

bution on the Indian people for the calamities of 1857, the Government of India has but kept its pledged troth ; and it must be very many years before our Indian accounts display such a surplus, after providing for the extinction of debt incurred, as to justify those by whom public burdens are imposed in reducing a taxation which the country becomes each year more able to sustain, and of which each year a larger share falls, directly or indirectly, on European immigrants, who derive from the stability of our rule equal if not greater benefits than the native subjects of the land.

Under these circumstances, the removal of the hated income-tax but opens the approach to other means of raising money ; and so long as more than half of what we want comes straight from the pocket of the native into our own, in the shape of land-tax and the Government monopolies of salt and opium, so long shall we maintain that the native has a right to make his feelings known, even outside the walls of those mixed Council Chambers established for the purpose.

A few words here on the subject of this land-tax may not be out of place before proceeding to the consideration of the memorandum with which this chapter closes. The fact is, that the Land Revenue System, on which so many lances have been broken by anxious students of Anglo-Indian Injustice, is one that recommends itself to the native mind by immemorial practice, based on the doctrine that the original proprietary right to the soil is vested in the Government *de facto*. Owing, however, to the prodigality of long lines of dynasties, by whom, in token of approval or reward, lands free of revenue had constantly been granted, it happened that great tracts became exempt from their due share of taxation, causing either considerable loss of revenue to Government, or

enhanced burdens on unexempted lands. This trouble grew with the extension of our rule, and at length Commissioners were appointed to examine all titles to exemption. The sphere of their action, limited at first to provinces on attachment, was gradually extended to those long subject to our dominion; but the principle involved was so familiar to the native mind, that though it might cause private vexation to landowners whose documentary or other evidence had disappeared with lapse of time, it was insufficient to produce a general irritation. Without, however, entering into the propriety and policy of a measure that natives at least can understand, and far prefer to many of our more elaborate fiscal systems, we would only plead that the fact of its existence, causing as it does half our Anglo-Indian revenue to accrue directly from the soil, entitles the children of that soil to a voice in all decisions of a nature to affect their welfare.

"The experience," one author tells us, "which enables a man to write on the subject of Eastern Government tends to blunt his sympathies, and in some degree to injure his moral sense." "Torture and lawlessness" were so familiar to this writer, as to render him "conscious of not feeling as he ought when wrong is done to individuals and nations." This truly is a sad picture of a human mind after a very few years in India; but were the condition of moral obliquity described confined to the producers or consumers of such highly-flavoured literary food, it might not be necessary to undeceive a sensation-loving public. When, however, the disorder affects the minds of men in office like Mr Seton Karr, late Secretary to the Government of Bengal, making him write of certain land-revenue-raising machinery, that "each day produced its list of victims, and the good for-

tune of those who escaped but added to the pangs of the crowd who came forth from the shearing-house shorn to the skin, unable to work, ashamed to beg, condemned to penury ;” and when we are further told by the graphic Mr Kaye that “of 3500 estates, great and small, three-fifths were confiscated,” in the course of but one local land-tenure inquiry,—we must confess that the truth-seeking world is under great obligation to the calm judicial pen of Sir Charles Jackson, for demonstrating in a recent work \* that the title here set aside was not the title to land, but the title to hold it free from the payment of land-tax ; that there was no ousting from possession in these cases—a resumption of the right to the land-tax only, and not a resumption of the land itself.

From this digression we shall now return to the salt monopoly, to which, second only to the income-tax, the writer of the following memorandum draws attention. In the days we live in, this is perhaps the greatest abuse of power extant in any civilised portion of the globe. Along certain frontiers of the North-West Provinces and Rajpootana, a boundary-line is drawn, cutting off the sparsely populated producing districts from the neighbouring lands, densely peopled by consumers, the nature of whose food demands a liberal use of salt in its preparation, not only to render it wholesome, but palatable to the taste. This line has been drawn upon arbitrary principles that render the most elementary conditions of existence dissimilar in adjoining village hamlets. Along it a hedge of thorn, strictly emblematical of the duty it performs, has been planted, winding for many hundred

