

to dispute. The legislative machinery and the character of the legislation will be described hereafter. Meanwhile the general effect may be stated as above. Patriarchal rule has sometimes been written and spoken of in reference to India; but that, if it ever existed, has ceased to exist during the latter half of the nineteenth century. Nevertheless, if by a patriarch is meant a man who rules the Natives of India as the District Officer, in any one of the many districts mentioned in a foregoing Chapter, really well by his own personality and his own sense of justice, then there is enormous scope for him still, almost as much as there could ever have been in the days before the Reign of Law was settled. For with a population like that of India there is a well nigh indescribable difference to the people between an active and inactive, a vigorous and a feeble administrator. In his farewell words to India Sir John, afterwards Lord, Lawrence said that the prime object for District Administration, which is *par excellence* the administration for the Natives, is to obtain good men. With them even a defective legal system may be made to work well enough. Without them even the best legal system will fail in practice.

Nevertheless the Government of India, in the largest sense of the term, is a despotism, benevolent and enlightened no doubt, but still absolute. The maxim which has been mentioned in divers times and places, "everything for the people and nothing

by them," has been applicable to India during the nineteenth century and still is so. To vindicate this maxim would need an examination of human nature in the East and of the circumstances of British Rule there. Its necessity will, however, be obvious from a glance at the spectacle of a vast population of Asiatics being subject to a Power far away across the sea, or the black-water in Oriental phrase, wholly alien in race, colour, creed, language, tradition and mode of thought.

In order to understand the manner in which this despotism is conducted, let all the most progressive, enlightened, philanthropic principles, all that conduces to freedom of action, of religion and of thought, to individual freedom, to equality of justice to all persons and classes before the law, all that concerns physical, mental and moral development, be recollected. These then are the rules which guide not only theoretically but practically the despotic governance of India.

Under British Rule the Natives have some share, but not a prevailing or a conclusive one, in the government of their own country. They have a voice, but not at all a decisive one, in the direction of public affairs. They hold seats in the several legislative Councils, but they are in a minority as compared with nominees of the Government. They form the majority in the Municipal Corporations, but these bodies are in the last resort under the control of the State. The principle of election has been cautiously

and tentatively introduced, partially as regards the Legislative Councils, more fully as regards the Municipalities. District Councils for local purposes so far as they may be constituted will have elective and representative character. Otherwise it must be said that there are no representative institutions in India like those which exist in the Western Nations. The British Government does not presume to say that it is in the country by the will of the people, but by its own right arm under Providence, and by the acquiescence of the people. It does not venture to affirm more than acquiescence. It hopes for loyalty and endeavours to deserve as much, but doubts whether it receives or will ever receive that. Under these conditions, it cannot, in respect to the finances, the army, the frontier defences or in matters of essential justice, defer to Native opinion. Herein it is responsible to none save the British Sovereign, parliament and nation. In other respects it strives to govern in a manner acceptable to the Natives. It leaves them to the governance of their own social laws mostly sacred and ancient, and reserves its own legislation for the most part to affairs brought about by modern civilisation.

The dominant positions in the Civil Administrations must be, as they have been held, by Europeans. But the mass of Civil employees has ever been Native, and Natives have been more and more advanced to superior positions.

The acquiescence at least, if not the loyalty, of

the people is most desirable, because the land and the people are vast, while the European rulers are few and scattered. That such acquiescence practically exists is shown by the extraordinary smallness of the Army in comparison with the population. The Army including Europeans and Natives, in the British territories proper exclusive of Native States, does not exceed 220,000 men of all arms. If the total of the population be assumed at two hundred and thirty millions, exclusive of Native States, then the Army total would give one soldier to every thousand of inhabitants. This is a very low average rarely to be paralleled in any large country.

Civil and religious liberty is not professed in a fuller degree by any Western nation than by the people of India under British Rule. Never was it preserved under Native Rule as in the present time. Not only may every man worship according to his ancestral faith privately, but every section or party may conduct publicly rites, ceremonies, processions with such demonstration as they see fit, provided always that they do not thereby annoy the general population and do not come into conflict with any other sect. This proviso is, however, of importance because such conflicts have often broken out, and still do so, with a formidable violence and an animosity hardly conceivable by any one save those who have witnessed it. In such cases the British Government, without showing the slightest preference for either side, interposes impartially for the

preservation of order, employing such force as is necessary; and indeed so bad are the cases sometimes that considerable power has to be exerted. The assistance which a Hindu ruler would give to the Brahmanic faith or a Muhammadan ruler to the Moslem faith, in the shape of grants from the treasury or endowments in land, is not given to either by the British Government; except that all private endowments are religiously guarded, and some public endowments in the shape of the right to collect the land revenue in certain villages, made by kings and emperors, have, after verification of title, been allowed to continue. Otherwise the British scrupulously hold aloof from the Native religions; and merely preserve neutrality. This neutrality it holds to be quite consistent with its open profession for itself of Christianity. On the other hand the Government gives no support to its own religion, Christianity, either for propagating or sustaining it among the non-Christian or heathen nationalities; except that it maintains an ecclesiastical establishment of the Church of England and defrays the charges of other Protestant Ministers and of some Roman Catholic priests for the sake of its own servants and soldiers. In this conscientious abstention it differs from every Native ruler that has existed in the country.

Inhuman rites, and actions which, though done under religious sanction, would yet come within criminal jurisdiction, it has suppressed, and so far

has ultimately succeeded in carrying the best Native opinion with it. Otherwise it has been sedulously considerate to the customs, the forms, the prejudices, the caste distinction, among the Natives; except that it has never allowed such "distinctions to bar the access to its own service.

No man can be arrested or detained without process of law; the possible proceedings in cases of alleged treason or sedition are jealously restricted. Since 1836 there has been full liberty of the Press both European and Native, including the Native newspapers sometimes appearing in English but more numerous in the vernacular languages. The amplest freedom for discussing any subject whatever including even the conduct of the Government itself is conceded to the Native Press, and the fullest use is made of this concession. But in circumstances where the Native Press has been treasonable or seditious in its utterances, there have been laws passed to render the repressive jurisdiction more summary than it would be under the ordinary codes. There is but one instance in which the Executive can proceed without legal process, namely this, that if a person be declared dangerous to British dominion, he may be deported by a warrant of the Governor-General, and of him alone.

It is this non-intervention in matters purely indigenous, this observance of customs and of everything time-honoured, this religious neutrality, this even and equitable administration of the law to all

alike, this assurance of personal freedom in everything reasonable, that help to produce the popular acquiescence in British Rule, alien though it be, which has been just mentioned.

This happy result is also brought about by the peace which is maintained in a manner never known for some centuries, the sense of security, protection, and personal safety, the material benefits from public works and improvements, and the light taxation.

By public education, by precept and example of every sort, the British Government has since the middle of the century striven to impart to the Indians the ideas of Western civilisation, and all the knowledge moral and physical which has made the Western nations what they are. It has never shown the slightest fear as to what effect this might have on the disposition of the Natives towards foreign Rule. Performing its enlightened duty, and trusting to Providence, it has rejected any thought of leaving the Indians in ignorance in order to keep them loyal.

