

history records that Pondicherry and the other settlements were captured by the British on the outbreak of hostilities in 1761, 1778, 1793, and 1803. They were finally restored to France at the general pacification of 1815; but since that date their rights and boundaries have been confined within certain narrow limits and restrictions. Dupleix's capital of Chandernagore, for instance, has been deprived of the sanctity of asylum, and only permitted to maintain a specified number of municipal police—the French flag being hoisted without the right of military enlistment within the territory it covers. Ruined buildings, grassy quays, a swollen river, ill-kept within its rotting banks by mouldering sea-walls; a commandant with nothing to command, an administrator with little to administer; such are the leading features of one and every French settlement in India to-day. In Mahé, Carical, and specially Yanaon on the Orissa coast, these characteristics are enlivened by ecclesiastical adventure, these places being professedly rather stations for influencing native minds through missionary channels, than outlets for the pent-up commerce of a continent sighing for relief and foreign wares. Yet if France now bases her colonial dominion on the suffrage of religion, she builds her house on sand: for having herself passed through the ordeal of unbelief, she has lost much of the strength of personal conviction; while should she on the contrary seek to flatter the religious prejudices of others, she would find that natives have become too much accustomed to religious renegades to attach a vast importance to the ~~acts~~

of those, like Kleber and Desaix, who hastily embrace the forms of worship that prevail at any Eastern shrine.

The position of Yanaon is equally curious and instructive, regarded from a social, political, or ecclesiastical point of view. The tortuous Frank appears to have sought a spot, equally well suited for the propagation of commerce or the Roman Catholic faith; and in this vain pursuit has failed in the attainment of either end in view. The eldest son of the Church, ever attempting to distil influence from the headquarters of some foreign creed, was little likely to overlook entirely the sacred Delta of the Mahanuddi, the cradle of Hindooism. Hence missionary fathers turned to the discovery of some inlet on that rugged superstitious coast whence they might sally forth to fulfil their destiny. Combining Juggernaut with trade, and hoping to conciliate both God and man, they hit upon Yanaon, situate at the bifurcation of the Godavery and Coringa, in a low-lying land seamed by sluggish streams and reeking with ague and pestilential fever.

At the convenient and safe distance of little more than two degrees northward along the coast, and equally accessible by land or water, stand the far-famed Poorie temples, dedicated to Krishna, Balorama, and Kali. These, with their co-deities, including the monkey god Huniman, exemplify the realistic tendencies of Hindoo mythology, if we may credit the following record of their appetites as officially published in the 'Transactions of the Asiatic Society':—"The provisions furnished daily for the idols consist of 220 seers of rice,

97 seers of kallai, 24 of mung, 188 of clarified buffaloes' butter, 90 of molasses, 35 of vegetables, 100 of milk, 13 of spices, 20 of salt, and 22 of lamp-oil. So insatiable are the appetites of the idols that they eat fifty-two times a-day, and give occupation to nearly four hundred cooks; the gates are cautiously shut during the presentation of food, and none but a few personal servants of the idols are allowed to be present. While the meal lasts the hundred and twenty dancing-girls attached to the temple dance and sing in the room of many pillars." We are further told that a grand festival which these gods annually hold occurs in the month of March, when the moon is of a certain age after the sun has entered Aries. On these occasions many thousand men, women, and children harness themselves to the sacred cars, and Brahmins stationed on the platform sing and repeat fanatical stories, accompanied by appropriate gestures, which are hailed by the multitude with sounds and movements of applause. It was on these annual excursions that, according to our old belief, a large proportion of the votaries of the cause and glory of Poorie were wont to immolate themselves; but a careful writer has stated his opinion, that "this excess of fanaticism which prompted pilgrims to court death by casting themselves in crowds beneath the wheels of Juggernaut, either never existed or else has long ceased to actuate the worshippers of the idol;" and he attributes the fact of the roadsides being for many miles white with human bones to the general practice among Hindoos of dragging their failing bodies at the approach of death to this sacred

neighbourhood, so that they may end their days within sight of the holy edifice, and purchase everlasting bliss at a price within the reach of the poorest in the land.

The gods that are the object of this popular veneration are grim enough in shape and colouring, and lay no claim to wealth or beauty. They are of wood, painted white, black, and yellow respectively, and are publicly exposed twice a-year, when "Juggernaut and his brother, after undergoing certain ablutions, assume the form of Ganesa, the elephant-headed god, by means of masks, and are placed on the terrace overlooking the temple, surrounded by crowds of priests who fan them to drive away the flies, while the surging multitudes below gaze in silent awe and admiration."

This was the society which France ambitioned in acquiring a *pied à terre* in the vicinity of Poorie; yet even here, where nature wears morally and physically an unusually sombre garb, she has not departed from that law of compensation which renders her so fond a mistress. The dark alluvial soil rewards the husbandman with heavy crops of fruit and grain, the turbid streams teem with excellent fish, and every fowl of the air and beast of the field good for man as food appears with laudable punctuality at its appointed season. Notwithstanding, however, that all material wants are thus bountifully supplied, it can afford little cause for wonder that, in a climate so singularly prejudicial to white life, the French community should have remained stationary within the narrow limits of eight thousand acres, counting seven thousand souls. But these may hug with satisfaction the fond reflection that, though



they live and have their being in a land of foreign misbelief, they remain subject to the parti-coloured flag which history will hand down to future ages as the incarnation of ideal government.

Between the lands occupied by the tolerant yet proselytising Frank, and the ~~more~~ worshipful Hindoo, there lie the broad estates of Vizianagram, whose young Maharaja, thus brought up in contact with exaggerated forms of Eastern and of Western life, has marked out for himself a path of happy compromise. Dearly wedded to European tastes, this native noble has recently been raised by the fiat of Sir John Lawrence to a seat in his Council for legislative purposes, for which, though somewhat young perhaps in years and consequent maturity of ~~thought~~, his character, educational attainments, and great wealth fully fitted him. Seen the other day in the Town Hall of Calcutta, his not very swarthy countenance set, as it were, in a turban of elaborate simplicity, the admirable proportions of his figure displayed by the becoming folds of Oriental drapery, his outward man contrasted most favourably with the servile imitation of European dress that marks the fallen dynasties of Mysore and Oude. To these advantages he added knowledge of the English tongue, in which he had a well-turned phrase for all; and, from association in the habits of our daily life, he had acquired the knack of social intercourse with aliens in creed and colour, without derogating from the dignity of his high descent.

Clad in these amiable and manly attributes, we must now leave the Vizianagram chief to take his part in

the legislation of his country ; and, pursuing the thread of colonial experience, we shall next turn to the fortunes of those ambitious burghers of the Netherlands, who at one time monopolised the carrying trade of the East.

What little of romance remains associated with the doings of the Dutch in India is connected with the exploits of one Hautman, under whose command a small squadron of four Dutch-built craft approached the Coromandel coast in 1594. In those days the weapons in the hands of Eastern people were not a match for the arms and armour of adventurous Europeans, and the slight resistance at first opposed to Dutch aggression was exactly of the kind best suited to stimulate their passion for mercantile dominion. Hautman and his followers moreover strove to impart that confidence by which alone the trade they sought could be obtained ; and the peace-loving people of the coast were far more inclined to accept his conciliatory measures with gratitude, than to desery enemies in the hardy whites sent them by the winds and waves, from whence they could not tell. But though the lukewarm opposition of the native race of itself proved no insurmountable obstacle to the prosperity of the new-comers, it happened that a southern European people had preceded that Dutch captain by a hundred years or more, and now regarded with a jealous eye the advent of a rival, of a hated faith, in those Eastern Indies, which she deemed her own by every title human and divine. Hence ensued a tedious cruel war between the Portuguese and Dutch, wherein the latter ultimately tri-

umphed, though at a heavy cost. While this struggle for ascendancy was pending, the natives had insensibly become embroiled in our dissensions ; for not unnaturally seeing a source of gain in the mutual extermination of the intruders, and in their resort to mercenaries, they proved apt scholars in the art of selling their sword-arms to those who bade the highest price, and often by playing a double game became involved in indiscriminate slaughter by both factions.

