examining only and not for teaching. They were governed by Senates of which the Members, European and Native, official and non-official, were nominated by the Government. For elementary education the rule of compulsory attendance was not then thought of, indeed it was not adopted in England itself till many years later. This has not even yet been attempted, although it is remarkable that Japan has now got this salutary rule. The village schools were generally maintained by private resources with some State-aid, very much as the Voluntary Schools are in England. But there were local rates or cesses levied for the schools by authority, though with popular consent, in various localities wherever needed. There was no hope of having a school for every village; but there was to be at least one school for every group of contiguous villages, so that every boy of a school-going age might have a chance of attending. Fees were always to be charged, and there was no general system of "free education" in contemplation. Mixed schools of boys and girls, though not at all discouraged, were hardly expected to spring up. But every encouragement would be given to the establishing of girls' schools separately. To all this there was added a capital plan, namely, that of scholarships supported by the State. An alien rule had been placed over a vast population whose latent capacities had never been fully educed or even ascertained, and among whom many classes had been for ages depressed socially. Therefore it

was equitable to give individual genius, in whatever class it might be found, a chance of evincing its power and proving what it could do. Thereby the intellectual strength of the nation, in its many component parts, would be consolidated. According to this plan a poor boy of real capacity in a village school might in competition win a scholarship entitling him to free education in a secondary school. There he might win in the same way the same advantage in a secondary school, and so forth in a college, till he might be able to present himself before the authorities of the University.

The educational expenditure by the Government, which in 1854 stood at a very few hundreds of thousands sterling a year, now stands at over a million and a half annually, gradually rising year by year. It would not however be generally regarded as bearing a goodly proportion to the total of civil expenditure, though doubtless it is as much as the Government can afford. This is exclusive of the large income derived from private resources, from fees and from local rates.

Such briefly is the system of National Education, which has been worked perseveringly and with as much energy as the temper of the people would allow, for forty-five years, since 1854 to 1899. It remains to summarise briefly the educational result. There are now about 155,000 institutions in all British India (exclusive of Native States) with about four and a half millions of students and scholars, or

of which number about half a million are females. Out of the total there are 65,000 private institutions with over a million of scholars. Inasmuch as these numbers began from almost nothing forty-five years ago, and are gradually rising year by year, they may appear considerable absolutely. But it must be remembered that relatively they are quite insufficient, and at the present rate of progress a long time must elapse before they overtake the requirements of the country. If the population of British India, exclusive of the Native States, be taken at 225 millions and one-fifth or one-sixth of the total as the presumable number of children of a school-going age, that is either forty-five millions or thirty-four millions at the least, then the present number actually at schools appears to be only a seventh or an eighth or at the best a sixth of the number that ought to be there. Hence it seems that generations must elapse before the present number can, by the operation of the present system, be multiplied six times. This consideration clearly points to the desirability of adopting sooner or later the same system of compulsory attendance at school, which has been adopted in Britain and in other Western nations. No doubt such a plan would have to be tenderly and tentatively adopted among a people so easily disturbed by change as the Indians. The compulsory power would have at first to be very leniently exercised, but the existence of such a power, in a cause which the conscience of the public recognises as right, would have

at once a moral effect in inducing the villagers and country folks to be more particular in sending their children to school than they are at present.

As regards the five Universities the number of candidates for the entrance or matriculation examination for the five years ending in 1897 was 23,200, of whom only 12,600 passed and so matriculated. Of these latter again only 4,000 passed on to take the various degrees.* This may be counted for something, but it is not satisfactorily large. Its defectiveness is caused by both social and educational circumstances. The young men who present themselves for the most part are not the scions of wealthy or well-to-do families, nor the cadets of mercantile firms who will have family advantages in pushing their way in the world. They are youths who hope to rise in one or other of two professions, the public service and the law. Of these the first has not enough vacancies for the eligible candidates, while the latter soon becomes overstocked. So the highly educated youth, who have by hard effort of every sort qualified themselves by University education, find but too often that no scope or chance is available for their abilities. There are, or ought to be, many other professions, but these will be either industrial or scientific, demanding that technical instruction shall have been previously received by applicants.

Now it must be admitted that at first, indeed for a

* See Indian Statistics, published in 1898.

long time, the subject of technical instruction was not adequately appreciated by the educational authorities in India. Apparently it used to be assumed that the youth ought first to be grounded by a good education, chiefly literary and philosophical, and that then he could choose what subject, technical or other, he would take up. Such a proposition sounds very well, and from some points of view there may be much truth in it; moreover this suited many of the Natives exactly, for it is in these very respects, literary and other, that they are most apt. But on the whole it became evident that if the educated youth are to cease either overcrowding the two professions above mentioned or wasting away listlessly —then they must look to other lines where technical instruction is needed, and that such instruction must begin early. Of late years steps have been taken in this direction, technical classes have been set up, and some of the Universities have granted Science Degrees. The Thomason College of Civil Engineering, near the head of the great Ganges Canal, in Northern India, for Natives as well as Europeans, has proved fairly successful. There are hopes of some larger donations from private munificence for founding a technical College. On the whole, though something is done and some movements are made, yet the promotion of technical instruction is one of the crying wants of India at the present time.

