-

* *Report on Roorkhee College, printed by order of Government of North-Western Provinces in 1851.*

blished, not only for the education of the children of these convicted murderers, but also for the instruction of such of the criminals themselves as had been induced to become approvers. With this object, a school of industry was established at Jubbulpore. I believe that the idea first took shape in the mind of Lieutenant Brown, and that he was the originator of the institution. It had, like other great works, a small beginning; but it has now become an important establishment, viewed with regard both to its material and moral results. Within a factory, enclosing a space of 350 feet by 224, are to be seen continually at work, blacksmiths, dyers, spinners, tape-makers, chintz-printers, carpenters, carpet-makers, tent-makers, and other artisans. "None of them knew any trade but that of robbery and murder when the school was established in 1837."* "All now work with the greatest cheerfulness, and even rivalry; manufactures of great variety and excellent quality are produced in abundance. . . . The whole exhibits a scene of industrious activity which is highly refreshing, and cannot but exercise a most beneficial influence on its inhabitants."† During a part of the day the children are instructed in reading and writing, and instead of becoming habituated to murder from their boyhood, there is every likelihood of their growing up to be not only peaceful and well-conducted men, but skilled artisans, able to gain a livelihood for themselves, far in advance of that which is procured by the common labor of the country.‡

I am writing of the administrative efforts of the Company and their servants; and in this chapter it only comes within my original design to give some account of the educational system and institutions of

* *Colonel Sleeman to Government, July 23, 1846. MS. Records.*

† *Police Report of Mr. Macleod. MS.*

‡ See for some further information relative to these schools, Appendix G.

the Government. But I cannot refrain from turning aside in this place to bestow a few words on the great and successful exertions of private bodies to diffuse, principally through missionary agency, the light of knowledge among the people. It would be pleasant to write in detail of what has been done by different religious communities to disseminate European learning in the large towns, and to promote Vernacular Education in outlying districts, but I cannot do more than illustrate and exemplify the good that has been done by the private efforts of these Christian men. It is not difficult to select an illustrative example from among the many Protestant communities who are now earnestly and diligently laboring in the great cause of Native Education; there is, perhaps, not one that would not cheerfully acknowledge that the foremost place amongst these educational benefactors of India is due to Alexander Duff and his associates—to that little party of Presbyterian ministers who now for more than twenty years have been toiling for the people of India with such unwearying zeal, and with such wonderful success.

It was in the month of May, 1830, that Alexander Duff, a minister of the Church of Scotland, arrived at Calcutta. He was then a very young man, but his wisdom was far in advance of his years. Never was purer zeal—never sturdier energy devoted to a high and holy calling. He went out to India charged by the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland with the duty of establishing an educational institution for the purpose of conferring on native youths all the advantages of sound and comprehensive European Education—an education, indeed, of the highest order, “in inseparable conjunction with the principles of the Christian faith.” It was a great experiment—a few years before it would have been a dangerous one. But Duff never so regarded it. He began his work;

and he waited. He opened his school with seven pupils; and ere long he had 1200. There was never any reservation on the part of Duff and his associates.* It was openly and unequivocally avowed that the Holy Scriptures were taught in the schools. But the native children came freely to the Christian institution, and regarded their Christian teachers with affection.† There are missionary schools scattered over all parts of India, and freely the children come to be taught, but there is not one which, either for the magnitude or for the success of the experiment, can be compared with those presided over by Duff and his associates. Bombay and Madras share worthily in these honors; and the educational achievements of their Scotch divines deserve to be held in lasting remembrance.

There are some, perhaps, who, reading this, may feel disposed to ask, why cannot the Government do likewise—why, if the natives of India flock to the Bible-schools, is the Bible so rigorously excluded from the Government institutions? My individual opinion is, that the Bible might be safely and profitably admitted into the Government school-rooms, like any other class-book. But there are very many able and right-minded men who think differently on this most important subject, and there are some who say that it would be unworthy of our Government to submit to such a compromise, and that the Gospel ought not to be taught like algebra in the schools. I know that there is a vast difference between the use of the Bible in a private school and in one under the immediate superintendence of the servants of the Government, and that what in one case would be regarded with in-

* The Rev. W. S. Mackay, T. Smith, Ewart, and Macdonald—who died at his post—all men of great piety and intelligence.

† For further information regarding

these institutions, and for many other matters of the deepest interest, see Dr. Duff's interesting and eloquent work, "India and India Missions."

difference, in the other might create irritation and alarm in the native mind. I shall touch briefly on the general subject of Government interference in the next chapter. But it is not the object of this work to deal with controversial matters, or to attempt to settle vexed questions of so delicate a character as this.

It will have been gathered from this rapid sketch of Native Education, especially as it has progressed under the Bengal Presidency, that public instruction is as yet only in its infancy. I cannot doubt, however, that very much has already been done by means of this great regenerative agent to advance the progress of civilisation among the people. It is true that when the entire number of pupils under education in the Government schools is compared with the population of the British provinces, it will be seen that our educational schemes are making very little direct impression upon the minds of the great mass of the people. But this is very far from the view which any reasonable man would take of this great question. We can only hope to work upon the uninstructed many through the agency of the instructed few.* We must trust, as it were, to the contagion of education. It is hard to say how many are indirectly benefited by the blessings conferred directly upon one pupil educated at the public expense. There is a reproductiveness in knowledge—a diffusiveness in truth—which renders it impossible for us to calculate the results of such instruction as is being conferred upon the

* Colonel Sykes, in a very valuable paper on the "Statistics of Government Education," published in 1845, gives a table showing "The employment of the students who have left the Government schools and colleges (in Bengal) up to 1839-40," from which it appears that the largest number, except that em-

braced by the comprehensive term "Miscellaneous," went out into the world to teach: 83 became English teachers; 33, Arabic teachers; 133, Persian teachers; 50, Sanscrit teachers; 20, Bengalee teachers; 4, Hindoo teachers; and 5, Urdu teachers.

people of India by the Government and the Missionary schools.*

* Since the publication of the first edition of this work, it has been stated in Parliament by Mr. Macaulay, that during the time of his connexion with the Indian Government, "every important measure which was adopted—every measure of which History will hereafter make mention, was taken without any authority whatever from home." "I believe," he added, "that every one of those measures or acts was regarded with disapprobation at home. That was most eminently the case with respect to that great reform, which was made in 1835 by Lord William Bentinck, on the subject of Native Education." On such a question it need not be said that Mr. Macaulay is a great authority. But broad assertions of this kind seldom convey the exact truth. It is impossible to read such passages as that given from the Court's letter of Feb. 18, 1829, at page 594, *ante*, without perceiving that the views of the Home Government were substantially identical with those of Lord William Bentinck, and that the Company had been long recommending the extension of European Education. But the home authorities thought that they perceived, at the time to which Mr. Macaulay refers, a tendency to run into extremes, and were fearful lest the Bentinck-and-Macaulay system should become too exclusively English in its character. The importance of Vernacular Education at one time seemed likely to be overlooked—and it may be doubted

whether even now it is sufficiently recognised.

I should be glad to see a little more attention given to Vernacular Education, and the Normal School principle well carried out. It appears, from an admirable Minute on Native Education, drawn up by Mr. Willoughby shortly before leaving Bombay, that in the principal institutions there the Vernacular languages are held of less account even than they are in the Bengal colleges. The writer says: "But to revert to the subject of Vernacular education, I would now inquire why, when a boy is admitted into the English college or school, should instruction in his mother tongue cease? Why, in fact, should not the study of English and Vernacular be combined?—a system which, I understand, has been successfully introduced into the plan of education pursued in the Hindoo College at Calcutta. By compelling the student to give his undivided attention to the new language, there must be a great risk of his losing the knowledge, at the best but superficial, he had previously acquired of his own language. I see no reason for this, but, on the contrary, think the study of both languages, being proceeded with *pari passu*, would in several respects be exceedingly advantageous to the student. Indeed, I am happy to observe that the system of combined instruction has recently been introduced here, though not to the extent which appears to me advisable."

CHAPTER II.

The Past and the Present—The First Indian Chaplains—Rise and Progress of the Church Establishment—Charles Grant—The Charter of 1813—the First Indian Bishop—Increase of the Church Establishment—Missionary Efforts—Progress of Christianity.

OF all the great controversial questions, which have arisen out of British connexion with the East, not one has been discussed with so much earnestness and so much acrimony as that which relates to the introduction of Christianity into India. Happily the controversy is now at an end, and the acrimony has died with it. It is well, always, that we should be tolerant of exploded errors, and remember that the demonstrated of the present may not have been the demonstrable of the past. There is no subject on which I entertain a stronger opinion than this—none, perhaps, on which I have thought and written so much. But I do not know what I might have thought or written if I had lived in India half a century ago. Many very good and able men have advocated a system of non-interference, under a rooted conviction that any attempt to convert the natives of India to the Christian faith would be attended with the most calamitous results. After-events have shown the groundlessness of their alarms; but candor admits that there may have been reason, half a century ago, in what now appears unreasonable and absurd.

In the reign of William and Mary the conversion of

the Gentoos was decreed in Letters Patent from the Crown. The Charter granted to the second East India Company in 1698 contained a clause, enacting that the said Company should constantly maintain "one minister in every garrison and superior factory," that they should in such "garrison or factories provide or set apart a decent and convenient place for divine service only;" and furthermore, that "all such ministers as shall be sent to reside in India shall be obliged to learn, within one year after their arrival, the Portuguese language, and shall apply themselves to learn the native language of the country where they shall reside, the better to enable them to instruct the Gentoos, that shall be the servants or slaves of the said Company, or of their agents, in the Protestant religion."

Though the Company antecedently to this period may never have cherished the great idea of the conversion of the Gentoos, by the agency of their own chaplains, they had not from the very first been unmindful of the spiritual interests of their own people. Some at least of their early ships took out chaplains, and it had been the custom for all to receive a sort of ecclesiastical benediction before braving the perils of the deep. A farewell sermon was preached on board by some learned divine, often in the presence of the governor and committees of the Company.* The prin-

* Mr. Anderson, in his very valuable "History of the Colonial Church," quotes one of these farewell sermons, by John Wood, Doctor in Divinitie, which was published in 1618. The discourse was delivered on board the *Royal James*, and is dedicated to Sir Thomas Smith, Governor of the Company, and his colleagues. It appears that Dr. Wood had several times before preached to the crews of vessels about to depart for India. A passage in the epistle dedicatory, quoted by Mr. Anderson, leaves a very favorable impression on the mind of the general character of the managers of the Company. "I must

needs set down," says the old divine, "that as God hath greatly encreased your store, so ye have not been backward to impart much and more than any societie (that ever I could heare of) to the supply of the wants of his poore members; your daily reliefs of poore ministers of the Gospell; your charitie to prisoners, to widowes, to orphans, and to all well-minded poore people that you finde to stand in neede of your helpe, cannot but plead for you in the eyes of God and all good men. Go on therefore (in God's name) in your noble designs, and rest ye still upon his blessing, who (I doubt not) hath many

cial part, indeed, of the Company's establishments were on board the ships, and it would seem that the factors ashore relied mainly on the vessels both for spiritual and corporeal consolation. The surgeons and chaplains were not, it would appear, attached to the factories, but were part of the staff of the generals and captains who came out in the Company's ships. But there were godly men at that time among the factors who longed for something more than this. Old Joseph Salbank, whose letters I have quoted in the early part of this work, wrote urgently to the Company for zealous and able divines to teach the heathens, and counteract the subtle influence of the Jesuits. "Pray censure it not as a part of boldness in me," he said, "to advertise you of one matter, which may seem to be much fitter to be spoken of or written by another man than myself, even of your preachers and ministers; that you send hither to reside amongst us, and to break unto us the blessed manna of the Heavenly Gospel—very convenient it will be for you to provide such as are not only sufficient and solid divines, that may be able to encounter with the arch-enemies of our religion, if occasion should so require, those main supporters of the hierarchy of the Church of Rome, I mean the Jesuits, or rather (as I may truly term them) Jebusites, whereof some are mingled here in several places in the King's dominions amongst us—but also godly, zealous, and devout persons, such as may, by their piety and purity of life give good example to those with whom they live, whereby they will no less instruct and feed their little flock committed unto

more in store for you; and so long as you conscionably seek to honour his name among the heathen, and (under him) to advance the state wherein ye live, will (no doubt) afford you many comfortable assurances of his love and favour, both to your bodies and soules

here in this life, and crowne you with eternall glorie with himself in the life to come." Mr. Copeland, who afterwards did good service to the interests of Christianity in the West Indies, sailed as chaplain in the *Royal James*.

them, no less by the sincerity of the doctrine they teach them.”*

The earliest mention of a Company's chaplain that I have been able to find is in a letter dated Ajmere, April 27, 1616. It is written by Sir Thomas Roe to “Mr. Lescke, chaplain at Surat.” There was about this same time at Surat a Mr. Copeland, chaplain on board the *Royal James*, whose name subsequently became associated with the early history of the West Indian Church.† A curious letter; dated “Swally, March 4, 1617,” relating to the conversion of a Mogul Atheist, is among the early records of the Company. On the first establishment of our factory at Madras, it would seem that in the absence of a Protestant ministry the settlers were fain to avail themselves of the ecclesiastical assistance of a Capuchin friar, who paid the penalty of his toleration by enduring imprisonment for five years in the dungeons of the Inquisition at Goa.‡ In 1655, a Protestant chaplain was ministering in Fort St. George.§ In 1667, Mr. Walter Hooke, and in

* *Joseph Salbank to the Company, Agra, November 22, 1617. India House Records.*—There is some obscurity in this passage as there often is in the phraseology of these old factors. Whether the writer meant to say that the matter whereof he advertised the Company was “even your preachers and ministers that (whom) you send hither (or are in the habit of sending hither) to reside amongst us”—or “even your preachers and ministers that you (should) send (some) hither to reside amongst us”—is not very apparent. He may either have meant that the Company should send ministers, as there were none then among them; or that they should send better ones than those appointed before.

† *Anderson's History of the Colonial Church.*

‡ See Orme's “Historical Fragments.” The historian states that in 1661 the Presidency of Surat blamed the Madras agency for persisting in giving protection to two or three Ca-

puchin friars, although one of them had suffered an imprisonment of five years in the Inquisition at Goa, for accommodating his ministry to the convenience of the settlement.

§ There may have been one before him, but this is the earliest mention of a Madras chaplain that I have been able to find. The passage in which it is contained is curious on other accounts. It is part of a report of a consultation held at Metchlapatam (Masulapatam) December 4, 1655. “Next was had into consideration what proportion of means was thought needful to be allowed to such of the Company's servants as are to reside at Madraspatam and Metchlapatam, and the subordinate factories, for their necessary expenses, charges, garrison, &c., excepted, it was agreed that 30 old pagodas should be allowed to Mr. Edward Winter to uphold the Company's houses at Metchlapatam, Verasheeroon, Pettepollee, Daleepadee, and 60 new pagodas for the president

1668, Mr. William Thomson, were elected chaplains for that settlement.* But it was not until 1680 that the first stone of the first English church in India was laid at Madras by Streynsham Master, chief of the factory, who carried on the pious work at his own charge, and never halted till he had brought it to an end.

At the beginning of the eighteenth century this church was finished, furnished, and, to a certain extent, endowed. Two ministers were attached to it, each on a salary of 100*l.* a year. Prayers were read in it twice a day. On Sundays, the whole settlement, headed by the President, proceeded thither in great state, through a street of soldiers, and reverently joined in the service, according to the forms of the Anglican Church.†

In 1716, an English Protestant church was erected in Calcutta, and two years later one was completed at Bombay. From that time there was necessarily more

and two factors, *the minister and his wife*, and *chirurgeon*, at Fort St. George."—[*India House Records. MS.*]

* From a list of "Chaplains in India prior to the union of the two Companies," given by Mr. Anderson in his "History of the Colonial Church," as obtained by him at the India House. Mr. Hooke's is the first name on the list, but it is certain that there were chaplains before him. I find mention of a Mr. Thomson and his wife at Madras in the year 1655. "It was propounded touching Mr. Thomson and his wife, that if they cannot find this year convenient passage for their own country, and if they remain at Fort St. George, they shall have diet at the Company's table—but Mr. Thomson himself is to be referred to the Company's pleasure what salary he shall have for his pains." I believe this to be the same Mr. Thomson as is referred to in the text, and that he and Mrs. Thomson are the "minister and his wife" alluded to in the preceding note.

† See a curious account by Charles Lockyer, who visited Madras about the year 1703: "The church is a large

pile of arched building, adorned with curious carved work, a stately altar, organs, a white copper candlestick, very large windows, &c., which render it inferior to the churches of London in nothing but bells—there being one only to mind sinners of devotion, tho' I've heard a contribution for a set was formerly remitted the Company. . . . Prayers are read twice a day; but on Sundays religious worship is most strictly observed. Betwixt eight and nine, the bell tells us the hour of devotion draws near; a whole company of above 200 soldiers is drawn out from the inner fort to the church-door, for a guard to the passing President. Ladies throng to their pews, and gentlemen take a serious walk in the yard, if not too hot. On the Governor's approach, the organs strike up and continue a welcome till he is seated; when the minister discharges the duty of his function, according to the forms appointed by our prudent ancestors for the Church of England."—[*An Account of the Trade in India, &c., &c., by Charles Lockyer, 1711.*]

outward recognition of the duties of religion, but, save in such exceptional cases as it is to be hoped will ever be presented by communities of Christian men, however limited their numbers, there was little genuine piety and little morality of life. Throughout the remainder of the century, the Company's ecclesiastical establishment, like their civil and military services, continued to grow in numerical strength; and even then there were earnest-minded men at home, as Dean Prideaux and others, who were eager to see that church-establishment placed under episcopal superintendence, and who would have sent out bishops and archdeacons, even an archbishop, to take spiritual command of the small bodies of Christians who were then located in the settlements of India. Perhaps such superintendence might have had an improving effect upon the lives of the Company's chaplains. It would seem that, at the close of the last century, they were a money-making race of men. There is a curious entry in the Journal of Mr. Kiernander, the old Danish missionary, running in these words: "The Rev. Mr. Blanshard is preparing to go to England upon an American ship in about a fortnight, worth five lakhs (of rupees). Mr. Owen two and a half lakhs. Mr. Johnson three and a half lakhs."* This was at the commencement of 1797. The first had been twenty-three years attached to the Indian ministry; the second, ten years; and the third, thirteen years. An average annual saving, if Kiernander is to be trusted, of 2500*l*.! It is needless to say that these fortunes could not have been realised out of the Company's allowances, even with the addition of the ministerial fees, which in India are liberally bestowed.† These churchmen must have devoted themselves to

* See Kiernander's Journal, in the *Calcutta Review*.

† In those days there may have

been no lack of burials—but Christian marriages and baptisms were few.

something more lucrative than the cure of souls and the burial of the dead. What it was may be readily conjectured.

But with the new century came a new race of men to preside over the English Church in Bengal. In the rooms of a Fellow of King's College, Cambridge, a little group of young men might have been seen assembled when the studies of the day were at an end. They went thither to hear such truths as did not fall very readily from the lips of their ordinary preceptors; and what they then learnt was seldom forgotten. It seemed to be the peculiar privilege of Charles Simeon to prepare young men of large intellectual capacity and strong religious convictions for the active work of the Anglo-Indian ministry. It was, happily, too, in his power to do more than teach. Held in the highest esteem and veneration by such men as Henry Thornton and Charles Grant, he had little difficulty in furthering the views of his disciples, and Indian chaplaincies were readily procurable from Directors of the Company, who, not unmindful of the responsibilities of ecclesiastical patronage, joyfully availed themselves of every such occasion of turning their opportunities to profitable account. What Halle and Franke, years before, had been to the Danish mission, Cambridge and Simeon became to the English Protestant Church. David Brown, Claudius Buchanan, Henry Martyn, Daniel Corrie, and Thomas Thomason, were all of them chaplains on the Company's establishment in Bengal. They obeyed the orders of a Governor-General, and received every month from the public treasury a heavy bag of rupees. They were not missionaries, but the missionary spirit was strong within them, and in one, at least, it glowed with as burning and as chaste a zeal as in the breast of a Xavier or a Ziegenbalg. They were all of them single-hearted,

pure-minded men ; men, too, of more than common intellectual capacity, and of industry which shrunk from no accumulation of labor in a cause so dear to their hearts. Of this little band of Christian athletes David Brown was the father and the chief.. One after one, as the younger men followed him to the scene of his ministrations, he opened his doors to receive them, and send them on their way with a message of encouragement and advice.

And as they were speeding on their godly journey other words of encouragement came to them from high places far off across the seas. It was no small thing for them to know that they had not gone abroad to be forgotten—that good men and great men were thinking of them, and praying for them at home, and strenuously supporting their efforts. Charles Grant had not been long in the Direction before his influence became little less than that of the Company itself. It is slight exaggeration to say that for many years he was not a Director, but the Direction. He was a man of a solid understanding, of large experience, and of a resolute industry which took no account of mental or bodily fatigue. The exhausting climate of Bengal had not impaired his energies or unstrung his nerves. He was always ready braced for work ; the claims of the country in which he had built up his fortune, of the people among whom he had spent all the best years of his life, pressed heavily upon his mind. He had attained less of worldly distinction in India than his friend and neighbour, John Shore, Lord Teignmouth, but he brought home to England a larger zeal, a more active benevolence, and far greater strength to measure himself with his cotemporaries at home and take his proper place among them. It was no small thing at such a time for a retired Governor-General of India to write pamphlets in behalf of Christian mis-

sions, and to preside over a society having for its object the circulation of the Holy Scriptures throughout all the dark places of the earth. But what Lord Teignmouth did for India, after his withdrawal from the scene of his vice-regal labors, was in comparison with the busy stirring practicalities of Charles Grant's new career, very much the work of a recluse. The head-piece of the Company in Leadenhall-street, the mouth-piece of the Company in St. Stephen's, the oracle, on all subjects of Indian import, of that little knot of warm-hearted, earnest-minded men who discussed great measures of humanity on Clapham-common, Charles Grant, whether writing elaborate despatches to the Governor-General, or addressing the House of Commons, or imparting his ample stores of Indian experience to William Wilberforce or Henry Thornton, so tempered the earnestness of his spiritual zeal with sound knowledge and strong practical sense, that whatever he said carried a weighty significance with it. Such a man was much needed at that time. He was needed to exercise a double influence—an influence alike over the minds of men of different classes in India, and of his colleagues and compatriots at home. So, whilst he was writing out elaborate despatches to the Governor-General of India—such despatches as had never before been received by an Indian viceroy—and to more than one of the Company's chaplains in India, letters of affectionate encouragement and parental advice, he was brushing away the cobwebs of error with which men's minds were fouled and clouded at home, and uttering sound practical truths with the stamp of authority upon them, such as no one ever ventured to designate as the amiable enthusiasm of a dreamer of dreams and seer of visions.