Thus, by a happy mixture of audacity and skill, the Dutch obtained the mastery over Portugal in India, established factories at Negapatam, Sadras, Pulicat, and Bimlipatam upon the Madras coast, and thenceforth saw in British energy the only serious obstacle to their attaining the monopoly they sought. For several decades matters took their course of intermittent peace and war ; the genius of the Dutch, however, seemed to point more to maritime adventure than territorial extension, and, so far, the real interests of England and Holland clashed less than their pretensions. To this cause may probably be traced the long forbearance of the British people with the arrogance which characterised Dutch dealings at this period ; and it was not till the nation's ire was fully kindled by the massacre of inoffensive unprotected English on the island of Amboyna in the Banda Sea, that serious collision proved fatal to Netherland dominion in East India.

Negapatam was taken by the English in 1781, and thus descended from the rank she occupied as capital of Dutch Hindostan to the condition of a ruined town, mentioned in Gazetteers as "situate within the district

of Tanjore, Presidency of Madras, of rare resort except to ships in want of water"—which, however, we are told "is both plentiful and excellent." The decadence of Pulicat and Bimlipatam, though less prominent, has not been less complete: the former now "lies within the jurisdiction of the British magistrate at Chingleput"—a spot, we infer, of more importance; while little information is accessible with reference to the latter, save and except the fact that its geographical position may be laid down on any chart with tolerable accuracy, since its latitude and longitude are known, and stated at  $17^{\circ} 52'$  and  $83^{\circ} 30'$  respectively. Sadras alone remains to be described in its actual state; and here we have the benefit of a more detailed account by an excellent authority: for, according to Heber, "it is a large but poor-looking town, once a Dutch settlement, and still containing many families of decayed burghers, the melancholy relics of a ruined factory, some of whom are in receipt of little pensions charitably awarded to them by the British Government."

Only one more northern power has set her seal on Indian soil; and though, by the agency of time, the seal itself has been removed, its impress still remains for good, and merits some remark. This power is Denmark; and we would refer those who ask what part the Danes have played in India, to the early history of type-printing as applied to Eastern languages. It was at Serampore, an ancient Danish settlement on the Hoogly, opposite to Barrackpore, that William Carey first set up his missionary press, whence issued translations of the Scriptures in forty different Indian tongues,

bringing the Bible within the range of three hundred million additional human beings. For this civilising service we are indebted to the good offices of the then Danish governor, who promptly placed the small resources of his administration at the disposal of so general a benefactor. The good influence thence diffused flourished and bore fruit throughout our empire in the East, paving the way to many of our subsequent achievements in the interest of peace and education; and it behoves us, in here endeavouring to trace the march of causes and effects in British India, honestly to acknowledge the advantage we derive from the example of a literary and scientific neighbour in an era of bloodshed and dismemberment.

The end of Serampore as Danish property was honourable to herself and all concerned. She did not fall a prey to the grasping policy of a powerful neighbour, by conquest or surrender; she did not primarily pass through the gradual stages of decay, which have sapped the broad foundations of the French and Dutch in India; neither did she tenaciously adhere, like the colonies of Portugal, to a state of things long since become a burthen to the mother country. She was vigorous even to the end; and so distinguished for the excellence of her manufactured fabrics, that we English or Calcutta still print our better publications, and the Government Gazette, upon the paper she continues to produce. Yet she had the good sense to know that the benefit of her industry was reaped by us, and that constant correspondence on extradition questions was embarrassing to the cause both of justice and morality.

In other words, Serampore had become troublesome to the jurisdiction of the East India Company as being the Alsatia of Calcutta, where schemers, insolvent debtors, and reckless spirits of all kinds, sought refuge, when circumstances rendered it expedient for them to disappear from the metropolis. It was, in consequence, we are told, a bustling, lively, gay, and dissipated place enough. This condition of affairs at last became so onerous to both parties, and so subversive of good government, as to lead to negotiations, which, undertaken in mutual good faith, ended in 1845 in the cession by the Danes of Serampore to England, for a pecuniary equivalent calculated at five-and-twenty years' net revenue.

Tranquebar, another Danish settlement, distinguished for its neat cleanliness and picturesque appearance from the sea, whence the white walls of the Dansborg Fort still gladden the eyes of every mariner who hugs the Coromandel coast, likewise passed by purchase into British hands about this time—thus severing another link which bound northern men together in a southern clime.

Yet however much, from sentimental reasons, we may be loath to part with these isolated foreign stations in East India, completing, as they do, the picture of a little world perfect in all its parts, with revenues internal and external, foreign governments and native states, a colonial system and a penal settlement of its own, there can be no question but that the gradual extinction of their independence by purchase is sound policy, and would tend more to consolidate our hold on India than

might be at first imagined from the mere acquisition of an additional 1254 square miles of territory, with a population of 517,000 souls.

Of these figures France claims 188 square miles, with 204,000 subjects only ; and these her possessions, from their isolated and scattered character, are so inconvenient to the many practical details of our administration as to render it most desirable that the earliest moment should be seized to purchase their fee-simple. The remaining area and population included in the statistics above quoted represent an element more difficult to deal with ; for the Portuguese settlements are both more compact and more identified with the surrounding native races, besides which they rank first in priority of intercourse with Hindostan, and second only to ourselves in influence on her history.

A study of the rôle of Portugal in India takes the student back to those discoveries which closed the middle ages. The improvements made in navigation, to which it was primarily indebted, received their first impetus from Henry, son of John, the first King of Portugal of that name. Under his auspices several fleets were fitted out for the purpose of exploring the African coast and the adjacent seas. The first discovery was not important, but was yet sufficient to afford encouragement and stimulate perseverance. It consisted of the little island of Puerto Santo, so named from the fact of its having been discovered on the Feast of All-Saints A.D. 1418. Shortly after, the adventurers were rewarded by the discovery of Madeira ; but for more than half a century the voyages of the Portuguese were

continued in the same direction without ~~more~~ important results than occasional additions to the ~~small~~ stock of geographical knowledge then existing. Little progress seems to have been made towards the attainment of their grand object—the discovery of a new route to India—until the latter end of the fifteenth century, when Bartholomew Diaz eclipsed the fame of all preceding navigators by his success in reaching the southernmost point of Africa, and doubling the famous promontory called by him the Cape of Storms, but more happily and permanently designated by his sovereign the Cabo de Bona Esperanza. Emanuel, the successor of John I., inherited the maritime ambition of his predecessor. An expedition was fitted out and intrusted to the care of Vasco de Gama. It sailed from Lisbon in 1497, doubled the Cape in safety, and finally reached Calicut, thus achieving the triumph so long and anxiously sought. Landing under cover of his guns, and in full view of a large and waving crowd, the Admiral was forthwith introduced to a native prince of Hindoo faith, whom Portuguese historians denominate Zamorin, but who among ourselves is more generally known as Samari. After a short stay, marked by rapid alternations of friendship and hostility, Vasco de Gama returned to Portugal, where he was received with well-earned honours. Some Portuguese, however, had remained behind, with permission more or less specific to engage in commerce. Disputes arose ere long, and acts of violence were committed on both sides; yet the power and influence of the Portuguese continued to increase, and the assistance afforded by them to the



neighbouring King of Cochin, in his quarrel with Zamorin or Samari, was rewarded by permission to erect a fort for their protection within the territory of the former ruler.