\* ‘A Vindication of the Administration of Lord Dalhousie ;’ being a refutation of the charges brought by Mr Kaye against that Governor-General in his ‘Sepoy War.’

miles across an open country, sometimes fertile, sometimes barren, heedless of mountains, streams, and all those marks by which the hand of nature traces lines for the division of mankind. This hedge is kept intact by a large and costly staff of customs officers, and represents, in its eternal presence to the view, a cordon more intolerable to the freedom of native thought and action than any Continental octroi, passport, or other fiscal system, since the abolition of the gabelle or the hated corvée. The people of those districts live, as it were, in permanent quarantine; smuggling is of course extensively practised, and each day gaps are found to need repair along this rude financial hedge, or men and women are detected in the act, and made to pay a penalty, certainly not likely to spread a general belief among the poorer classes of the benefit our sway confers. The monotony of the hedge is only broken at intervals by gates, where roads are crossed, and here and there by stations of police. The whole system is known as that of salt chokes; and considering the inconvenience and injustice, and the heavy charges for collecting the revenue accruing from it, we must confess, and not without regret, that the writer of the memorandum now before us has treated the abuse with an exceeding moderation, that might, who knows, perhaps not unjustly be attributed to his ignorance of our desire to govern righteously, or else to familiarity with other modes of raising revenue equally questionable in morality and political economy.

In this memorandum it will be also seen, that the native mind conceives that indirect taxation lies easier on the shoulders of the Indian people, than any kind of direct taxation, in the equitable collection of which domestic sanctity must be invaded, and "minute inquiries"



are rendered necessary. Still natives must remember that our administration of India is a costly one, that security for life and property is a plant requiring in Asia much artificial training and support, and that we also are labourers worthy of our hire. A large voice as to the least objectionable mode of raising this hire we willingly accord the native; but if he selects, on mature reflection and by gradual legislation, the system of accumulated indirect taxation, he must be prepared for a period when the condition of India will resemble that of England, where, in the words of Sydney Smith, "Taxes were piled on taxes, until they reached every article which enters into the mouth, or covers the back, or is placed under foot; taxes upon everything which it is pleasant to see, hear, feel, smell, or taste; taxes upon warmth, light, and locomotion; taxes on everything on earth, and in the waters under the earth—on everything that comes from abroad, or is grown at home; taxes on the source which pampers man's appetite, and the drug which restores him to health; on the ermine which decorates the judge, and the rope which hangs the criminal; on the poor man's salt and the rich man's spice; on the brass nails of the coffin and the ribbons of the bride. The schoolboy whips his taxed top; the beardless youth manages his taxed horse, with a taxed bridle, on a taxed road; and the dying Englishman, pouring his medicine which has paid seven per cent into a spoon that has paid fifteen per cent, flings himself back upon the chintz bed which has paid twenty-two per cent, makes his will on an eight-pound stamp, and expires in the arms of an apothecary who has paid a licence of a hundred pounds for the privilege of putting him to death. His whole property is then immediately taxed from two to ten per cent. Besides the probate, large fees are demanded for

burying him in the chancel ; his virtues are handed down to posterity on taxed marble, and he is then gathered to his fathers to be taxed no more."

Finally, it must be remembered that Persian is the language in which the writer of the memorandum has been accustomed to prepare state-papers, and that division by ten is the simplest method of calculating rupees in pounds sterling.

*MEMORANDUM BY THE HONOURABLE RAJA DINKUR RAO.*

ON THE FINANCE OF THE GOVERNMENT.

From the Budget it will be seen that when the population of British India, which is about 140,000,000, is compared with the income, which is 420,000,000 rupees, the average will be about 3 rupees per head. When this average is compared with that of the native states, the population of which is about 48,400,000, and the income 130,000,000 rupees, it is equal to it, if not greater. But from the estimate of the receipts and expenditure of the year 1856 it is seen that the total income was about 300,000,000 rupees. It must be considered that during this short time the income is much increased. It is clear that this increase is not merely from the land revenue, but from the taxes and duties also. Now, judging from this, it does not appear proper to increase this amount beyond what may be added from the improvement in the land revenue. It is necessary for the Government to give attention, as much as practicable, to decreasing the taxes and duties.