Among the consequences of this national education have been the birth and the growth of a multiform

oriental literature, in many languages, first for educational purposes and then for general subjects. It must be admitted however that, as yet, the tendency of educated Natives seems to be towards lesser productions of a religious or philosophical, even fanciful, character, rather than towards solid matter of any potency or magnitude. Again an extensive Native Newspaper Press in the many vernaculars has sprung up all over the Empire, generally conducted with information and ability, but sometimes diverging towards dangerous and objectionable subjects which have compelled the Government by legislation, not to alter the Criminal Code, but to make its process more speedily effectual than heretofore in these particular cases.

In respect to the popular religion, the Western Education has worked a mental revolution among a limited class of highly educated Natives, who have quite ceased to believe in the modern Hinduism or Brahmanism; and have turned, not as might have been hoped, towards Christianity, but towards the antique or Vedic Hinduism. and are often styled Vedists or Brahmos. But for the masses and for the aristocracy the popular religion still prevails. The faith of Islam is not shaken in any class of Moslems, notwithstanding the schools and the colleges. The translation of the Bible into many languages has been undertaken by the Missionary bodies to be immediately mentioned.

The progress of Christianity in India involves

considerations of the highest moment. These cannot be set forth adequately in a work like the present, but some notice of the facts is required.

The census for 1891 showed a total of 2,284,000, or two millions and a quarter of Christians in India, and it is expected that the census of 1901 will show a large increase over this aggregate. Of this total some 120,000 to 150,000 will be Europeans, and all the rest are Native Indians, or Eurasians, that is people of half blood. Of the total of Indians a considerable portion consists of Roman Catholics descended from the converts made by the Portuguese in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, in Western India chiefly, but in other parts of the country also. Another portion consists of Nestorians and Chaldeans, whose forefathers have been in Southwestern India, perhaps from apostolic times. Later in the eighteenth century many Portuguese of half-blood migrated from Western India to Bengal under British auspices, where their descendants are still found. Indeed at Calcutta and Bombay the Roman Catholics form a large wealthy and influential community with a hierarchy of their own. At both capitals also are Roman Catholic Colleges bearing the honoured name of St. Francis Xavier. The Indian Roman Catholic Christians must have during the eighteenth century, if not before, been exposed to maltreatment of every kind. They are not known to have been persecuted, but manifestly they must have been beset by endless temptations to desert

their faith after the fall of the Portuguese power. Nevertheless they remained faithfully Christian; and this fact, together with other facts of a cognate nature, in other Eastern countries, will justify hopefulness regarding the character of the Orientals who have been, or yet may be, converted to Christianity. At the beginning of the nineteenth century they began to fall under the British ægis, and since 1820 they have been fully protected in all their civil and religious liberties. In many places there are Roman Catholic Missions, maintained in efficiency with genuine zeal and devoted service.

At the opening of the nineteenth century there were but few Native Protestant Christians in India. These were the converts, or their offspring, made either by the saintly Danish Missionaries Ziegenbalg and Schwartz, or by the pioneer Baptist Missionaries Carey and Marshman. In 1795, the London Missionary Society, consisting of Churchmen and Nonconformists in unison, sent its first missionary to India. But in 1799, and soon after 1800, two events occurred of far-reaching consequence to the East, whereof no man, happily, can foresee the end. These were the founding of the Church Missionary Society exclusively for preaching the Gospel to the heathen, and the extending to the heathen of the work of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, a Society which had existed since the beginning of the eighteenth century and had heretofore worked exclusively among its own countrymen in the colonies,

and to some extent among the American Indians. Thus there were set on foot in India two powerful Missionary Societies in the Church of England, belonging indeed to different sections of churchmen, but acting in full harmony and being, not, as has sometimes been erroneously supposed, rival bodies, but sister Societies in true Christian sisterhood.*

The Church Missionary Society, as regards work among the heathen, is much the larger of the two. It began the century with quite small means, and at first made but slight way, partly by reason of the novelty of its work among the Natives, and partly because the British Government was naturally cautious in allowing proceedings which might easily be misunderstood and might cause trouble to an Empire still in its infancy. But as confidence grew with power, and as there was some relaxation on the renewal of the East India Company's charter in 1793, so the Society's work grew apace, and so funds from England began to flow. In 1813, under the auspices and advocacy of many of the most distinguished men in the religious world at that time, especially the immortal Wilberforce, a favourable declaration was made on behalf of Missions at the further renewal of the East India Company's charter. Still some surprise may be caused by a retrospect of the mistrust and apprehensiveness which existed in many influential quarters, official and

* For example the present writer is himself a Vice-President in both these societies.