Thus was laid the corner-stone of a Portuguese colonial empire, which, with the sanction of a Papal bull, extended itself not only in India, but in China, Japan, and the uncounted islands of the Pacific. Following in this track of domination, the little town of Goa fell into the hands of Albuquerque in 1510, was strongly fortified by him, and became ere long the capital of Portuguese Hindostan, the centre of commercial intercourse, and the residence of an archbishop, the acknowledged Primate of all India. Throughout the first three-fourths of the sixteenth century Goa grew and flourished, gradually assuming the character she still retains, of a city of churches, in whose construction the wealth of provinces seems to have been expended, and which surpass in grandeur and in taste all previous and subsequent architectural efforts of Europeans in the East. The chapel of the Viceroy's palace was built after the modest pattern of St Peter's at Rome; the church of St Dominic is adorned with paintings by the most esteemed Italian artists of the time; the Jesuit church contains the costly tomb of the sainted Francis Xavier; and the cathedral is only to be classed with that of Antwerp for richness of decoration combined with purity of design.

The temporary annexation of Portugal to the crown of Spain in 1580 gave a fatal and a lasting blow to her colonial supremacy, for the Dutch were not loath to

take advantage of the occasion thus afforded of monopolising Eastern trade; and Goa, with her sister colonies, gradually fell from their high estate into wretchedness and degradation.

Goa lies, as all the geographical world is well aware, upon the coast of Malabar, midway between Baroda and Cape Comorin. In the course of centuries she has assumed a character peculiar to herself; for the Portuguese have mingled more extensively with the native population than any other Western people, and have succeeded, by means of proselytism, in teaching their Eastern subjects a regard for Western intercourse, which through two centuries both French and English have failed equally to instil. They have besides enforced a moral code that holds its own with some success amidst the ancient faiths around, and practically cries shame upon our own past efforts. Indeed it would appear alone attributable to extraneous causes that Goa has at length, through no fault either of her own, or her administrators, but by the sheer accident of her position, sunk to a level of comparison with Pondicherry or Yanaon.

On the western coast of India, between latitudes corresponding to those by which Orissa is embraced, lies a tract of rugged country, formerly included in the territories of the so-called puppet Raja of Sattara. This country, known as the Concan, was little prized previous to the sixteenth century. It was bordered then, as it is now, by the Portuguese possessions of Goa and Damaun; and, considering its fertility and happy site between the Western Ghauts and the Arabian Sea, it need not excite

surprise that a nation so ambitious of colonial possessions, and grasping in its policy, as Portugal in the middle ages, should have availed itself of the absence of other foreign powers and of native combinations to fertilise this field for enterprise, and thus cement its northern and its southern settlements by a strong commercial link. This would be only the more natural when we remember the proselytising character of Portuguese emigration; for the pious Johns by whom it was conducted no doubt dreamed of grand results to Christianity from contact with the Poona Peishwa. In the execution of this project many difficulties had to be surmounted, but one and all eventually gave way to Portuguese energy and daring: the contact with the Peishwa was attained, and a fort was built upon the little island of Bombay, a central and convenient point of occupation. But ere the full advantage of the situation could be reaped, Portugal herself had lost her independence; and when in 1540 she at length shook off the hated yoke of Spain, her first object naturally was to regain her former European status, and to fortify herself therein by treaty and alliance. So it was that when Catherine of Braganza became the bride of Charles II. the island of Bombay was fixed on for her dowry. The marriage took place in 1661; and though the Portuguese inhabitants of Bombay held out from recollections of a former pride, and long refused to recognise the transfer and to cede possession, the English East India Company eventually secured by force the trading privileges of the island, and executed them under letters patent from the English Crown.

Thus was inserted the thin end of the wedge of foreign dominion, severing Goa from Damaun. The city of Damaun lies at the mouth of a river bearing the same name. It is the frontier town of the Concan to the north, and an insignificant spot enough. It contains nine Christian churches, and the Castle of St Hieronymus, surrounded by a ruined rampart with ten bastions and two gates. The surrounding country owns the peculiarities common to coast districts, being subject to prevailing breezes from the sea, and not unfrequent inundations.

On the other side of the Cambay Gulf, at the southernmost point of Kattywar, directly opposite Damaun, and at a distance of a trifle more than a hundred miles, stands the ancient fort of Diu. This is but another ruined emblem of the past ambition of Portugal in the East, an ambition that has crumbled into dry religious dust, and ended in a very limited missionary influence, and the carrying on of a small coast commerce. Portugal has, however, reaped the richest fruits from the introduction of Christianity in India; and it is worthy of remark that, while in Calcutta or Madras the term of "native Christian" does not entitle those who claim it to consideration as specially intelligent or credible as witnesses, throughout the length and breadth of the Bombay Presidency it affords a sort of passport to its bearer, as possessed of some rudimentary acquaintance with the meaning of the words honesty and labour. The half-caste Portuguese of Goa make excellent domestic servants, and, when treated with humanity, become easily attached to good, and too often to bad masters.

Of all classes whence the Anglo-Indian has to pick his menials, there is certainly none which, taken altogether, ranks so high. Hindoo castes form a barrier to the performance by their holders of much of a servant's work. The Mahomedan religion, less absolute in its requirements, and perhaps a shade more tolerant of others, is still apt to be associated with fanatical habits, which render it a disturbing element in the white man's house. No nation has intermarried to such extent with natives as the Portuguese, and borne such ample increase as to constitute a race apart or national family. The English have indeed intermarried and borne children, but, not possessed of sufficient numbers to form a distinct class, they are, as a race, lost sight of, and exist now only as isolated human beings. To such an extent is this the case, that throughout the length and breadth of British India but one child has been found of later years the colour of whose hair and eyes was so dubious as to justify a doubt on the part of the district Assistant-Superintendent of Police, by whom she was unearthed in Central India, as to whether she could boast of white or black extraction.

The history of this little child is generally supposed to be associated with the darker side of our common national history, when flight by night, aided by the faithful services of a native nurse, was the last escape for the hated child of the Feringhee. This child, possessed of national characteristics peculiar to the Anglo-Saxon race, was suddenly discovered, hid in the bosom of a mountain Indian home. For some months she was discussed by Anglo-Indian newspapers as a curiosity of

nature. Her dark brown skin, it was argued, contrasted strangely with the light blue windows of her soul, while her golden locks seemed out of place on the head of a little maiden whose only tongue was a Hill Mahratta dialect. She was ultimately taken from her *quasi* parents, and passed through more than one Commissioner's hands into the maternal care of the Bombay Government. Yet her history, here lost sight of, tends to prove, that throughout a population of a hundred and eighty millions, embracing every shade of colour, a child of questionable English origin is next thing to unknown ; while it did not enter into the brains either of the Assistant District Superintendent of Police, or any of the Commissioners through whose hands she passed, to argue that the circumstance of her peculiarity could be accounted for by mixed blood. This fact, taken by the side of a Goanese hamlet, where some hundred little urchins lie baking in the sun, with skin and eyes and hair of varied tints, unquestioned and uncared for, seems to afford strong evidence in favour of the aptitude of southern blood to stock a still more southern soil.

The subject of the aptitude of certain races to domineer, assimilate themselves, or become subordinate to each other, is however one, the treatment of which may be left to natural historians and scientific writers, as quite beyond the limits of a practical view of human happiness, tested by the sum of annas and rupees at which the taxation of a country is assessed. We shall now, therefore, take leave of Foreign Settlements, and in the following and last chapter our efforts shall be

bent to prove that, seen from a point of view where mere fancy themes do not encroach upon the space reserved for solid interests, India, as ruled to-day by an Anglo-Indian Administration, enjoys far greater material advantages, national identity, and political weight, than the positive facts of her existence could admit of under any other form of government than our own.