Conspicuous among his Indian correspondents was Claudius Buchanan. This able and excellent man had

been one of the recipients of Henry Thornton's bounty, and had by him, and I believe also by Isaac Milner, been recommended for an Indian chaplaincy to Charles Grant. The Director was not slow to recognise the merits of the young Scotchman, and Buchanan was sent to Bengal. He had less of the missionary spirit than Henry Martyn. He was altogether less earnest, less enthusiastic, less self-denying. The expansive Christianity of the son of the Cornish miner wandered out into illimitable space, far beyond the narrow sphere of archdeaconries and episcopal sees. But Buchanan, with a more worldly judgment and intellectual qualities of a more serviceable kind, believed in his heart that the regeneration of India was to be accomplished mainly by a Church Establishment. And, full of this idea, he drew up elaborate schemes of ecclesiastical extension, and wrote letter after letter to Charles Grant, and to many of the highest dignitaries of the English Church, setting forth the expediency of a large augmentation of the number of Indian chaplains, and the subjection of the whole body to the authority of a bishop, or rather a group of bishops, with a primate at their head. "An archbishop," he wrote, "is wanted for India; a sacred and exalted character, surrounded by his bishops, of ample revenues and extensive sway; a venerable personage, whose name shall be greater than that of the transitory governors of the land; and whose fame for piety, and for the will and power to do good, may pass throughout every region." His ideas upon this subject, indeed, were somewhat exuberant; and even now, after the lapse of nearly half a century, can scarcely be read without a smile. "It is certain," he said, "that nothing would more alarm the portentous invader of nations (Napoleon) than our taking a religious possession of Hindostan. Five hundred respectable clergy of the English Church, established in our

Gentoo cities, would more perplex his views of conquest than an army of fifty thousand British soldiers. The army of fifty thousand would melt away in seven years; but the influence of an upright clergyman among the natives of the district, would be permanent. He would be to them in time their mouth and mind, and speak for them peace or war.”* Buchanan did not write this to Charles Grant, but to the Archbishop of Canterbury. The sagacious, large-browed Director would probably have smiled at the idea of the overthrow of Napoleon’s invading legions by an army of five hundred Company’s chaplains, with an archbishop at their head. But this great political heresy was, after all, not much more absurd than the orthodox belief which was, at that time, accepted by a large proportion of the most intelligent European gentlemen in the East. The current faith was not that the Bible would beat Napoleon’s artillery, but that it would expedite our overthrow more surely and more rapidly. How curious and instructive is it to contrast such a passage as that which I have just quoted from the correspondence of Claudius Buchanan, with the following, taken from a letter now before me, written in 1808, by one of the most intelligent officers in the Company’s service—a Resident at a native Court—to a high civil functionary in Calcutta. The reference, also, in this case is to the rumoured invasion of Napoleon :

“ I most cordially assent to all the sentiments you express of the impolicy, or rather madness, of attempting the conversion of the natives of this country, or of giving them any more learning, or any other description of learning, than they at present possess. With respect to the Hindoos, they appear to me to have as good a system of faith and of morals as most people; and with regard to the Moosulmans, it is quite sufficient if we endeavour to con-

* The writer adds: “ Friendly, admonitory, social intercourse is what is wanting to enchain the hearts of the people of Hindostan, and to make them our people.” Nothing can be more true.

ciliate their confidence, and to mitigate their vindictive spirit. Sir Willam Jones has in a very few words given us a correct outline of the only system of government adapted to this country—‘To give them (the Hindoos) protection for their persons and places of abode; justice in their temporal concerns; indulgence to the prejudices of their religion; and the benefit of those laws, which they have been taught to believe sacred, and which alone they can possibly comprehend’—I can assure you that I do not feel so much anxiety and apprehension from the menaced designs of Buonaparte, as from the plans which have become so fashionable amongst the Puritans of the India House. This alarm has been chiefly excited by the perusal of some pamphlets, which have been lately published in London, and have been issued from your Bible Societies, your Christian Societies, and other corporations of bigotry. You have a Mr. or Dr. Buchanan—an officer of your College, who appears to me to have done a great deal of harm. From the prizes, which he presumed to offer for certain Exercises at the University of Cambridge, I am convinced that he is a man of wretched and most unchristianlike vanity. I do not even approve of your zeal in the translation of the Bible and New Testament into I know not how many languages. The Scriptures may appear very admirable to us, who are prepared to venerate them as the instrument of revelation. But I do not think they are calculated to excite respect and admiration in the garb of translations, in the minds of men who are prepared to deny their truth.”*

It would be difficult to find a more remarkable contrast than is displayed in these two passages, and equally difficult to decide whether the one or the other is more preposterous in its exaggerations. A battalion of Company’s chaplains was not less likely to defend India against the encroachments of Napoleon, than the ‘Puritans of the India House’ were to facilitate his aggressive designs.

It was about this time that the great controversy was at its height. Never at any period was the one

* *M.S. Correspondence.*

party more strenuous in its efforts to demonstrate the danger of making a show of Christianity in India, and never was the other more zealous in its endeavours to prove the fallacy of these tremendous expectations. That well-known historical event—the massacre at Vellore—came, at an inopportune moment, to stimulate and exasperate the controversy. There were not wanting, either in England or in India, writers and speakers to attribute this calamity to the alarm excited in the breasts of the people by the movements of the very few missionaries who were then suffered to pursue their peaceful calling in the Company's territories. The people of India, it was said, believing that their ancestral faith was threatened by the European usurpers, had risen up against their conquerors, and murdered them in their beds. This was but a foretaste, it was prophesied, of greater horrors to come. If the Bible were not shelved, and the missionaries recalled, the cantonments of the white men, from one end of India to the other, would be deluged with Christian blood. Reason and candor could not but pronounce all this a monstrous fable. But to many prejudiced minds, it was too acceptable not to be readily taken on trust, and the fiction found favor in London, no less than in Calcutta and Madras.

The currency which the fiction acquired for itself disquieted the "Puritans of the India House." It could not stand the touch of reason, it is true, but fictions that cannot stand the touch of reason are often very long-lived and robust, for there are thousands and tens of thousands of people who never reason at all. It was easy for such a man as Charles Grant to explode the error in a few argumentative sentences, but he was too sagacious not clearly to perceive the mischief of its dissemination:—

"I most of all suffer," he wrote, "from the absurd, malevolent, and wicked stories, which the weak, the prejudiced, the enemies of Christianity, have poured forth on this occasion to discredit, to bring into suspicion, to blacken as dangerous and mischievous, the few poor and assuredly harmless efforts, which have been made under the British Governments, to introduce the light of the Gospel into India. Greater efforts were made by other nations, centuries anterior to our ascendancy there. The natives have seen converts made to Christianity, though in small numbers, from age to age. No influence to disturb the public peace has ever followed. In our time, what perfect indifference have the generality of the Europeans shown to the religion they call theirs—what complacency in the superstitions of the country—how utterly abhorrent of everything that looked like compulsion. What have the few missionaries labouring there done but proposed a message of peace in the language and temper of peace, reason, and affection? Was there a missionary, or a chaplain, or any ostensible advocate for Christianity anywhere near Vellore? But I am hurrying into a subject which requires to be treated with deliberation and seriousness. All the disaffected to the propagation of the Gospel, among our own people both in India and here, take this opportunity to speak of the danger of allowing missionaries to exercise their functions in India. Doubtless prudence and discretion are always necessary in that work—they are particularly so now; but if from unworthy fears we should disavow our religion, or even be led to silence all attempts to communicate it to our subjects in a mild rational way, I should fear that the Great Author of that religion would be provoked to withdraw his protection there from us."*

And again he wrote, with how much sound sense, and with what a clear perception of the real weakness and the real strength of all human governments:

"They predict dreadful consequences from the preaching, writing, and itinerating of a few missionaries. These men, as far as I can judge, are remarkably peaceable, humble, pious, and affectionate in their whole demeanour, and pretending to no influence but what the truth, fairly exhibited, is calculated to produce. I

* *MS. Correspondence.*

know that the idea of converting the natives to Christianity has always been offensive to many of our countrymen in India, but chiefly to those who were no friends of Christianity in their own persons. And from such men the cry now comes that the activity of those missionaries will excite the jealousy and resentment of the natives; although no one instance of any expression of such suspicion or dissatisfaction on the part of the natives against the Government is given, or I believe can be given. I fear that these reports, taken up and re-echoed here, will lead to some precipitate measure, offensive to God, and all the more serious part of the community of this country, as well as injurious to the real interests of the Company abroad and at home. They have already various enemies who will oppose the renewal of the Charter, and if they act upon any principle which, however, disguised amounts in effect to an exclusion of the Gospel from the natives of India, a weight will be thrown into the opposing scale likely to bear them down.

“ I have for many years considered the question of introducing Christianity among our Indian subjects. . . . Caution and prudence are at all times necessary in proposing the truths of Christianity to heathens; there may be particular conjunctures when these, and perhaps a degree of forbearance are specially required—but for a Christian nation to say deliberately that they will prohibit the communication of that religion which comes from God to fifty millions of men, sunk in idolatry, superstition, and vice, is a proposition so monstrous and shocking, so contrary to the most rational and probable cause to be assigned for the conduct of Providence in committing so vast an empire to our care, that I tremble at the thought of it and the consequences it would be likely to produce. . . . Minor questions are agitated about the irregular entrance of some missionaries into India, and the imprudence of continuing their labors, after the natives have shown so much alarm (in the reports chiefly I believe of Europeans), but the real question depending is whether the door shall be shut to the entrance of missionaries into British India? It would require much time and space to advance all that is to be said upon the question, but if ever it is deliberately settled in the negative, I shall consider the warrant is signed for the transition of our empire there, and I hold this opinion with men of greater authority and name than mine.”*

* *M.S. Correspondence.*

As the period for which the old Charter of 1793 had been granted wore to a close, men began to bestir themselves in England about this great matter of Christianity in India. The question which then agitated the mind of the religious community was twofold. There was a comparatively small, but most respectable, party, who believed that the great end to be gained was an extension of the Church establishment—who looked up to the lawn sleeves of the bishop as the great agent of evangelisation, and scarcely shrunk from the avowal of an opinion that the stability of British rule in the East much depended on the foundation of archdeaconries and episcopal sees. There was another, and much larger party, who took but little account of dignities and dignitaries—who, remembering what had been done by fishermen and tent-makers, sought only that earnest-minded Christian men, no matter of what worldly estate, should be suffered, on their own responsibility, as men without any official stamp upon them, to visit and teach the Gentiles. These questions, much brooded over in private before, were now publicly discussed. Many and various were the opinions expressed—many and various the exponents of those opinions and the outward shape of the exposition. Some betook themselves to the printing-press, and a war of pamphlets commenced. Others embodied their views in public petitions, and a heavy rain of memorials then began to descend upon the Legislature. Others, again, declared their sentiments before Parliamentary Committees, and set forth the experiences of their lives in such a manner as to make the uninitiated wonder how any two men of similar antecedents should deduce from their connexion with the past such dissimilar conclusions.* And

* Compare the evidence given by Warren Hastings and by Lord Teignmouth. It is instructive on more than one account to read the examination of

the latter in the present day. The Committee seemed to know the kind of man they had to deal with, and assailed him at starting by putting an extreme

finally, members of Parliament, in both Houses, spoke out with much antagonistic earnestness, and brought both questions to an issue.

On the 22nd of March, 1813, the House of Commons went into committee on the India Bill. Lord Castle-

case: "Would it be consistent with the security of the British empire in India, that missionaries should preach publicly, with a view to the conversion of the native Indians, that Mahomet is an impostor, or should speak in opprobrious terms of the Brahmins, or their religious rites?" To this, of course, Lord Teignmouth replied, that there might be danger in such indiscretion; but that no one contemplated the conversion of the natives of India by such means; and when, soon afterwards, the question was put, "Is your lordship aware that an opinion prevails in India, that it is the intention of the British Government to take means to convert the natives of the country to the Christian religion?" he answered, without a moment's hesitation, "*I never heard it, or suspected it.*" One would have thought that there was little need after this to put the case hypothetically; but the witness was presently asked whether, allowing such an opinion to exist among the natives, the appearance of a bishop on the stage would not increase the danger. "I should think," said Lord Teignmouth, "it would be viewed with perfect indifference." Determined to work the hypothesis a little more, the Committee asked him whether, "*were* the Hindoos possessed with an idea that we had an intention of changing their religion and converting them into Christians, it would be attended with any bad consequences at all?" "I will expatiate a little in my answer to that question," said Lord Teignmouth; and he then delivered himself of the following explanation, the admirable good sense of which is not to be surpassed by anything to be found in the entire mass of evidence, elicited throughout the inquiry, upon all points of the Company's charter:

"Both the Hindoos and Mahomedans, subject to the British Government in India, have had the experience of some years, that, in all the public acts of that Government, every attention has been paid to their prejudices, civil and religious, and that the freest toleration is allowed to them; that

there are many regulations of Government which prove the disposition of Government to leave them perfectly free and unmolested in their religious ordinances; and that any attempt at an infringement upon their religion or superstitions would be punished by the Government of India. With that conviction, which arises from experience, I do not apprehend that they would be brought to believe that the Government ever meant to impose upon them the religion of this country."

But the Committee had not yet done with their hypothesis, and were determined not to let the witness, whatever might be his opinion of its absurdity, escape without giving a direct answer; so they assailed him again, by asking, "*Should the state of things be altered, and we not observe the conduct we have hitherto observed, but introduce new modes, and enact new laws, for the carrying into effect the conversion of the natives to Christianity, would not that be attended with disagreeable consequences?*" To this, of course, but one answer could be given; and Lord Teignmouth gave that answer, leaving the Committee to make what use of it they could. "If a law were to be enacted," he said, "for converting the natives of India to Christianity, in such a manner as to have the appearance of a compulsory law upon their consciences, I have no hesitation in saying that, in that case, it would be attended with very great danger." Surely this is not the way to elicit the truth. I cannot help thinking that the licence given to this kind of wild questioning, which still obtains in committee-rooms, is rather calculated to embarrass and obscure the truth than to develop it. Wilberforce, writing to Lord Wellesley at the time of these charter discussions, said, "Your lordship can scarcely conceive, if I may judge of the House of Lords from the general condition of the members of the House of Commons, how ignorant in general their lordships are likely to be regarding India, and therefore how little they are qualified to ask questions in committee."

reagh was then Foreign Secretary and Leader of the House of Commons. It devolved on him to state the intentions of Government, which had been embodied in a series of resolutions. When he came to what were irreverently called the "pious clauses," he seemed to think that it was necessary to speak apologetically of the proposed measure, and expedient to hurry over the ground with all possible despatch.

"Another resolution," he said, "which he should propose to the House, would be on the subject of Religion. He was aware that it was unwise to encroach on the subject of religion generally, and that this, under the circumstances of our Government in India, was a most delicate question. But there was one regulation on the subject necessary, even for the sake of decency. The Company entrusted with the supreme Government, in this as in other matters, had permitted the free exercise of religion at their settlements; but there was no sort of religious control, and the members of the Church of England could not receive the benefits of those parts of their religion, to which the Episcopalian functions were necessary,—for example, the ceremony of Confirmation. He hoped that the House did not think he was coming out with a great ecclesiastical establishment, for it would only amount to one bishop and three archdeacons, to superintend the chaplains of the different settlements. The Company, he hoped, would not think it an encroachment on their rights, that while British subjects in India were governed by British laws, they should be permitted to exercise their national religion."

The Resolutions, as I have said, were stated to the House on the 22nd of March, but it was not until the 17th of June* that the twelfth clause, "That it is the

* There had been some intermediate discussions, in which the two Charles Grants, father and son, had taken leading parts. The younger, on the 31st of March, had made a brilliant speech

in favour of the "pious clauses." It must have been a fine thing to see the two fighting side by side on the floor of the House of Commons.

“ opinion of this Committee, that it is expedient that
“ the Church establishment in the British territories
“ should be placed under the superintendence of a
“ bishop and three archdeacons, and that adequate
“ provision should be made, from the territorial reve-
“ nues of India, for their maintenance,” came formally
under discussion. It passed without a division. The
Missionary clause came next. That was the field on
which the great battle was to be fought between the
Christian and the Philo-Hindoo parties. The resolution,
cautiously worded, so as to contain no direct mention
of missionaries and Christianity, was: “ That it is the
“ opinion of this Committee, that it is the duty of this
“ country to promote the interest and happiness of the
“ native inhabitants of the British dominions in India,
“ and that such measures ought to be adopted as may
“ tend to the introduction among them of useful know-
“ ledge, and of religious and moral improvement. That
“ in the furtherance of the above objects, sufficient
“ facilities shall be afforded by law, to persons desirous
“ of going to, and remaining in, India, for the pur-
“ pose of accomplishing those benevolent designs.” A
special day, the 22nd of June, was fixed for the discus-
sion. Wilberforce, who twenty years before had fought
the battle of Christianity almost single-handed, and
who now took intense interest in the great struggle,
had girded himself for the conflict, and gone down to
the House with quite an encyclopædia of authorities in
support of his favorite opinions. His whole heart was
in the encounter. He spoke long and well, tossing
about the testimonies of the learned with a prodigality
that was quite overwhelming. He quoted the opinions
of all the Governors-General, one after the other, to
show that the people of India were the most abandoned
people on the face of the earth. He quoted the his-
torians; he quoted the missionaries; he quoted the

civil servants of the Company. He quoted Orme, Verelst, Scrafton, Bolts, Malcolm, Grant, Mackintosh, Colebrooke, Kerr, Marshman, Carey, Ward, and an infinite number of official reports. He piled up authority upon authority to demonstrate the claims of this unhappy and most benighted people, upon the Christian sympathies of the British nation. It was a noble piece of special pleading, not exempt from exaggeration—that exaggeration, which is perhaps seldom absent from the addresses of a man very full of his subject, very earnest and energetic, thoroughly convinced in his own mind, and intensely eager to bring conviction to the minds of others. The grandeur of its aims, the high character and pure sincerity of the speaker, imparted a dignity and a purity to the address which it was impossible not to venerate. It made an impression upon the House; it made an impression out of the House; it made an impression throughout the country. Carefully corrected by the speaker, the speech was published by Hatchard, and found its way into extensive circulation. Its course was one of not unobstructed success. The Resolution was carried that night by a majority of 89 to 36; but, after a day or two, the question was re-opened in another stage of the business. On the 28th, the elder Grant made a long and able speech in defence of the Company. Mr. Lushington followed, with a reply to Mr. Wilberforce, and a defence of the Hindoos, to be answered by stout William Smith, who, with Mr. Stephen, in more than one good battle on the side of Christianity, had fought as the lieutenants of Mr. Wilberforce. On the 1st of July, the discussion was again resumed, and a very remarkable speech, on the wrong side of the question, was delivered by Mr. Charles Marsh, a gentleman who had formerly been a member of the legal profession at Madras. It created a strong sensation in the House,

but not an abiding one. His hearers admired the eloquence of the speaker, but were not convinced by his arguments. The address, which he delivered on the 1st of July, 1813—an elaborate protest against Christian liberty in India—even now that a second Charter has nearly expired since it was reported, cannot be read without the strongest feelings of regret, that such fine talents were turned to such bad account.*

This speech called forth a rejoinder from Wilberforce, distinguished by no common ability. Southey had ransacked his marvellous common-place book to supply illustrations, drawn from Portuguese history, of the little danger, that attends interference with the customs of the people of India. And now the speaker, thus fortified by the erudition of the newly-appointed laureate, cited Albuquerque with good effect; entered into an elaborate explanation of the causes of the massacre of Vellore (an event which Mr. Marsh had of course emphatically dwelt upon, for it was the stock in trade of his party); spoke of the suppression of female infanticide by Jonathan Duncan and Colonel Walker, and of the Saugor sacrifices by Lord Wellesley; rebuked Mr. Marsh for speaking of the Missionaries as Anabaptists and fanatics; and compared the present contest with the great struggle, in which he and his friends had so long been engaged, for the suppression of the slave-trade. He was followed by Mr.

* "There was little or nothing in this address that had not been said before; but Mr. Marsh assuredly said it better than it had been said before. He said, indeed, everything that could be said upon the subject; and he said it extremely well. A dexterous allusion to the murder at Blackheath of Mr. and Mrs. Bonar by their footman, Nicholson, which was to the year 1813, what the Manning murder was to 1849; and

to the still mysterious affair of the alleged attack upon the Duke of Cumberland by his valet, Sellis—two incidents which were then exciting the public mind—told with something of novel effect on the House, and must be regarded as an original illustration of the superior virtue of the native servants, who sleep at the doors of Anglo-Indian residents."—[*Author in the Calcutta Review.*]

Forbes, Mr. William Smith, and other speakers, among whom was Whitbread, who spoke out manfully in favor of the Resolution. "I am charmed with Whitbread," wrote Buchanan to a friend, a few days afterwards, "when he sounds the right note." The House divided; and there were fifty-four votes for the clause, and thirty-two against it. A hundred members could not be induced to sit out this important debate. Five hundred had divided a few weeks before on the Roman Catholic Relief Bill. In the House of Lords the Resolution passed without a division.

And so the victory was gained. I must briefly speak of its results. On the 28th of November, 1814, the first Indian bishop ascended the steps of one of the ghâts of Calcutta. His landing, in his own words, "was without any *éclat*, for fear of alarming the prejudices of the natives." On Christmas-day he preached his first sermon, before a congregation of 1300 persons, and administered the sacrament to 160 communicants, including the judges and the members of council. "The day," wrote Bishop Middleton to his friends in England, "will long be remembered in Calcutta."

And so commenced the episcopal period of Christianity in India. There was no commotion—no excitement at its dawn. Offended Hindooism did not start up in arms; nor indignant Mahomedanism raise a war-cry of death to the infidel. English gentlemen asked each other, on the course, or at the dinner-table, if they had seen the bishop; and officious native sircars pressed their services upon the "Lord Padre Sahib." But the heart of Hindoo society beat calmly as was its wont. Brahmanism stood not aghast at the sight of the lawn sleeves of the bishop. He preached in the Christian temple on the Christian's *bara din*; and that night the Europeans in Calcutta slept securely in their beds—securely next morning they

went forth to their accustomed work. There was not a massacre; there was not a rebellion. Chowringhee was not in a blaze; the waters of the "Lall Diggy" did not run crimson with Christian blood. The merchant took his place at his desk; the public servant entered his office; and the native underlings salaamed meekly and reverentially as ever. In the Fort, the English captain faced his native company; and the sepoy, whatever his caste, responded to the well-known word of command, with the ready discipline he had learned under the old charter. Everything went on according to wonted custom, in spite of the bishop, and his lawn sleeves, and his sermon on Christmas-day. No one looked differently; no one felt differently; and it really seemed probable, after all, that British dominion in the East would survive the episcopal blow.