There is the same spirit of equity in the financial relations between Britain and India. On the one hand India pays nothing whatever in the shape of tribute to Britain. There are indeed Native Indian critics who erroneously affirm that she does, but then they misunderstand the circumstances of political economy. They merely notice the undoubted fact that India through her foreign Govern-

ment on the spot remits a great sum annually to Britain, but that is either for value received or for service rendered. It largely consists of interest on capital raised in England to be laid out in India for her permanent benefit, that is, in railways and canals of irrigation. It consists to some extent in interest on debt contracted in England for war waged for the safety and pacification of India, as for instance the war of the Mutinies. It is for the cost of machinery and material in England relating to works beneficial to India. It arises partly from payments in pensions of many kinds payable in England to persons who have spent their active years and often shed their blood in the service of India. There are also some allowances agreed upon between the Governments in England and India for the training of European recruits for Indian service. The amount of all these payments is adjusted in gold, and consequently the sum which India must provide in silver, the only currency she now has, is becoming enormous at the relative value now existing between gold and silver, and has in recent years been a grievous burden on her finances. Still it is not, in any proper sense of the term, a tribute.

On the one hand while India gives nothing to Britain, yet on the other hand she receives nothing from Britain, and in that pecuniary sense she costs Britain nothing. In the fullest sense of the phrase she pays her own way. The salary and allowances of every European, from the Viceroy

downwards, employed in her service are paid by her. The charges of the European troops on her establishment are defrayed by her. Even the expense incurred in London on her account, as for example that of the India Office, or in other words the Department of the Secretary of State for India, is charged to her. She contributes a fixed sum annually to the Admiralty in London towards the cost of the large naval squadron maintained in Indian waters. Thus the financial relations between Britain and India are quite even and equitable, without any undue favour either on one side or the other.

The advantages to India from the British connection are so all-pervading and so manifest that they need not be called to mind. The advantages to Britain for the Indian connection are also great, and are growing greater year by year, in the importation of Indian raw produce, in the Indian market for British manufactures, in the field for the employment of British capital, in the manifold occupations official and non-official afforded to British persons. Notwithstanding this, Britain grants no pecuniary aid to India, and perhaps some thinkers might at first sight consider that she ought to do so. Against any such idea it may be urged that the Eastern Empire is one of the causes which compel Britain to keep a supreme Navy at a cost which to any other nation would be overwhelming. In reference to this Britain demands no contribution from India, though Indian interests are vitally

concerned therein. Again although India does pay for the European troops serving within her limits, some seventy-five thousand Officers and men, yet the maintenance of so large a force as that, several thousand miles off from home across the seas, is a severe tax on the military resources of the British Isles, so severe indeed that no military Power in the world except the British could possibly bear it.

Such are the principles publicly professed and acted on by the British Rulers, so far as circumstances admit of the practice being made conformable to the profession. In all countries there will be a difference between profession and practice. In few countries will that difference be found less than in India, and for this particular reason: so far as the Government can work through itself, its European Officers, and the best of its Natives, all goes as well as possible, humanly speaking. But it has for the most part to work through Native Indian agency, which in the early part of the century was deeply stained with all the faults incident to long protracted revolution, and was seldom if ever trustworthy. Even then the benefit from the change of Rulers was great. If the head, the chief, the principal, be honest, he will avail much, even though his subordinate be otherwise; and the latter state will be much better than the former when chiefs and subordinates were all dishonest together in their several degrees. But however good the chief may be, he cannot attain success in practice if agents simi-

lar to himself are not forthcoming. And this is what actually befel the British administrators in the early part of the century. The improvement in the Native agency has subsequently been great, gradual indeed at first but quicker and quicker in each decade.

The guiding principles of British rule having thus been summarised, it remains to follow them further in the principal headings of administration. This will be done in the following Chapters, under the heads of legislation, law and justice, the landed interests, trade and communications, municipal reform, education and Christianity, revenue and finance, and in conclusion, the state of India in 1899.

Civil law had originally a sacred origin, and had been maintained from the beginning of their respective nationalities in India. They related to marriage, inheritance, division of ancestral assets, the property of women, and many other concerns of social and domestic life. For the better interpretation of these laws, Hindu and Moslem officers were attached to the Courts, to whom points of law might be referred, while the facts were decided by the Courts themselves. In the Criminal Department the Muhammadan law was followed, with such modifications only as might be prescribed by the Company's Regulations. Thus the plan of judicial administration was very considerate towards the Native subjects of the Company, and was reasonably calculated to be popular with them.

Such was the condition of Law and Justice, which existed in the Company's territories at the beginning of the nineteenth century, and which was extended to new territories subsequently added immediately after their conquest or annexation. So it continued till 1833, when changes supervened.

In that year the Government in England decided that, besides the judicial system already established, a body of substantive law, criminal and civil, should be framed. A high commission for this purpose was appointed to sit in India, and a law-member was added to the Council of the Governor-General, in the person of the famous Mr. (afterwards Lord) Macaulay. The first fruit of this was the prepara-

tion of the well known Penal Code, which, after long consideration, was passed into law. In 1858 a Legislative Council was formally constituted in India, consisting entirely of servants of the Government. In place of this, during 1861, one supreme legislature for all India and several legislatures of secondary rank for certain divisions of the Empire, were established. These consisted partly of Government servants, and partly of non-official gentlemen, European and Native, nominated by the Government. The supreme legislature was the Council of the Governor-General, regulating for all matters which may affect the Empire at large and for all provinces which had not secondary legislatures of their own. Such secondary legislatures were in the first instance granted to the Governments of Madras and Bombay and to the Provincial Government of Bengal. They have been granted also to other Provinces of the Empire from time to time.

In 1861 a Commission was appointed in England to prepare drafts of law for the assistance of the Legislature in India. It consisted of Judges and Jurists of the highest position and authority. Then it prepared drafts of several comprehensive Bills such as the Civil Procedure, the Criminal Procedure, the Law of Contracts and of Evidence, and of other Bills. These with some modifications, and after full local consideration, were subsequently passed into law by the Legislature in India. On the whole, the legislation of India, which has touched numerous

branches besides those mentioned above, may be described as far-reaching and fully sufficient. It may claim a high degree of excellence according to the standards of advanced nations. It has been the joint work of English lawyers, and Anglo-Indian administrators, non-official Europeans residing in India, and Natives chosen for character and intelligence. The Hindu and Muhammadan codes of law, having some antiquity and a sacred sanction, are still observed in all matters relating to marriage, inheritance, adoption and other matters purely social in the life of the Indian nationalities.

For the administration of laws thus enacted the judicial system has been rendered uniform for almost the whole Empire.

To ensure unity in the supervision of Civil Justice, both in the old Presidency Towns (Calcutta, Madras and Bombay) and in the interior of the country, the old Supreme Courts appointed by the Crown and the Central (or "Sudder") Courts of the East India Company were abolished and formed into the existing High Courts, in which the Chief Justices and some of the judges are English barristers, while the other Judges are members of the European judicial service of India, or are Natives selected for status and capacity. In the interior of the country the object has been, first, to place courts so as to be within a few miles of the homes of the people, next, to render the proceedings inexpensive to the suitors, and the decisions speedy.