other, as to the wisdom of the possibility of promoting successfully the cause of Protestant Missions in India, up to 1833, when the constitution of the East India Company was changed. After that epoch there was full freedom, and the prospects improved in every decade, till the war of the Mutinies in 1857. These events might have been expected to produce an adverse effect, but they actually gave an impulse. Thus the Church Missionary Society, which in 1799 began with nothing, has celebrated its first centenary in 1899, with an annual income of £335,000, and a special centenary fund of nearly £100,000. It works indeed in other lands, African, Asiatic and Australasian, still India is naturally its best field and much of its income is spent there. The same story may in general terms be told of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. Being the older Society it had some considerable income in 1800. This by 1899 had risen to a sum less than half of the sister Society, but if the income of several lesser Missions belonging to the same section of the churchmen, were added, the total would not fall far short of £200,000 of annual income. It celebrated its first centenary in 1801, and hopes to celebrate its second with joy and thankfulness soon after 1900. From the nature of its constitution only a portion of its resources are devoted to India. The efforts made by the larger Society are certainly the greatest ever made by any single association. The annual income of the two Societies combined, together with lesser

and subsidiary Societies may now amount to nearly £550,000, or over half a million sterling; and this represents for the Church of England the largest enterprise for foreign missions ever undertaken by any Christian community. The whole of this income is not spent in India, and the exact proportion of such expenditure cannot be stated, but naturally it must be considerable. Both Societies during the latter part of the century have been working among Indian women of the well-to-do class, through the agency of European ladies styled "Zenâna" Missionaries.

*Other Protestant communities have been similarly signalised. The first of the Baptist Missions already mentioned may be described in 1792 as the pioneer of Protestant Missionary enterprise now seen in India. Its work has proceeded continuously till 1899, when its annual income must amount to nearly £100,000 annually, especially if the work of some lesser Baptist Missions be taken in combination with it; and a goodly part of that is spent in India. It is probable that, in proportion to its numbers, the Baptist community in Britain is not surpassed by any community of Christendom in its efforts for foreign missions.

The same too, may happily be said for the Free Church of Scotland, which succeeded in some degree

* Most of the dates to be given here have been verified from *Foreign Missions*, by the Religious Tract Society, 1888.

to the Missions established by the old Church of Scotland beginning in 1829, and then in 1843 developed Missions of its own with a vigour and success that covered it with honour.

The London Missionary Society has been already mentioned as beginning in 1795. It has grown and prospered to the end of the nineteenth century. The same distinction may be accorded to the Wesleyans as represented by the Wesleyan Methodist Society, fully organised since 1816. It has an income the largeness of which is honourable to its members, and of which a portion, probably one-third, is spent in India. Minor Missions belonging to other Protestant communities are also working in the Indian Empire.

Several Missions from the Continent of Europe are at work in India, notably one from Basel and two from Germany.

Much help in the good cause has come from the United States, notably through the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions since 1810, the American Baptist Missionary Union since 1814, the Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the United States since 1818, the United Presbyterian Church of North America since 1854, the Foreign Missions of the United Presbyterian Church since 1854.

From Canada also help has come through the Presbyterian Church and the Methodist Church.

It would be well nigh impossible to present the combined statistics of the result of these various

Protestant Missions, as the material would have to be drawn from many scattered sources, and as the expenditure in India is not always discriminated by the Societies from that in other countries. But in round numbers it may be said approximately that something between £400,000 and £500,000 is annually expended; that the number of Protestant Native Christians may be between 600,000 and 800,000, to which may be added at least 250,000 children under Christian instruction, bringing up the total to over a million. The number of ordained Missionaries, clergy and ministers, European, has been reckoned at nearly nine hundred, besides a nearly equal number of ordained Native clergy; and also a large staff of lady Missionaries. There has been nothing like a conversion of people in masses. Converts have been made individually, one person after another. The success has been exactly commensurate with the means employed, advancing slowly, steadily and thoroughly. But there have been no striking results on a large scale. The character of the Native Christians both as churchmen and as citizens is fair, and good all round. This is especially the case where they were collected in villages extending over large tracts, as in the Southern Peninsula and in the hills of the West of Bengal.

Further, these Missions have raised the repute and honour of the British nation, and of the English-speaking races, in the eyes of the Natives. The British Government thus spoke of them in 1873:

"They (the Missionaries) constitute a valuable body of education; they contribute greatly to the cultivation of the Native language and literature. . . . They have prepared hundreds of works, suited both for the schools and for general circulation, in the fifteen most prominent languages of India. . . . The lessons which they inculcate have given to the people at large new ideas not only on religious questions, but on the nature of evil, the obligations of law, and the motives by which human conduct should be regulated. . . . The Government of India cannot but acknowledge the great obligations under which it is laid by the benevolent exertions made by them." *

For the benefit of its European and Christian servants, both civil and military, the East India Company had from the beginning appointed Chaplains at the various stations. In 1813 a Bishop was appointed, and in 1833 the number of Bishops was increased to three, for Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay; and the Bishop of Calcutta was declared to be Metropolitan in India. The dioceses of Madras and Bombay have continued to be much as they were then. But the diocese of Calcutta became of an immense size, impossible of supervision by one Bishop. Consequently additional Bishoprics have been constituted at Lahore for the Panjab, at Lucknow for Northern India, and at Rangoon for Burma.