The truth is, that such of the natives—the better educated and more intelligent few—as really thought anything about the matter, thought the better of us for evincing this outward respect for our religion, and have thought the better of us and our faith ever since. All that was written and spoken, of old, about alarming the Hindoos, and weakening our hold of India; all the ominous allusions to the Vellore massacre, and anticipations of new catastrophes of the same class, now appeared in their true light, and were valued at their proper worth. Mr. Buchanan's "sanguinary doctrines," as Mr. Twining ludicrously called them, in one of his pamphlets, had now been fully reduced to practice; and yet not a drop of blood had been shed—not a blow struck—not a menace uttered—not a symptom of disquiet had evinced itself. Our empire in India was then "not worth a year's purchase;" and yet now for forty years has it survived that first awful episcopal sermon on Christmas-day.*

Bengal had become accustomed to the great episcopal

* Author in the *Calcutta Review*.

danger when the bishop prepared to set out on a visitation tour, and threw Madras into a paroxysm of alarm. The Coast authorities had not forgotten the Vellore massacre. Visions of blood were still floating before their eyes. It seemed to them that the visit of the bishop to the south would be the signal for another rising, more grievous than the last, as Hindoos and Mahomedans might for once be banded together. But the further he proceeded the more apparent it became that the natives regarded his approach without a feeling of alarm, and his presence without a sentiment of aversion. Native princes received the Christian bishop with reverence, and embraced him with affection. Native priests came out from their temples to welcome him, and implored his assistance in their behalf. He visited the great pagodas of Chillumbrum; where the Brahmans pressed forward to gaze at the chief-priest of the Feringhees. They showed him all the noticeable things of their temple, and, instead of anticipating that he had come to demolish it, asked for a little money for its repair. Elsewhere the same feeling prevailed. A deputation of Brahmans from the Tinnivelly Pagodas visited the bishop at Palamcottah. They came respectfully to the Lord Padre to seek his sympathy and assistance as a brother hierarch. They were, they said, in a miserable state of depression. Their church-lands, after paying the Government demands, yielded so little that the priests were in danger of starving. Could not the head of the Christian Church, they meekly suggested, intercede in their behalf, and induce Government to better their position?

From that time it became apparent that any amount of Church establishment that the British Legislature could be induced to sanction would never alarm or irritate the natives. The establishment in Middleton's time was miserably small. "The total number of clergy, both

civil and military," says Mr. Le Bas, in his life of Bishop Middleton, "did not, there is reason to believe, in 1814, exceed thirty-two in the proportion of fifteen for Bengal, twelve for Madras, and five for Bombay. This number, small as it was, was subject to continual reduction, by illness, death, necessary absence, or return to England; such, for instance, was the amount of these casualties at Bombay, on the arrival of Archdeacon Barnes, in 1814, that he found at that Presidency only one efficient clergyman." A more recent writer on the state of the Anglican Church in India, Mr. Whitehead, says that this computation is too high, and makes a corrected statement on the authority of Mr. Abbott, the Ecclesiastical Register:—"On the arrival of Bishop Middleton, in 1814, he found effective resident chaplains in Bengal, eight; in Madras, five or six; and in Bombay, one. Missionaries under episcopal jurisdiction, or licensed by the bishop, there were none. India then possessed fifteen parochial clergy." From that period, however, the Anglican Church has progressively increased in extent and importance. Under the Act of 1833, the bishop and the three archdeacons, whom Lord Castlereagh had apologetically introduced to the notice of the House, grew into three bishops and three archdeacons.

Madras and Bombay were raised to the dignity of episcopal sees; and with this increase of ecclesiastical supervision there was also an increase of ordinary ecclesiastical agency. The establishment had gradually grown under the Charter of 1813; but there has been greater growth since its close. In 1832-33 there were on the establishment of the Bengal Presidency *thirty-seven* chaplains; in 1850-51 there were *sixty-one*. Under the Madras Government there were, in 1832-33, *twenty-three* chaplains; in 1850-51 there were *twenty-nine*. Attached to Bombay, in 1832-33, there were *fifteen* chaplains; in 1850-51 there were *twenty-three*. The total cost

of these establishments was, in 1832-33, 96,000*l.*; in 1850-51 it had risen to 112,000*l.*

But far more important than this extension of the Church establishment, was the removal of the great barrier which had hitherto restrained the tide of missionary labor from flowing freely into India—almost, it may be said, from flowing there at all. It is curious in these days, when Christian missionaries cover the country by hundreds, to think of the dismay which the efforts of missionary units excited in the minds of the members of Lord Minto's Government, and the efforts which were made to control these dangerous excesses. *Materials* are not wanting for a vivid picture of the alarm which the mild efforts of the Serampore missionaries excited in the Council Chamber of Calcutta; but it hardly comes within the scope of this work to enter into such details. I would merely speak of the ascertained results of the labors of Wilberforce, Charles Grant, and their Christian comrades, which emancipated the Gospel throughout our British possessions in the East. A vast impulse was necessarily given to Christian missions by the "pious clauses" of the Charter Act of 1813, and all through the twenty years of its operation the magnitude of our missionary works steadily increased, and the results of missionary labor were more apparent. But in this, as in every other great field of operation, it is since the passing of the Act under which India is now governed that the greatest strides forward have been made. In 1830 there were 10 missionary societies at work in India; in 1850 there were 22. In 1830 there were 106 missionary stations; in 1850 there were 260. In 1830 there were 147 missionaries in the field; in 1850 there were 403. Such has been the progress made in the twenty years between 1830 and 1850.*

* These missionary statistics are taken from an elaborate paper, entitled "Results of Missionary Labors in India," originally contributed by the Rev. Mr. Mullins, in the *Calcutta Review*, and subsequently published in a sepa-

The effect of this increased agency may, in some measure, be gathered from the following statistical paper, laid before the Missionary Conference in Calcutta a few years ago. It showed, that in Lower Bengal, exclusive of Kishnaghur, the accessions of native converts to the Christian Church had been made thus:

From 1793 to 1802	.	.	.	.	.	27
" 1803 to 1812	.	.	.	.	.	161
" 1813 to 1822	.	.	.	.	.	408
" 1823 to 1832	.	.	.	.	.	675
" 1833 to 1842	.	.	.	.	.	1045
" 1843 and 1844 (two years)	.	.	.	.	.	485*

I have no doubt that there are many readers who will be glad to see, in one comprehensive view, the statistics of Protestant missions in India, as existing at the present time :

—	Missionaries.	Native Preachers.	Churches.	Members.	Christians.
In Bengal, Orissa, and Assam	101	135	71	3,416	14,401
In the N. W. Provinces	58	39	21	608	1,828
In the Madras Presidency	164	308	162	10,464	74,512
In the Bombay Presidency	37	11	12	223	554
In Ceylon	43	58	43	2,645	11,859
Total	403	551	309	17,356	103,154

It will be gathered from this statement, that under the Presidency of Madras, which does not in respect of secular affairs exhibit very encouraging signs of progress, missionary labor has hitherto made the greatest impression.† But it is probable that the progressive results are even more satisfactory in Bengal.

rate form. I am told that these statistics have been most rigorously tested, and that their accuracy has been abundantly demonstrated.

* Mullins.

† The causes of this are well explained by Mr. Mullins in the paper which I quoted above : "By far the greatest progress has been made in South India, in the provinces of Tinnevelly and Travancore. Missionary work has long been carried on in these districts, and the people are far more

open to the Gospel than other Hindoos. In Travancore there is a native Government, and the Brahmins are both numerous and powerful. But the majority of the people, both there and in Tinnevelly, are not Hindoos like those in Northern India. They are Shanars, a large body devoted especially to the cultivation of the palm-tree: and, whether immigrants, or a portion of the aborigines of the land, who have been enslaved by Brahmin conquerors, they still retain their original customs. They

The number of missionaries, mission stations, churches, and converts, entered under the Bombay head, is comparatively small—comparatively with the agency at work under the other presidencies—but comparatively with the past, how great. In 1847, on his departure from Western India, Mr. Fyvie, an American missionary at Surat, spoke thus of the changes which he had lived to witness in Bombay:

“Persons arriving at Bombay now visit it under different circumstances from what it was twenty-five or thirty years ago. When I landed on your shores, there was only one church in Bombay, and one service on the Lord’s Day, very thinly attended indeed. There are now six places of public worship on this island for divine service in English, and a seventh is now building. Thirty or thirty-five years ago, evangelical preaching was, I fear, but little known on this island; but now the case is happily very

are all devil-worshippers, and worship the objects of their fear with horrible ceremonies and disgusting dances. They continually add to the number of their devils: and singularly enough in one district, *an Englishman was worshipped as such*, for many years. The offerings presented on his tomb, were *spirits and cigars!* The Shanars are said to be ‘the least intellectual people found in India.’ Their long servitude and oppression have debased them to a very low level: and, though a few are found to possess considerable ability, the majority are marked by apathy, indifference, ignorance, and vice, and are unable to carry out a process of thought for any length of time. Their social bonds, such as those of parents to children, are feeble; and their social amusements few. But withal they are a docile and pliant people, and decidedly willing to improve. The causes, which led to such a rapid progress of Christianity among them, are readily discernible. Their religion sat very lightly on them; their caste is low; the religion of Europeans, was, of course, looked upon with favor. In Travancore a special reason existed. Many years ago, General Munro procured an order from the Rani, that Christians should be exempted from work on their sabbath, and from employment in the Hindoo festivals. These circumstances have contributed much towards the

easy passage of so many converts from Heathenism to Christianity. The whole number, now under instruction, we reckon to be 52,000. It must not, however, be supposed that they are all true Christians. None know this better, or have spoken it more plainly, than the missionaries, who instruct them. Yet had they only given up their abominable devil-worship, a great thing would have been accomplished. But they have done more. They have placed themselves under an evangelical ministry; they regularly attend public worship: more than 17,000 children and young people are daily instructed in Christian schools, some of whom are being educated as teachers, and others as preachers to their countrymen. Best of all, a goodly number have exhibited in their lives the fruits of conversion to God. A great improvement has taken place in this numerous body of Christian natives; a great desire is evinced for increased instruction; family prayer is not uncommon; the public services are well attended; and a large sum in the aggregate is annually contributed for Christian books and for the poor. The whole Shanar population, 120,000 in number, is open to missionaries; and, if societies are faithful, and missionaries faithful, we may hope, in two or three generations, to see the whole of the southern provinces of India entirely Christianised.”

different, and has long been so. Less than thirty-five years ago, there were no Educational, Bible, Tract, or Missionary Societies here. Is not the case now very different? Then one hardly knew where to look for a decidedly pious person, for the worship of God in families, and prayer-meetings in public. In how many pious families, in this place and at other stations, is the voice of prayer and praise presented to God, morning and evening, at the family altar: while weekly prayer-meetings are also numerous. In viewing all that has been done among our countrymen, have we no cause to say, 'What hath God wrought!'

"Thirty years ago, if any native had wished to become acquainted with Christianity, there was then no Bible, Tract, or Christian book in Mahrathi or Gujurati, to put into his hand. During the last twenty-five years, however, the Bible has been translated and printed in both these languages, so that the people can now read in their own tongues the wonderful works of God. Tracts, discourses, prayers, and catechisms, have been prepared and widely circulated, and are read by thousands throughout the length and breadth of the land. Some of the heathen at the different missionary stations have believed the Gospel report; others, an increasing number, are convinced of the truth of Christianity, but have not yet sufficient moral courage to put on Christ, and to forsake all for his name: some of the converts have become preachers of the Gospel. When I arrived in India, the American brethren, Messrs. Hall and Newell, were laboring amidst many discouragements to establish their first native school. Now there are numerous schools at all the different missionary stations; and they might be greatly increased. When I arrived, with the exception of the two American brethren mentioned, there were no missionaries in the whole of Western India. Since that time, the great Lord of the harvest has thrust forth many laborers from Great Britain and Ireland, America, and the Continent of Europe. Let us bless God for this: and pray that they may be upheld, directed, comforted, and sanctified, and their labors greatly blessed. No doubt, but in due time, they or their successors shall reap largely, if they faint not."

In the whole history of Indian progress there is nothing that cheers the heart more than the progress of morality and religion among our own people. It was said of old that we must begin there—that we must

first convert ourselves, and then think of converting the people of India. It is certain that the English, in our Eastern settlements, are not now open to the old reproach, "Christian-man—Devil-man." As to the conversion of the heathen, it is equally certain that our people have labored diligently for it—that they have done much, and suffered much, in the good cause—and that the results, as far as the human eye can discern them, have well repaid all this toil. What the amount of real conversion may be, humanity cannot determine; it can only speak of the palpable results. I have now before me, from the pen of one who speaks of what he has seen,* some account of the encouraging indications of a change coming, or come:

"Temples are being allowed, to a great extent, to fall into decay, while the number of new ones erected is by no means large. In those parts where missions have been carried on most extensively, a considerable falling off in the attendance at the great festivals is distinctly observable. The swinging festival, for instance, in Lower Bengal is very different from what it used to be. The number of idols sold at festivals is greatly diminished, and the offerings at the great temples are of far less value than they once were. A great change has taken place in the views and in the spirit of the people at large. Formerly they knew nothing of what true religion really is; but they have been enlightened on the nature of moral obligation, the duty of love to God, of love to men, and the nature and evil of sin. Missions have gone far, during the last fifty years, in developing a conscience amongst the natives, in whom it was in a deadly sleep. Is not this alone a great result? The Hindoos, too, have begun to lay aside some of their old notions. The Brahmins are no longer so highly honored; the clever Sudras thrust them aside from place and power without scruple; by far the greater increase of wealth and wisdom has been diffused among the latter. Thousands now approve of female education; and, in the great cities, the ladies of numerous families are being privately taught. Even the remarriage of widows is discussed by the native papers, and its

* Mr. Mullins.

advantages fully acknowledged. A numerous body is coming forward in society, possessing far more enlightened notions than their fathers did; a body of men, who put little faith in the Shastras, and look upon the old pandits and teachers as ignorant bigots. The great contrast between these two parties shows how great a step has been made in the process of public enlightenment. The spirit, in which Bible truth is heard, has also greatly improved. Formerly, when a missionary preached, he was compelled to enter into disagreeable and apparently useless controversies; the same objections were brought forward again and again; and the discussion was frequently closed, with the practical application of broken pots, sand, dirt, and cries of 'Hari bol!' But now, in all the older missionary stations and even beyond them, discussions seldom occur. The people come to the chapels, and often listen to the end: frequently acknowledging aloud the truth of what is said. What is even more singular is, that small companies have been found in various parts of the country, who have gathered a little collection of Christian books, and meet together to read and study them. These facts are full of encouragement from the proofs they furnish, that the word of God, though hidden, is not lost; but that, like good seed, it *will* spring up and put forth, first the blade, then the ear, after that the full corn in the ear. Only let this word, so extensively known, be applied with power 'by the Holy Ghost sent down from heaven,' and, at once, 'the little one will become a thousand, and the small one a great nation.'"

I think that these signs are most cheering. God only knows what they indicate. But this I know, and may say, that the missionaries have proved themselves worthy of the confidence reposed in them, and that they have seldom or never done anything to embarrass the Government, under which, without molestation from the State, and with much encouragement generally from the servants of the State, they have conducted their peaceful operations. The improved relations, indeed, between the missionaries and the Government are in themselves no small evidence of the better temper of the latter.

I know that it may be said, as it often has been said, that the Indian Government still countenances much that

it knows to be wrong—much error, much superstition, much that every Christian man must desire to see rooted out of the land. I am anxious to state the case with all fairness. It is not to be denied that the question, when it presented itself for the solution of Christian administrators, was a very difficult one. The question was not whether Christianity was to be supported in India, and heathenism discouraged; but how far, consistently with outstanding pledges and existing obligations, Christianity could be supported and heathenism discouraged. Whether those pledges were wisely given—those obligations wisely contracted—might have been another question; but it is of little use now to discuss it. There they were in legible black and white, in substantive regulations, and there was now no ignoring them. It remained only for us to put upon them the right practical construction, and it was only in respect of this construction that any difference of opinion could have arisen among reasonable and well-informed men.

The practical observation of a solemn pledge, deliberately given and distinctly enunciated to the natives of India, was plainly and unmistakeably incumbent upon us, and we should have erred if we had neglected it by going in search of any more remote and speculative, perhaps unattainable, good. But it was our duty, at the same time, to be cautious of going beyond the pledge—of giving too literal a construction to the words of the obligations which we have taken upon ourselves. I think that there was a tendency at one time to run into this extreme. At all events, the British-Indian Government, from year's end to year's end, has been growing less and less tenacious on the score of the over-strict observance of these old pledges, and has been gradually loosening its connexion with Idolatry, in the manner least calculated to excite alarm, or to occasion offence. There is a great difference between active participation in

evil, and simple toleration of it. The Regulations of 1793 had promised the natives of India "to preserve to them the laws of the Shaster and the Koran," and to "protect them in the free exercise of their religion." But they had not pledged our Government to interfere in the internal management of their temples, the decoration of their idols, and the ordering of their religious processions. Little by little these errors were swept out of our administrative system. From the time when, in 1809, Government decreed that "the superintendence of the idol of Juggernaut and its interior economy" should be thenceforth vested in the Rajah of Koordah, the chains which have bound us to the externalities of the false creeds of the country have gradually been loosened; and now there is little left of a system which, in these days, few Christians are prepared to commend. It was partly, in a spirit of tenderness and compassion for the poor people whom we had trodden down with the iron heel of conquest, partly from considerations of policy, that, at the outset of our career, as rulers, we had been more regardful of the honor of the Hindoo religion than of our own. But the error, founded as it was on what we then believed to be a sense of justice, has given way to the increased regard which the rulers of India entertain for the obligations of the religion they profess; and, whilst on the one side they have learned to treat with courtesy and respect the bringers of glad tidings, whom of old they cast out with reproach, they have ceased to cherish the abominations against which the good men whom they discarded were not suffered to do battle by themselves.

It is fitting that a sketch of Indian Progress should be closed with a brief mention of these things. Never at any time has the Government of India evinced, by acts of practical beneficence, so kindly an interest in the welfare of the people, as within the last few years of its rule.

It has bethought itself of better means of securing the allegiance of the people than by pampering their priests and decorating their idols. It has not only, in these latter days, loosened the chains which bound the rulers of the country to the idolatry, which from remote ages has been the curse of the people, but has loosened the chains which bound to it the Gentile worshipper himself. It has been well said that, "as soon as a little fellow could be made to understand that the earth was 25,000 miles round there was an end of the Shastre."

My labors draw on to a close. In looking back at what I have written, I find that I have left unsaid much that I had comprehended in the original scheme of my work. But I think I have written enough to show that the East India Company and their servants have not been unmindful of the great trust that has been reposed in them, and that their administration has been one of progressive improvement—improvement which is now advancing with strides such as have never been made before. Never were the rulers of India so mindful as now of the duties and responsibilities which have devolved upon them, as guardians of the happiness of that immense section of the great human family, which Providence has so mysteriously committed to their care. The last twenty years have witnessed more great changes tending to increase the prosperity, the happiness, the civilisation of the people of India, than the antecedent two centuries of British connexion with the East. But the changes which have been consummated, and of which we are now witnessing the results, are small in proportion to those which we have originated, and of which the next cycle of twenty years will witness the completion. If the great administrative system, under which our Empire in India has been built up, remains fundamentally unchanged, those will be bright chapters of Indian progress which will grow beneath the pen of the historian of 1873. I

believe that under no other system would that Empire have risen to its present height—under no other system would it have survived the assaults of time and the shocks of circumstance. If India had been grievously misgoverned, we should not have been masters of it now.

An acute author of the present day has observed: "The historian knows the end of many of the transactions he narrates. If he did not, how differently often he would narrate them. It would be a most instructive thing to give a man the materials for the account of a great transaction, stopping short at the end, and then see how different would be his account from the ordinary ones."* I have often thought, when consulting the early records of the Company, how different would be my forecast of the issue of all these rude struggles of our English adventurers in the time of the Stuarts, if I had addressed myself to the task of research in utter ignorance of more recent events—if, indeed, I had groped my way along paths of virgin inquiry, making discoveries at every step, as in the pages of a new romance. But I think that the essayist has stopped short at a point where his reflection was susceptible of a much more important application than that to which he has directed it. It is from the difference between our own rough-hewing and the shaping of our ends by a higher power† that the great lesson is to be learnt. The inequality of the means to the end—the seemingly irreconcilable difference between the magnitude of the effect and the pettiness of the cause—the utter unlikelihood, prospectively, of such a sequence of events as, retrospectively, we know to have arisen—the entire confusion, indeed, of all the calculations of human wisdom,

* *Friends in Council.*

† There's a Divinity that shapes our ends
Rough-hew them as we may.

which we so plainly discern when we look at such an event as the establishment of our Indian Empire in its inchoate fragmentary state, as with the eyes of a cotemporary of Bacon or Clarendon—are so many finger-prints of the “hand of God in history,” which he who would read the annals of the Company aright, should dwell upon with reverence and humility.

In the inscrutable manner in which, whilst the nationalities of the East and the West, were breaking up around us, Providence preserved that little party of London merchants to work out its great designs, is to be found the key-note of Anglo-Indian history. It was not for any petty ends that this great miracle was wrought in our behalf. It was not for any petty ends that principality after principality was surrendered into our hands, and the will of the Company became law from the banks of the Indus to the banks of the Irrawaddy. It was that the great Christian nation, thus mysteriously selected, should achieve great things in the East, and finally work out the scheme of India's emancipation. How we are now fulfilling our mission, I have in some sort endeavoured to show. Physically* and morally—materially and intellectually, we are impressing ourselves abidingly on the country and on the people. I hope that I have shown that the English in India have not sat down idly under the weight of their responsibilities and fallen asleep in the shade, whilst they ought to have been bearing the burden and heat of the day in strenuous efforts for the elevation of a long-oppressed fallen race.

* I feel that I ought, as, indeed, I intended, in this work, to have said something of the efforts that have been made in India to improve the *physique* of the people, by means of great sanatory measures. It is hard to say to what extent the intellectual and moral character of the natives of India is influenced by these causes. The diffusion of the medical science of the West

will, doubtless, do much to invigorate the people; but, perhaps, the sanatory measures, initiated by Mr. J. R. Martin in the capital, and radiating thence into all parts of the country, will still more extensively affect the character of the people. In the regeneration of the people of India, this will not be one of the least effective agents.