## CHAPTER XII.

## NATIVE INSTITUTIONS.

OF all the institutions by which national character is moulded, religion probably exercises the deepest influence upon mankind. Now it happens, that so far back as history can be traced in India, faiths opposed have constantly waged war for paramount dominion. Some six centuries before the birth of Christ, the Buddhist worship raised its head, some say in Cooch Behar, displacing the uncouth religion of the Jains, whose origin is obscure. The slow and complicated growth of Hindooism takes the inquiring theologian back to times of which the history is recorded in fabulous narratives of most questionable veracity; and the sudden introduction of Mahomedanism alone stands out as a landmark by itself, in striking contrast to the gradual development of other Indian creeds. Following in the train of bloody conquest, it could not be withstood; and it had taken a considerable hold upon the minds of Hindostances by the commencement of the eleventh century.

These may be termed the three parent faiths of India, and from them at different periods a variety of schismatic churches have branched forth. such



as the Seik heresy first preached by Nanak, at an age contemporary with our own domestic Reformation. Mahomedanism, once powerful and compact, lost in the lapse of ages much of its ancient strength, by reason of its own dissensions ; and the temple of the Prophet became divided against itself by Shiah and Sunni sects, who occupy positions of mutual antagonism. Some idea of the confusion now prevailing may be gathered from the fact, that the Hindoo Pantheon has grown and multiplied, until to-day it counts within its walls upwards of three hundred and thirty-three million deities, worshipped according to capricious custom in different modes, by some hundred and forty-four castes of human beings, pursuing different trades, not permitted to intermarry, and quite incapable of social or political combination.

A population so rent by different beliefs, the votaries of each bred to the use of arms and habituated to the thought of propagating their own particular ritual at the point of the sword, their only lesson of toleration being derived from the unchristian conduct of Christian creeds towards one another, offered an arena for invasion too tempting to be withstood by the lax morality of trans-Indus tribes when led by men like Sultan Mahmoud of Ghuznee, or Nadir Shah. The country thus peopled, and thus invaded, was further parcelled out among a host of rulers, often chosen by the accident of adoption ; and in the absence of natural boundaries, at times a jungle, and at times a forest, did duty as a frontier, proving a refuge for the criminal and destitute alike, and breeding abundant evil in the land.

Yet one more condition remains to be recorded to complete the chaotic character of the picture now before us. This is the additional fact, that the forty distinct races inhabiting Hindostan worshipped their almost countless gods in fifty-eight distinct living languages, of which some twenty-eight possessed a literature and historical traditions of their own. Race, language, and religion thus combined to disintegrate the East Indian people, and pave the way to their acceptance of a foreign yoke. The infliction of this yoke, with its conditions and results, has been well epitomised by the late Mr J. R. M'Culloch, whose words upon the subject are so characteristically broad and sound as to merit their quotation at some length :—

“ The great body of the Indian people had, for six centuries before the commencement of our government, been under the dominion of foreigners more energetic than themselves, and a good deal more civilised. Upon a fair retrospect of what they have lost and gained by the Mahomedan dominion, they must upon the whole be considered as having been considerable gainers ; the conquerors being Asiatics, and approaching to themselves in manners, language, and complexion, became to some extent assimilated to the subject races ; while even in matters of religion, where the difference was widest, a considerable share of toleration was established, and Hindoo converts to Mahomedanism became in time admissible to the highest offices of State. This condition of things was superseded by the British rule. The British Government, as established in India, may be considered an enlightened despotism, a good deal

controlled by the public opinion of Englishmen on the spot, and to a less extent by Parliament at home, and possessed of some advantages, but also many disadvantages, when compared with the Mahomedan Government by it superseded."

Mr M'Culloch next proceeds to divide our reign in India into three periods: the first terminated by Pitt's India Bill, by which the Board of Control was established, in 1784; the second from that date until the practical reorganisation of our Indian institutions in 1814; the third extending to the present day, or at least the time at which he wrote.

The first, we are told, was a period of pretty general anarchy; the government was carried on upon the Mahomedan system, the taxes were levied with more than Mahomedan rapacity, and the Mahomedan law was administered with less than Mahomedan intelligence. Everything depended at that time on the moral and intellectual character of a few functionaries, while the industry of the country was subject to a commercial monopoly, exercised by the government itself, for the sole purpose of obtaining possession of the produce of the country at less than the original cost price, in order to re-sell it for more than it was really worth; and Mr M'Culloch rightly judges that this period could hardly have been productive of beneficial results to the native inhabitants so ruled.

The second period was marked by the establishment, throughout the greater part of Indian territory, of the land-tax, the basis of our revenues, and the heaviest burden ever borne by the Indian people. On the other

hand, regular courts of justice were instituted, and the Mahomedan system was so far modified that judicial and fiscal administration became distinct, after the fashion of European nations. The commercial monopoly continued, but was exercised with less extortion. During this period, Parliament did not interfere in the affairs of India, where everything was presumed to be going on prosperously. Meantime, if wars doubled the extent of our territory, they also more than doubled the amount of our territorial debt; and so far from reaping any direct advantage from its new acquisitions, Parliament was compelled to exonerate the East India Company from a long arrear of tribute which it was wholly unable to discharge. The advantages conferred upon the people of India during the period now mentioned, may be resolved into some ameliorations in the administration of justice, and freedom from all foreign aggression save our own, minus the additional burthen of the oppressive land-tax. England for herself derived no advantage whatever. Her commerce remained stationary, and was of trifling value; we paid a monopoly price for every Indian commodity we consumed, and were ultimately compelled to forego the tribute money we had bargained for in exchange.

The third period has, however, been one of vast improvement. The influx of Europeans into India at the close of the Napoleonic wars, was accompanied and followed by a still greater influx of British capital. A public opinion next sprang up at the principal seats of commerce, not quite inadequate to cope with the despotism of a practically absolute government. This

public opinion found expression in a ~~press~~ formerly subject to a rigorous censorship. Native education assumed a practical shape; ~~and~~ those who had previously considered all education to be comprised in the study of Persian or of Sanskrit, now betook themselves with ardour to the study of our language and its literature.

It must not be forgotten that the preceding paragraphs are little more than extracts from opinions, formed and written some years before the Company was succeeded by the Crown; and a writer of to-day might prefer that the history of the intercourse of England with East India should, at some future day, be written down in two broad columns side by side, the line of division being very clearly traced by the terms of that Royal Proclamation whereby the Queen assumed the government for better purposes than those for which the country had been farmed by a sordid board of East India directors.

The remark above quoted with reference to the measure of intelligence displayed in the administration of Mahomedan law, by Mahomedan and Christian conquerors, tending as it does to the disparagement of British rule, should not be permitted to go before the world without a practical set-off favourable to our own repute; and happily one is ready to our hand, sufficiently conclusive to dispel the cloudy views of those who yield the preference to the Persian yoke. With all the merits, real and supposed, that, according to M'Culloch, tended to render the rule of Nadir Shah acceptable to the native population, it bore too much

resemblance to traditions of the scourges inflicted by the heavy hands of Tamerlane and Genghis Khan, to pass muster as a pattern of good government. It is recorded that so late as 1738, upwards of a hundred and fifty thousand persons perished by the orders of Nadir in a general massacre at Delhi; subsequent to which little episode in the life of an Eastern king, he carried off gold and precious stones to the value, it is computed, of a hundred and twenty-five millions sterling. The greater part of this enormous sum was actually deported from the country; and, so far as India is concerned, the reign of Nadir Shah, far from raising the tone and temper of the people, decimated the native population, and reduced the country to a condition of bankruptcy and bondage, whence it is but just beginning to emerge.