It will be deemed right to give attention in certain cases to decrease the expenditure. The amount thus

saved will be usefully applied to continue to some officers proper amount of pay suitable to their stations, and to maintain chowkees on roads and in cities, towns, &c., which are at present reduced. It is also necessary that some balance should remain in the hands of the Government for the use of the State and to pay the interest and some amount of the debt. But from this Budget so much appears impossible. Such being the case, it is obvious, from the remission of the licence-tax, how much the comfort of the people is at the heart of the Government. The subjects should understand from this that, when an opportunity will present itself, the Government will no doubt lessen, as much as possible, their burden of taxes and duties. From the present Budget it is seen that, although the Government has reduced so much its expenditure, still the expenditure amounts to the same sum of income, which is 420,000,000 rupees. From this the reflecting persons will think that the Government necessarily requires this amount of income, and they must therefore pay it. It is also just for the subjects to pay the Government for being protected. Though this is the case, still the Government must pay attention to relieve the subjects from the pressure of several kinds of regulations on taxes and duties, considering that the people of Hindostan do not like them. By this means the people will be left free to perform their occupations with ease. The Government, therefore, instead of increasing that pressure, should decrease it as much as practicable, in such a way that it should not incur loss to itself, and the people should be satisfied.

In receiving money from the people it is difficult to please all entirely. There is no transaction which shall not be open to some kinds of objection. But it is proper

for the Government to take money from the people and also to look at their convenience.

Though I am not acquainted with the Government financial system, yet what I think better to be done, is as follows :—

Some of the following items that will appear proper may be made a source of income in lieu of those that should be abolished. This system will be, to some extent, in accordance to the native custom. Though, owing to their being long abolished by the Government, these duties will be less liked at first, still, owing to their being of the nature of an indirect tax, they will be liked by the people when all other imposts that are hereafter mentioned are totally abolished.

My opinion also is that indirect taxes should be taken, because, though an indirect tax affects all, yet it is taken from a few persons. But the process of realising these duties should be easy. The Government should pay attention only to make up the amount of its income, and not to the extending its interference and making minute inquiries, which prevent the people from following their occupations. There is no need to describe this here in detail.

*Tobacco.*—Supposing that a person requires about ten seers of tobacco annually, so, at the highest rate of five seers per rupee, he spends about two rupees every year. Were he obliged to buy at the rate of four seers, he would not find it very inconvenient. From this, in proportion to the population, exempting those that are not to be taken into consideration, an estimate can be formed of the income that can be realised. Though the people will feel a little inconvenience from this duty, because tobacco is used by many, still this article is not so useful as the salt in his nourishment. The use of this

article is generally a matter of habit. But when the income-tax, the duty on salt, and all other direct taxes and duties, are abolished, this indirect tax, without being more inconvenient to the people, will, I think, be conducive to their comfort.

*Betel Leaves.*—The same is the case with betel leaves. Estimating that each man consumes about two leaves every day, or 750 per year, their value to the highest rate will be about 12 annas.

*Stamp Papers.*—If it be deemed impossible to abolish all the stamps and fees, the following only should be kept, and all others abolished :—

1. A fee at the rate of half an anna per rupee should be taken from the decree-holder after he has obtained money in satisfaction of his decree.

2. A bond of sale or mortgage of immovable property.

3. A warrant of pleaders.

If it will be said that, owing to there being no stamps to mark papers, opportunity will be given to commit forgeries, there is already a law to punish such offences ; or, if it be deemed proper, a paper having a Government seal affixed to it should be sold for such purposes at the price of other common papers.

*Cloth.*—A fee on stamping new cloth should be taken. Each man requires on an average two rupees for his cloth annually. From this an estimate can be made that at the rate of  $\frac{1}{2}$  anna per rupee on common cloth, and one anna on silken and embroidered cloth,  $\frac{3}{4}$  of an anna at an average rate will be levied from each person. But the cloth that comes from England should be exempted, because customs duty is already taken on it ; but in order to have a mark on it, it should be stamped.