I believe that our Indian Empire is the admiration and the envy of the European world. There is not a foreign state that does not wonder at the marvellous success which has attended, not only the progress of our arms, but the progress of our administration. France, under the burden and the trouble of a new Empire in Algeria, seeks counsel from the East India Company as to the true mode of governing Mahomedan subjects.* Austria looks on with respectful wonder, gravely confessing a right understanding of all the elements of our national grandeur, except our marvellous Empire in the East.† Prussia sends forth her princes to see the great marvel for themselves, and to tell on their return how we conquer kingdoms and how we retain them. Russia, with ill-disguised chagrin, tries to believe the falsehoods of our enemies, and yet knows in her inmost heart what is the wisdom and beneficence of our rule.‡ The marvel and the mystery are more patent to stranger eyes than to our own.§ We think too little of the

* This, I believe, was in 1847.

† The Duke of Newcastle stated, in a speech delivered at Haileybury in the summer of 1852, that travelling, in the Austrian Tyrol, he fell in with a very intelligent Austrian general, who, in the course of a conversation on our national resources, said that he could understand all the elements of our greatness, except our Anglo-Indian Empire, and that he could not understand. The vast amount of administrative wisdom, which the good government of such an Empire demanded, baffled his comprehension.

‡ I am told that De Warren's *L'Inde Anglaise* is a text-book with the Russian officers on the Eastern frontier. What are their real ideas of the duties of Christian states may, perhaps, be gathered from the fact that Prince Saltikoff told an English officer, who had been exerting himself to bring about the suppression of Suttee in Rajpootana, that he thought it a pity to suppress anything so romantic, for that in proportion as such customs as these were abolished the people of India would cease to be interesting.

§ Hear the evidence of another nation. Italy, through Sismondi, says:—"Such as they are, however, the English are still the best masters that India has ever had. Wherever in this vast continent their dominion is direct, it is a real benefit. They have re-established security and justice; they have given the people a feeling of duration, and of something to look forward to; and exactly because they keep themselves apart, because they do not wish to direct everything, to change everything, they have permitted Indian civilisation under them to resume its natural progress. Agriculture is flourishing; the arts are cultivated with ease; population and riches begin to increase; intelligence makes some progress; and European opinions engraft themselves naturally and gently on the old ideas of India; in short, the conquered people have learnt to defend the foreign rule; the native army is formidable, and there is little probability that if the road to India were opened to the Russians, they could sustain a struggle against the English."

mighty Providence which out of a petty mercantile adventure has evolved the grandest fact recorded in the History of the World.

We should never close our eyes against the great truth of this mysterious interference. It should enter largely into all our thoughts of the practicalities of Indian administration. The face of God has never yet been turned away from us save when we have done manifestly wrong. Often, in the weakness of our faith, we have doubted and hesitated; we have given ourselves up to petty shifts and temporary expedients, only to find that the very essence of political wisdom is to dare to do right. When that large-minded director of the Company, Charles Grant, declared that "if from unworthy fears we should disavow our religion, he should fear that the Great Author of that religion would be provoked to withdraw his protection there from us,"* he uttered sentiments which, forty years ago, were declared to be those only of an amiable fanatic. But what was once believed to be the wild mouthing of enthusiasm, is now looked upon as the language of calm and authoritative reason. Since our Indian statesmen and soldiers began to take more solemn views of their duties as Christian men, and the Directors of the Company have recognised more clearly and more gratefully the wonderful interposition of Providence in their behalf, they have achieved an amount of practical success such as never attended their efforts, when they suffered manifold idle fears and vain vaticinations to arrest the stream of Indian Progress.

* *Ante*, p. 638.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

(A)

THE SALT DUTIES.

[*From the Statistical Papers relating to India, prepared at the India House.*]

BENGAL.

THE supply of salt in Bengal is provided partly by manufacture, conducted on account of the Government,* partly by importation, and in one instance† by private manufacture, under a system of excise. The duty‡ on all imported salt is two and a half rupees per maund of 82lbs., or about three farthings per lb. The same rate of duty is levied as excise on salt manufactured by private individuals; and the Government salt may be purchased at all times in quantities of not less than 50 maunds, at a fixed price, which is composed of the cost price, with the addition of two and a half rupees per maund, or three farthings per lb. The average cost price of production§ is about 80 rupees per 100 maunds, or a trifle below one farthing per lb., thus making the Government selling price under a penny per lb. The supply of salt is no longer a monopoly; its manufacture and sale have not been relinquished by Government, but individuals participate in its provision, both by importation and manufacture, under a combined system of customs and excise.

The system of *fixed prices* and *open warehouses* commenced in

* The manufacture is carried on, not by hired labour on the part of the Government, but by a system of pecuniary advances; the parties receiving them being bound to deliver, at a fixed price, all the salt manufactured. Probably 100,000 laborers (called Molunghees) are engaged in the manufacture in the Sunderbunds.

† Mr. Prinsep's salt-works at Nar-rainpore.

‡ The duty is levied at the time of the clearance of the salt from the bonded warehouses.

§ The salt agencies are located along the head of the Bay of Bengal, viz. at Hidgelee, Tumlook, Chittagong, Arracan, Cuttack, Balasore, Khoredah.

1836-37, when the previous system of *fixed qualities and periodical sales* was abolished.*

	Maunds of 82 lbs.
During the seven years commencing with 1837-38 and ending with 1843-44, the duty on salt was 3rs. 4a. per maund. The annual average† quantity of salt sold and imported during that period was	4,627,030
In November, 1844, the duty was reduced to 3rs. per maund, and the annual average sale increased to	4,966,917
In April, 1847, the duty was further reduced to 2rs. 12a. per maund, and the annual sale increased to.....	5,452,909
In April, 1849, the duty was again subjected to reduction, when it was fixed for five years at its present rate of 2rs. 8a. per maund.	

It will thus be seen that in the five years above adverted to, the reduction effected in the salt-tax amounted to nearly 25 per cent.; but it would appear that no further reduction can, for the present, be expected consistently with the maintenance of the revenue, the last reduction in 1849 having led to no further increase of consumption.

NORTH-WESTERN PROVINCES.

The supply of salt to the North-Western Provinces is furnished partly from the lower provinces of Bengal, and partly from the Sambhur Salt Lake,‡ in Rajpootana, and other localities on the western side of India. The salt of Bengal having paid the excise or import duty of 2 rupees 8 a. per maund, passes free into the North-Western Provinces. The Sambhur and other salt, on crossing the north-western frontier customs line, is subjected to a duty of 2 rupees per maund, and to a further duty of half a rupee§ per maund on transmission to the eastward of Allahabad, thus coming into competition with the salt of Bengal under an equal duty of 2 rupees 8 a. per maund.

MADRAS.

At Madras salt is manufactured on account of Government, and

* As recommended by the Select Committee of the House of Commons in 1836. All the recommendations of that Committee have now been fully and fairly carried out, viz.—

1st. Open warehouses and fixed prices.

2nd. Imported salt to be subjected to the same rate of duty as native manufactured salt.

3rd. The rate of duty to be fixed below the average of net profits for a series of ten years (such average having been calculated at 3 rupees per maund).

† These averages are exclusive of the quantities disposed of by retail sales, which cannot be given with perfect accuracy.

‡ The Sambhur Lake belongs to the native States of Joudpore and Jyepore.

§ The Allahabad special duty was fixed by Act 14 of 1843 at one rupee per maund; but in 1847, and again in 1849, when reduction of duty on Bengal salt was effected, corresponding reductions were made in the Allahabad duty.

sold for internal consumption at one rupee per maund, or under one farthing per lb.* The duty on imported foreign salt was 3 rupees per maund, but it has been recommended by the home authorities that the import duty should (as in Bengal) be equal only to the difference between the selling price and the cost of manufacture; the difference between the cost price and the price at which the salt is given out for consumption being the duty to be realised.

BOMBAY.

In Bombay the manufacture of salt is carried on by individuals, but subject to an excise duty of twelve annas (1s. 6d.) per maund,† a similar duty being imposed on imported salt. Salt exported from this presidency to Calcutta is subject to the above excise duty, but credit for that amount is given at Calcutta in the adjustment of the local duty. Facilities are also afforded for the export of salt to Malabar, Travancore, Cochin, and other places.

PUNJAB.

The excise duty on salt at the Punjab salt mines has been fixed at 2 rupees per maund.

English salt, it is said, may be laid down at Calcutta at 44s. per ton, or about 80 rs. per 100 maunds.‡

According to another authority,§ 65 rs. per 100 maunds is the lowest possible rate at which the transaction could be effected. But salt from the Persian Gulf and other Arab States is laid down at Calcutta at 40 rs. per 100 maunds. It is therefore the high cost of producing Bengal salt (80 rs. per 100 maunds) which alone enables English salt to keep a footing in the Calcutta market.

In Bengal salt is obtained by boiling the sea-water.

In Bombay and Madras the process is that of solar evaporation.

In the Punjab it is extracted in a pure state from the salt mines.

The Sambhur Salt Lake, in Rajpootana, overflows during the rains, and when the waters subside, a deep incrustation of salt is deposited on its shores for several miles round.

* By Act 6 of 1844, sect. 43, the selling price of the Government salt was fixed at one and a half rupees per maund. It has subsequently been reduced to one rupee, by order of the Court.

† The duty on salt on delivery from salt-works was fixed, by Act 27 of

1837, at half a rupee per maund. It was subsequently increased to one rupee per maund by Act 16 of 1844, and reduced to twelve annas, its present price, by order of the Court in the same year.

‡ *Aylwyn on Salt Trade.*
§ *Calcutta Review.*

Salt purchased at Calcutta at 1d. per lb., the Government price, is sold at Benares (400 miles from Calcutta, where it comes into competition with the salt from Rajpootana) at 12 lbs. the rupee, or 2d. per lb.; and, moreover, it is stated to be then considerably adulterated. The consumption of salt in India has been usually estimated* at 12 lbs. per head per annum; and assuming the wages of agricultural labor† at 3 rupees per mensem (the rate now paid on the Calcutta and Bombay mail-road, and also to village watchmen), it would, at Calcutta, absorb the income of five days' labor to provide the quantity required for a year. The salt duty thus operates as a tax of about $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. upon the laborer's wages, if he have none but himself to provide for. If he have a wife or children, the per-centage will of course be increased by the amount of their consumption. It is to be observed, however, on the other side, that the wife and children would generally contribute something to the common fund by the earnings of their labor, and thus again reduce the per-centage.

At Benares the purchase of the same quantity of salt (12 lbs.) would absorb ten days' earnings, thus constituting a charge of 3 per cent. on the laborer's income. But for this additional charge the Government duty is in nowise accountable. The difference in price is occasioned by the cost of conveyance, profits of trade, wastage, &c., the ordinary charges of commerce.‡

The pressure of the salt-tax on the laborer cannot be regarded as severe, inasmuch as it is the only way in which he contributes to the pecuniary necessities of the State; in all other respects he is not necessarily subject to taxation.

The preceding remarks apply to the Upper and Lower Provinces of Bengal. In the territories of Madras and Bombay the duty on salt is only about one-third of that which prevails in Bengal; but from other causes the mass of the people are believed to be in inferior circumstances to those of Bengal. In Madras they are still subject to various taxes (moturpha tax, duty on tobacco, &c.), which have been abolished elsewhere.

A comparison of the amount of salt produced with the numbers of the population consuming it, will show that the estimate which assigns 12 lbs. as the ordinary annual consumption of an individual, is nearly in correspondence with fact. The quantity of

* *Report of Board of Customs, Salt and Opium: Calcutta*, 1819. Also *Calcutta Review*, 1847.

† In 1846, 2000 laborers were engaged for employment on the Calcutta and Bombay mail-road, at 3 rupees per head per mensem.—See also *Regulation XXII. of 1816, sect. 4.*

‡ Of these the principal item is cost

of carriages, but on the completion of the railway now in progress this will be greatly reduced in the districts which it traverses. It is computed that the expense of conveying a ton of merchandise will not exceed 2½d. per mile; consequently salt may be carried from Calcutta to Benares for one halfpenny per lb.

salt sold wholesale and retail or imported was, in 1846-47, as under:

	Maunds of 82lbs.
Bengal	6,166,258
North-Western Provinces	2,670,943
Madras	4,587,720
Bombay	2,573,625
	<hr/>
	15,998,546
	82
	<hr/>
	31,997,092
	127,988,368
	<hr/>
	1,311,880,772lbs.

If the entire population of *British* India be assumed at ninety-nine millions, which from the latest official information may be considered as about its actual extent, the above-mentioned quantity of salt would afford to each individual about 13 lbs., the facts collected by statistical research thus corroborating an estimate founded on observation of the habits of the people.

The following table exhibits the quantity of salt imported into Calcutta from all countries, and also from England, for the last seven years:*

	Imported from all Countries.	From England.
	Maunds.	Maunds.
1844-45	970,595	791
1845-46	1,581,968	502,616
1846-47	1,466,744	352,835
1847-48	1,615,084	752,998
1848-49	1,626,706	459,803
1849-50	2,126,848	624,673
1850-51 (the first six months of)	1,455,007	672,092

* Board of Customs, Salt and Opium

STATEMENT exhibiting the Net Revenue derived from Salt from all sources—viz., Government Sales, Excise on Private Manufacture, and Customs Duty, from the year 1839-40.

Year.	Bengal.	N.-W. Prov.	Madras.	Bombay.	TOTAL.
	Rupees.	Rupees.	Rupees.	Rupees.	Rupees.
1839-40 ...	1,61,94,188	26,90,511	33,82,422	12,72,209	2,35,39,330
1840-41 ...	1,63,80,084	24,43,614	30,21,805	14,58,218	2,33,03,721
1841-42 ...	1,57,50,967	26,81,822	33,61,806	13,42,601	2,31,37,196
1842-43 ...	1,64,33,412	25,06,731	32,10,959	16,25,339	2,36,76,441
1843-44 ...	1,55,78,010	35,86,467	37,35,644	16,99,579	2,45,99,700
1844-45 ...	1,60,42,730	47,82,645	37,81,369	18,47,502	2,64,54,246
1845-46 ...	1,49,09,021	37,75,196	40,34,020	21,01,109	2,48,19,346
1846-47 ...	1,62,79,725	52,47,071	39,84,188	17,77,565	2,72,88,549
1847-48 ...	1,65,83,668	48,26,209	41,94,855	23,45,006	2,79,49,738
1848-49 ...	1,41,44,321	45,65,642	37,69,440	21,06,855	2,45,86,258
1849-50 ...	1,61,07,384	53,79,810	38,33,312	21,57,591	2,74,78,097*

[Having given above the Statistics of the Salt Duties, I append some remarks, written by a friend in India, and published in the *Morning Chronicle*, on the social and moral aspects of the question. They appear to me to be as just as they are able.]

Of all the great sources of Indian revenue not one has been so much assailed as the "monopoly" of Salt. It is here that the philanthropist will find his most palpable object of censure, the partisan of free-trade his most vulnerable point of attack, and the advocate of the Company his least defensible position. Now it is conceded at once, that salt is as necessary a daily condiment to the Indian cultivator as it is to the English peasant: that in a country where sudden and mysterious attacks of disease are common, it has been thought essential to a healthy condition of the physical system: that in some parts of Bengal it may be manufactured at a trifling cost and with the slightest amount of labor by any one who will scrape together a few handfuls of earth, and yet that in those very localities, where it is most readily made, the transport of salt is only permitted under the most rigid observance of certain forms, and under the safeguard of authenticated passes, whilst the adulteration, the import, the manufacture or even connivance at

	Rupees.
* Government Sales and Excise Duty	1,75,98,287
Customs Duty on importation by sea.....	45,00,000
On passing North-West Frontier customs line	53,79,810
	<hr/>
	2,74,78,097

the manufacture thereof, are punishable by severe fines and by imprisonment. For a clear understanding of the subject I must state first that the salt eaten by the inhabitants of the whole of the Agra and the Bengal Presidencies including the Punjab, is supplied from four different great sources. 1. The salt manufactured by the Bengal Government. 2. Sea-imported salt which pays duty at Calcutta. 3. Salt imported into the Agra Presidency from native states. 4. Rock salt brought from the salt range in the Punjab. From all four sources the Government derives some revenue, but as the idea of monopoly is generally associated with the direct manufacture of the article by the Government, I will proceed first to describe the state of things in the salt producing localities of Lower Bengal, where the laws against illegal transport, store or manufacture, are by means of a preventive establishment maintained in all their severity. The reader who may choose to consult the map of Bengal, will see along and above the tract known as the Sunderbunds, a number of tidal creeks and rivers of all sizes, by which the waters of the Gangetic Delta and of the whole of Bengal find their way to the sea. From the hills which border the Eastern frontier to the province of Cuttack in the West, and from the very shores of the Bay northward as far as the spring tide reaches in the dry season, the soil impregnated with saline particles is singularly well fitted for the manufacture of salt. For a great part of this tract, which may be four hundred miles in length and one hundred and twenty in depth, there is a dense and increasing population who subsist principally on rice and fish. Any landholder in these parts, were it not for the Salt Laws, would have only to lay out a moderate amount of capital in order to establish a successful and lucrative salt manufactory. Any Ryot without capital, with the help of a stew-pan, a few sticks and a few handfuls of earth, would extract day by day, or week by week, salt sufficient for the consumption of himself and his family. But I will take a somewhat parallel case in England, though it does not apparently equal the present one in hardship. In a well-wooded, well-watered, and rich country in England there is a large estate, of ten thousand acres, the proprietor of which is a strict preserver of game. His tenants, who pay a high rent, are not permitted to shoot one single head of the hundreds of pheasants and scores of hares which devastate their finest crops. Poaching is visited with unrelenting severity by magistrates, who have a fellow-feeling with the game-preserving landlord. The law creates offences, and punishes with rigor the offences it creates. Still, in defence of this system it may be said that winged and four-footed game, in such plenty, is not the spontaneous production of the climate and the soil; on the breeding, rearing, and multiplying of pheasants, much care, time, and money have been expended by the proprietor. His love of

field sports helps to bind him to the estate. It is not essential to the health and prosperity of his tenants that they should dine off pheasants and partridges, or to the punctual payment of rents, that they should despatch bags of game to the poulterers in town. Harsh as the system may appear to a philanthropist, it has some redeeming points, and it is associated with much that is attractive in the character of an English gentleman, his delight in active exercises, his healthful recreation, his love of a rural life. It is looked on by farmers, the sportsman will say, sometimes with positive indifference, rarely with hatred. It does not on the whole press heavily on the poor man who earns a few shillings a week. But in the salt-producing localities of Bengal, a small proprietor and a poor cultivator, placed within arms' length, as it were, of this condiment, are, by a code of laws cunningly devised, carefully guarded, and enforced to the letter, forbidden, except through the intervention of Government, to procure one single handful thereof for their simplest meal.

I believe that the most avowed opponent of the Company must allow that the above are the most damaging accusations which could, with any just foundation, be brought against the Salt-tax. As to the statements relative to the bad quality and excessive price of the Company's salt, I trust to show that they are without good foundation. I return to the locality in which the salt of Bengal is produced, for, as it is there that the salt code is rigorously enforced, it is the inhabitants of those parts, and those only, who have any right to cry out against it as a hardship. The reasoning which I ventured to adopt in the case of the opium monopoly, I may venture, *mutatis mutandis*, to apply to this case also. The law is a dead letter where no temptation to break or evade it exists, even though that law be in theory harsh, oppressive, and unjust. It is no more a hardship to tell the inhabitant of Patna or Ghazepore that he shall not manufacture salt, or the rice eater of the Sunderbunds that he shall on no account cultivate the poppy, than it is to tell an elderly gentleman that he must not rob an orchard, or an Oxford undergraduate that he is not to play at marbles in the High-street. I will, however, proceed to describe briefly the mode followed by the Indian Government in making salt. At and near the spots best suited to the purpose are situated the salt agencies, which are six in number. The land most capable of producing salt is retained in the hands of Government, and the proprietors thereof are indemnified for the loss of revenue otherwise attainable from its cultivation. The salt is manufactured yearly, to the amount fixed by the Board of Revenue, by a class of men who gain their livelihood in this manner, and who receive every year advances in hard cash for the purposes of manufacture. These men, molunghees, as they are termed in Indian parlance, agree to deliver the salt at so much a maund at the

various store-houses of Government. A great portion of the salt so manufactured and stored is transported to large store-houses at the Presidency, where it is sold to the native dealers in this article, who retail it all over the country. A certain duty added to the cost of transport and to that of manufacture is what Government pretends to levy. At the present time salt is manufactured at the different agencies, at an average rather under one shilling a maund, and is sold at that price, plus a fixed duty of five shillings for the same quantity. Add to this the cost of transport to the Presidency, and you will have the sum total at which salt is purchased by the native dealer from Government. In round numbers it is rather more than six shillings a maund, and a maund is equal to eighty-two English pounds.

The salt stored in the repositories of Government is a sound, pure, and healthy edible. Any doubt on the subject may be instantaneously removed by an inspection of the great storehouses at the Presidency, near the terminus of the railway, when it will at once be acknowledged that the stories of the Indian Government making, by means of an unjust monopoly, a dear and unwholesome article, are so many idle tales. If the salt of Government is adulterated, it is adulterated by the retail dealer, and what system, whether confined to Government or open to all speculators, could guarantee the prevention of this evil? I repeat, too, that the Salt Laws operate differently in other parts of the empire to what they do in the salt-producing localities. In the tract mentioned as stretching along the Bay of Bengal within the influence of the tides, their operation is certainly severe and uniform. It is a misdemeanor, within this tract, for any private individual to manufacture salt, to store the article, or to transport it from one place to another without passes specifying its destination, owner, date of sale, and other minute particulars. Within this tract, too, preventive officers may stop and search any boats whatever, adapted to sea navigation, on mere suspicion of their containing salt: and they are permitted, in the presence of regular police-officers, to make a forcible entry into any house or warehouse in which they may have received information that salt, exceeding one maund in quantity, is actually stored. The limits of the tides are the limits of the preventive establishments, armed with these apparently terrible powers—the limits, in short, within which the salt code is vigorously upheld: but now comes the other side of the picture. The practical result of the code in increasing the number of inmates of gaols and reducing poor men to beggary is nil; the means taken to mitigate its severity and to supply salt to the cultivator are judicious. Men who have the welfare of the Indian population at heart will be glad to learn that in this large tract of country the number of cases instituted against individuals for the illegal manufacture of salt were in the year considerably within two

hundred, and the number of men imprisoned for offences against the Salt Laws of all kinds did not at the close thereof exceed *one dozen*. That is to say, in a tract of country comprising at least three millions of inhabitants, who have every apparent temptation to violate the law, a mere fraction of the population had been found to engage in the illicit manufacture. Let this result be compared with the results of the operation of the Game Laws in any three counties in England! The reason for the fewness of convictions is neither a want of diligence on the part of the preventive officer, nor a want of spirit on that of the desponding cultivator. The reason is partly, that Government, anxious to mitigate the harshness of the monopoly, has directed that, in the salt-producing tract, where there is most temptation to manufacture or smuggle, salt shall be retailed by its own officers, at its own shops, at a price sufficiently low to take away from the poorest cultivator the temptation of violating the law; and partly because hundreds of Ryots, too lazy to go as far as the retail shops, do occasionally scrape together a few handfuls of earth within the precincts of their huts, and manufacture each a pound or so of salt without the cognisance of the preventive officer. Cases in which individuals have been arraigned for transporting salt without any protective documents, or with documents of an informal character, or for transporting more salt than the quantity specified in their passes, are naturally more numerous than those of mere illicit manufacture. But the penalties enforced in these cases fall on individuals of a very different class from the mere tiller of the earth. They fall on habitual and determined smugglers, on merchants who cannot be content with their reasonable gains, on men, in short, who, under any Government or system in the world, would be the first to speculate on the best mode of baffling authority or resisting the payment of any lawful dues. They fall, too, in many cases, on the very men who derive a direct benefit from the monopoly, as it centres the traffic of salt in their hands. It is not in behalf of men like these that philanthropy should be anxious or sympathy be awakened.