Under the Company a widely different state of things prevailed. For a century its servants reaped rich harvest from the ruins of a crumbling Empire. During this period many families and individuals acquired considerable wealth, salaries and retirements being calculated on a singularly lavish scale. Yet these were personal abuses, and not national connivance in the plunder of a people. Indian gold often found its way to England in the pockets of her adventurous sons, at times no doubt through channels not strictly constitutional; but these sums, though sufficient to sap the broad foundations of the revenues of the Company, and reduce it, as we have seen, to inability to pay a paltry annual tribute to the mother country of half a million sterling, were small compared with the extortionate

rulings of the past. During this period, and under this system of personal accumulation as opposed to imperial plunder, India acquired, thanks to the infusion of our trading energy, improved communications, additional security for life and property, and a greater measure of national consistency than she had known before. The not very unnatural consequence was a passing thirst for independence. This was much enhanced by vague religious terrors, and the spectacle was for the first time seen in India of the country rising almost like one man. Those who rose, however, had exaggerated their resisting power, and relied too much upon their recently cemented bonds of national cohesion. The fruit of this erroneous calculation was the Sepoy War, which ultimately brought about the existing happy state of things, and landed us, with peace and plenty, in a period distinguished by a feature new in Indian history—that of gold returning to the hands of native populations, in the shape of a hundred million English sovereigns, spent on works of general utility, and the opening up to native industry of roads to wealth and power, in the production of the raw staples so essential to our national existence.

Thus it would almost appear that India has at length attained the turning-point and crisis of her destiny. For the first time in her annals, the importance of what is known as Sovereign Independence has dwindled into small dimensions by the side of the material benefits accruing from our rule. The golden tide has turned, and now rolls back towards the East in search of profitable investments on good security ; and so long as such

are found for British bullion, the native mind will not easily revert to fevered dreams of restoring the dominion of the Great Mogul.

If, however, the greater influences on mankind in India have only acted negatively in our favour, in that political, social, and religious discord, paving the way to the Persian conquest, brought about the deliverance of Hindostan from a foreign yoke by incorporation with our dominions, at any rate the lesser influences by which a people is developed have been more positive in their operation on our behalf. Among these rank the national conditions of prosperity that are included in the growth of education, art, science, literature, and police both moral and municipal. Now, in each of these branches of Anglo-Indian civilisation a very nearly equal part is played by natives and ourselves. The observing traveller in India may learn, for instance, on inquiry, that the unfinished building with a broad verandah and capacious halls, on which the masons are actively engaged that it may be tenantable by the ensuing rains, was designed for this or that scholastic purpose by the munificent Rampore Nawab or Puttealla Raja. At the seat of Government itself the same movement is discernible. The Calcutta Madrisa, under the active supervision of Captain Nassau Lees, has turned out latterly each year a good percentage of well-trained Anglo-Persian scholars, most of whom embrace the service of the Crown or the profession of the law. Art and science we find fully represented, in the definition, by Sir William Jones, of the bounds set to the investigations of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, said by him to



be "the geographical limits of Asia Magna," and within these limits, we are told by him, that its inquiries are extended to whatever is performed by man or produced by nature. The council and committees of this society are composed of Europeans and natives of both prevailing creeds, according to the specialty of the subject under treatment; and among the Hindoo gentlemen who have actively participated in furthering its interests and utility, the name of Rajendralal Mittra should not be omitted.

The formation of societies of men for purposes of deliberation and self-government is a habit that has taken deep root in the Bengali mind. Several such societies exist in the township of Calcutta; but two among their number are of a character so marked, and have been productive of such good results, as to merit the careful study of all who desire to make themselves acquainted with the working of the native brain. The first to which reference is here made is the Bethune Society, established in 1857, in order to promote among the educated natives of Bengal a taste for literary and scientific pursuits, and to encourage a freer intellectual intercourse than can be accomplished by other means in the existing state of native society. The second, to which we would direct the most attention, bears the name of the "British Indian Association." The object it keeps steadily in view is the improvement and efficiency of the British Indian Government, which it seeks to further by memorialising the Imperial Parliament and the local powers for the removal of existing, or prevention of proposed, injurious measures. and for the

introduction of such measures as may tend to promote the interests of all. This society has had for many years the great advantage of possessing the counsels and support of the Rajas Radhakanth Deb and Kalikrishna, both recognised leaders of the orthodox Hindoos of Bengal Proper. This position is hereditary to them ; and that Hindoo blood and breeding have for very many generations lent a willing hand to cast fitting representatives of their faith and its nobility, no one can doubt who has conversed with these patterns of austere simplicity. Robed in spotless drapery of white, they take their place at the Governor-General's Durbar amidst respectful silence. Devoid of all external ornament, save perhaps some solitary ancestral stone of purest radiance, their druidical appearance contrasts most strangely with that of the jewelled chiefs by whom they are surrounded.

Before taking leave of these associations, it behoves us to record two European names that will long be held in reverence by all classes of the mixed community of Calcutta. The first of these, in rank ecclesiastical, is the venerable Archdeacon Pratt, whose depth of learning in every branch of science and theology is equally appreciated by those who follow in the footsteps of the late Bishop Wilson, and those who make the differential calculus their study. The application of his reasoning powers to the solution of material problems outside the limits of his own cathedral church inspired his Aryan brethren with feelings of respect, and often led them to seek the benefit of his opinion on the issues of their daily lives. It is not, indeed, too much to say,

that in the religious conciliation of antagonistic principles he, as Archdeacon of Calcutta, has rendered as good clerical service by abstaining from accepting too prominent a place in propaganda as any member of the Anglo-Indian Church has done by an ascetic faith; which, after all, in outward show is as naught compared with the austerities of fanatical Fakirs in Oude and Rajpootana.

The second ecclesiastic to whom we here refer is Dr Alexander Duff, a Scotchman of the best Scotch type, in whom missionary zeal was only curbed and held within the bounds of wise restraint by the working of an iron will. The good that he has done in India cannot be overestimated. He did not shun his countrymen and bury his wan cheeks in the remotest corners of the earth in search of martyrdom and visionary results—the conduct of his life in India was far different. By active participation in native cares within the foul Mahratta ditch, he gathered round him in the course of years crowds of stanch believers. “He wisely chose for the field of his operations that part of India where European contact was most familiar to the minds of men, and where many of the deepest prejudices of the Eastern heart had been erased by the gentle action of natural causes on five succeeding generations. On such ground he might not unreasonably hope that his energy would create large and wealthy institutions, based on the sound proselytising principles of diffusing comfort to the poor and needy, providing hospital accommodation for the afflicted, and offering the rudiments of education to one and all

## NATIVE INSTITUTIONS.

without distinction. This plan of action Dr Duff preferred to despising the advantages of his position and working in the dark, where the light of his own intelligence would be obscured by the surrounding ignorance, and where, though by sheer personal ascendancy he might turn some few souls from the worship of carved images, there could be little doubt but that the results obtained would gradually expire upon his own removal from the theatre of life. At any rate the course pursued by Dr Duff has been crowned by the most entire success. He lived and laboured long enough in India to found a Christian congregation worthy of the name, as well as many philanthropic institutions on self-supporting bases of a gradual development, likely to retain their influence for good so long as the native population in Calcutta shall stand in need of corporal or spiritual aid.

Of what we have ventured upon terming the lesser influences on mankind, we shall only touch upon one more—Police. This brings us to the threshold of a question of great import, at a time when the wheel of public thought once more revolves upon the axis of military reduction, both in men and money. It has recently been argued with much vigour, that the European force in India should decrease, in just proportion with the increase of improved media of communication; that climatic influences are so various, and locomotion is now so easy, that one-third the actual number of white regiments might practically combine hill stations with the necessity for omnipresence. The only argument alleged *per contra* is the large proportion of natives

still in arms for purposes of municipal police and the maintenance of village law. These, to the number of three hundred thousand, still carry weapons of no mean defence, are daily drilled, and, being officered by Europeans, resemble to no small degree the Sepoy of our recollection. Yet some items in their actual condition have been overlooked, whereby their power for harm is restricted within the narrowest limits compatible with efficiency against Pindaree robbers or the more organised Dacoits of the plains.