* See Report on "Moral and Material Progress of India," 1873.

CHAPTER XIII.

REVENUE AND FINANCE.

For India there was virtually what economists call "a double standard." Coins both silver and gold were issued from the Mints of the Government; and both were equally received. The silver coin was the well-known rupee and was in the exchange with England reckoned as about equal to two shillings. There had been many rupees in India of divers values locally, but they were superseded by the East India Company's rupee. In 1835-6 silver became the sole standard, gold for the most part disappearing. About ten rupees then were required as an equivalent to the British sovereign in gold. The Indian revenues were collected in rupees, and the public accounts, that is the statements of the expenditure and income of the Company, were kept in rupees also. But whenever these statements had to be translated for use in England and whenever the value of Indian income, or the weight of Indian expenses had to be expressed in English for popular information, the number of rupees used to be divided by ten. In other words, ten million or a "crore" of rupees meant a million pounds sterling; a hundred thousand or a "lakh" of rupees indicated ten thou-

sand pounds sterling, and so forth. This method was in full force at the beginning of the nineteenth century. The relative value of gold and silver, though not always free from slight fluctuations, did yet remain sufficiently stable to allow this simple and convenient reckoning between the Indian rupee and the British sovereign to be continued for more than seventy years. In the early part of the century the matter was mainly one of reckoning and did not possess the grave importance which it afterwards assumed in the closing quarter of the century. There were from the very first some payments on their territorial account to be made by the East India Company from India to England. In the early part of the century these were not very considerable. But they grew enormously from various causes during the latter half of the century, and after that the value of the rupee relatively to the sovereign began to fall more and more. About 1880, then, it became impossible with any approach to correctness to represent ten rupees as equivalent to a sovereign in the presentation of Indian accounts or statements in England; and some change became necessary. Then to represent the Indian accounts for England in sovereigns as heretofore, but according to the reduced value of the rupee, would cause infinite misapprehension, might possibly give rise to a notion that the Indian revenues were decreasing while they actually were increasing, and would certainly vitiate, for English use at least, any comparison between the later

and earlier years of the century. Consequently the plan was adopted of reckoning the Indian accounts and statements for England in tens of rupees, or Rs. X.; thus instead of a million of pounds sterling, or £, the accounts set forth a million of tens of rupees or Rs. X., and this is now the signification of "a million," whenever Indian figures are mentioned. In this way any possible misapprehension is avoided and the means of comparing the present time with former times are duly preserved. It is in that sense then that the term million will be used in this Chapter.

The economic condition of the country in 1899 is largely affected by the outlay of British capital in it, which has been going on, especially during the latter half of the nineteenth century. The outlay on remunerative works like railways and canals of irrigation has been already mentioned in the preceding Chapters. In 1897 in a summary work entitled *Sixty Years of the Queen's Reign,** the following explanation was given in a popular form on this important subject. "India affords a large field for the employment of British capital. Her national debt, including the railways guaranteed by the State, amounts to nearly three hundred millions. Of this sum about one-tenth has been subscribed by the Natives of India, while all the rest has been found by the London money market. The amount of private

* *Sixty Years of the Queen's Reign*, by Sir Richard Temple, 1897.

outlay by British capitalists in India, on manifold enterprises, relating to tea, coffee, jute, mines and many miscellaneous undertakings, cannot be precisely stated. But it has generally been reckoned at 250 millions sterling and is constantly growing. Thus it may, without exaggeration, be said that nearly 600 millions of British money are profitably laid out in India. The interest annually of this sum goes mostly to Britain. As this money was sent out to India to be expended on the country, was paid mostly to the people there, and fructifies therein by countless ways, it is clear that in this great respect India must be benefiting by the British connection. There is a part of this national debt which was incurred for war and may in one sense be considered unproductive, but this does not exceed one-fifth of the whole."

The most recent figures of Indian revenue and expenditure have been somewhat affected by the famine of 1896–7. The most characteristic type of the Indian Finance in these days will be found in the figures for the year 1895–6 as presented in the Statistical Abstract published in 1898.

For that year the gross revenue and receipts in India and in England, including exchange, stood at 98,370,167; or nearly 98½ millions; at 96,836,169, or over 96¾ millions. The heads of revenue and receipts were as below:

Land revenue, 26,200,955; *Opium,* 7,123; *Salt,* 8,861,845; *Stamps,* 4,727,055; *Excise,* 5,722,417;

Other heads, 13,437,147; *Interest,* 825,052; *Post Office, Telegraph and Mint,* 2,840,353; *Receipts by Civil Departments,* 1,684,522; *Miscellaneous,* 1,095,914; *Railways,* 21,859,189; *Irrigation,* 2,299,853; *Buildings and roads,* 713,832; *Receipts by Military Department,* 978,011; *Total Revenues and Receipts,* 98,370,167.