Still, some objector may say, that if the salt monopoly were abandoned, and every man in the salt-producing localities were permitted to turn salt-manufacturer, the condition of the peasantry would be bettered, and the sources of wealth would be enlarged. It is impossible to argue on a supposition like this except from the known character of landlords, and tenants, and speculators, in the East. There is little doubt but that an individual or company might, with a little capital, manufacture salt for the Indian market at a cheaper rate than it is now made by Government, and thus consumers in the Bengal and Behar provinces might be benefited, but whether the inhabitants of the salt tract would be the better for it, is another question. Abandon the monopoly, and salt

would be manufactured by every native landholder who could command money and energy enough for the purpose, or by every foreign adventurer who could obtain a lease of land from the apathetic or heedless Zemindar. It is not likely that such men would quietly permit every tenant on their estates to boil salt in his own salt pans, and enjoy a new luxury without interruption. The localities in which the salt of Bengal is manufactured are those in all India where rapacious landlords and their unscrupulous agents are most adept in practising extortion on a peasantry feeble by nature, enervated by climate, timorous by example, and vilified by the domination of centuries. Every person conversant with Lower Bengal will know the amount of dread which a wealthy Zemindar can strike into his tenantry by his rank and position, by his armed retainers, by the influence of superstition, by a control more strict than could be ever exercised by any preventive force of Government, by the unlimited command of evidence to suit every unforeseen occurrence in a long course of litigation, and by working on that unconquerable feeling which still pervades the masses in the East, and whispers to them that such men are set above the law. The testimony of hundreds of witnesses and the records of litigation for half a century present us with one dreary picture of landlords enhancing rents, forcing cultivators to purchase the necessaries of life only at their own markets; deciding disputes in the village on the principle that both disputants are to pay something into the judge's privy purse, levying every sort of illegal cess on the most frivolous pretences, and making of Eastern society only two great divisions, those who suffer, and those who inflict. It is idle to talk to a Bengali peasant about defending his rights and acting with a manly spirit. It is idle to say that there are courts open, European functionaries accessible, and prompt justice at hand, which neither money can purchase nor power defy. If, in our own England, it is well known that tenants have been ruined and driven forth houseless, because at some election they would not vote with the Lord of the Manor, it may easily be conceived what sort of remedy would be possessed in law by that Eastern tenant who should dare to lessen, by one penny, the profits of his landlord, or cross the most trivial of his cherished aims.

The abandonment of the salt monopoly in the rich alluvial and saline districts of Bengal, would in all probability, have the effect of enriching a few individuals, of supplying some of the up-country markets with a somewhat cheaper article, of depriving the Government of about a million of revenue, of preventing the free import of Liverpool and Manchester salt by sea, and of leaving the peasantry of the salt-producing localities in the condition in which they have always been.

Before quitting this part of the subject it is impossible not to

notice a singularly erroneous statement which has lately appeared on the salt monopoly, and which has been read probably by some thousands of readers in a periodical, captivating from its variety, usually accurate in its statements, and just in its conclusions. In the number of the "Household Words," for July, 1851, the following are gravely set down as "Facts about Salt." I enumerate them in due succession, and as far as possible in the author's own words. "The salt manufactories are situated in dreary marshes. The workers, following their occupation in pestiferous regions, annually fall victims, by hundreds, to the plague or the floods. The price of salt to the Indian consumer is about eightpence a pound. In addition to the vast powers vested in the hands of the preventive officers, fines may be inflicted on a person who erects a distilling apparatus in his own house, without any proof of the same, and at the discretion of the judge. The monopoly gives the East India Company a revenue of three millions sterling, and besides acting as an incubus on the energies, the mental resources, and social advancement of the immense population of India, it in a great measure engenders and facilitates the ravages of the cholera."

I confess, sir, that I read the above "Facts about Salt," with mingled amusement, regret, and surprise. In a periodical originating with genius and fostered by talent, appears an account so entirely at variance with the truth, and yet so plausible in its appearance, as to be calculated to deceive many a "Household," whose knowledge of the subject may be confined to "words" so written for their instruction. Either from wilful malevolence or astounding credulity, or "*crassa ignorantia*," some points are mistaken, and others are introduced where they have no meaning or connexion, in order that the Salt Monopoly of India may appear in the eyes of grievance-mongers, real philanthropists, and the English public in general, a monopoly of so "odious and oppressive a nature as only to be worthy of the old Spanish Inquisition." I proceed, however, in due order emphatically to deny, and to refute from personal observation, as well as from other sources, every one of the assertions selected above. The "dreary marshes" are not peculiar to the salt-producing localities. They exist in eight or ten districts, out of reach of the tides. They are to be found, more or less, wherever the rice crop is sown and grown: they are the result of the tremendous down-pourings of the rainy season, which falling on a rich, tenacious, and alluvial soil, convert the whole country for four, five, or six months in the year, into one enormous marsh, not dreary, nor unproductive, nor invariably inimical to life, but prolific in vegetation, teeming in resources and tenanted by thousands, or even millions of inhabitants. That Bengal Proper is remarkable for a moist and humid and not a dry climate: that tropical showers which the clayey

soil refuses to drink up, and the brilliant sun can only exhale by degrees, are favorable to the spread of vegetation: that vegetation unchecked is apt to produce miasma: that over miles of country in districts, where not one ounce of salt is ever manufactured, or one clause of the Salt Laws enforced, the communication is carried on in boats from July to November as it has been carried on for centuries: that an Indian cultivator may step from his house into his light shallop and on his way to the bi-weekly market pass over an extent of plain converted into a "marsh," but covered everywhere with a magnificent rice-crop growing, in water five and six feet deep—are all facts which are undeniable. But they only prove that those who choose or are compelled to live in Bengal at all during the rainy season must often be content to live on the borders of a "dreary marsh," whether their occupation be to manufacture salt, or to cultivate indigo, or as a servant of Government to do justice between one man and another. The factories are not selected on account of the "dreary marshes," but the marshes will persist in locating themselves in proximity to the factories. Moreover, out of the six salt agencies where the monopoly is carried on, only two, that of Hidgellee and that of Tumlook, are situated in localities at all remarkable for unhealthiness: and as the manufacture of the article can only be carried on during the dry season from December to May, when there are no rains, no inundations, and in consequence no miasma, the assertion that the workers of salt fall victims to the floods, is quite contrary to fact. In making mention of the "plague" as the destroyer of victims, it is difficult to believe that the writer in the "Household Words" can have had any other wish than to see how far he could impose with impunity on the credulity of Englishmen. The non-occurrence and non-existence of the plague in India is a fact as well established in science as is the non-existence of tropical vegetation on the summit of Mount Hecla, or of an eternal glacier on the chalk hills of Kent. The next "fact" stated is, that the price of salt to the consumer is about eightpence a pound, and that thirty millions of public, whose average earnings are three shillings a week, are compelled to expend one fourth of that pittance in the purchase of salt. Now, in no part of the Bengal or Agra Provinces does salt cost the consumer more than one fourth of the above price; and in many places it only costs him one eighth. In the case of the higher price, the increase arises from the carriage of the article, and to convey salt some four hundred miles from the place of manufacture, not unnaturally raises the price thereof on arrival at its destination. This must be the case whether salt still continue to be manufactured by the Indian Government, or whether all the superfluous capital and indignant philanthropy of Manchester be suddenly let loose to improve the tracts bordering on the Sunderbunds. The Government takes no part in the

transport of Bengal salt, nor is it bound to provide that the article shall be sold in the districts of Behar for the same price as it is sold at the retail shops within the tidal limits: and it must not be forgotten, that beyond those limits and their preventive establishments, the transport and the retail of salt is open equally to the native dealer, the foreign adventurer, and the champion of suffering humanity.

The next startling "fact" is, that any person who erects a distilling apparatus is liable to a ruinous fine, without proof, at the discretion of the judge. The writer has here applied to the case of a supposed distiller, a penalty which may be incurred by landholders, who permit the illicit manufacture of salt on their estates. It is part of the system of the Indian Government to make landholders, in consideration of their position and influence, to assist in the administration of justice by giving early information of all offences against the law, and such a provision as that adverted to and misapplied by the writer in the "Household Words," does exist in the salt code. But it is rarely put in force. In the space of a year it is enforced perhaps on one occasion. The last "fact" is, that the monopoly so described raises a revenue of three millions. It raises a revenue of one million. The tax on imported salt and that levied in the Punjab, which of course are exclusive of this, have nothing to do with the manufactures as carried on by Government. So much for the "Facts about Salt," which when circulated in India were variously ridiculed and refuted by the local press, never slow to comment severely on the policy and to arraign the general administration of affairs in the East.

I have done with the sphere in which salt is largely manufactured, and I turn now to other localities out of reach of the tides which comprise the remainder of the provinces under the Governments of Bengal and Agra. It is a misdemeanor to manufacture salt in any part of the above localities, but as the facilities for manufacture there are neither frequent nor enticing, as there is no special preventive establishment for the prevention of smuggling or illicit traffic, as salt merchants convey their cargoes of salt to the various marts therein without let or hindrance, or inspection by any person, as houses there are never searched, nor boats detained, nor "poor Indians" punished, it is clear that over a very large surface of the empire the monopoly does not press with severity on mental resources or social advancement.

There is, however, one additional impost laid on the transport of certain salt at the junction of the Bengal and Agra provinces, and this brings us to another species of salt, supplied by native states, and consumed in the North-West Provinces. This duty is levied on salt which finds its way into those provinces from the independent native states south of the river Jumna, from the Sambhar Lake near Ajmere, and from the salt range in the Punjab. The

duty has at various times ranged from two to four shillings a maund. In the case of salt manufactured in independent states, this duty is an extra duty, the first duty having been levied when the salt crossed the line which separates the British from the native states. In the case of rock salt from the Punjab, it is the only duty levied in transit, a line of preventive stations on the banks of the Sutlej and the frontiers of the Punjab, having lately been abolished. The custom-houses then, extend in a line from Allahabad to Juanpore, and guard the frontier of the respective Governments of Bengal and Agra. But they are only intended to levy duty on the salt which enters Bengal from Agra, and not on that which enters Agra from Bengal. This latter salt, whether it be that of the monopoly of manufacture, or that imported by sea, once clear of Calcutta and the tidal limits, may travel in any direction without paying a farthing. Salt descending into Bengal from the Upper Provinces pays a moderate duty of one shilling where it enters the Lower division of the presidency. The policy is to protect Bengal from being invaded by salt from the Upper Provinces, and to let Bengal and Manchester salt overrun those provinces, if it can. But in any case the consumer, whether he eats the salt of the Bengal Government, or that of native states, or the rock-salt of the Punjab, or that of Liverpool, pays for his condiment, where cheapest a penny a pound, where dearest twopence, and in some rare instances, twopence three farthings. The practical result of the salt system may briefly be summed up as follows: The monopoly or manufacture by the Bengal Government gives a net revenue of about a million*—not three millions as stated by the writer in the "Household Words"—and this salt supplies the cultivators of Bengal Proper and of Behar, where it meets the salt from native states and from the Punjab, and unable to compete with the cheaper article, retires from the field. The salt of native independent states, which yearly pays to the exchequer about five hundred thousand pounds in the shape of frontier duty, supplies the country between the Ganges and the Jumna, and generally the other districts of the Agra Government. From the salt of the Punjab range is derived a revenue of one hundred and fifty thousand pounds, and the condiment of the stalwart Sikh, the agricultural Jat, and the other dwellers by the five rivers. The salt imported by sea adds to the revenue about four hundred and eighty thousand pounds, displaces a proportionate quantity of Sunderbund or Government salt, and manfully competes with the salt descending from the Upper Provinces even beyond the junction of the two divisions of the Presidency. The result is to place salt within reach of the poorest peasant in India,

* It will be understood that the writer here only speaks of the produce of what is called the "monopoly." Estimating the amount of the Salt-Revenues, in the text, I have included the Customs duty.—K.

at a fair price, and to secure to the Government, in the least vexatious manner, an addition to its revenue, which it positively cannot spare. In any case the sale of all four kinds of salt is naturally affected and regulated by distance and by the expenses of transport.

To reiterate the most prominent and remarkable of the facts concerning salt it may be said that in the whole of that part of the Indian Empire which extends from Peshawar beyond the Indus downwards to the tidal limits of the Bay of Bengal, the manufacture of salt is not susceptible of the employment of a large amount of capital: that the salt which supplies the greater part of Upper India, is either the natural produce of the great salt range of the Punjab, and as such is the property of the paramount power, or is manufactured in independent or tributary states: that the duty levied on this latter salt on its entrance on the frontier or during its transit within the British territories is neither exorbitant, nor in principle contrary to a sound administration, which must provide money to support its armies, and maintain its establishments: that besides the salt manufactured by Government under a code of stringency in one corner of the empire, there is a further abundant and increasing supply of this article imported by sea, on payment at Calcutta of a duty of five shillings a maund: that it is certain that no extreme penalties are imposed by the salt tribunals on men who break or evade the law, while reasonable precautions are taken to deprive cultivators of inducement to illicit traffic: that it is an open question whether the abandonment of the monopoly would ameliorate the condition of those agriculturists who are said to suffer by it, while, to judge from experience, that abandonment would cause increased litigation, and loss of revenue: and that a net revenue of one million of our money is now raised by the most willing of manufacturers, the native Molunghees, amongst a population, to whose substantial social evils or moral degradation that monopoly does not certainly contribute.

(B)

THE OPIUM DUTIES.

[From the Statistics relating to India, prepared at the India House.]

BENGAL.

IN Bengal, the revenue from opium is realised by means of a Government monopoly. No person within the Bengal territories is allowed to grow the poppy except on account of the Government.* Annual engagements are entered into by the cultivators, under a system of pecuniary advances, to sow a certain quantity of land with the poppy, and the whole produce in the form of opium is delivered to the Government at a fixed rate.† The engagements‡ on the part of the cultivators are optional.

The ordinary consequences of monopoly, increase of price to the consumer, and restriction on the employment of capital and industry, are not wanting in the working of the opium revenue system. The free cultivation of the poppy would doubtless lead to the larger outlay of capital, and to greater economy in production. But the poppy requires the richest description of land, and its extended cultivation must therefore displace other products. The price, too, is almost wholly paid by foreign consumers, viz., Chinese, Malays, &c.,§ and in obtaining the largest returns with the smallest outlay, the best interests of India would appear to be consulted.

* The cultivation of the poppy was prohibited in Bengal by Regulation VI. of 1799, sect. 3; and in the North-Western Provinces by Regulation XLI. of 1803, sect. 2.

The importation of opium into Bengal is virtually prohibited, the duty being fixed at 24 rupees per seer, of 2lbs., or about double the amount of its present selling price at the Calcutta Government sales.

† Three and a half rupees per seer, or about 3s. 6d. per lb.

‡ In the month of August contracts are entered into with the Ryots, and an advance without interest of 4 rupees

per beega (nearly two-thirds of an acre) granted by the Government. The sowings commence in November, when another advance is made of 3 rupees per beega. Again, in January and February, when the crop arrives at maturity, a third advance of about 3 rupees per beega takes place, to assist the cultivator in gathering the produce. The crop is collected by the end of March.

§ Under the Convention of 1815, the French Government of Pondicherry are supplied with 300 chests of opium annually, at the average price obtained at the Calcutta sales.

BOMBAY.

Opium grown and manufactured within the territories of Bombay is held to be subject to the duty of 12 rupees per Surat seer,* imposed by Bombay Regulation XXI. of 1827, upon opium "imported or brought into any harbour, or roads, or port, or place, either by land or sea, within the Presidency of Bombay, or territories subordinate thereto;" and this duty must be paid before its removal. The object of this heavy duty is to discourage its production. The cultivation of the poppy is stated to have ceased in the district of Ahmedabad in 1839, and nearly so in those of Kaira and Candeish. In Scinde the production of opium has been prohibited. The Government purchase all that is produced in Bombay, and supply, through the licensed retailers, the quantity required for home consumption.

CENTRAL INDIA.

A large revenue is derived from the transit of the opium of Malwa through the British territories to Bombay for exportation to China. Previous to the year 1831 the British Government reserved to itself a monopoly† of the article, which was purchased by the British resident at Indore, and sold by auction, either at Bombay or at Calcutta. But in that year it was deemed advisable, chiefly on account of the large quantity of opium smuggled to the Portuguese settlements of Demaun, &c., on the coast, to relinquish the monopoly, to open the trade to the operations of private enterprise, and to substitute, as a source of revenue, in place of the abandoned system, the grant, at a specified rate, of passes to cover the transit of opium through the Company's territories to Bombay. In determining the amount of transit duty, it was proposed to be guided by a comparison of the cost of transit direct to Bombay, with that of the transmission of the drug to the coast by the cheapest of the more circuitous routes through the territories of native states; and on the basis of such a comparison it was fixed at 175 rupees per chest of 140 lbs. each. In 1835, the results of the preceding official year being unfavourable, the shipments of opium from Bombay having largely declined, while those from Demaun had greatly increased, the rate was reduced to 125 rupees per chest.

The subjugation of Scinde afforded opportunity for the levy of

* The Surat seer consists only of 35 talahs; the duty on opium is, therefore, somewhat heavier than in Bengal.

† By separate treaties with the native princes of Central India, and which were subsequently cancelled.

a higher rate. Down to the period of that event, a large portion of the opium of Malwa had been conveyed through Scinde to Kurrachee, and thence onwards to the Portuguese ports of Diu and Demaun. That route was now closed, and it was reasonably expected that an advance might be made in the charge of passes, without risk of loss to the revenue from a diminished demand for them. The rate was accordingly increased, in October, 1843, from 125 rupees to 200 rupees per chest. Upon the principle that it was desirable to fix the price at the highest amount which could be levied, without forcing the trade into other channels, a further increase was made in 1845, when it was determined that the charge should be 300 rupees per chest. Under the like views it was, in 1847, raised to 400 per chest.

Poppy seed is sown in Malwa in November; the plants are in flower in the early part of March, and from that time till the end of April the extraction of the juice proceeds. During the hot weather in May, the extracted juice is allowed to settle, and in June, and early in July, the cakes are manufactured.

STATEMENT showing the Receipts from the Opium Revenue,
from the Year 1834-35.

Years.	Net Receipts from Bengal.	Net Receipts from Bombay.	Total Com- pany's Rupees.	Total £ Sterling at 2s. the Sicca Rupee.
1834-35 ...	63,26,894	14,41,711	77,68,605	728,517
1835-36 ...	1,32,01,613	17,18,455	1,49,20,068	1,399,009
1836-37 ...	1,33,40,968	20,08,710	1,53,49,678	1,439,031
1837-38 ...	1,43,67,238	14,97,202	1,58,64,440	1,487,291
1838-39 ...	69,87,990	25,43,318	95,31,308	893,560
1839-40 ...	32,60,761	1,17,014	33,77,775	316,666
1840-41 ...	64,96,324	22,46,452	87,42,776	819,635
1841-42 ...	80,38,669	21,48,989	1,01,87,658	955,093
1842-43 ...	1,32,23,436	25,42,382	1,57,65,818	1,478,046
1843-44 ...	1,67,59,482	34,88,780	2,02,48,262	1,898,274
1844-45 ...	1,80,83,454	37,29,431	2,18,12,885	2,044,958
1845-46 ...	2,20,79,262	59,56,243	2,80,33,505	2,628,140
1846-47 ...	2,27,93,387	60,68,628	2,88,62,015	2,705,813
1847-48 ...	1,29,15,296	37,18,549	1,66,33,845	1,559,423
1848-49 ...	1,95,82,562	88,75,066	2,84,57,628	2,667,902
1849-50 ...	2,80,07,968	72,94,835	3,53,02,803	3,309,637

Note.—A chest of Bengal opium, containing 164 lbs., or 80 seers, would cost the Government, at 3rs. 8s. per seer, 280rs., and sell at Calcutta for upwards of 900rs., yielding a profit of about 7s. 6d. per lb.

A chest of Malwa opium, containing 140 lbs., upon which the transit duty of 400rs. had been paid, would afford a revenue to Government of about 5s. 8d. per lb.

[The following observations on the opium monopoly are by the friend, to whom I am indebted for the previous commentary on the salt duties. They have been published in the *Morning Chronicle*.]