The same system of stamping should be observed with regard to weights and measures.

From all this it appears that the deficit in the Government income, which will occur from abolishing other taxes and duties, will be made up from these imposts. If something should be wanting to make good the income, a small fee should be imposed on weighing all articles. This system is prevalent in India from the earliest days. The British Government has abolished it. It will not be difficult to bring this system into operation, for it is now a practice that those who weigh things receive something from those in whose behalf they weigh. The same persons will receive the contracts for the tax and pay to the Government the amount. This will be less inconvenient to the people than other imposts, and it is also according to their customs.

#### THINGS THAT SHOULD BE ABOLISHED.

*Income-Tax*—Though it is necessary for the Government to take income-tax from the people, yet it is evident how much all classes of people complain against it, and it is clear that they are obliged, besides paying the tax, to suffer much inconvenience from the regulations connected with it. It is therefore necessary to abolish it at once. There is no doubt that the income which is realised from this impost can be made up from some of those items that are above mentioned.

*Salt*.—It is necessary to decrease the duty on salt, for salt is the principal thing in the nourishment of all classes of people, and, owing to its being dear, the poor are exposed to much inconvenience. For instance, each man consumes about 9 seers of salt annually. At Agra the rate of salt is about 6 seers per rupee, so that each man requires  $1\frac{1}{2}$  rupee per annum for his salt; while at Bhurtpore, Kerowly, &c., it can be obtained at about 18

seers per rupee, that is, each man expends  $\frac{1}{2}$  rupee per annum; so that the people are obliged to buy salt so dear within such a short distance of where it is cheap. In such places the duty must be so much reduced that the salt may be obtainable at not less than 12 seers per rupee.

*Opium.*—The increased duty on opium will not, I think, stand at the present rate; for this article is generally consumed by the Chinese, who, perceiving the high rate of Indian opium, will commence to produce it in their own country to supply their wants—consequently the demand for the Indian opium will be less, and production stopped. This case, therefore, ought to be taken into consideration, and the duty to be reduced to the former rates. By this reduction the future deficit in the Government income and loss to the people will be saved, and an obligation will be conferred upon those cultivators who pay lakhs of rupees of land-revenue, and indeed on many labouring classes of India.

*On Stamp.*—The stamp-duty is considered by some only an easy source of realising the Government income; but it is obvious from the stamp regulation that the former stamps, together with those that are recently introduced, do not leave the people to perform their occupations freely. They are required to buy stamps in every transaction of life, and at every step of every proceeding. Besides this they have also to bear other losses on account of stamps. It is not proper for the Government to take any duty, or wish to have money for giving justice, but it is right to keep the way of justice open as much as possible. For these reasons this impost must be reduced as much as practicable.

*Municipal Taxes and Chowkeedaree.*—The municipal taxes and chowkeedaree should also be, if possible,

abolished. If it be impossible, the Government should reckon the chowkeedaree tax, which is established for protecting the people in its income from other sources. And, if the municipal system is to be continued, there should not be several sorts of taxes and duties imposed on the people for this purpose, except that which shall be approved by the inhabitants of the locality. The Government should also become a sharer in the work. The authority on the spot should act as one of the municipal body.

These and all other taxes and duties which may prevent people from following their occupations freely should be abolished. As the Government income can be made up from the taxes and duties on the items above mentioned, there is no objection to abolish all other imposts. What I mean is this, that there should be no other tax or duty except those that are described as the sources of income. I hope that by this means there shall be left little cause for the people to be discontented, because they will be saved from the oppression and left to perform their occupations unmolested. This system is in accordance to their custom, and will not, I think, be much different from the policy of the Government.



## CHAPTER XI.

## FOREIGN SETTLEMENTS IN HINDOSTAN.

THE dreams of the chivalrous Dupleix were not destined to fulfilment, and French intrigues in the Carnatic and Mahratta States were ultimately buried in the graves of Bourquien and Lally. All that now remains to mark the past designs of France are some few specks on the horizon of our Indian possessions, the names of which are seldom quoted in the marts of policy or commerce.