The European Judges have naturally enjoyed always the highest repute. The Native Judges, even up to the middle of the century, were not always highly esteemed by their own countrymen, nor were their Courts generally popular. But as their education, status, emoluments and prospects have been improved, so has their popularity and trustworthiness increased. The efforts which the British Government has made in the above respects have been rewarded fairly well by results.

The Natives are, as a people, litigious; indeed many of them seem to find in litigation under a settled rule that excitement which, under the old unsettled rule, they would have found in contests of another kind. The annual number of civil suits has been rising year by year all through the last half century; for example, in 1879 it stood at 1,500,000, in 1887 at 1,970,000, in 1896 at 2,200,000, showing that litigation increases together with the population. The value of the property litigated increases still faster. In 1879 it was stated at 14 millions sterling, in 1887 at 20 millions, and in 1896 at 30½ millions. These statistics throw light on the questions which have been sometimes debated as to whether there is wealth in the country and whether it is growing.

The fact that the acts of the Government itself and of the Officers may be submitted to the Courts of Justice, and that the State may be sued by any of its subjects in its own Courts, has an impressive effect on the Native mind as showing that all persons and corporations are equal before the law.

For the prevention of fraud, forgery or the fraudulent alteration of documents, it is essential to establish a system of public transfers by means of registration. Ample provision for this has been made by the executive, and that has been based upon legislation.

A Native Bar has long existed, with credit, influence and emolument, and has grown into an important profession. Its practice has been mainly in the vernacular, and its pleadings have generally been in one or other of the Indian languages. But the number of Native barristers who plead in English will increase.

In respect to crime, the penal or criminal Code already mentioned has been for some time in full force throughout the Empire. It was declared by Sir James Fitzjames Stephen, a great English Judge and Jurist, to be the most complete system of criminal law in the world. It has added renown even to the illustrious name of Macaulay. It is supported by an equally excellent criminal procedure.

The rise and spread of Thagi (or Thuggee) was a lowering feature in the beginning of the century. The crime was in its perpetration simple, as it consisted in the waylaying and strangling of travellers and foot-passengers in lonely places for the sake of their money or valuables. Its significance arose from the combination of gangs operating in many parts of the country, and with inter-communication, obeying leaders, swearing in of members, using

signals and watchwords, and animated by horrid superstition. By organised effort the Government had extirpated it in Central India, its original *habitat*, before the first half of the century was over. But after the annexation of the Panjab it was found to exist there also, and in that quarter it was finally extinguished. The Hindu rite of widow-burning would be treated as falling under the criminal law, and therefore has never been practised under British Rule. The same principle has always been applied to human sacrifices, but they were not stopped so immediately, being practised amidst hills and forests remote from the eye of authority. During the first half of the century gang robbery, with some considerable organisation and with armed violence, existed in most Provinces, though checked more and more from time to time. During the latter half it has been put down almost entirely. Female infanticide among proud clans who find it difficult to provide for daughters, has certainly existed, and though no effort is spared for its suppression, the facilities for secrecy are so great that certainty regarding such suppression is unattainable. The murders largely arise from conjugal infidelity and outraged honour. The bloody affrays that used to spring from disputes about boundaries of land have since the middle of the century ceased because of the complete settlement of all affairs relating to land. Setting aside the crimes which were produced by the protracted troubles to which British Rule succeeded,

and which were gradually stopped as that Rule became established, the Indians are fairly well conducted. Though not free from, they are not addicted to, intemperance. The prevailing habits of temperance conduce to quiet behaviour.

Trial by jury, as practised in Britain, is an exotic plant which the British have not yet succeeded in acclimatising among the Indians. For Europeans accused of crime it is in vogue under the same conditions as in their native land.

Up to the middle of the nineteenth century the Police administration was not among the successful parts of British Rule. In the early part of the century stories strange, melancholy, even terrible sometimes, were, with some authenticity, related of it. But critics forgot that civilised and alien rulers cannot for a long time succeed in reducing to order a department like this, where all the evils of long-continued and revolutionary disturbance are sure to be peculiarly rife and rampant. The rulers must work through a native agency surely tainted with tyranny and corruption, and a generation must elapse before such taint could be got rid of. After some lapse of time, however, the original organisation had failed to answer expectation, so in the years of 1861 and 1862 a new organisation was introduced under the control of European Officers, and since then a marked amelioration has been perceptible. The Police force thus organised consists of 155,000*

* For this and any other statement of the most recent sta-

men; and this number has hardly risen at all during the last two decades, though the population has sensibly increased.

Under Native Rule incarceration was not largely adopted, and the dungeons which existed were not worthy to be called prisons. Thus at the beginning of British Rule in the early part of the century prisons had everywhere to be improvised, and for some time continued to be very defective. But midway in the century inspectors of prisons, generally medical men, were appointed, and they laboured towards the same ends as those sought for by prison reformers in Britain. In the district prisons all things included in modern sanitation were introduced. Central prisons after the best known models were constructed. Prison labour was developed into organised industries within jail precincts, whereby many fine and useful fabrics were turned out. Even with all this, however, the health of Native prisoners, though much better than it used to be, is never quite satisfactory, as imprisonment has upon their nerve-system an effect more depressing than would generally be anticipated by Europeans. There are in all 494 jails, large and small, with 476,000 prisoners.

The prisoners sentenced for long terms or for life

tistics the authority is the "Statistical Abstract," published by Government in 1898. The numbers of the police here given are exclusive of the old Village Watchmen who are still retained.

The agricultural interest had for a long time been the chief sufferer in the political troubles. It had been sorely vexed, harried, harassed, ravaged; and was but too often in the very depths of depression. The first duty of the East India Company's Officers was to see that the husbandman sowed in safety and reaped in peace. The next thing was to assess the land revenue which had ever proved to be the mainstay of the Treasury. This was done at once in a rough and ready but still a moderate and considerate manner. A certain portion of the standing crop was taken, leaving enough to the cultivator to repay him the cost of cultivation and to afford him a livelihood. This was called "collection in kind," a plan manifestly open to waste and to divers abuses. It was superseded by a better plan of money payments as soon as might be conveniently practicable. The persons actually found in possession who were to pay it, as a condition of holding the lands, were provisionally registered, and the amount to be paid in cash was fixed for a short term of years, so as to give them some security of tenure to begin with. But no further enquiry into the rights and interests in land was attempted. These arrangements were called "summary settlements;" and under them the land revenue, then amounting to over twenty million sterling annually (or twenty crores of rupees according to the then relation between gold and silver) was collected and the affairs, of all affairs the most vital, to the great mass of the people, in the young Em-

pire were conducted for the first three decades of the nineteenth century, that is, till about 1830. This was indeed a humble beginning, though it was much better than anything that had been known for at least two centuries previously. At first the British Government had not time for doing more, inasmuch as Providence had entrusted to it within a few years many provinces in a state of much disorder, and as it had to evolve order out of chaos in many different directions simultaneously. In 1822 the first step was seriously made for the better settlement of landed tenures in northern India by a Regulation which, though superseded by superior arrangements subsequently, still remains as a monument of wisdom in right and equity, for the time at which it was framed.