For the same year the heads of expenditure were as below:

Direct demands on revenue, 10,351,257; *Interest,* 4,044,799; *Post Office, Telegraph and Mint,* 2,594,880; *Salaries and expenses of Civil Departments,* 15,172,860; *Miscellaneous civil charges,* 5,933,332; *Famine Relief and insurance,* 586,485; *Construction of railway charged against revenue,* 7,661; *Railway revenue account,* 23,479,457; *Irrigation,* 2,976,311; *Buildings and roads,* 5,810,512; *Army services,* 25,398,157; *Special defence works,* 101,349; *Total expenditure,* 96,457,060; *Provincial adjustments,* 379,109; *Total charges against revenue,* 96,836,169.

The figures are produced yearly by the Government of India according to a Budget system after the English model introduced in 1860 by Mr. James Wilson, the well-known economist in England, who was the first Finance Minister for India.

It will readily be observed that the most fundamentally important part of the revenues, namely the land revenue, does not increase proportionately with the general growth of prosperity in the country.

This is because of the revenue being settled for long terms of years in most parts of the country and in perpetuity for one part. As already shown in a preceding Chapter the considerations clustering round this branch of revenue are social and political quite as much as fiscal.

The salt revenue, nearly nine millions, is a considerable item. It is the only contribution made to the national Treasury by the poor and by the labouring classes.

The opium revenue stands at over seven millions, and is a considerable item, though it used to be much more in former years. This is the item around which controversy raged in Britain for full fifty years, that is from 1845 to 1895, when it was for the most part allayed by the publication of the Report of the Royal Commission. Even then, however, it has not been set at rest and probably never will be. Those who were convinced before that the conduct of the British Government was right throughout, will have these convictions strengthened by this Report and by the judicial proofs or arguments which it affords. Those who were doubtful before or had an open mind on the subject will find their ideas and opinions much affected thereby in favour of the existing system. Those who had previously formed an opinion with conscientious deliberation will doubtless not modify that opinion by reason of this Report or by anything else. The censures which were roundly pronounced outside, and which were

echoed in Parliament, have become silent. Whether the anti-opium agitation has ceased, or, if not, how far it has been affected, are matters known only to those who may have been engaged in it. The chairman of the Royal Commission was Lord Brassey, the members were two Members of Parliament, one Conservative and the other Liberal, one eminent Medical Officer, one distinguished Anglo-Indian administrator, two Native Indian gentlemen of rank and status. They travelled all over India, examined several hundreds of witnesses, of all classes and nationalities, put and recorded several thousands of questions, and presented a Report, which was laid before Parliament and which with appendices extended over 250 great pages with sixty-five lines each, quite apart from the minutes of evidence which are of great bulk. Their enquiries lasted nearly two years; and naturally involved much public expense. All this shows what pains Britain takes to find out whether she has been, or is doing, right. In signing the Report eight members out of nine were unanimous, and one was dissentient.

To analyse or summarise so great a Report as this would be beyond the scope of a work like the present.

But it is to be gathered from the Report that the drug is not necessarily a curse, a poison, or even a noxious thing, that it is either harmful, or harmless, or beneficial, according to the prudence with which it is used, that the question relating to it runs on all fours with that of spirits and drugs in the Western

nations, that it was not introduced by Europeans into India or China, having existed there long before, that the Chinese themselves have been and are the great producers of the poppy and of the opium, far exceeding the Indians, that the charge against the British of having forced the drug upon China cannot be sustained, that the importation of the Indian variety of the drug makes no difference in the consumption of the Chinese, that the cessation of such importation would only cause *pro tanto* an increase of the Chinese production, that as the Chinese consumer desires this article the Indian producer desires to send it, that the Government cannot be expected to interfere with this law of supply and demand, except by taxing it to the uttermost degree consistent with the prevention of illicit practices, smuggling and the like, that the Bengal system, though at first sight it may seem to connect the Government with the trade, is yet the best as being the most effective for restricting the production and the use of the drug, that this use has not reached any objectionable extent in India, and is not shown to have been nationally deleterious in China, that the right of the Government, British or Chinese, to draw revenue from such a source rests on the same arguments for or against which would be applicable to the revenues from wines, spirits or beer in the Western nations. The Commission seem to think that the stronger criticism came from American and Canadian Missionaries, and some British Evan-

gelicals, devoted and conscientious men who were opposed altogether to the use of anything alcoholic, some of whom have been ardent workers in the cause of total abstinence and prevention by law. Now to discuss the conclusions of this elaborate and authoritative Report would be to enter into a controversy unsuited to a work like this. Still in justice to the Royal Commission two sentences should be cited. They write "as a result of a searching enquiry, and upon a deliberate review of the copious evidence submitted to us we feel bound to express our conviction that this movement in England in favour of active interference on the part of the Imperial Parliament for the suppression of the opium habit in India has proceeded from exaggerated impressions as to the nature and extent of the evil to be controlled. . . . We may be sensible that, as in the case of the drink duties at home, so in the analogous case of opium in India, the revenue is drawn from a source liable to abuse. Looking, however, at the problem before us, from the highest moral standpoint, it is something to know that the hand of the ruler is chiefly felt in the way of repression and restriction."