Of these Pondicherry claims pre-eminence to-day as still boasting of some slight mercantile importance, the more political settlement of Chandernagore having long since fallen into insignificance and decay, by reason of its close proximity to Fort William. Yet beyond this statement of the *de facto* prominence of Pondicherry as the commercial and political mainspring of French possessions in East India, naught remains to tell of interest to the general reader. Her exact position, population, and pretensions are items that concern herself alone, and as such need no comment at our hands.

Seventeen miles above Calcutta, and by so much further removed from the insalubrious mouth of the Hoogly, the traveller catches sight, on turning a long reach, of what appears a large well-built emporium of trade. Chandernagore, with its ruined quays and past remains of great-

ness, contrasts strangely with many of our modest Indian coast-stations, and the system of commercial makeshifts frequently resorted to by the practical merchants of Great Britain. Still this is not surprising, for the endeavours of France to plant her foot in India were prompted by national pride, and jealousy of the rapidly increasing colonial importance of other nations in the seventeenth century ; while in our case a company of merchants sued for and obtained a quasi recognition from the English Crown, with leave to establish factories within certain geographical restrictions, and enjoy specified monopolies, imperilling their own lives and capital at their own sole risk.

Herein lies the radical difference between English and French colonial enterprise. Both started from the principle that the rights of the infidel inhabitants of foreign climes were subordinate to those acquired by Christian discovery and conquest ; but whereas England contented herself with giving tardy encouragement and a scant support to her successful adventurers, not heeding those who failed, France ever took upon herself to organise each struggling settlement in distant and uncongenial climes upon a Governmental basis, and deemed it incumbent on her to sustain her sovereign rights, and the honour of her flag, wherever it had once been rashly planted.

The most successful of French colonies originated in the days of Huguenot contention, when some patriotic leaders of the persecuted party conceived the idea of a refuge beyond the sea, where they could still work in peace for the glory of the mother country ; and the Government, surrounded by embarrassment, was not sorry to accept an outlet for disaffected elements. With repeated change at home, however, came changes in the

character and composition of the joint-stock companies then trading to the West. But though Jesuit influence eventually supplanted Calvinistic, Canada still grew and flourished. The unerring genius of Colbert rendered him a stanch supporter of maritime and commercial enterprise; and it was not till the war of 1756 that Canada, after a gallant struggle, accrued to the British Crown. Yet the memory of France did not altogether die with Montcalm on the Heights of Abraham; for now, after a century of our dominion, blue-books are printed by Her Majesty's command at Montreal, Quebec, and Ottawa, counting money in pounds sterling, but written in a foreign tongue, which has outlived a change of masters.

From this somewhat irrelevant digression on the failure of France in the West to reap the fruits of colonisation and foreign industry, we may turn in a fitting frame of mind to the study of her doings in the East, where she had to grapple with still greater difficulties, and failed yet more conspicuously.

The two positions are indeed somewhat opposed. In the West, France found far-spreading sparsely-peopled plains thirsting for the colonising element. She, flattered by the returns which the virgin soil yielded to the emigrant's first touch, bestowed much gratitude upon this country, and ultimately struck so firm a hold as to leave the impress of her nationality on large masses of the population. In the East a very different combination of conditions awaited the arrival of her explorers. There old-established faiths and empires vied with one another for mastery in the hearts and minds of forty separate peoples. Moreover, of all European nations, France was the last to take the field in India. Her first efforts to establish herself there were repulsed at Surat by the united action of the Dutch and English, and a subsequent

attempt to seize on Trincomalee was likewise unsuccessful. Later she maintained herself at Mailapur, "the City of Peacocks," near Madras, for a period of two years; but it was not until 1672 that she made good her title to consideration as an Indian landholder, by the purchase from the Beejapoor Raja of the town of Pondicherry, and ninety-two adjacent villages, tolerably well watered by the little river Gingy.