After 1830 a new era began in this great department, the Empire being in a fair way of consolidation, and wars having ceased. A policy was settled whereby the lands were to be fully surveyed, the rights and interests therein of all kinds were to be registered, and the land revenue due therefrom was to be assessed on favourable conditions for long terms of years. This gigantic task was to be undertaken for every province in the Empire, except Bengal, Behar, and Benares, which being under a Permanent Settlement, as will be explained, were left out. The experiment of the permanent or perpetual settlement of the land revenue demand in those provinces was not to be tried elsewhere. With

this large exception, the task was virtually completed with the twenty years following, that is, by about 1850. As other Provinces were added, as the Panjab, Oudh, Nagpore, Burma and other districts, the same policy was extended to them. For this enormous operation the Trigonometrical and Topographical Surveys already undertaken furnished a complete basis. But to these were added Revenue Surveys, which ended in mapping out every field. The extreme magnitude of this operation will hardly be understood unless the mighty proportions and dimensions of the Empire be remembered. The land revenue was assessed for terms of twenty or thirty years, according to localities, either with the individual holder separately, or with the holders in a parish collectively (styled in literature "village communities,") on the understanding that they should divide the burden among themselves. Hand in hand with all this was the determination of all rights and interests in the lands, whether superior, subordinate or collateral. This was done judicially once for all, and the results embodied in an official registration not only for every parish, but for every field and for every person. This registration thus founded has been kept up year by year, with every succession, every change in the *personnel* of tenure of right of property, up to the present time. The register for every parish is in the hands of the Village Accountant, a hereditary official from ancient times. But a copy is transmitted yearly to

the headquarters of the District Officer. When the difficulties are remembered that have in some of the most advanced countries attended the official and public registration of landed tenures and titles, it seems wonderful that the Indian Government should, by making a *tabula rasa* for itself, have in the course of twenty years settled all these problems conclusively and completely for the whole Empire, except Bengal, Behar, and Benares, which had been previously settled in another way. No measure ever undertaken by the British Government has gone so strongly to the very root of national prosperity as this. In justice to the East India Company it must be said that this all-pervading and beneficent measure was conceived, undertaken and executed in the main by them and their Officers, before the handing over of their great charge to the Crown. The policy was fully accepted by the Crown, and during the latter half of the nineteenth century has been scrupulously carried out.

Thus the property, the tenant rights, the occupancy tenures, in land have been secured by surveys, by judicial determination, by public registration. These had existed from ancient times, but had been often obscured, almost effaced or trodden under the iron heel, as already explained in Chapter II. Now they were made as strong and clear as monuments of granite. But such things would be more or less valueless unless the land revenue had been so moderately assessed as to give the men in possession

a good margin of profit after defrayal of expenses for husbandry, a fair share of the gross produce so as to afford a comfortable livelihood. The process whereby taxation may be rendered confiscatory is manifest. When the exactions, direct and indirect, amounted to nearly half the gross produce, as was probably the case in some places at the worst times, then with this rackrent and oppression, the man in possession struggled on with the barest pittance from his industry, and his property, if such it could be called, was worth nothing. If the amount were one-third, he would still be poor and depressed though able, so to speak, to keep his head above water. If it were one-fourth, as was commonly the case immediately after British rule, or better still one-fifth, then he could live respectably and his property would be worth something. But now when under the settlements just described it ranges from four to eight per cent. only, fixed in money for long terms, the property is valuable. It is a good freehold, subject to no condition save that of paying the land revenue, with full liberty to sell, to transfer, to mortgage. It has an average annual income and its selling value is reckoned at many years of such income. Since the completion of the Settlements further steps have been taken to organise the Regulation, and it is found that seventy millions in Rs. X. (or tens of rupees) worth of property in lands and houses is thus transferred yearly.* This shows how entirely

* See Statistical Reports published by Government of India, 1896.

the value of the property is appreciated by the people and how easily the system works.

As already seen, Bengal and Behar are under landlords (styled Zemindars) and in all Provinces territorial chiefs are found, especially in Oudh (where they are styled Talukdars). Elsewhere India may be described as a land of peasant proprietors. In all parts there are many cultivators or tenants with rights of several sorts. Even in Bengal and Behar such rights have grown up, and are now recognised by law. In no place are any rights existing without legal protection. In one part only has any difficulty arisen, namely the Bombay Decan, where the peasant proprietors, finding their property to be a security acceptable to money lenders, lived beyond their means and fell into debt to an embarrassing extent.

In no respect is the superiority of British over Native Rule more unmistakable than in the management of landed affairs during the nineteenth century. The Land Settlements of that century will doubtless serve as an imperishable memento in the centuries to come.

Nevertheless there is an abiding enemy ever threatening the success of this immense achievement, and that is Famine. India depends on the rainfall from the vapour-masses, periodically coming from the seas and oceans, and called Monsoons. These frequently fail more or less, and according to the degree of failure is the mildness or the intensity of

drought. If the drought be intense or widespread, famine occurs, mainly among the agricultural classes. Such famines have happened in all centuries, though naturally they have been recorded and observed more carefully in the nineteenth century than in any other. Towards the end of the eighteenth century there was dreadful distress from this cause on several occasions, notably in Bengal about the year 1770. From 1800 to 1872 drought with distress more or less approaching to famine occurred in thirty-three different years; affecting not of course the whole Empire but parts of it here and there. This frequency of recurrence has served as a warning to the Government. Up to this time the provincial authorities dealt with the distresses as best they could with assistance from the Central Government. In 1874 a still graver case occurred in Behar and parts of Bengal, and the Government, under the direction of Lord Northbrook, then Governor-General, accepted the responsibility of applying all its resources, financial and administrative, to saving of life from famine. This was effected with entire success, and at great cost. In 1877 a similar calamity befell Southern and Western India. The same measures were adopted and at equal cost, though the success was not quite so full, because epidemic sickness supervened upon famine. A still more widespread famine occurred in Northern, Western and Southern India in 1896-7. The calamity was encountered in the same manner and with a

large degree of success on the whole. The gigantic efforts put forth on these really awful occasions by the Foreign rulers to save their people, must have made an indelible impression on the mind of the Natives.

These misfortunes cannot be averted by any system of irrigation which could conceivably be invented or adopted. But some protection against them can be afforded by works for irrigation. Under Native Rule these works usually consisted of large tanks; in Southern India the tanks are reckoned at sixty thousand; in Central India they are so large as to be artificial lakes. In Northern India there were some canals for special purposes rather than for the general use of agriculture. In the lower part of the Panjab and in Sind there were rough works called "inundation canals," which just caught the river water in the flood season. Otherwise there were no great irrigation works under Native Rule.

It was reserved for the British Government about the year 1840 and the subsequent years to undertake such works. The Ganges emerging from the Himalayas was taken captive by engineering works of the most arduous character, and led into a canal with about 500 English miles of main channel and about 5,000 miles of lesser channels. Similar works were carried out for the rivers of the Panjab; and for the Sone an affluent of the Ganges in Behar. The two rivers mentioned in Chapter I. as rising in the Western Ghaut mountains and break-

CHAPTER X.

TRADE AND COMMUNICATIONS.