The Opium Monopoly, which I shall now briefly discuss, is a subject which presents, comparatively, few salient points, and suggests no very intricate questions. Its history embraces a consideration of the precautions by which the cultivation of the poppy is reserved to the State alone, of the locality where the poppy can be cultivated, of its effects on agriculture, and of its financial results. First, then, I will enumerate the precautions taken to prevent the unlimited or the indiscriminate cultivation of the plant. It is an offence against the law of the Bengal Code for individuals to cultivate the poppy, just as much as it is an offence in England to sell beer without a licence, to sell spirits within certain hours on Sundays, to harness dogs to a little cart, to collect a mob in Regent-street or the Strand. In both cases a simple act is created an offence by the law, though it will naturally be said that the principle of the Eastern Code is capricious and arbitrary, and does not lead to the protection of morality. Not only are Indian cultivators prohibited from cultivating the poppy, without a licence, and then only for the good of the State, not only are they liable, for an infringement of the law, to see their illicit crops attached and to incur imprisonment or fine; but police officers, village watchmen, and Government officials of every description, are required on pain of fine, and liability to dismissal, to assist in the suppression of the illegal cultivation, of the manufacture of the raw material, and of the sale of the produce. Even landholders are not exempt from liability, and as on the one hand they are liable to be fined if they do not give the earliest information to the police of illicit cultivation, so, on the other, they are at liberty, in virtue of their position as lords of the manor, at once and without any order or decree to that effect, to attach a crop of the poppy not grown by the permission of Government. The whole aim and scope of the law is in fact to reserve to the Government the right of determining where, in what quantity, and by whom, the poppy shall be cultivated. So much for the law. The second point for consideration is the tract of country suited to this kind of produce. Now, the poppy is cultivated with success only in the large central Gangetic tract which extends from the borders of the kingdom of Oude to Agra on the west, and to the district of Dinagepore on the south. This stretch of country is about five hundred miles in length and two hundred in depth or breadth. It follows, consequently, that whatever harshness may be imputed to the opium laws, their effects must be confined to the limits of the above tract. Where there is no temptation to break the law, there can be no occasion to enforce

its penalties. In a locality where the poppy will not grow, or will not be productive, it is superfluous to tell the Ryot that he must not there manufacture opium. In the principal plains of Eastern Bengal, on the banks of the Lower Ganges, in the whole province of Orissa, in the northern part of the Agra division and in the Punjab, the whole of the laws for the protection of the Opium Monopoly are a dead letter. It remains then to be considered with what force the monopoly presses on the agricultural population in the great poppy districts, which brings us naturally to the third point under review. The opium manufacture from the plant grown within the limits above described, is carried on at two separate agencies, that of Benares, of which the head station is at Ghazipore, and that of Behar, of which the head station is at Patna, the ancient capital of that province. The system agriculturally is, then, as follows: It is no part of the plan to mark out and reserve a portion of the best lands of a district for the poppy, or to cultivate it on a Government or home farm, through the agency of hired laborers. The system proceeds on far broader principles—those of making advances to any Ryot who may choose to enter into an agreement to cultivate the poppy for Government. The Ryot takes the money, sows the field, watches over the growth of the plant, presses the juice, and conveys it to the Government factory. It is a fundamental principle to leave it entirely optional with every one to enter into such an agreement or not. Recruits are not inveigled by the distant prospect of remuneration, fictitious statements are not cooked to entrap the unwary, the weight of authority is never brought to influence the wavering, the refractory, or the weak. If, however, a Ryot does become a party to a contract, it becomes necessary to provide for its due performance. There are, consequently, stipulations made, in order that the number of acres, for which an agreement is signed, shall be duly cultivated, that an amount of produce, calculated from what may appear to be the probable out-turn of the field of poppy when in full growth, shall be delivered to the officers of Government, that the juice in its primitive state shall not be adulterated, and that the advances made shall either be repaid by an equivalent in produce, or be recovered by legal means. There is then no compulsion, and no disclosure of unforeseen contingencies. The cultivator, moreover, enjoys an advantage which no other kind of cultivation could possibly bring him. He gets at the commencement of every season, advances in hard cash equal to one-half of the estimated out-turn, for which he is subjected to no interest or commission, while he has the chance of making his profit by bringing to the factory, produce exceeding the advances, or remarkable for purity and weight. No outstanding balances are suffered to remain at the close of one season, or held, *in terrorem*, over the unhappy cultivator in the next. Accounts are

squared after the drug is manufactured, and the return is either set off against the advances, or if any part of the advance remains unrepaid, it is recovered by legal process, or it is written off to profit and loss. In this way lacs of rupees are yearly advanced and yearly repaid within a few rupees. That Government has acquired the character of a fair and indulgent landlord is easily seen by the readiness with which Ryots flock to take advances, and is proved by the fact that it has occasionally been found necessary to discourage the cultivation of the poppy and restrain it within moderate bounds. In the year 1849-50, in the smallest of the two agencies, the amount of land under poppy cultivation was in round numbers, 35,000 acres. Over so many miles of country there circulates yearly a constant and steady amount of capital. But to prove the advantages which may result from a monopoly wisely administered, there is nothing like a comparison between a system as carried on by Government, and a system as carried on by individuals. Such a comparison I find at hand between the manufacture of opium by Government and that of indigo by individuals. Both kinds of cultivation require command of money, constant supervision, favorable seasons, and agricultural skill: both the articles manufactured form a large and lucrative branch of trade. The one is manufactured solely on account of Government, which in this retains some of the old trading habits by which an empire was won. The other, not restricted, not confined to any particular class, and rarely noticed in the Indian code, is manufactured from a plant largely cultivated in the rich plains of Bengal, and the more sandy districts of the Upper Provinces. Under both there is the same selection of suitable localities, the same system of advances at the commencement of the season repayable by the produce at its close: the same healthy circulation of capital: some of the same benefits exhibited in progressive intercourse and extended agriculture. But here the parallel must cease. Under the Government monopoly, there is no intimidation, no violence or deceit: accounts are opened and adjusted yearly: if the master is satisfied with the produce, so is the man with his honest gains. In the cultivation of indigo carried on by European speculators of all nations, Hindoo and Mahomedan landholders, and commercial firms, there is on the part of the capitalist a free recourse to the influence of position, to the awe produced by authority, and to downright force, on the part of the Ryot there is unwillingness, subterfuge, and discontent. In addition to this, the disputes between cultivator and capitalist, or between two capitalists with their respective tenantry, have been the cause, especially in former years, of an endless amount of litigation, and a vast increase of agrarian crime. It is fair to state that matters are now better managed, and the cultivation of indigo is at present carried on

without burdening the calender or filling the gaols. But the Ryot is not more contented, nor richer than before. On the other hand, by the retention of the poppy cultivation in the hands of the state, benefits fall directly on the cultivator, and indirectly on the landlord to whom he may pay rent. Advantage results directly to the tenant, because the agent of Government deals with him alone. He signs the agreement: he receives the advances: he looks after the standing crop: he weeds and manures: he pierces the ripe capsules of the poppy: he conveys the drug in its first elementary condition to the Government factory: the liability and the benefits alike fall on him. The Zemindar, who is not only forbidden to cultivate on his own account but is held responsible for any illicit cultivation carried on by his tenants, derives merely that advantage from the system which may be expected from the presence of an active and willing peasantry, engaged in a pursuit which fills their pockets with hard cash. But beyond the advantages of a substantial peasantry, ready to pay their rents, the landlord gains no advantage. He is distinctly forbidden to enhance the rents of those lands on which tenants are raising a crop for Government. No doubt if the opium monopoly were abandoned to-morrow, many natives and Europeans would immediately set up their factories, clear their vats, give out their advances, and at the close of a successful season, freight a whole fleet of country boats, or load one of the numerous steamers plying up and down the Ganges, with chests of this valuable export, for transmission to Calcutta. But under such a system it would be unlikely that the drug fashioned in half a dozen different modes, would retain the consistency and purity which gives it a high value in the China market. At present the greatest care and attention are lavished on the manufacture, the drying process, the examination, the packing, and the transport of the drug. Some of the chests on arrival at Calcutta are inspected by an examiner appointed by Government, and exposed to view for the satisfaction of members of the mercantile community. No doubt the same precautions which are taken by Government to make produce saleable and to ensure a lucrative branch of the public revenue against loss, would be taken by British capitalists wielding the usual amount of energy, skill, and resources, and stimulated by the prospect of a considerable return. But it is very doubtful whether Ryots could derive more benefit from any conceivable system, other than the present. The appearance of whole districts as highly cultivated as Kent or Middlesex, the spontaneous testimony of thousands of cultivators, the unfrequency of recourse to legal process to adjust claims arising out of the system, and the small number of persons ever punished for infringement of the law by which that system is preserved, tend to prove this. A monopoly, which deprives rich individuals of some

contingent advantages to secure positive blessings and solid fruits to the tenant, which gives employment to a host of natives, and places many situations of emolument within the reach of clever and energetic Europeans, not members of any of the covenanted services, which is least felt where most strictly maintained, is surely deprived of the objectionable features which in the minds of most Englishmen are supposed to belong to that title.

The last point to be considered in the opium question is its financial result. There are twelve sales of the drug during the year. They are held at Calcutta, and the clear gain to Government after deducting expenses of all kinds, advances, manufacture, transport, salaries of large establishments and incidental or contingent charges, is in round numbers, two millions of our money. But this addition to the revenue is obtained not from the Indian cultivator or his landlord, nor from suffering provinces, but from Chinese merchants, and from the consumers of the drug in the Celestial Empire. The opium manufacture may, if men choose, be termed a monopoly of the productive resources of a large tract of country, but no inquiry will ever prove that, as a tax, it weighs on a single individual in any one district: nor will it be easy to persuade any man who knows anything of the condition of the Ryot, that an abandonment of the monopoly would be followed by an increase of wealth or competence in the agricultural classes. The morality of the traffic is an entirely different question: and on that ground alone were it thought incumbent to prohibit the manufacture and the export of opium, the prohibition should equally apply to the drug when manufactured by individuals. A trade productive of nothing but demoralisation ought to be stopped while it originated with a private house, or with a chartered company, or with the rulers of a great empire. But the truth is that, men who have been in China, while they describe in striking terms the fearful effects of the drug on the confirmed and habitual opium-eater, just as a man who had been in England might, from a few instances of delirium tremens, descant on the fearful effects of intemperance, allow that a moderate use of this stimulant is attended with beneficial effects. Moreover it has been ascertained from the same trustworthy source that the poppy cultivation is gradually increasing and is now countenanced by the authorities in the Chinese Empire. The delicate question of monopolising a cultivation, which ends in the surreptitious introduction of a compound into a large kingdom, may consequently find its own solution in a very few years.

(C)

COTTON CULTIVATION IN INDIA.

[The following comprehensive history of the efforts which have been made for the development of the cotton resources of India, is taken from the India House Statistics, already quoted.]

THERE are two principal descriptions of cotton-plant now cultivated in India, the indigenous and the American.

The indigenous plant of India is an annual, and succeeds best in the rich black soil found in various parts of the country. The American plant, though a perennial, is practically an annual in India.* In some parts of India it is grown successfully† on the black soil, but it thrives better on the light red lands. Each of these productions is possessed of some advantages not inherent in the other. The Indian cotton is capable of being manufactured into fabrics of extraordinary durability, and no less extraordinary fineness; its color is superior, and on this account is it frequently used in this country in combination with American cotton, to improve the color of the latter; but its staple is short. In addition to the greater length of staple, American cotton has further advantages over the indigenous production of India; the plant produces more flowers, and each flower a larger pod; while the quantity of seed contained in the pod is smaller and more readily separated from the fibre.

For a period of upwards of sixty years, attempts have been made by the East India Company to extend the cultivation of cotton and to improve its staple, as well as the modes of cleaning and packing. Seeds from different cotton-growing countries have been procured; rewards offered to stimulate exertion; and instruments, both agricultural and mechanical, superior to those in native use, have been extensively introduced. The distribution of seed of superior quality commenced as early as 1788. In 1813 the services of an American were obtained, with a view of furthering the desired improvement in cultivation and cleaning, and American gins were then imported. In 1818, and again in 1831, renewed efforts were made. At the latter period, experimental farms were

* Neither American nor Indian cotton is cultivated on the same ground in India more than once in three years, their properties being found to exhaust the productive powers of the soil.—

[*Evidence before Cotton Committee in 1848, Question 2110, &c.*]

† Dr. Royle, in evidence before Commons Committee on growth of Cotton in India, 1848, Question 481.

established in the southern Mahratta country,* and in Guzerat,† but these, after a considerable expenditure, having failed, were, in 1836, abolished by the local Government. In the despatch in which the approval and confirmation of this step were conveyed, the Court expressed anxiety "that no means should be left untried which might be likely to assist the desirable object of improving and extending the cotton cultivation on the Bombay side of India." And, in the same despatch, a qualified assent was given to a proposal made in general terms by the local Government, for authorising collectors to grant farms of land on favorable terms to respectable persons desirous of cultivating cotton, and when necessary to make to such persons pecuniary advances, on security. But previously to the receipt of this permission, the Bombay Government had determined upon giving a very large measure of encouragement to this cultivation by exempting from land-revenue, for five years, all lands sown with cotton in the Poona and Ahmednuggur collectorates. This proceeding was greatly disapproved by the Government of India, and on the discussion which ensued coming before the Court, their decision was given in favor of the supreme Government. The Government of India had desired that the effect of the notice to grant the proposed exemption should be limited as much as possible; but the Court directed its immediate formal revocation, respect being had to the rights of those who might previously have taken advantage of it.

In 1839 it was determined to seek information in the cotton-producing districts of the United States, and, if practicable, to engage *there* duly qualified persons to proceed to India for the purpose of instructing the natives in improved modes of culture and a better system of cleaning. The design was carried into effect. Ten Americans, experienced in the management of cotton plantations, were engaged, despatched to India, and their services distributed in the different presidencies. Government farms were again established in Broach, Dharwar, and Candeish, as were also experimental cotton gardens in Rutnagherry. In the last-named collectorate the cultivation of cotton was not generally practised, and after a short unsuccessful trial the experiment terminated. In Broach, the culture of the New Orleans cotton was stated to have proved a complete failure, and, notwithstanding a large expenditure, no good effects were produced on the staple of the country, beyond the limits of the farm. At a subsequent period the farms in Dharwar were abolished, and the contract system‡ of cotton

* The tract of country comprehending the British districts of Dharwar and Belgaum, and various native jaghires in their vicinity, is thus denominated.

† Guzerat comprises an addition to

the territory of the Guicowar, the four British districts of Broach, Surat, Kaira, and Ahmedabad.

‡ That is, where cotton of a certain description is grown by the natives, without any interference on the part of

culture introduced both there and in Candeish, in which collectorate the soil and climate are said to be well adapted to the culture of Bourbon, Egyptian, New Orleans, and other foreign varieties of cotton.

The results of American management in the Presidency of Bombay up to the year 1844, are exhibited in the report* from Mr. W. R. Mercer, one of the American cultivators, dated Dharwar, 12th October of that year. The writer of this paper, which is marked by great clearness, fairness, and intelligence, affirms that Indian cotton has long been known to possess two very remarkable qualities: it "mills" or swells in bleaching, thereby yielding a more substantial fabric; it takes and retains color better than American cotton; and it would command a good market, provided it were sent in regular supply and of uniform clearness. Mr. Mercer further expresses his opinion, that the capability of furnishing an article suited to the manufactures of Great Britain, is not limited to Broach and Surat, but extends to the whole of Candeish, the southern Mahratta country, and other parts of Western India; the capabilities of the North-Western Provinces, and large portions of the eastern and southern parts of the Madras territory being inferior. The difference of price between the cotton of Broach and Surat, being *sea-board* districts, and that of other more inland districts, he attributes to "difference of handling and the distance and badness of the routes over which the latter travels. After discussing the comparative effects of soil, climate, and culture (to the second of which he attributes great importance), Mr. Mercer comes to the conclusion that the natives of large tracts already employ a mode of cultivating the cotton plant in principle nearly the same as the American, but better suited in some respects to locality, &c. The great inferiority of much of the Indian article, he says, is the result of what befalls it subsequent to its production in the fields, that is, in the way in which it is gathered and stored, and chiefly the way in which it is separated from the seed and prepared for market, as well as in its transmission to market. At the gathering, in his opinion, the effort for improvement should commence.

Various improvements having been made in the cotton saw-gin, with a view to render it more suitable to Indian use, the Court, in 1846, desirous of arriving at a just conclusion in regard to the results, as exemplified in Bombay saw-ginned cotton directed consignments to be made annually of 6000 bales, to be continued for a period of three years; and in the following year, with a view of testing the capabilities of the different districts, directions were given that the annual consignment should consist

the Government beyond an engagement to receive the produce at a fixed price. * *East India Company's Manuscript Documents.*

of equal quantities of New Orleans and indigenous cotton, and should be drawn from the four collectorates in which measures for the improvement of the article were in progress—viz., Dharwar, Belgaum, Broach, and Candeish. It may here be mentioned, that in forwarding to Bombay the account sales of this cotton, the results were stated to be highly satisfactory. Very favorable opinions were pronounced on the article by spinners and other competent judges, and the prices realised were good, for some samples high. In fact, the question as to the capability of India to produce cotton suitable for the use of British manufactures might thenceforth be considered settled.

In 1848, in adverting to the promised supply from the four collectorates, the Court intimated their desire that Government should abstain from entering the market as large purchasers of cotton from American seed, if it found a ready sale among local dealers. The superiority of that cotton being generally recognised in the south Mahratta country, they were of opinion that Government might confine their operations to the supply of seed, and the introduction of improved methods of cleaning by saw-gins, &c.

In the Madras territories, cotton farms were established in the districts of Coimbatore, Tinnevely, and other localities. These farms have been recently discontinued, the object for which they were formed having been fully attained, by demonstrating that soil and climate are capable of producing cotton suitable to the British market.

It thus appears that within the two subordinate presidencies there is a considerable extent of country, the soil and climate of which are well adapted to the growth, not only of the indigenous cotton plant, but also of the American plant. The experiments have moreover brought to light a fact, which might have admitted of some doubt, viz., that for the most part the natives are well acquainted with the proper modes of cultivation, and that little or no advantage is likely to be gained from further interference with the ordinary course of agriculture and trade. An ample provision of seed of the superior kinds of cotton for the use of the cultivators (till such time as, by its general diffusion, all interference, even in this way, on the part of the Government shall become unnecessary) seems all, as far as cultivation is concerned, that can now be beneficial.

The cleaning and packing of the cotton seem, however, still to be very far from perfect, and the introduction of improved methods continues to engage the attention of the home authorities.*

The duty on the export of cotton, and the inland transit-duty

* The services of some of the American planters, Mr. Blount, Mr. Frost, and others, have been re-engaged for the purpose of preparing machinery, superintending cotton experiments, &c. — *Vide* Court's Correspondence, 1852.

having been abolished, all the encouragement that can properly be afforded by fiscal regulations has been extended to this production. There remains another mode in which Government can promote the extension of the growth of cotton and the improvement of its quality, viz., by facilitating the construction of tramways and railroads, where the anticipated amount of traffic would justify the outlay. In some districts the expenses of cultivation and assessment are not so heavy as the expense of carriage to market.

In competition with America for the British trade, India will always have to encounter the disadvantage of distance. But it is not too much to hope that this may be greatly moderated, especially as the cotton manufactures of Great Britain appear to require new and increased sources of supply. Indian cotton is adapted to varieties of goods amounting in weight to about 75* per cent. of the total cotton manufacture of Great Britain. The cultivation has to contend with sundry disadvantages,† but these are compensated by the cheapness‡ of the cost of production; this, in many parts of India, being only 1½d. per lb., while in America it is from fifty to one hundred per cent. more,§ ranging from 2½d. to 3d.

The power of contributing to the required supply is, however, limited by circumstances, some of which only would appear to be under control. The cotton of the lower provinces of Bengal is said to be unsuitable to the British market. In the north-west the experimental culture was tried to a certain extent without success, but discouraging incidents appear to have led, in some degree at least, to its somewhat premature abandonment. At Madras, improvement in quality has been simultaneous with extended cultivation; but from the latest official information it would appear that even if the whole of the lands in that presidency, adapted for the production of cotton, were so appropriated, the supply, after deducting the quantity required for local consumption and export to China, would bear a very small proportion to the wants of the British market. Looking to existing circumstances, it will be seen that, if instead of a part only, the present entire export of cotton from Madras found its way to Great Britain, it would not

* Chapman on Cotton and Commerce of India, page 4.

† The inferior productiveness of the Indian soil and inferior yield of the cotton plant, the combined operation of the two causes, restrict the average out-turn to 100 lbs. of clean cotton per acre, while in America the same area gives at least double the quantity.

‡ Evidence before Cotton Committee, 1848. Manufactures of coarse goods in

Manchester have a table, by which they see at a glance the respective prices at which American and Indian cotton are equivalent to each other.

§ Evidence before Cotton Committee, 1848, Questions 632, 1206.

¶ *Vide* Bazley's Evidence, Question 769; also Memo. from Mr. Turner, Chairman of Manchester Commercial Association, page 67, note.

furnish 2 per cent, of the supply required by the British manufacturers.

For many years past the chief supply of *Indian* cotton, both to Great Britain and the world at large, has been furnished from the port of Bombay, the greater part being raised in Guzerat;* but a just view of the extent and capabilities of the whole of the cotton land lying along the Gulf of Cambay, would lead to the conclusion, that the present growth of Guzerat cotton cannot be materially increased.

Taking the last four years of the tabular statement, at the end of this paper, the export of cotton from India may be regarded as having attained an amount of between 160,000,000 lbs. and 170,000,000 lbs. per annum;† and it would not appear that in the present condition of India this supply can be greatly exceeded; for though the export of cotton from India to Great Britain fluctuates from year to year (sometimes to the extent of 60 or 70 per cent.),‡ yet it will be seen, on reference to the tabular statement, that the increased or diminished amount is invariably attended by a corresponding diminution or increase in the supplies

* The total export of cotton from India in 1849-50 was 165,655,220 lbs. Guzerat. (Report on internal and external Commerce.)
The Bombay contributions to this total amounted to 150,754,963 lbs., of which

† EXPORTS TO ALL COUNTRIES.

	lbs.
1846-47	169,080,831
1847-48	160,317,295
1848-49	168,631,466
1849-50	165,665,220

The Exports of 1849-50 are made up as follows:—

—	To England.	To all other Places.	Total.
	lbs.	lbs.	lbs.
From Bengal ...	27,306	1,817,971	1,845,277
„ Madras ...	503,6023	8,038,957	13,064,980
„ Bombay ...	105,637,028	45,117,935	150,754,963
	110,690,357	54,974,863	165,665,220

‡ EXPORTS OF COTTON.

—	To Great Britain.	China and other Ports.	Total.
	lbs.	lbs.	lbs.
1848-49	67,303,519	101,427,947	168,631,466
1849-50	110,690,357	54,974,863	165,665,220

to other countries, and that the aggregate annual export from India remains without variation. It may, therefore, be fairly inferred, that the quantity of cotton which under current prices India can export at a profit, does not greatly exceed 170,000,000 lbs. per annum.

The average yield of clean cotton in India being not more than 100 lbs. per acre, and cotton being cultivated on the same ground once only in three years, it follows, that to produce the quantity now exported annually, an area equal to upwards of five millions of acres, or nearly eight thousand square miles, must be appropriated to the purpose.