In response to the definite reference made to them the Royal Commission stated that "It has not been shown to be necessary, or to be demanded by the people, that the growth of the poppy and manufacture and sale of opium in British India should be prohibited except for medical purposes."

This response has been accepted as conclusive by

the British Parliament and by British people for the most part.

But as the outcome of the Report of the Commission has been given, it will perhaps only be fair that the Minute of the one Member who dissented should also be noticed—that of Mr. Henry J. Wilson, M.P. for Holmfirth in Yorkshire on the Liberal side. He begins by observing that the resolution of the House of Commons and the terms of the reference to the Royal Commission were passed by the Liberal Government in 1893, under Mr. Gladstone, by a majority of 184 to 105. He describes the 105 as mainly comprising "the anti-opium party," who desired an enquiry "for a very different and far more useful purpose." It is to be inferred from his own language that he joined the Royal Commission with his mind made up as to the policy which, in his view, morality dictated. It may be inferred that inasmuch as the anti-opium party would have zealously mustered their numbers for that occasion, their full strength, just over a hundred, represented less than one-sixth of the House of Commons. From his notes it appears he had not infrequent differences with his colleagues as to the manner in which the evidence was taken in India. It is impossible for any from the outside to approach such differences; but the result does not seem in the end to be unfavourably regarded by Mr. Wilson, for he considers that the general drift and tendency of the evidence, or the prevailing mass of

it, to be on his side. He manifestly differs from his colleagues in the view to be taken of the evidence. He considers it proved by the evidence that opium "in China is a gigantic national evil. It is therefore impossible for him to avoid the conclusion that it is altogether unworthy for a great dependency of the British Empire to be thus engaged in a traffic which produces such wide-spread misery and disaster." After considering the possibility of the Chinese themselves filling up any gap that might be left by the stoppage of the Indian import, he writes: "But however this may be, a traffic which is contrary to the principles of humanity cannot be justified on the ground that if we do not engage in it, it will fall into the hands of others who have no such scruples." The words "engaging in a traffic" would apparently be held by the Commission to be a misapprehension of the Bengal system for ensuring the taxation on opium.

One passage in the Minute of dissent must be cited, and it was thus: "No analogy exists between alcohol in England and opium in India. In whatever way the statistics are looked at they show that there are in India vast tracts where a mere fraction of the population are consumers of opium. In England, on the other hand, the great majority of the people are more or less consumers of alcohol. Any attempt therefore to treat the case as analogous is entirely fallacious; in the one case we have a nation of consumers, in the other case a nation of abstainers."

Now this passage may in many respects be left for moralists to consider. But if it is inferable that because the great majority of the English consume alcohol they may be left undisturbed by law, then it follows that the Chinese may be left to produce and import opium as they like, subject only to taxation. Finally Mr. Wilson arrives at the conclusion that "the growth of the poppy and manufacture and sale of in British India should be prohibited except for medical purposes; and that such prohibition should not be forcibly imposed on the Native States, but the example of the British Government should be supported by such influence as may be legitimately employed." This change cannot be required for the sake of the people of India, because later on he writes: "It is clear that the opium habit, so far from being common amongst the people generally, is relatively exceptional in British India." The change therefore must be required for the sake of the people of China, perhaps also for the character of the British Government.

The question as regards China, and the conduct of the British in regard thereto, will be mentioned in a future part of this work.

The Report of the Royal Commission having been laid before Parliament in the spring of 1895, a discussion and a vote on it were challenged in the House of Commons by Sir Joseph Pease, the leader of the anti-opium party, on the ground that the opium system in India is morally indefensible, and

that there should be total prohibition except for medical purposes. Now this was the same House of Commons as that which in 1893 had ordered the enquiry, and the same Liberal Government was in power, except that for Mr. Gladstone had been substituted Lord Rosebery. Yet Sir Joseph Pease's motion was rejected by 176 to 59, or about 3 to 1. It is noteworthy that the anti-opium party, who presumably must have mustered their men for this occasion, had decreased from 105 in 1893 to 59 in 1895. In both instances it consisted largely of men who were conscientiously opposed to drugs and spirits of all kinds. The majority against Sir Joseph Pease included the leaders of the Liberal Party then in power together with the leaders of the Conservative and Unionist Party, and their tellers were the Liberal Whips, indicating that the Liberal Government supported the Report of the Royal Commission. Since then no further steps have been taken in Parliament.