IN the beginning of the nineteenth century the communication by land, throughout the young Empire, was of a character entirely primitive. Road-making, in the modern sense of the term for Europe, had never been thought of by the Native rulers of India. Roads of sorts indeed existed, but they were nothing more than tracks broader or narrower, straighter or more sinuous, according to circumstances.

These conditions, however, were not in India so grievous as they would be in climes like that of northern Europe, where rain, light or heavy, is frequent at all seasons. The Indian roads, or tracks, were indeed impassable for four months in the year, from June to October, the rainy season. But that was universally provided for, and by common consent traffic by land was suspended. For the remaining eight months of the year the tracks with dry soil and generally rainless weather were passable enough for wheeled traffic, and were extensively used.

By water the communications were, and always had been, far better. In Northern India the Ganges and its great affluents were the arteries and

highways of commerce. In North-Eastern India, that is in the delta of the Ganges and the Brahmaputra, the boat traffic was magnificent, and the business became more active as the rivers rose in the flood season, that is from June to October. For Western and Southern India the principal trade was along the two lines of coast, one on the west, the other on the east. The coasting vessels were numerous and excellent craft; and here the service of communication by sea was very fine.

For many years the East India Company with its more pressing avocations had to be contented with the communications as it found them. They sufficed for the trading classes who had never known anything better. They allowed of the passage of gun-carriages and military stores during two-thirds of the year. So no marked improvement was attempted till about 1830, when, on the consolidation of the Empire, a change in this department, as in several other departments, set in.

A Grand Trunk Road was begun from Calcutta to Delhi through the Gangetic plain, a distance of about 1,400 miles. It was carried on, after the annexation of the Panjab to the Indus. From this a great branch ran from the Ganges near Allahabad to the Nerbudda Valley and on towards Bombay. From Bombay two similar roads ascended the Western Ghaut mountains by fine engineering works, one towards Central India, the other towards the plateaux of the Deccan on the way to Madras.

Then from Madras a road was taken towards the Southern Peninsula with a branch ascending the Nilgiri mountains. From these arteries were conducted veins of communications in many directions. These trunk lines were macadamised and bridged at all points, save the great rivers, like the Ganges, and these were some of the finest roads that have been seen anywhere save in the Roman and Napoleonic Empires. They are to be included among the achievements of the East India Company.

Scarcely were they completed when the era of Railways for India set in. The plans of the Railways were very much on the lines just described for the roads. The object was to connect the three Presidency Capitals, Calcutta, Madras and Bombay with each other; and to connect Bengal with the North-West frontier. Two sections had been opened before the Indian Mutiny broke out, one near Calcutta and one near Allahabad on the Ganges, and most useful they were at that crisis. After those events had subsided, the making of Railways advanced apace at the rate of many hundred miles a year. Besides the first lines already sketched, the northern districts have been connected with the Ganges, Calcutta with Assam in the Brahmaputra, the Panjab with the mouths of the Indus; a straight line from Bombay has been taken across the Continent via Nagpore to Calcutta. At the present time 21,000 miles are open to traffic; and the total rises by several hundreds every year. In this is included

the Burmese lines right up the Irawaddy Valley to Mandalay.

At first the Railways were constructed and managed by private Companies formed in England, on whose capital a minimum rate of interest at 5 per cent. was guaranteed by the Government of India; of these one was for the Bengal Presidency under the style of "The East India"; one for Madras, under that name; two for Bombay, named "the Great Indian Peninsula" and "the Bombay Baroda and Central India." The "East India" has since been purchased by the State; while the other companies still remain. The other lines are State Railways in the full sense of the term, and some few are "assisted." It is remarkable that some few, including about 2,000 miles, belong to the Native States, which found the capital and manage the lines.* The total amount expended on the Railways amounts to 251½ millions of Rs. X. (or tens of rupees), of which 50½ millions pertain to the Guaranteed Companies and 201 millions to the State, that is to the British Government. The capital was almost entirely raised in England. The lines pay on the whole about five per cent.

The Railways have added vastly to the military power of the Government. They have enormously promoted the exportation of raw produce conveyed from great distances, in the interior to the coast;

* See Reports of Moral and Material Progress of India, published in 1898.

and this has been especially the case with wheat, the exportation of which at low prices has affected the value in the markets of England. They have been used immensely by the Natives without reference to caste distinctions; and the passenger traffic is as large as could be expected from an Oriental population; but as yet far from being proportionate to what it would in any Western nation with white races.

The foreign ocean-borne commerce of India in the middle ages filled a space in the imagination of mankind. In recent times it has been one of the beacon lights to which all believers in the progress of the country will point with satisfaction. It binds Britain to her Eastern Empire with ties of mutual interest.

But at the beginning of the nineteenth century, and almost up to the middle of it, this trade was borne by the historic "East Indiamen" passing round the Cape of Good Hope, some of the finest, if not the very finest, sailing vessels known in the annals of the world's commerce. In their day they carried, besides their freight, the heroes and statesmen who built up kingdoms for Britain, and the despatches from London fraught with the destinies of many an Eastern nationality. They still exist, though reduced greatly in numbers and perhaps even in size. In poetic phrase it may be said that they have sailed away into darkness carrying their mighty record with them.

The importance of the sailing ships was first lessened soon after 1840 by the Peninsula and Oriental Steam Navigation Company, which has played a memorable part in the economic history of India, and which carried by the Overland route through Egypt and the Red Sea all the mails and the treasure, most of the passengers and some among the most portable and valuable articles of trade. Still however the mass of the trade, consisting of cheap and bulky articles, continued to pass by the sailing vessels round the Cape of Good Hope.

The produce of India sent to Britain was the main portion of the trade. The return traffic of British manufactures sent to India was not in those days at all so developed as it has since become. Consequently a strange phenomenon used to occur, namely this, that the sailing vessels often, perhaps even generally, arrived at the Indian ports without much mercantile cargo, but were freighted with rubble. Now this rubble consisted of excellent stone, chiefly, as was generally understood, from Norway; and the stone broken up would be used for macadamising the roads in Calcutta. This circumstance is just one of those landmarks which indicate the steps by which Indian commerce has advanced.

The next blow to the importance of the sailing vessels arose from the opening of the Suez Canal to maritime commerce in 1869, from the simultaneous development of steam navigation and from the special adaptation of steamers to the passage of

the Canal and the Red Sea. To the completion of the great change thus wrought, the establishment of Electric Telegraph lines between India and Europe largely contributed. Most of the trade between Europe and India is thus conducted. On the other hand steamers of a different build have in recent years been constructed to ply round the Cape of Good Hope and to carry much bulky traffic. The eyes of many thoughtful people are turned to this particular mode of communication as likely to prove an immense addition to the resources of Britain in the event of certain emergencies arising.

The old boat traffic in the mid-valley of the Ganges has been virtually destroyed, mainly by the abstraction of the water for irrigation, and has been much affected in the lower valley by the competition of the Railways. But it has been amazingly developed in the Eastern Bengal, that is in the valley of the Brahmaputra and its affluents. The rigging and build of the Native craft afford striking spectacles. The skill and presence of mind evinced by the Native watermen are remarkable, and at several points the collection of boats forms floating marts and cities.

The old coasting trade in Native craft is still maintained, but has in some degree been superseded by the steamers of the British India Steam Navigation Company which has played a considerable part in Indian commerce.