But if by means of railroads the great cotton* field of Berar, situate within the dominions of the Nizam or ruler of Hyderabad, were placed nearly on an equality in point of facility of transport with the maritime cotton districts, then a breadth of land sufficient for the growth of a quantity equal to the full demand of Great Britain might at once be made available. It is, however, only by means of a railroad that the territory of Berar can be placed in a position to become a cotton-exporting country.†

* Evidence before Commons Committee on growth of Cotton in India, Questions 1822—4850.

† That cotton cannot be conveyed at a profit from Berar, except by railway, may be proved by the analogous case of salt.

Salt, having paid duty at $2\frac{1}{2}$ rupees per maund, is sold at Benares (400 miles from Calcutta), according to the *Government Gazette*, at 12 lbs. the rupee, or 2d. per lb.

At Calcutta, the price of salt is 1d. per lb., which is thus made up:

Duty at $2\frac{1}{2}$ rupees per	
maund of 82 lbs. . .	0½d.
Cost of manufacture . .	0½d.

1d. per lb.

The cost of conveyance of salt for 400 miles, and other necessary charges, therefore enhance the price 1d. per lb., exclusive of the gain made by adulteration, which, it is said, takes place

extensively. The cost of conveying cotton could not be less,^a but by railway it might be carried for 2½d. per ton per mile. Cotton might, therefore, be conveyed from Oomrawuttee, and other cotton marts in Berar, to Bombay (400 miles), for ½d. per lb.; and thus brought to market at a price from 15 to 20 per cent. cheaper than at present, it would be enabled to compete with cotton from America:

1 Ton = 2240 lbs, 400 miles,	
at 2½d. per mile =	
1100d. or . . .	0½ per lb.
Price of cotton, Berar . . .	1½
Conveyance to Bombay per rail . . .	0½
Freight to England at 3l. per ton of 1375 measurement . . .	0½
	—

^a The wastage on cotton in transit appears to be equal to that on salt. In the revenue letter from Madras, dated

19th September, 1848, the rate of loss on cotton in transit to the place of export is stated at from 2 to 8½ per cent.

(D)

THE REVENUE-SURVEY SYSTEM.

[From the *Calcutta Review*.—Condensed from the "*Manual of Surveying*," by Captains R. Smith and Thuillier, of the Artillery.]

FIRST of all the settlement-officer, or revenue-collector, is charged with the duty of marking out the boundaries of the Parganahs on the ground, and furnishing to the surveyor a rough sketch called a *Thak-bust*, or demarcation map. With this sketch in his hand a man goes round the boundary of the Parganah, fixing stations at its various points, and clearing the ground for the measurement of lines and the observation of angles from station to station. Another man, or set of men, are set to perambulate the boundaries of each village within the Parganah. All this is preliminary to the survey, properly so called. The revenue-collector ought to be a year in advance of the surveyors, and the "line-cutters" must at least keep well ahead of them, so that no delay may occur. The surveyor's duty is then to run a line from station to station, and to ascertain the length and direction of every part of it. As this line cannot follow the windings of the boundary exactly, it is carried as near to the boundary as possible within or without; and offsets are measured to the boundary itself. Every measurement, whether of length or direction, is entered in a field book. When the surveyor has gone quite round the Parganah, and returned to the point whence he set out, it is evident that on transferring all his lines to paper, in proportionate lengths and in the right directions, the plan ought exactly to "close," or the last line ought to end where the first began. This it will never do exactly, but it must do so within certain limits of error, and if these limits be exceeded, every effort must be made to discover where the error has occurred; and, if these efforts fail, the work must be done over again. If the amount of error be within the limits, it must be apportioned amongst the several lines and angles.

While the Parganah-boundary-surveyor has been going on with this process, several parties of village-boundary-surveyors have been performing precisely the same process with respect to the several villages within the circuit. It is evident that the work of each one of these surveyors also must "close" with itself; and not

only so, but the aggregate of the villages must just fill up the Parganah.

If the fields belonging to a village be tolerably large, and with moderately straight and well-defined boundaries, it seems to be the duty of the village surveyor to measure and define them, and to fill up all the topographical information necessary to give a complete view of the face of the country, its trees, its buildings, and its crops. This is done both by entry in the field book, and by the construction of what are called "chudder maps," which present a general idea of the character of the country. But if the fields be very small, and their boundaries very irregular, the survey of them is handed over to a native official, who conducts it in a much ruder way than that adopted in the main survey. This is called the *khusrah* measurement; and, as it is always checked by the general survey, since the whole ground measured must always fill its boundary, it is sufficiently accurate for all practical purposes.

Such is the whole of the work performed in the field. Sufficient data are obtained for the construction of accurate maps of the district surveyed; and the preparation of these maps is the duty of a portion of the establishment during the period when field operations are suspended by the weather. The survey department is required to furnish in duplicate a village map, on the scale of one mile to an inch, and a Parganah map, on the scale of four miles to an inch, for every village and Parganah surveyed. These are constructed from the *chudder* maps and field-books of the surveyors and *khusrah* measurers. These Parganah maps are again built up into Zillah maps on the scale of sixteen miles to an inch. It is also required of the department to construct for Government all the maps that they may require for any purpose, civil or military, such as the records stored up in the Surveyor-General's Office enable them to construct.

All this seems very short and simple in the description; but it is necessarily a tedious, and in many cases, a difficult process. The village boundaries are so irregular, and the limits of error allowed are so small, that the surveyor requires to have all his eyes about him. As moreover a great part of the details of the work is done by natives who do not understand English, it may be conceived that the process of constructing a map from their field-books is not a very attractive amusement. "With such an extent of native agency (say Captains Smith and Thuillier) as is employed on all the surveys in India, it is a great object to plot all work in the field. It saves an immensity of labor, and the chances of accuracy are greatly increased. By the aid of the drawing board much can be sketched in, and the first impression of a locality is not lost, but at once represented on the plan. Field-books kept by natives ignorant of English may better be imagined than described.

It is always difficult for any surveyor to understand fully a field-book kept by another person; but where novices on 10 or 15 rupees per mensem attempt to keep such records, and hurry on at the railroad pace of a revenue-survey in the present age, we do not envy the person who has to protract from them. The native surveyor, who brings in his board well filled, displays at once what amount of work he has done; and a superintending officer is able to see at a glance what confidence is to be placed on the topography so defined."

We have omitted to mention that another thing is necessary in order to make any of these maps complete, that is, the determination of the meridian line. For all that we have said hitherto, a map might lie in any direction; but whenever the direction of any one line upon it is fixed, then the direction of the whole of the lines, and the proper bearings of every point, are ascertained. It is therefore necessary to ascertain the direction of the meridian line at some place within the district surveyed, or rather at several places, in order that one ascertainment may be a check upon the others. This is done in each Parganah survey by astronomical observations. For the village surveys, it is sufficient to ascertain it by the compass, allowing for variation.

We should also have stated that it is the duty of the survey department to calculate the area of each field, village, and Parganah in the North-West Provinces, these computations are the basis of the revenue-settlement. In the Lower Provinces, where the permanent settlement obtains, this is not necessary; but the survey is not the less useful in these provinces, as in its absence much of the land is apt to be lost sight of altogether, small estates being swallowed up by large ones. Then when the Jumma or revenue on these estates is not paid, and the estates are put up for sale, it is found impossible to put the purchaser in possession.

To give an idea of the extent to which the revenue-survey in this presidency has proceeded, we cannot do better than present the following extract, which exhibits clearly both what has been done, and what remains to be accomplished:

"From the year 1822, when the revenue surveys first commenced, up to the year 1830, the rate of progress at which the operations proceeded was extremely limited. Only 3020 square miles, a little more than half a square degree, had then been performed in seven years, with ten officers employed in the department—the annual rate of progress of each surveyor ranging from fifty square miles to 338 as a maximum: and at this rate it was estimated that, the area of Bengal and the North-Western Provinces being 310,000 square miles or 77 square degrees, would require 481 years to accomplish. The officers employed in those days, however, had little or no assistance; and the duties performed then by the revenue-surveyor himself, are now entrusted to com-

petent assistants and sub-assistants, with large native establishments under them, whilst the surveyor acts as a superintendent over the whole as described in a former chapter; the result of which has been, that during the last twenty years, or since 1830, the whole of the North-Western Province Districts, all Behar and Orissa, and a considerable portion of Bengal Proper, have been completed. No less than 46 districts of unsettled estates, amounting to 101,519 square miles, and 13 districts of Bengal and Behar, perpetually settled estates, yielding an area of 53,295 square miles, have thus been surveyed in detail and mapped, leaving twenty districts of Bengal, comprising 57,990 square miles, to be taken up, five of which are now in hand.

"In addition to this, the newly acquired territory of the Punjab and Cis and Trans Sutledge have come under the revenue operations, and afford a fine field of employment for the department.

"The total area of the British possessions in India, including Scinde, Punjab, Jullundhur Doab and Tenasserim, has been carefully estimated at 800,758 square miles, and the Native States at 508,422 square miles, making a grand total of 1,309,200 square miles as the area of British India. This vast superficial extent of territory is confined within a length of 11,260 miles of external boundary. The *inland* frontier from Tenasserim round by the Himalayan range of mountains to Cape Monze in Scinde is 4680 miles, whilst the *coast* line from Singapore round the Bay of Bengal, up the Malabar Coast to Kurrachee, is 6580 miles. Of the Native States about 200,000 square miles are already surveyed, leaving about 308,442, almost all wild hilly jungle, and of little value, to be taken up."

To this we shall only add that about fifteen and a half lakhs of rupees have been already expended, and that the work still to be done may be expected to cost about eleven and a half lakhs—a very moderate sum, certainly, for the survey of such an immense empire, and better expended than many of the sums that go into the disbursement side in the financial accounts of many governments.

(E)

MEMORANDUM OF THE BAREE DOAB CANAL.

INDEPENDENTLY of survey, 2157 miles of levelling, with traverse work, were executed for the Baree Doab Canal project up to August, 1850. The trial levelling was commenced on the 8th March, 1850, and its project sent in complete on the 14th December of the same year. Said project consists of upwards of 200 pages of closely-written foolscap, one-half being devoted to the report (which is illustrated with sketches), and the other to calculations and estimates, with 33 sheets (double elephant) of maps and plans; a copy of all being, of course, retained in the Canal-office, and another (third) of the greater portion forwarded to the civil engineer for his own use. The proposed canal takes out of a branch of the river Ravee at Madhopoor, about 7 miles N.N.W. from Pulhamkot. It is to be 466 miles long. The main line being 247 miles, the Kusoor branch 84, the Sobraon branch 61, and the Lahore branch 74. There are besides, 22 miles of escape, making in all 488 miles of channel to be excavated. The capacity of canal channel, from its head to the head of irrigation (at mile 30), is calculated for 3000 cubic feet of water per second—a little above the minimum discharge of the river Ravee—that of the main line at the head of the Kusoor branch for 2000; of the same at the head of Lahore branch, 1200; of the Kusoor branch at its head (mile 30 of main line), 1100; of the same at the head of Sobraon branch, 500; of the Sobraon branch at its head (mile 7 of Kusoor branch), 500; and of the Lahore branch at its head (mile 55 of main line), 600 cubic feet per second. These four lines of canal irrigate almost the entire of the "Bangur" of the Doab, which, above Kusoor, is divided into four minor Doabs, as it were, by three drainage lines—the Pussee and Kusoor Nullas flowing to the Sutlej, and the Cadyara Nulla towards the Ravee. A line of canal takes possession of each minor Doab. The main line tails into the Ravee at Turrindka-kow, a small village about 58 miles above Mooltan, to which place, however, it will hereafter be extended, if possible. The Kusoor branch tails into the Kusoor Nulla a little above Kusoor. The Sobraon branch tails into the Putter Nulla below Putter, and near Sobraon; and the Lahore branch into the Ravee river at Manga, a large

town about 26 miles below Lahore. The slope of the canal bed for the first ten miles of its course has been set down at 6 feet per mile, being through boulders the whole way; and even this slope will probably be exceeded in actual execution. After the 10th mile, the slope of main line, as the 100th mile, is 2 feet per mile; thence it is 1.4 foot, the minimum slope anywhere given. The Kusoor and Sobraon branches have a slope of 2 feet per mile throughout. The Lahore branch has the same slope to mile 45, whence it is reduced to 1.5 foot. It is proposed that a still-water canal of navigation shall connect the Sutlej at Hurreekee, the junction of the river Sutlej and Beas with the Ravee at Lahore, crossing and being connected with each of the four lines of irrigation canal, which is navigable throughout. A depôt to be established at Hurreekee. It was hoped that a further supply of water (the Ravee being the smallest of the five rivers) might be obtained from the Beas. On taking the requisite levels and surveys, the possibility of doing so was placed beyond a doubt; but the expense was found to be so great, that the design has been abandoned, at least for the present. The heavy works and difficulties on the canal are—1st. The head works, consisting of a masonry drain of 500 feet long across the branch of the Ravee from which the canal is taken, with a regulation attached. The slope of the bed of branch is $27\frac{3}{4}$ feet per mile, and floods arise 4 feet above the cold weather level. 2nd. The deep digging through the high bank of the Ravee, the maximum depth being 60 feet, and the soil full of boulders. The digging works out in two miles. 3rd. The passage of the Jennah torrent by a masonry dam of 300 feet, with regulating bridge attached. This torrent has a slope of $22\frac{1}{2}$ feet per mile, and rises six feet in floods. 4th. The passage of the Ravee branch of the Chakky torrent by a masonry drain 1200 feet long, with regulating bridge attached. The torrent rises $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet in floods, and has a slope of 16 feet per mile. The Chakky is a most extraordinary torrent, and very ticklish to deal with. A little above the point of crossing at Goolpoor, it separates into two branches, one flowing to the Ravee, and the other to the Beas. Extensive works are now being constructed, by which it is hoped the main body of the torrent may, during the coming rains, be diverted to the Beas branch, leaving the Ravee branch comparatively dry. These works comprise about a mile of boulder binds and spurs, strengthened by brush and crib work, with nearly an equal length of excavated channel, and of cuts through bars, &c., &c. If they succeed even partially, the immense masonry drain estimated for will be saved, as an escape merely will then prove sufficient. 5th. The rapids and falls required for the purpose of overcoming the excessive slope of the country. On the main line 82 feet have to be overcome by artificial rapids of boulder work, and an equal number by masonry falls; on the Sobraon branch

the same, and on the Lahore branch 19 feet in the same manner, making a total of 239 feet to be overcome by artificial means. The extent of water-power, however, thus placed at the disposal of the inhabitants of different parts of the country may be imagined. It will soon pay off the cost of the works required, particularly as the Punjabees seem to take to machinery much more kindly than the inhabitants of the North-Western Provinces. 6th. The carrying such a large body of water (120 feet wide and 5½ deep) for about 3 miles along the top of a narrow ridge, which is tortuous, that curves of only a mile radius have to be given to the line, and down the sides of which numerous drainages run, requiring constant attention to prevent them cutting back into the canal. 7th. The passage of the same body of water across an extraordinary hollow about a mile wide and 15 feet deep: heavy embankment is required here. The probable cost of the canal is estimated as follows:

MAIN LINE.

Boulder and Shingle Bunds, Works for protection of line experiments, &c., &c.	81,760	
Excavation of Channel	1,635,283	
Ditto of Escapes	185,869	
Masonry Works	997,682	
Contingencies	145,029	
		<u>3,045,623</u>

KUSSOOR BRANCH.

Excavation of Channel	275,704	
Masonry Works	158,388	
Contingencies	21,704	
		<u>455,796</u>

SOBRAON BRANCH.

Excavation of Channel	198,267	
Masonry Works	129,205	
Contingencies	16,374	
		<u>343,846</u>

LAHORE BRANCH.

Excavation of Channel	296,424	
Masonry Works	129,930	
Contingencies	21,318	
		<u>447,672</u>

Total Cost of Works, Co.'s Rs.	4,292,937
Add Establishment for five years	<u>744,000</u>
Grand Total Cost of Baree Doab Canal	<u>5,036,937</u>

The probable returns are thus estimated.

It has been ascertained (from the canals already in existence) that a constant supply of a cubic foot of water per second, is sufficient to irrigate throughout the year 218 acres.

The average annual water sent also is a rupee an acre. Hence:—

In water sent we have $3000 \times 218 =$ Co.'s Rs.	654,000
Set down Mill sent at	50,000
Transit duties, &c., at	20,000
And Canal produce, Sundries, &c., at	11,000
This gives a Total of	735,000
And suppose the amount annually in repairs, Establishments, &c., to be	200,000
And we shall have a direct annual return of	535,000

Giving on the original outlay of 50 lakhs a return of 10.7 per cent. per annum.

Now for the indirect return, solely due to the canal, by the increase of the land revenue:—

In the Meerut district (the least irrigated in North-Western Provinces) the increase of revenue, due to the Eastern Jumna canal, averages 8 annas per acre. And in the irrigated portion of that district, one-third of the village are actually watered. Hence:—

We have $654,000 \times 3 =$ 1,962,000 acres, at 8 annas ...	981,000
D.D. for increased expenses in the Civil Departments ...	42,425
And for Canal ground-rent at the very highest rate, though one-third of it will occupy is now dense jungle —12,540 acres, at 188 rupees per 100 acres	23,575
	66,000
And we shall have an Annual Return of	915,000

Giving on the original outlay a return of 18.3 per cent. per annum. Hence the total return from the Baree Doab canal will be 29 per cent. per annum.

The returns will probably be much more as the inirrigative portion of the Meerut district pays on an average 138 rupees per 100 acres, while half the land through which the Baree Doab canal will run, pays at present little or nothing. The Western Jumna canal returns 36 per cent. per annum on the original outlay, and the Eastern Jumna canal 24 per cent. per annum. In conclusion, I may add that there are practical difficulties in the way of this work, which do not exist in the construction of the Ganges canal, or indeed of any work in the North-Western Provinces. 1st. Sal timbers (or any hard wood, in sufficient quantity), is not to be had, the only timber available being Dryar Koll, and Chul, all soft woods, and these at very high prices. 2nd. The carpenters of the Punjab are very indifferent workmen, yet they, as well as all other laborers, Coolies not excepted, demand one-third more wages than better workmen receive in the North-Western Provinces. There

are no jungles at the head of the Doab (where all the heaviest works are situated) as there are at the foot of the Sewalik hills near Hurdwar. The villagers also, and civil authorities do not seem inclined to give Koorah (the dry rubbish of dunghoops, sweepings of the village, &c.) gratis, as they do on the Ganges canal. Hence, fuel for burning bricks and lime is most expensive. 4th. The limestone procurable at the head of the Doab, is not of good quality, nothing like the stone of the Dhoon. 5th. There is not a single hackery in the upper part of the Doab, and if there was there is but one, the main road on which it could travel. The cross country roads are about 4 feet wide, and between high fences, and are impracticable for any carriage but camels, bullocks, and donkeys. 6th. The people seem most unwilling to take contracts for the supply of materials of any description, and are utterly devoid of the spirit of speculation or competition. All steadily combined to raise the price of articles, some of which were a short time ago tolerably cheap. 7th. There is no building stone sufficiently hard and durable for waterworks, within a moderate distance of the line. 8th. The Kunkur does not appear to be of good quality for lime, until about half-way between Bettala and Umritser. 9th. For the last 147 miles of the main line, there are so few villages, that it will be difficult to procure workmen in sufficient numbers, and for the same reason wells must be dug all along the line before any building can be erected, channel excavated, or bricks made. The water is 60 feet below the surface of the country. These are all serious impediments to cheap and expeditious work, and must have considerable effect in delaying the opening of the canal.—[*MS. Records.*]

April, 1851.

(F)

PROPOSED SUTLEJ CANAL.

[*From the Calcutta Review.*]

THE practicability of turning the waters of the Sutlej to use for purposes of irrigation early attracted the attention of our Mahomedan predecessors, and several traces of ancient canals from that river still exist. Such historical records as are available at-

tribute most of them to the period of Feroze so fruitful in works of irrigation; but it must be confessed, that the allusion to his Sutlej canals are so indistinct, and in some cases so irreconcilable with the topographical features of the country, that it is almost impossible to make anything satisfactory out of them. We need not, therefore, do more than allude to these old works; and we now proceed to detail what has been done by the British Government.

To Major W. E. Baker, of the Bengal Engineers, belongs the merit of having first clearly and satisfactorily established the perfect practicability of a canal of irrigation from the Sutlej, and of having supplied such data as admit of a fair approximate estimate of the probable expense and returns from such a work being made.

Major Baker's project does not affect to be the best that could be framed. The brief period allowed for his survey made it impossible for him to examine the country in that degree of detail, which is a necessary preliminary to the actual execution of a great canal. But he has proved in the clearest manner the following most important facts; that an immense tract of British territory, now a desert, is admirably suited, both by the nature of its soil, and the profile of its surface, to take the fullest advantage of any means of irrigation that may be placed within its reach; that the introduction into this tract of a stream of water from the Sutlej is physically practicable; and that the probable benefit is so great, as to warrant Government in undertaking the work, when means are available.

The tract of country, whose improvement is contemplated by the Sutlej canal, consists of part of the district of Hissar, and nearly the whole of Bhuttiana, called commonly the "Hard Desert." It is a bleak, wretched, and (without water) most sterile land. The wells are so deep that artificial irrigation is impossible: the water is so brackish and impure, that none, save natives of the tract, can drink it with impunity; rains are scanty, and precarious vegetation is represented by a few stunted thorn bushes, or a temporary crop of grass over the great parched plains. Under circumstances so ungenial, the population is necessarily scanty and lawless, deriving their subsistence chiefly from herds of cattle, and addicted to the marauding habits common to pastoral tribes.

The question here is, therefore, not to improve agriculture, but to create it; not to provide, as in the Doab, for the casual occurrence of an unfavorable season, but to supply by the resources of science a substitute for that deficiency of rain, which is the rule, and not the exception; and finally, to enable an extensive and capable province to become, by its increased resources, and the progressive improvement of its inhabitants, a source of

strength and revenue to the state, instead of being, as now, a burden and weakness.

These are noble aims, worthy of an enlightened and Christian Government, and we shall now briefly detail the measures by which it is proposed to attain them.

The river Sutlej, after flowing for between 300 and 400 miles within the Himalayan range, breaks through the low hills on the southern face of these mountains at the town of Roopur. For twelve or fourteen miles above this point, the stream flows through a valley, varying from 1 to 4 miles in width, bounded by low ranges of hills, consisting generally of unconsolidated strata of clay and sand, intermixed with kunkur. The discharge is estimated at 5400 cubic feet per second; the fall is about 4 feet per mile; and the bed is generally sandy, with occasional layers of shingle.

On judicious and satisfactory grounds, the head of the proposed canal is fixed at a place called Bunga, thirteen miles above Roopur.