There are still some financial facts claiming notice. The circulation of Government currency notes throughout the country stands at nearly thirty millions. The system was initiated by Mr. James Wilson in 1860. The cash balances in the treasuries and agencies of India fluctuate naturally year to year from fourteen to twenty-two millions; one year, 1893, they stood as high as twenty-five millions. All this indicates the maintenance of a large cash reserve. There is a system of Government Savings Banks of

which the natives make large use. There are no less than 650 of such banks in working order, with 650,000 depositors, the average for each depositor being 135 rupees.

The embarrassment caused by the decline of silver in the large silver remittances from India to be adjusted by a gold standard in England, as already mentioned in this Chapter, became so acute that several enquiries were made, and among them an important one by a Committee under the Presidency of the late Lord Herschel. The Government of India in 1893 closed their Mints against the coinage of silver—but agreed to receive gold in exchange for rupees at 1s. 4d. per rupee. Since that time this rate of convertibility has been maintained, not only because of the closing of the mints, but from other causes, to the partial relief of the Government Treasury and of other interests. The object of the Government of India was to introduce a gold standard into India. They proposed certain measures for that end, and in 1898 a committee presided over by Sir Henry Fowler was appointed to consider these proposals. Their Report was presented to Parliament just before the Session of 1899 and was before the public in August. An analysis of this Report would not be suitable here, especially as it has gone to India for consideration. Suffice it to quote merely the principal conclusions. "The Committee concur with the Government of India in their decision not to revert to the silver standard." They conclude

"to proceed with measures for the effective establishment of a gold standard." They say "we are in favour of making the British sovereign a legal tender and a current coin in India. We also consider that at the same time the Indian Mints should be thrown open to the unrestricted coinage of gold on terms and conditions such as govern the three Australian branches of the Royal Mint." Lastly they say: "We are of opinion that the permanent rate should be that which has been adopted as a provisional rate in the past and which is also the market rate of to-day, viz., 1s. 4d. (one shilling and four pence), for the Rupee." This Report was mentioned with approval by the Secretary of State in Parliament on 8th August, 1899, and though the opinion of the Government of India is awaited, the public impression is that the way has been cleared for the adoption of at least a gold standard in India, apart from the question of the early introduction of a gold currency as well.

Such then are the finances of British India, and the only question remaining is whether the amount of receipts taken at 98 millions annually is moderate as compared with that received under Native Rule with something like similar conditions. The Mogul Empire at its height in 1697 was similar to the Empire of India proclaimed in 1877; the Mogul Emperor Aurangzebe was almost as much master of India as the British sovereign now is. Sir William Hunter writes in 1881, after considering

the remarkable estimate made by Mr. Edward Thomas, that "The total revenues of Aurangzebe was estimated in 1695 at 80 millions and in 1697 at 77½ millions sterling. The gross taxation levied from British India deducting the opium excise which is paid by the Chinese consumer averaged 35½ millions sterling during the ten years ending in 1879." This comparison would show laudable moderation on the part of the British Government as compared with the 77 or 80 millions under the Great Mogul; especially as the population must be much greater now than it was then. The comparison on the whole case becomes difficult, and if taken unreservedly would be misleading. But in respect to the land tax it can be made more exactly. For the culminating point in 1697 it was set down at 38½ millions, which sum greatly exceeds the 26 millions just shown for the British land revenue of to-day. Yet on looking at the provincial details which make up the Moghal total, most of the provinces were less in population then than they are now, and some much less. In the Deccan Plateau alone could it be said that there was more of fertility and habitation than now, owing to the revolutions of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The comparison however proves that the difference between the Moghal and the British totals partly arises from the fact that many taxes which were formerly levied are now remitted. On the other hand it must be remembered that a portion of the British total is derived from the receipts which flow

into the British territory from the post office, the telegraphs, the railways and the canals. Still whichever way the account be taken, whether the full 98 millions, or less, the amount received by the British Government from its 230 millions of people (exclusive of Native States) is very moderate, and the Indians are taxed very lightly according to any standard derivable either from previous Native Rule or from any Western nation.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE STATE OF INDIA IN 1899.

THE progress of India during the nineteenth century has now been summarised. I have shown how vast are the area and the population of the country including the Himalayan mountains, the continent and the peninsula—how depressed and dejected was the land and the people at the end of the 18th and the dawn of the 19th century—how the Empire of India was gradually formed till it covered the entire country and was then formally proclaimed—how the several Frontiers were determined and settled—how the Native States were gradually formed—how the machinery of the Government in India, and of the control over it in Britain, was constituted—how there arose in the Native Indian Army certain difficulties which culminated in the Indian Mutinies—how in the civil government an absolute despotism has been guided by humane and enlightened principles of justice, goodwill and considerateness—how legislation of a comprehensive character has been introduced with two grades of Legislative Councils—how in the dispensing of justice, civil and criminal, all parties, including the Government itself, and all nationalities, European and Native, have been