The history of Indian trade is somewhat intri-

cate and diversified, therefore nothing more than a summary can be attempted here. In the two centuries preceding the nineteenth century the only commercial rivals of the English were the Dutch, who really were traders. The Portuguese thought of proselytism and ambition more than trade; the French of ambition almost entirely, and but little of trade. However, by the opening of the nineteenth century the Dutch, the Portuguese, the French had all departed, from one cause or another, and left the commercial field, as all other fields in India, in the possession of the English alone. In 1800 the East India Company had a monopoly of the trade, and the amount thereof at that moment would be the basis from which to reckon the mighty increase which has since taken place. It is not easy to state this from any published returns to which reference could be made. According to Sir William Hunter,* about 1772 the annual sales at the India Office in London amounted to three millions sterling, and that affords some index to the trade. In the Custom House returns the totals used to be given for India and China together. On the whole the total for the trade of India alone by 1800 must have been over five millions sterling but less than ten millions. Soon after 1830, when the Company's monopoly was abolished, the total amounted to thirteen millions sterling annually. When the trade was thrown open to general enterprise this total grew fast and before 1840 had

* See *The Indian Empire*, p. 444.

risen to twenty-one millions annually. Then by 1899 it had mounted up to more than two hundred millions Rs. X.; in other words within sixty years, that is between 1839 and 1899, had multiplied tenfold. This may have been equalled or surpassed in the history of other commercial nations, though in all probability not often. At all events the ratio of increase will on all hands be acknowledged as very large, and as highly creditable to both the peoples concerned, the British and the Indian.

From a British, indeed from a European, point of view, it was and is still to be desired that India should send her staples of industry which consist of raw produce, to Britain or to Europe, and should receive in return the British or European staples which consist of manufactures. But this is just what India did not do fully for a long time, and what she has not done quite completely even yet, though she does it much better now than she used to do. One reason was this, that during the earlier part of the century British manufactures were not nearly so much developed as they afterwards became. Sir William Hunter states the case in a popular form for the five years ending 1879.* "India had more to sell to the world than she had to buy from it. During the five years, the staples which she exported exceeded by an average annually of over £21,000,000 (sterling) the merchandise which she imported. One-third of this balance she

* See *The Indian Empire*, p. 491.

received in cash, and she accumulated silver and gold at the rate of £7,000,000 per annum. With another third she paid interest . . . for the capital (raised in England) with which she had constructed the material framework of her industrial life. . . . With the remaining third . . . she paid the home charges of the Government to which she owes her peace and security." This explanation regarding the adjustment of the balance of the Indian trade is as accurate as it is popular. The nature of the home charges above mentioned has been set forth at the end of the previous Chapter VII. For the time before 1874 the then Finance Minister of India drew up an official statement of the balance of trade between India and foreign countries (then mainly represented by Britain) from 1835, when the trade was thrown open to the public, to 1871—a space of thirty-six years. The value of merchandise exported from India amounted to one thousand millions sterling; the value of merchandise imported into India to five hundred and eighty-three millions, showing an excess value of four hundred and seventeen millions in the exports. This truly was a vast balance to be adjusted. Such adjustment was shown to have been effected by a net import of treasure amounting to £275,000,000. The payments from India to England on Government account amounted to £113,000—for the home charges already mentioned. This reduced the balance to £41,000,000, which were to be

accounted for mainly by freight, that is payments due for maritime conveyance, and partly by private remittances. Thus the peculiar conditions of the Indian trade up to the last twenty years of the century, that is to 1880, may be understood. Before 1899 however they have become more normal, and so to speak more natural. Of the two hundred millions worth of annual trade, the imports into India nearly, though not quite, equal the exports from India. The totals fluctuate naturally, and during 1897 and parts of 1896 and of 1898 the exports were abnormally reduced owing to the famine then prevailing. For the two years preceding that event and the best yet known the exports from India were valued at 117 millions and 118½ millions. The highest annual value of imports into India annually have been 93 millions and 95 millions. Thus at the best there is still some balance to be adjusted of which the adjustment follows the lines already laid down.

In this trade, a new factor arose and is still growing. Formerly the trade of India was almost entirely with the British Isles and with China. Latterly this proportion has been modified, and in round numbers it may be said that about 60 per cent. of the Indian trade is with the British Isles and 40 per cent. with the rest of the world. It is remarkable that in recent years America has been largely entering into this trade.

The exports of British goods to India are valued

in England at thirty millions sterling annually, an amount greater than that of such exports to any other country. Among these exports, cotton goods hold the first place, but iron and other metals, plant and machinery are also conspicuous. The amount of British money laid out in India has been reckoned at 600 millions sterling, including the Indian national debt, the outlay on railways and canals of irrigation and the sums invested in private enterprises by Europeans. The interest annually of this great sum goes mostly to the British Isles. Of the shipping engaged in the Indian trade about fifteen-sixteenths are under the British flag. Nearly $3\frac{1}{2}$ millions of tons of British shipping are thus employed, being equal to one-third of the British shipping engaged throughout the globe. Thus in various ways India is one of the best customers that Britain has in the world.

Of the exports from India to other countries valued at 93 millions for 1898, according to the *Statesman's Yearbook*, 25 millions consisted of articles of food and drink, 10 millions of chemicals and drugs, and 37 millions of raw materials. The articles of food were rice, wheat and seeds, and the fact that India, despite her teeming population, could spare, and chose to send away for her own advantage, this vast quantity of edible produce, shows how in ordinary years she grows more than enough sustenance for her people. The production of tea in India with British capital and supervision has become a

noteworthy circumstance. Up to the middle of the century India had hardly any tea and China had a virtual monopoly. Nowadays India quite rivals China as a tea-producer, and has in a prevailing degree the command of the British market. The raw material above mentioned includes mainly the fibres, cotton, jute, hemp and hides with horns.

The European enterprises consist of tea plantations on a large scale amidst the mountain valleys on the north-eastern border of India, of the cotton factories chiefly in Bombay, of the jute factories at Calcutta, of some coal mines capable of indefinite development, and of iron mines perhaps in their infancy. There is still existing a goodly part of the old indigo industry producing the best of dyes.

In connection with the subject of this Chapter, some mention must be made of the Post Office and the Electric Telegraph.

During the first half of the nineteenth century the Post Office in India was arranged on the same principles as that of the British Isles, and had its prevailing faults, namely variable charges according to distance, uncertainty in the minds of correspondents as to what the postal charges would be, the only certainty being that the cost would be high even for the well-to-do and almost prohibitory for the poor. But shortly before 1850 a uniform charge of one anna (one sixteenth of a rupee) was fixed for a letter of a specified weight for any distance throughout India. Thus the anna postage (one sixteenth of a

rupee) exactly resembled in principle the penny postage of the British. This led to the substitution to a large extent of the public post for the various modes of private transmission of letters then in vogue among the Natives. In 1856 just before the outbreak of the Mutinies the Post Offices in India hardly exceeded 750. By 1898 the number had risen to 26,900. The annual number of letters and despatches is nowadays about 500 millions. This number is absolutely large and shows a vast increase. But it is relatively small, as will be seen from the fact that the number of letters in the British Isles annually is 2,000 millions for a population about one-eighth that of India.*

Very soon after 1850 the Electric Telegraph was introduced into India; it has now ramified all over the Empire, and transmits over five millions of paid messages in a year. This number, though evincing much progress, is yet small relatively, as will be seen from the fact that the corresponding number for the British Isles amounts to 88 millions. Since 1865 there has been telegraph communication between India and England by two routes, one submarine by the Red Sea and Egypt, the other by Persia and so through south-eastern Europe.