At this point traces of an ancient canal, said to have been excavated by Mirza Kundi, the Governor of Sirhind under Mahomed Shah (probably IV.), were found, and with occasional interruptions were observed as far to the southward as Sirhind.

To restore this old line, connecting it with the Sirhind Nala, whereby the stream would be carried in one main channel to Sungrur, a total distance from the head of nearly ninety miles, appeared to Major Baker to be the most economical plan of delivering the water at a point from which it might be favorably distributed, by two branch canals, to northern Hissar, and the Bhutti states.* The Hissar branch would be forty miles, the Bhuttiana branch 100 miles in length.

The chief, indeed the only, difficulties occur in the first forty miles from the head. These are three in number. The first is the want of permanence in the bed of the Sutlej, giving cause to anticipate some difficulty in maintaining the canal supply. This it is proposed to remedy by building a masonry dam across the bed of the stream, whereby considerable security against alteration would be obtained. The second, is the deficiency of fall in the country from Bunga to Sirhind. This fall is only 40 feet in forty-one miles; and, as the depth of digging at the canal head is

* That the plan proposed by Major Baker would be the cheapest available may be true, but that it would be the best is, we think, open to question. Nothing is more certain than that the occupation of old lines, and the employment of existing river beds, have proved fruitful sources of evil on canals now in operation, and we believe that it would

be true economy to avoid them. The levels are almost universally low, and the channels tortuous, both objections of serious importance in canals of irrigation; and we therefore trust the Sutlej canal, if ever undertaken, will be constructed independently of former lines, or nalas, even although this should entail some additional expense.

6 feet, the effective fall available for the canal channel is only 34 feet in forty-one miles, or 9.9 inches, say 10 inches, per mile. This is a small slope certainly for an Indian canal; but it might be increased to 12 inches, by adopting planks, or gates, to the piers of the masonry dam, so as to obtain during the season of irrigation 5 or 6 feet of additional head water. With even the lower regimen of slope, however, we believe the canal would be found efficient; and we hold the difficulty to be of no great importance. The third, is the very deep excavation, ranging in the first fifteen miles south of the Sissuwalla Nala from 32 to 20 feet. It is considered probable that farther examination might lead to a better line being found, south of Roopur—a very likely result; but, even if unattained, the deep digging is not without its advantages, inasmuch as it admits of the hill drainage being all passed over the canal instead of through it, as is the case on the Jumna canals, where it is the source of so much evil and expense. On the whole, therefore, the difficulties of the project are not of serious consequence at their worst; and we doubt not but that the resources of the officers who may be employed on the works will prove adequate to vanquish them all.

The estimated expense of the Sutlej canal, with works on such a scale as to make it competent to a discharge of 2500 cubic feet per second, is 25,00,000 rupees, or 250,000*l*. This estimate is a liberal and sufficient one, and would probably be found to exceed considerably the actual cost.

The probable returns, so far as the Government is concerned, will consist of water rent, and such increase of land rent as irrigated tracts under similar circumstances have been found to yield. As regards the first item, it is calculated that 2000 cubic feet of water will reach the irrigating districts; and, assuming the low average rate of the Western Jumna canals as the standard, this discharge is competent to the irrigation of 312,000 acres. The average water rent, west of the Jumna, is exactly one rupee per acre; consequently the return to Government from this source would amount to 3,12,000 rupees per annum.

To form an approximate estimate of the increase of land-revenue which Government may anticipate, we avail ourselves of the statistical table of the Western Jumna canals formerly given; and we assume that the influence of these canals on the district of Hissar may be taken as a guide in forming an opinion as to the influence of the Sutlej canal on the same district, and the adjoining one of Bhuttiana.

From the table we accordingly find that, while the rate of land-revenue per square mile of unirrigated localities in the district of Hissar is 156 rupees, that for irrigated tracts is 485 rupees, giving a difference in favor of the latter of 329 rupees per square mile. Again, we find that the area on which the increased land

rent is calculated, bears to the area actually watered the proportion of 2 to 1 ; hence, as the Sutlej canal actually waters 312,000 acres, the increased land-revenue must be calculated on twice this area, or 624,000 acres, being 737 square miles. The increase of land-revenue may therefore at once be shown as below : 737 square miles of irrigated land at 329 rupees per square mile = 2,42,473 rupees.

The total direct pecuniary return to Government from both the preceding sources would accordingly be 5,54,473 rupees per annum, on an invested capital of 25,00,000 rupees, or nearly 22 per cent.

We must not, however, restrict our views to the benefits Government will derive from the project. We must consider also the gain to the community, by bringing so large a surface of country, now a desert, under cultivation to the same extent as we find it on the Western Jumna canals. The benefit to the community will be represented by the gross value of the agricultural produce, which the Sutlej canal will admit of being obtained from land which now yields none. Taking the results on the Western Jumna canals again as our guides, we estimate the value of the produce alluded to as below :

KHURIF CROPS.

		Rupees.
13,000 Acres of Sugar Cane,	at Rs. 80	= 10,40,000
52,000 " of Cotton	at " 48	= 24,96,000
52,000 " of Rice, Jowar, &c.,	at " 38-4	= 19,89,000

RUBI CROPS.

195,000 " of Wheat, Barley, &c.,	at Rs. 48	= 93,60,000
Total Gross value of Crops on Sutlej Canal		1,48,85,000

Time will, of course, be required to create this property of the value of nearly one and a half millions sterling per annum ; but it is only necessary to compare the state of the Hissar district, before the Western Jumna canals were restored, with its condition in its irrigating villages for the last ten years, to be satisfied that, with the supply of water, the first necessity of agriculture in North Western India, there will come a population able and willing to use it.

The benefits of the proposed canal now mentioned are such as admit of being approximately estimated in money ; but there are others which are measurable by no such standard. Among these are the moral benefits to be derived from introducing agricultural habits among a lawless and semi-barbarous people, converting them from wandering shepherds into settled, contented, and pros-

perous cultivators; and the physical benefits to be anticipated from restoring fertility to a large tract of country, the increased moisture of which may probably so re-act, as to secure more constant and more abundant supplies of rain over the adjoining districts, and thus improve the condition of those who cannot directly benefit by the canal. The numerous traces of former rivers unconnected with any mountain ranges and the ruins of towns along their banks, show that these desert regions once enjoyed a far more generous supply of rain than they now do. We may hope again to re-establish this happier state of things, and thus to check that deluge of sand, which threatens to submerge so large a portion of their surface.

The secretary to Government (North-Western Provinces), in the correspondence before us, justly characterises the Sutlej canal as "a splendid undertaking." When the time arrives at which Government can carry the project into effect, we trust it will be made even more "splendid," by such an extension of its dimensions, as will admit of its bringing into use the entire supply of the Sutlej at Roopur. The sole objection to this is, that for three or four months of the year, the navigation between Ferozepur and Ludiana would be impeded; but the extent of this navigation must be trifling indeed, in comparison with the advantage to the state and the community from doubling the effective discharge of the canal. Major Baker's estimate for the original project is so liberal, that we believe the proposed extension would be effected for about one half more than the sum he mentions, while all returns would be doubled. We are, therefore, disposed to hope, that as the Grand Ganges canal will render memorable in these provinces the civil administration of Lord Auckland, so the Grand Sutlej canal may illustrate that of Lord Dalhousie.

(G—H)

THE JUBBULPORE SCHOOLS OF INDUSTRY.

[From Colonel Sleeman's Report, July 23, 1846.]

"THE factory is inclosed in a space of 350 feet by 224 feet, forming a parallelogram, with a high Kutchia brick wall all round, with a gateway at each end. There are two centre work slopes each 136 feet long, by 68 feet broad, and all round inside the walls are sheds, 12 feet deep, supported on brick pillars. The

sheds are occupied by blacksmiths, dyers, spinners, tape-makers, chintz-printers, and carpenters, while the large buildings accommodate the carpet, cloth, and tent-makers; the outer walls of the workshop are all of picked bricks. The roofs are all tiled. The cost of these buildings, over and above the labor of the prisoners, was 4000 rupees, which has been defrayed out of the funds.

"In this factory 324 Thug and Dakoit approvers and 150 prisoners, of both classes, work daily from six A.M. to five P.M., having one hour allowed at noon for rest and food. The approvers are all paid by piece-work to encourage them, and the best of them receive from the factory about two rupees a month over and above their diet, at the rate of about one rupee four annas, which they get from Government. There are about 100 boys, the sons of Thugs, at work in the factory, earning from one rupee eight annas to two rupees eight annas a month by piece-work. The wages of the paid agency employed in the factory to teach trades, blacksmiths, carpenters, tent-makers, carpet and paper-makers, &c., at first amounted to 180 rupees a month. It has been gradually reduced to one-half, and will soon be dispensed with altogether, as the approvers are becoming masters of the trades which they were employed to teach. None of them knew any trade but that of robbery and murder when the factory was first established in 1837.

"The ranges of buildings for the accommodation of the approvers' families form a village near the factory, surrounded by a high mud wall. Each approver has a separate house in these ranges for his family; and those who have done good service, and have proved themselves deserving of confidence and indulgence by a long course of steady conduct, are permitted to reside in this village with their families, subject to surveillance, being regularly called over when the gates are closed of an evening, and again when opened in the morning. Those who have no family ties at Jubbulpore, or whose conduct gives them no particular claim to confidence or indulgence, are confined at night in the lock-ups. None of the approvers are ironed, excepting as a punishment for misconduct or breach of discipline, and this, with temporary exclusion from the village and fine, are the only punishments had recourse to, and for these the necessity is now very rare."—[*MS. Records.*]

[To this I may add the following passage from a Police Report, by an able member of the Civil Service, Mr. Mackeod.]

"I would avail myself, however, of this opportunity of bringing to notice the remarkable success which has attended the 'School of Industry' established at Jubbulpore by Major Sleeman, General Superintendent for the suppression of Thuggee and Dakoitee, and superintended by his assistant, Captain Brown. As it

is impossible for one connected with the suppression of crime and the employment of condemned persons to regard an institution of this kind otherwise than with feelings of great interest, an increasing class of persons, who, as 'king's evidence,' considered themselves pardoned, and at first evinced a strong disinclination to work, have had their scruples entirely overcome by mild and judicious treatment. All now work with the greatest cheerfulness, and even rivalry; manufactures of great variety and of excellent quality are produced in abundance, and I believe with very fair profit. Even novel productions have been turned out by the ingenuity of Captain Brown, aided by the gentry of the station, who almost all evince a lively interest in the establishment, and by the great diligence and good sense of Mr. Williams, the superintendent. The whole exhibits a scene of industrious activity which is highly refreshing, and cannot but exercise a most beneficial influence upon its inmates. So great a contrast does it afford to the wrangling idleness of a convict gang working on the roads, that I have been forcibly impressed with the desirableness of entrusting the greater part, at all events, of the prisoners of this and perhaps of all the districts to the same management.

"From the profitable character of the institution, it has been found practicable, without loss, to furnish employment to the children of the inmates, and a school has recently been opened within it by Captain Brown for their instruction, during a part of the day, in reading and writing. This is, perhaps, the most admirable and important feature in the whole institution; for it is well known that in this as in every other country, the mass of crime is by no means the result of chance, or the spontaneous influence of the passions, but is brought about by systematic, and for the most part hereditary, education. Hence, it is manifest that if the children of old offenders can be withdrawn from the practice and the necessity for such a course, the labors of the police will be immensely contracted. It may, no doubt, be argued that this advantage cannot be generally calculated on, as it is only the peculiarity of the system followed for the suppression of Thuggee which has brought their families within our control. But if the question be examined to the bottom, I believe it will be found that the same control may with every facility, and the greatest advantage, be extended to every class of persons matured in crime. The same question, under another form, has been recently canvassed in England. Here it has been practically carried into effect with a particular section, in a manner unlooked for and without pretension.

"Further, the institution promises to be productive of benefit in another important point of view. In America, where the system of producing manufactures in the jail has been extensively carried

into effect, it is complained that injury results to the honest tradesman. But here, in consequence of the arts being in their infancy, an establishment of this kind, conducted, as it certainly is by Captain Brown in an eminent degree, with combined skill and prudent moderation, is calculated, by the introduction of improved methods and new manufactures, to give them an immense stimulus. Already has this been the case in a very perceptible degree; and I have not the least doubt that if carried on with its present spirit, and not deprived of the services of Captain Brown, it will beget results in this respect which will extend their influence far beyond the confines of the commissionership. It promises literally to become a 'school of arts and manufactures,' not only to its inmates, but the country around it."—[*MS. Records.*]

(I)

PUBLIC WORKS IN SCINDE.

[*From the Scindian, March 12, 1853.*]

CAPTAIN HILL within and Captain Chapman without Kurra chee are accomplishing great purposes. We are having the cantonments and town intersected with a series of fine roads. Independent of the Napier road, which runs a little from beyond Kumari to the camp as the crow flies, we have it bisected by another road running from a little below the Government garden all the way to Clifton. Then there are streets in the town running in all directions, and we shall have better things to come before long, so as to waive all the little annoyances that we have experienced in the way of stones on and by roads, especially the great highway. We hope that Captain Hill will have the space just above Captain Preedy's open as the point of bifurcation, to use railway language, for roads leading into camp.

Of up-country doings, we have positively marvellous things to tell. Lieutenant Fife, of the engineers, has prepared plans for the magnificent work of restoring water to the bed of the Eastern Narra, at a cost of some four lacs and seventy-five thousand rupees. Major Turner, the superintending engineer, one of the few active men in the province, had assisted Mr. Fife in getting up the plans. We hope that this work will be sanctioned by the Court of Directors. The Government of India have granted something like 50,000 rupees for a commencement; we are sanguine, however, that this grand work will be fully carried out.

Next to the engineers, we have Major John Jacob, of the artil-

lery, better known as of the Scinde Horse, exercising the influence of Aladdin's lamp. Independent of perfect protection of life and property, he has been taking to opening roads—going as straight as they can go—forty feet wide, and making canals. He has bridged, passable for wheel carriages—

1. From Kuncher to Kusmor, round all the frontier posts.
2. Jacobabad to Larkhana.
3. „ Shikarpore.
4. „ Meerpore, Kundkote, and Badanee.
5. Shikarpore *viâ* Meerpore (and unbridged) to Jungwanee.
6. Shikarpore *viâ* Gorouspore and Badanee to Kusmor, through low land—not bridged.

We hear that the Court of Directors have allowed Major Jacob a lac and thirty thousand rupees to expend on the Bigari canal, which is being improved wonderfully, and promises to add largely to the revenue of the Shikarpore districts.

ADDENDA.

INDIAN BRIDGES.

[The following, taken from the *Benares Recorder*, is the paper to which reference is made at page 317—note. It relates to the bridges built, partly by professional, and partly by unprofessional engineers, in the Benares division, and affords a curious illustration of the varied duties and pursuits of the Indian civil servants.]

THE most notable works of this description, constructed by professional engineers, both military and civil, are the Burna bridge, by Garstin, the Kurumnassa bridge, by James Prinsep, Major Drummond's causeway at the Beylun, and Major Kittoe's bridge over the Oojhla Nuddee in the Mirzapore district. The majority of bridges of inferior note are on the grand trunk road, in that and the Benares district, for there is no such work of a professional engineer either in the districts of Goruckpoor or Juanpoor; and in those of Azimgurh and Ghazeepoor there is at present but one for each, at Ladghat, over the lesser Surjoo, and at Deokullee, over the Ganghee Nuddee.

Mr. R. M. Bird, we believe, was one of the first who ventured on these undertakings. He not only designed and completed several excellent bridges, but he brought also convict labour to aid with remarkable effect. Those whom he taught also taught their successors, and in no district of the division have so many bridges been built solely by convicts, under the superintendence of an overseer, as in Goruckpoor. Mr. Bird's principal works are at the Amee, near Chityee, the Sowa Bowa, near Khanepoor, and the

great Mukuneya, in the town of Goruckpoor. It is rather ludicrous that these were condemned as of little use, and not likely to last, in 1823, by Lieutenant Grant, but they stand still, and will survive the founder and the critic. Mr. Bird also designed the bridge of the Azimgurh district over the Tonse at that station, though the work was completed by Messrs. Morrieson and Stainforth.

Mr. R. N. C. Hamilton was also a zealous and successful builder, but he had the inestimable advantage of the counsel of James Prinsep, whose own labours in the district and city of Benares can never be forgotten while its minarets last, and the Kurumnassa toils in vain against the bridge which he and Putneemul have imposed on it.

Mr. Ommanney has been similarly successful both in the Benares and Juanpoor districts. His bridge over the Nand Nuddee in the former, the works at the Pachetya nulla, and renovation of the Burgoozur remain, with other works in the latter district of almost equal importance, proofs of the success with which great undertakings can be accomplished by practical men, though unprofessional, availing themselves of the counsel of competent advisers, and such he has found, in some of his works, in Major Kittoe.

Mr. H. C. Tucker, however, stands *facile princeps* amongst the non-professional pontificators, Azimgurh being indebted to him for sixteen, and Goruckpoor for twenty-eight bridges. Professionally, we believe, he owes nothing, save to Addiscombe, yet several of his works are on a large scale. His bridges over the Ameer at Nughur, the Kwana at Umhut ghat, and over the Munwurama, on the road from Goruckpoor to Lucknow, are first-rate performances; but these bear no comparison to his greatest work, commonly called the Cowree Rum Bund, which crosses the valley of the Ameer, a distance of two miles and a half, at an average height of eighteen, and with a base of eighty feet. In this line alone there are six bridges of three, five, eleven, and one of fifteen arches. Each arch of this bridge is twenty-four feet span, thus giving a water-way of 120 yards; and the whole work is probably the most extensive in India undertaken and completed without professional assistance.

The evidence that not only bridges can be built, but mountain passes constructed without such assistance, also exists. Those who desire to satisfy themselves on this point should ascend Mr. Money's pass at Burkutcha, near Mirzapoor, and descend by Mr. Roberts' pass of Kawai, in the Kymore, into the valley of the Soane. They will observe that both these works indicate great engineering difficulties, overcome by judgment and perseverance without professional aid, for we believe the nearest approach to it in both cases consists in the native overseer having learned his work under Major Drummond.

SCHEDULE.—PROFESSIONAL.

District.	Name.	Number.	Value.	Value.
			Rupees.	Rupees.
Benares	Prinsep	4	1,85,800	
"	Garstin	1	1,50,000	
Mirzapoor	Drummond	1	25,000	
"	Nicholson	1	6,000	
"	Thomson	1	6,800	
"	Kittoe	1	37,000	
G. T. Road	Major Bullock and others	35	55,075	
Azimghurh	Gilmore	1	8,000	
Ghazeepoor	Thomson	1	10,000	
NON-PROFESSIONAL.				
Goruckpoor	Bird	6	22,300	
"	Currie	2	3,900	
"	Reade	8	12,560	
"	Tucker	28	1,61,200	
"	Armstrong	1	1,200	2,01,160
Azimghurh	Robertson	4	3,245	
"	Morrieson and Stainforth	1	18,200	
"	Neave	2	9,298	
"	Muir	2	1,850	
"	Tucker	16	15,209	
"	Others	3	6,500	54,302
Juanpoor	Tulloh	4	5,250	
"	Ommanney	10	17,353	22,603
Mirzapoor	Colebrooke	3	2,500	
"	Paton	5	3,350	
"	Taylor	6	4,200	
"	Stewart	2	4,000	
"	Money	4	5,100	
"	Roberts	1	12,000	
"	Others and Natives	6	46,900	78,050
Benares	Hamilton	25	37,400	
"	Macleod	2	1,983	
"	Ommanney	1	6,500	45,883
Ghazeepoor	Wilmot	4	5,722	
"	Ross	3	7,433	
"	Natives and others	4	1,22,351	1,35,506
Total		153	...	5,37,504

TAXATION IN INDIA AND IN ENGLAND.

[From a Letter by Colonel W. H. Sykes, published in the Morning Chronicle.]

THE pressure of taxation is under 5s. per head in India, and 2l. 1s. 9½d. in England; and this taxation in relation to wages is under 7 per cent. in India, and above 8 per cent. in England. But these results only throw a partial and inferential light upon the real condition of the people, for 5s. may be a crushing tax in India, and 2l. 1s. 9½d. light in England; and it is necessary to know how far the labouring classes in the respective countries can command the necessaries and comforts of life. John Bull's idea of necessaries and comforts is a good deal based upon the quantity of beef and beer a labouring man can command, and it might shock his beau-ideal of comfort to put the water-drinking, cereal-

consuming, and scantily clothed Indian into the same category of comfort with himself. Nevertheless, as the climate neither invites the consumption of stimulating food, nor drink, nor permits of heavy clothing, I may venture to say that the Indian labourer, with his cereal food, in many parts of the country costing even less than a penny per diem (as I showed in a paper on prices, published in the Journal of the Statistical Society on the 29th of June, 1847), and his fractional cost for house-rent, with his 72s. per annum, has his physical wants as readily available, and is comparatively as contented and comfortable, as the English labourer with his 26l. per annum. Poverty and wretchedness exist in all countries; but this much I can say, that in similar limited areas I never witnessed in India such an amount of squalid misery as it has been my misfortune to witness in my personal inquiries, in London and elsewhere, into the condition of the labouring classes.

The salt tax is a subject for invective, and a few words must be said on it. The table shows that its average pressure for India is 5½d. per head per annum, or 164th part of an agricultural labourer's wages; but I have proved, in the paper upon prices before quoted, that two shillings' worth of salt, of even the best kind, which the people do not consume, would last a labourer 13½ months, and cost about the fourth of a farthing per diem; and where it was cheap, as at Kheir, in the Deccan, it would last 35 months, and cost 0.025 of a penny per diem; the outcry about the cruelty of the salt tax, therefore, is simply ridiculous. The earth which is said to be clawed up, is commonly carbonate of soda, used by washermen instead of soap.

Finally, it would be irrational to infer that industry has diminished, cultivation has been curtailed, and the condition of the people deteriorated since the last India Act, in the face of the gratifying fact that the exports from India have increased from 8,188,161l. in 1834—35 to 18,283,543l. in 1849—50, and the means of the people to purchase by imports have risen from 6,154,129l. in 1834—35 to 13,696,696l. in 1849—50. To this also must be added the extraordinary fact that India has been absorbing annually since 1800 about 1½ millions sterling of bullion, which has never gone out of the country again; and in the sixteen years from 1834—35 to 1849—50, both inclusive, the importation of bullion amounted to 44,300,553l., and the exportation to 11,043,066l.; leaving a balance of 33,257,487l. in the country—thus in modern times confirming the testimony of Arrian, that India was the quicksand of the precious metals.

THE END.

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