First, the Indian police, large as it is numerically, is three-fourths composed of men whose loyalty was proved in 1857; and of their officers about the same proportion were witnesses of the events for which that year is memorable, and are thus no novices to the premonitory symptoms of extended disaffection.

Secondly, the police force is more local in its character, and has less of class or caste cohesion, than characterised the Sepoy hosts. Its employment is not directly connected with political affairs, such as the chastisement of some refractory Raja, or the occupation of a territory recently annexed, but is almost invariably confined to measures for protecting life and property, in which the natives, as the basis of the population, themselves have most at stake.

Thirdly, with very few exceptions, these police are quite domestic in their habits, are bound together by no common tie except the prospect of promotion, and, instead of herding in bodies of ten or twenty regiments, reduced by the influence of inaction to seek excitement in sedition, they are distributed in companies and

patrols throughout the length and breadth of India, and very generally ignore their own numerical importance.

When this force was constituted on what may be termed the local basis, with a view to the absorption of many loyal native corps, after the reduction of the Sepoy army, Lord Canning planned the nomination of a superior officer to be called Inspector-General of Police in India. To this appointment Sir Charles Wood demurred, partially on constitutional grounds, and partially as tending unwisely to centralise the infant system; and thus it happened that an officer was lost to this department to whose directing skill its growth and most of the results obtained were mainly due. This officer was Lieutenant-Colonel Bruce, whose singular good fortune it was to be appreciated by three successive Governor-Generals of India. One of Colonel Bruce's greatest merits was his willingness at all times to cope with the most opposed and difficult of situations. It was indifferent to him whether the service of the Queen required that he should be attached to the intelligence department of a flying column about to penetrate into the obscurity of Central India, or that he should be selected to report on some abstruse financial or commercial problem. He was so constituted by nature that his powers seemed always best adapted for whatever labour was committed to him. Subsequent to the Indian ~~mutiny~~ the doctrine of ruling India by a military police had found favour and encouragement, almost irrespective of the cost to be incurred. Those who then advised Lord Canning turned

over in their minds the pages of their past experience in men, and finally recommended Colonel Bruce as perhaps the readiest officer at their command. At first his duty was confined to the collection of materials for the building of this structure, and later, these receiving high approval, he was ordered to elaborate the rudiments of a service by itself, that should combine the force of military law with civil obligations. The arm of power thus sketched out for holding India bore upon the face of its provisions much promise of success, and the experience of some years has proved that the expectations of its authors were not unreasonably sanguine. Colonel Bruce, however, had to meet and overcome much local jealousy. Up to that time police had existed in a form subordinate to Lieutenant-Governors and Chief Commissioners; now it was to be an imperial force, at the immediate control of the Government of India. The programme therefore drawn up by Colonel Bruce made enemies of almost every subordinate administration. Military privileges were to be enjoyed, without rendering those who profited by them subject to divisional or brigade command; and while in Bengal and the North-West two members of the Civil Service, Mr C. F. Carnac and Mr Court, were appointed to the office of Inspectors-General of Police, and thus relieved from all subordination to their seniors the Lieutenant-Governors, in Oude and the Punjab two military officers, Captain Aitken and Major Hutchinson, escaped, through their selection for the performance of similar functions, from the control of the Commander-in-Chief.

At the crisis when these impartial schemes of Colonel Bruce were given to the world, and angry men of all classes and opinions were clamouring for his removal, the call for general economy had succeeded to the passing cry for national defence. In a letter therefore from the Government of India, Colonel Bruce was summarily told that his efforts should in future be directed to the reduction of previously approved-of estimates. To this thankless task of pulling down the work of his own creation, and pruning the branches of the tree that he himself had planted, he proceeded with his usual successful zeal; the budgets for police again assumed proportions within the possibility of payment, and Colonel Bruce was told in laudatory phrases that his work was done. He reverted then to other things, and his name appears for the last time in the history of India, as occupying the post of political officer appointed to accompany to Bhotan the army destined to erase the stain on our escutcheon caused by the fiasco of Mr Ashley Eden. To this service he devoted the remains of a frame and constitution once remarkable for vigour, and there he contracted the Terai fever, under which he sank on his homeward journey, under taken in the hope to recruit his health beneath the shady oaks and cloudy skies of England, which none but those who have felt the burthen of an Indian sun can value at their own high price.

Another indication of the spirit of the times and their requirements may be gathered from the gradual decay of a department, the duties of which once embraced the supervision of every village inn and mountain-path



from Poona to Lucknow. The class of crime for the suppression of which this department was intended is known as Thuggee; and Dacoitce, or highway robbery, was shortly after added to it. According to the legend, Thuggee had its origin as follows:—"Kali encountered a monstrous giant, every drop of whose blood as it fell became a destructive demon. The blood of each demon thus produced possessed the same property, and an enormous brood was generated, threatening the world with destruction. The evil would have been without remedy—for the more they were slain the more they multiplied—had not Kali fallen upon the notable device of creating two men, and giving them handkerchiefs or waistbands with which they were able to strangle the demons. As by this process not a drop of blood was shed, the race of demons, which could only be propagated by blood, was extinguished. The instruments of strangulation became the property of the men who had used them so successfully; and to make this gift of value, the goddess authorised them and their descendants to make strangulation their trade." In accordance with this strange legend, "the Thugs became hereditary murderers, and spread throughout Central India and into part of the Deccan. Though formed into fraternities by initiatory rites, and able to recognise each other by the use of particular signs, they lived as the ordinary inhabitants of the country, following the peaceful occupations of agriculture or trade." The reports of the officers charged with the prosecution of a crusade against this crime, that rendered travel in time of peace and plenty a matter of even greater risk

than when war was raging, and trade and merchandise moved from place to place under martial escort and protection, long teemed with interest to the general reader in search of entertainment or instruction; and the insight they afforded into native character, proved hardly of less value than the actual services they recorded. Foremost among the most interesting and valuable of these reports rank those of Colonel Slemen, under whose administration some of the earliest and busiest years of this department were passed. Throughout the native states of Central India, and specially in the Nizam's dominions, this crime was most at home; and though it is one of rare commission now, yet in many parts of India remote from the intercourse of white men, travellers are still wary of accepting proffered fellowship on a journey, much preferring the fear of solitary hunger, thirst, the wild beast at night, and maybe open pillage, to the dread of being decoyed and strangled by a fancied boon-companion. Of late years Colonel Hervey has filled the office of General Superintendent of Thuggee and Dacoitee; and even if it be true that he inherited a moribund machine whose special labours, it might be thought, had been sufficiently performed to admit of their being handed over to the various local services and administrations, yet it is but naked justice to a never-tiring public servant to record, that it was under his directions that a final blow was dealt at the hereditary existence of a sect of professional men, by whom the fact of taking life without the shed of blood was deemed a cardinal tenet of religion.

Thus, under the conditions of which the barren outlines only have been roughly sketched within the previous chapters, Anglo-Indian administration certainly possesses in itself numerous elements essential to the life of what are sometimes termed "permanent institutions." The powers that be, however, should not too far indulge themselves in this gratifying reflection; for it is not the less true, that many little surface clouds still interpose between the native races and their own contentment. One prominent cause of dissatisfaction exists perchance in the greater taste and aptitude for splitting hairs that past prestige, and the fact of framing their own laws and penal code, have generated among covenanted civilians, as compared with the handy, free-and-easy justice dealt out by military or native agents engaged in the conduct of affairs. Probably it is to this fact that the preference exhibited by natives for non-regulation government may in some degree be traced; for though this invention of Lord Dalhousie places at the control of one individual a wider field, both for good government and for abuse, than could exist under the more tortuous formalities and conditions of divided responsibility maintained in the system of Bengal and the North-West Provinces, yet, not unlike ourselves, natives often prefer a speedy and practically irrevocable decision at the hands of a local judge, to the prospective satisfaction to be derived from the tardy revision of a sentence by remote machinery with whose working they are but imperfectly acquainted. In the support of these assertions some extracts from the correspondence of **native** ex-legisla-

tive members of both prevailing creeds, and of councils both local and supreme, may not be here considered out of place ; and these, if analysed, will appear to lead to the conclusion that our native legislators do not think so highly as we do ourselves, of the progress we have made in conciliating the Eastern races confided to our rule and governance.