* See *Statesman's Yearbook*, 1899.

CHAPTER XI.

MUNICIPAL REFORM.

THE municipal idea, and the municipality as an institution, are prominent in British rule towards the end of the nineteenth century. They had not such prominence in the early part of the century and they never had it under Native rule during previous centuries. But it would be incorrect to suppose that they had no place at all in Native thought and practice. Certainly there is no name more time-honoured, more proverbial, more popular in India than that of Panchâyat or Panch. This represents an institution existing from time immemorial both in town and country. Now the Panchâyat, called for the sake of brevity Panch, is exactly what in English would be termed a local committee. As the name implies the number of the members must originally have been five; but like the committees of other countries, it always had the power of adding to its numbers. The Panch then in all ages was wont to settle many things in the villages and was always more or less effectively operative. Whether it was equally operative in the towns may be doubted. But it always existed there also, though in a lesser degree. It thus familiarised the Native mind with

the notion of management of affairs through local committees. It is the germ of that which has grown into numerous municipalities scattered throughout the Empire.

During the early part of the century the overworked British Officers were doubtless obliged to leave the Panch Committees in the towns and other places to conduct local improvements as they best could under whatever system might be practicable. At the British stations, each one of which was a small European settlement, with the Public Officers in every District, there were formed Local Committees from the first to manage the roads in the neighbourhood. By degrees their work was extended to the roads, then quite primitive, in the whole district. This procedure, if such it might be called, may have lasted till about 1840—and in the absence of fixed system, it may be surprising on a retrospect to find how much was done by the improving zeal natural to British people for beautifying, by arboriculture and the like, the stations where they resided, and for adding something of amenity to the Native cities which were always in this vicinity.

After 1840 this work became more and more systematised. The organisation of the Local Committees was improved and some road cesses began to be levied. In the towns and cities especially the British Officers began to undertake drainage and sanitation, to open out streets, to clear open spaces, to pave the roadways, to enlist the aid of the towns-

people in improving the appearance of the places where they lived. Year by year this procedure was developed everywhere up to the middle of the century.

Then the lead was taken, as it ought to be, by the three Presidency Capitals, Calcutta, Madras and Bombay. Municipal Corporations were constituted by law, the elective system was introduced with as much success as could be expected in communities where the principle was new, and local taxation was raised by rates on rateable property as is done in Europe. Power was also taken to raise loans in the market on the security of the rates. From that time to the present the results in all three capitals have been remarkable. Drainage systems of the most extensive character were carried out, notwithstanding the special difficulties from the level area at each of the Capitals which afforded no natural fall in the ground. In each case much success was attained, though frequent alterations have been found necessary. Far from decisive success was secured in respect of the water-supply which was originally wanting both in purity and in sufficiency. For Calcutta the water was pumped up with engines from the river Hooghly into filtering beds, and thence conducted by pipes over a length of fourteen miles to the distributing machinery in the city. For Bombay the water is stored in artificial lakes, some in wooded hills and one at the foot of a mountain range many miles distant. For Madras the

water comes from a lake formed in a low natural basin with a dyke of remarkable length, breadth and solidity. For these several works the dimensions are magnificent according to any standard in the most advanced country. Works of the same kind, though less in degree, have been executed at all towns of any size throughout the Empire, almost without exception. Such works as these in their vast aggregate form a monument of British Rule during the latter half of the nineteenth century as evincing real care for the health of the people. By such means cholera, which was once endemic, has been rendered sporadic and occasional, pests of mosquitos have been prevented and many diseases mitigated. Artificial lakes for irrigation have always been known in India, as has been shown in a previous Chapter. But the formation of them for the supply of drinking water and for sanitation in cities and towns is a characteristic feature of British Rule.

The development of municipal life in the Empire is one of the hopeful signs which have become visible during the last two decades of the century. The case is put fully in the last "Moral and material progress Report," published in 1898 by the Government.

"Throughout India the cities and large towns manage their own local affairs, through the agency of Commissioners or Committees appointed from among the citizens. The municipal bodies exist,

raise funds, and exercise powers under enactments which provide separately for the special requirements of each province, and of the three presidency capitals, Bombay, Calcutta, and Madras. In most places the majority of the Commissioners or Committees are elected by the townsfolk under legal rules, but in every town some, and in a few minor towns all the members, are appointed by the Government. In almost every municipal body one or more Government officials sit as members; the number of Indian and non-official members, however, everywhere exceeds the number of Europeans and officials. The municipal bodies are subject to the control of the Government in so far that no new tax can be imposed, no loan can be raised, no work costing more than a prescribed sum can be undertaken, and no serious departure from the sanctioned budget for the year can be made, without the previous sanction of the Government; and no rules or by-laws can be enforced without similar sanction and full publication.

“The sources of municipal revenue are, mainly:—

House tax.

Tax on rent.

Octroi duties.

Bazaar or market rents.

Carriage tax.

Water rates.

Conservancy rates.

Rents of public lands and properties.

Public gardens and parks.

“The objects on which Municipal funds can be spent are mainly water supply, hospital and dispensary, streets and roads, vaccination, drainage, sanitation and education. Municipalities do more for the benefit of their citizens under these heads than was done before by Government officers; and the Commissioners or Committees generally evince diligence and public spirit in the performance of their honorary duties.”

This statement indicates a happy progress to those who remember what these places used to be in the middle of the century. But further as a new phase of municipal existence a network of District and Local Boards has been spread nearly over the whole Empire within the last fifteen years. A brief description of these in the above mentioned Progress Report in 1898, may be here quoted.

“The constitution of District Boards with precise powers and responsibilities under the law took place more recently than the creation of municipalities; but in most provinces district committees had for many years given assistance or exercised control in the administration of local roads, local hospitals, and local schools. In all the more advanced provinces District Boards are now constituted under different enactments. In Madras, the Boards have the power of proposing local taxation, and in Bengal they are empowered to decide at what rate within the legal maximum, the road cess shall be levied in

each district; but for the most part the District Boards do not possess powers of taxation; they administer funds, or the yield of specific imposts, made over to them for expenditure on roads, schools, hospitals and sanitation, within their jurisdiction. In most provinces the District Boards delegate much of their detailed work to sub-divisional, or minor boards, which are constituted under the law, and are responsible for sub-divisions or parts of a district."

The magnitude of the work done by these institutions, which constitutes one of the first attempts under the British Rule to introduce self-government into India may be seen thus. The total number of organised municipalities (generally by legislation) in the Empire was 757 in 1898, the townspeople affected by this operation were sixteen millions, their annual receipts amounted to $4\frac{1}{2}$ millions (Rs. X.) and their expenditure nearly equalled that sum. In the latter were included 410,000 (Rs. X.) which shows that their debt incurred on the security of the rates must be standing at 10 or 12 millions. Of Local and District Boards there are 1,066 with 16,336 Members of whom upwards of 6,000 are elected and the remainder nominated. The funds at their disposal for the year 1896 amounted to $3\frac{3}{4}$ millions (Rs. X.).