Having, however, once acquired a footing, the French, backed more directly by their Government than we, had larger means at their command; and French gold, working in a political sense, for a time outbade individual Anglo-Saxon enterprise. It must remain a doubtful problem whether, had not European wars, tapping the sources of her wealth, ended in constant maritime defeat, France might not have played the Eastern rôle which happy accident appears to have reserved for us. All we know is, that so surely as war broke out in Europe between France and England, those small isolated spots in India where the Bourbon flag or tricolor waved changed hands; and 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 arts 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 multitude 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 descry 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 triumphed, 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 infor-

mation 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 derived 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 of 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 denomi-

nate 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.

Now 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-

\* The population of the Portuguese settlement of Goa may be stated, in round numbers, at 300,000, of which no less than 100,000, or one-third, are half-castes. The gross population of Calcutta may be roughly stated at 500,000, of which but 5000, or one-hundredth, are Eurasians—that is, of mixed blood—and of these, over ninety per cent are of Portuguese or Armenian extraction. These brief statistics, showing the numerical relation of half-caste Portuguese to the gross population to be one-third, and that of half-caste English to the gross population to be one-thousandth—a proportion which is, moreover, daily on the decline—support, we think, sufficiently the statements in the text, which have been somewhat roughly handled by a critical journal as gratuitous and unfounded.

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 Hindostanees 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 alone 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 McCulloch 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 Gênghis 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 Hindostan 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

\* Had it been *quite*, instead of *almost*, our Raj was at an end; for a native of distinction and intelligence has observed, with justice, that if every Hindoo and Mahomedan in India could only be brought to cast one grain of sand at the Feringhee, the white invaders would be buried like the ancient cities of the plains. The outbreak of 1857 was, however, the most perfect specimen of united hostile action that Hindostan yet has witnessed, and as compared with former risings, it is no exaggeration to say, that the country from the Himalayas to the sea rose against us “almost as one man.”

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 tenanted 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, which he describes as "the geographical limits of Asia Magna," and within these limits, he further tells us, 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 refer-

\* Since the above was published, the author has received from a native correspondent a copy of 'A Discourse on the Nature, Objects, and Advantages of a Periodical Census,' read at a meeting of the Bethune Society by Moolvie Abdool Luteef Khan Bahadoor. This paper affords a striking proof of the incalculable value of the institutions referred to in the text. In this instance they enabled an enlightened native to explain to his fellow-countrymen the true objects and importance of a measure, which they regarded with suspicion as inquisitorial. The reader of this paper pointed out, in Oordoo, how agricultural exhibitions had at first been dreaded by the Indian people, how it was argued that "a war had been kindled somewhere, and that the cattle to be brought

ence 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 any 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 Kali-Krishna, 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 Durbars amidst respectful silence. Devoid of all external ornament, save perhaps some solitary ancestral stone of purest radiance,

together were wanted for the commissariat," and how popular agricultural exhibitions had become in Bengal—how inseparably connected the increase of population ought to be with the science of political economy; and how sanitary, educational, ecclesiastical, judicial, and financial reasons all demanded an accurate acquaintance with the numbers, sexes, ages, and occupations of the population.

Thus did this intelligent Mussulman induce the natives of Calcutta to regard with favour, and to co-operate in, a measure that, so recently as 1850, both Hindoos and Mahomedans successfully "strained every nerve to baffle and resist."

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 four 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 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, than 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

\* One of the many mountain tribes of the interior of India which periodically prey upon the industry of their peaceful neighbours, and which it has proved more than once necessary to coerce.

† Plunderers.

natives, as the basis of the population, themselves have most at stake.

Thirdly, with very few exceptions, these police are 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 afforded at all points abundant 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

\* That some change was called for may be gathered from the following few lines, extracted from 'A Statement by Sir Charles Trevellyn of the Circumstances connected with his Recall from the Government of Madras,' published in 1860:—"But the great measure for the whole of India is the reconstitution of the police and the improvement of the courts of justice. While we have been occupied with war and annexation and the collection of revenue, we have neglected the simple primary duty of the protection of life and property."

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 a homeward journey, undertaken 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 Dacoitee, 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