One of these legislators writes from India under date of December 21, 1865, in a tone in which it is not difficult to trace a vein of bitter disappointment. "The present general condition of affairs," he writes, "combined with my thirty years' exertions, induce me to prefer devotion to the Almighty in seclusion to anything else. Still it affords me pleasure to give now this general abstract of my own opinion about the administration of India. The affection of the subject, and attention to the prejudices of the people, regarding which the Queen of England spoke in her gracious Proclamation, the preservation of custom, appointment of selected and experienced officers, fixed laws and regulations, are essential to the wellbeing of a people. It must also be borne in mind that the system of constantly imposing or abolishing different taxes, in order to maintain receipts and disbursements within a condition of equilibrium, is not generally acceptable in India. It is a custom in almost all our native governments to leave sufficient balance from the income of one year to supply any probable excess of expenditure in the next ; and some such scheme is necessary to insure the happiness of the Eastern subjects of the English Crown. These unhappy subjects are at a long distance from the

throne, and are of a different disposition, possess different prejudices, different habits and customs, and live within the influence of a different climate. The true principle of all good government consists in the affection of the subject and the preservation of good faith. Since the mutiny of 1857 many appear to think that it is difficult to gain the affection of the subject; but I do not agree with them, because the subject here is poorer than anywhere else. Their poorness and affection is self-evident from the fact that so vast a continent as India has come so speedily and easily beneath the rule of the British Government. You say that the attention of the great statesmen in England is directed towards the real improvement of India; but you should bear in mind that it is but little use to repair the upper storey of a building the foundation of which has been damaged. After the mutiny, when I and my friends suffered many difficulties which will never be forgotten, Lord Canning had the opportunity to bring the whole of British India under non-regulation system, and thereupon depend the fortunes of the subject."

The foregoing expressions were penned by one whose character for extreme loyalty towards the English Crown ranks second to none in India. There seems no reason for withholding from the public that the man referred to is Raja Dinkur Rao of Gwalior; and since the services which circumstances have enabled him to render have been so continuous and conspicuous that modesty in glossing over his deserts would be misplaced, we venture to transcribe the following from the pen of

Major Meade, Agent Governor-General for Central India, dated Indore Presidency, April, 1865 :—

. . . . . “I can have no hesitation in stating that I fully concur in, and can endorse every word of, the late Sir Richmond Shakespeare’s memorandum, and that it is simply impossible, in my opinion, to do adequate justice to Raja Dinkur Rao’s services and admirable character in such documents.

“His administrative ability and thorough knowledge of the people generally of the Gwalior State (including his own class, which filled most of the offices of the Government, and the various tribes and clans making up the two millions odd subject to the rule of Maharaja Scindia), and of the measures and policy which were best suited to their requirements, and the real interests of the State and his chief, aided by his singular acquaintance with, and appreciation of, the merits and defects of the system of British administration, enabled him, from the date of his assumption of the Dewanship, to introduce improvements, order, and organisation in every branch and department of the State, and in a wonderfully brief time, under the circumstances, to establish a Government such as had never before existed in the territories of his master, and which gave promise, if maintained in the spirit and on the principles in which it was conceived, to make Gwalior the first of native kingdoms.

“In all this the Honourable Raja had much to contend with : for his measures were necessarily opposed to the traditional policy of the governing classes of the country, and to the interests of the many influential

persons who had fattened on the abuses they were specially intended to abolish ; but his tact, calm temper, and good judgment, aided by the example of unimpeachable integrity he set to all around him, enabled him to effect what to those acquainted with the circumstances of the State might well have appeared hopeless.

“The people of the country were relieved from the system of oppression and misrule which had made some districts, as Tourghar, a prey to the most lawless disorder, in which the Durbar possessed no real authority but such as was exercised under the guns of a large military force, and the revenue was periodically collected at the point of the bayonet ; and had made others, as Esaghur, which had formerly been prosperous and flourishing, in many parts a desert, and abandoned by its impoverished and ruined inhabitants ; and a general feeling of contentment and satisfaction, and of love and respect for the Minister who had so changed their condition, prevailed among all classes.

“To this policy the safety of Maharaja Scindia and his Government during the troubles of 1857 may assuredly be fairly and justly ascribed : the people generally, instead of taking advantage of the disruption of authority consequent on the mutiny and rebellion of the British native troops (including the local contingents), on whose presence the peace of the territories of Central India had previously principally depended, and who were openly sympathised with by all, and actively aided by many of the troops and armed police of the native states, remained obedient to the local officials ; and the presence at the capital of a

large number of them, hastily collected and summoned by the Minister for the purpose, enabled Maharaja Scindia to overawe his own disaffected troops and to withstand the otherwise overpowering force of the Gwalior contingent, which, confident of the full support of the Gwalior army and of the many influential people in the Luskier and about the chief, for upwards of three eventful months endeavoured to cajole or compel his Highness to comply with their objects and demands.

“The triumphant manner in which Scindia emerged from these difficulties was, viewed by the light of former times, the best proof of the wisdom of the measures of administration previously adopted by the Minister. Throughout the trying events of 1857-58 Raja Dinkur Rao’s devotion and services to his master were beyond all praise. He was in truth an impersonation in his own territory of loyalty to his chief, and of order amidst the wild anarchy then raging, and which threatened to sweep away all before it; and his attachment for, and friendly good feeling towards, the British Government and its officers when the power of that Government was for a time at its lowest point of depression, can never be forgotten by those who experienced or benefited thereby, or were acquainted therewith.

“With the complete suppression of the mutiny, and amidst the changes in the administration of the Gwalior State which followed the position of the Minister unavoidably became greatly altered.

“The Maharaja desired to direct the Government



himself, and to retain the business of administration wholly in his own hands; and after a time Raja Dinkur Rao withdrew, not without grief and disappointment from the laborious post he had filled for eight years with unmeasurable benefit to his chief and the State, and with lasting credit and honour to himself.

"In truth his work for the time was done, and it was but fitting that he should take some repose from the wearing fatigues of the business and struggles incidental to the high position he had held for so long a period.

"He was not, however, suffered to remain unnoticed; for on the establishment of the Governor-General's Legislative Council in 1861, he was among the first members selected to sit therein as representatives of the native community of the Empire.

"His services and usefulness in the lofty and novel sphere to which he was thus transferred were such as might have been expected from his previous career and character, and are well known to have been much appreciated by the Viceroy of India.

"At the date at which I am writing, the Honourable Raja's term of service in Council having expired, he is unemployed and living in retirement, and there appears to be at present no prospect of his return to the business of public life in a fitting position.

"It is a subject of the deepest regret to me that the services of one so experienced and gifted, by far and in every respect the ablest native administrator I have ever met, should be thus lost to the public; but there seems to be no help therefor at present.

"Whatever the future may have in this respect in

store for the Honourable Raja Dinkur Rao—and that the time will sooner or later come when, if spared, he will reoccupy a public post suited to his great talents and high character I have the fullest confidence—he must for the present console himself with the proud and gratifying conviction that, as remarked by Sir Richmond Shakespeare, he is respected and beloved by the rich and poor of his own country, in which his name will long be known as, *par excellence*, The Dewan, and that he enjoys the high consideration of the British Government, and the esteem and regard of such of its officers as have had the pleasure of knowing him either privately or officially.”