Such is the beginning of local self-government by the Indians under British Rule, and it will assuredly grow from decade to decade.

The custody of the principal harbours, and the

administration of the affairs of the port and the shore are placed by law in the hands of Port Commissioners, who are generally appointed by the Government. Thus there are constituted Port Trusts for the five main harbours or Ports, Calcutta, Bombay, Kurrachi, near the mouth of the Indus, Rangoon in Burma, at the mouth of the Irawaddy, and Madras, formerly an open roadstead for which an artificial harbour has recently been formed by constructing a pier. The income from port dues and other receipts stands at upwards of a million (Rs. X.) annually. The total value of the trade of these five ports may be stated at 175 millions (Rs. X.) annually. Formerly Bombay was equal to, if not ahead of, Calcutta; but of late years Calcutta has been taking the lead, and the proud position of Queen of all eastern seas will have been probably secured to her by the recent misfortunes of Bombay from pestilence and famine.

There are several Hospitals and Charitable dispensaries in each of the 250 large administrative districts into which British India is divided as already seen in Chapter V. Of these useful institutions there will now be about 1,300. They receive perhaps half a million of indoor patients in a year and afford out-door relief to many millions. Despite any prejudices which they might be supposed to have, the Natives appear to confide in, and to highly prize, European advice and medicine. Of European surgery they naturally have the highest opinion, and have

often had cogent reasons for being grateful to it. The opening of these Dispensaries on the remote Frontiers among wild tribes, and the kindly help thus afforded, has always been found to have a good effect politically. Further, these institutions illustrate Western science and charity, while affording a wide scope for Native medical practitioners among their own countrymen.

Vaccination has constantly been preached from the early part of the century, and in particular districts or localities where it can be made nearly universal, the effects have been so beneficial, that they have caused grateful amazement among the suffering Natives. Practically no objections to the measure have been raised among the Native community. Inasmuch as with all their efforts the authorities have not succeeded in making it universal in every locality throughout the Empire, smallpox still exists, though vastly less than in former times. Epidemics of cholera have been greatly reduced by the sanitary measures of the time, though occasional cases occurring almost everywhere prove the need of ceaseless vigilance. The fell disease having given terrific warning in places where vast multitudes had been gathered together for several days consecutively, the strictest discipline has been authoritatively insisted on throughout all the great pilgrimages which the Hindus attend in their tens, even hundreds of thousands. At Bombay there occurred a most severe kind of fever, the researches into which caused one

of the first revelations of infinitesimally minute organisms in the blood. Apart from the preventable and in some sense intelligible diseases, there have been some long-protracted outbreaks of which the origin and the remedy prove undiscoverable and which baffle all theories of causation. Such was the "Dengue" fever, of ominous memory, where a fine population, in a part of Bengal, wasted tediously away for several years. Such is the bubonic plague, which visited India for the first time in 1897, after the widespread famine, which desolated many localities temporarily, which attacked Bombay and despite all sanitary precautions that science could devise and authority could execute, still clings to that city, and not only decimates the population by mortality, but also by panic and dispersion of inhabitants inflicts on industry such injuries as can hardly be repaired in this generation.

Though the population fast increases, as early marriage is well-nigh universal, and though an infinity of good is done, by clearance of rank vegetation, by drainage of the ground, by purification of water supply, and by sanitation of every kind, in confirming the strength of the people and prolonging their lives, still the public health in India would hardly be considered good according to the standard prevailing in Europe or in any region inhabited by white races. The Indian death-rate varies much in different districts and in different years. In a good district and in a good year it may range from 22 to 25

per thousand; where the conditions and the times are less favourable, then from 25 to 29; and not infrequently it may rise above 30, while it rarely falls to 20 or to anything below that.*

The measures adopted for forming a medical profession among the Natives, being of an educational character, will be mentioned in a subsequent Chapter.

* See Indian Statistics, published by Government in 1898.

CHAPTER XII.

EDUCATION AND CHRISTIANITY.

EDUCATIONAL darkness did indeed brood over the land in the beginning of the nineteenth century. This was partly owing to the protracted troubles which had been afflicting the country. But it is by no means to be inferred therefrom that education was unknown in India, though the idea of what is now known as Public Instruction was hardly realised under Native rule. The systematic education was really religious. For Hindus it was conducted within the precincts of the temples by professors termed Pandits, and in the Sanskrit, a dead language used for sacred purposes, but which afforded the same advantage for learning the vernacular that Latin affords for learning English. In reference to the thousands of temples in the country, the special instruction thus conveyed must have been considerable. For Muhammadans it was given within the mosques by professors named Moollahs, mostly in the Arabic so far as the Koran was concerned, but partly also in Persian and in the Indian vernaculars also. During the flourishing days of Moslem rule, both in the separate kingdoms which flourished before the Mogul Empire, and under that Empire itself, stately col-

leges had been erected and fully equipped for imparting Oriental knowledge generally. But these had been deserted and even desolated after the downfall of that Empire, and many fine ruins remained to attest the education which once had been. In many parishes there were small village-schools of a humble character. For the middle and upper classes there was naturally a fair amount of domestic instruction. For the widely extended classes of bankers there was a technical education fully effective for that particular profession.

These conditions existing at the outset in the nineteenth century lasted till about 1825. After that time enquiries began to be made in regard to the existing village-schools and the best means of improving them. A report by W. Adam on such schools in Bengal is a landmark respecting the origin of elementary education in India. The Government, too, bestirred itself on behalf of superior instruction. But it was to some extent at least to be Oriental, and to be afforded to the Natives in their own learning and philosophy, in their own languages, and through their own professors. This policy prevailed till after the year 1830, and a Board of Education was formed. The famous T. B. Macaulay (afterwards Lord Macaulay), having come out from England to Calcutta in a legislative capacity, was nominated a member of this Board. It was then that he wrote his celebrated Minute to the effect that in so far as Oriental teaching might

be imparted it must be shorn of its errors and absurdities in respect of philosophy, history and geography; that the State education should be formed after the model of Western civilisation, and that, though the teaching machinery might be Native, yet the guidance and the supervision should be European. The subsequent policy of the Government was based on this principle.

Meanwhile little had been done during the century for female education, and probably just as little in the preceding centuries. Despite their illiterate seclusion, it is surprising to recall how many examples of energy, heroism, fortitude, capacity and active benevolence, have been evinced by Native Princesses, and other highly-placed women, in the annals of India. It was not however till 1834 that the Society for promoting Female Education in the East endeavoured, through its lady Missionaries, to approach the homes and enter cautiously the apartments among the upper and middle classes of India. By graceful and gentle effort some success has been won. This enterprise has since been followed up by other Protestant Societies at various dates up to the present decade. Medical ministration, too, has been added to religious teaching. For the girls of the other classes the modicum of success attained in the open schools will be hereafter stated.

Between 1840 and 1850 some successful efforts were made in northern India to establish village schools by the Lieutenant-Governor, James Thoma-