All comment on the above quotation is unnecessary; but it should be known by those who take an interest in Indian affairs what rewards the gratitude of England has meted out to this exemplary native statesman; and we think that most who read these pages will admit that these rewards compare somewhat strangely, and not much to the credit of our discernment, with the imperial extravagance of, for instance, the Mysore grant, by which a yearly income of £40,000 was secured in perpetuity to the already wealthy sons and grandchildren of a low-born usurper and oppressor of a peaceful people.

The magnanimity of the Company towards the Maharaja Dhuleep Singh does not rank, in our opinion, as a case in point, for he was the representative of Runjeet Singh, the Lion of the Punjab, who gathered together by his force of character ten millions of the scattered tribes once ruled by Tamerlane; and it

should be remembered that nearest to the heart of every Hindostanee proper is the appreciation of hereditary honours, and the continuance of an historic name. Now Dinkur Rao was illustrious by descent; and when it is considered that, with the exception of some unimportant complimentary prefix, the only rank conferred upon him was that of Honourable, as a member of the Viceroy's Council, and that the only solid token of our goodwill he has received is a small confiscated estate in the neighbourhood, not of his home in Gwalior, but of Benares in Bengal, worth £500 per annum, on which, as a crowning proof of our generosity, some trifling taxes are remitted, one cannot help contrasting his services and their reward with those of white men, military and civilian, on whom pensions and estates have been showered in such profusion.

Raja Dinkur Rao was, as has been said, a Hindoo Mahratta of the very highest caste, and it may be therefore argued, a representative man of but one portion of our Indian dominions. Yet that the feelings entertained by him find utterance in other mouths, and prey on other minds of a widely different type, may, we think, be fairly gathered from a final extract, penned by perhaps the ablest Mahomedan of Bengal. Between him, a liberal-minded, self-made man, and the aristocratic and conservative Dinkur Rao, there can exist no bond of sympathy in politics or religion, save the one ambition, to promote good government and the welfare of the subject. On December 18, 1865, this Mussulman, writing to one of whose goodwill he felt assured, expressed himself in the following not very hopeful

language, of which we must fain confess the fact of Dinkur Rao's career tends somewhat sadly to illustrate the truth:—

“ You at least are aware of the humble and precarious tenure on which natives, even the greatest among us, hold our offices. Literally and in fact a breath can unmake us, even as a breath has made. No talents, no integrity, no claims founded on length of service, can avail a day against the active displeasure of our covenanted white superiors. In these cases, and in such a Government as India, justice in a great measure depends upon individuals in power at the time. It is useless to blink at the truth, and I believe it is notorious that in a great many Anglo-Indian minds there lies an undercurrent of hatred towards the natives; but as unfortunately the natives have not one head for convenient decapitation, this feeling finds too often vent against those unhappy natives whom circumstances bring into prominence, and it may be conflict, with the pride of Englishmen. God knows there are many and even numerous exceptions; but the danger is not small to those children of the soil who may act as if the exceptions were the rule.”

Now those who would form impressions for themselves on things regarding India, may compare the extracts just quoted, coming as they do unprepared for the public eye fresh from the pen of loyal natives versed in the genius of our rule, whose title to sit in the Councils of their country we have at length approved, with the promises held forth in the gracious Proclamation whereby Her Majesty the Queen assumed

the sovereignty of Hindostan. This document is one that cannot be too often read by, or too deeply graven on the hearts of, Anglo-Indian statesmen. It forms the Magna Charta of 180,000,000 souls belonging to mixed creeds, and may be studied with advantage by all who search for landmarks in contemporary history ; but it should not be forgotten that it is a far cry from the banks of the Ganges to those of the Thames, and that although the distance is great, even in the case of wealthy appellants to the Privy Council, it is infinitely more felt by the impoverished, uneducated, and scantily-fed ryots who constitute nineteen-twentieths of an Eastern population.

This Proclamation was published by Lord Canning at Allahabad on 1st November 1858, and was addressed directly from the Queen to the Princes, Chiefs, and people of India. Its preamble is devoted to announcing that Her Majesty has, with the advice and consent of Parliament, taken upon herself the governance of the territories hitherto vested in the East India Company, and it then proceeds in the following terms:—

“ We hereby announce to the native Princes of India, that all treaties and engagements made with them, by or under the authority of the Honourable East India Company, are by us accepted, and will be scrupulously maintained, and we look for the like observance on their part. We desire no extension of our present territorial possessions ; and while we will permit no aggression upon our dominions or our rights to be attempted with impunity, we shall sanction no encroachment on those of others. We shall respect the rights.

dignity, and honour of native princes as our own ; and we desire that they, as well as our own subjects, should enjoy that prosperity and social advancement which can only be secured by internal peace and good government. We hold ourselves bound to the natives of our Indian territories by the same obligations of duty which bind us to all our other subjects, and those obligations, by the blessing of God, we shall faithfully and conscientiously fulfil. Firmly relying ourselves on the truth of Christianity, and acknowledging with gratitude the solace of religion, we disclaim alike the right and the desire to impose our convictions on any of our subjects. We declare it to be our royal will and pleasure that none be in any wise favoured, none molested or disquieted by reason of their religious faith or observances, but that all shall alike enjoy the equal and impartial protection of the law ; and we do strictly charge and enjoin all those who may be in authority under us, that they abstain from all interference with the religious belief or worship of any of our subjects, on pain of our highest displeasure. And it is our further will that, so far as may be, our subjects, of whatever race or creed, be freely and impartially admitted to offices in our service, the duties of which they may be qualified by their education, ability, and integrity duly to discharge. We know and respect the feelings of attachment with which the natives of India regard the lands inherited by them from their ancestors, and we desire to protect them in all rights connected therewith, subject to the equitable demands of the State; and we will that generally in framing and

administering the law, due regard be paid to the ancient rights, usages, and customs of India. We deeply lament the evils and misery which have been brought upon India by the acts of ambitious men, who have deceived their countrymen by false reports, and led them into open rebellion. Our power has been shown by the suppression of that rebellion in the field; we desire to show our mercy by pardoning the offences of those who have been thus misled, but who desire to return to the path of duty."

The above are truly royal words, admitting of no cavil or misinterpretation, and they were closely followed by a distinct approval of the clement policy with which Lord Canning's name will ever be associated, an approval emanating from the highest terrestrial authority we acknowledge, and from which there happily is no appeal.

"Our clemency," it was written, "will be extended to all offenders, save and except those who have been or shall be convicted of having directly taken part in the murder of British subjects. With regard to such, the demands of justice forbid the exercise of mercy. To those who have willingly given an asylum to murderers, knowing them to be such, their lives alone can be guaranteed; but in apportioning the penalty due to such persons, full consideration will be given to any circumstances under which they have been induced to throw off their allegiance; and large indulgence will be shown to those whose crimes may appear to have originated in too credulous acceptance of the false reports circulated by designing men. To all others in

arms against the Government we hereby promise unconditional pardon, amnesty and oblivion of all offence against ourselves, our crown, and dignity, on their return to their homes and peaceful pursuits. It is our royal pleasure that these terms of grace and amnesty should be extended to all those who comply with these conditions before the first day of January next. When, by the blessing of Providence, internal tranquillity shall be restored, it is our earnest desire to stimulate the peaceful industry of India, to promote works of public utility and improvement, and to administer its government for the benefit of all our subjects therein. In their prosperity will be our strength, in their contentment our security, and in their gratitude our best reward. And may the God of all power grant to us, and to those in authority under us, strength to carry out these our wishes for the good of our people."

THE END.

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