rendered equal before the law—how property in land has been secured by a public registration of tenures and rendered valuable by a limitation of the demand for land revenue—how the obligation of the State has been practically acknowledged to use all its efforts and resources to save life from famine —how agriculture has been to some extent protected by the finest system of irrigation works ever seen in any country—how the forests have been at least partially preserved by a conservancy department under the State—how communications by land have been opened by the making of trunk roads and then by the construction of at least all the main lines of railway, leaving numerous branches yet to be undertaken—how external ocean-borne trade has been developed by steam navigation, especially since the opening of the Suez Canal—how internal trade has been assisted by the Post Office and the Electric Telegraph—how Municipalities have been established for the cities and the provincial towns, with sanitation and medical aid, and a foundation laid for district councils—how a complete system of Public Education has been instituted, elementary, secondary and superior, which has already borne some fruit, leaving very much to be accomplished in the future —how Christianity has been diffused more or less extensively in many places by the organization of private effort—how the State revenues have grown enormously and the finances been managed with success on the whole, despite difficulties and disad-

vantages. It remains yet to be explained briefly what has been the effect of all these comprehensive and varied measures on the condition, material, mental and moral, of the vast Indian population which Providence has committed to the charge of Britain.

As will have been already perceived, the Empire of India consists of two parts, the lesser part being the Native States, the larger part being the British territories.

It will be well to notice the present condition of the Native States, before considering the British territories which form the bulk of the Empire.

In a certain sense these States, great and small, are so numerous that it is not easy to count them exactly, but they are about four hundred and fifty in number. They comprise a total area of 600,000 square miles and 66 millions of people. The total of their revenues cannot be stated, but it must amount to over 15 millions (Rs. X.), annually. They are of all sizes and degrees; some being little more than feudal barons. Others being potentates of consideration, autonomous, subject only to British suzerainty, and feudatories of the Sovereign. They all have British representatives residing permanently at their Courts. It will suffice here to mention only these greater Native States.

They readily group themselves into certain divisions. First comes Nepal (of the Gurkhas), then Cashmere (with Jammu) and Cooch Behar, all in

or about the Himalayas. In Northern India is the important group of Protected Sikh States between the Satlej River and Delhi; then South of Agra is the great family of Rajput States. From this neighbourhood right down to the west of India lie the three Mahratta States of Gwalior (Sindhia), of Holkar (Indore) and of the Gaikwar (Baroda). Further down towards the south-west are the two Hindu States of Mysore and Travancore. There are yet some Moslem States; that of Nizam of the Deccan on the middle plateau of the Continent, the largest Native State in India, of Bhopal in the centre of the country, and of Bahawulpur on the river Indus. Far away on the eastern frontier of the Empire are the Shan States of Burma. The States being maintained in dignity, prosperity and comfort, are bound up with the British Empire, have every interest in its permanency and constitute the most trustworthy element of conservatism in the country. They cannot answer for unruly or disloyal subjects in their dominions any more than the British Government for the ill-disposed in its territories. It must never be forgotten that in India there are the evil minded whom we have always. These Native States are in respect to internal government quite autonomous. They are for the most part governing well, following more and more the model of British administration. They encourage Western education, and even have Colleges for the cadets of their own royal families. Their members are beginning to visit Europe. They

manage their own military forces, subject to the general advice of the British Government. Some of their best troops have been specially recognised as imperial forces, and have served together with the British troops in recent campaigns. Some twenty thousand men of theirs are thus reckoned as forming a part of the military strength of the British Empire. Their subjects are conterminous with the British subjects everywhere; and there is a brotherly feeling between the two sets as fellow countrymen. They afford a finer field for individual Native genius, ambition and capacity than could otherwise be found under the circumstances of British Rule. They display many centres round which may cluster the old grandeur, courtesy, romantic tradition, ancestral splendour, ideas of semi-divine origin, which are still enshrined in the hearts and are dear to the imagination of the Natives at large.

The material effect will have been gathered from the foregoing Chapters, being easily inferable from the facts stated therein. Firstly comes the growth of the population. Sir Robert Giffen, the statistician, appears to have reckoned that since 1871 to the end of the century this population shows an increase of seventy-one millions, almost entirely due to natural increment. Following that, is the expansion of cultivation, great in some quarters, lesser in others, but more or less everywhere. Then comes the growth of domestic comfort universally. This received signal confirmation during the very last year, 1898.

That particular year came upon the heels of the worst famine that has been seen during the half century. This famine, too, was followed by an outbreak of bubonic plague in Western India, which, despite all the sanitary efforts of the Government, is not yet extinguished. Nevertheless it proved to be one of the best years, if not the very best year, that India has ever had. This result has just been laid before the British House of Commons, by the Secretary of State in August, 1899, as proving the success of the Government of India in combating the famine, but still more the recuperative power and the amassed means of sustenance possessed by the people of India. Never has India remitted so vast a sum to England, among other, for charges relating to public improvement as in this year. Never did she export so much of her products as in this year including, too, edible produce. Never has she shown so low an amount of unproductive national debt, 31 millions, as at the present time, the rest of the debt being all remunerative. A special enquiry, in the provinces recently afflicted or affected by famine, has shown that the landholding and cultivating classes are more comfortable than ever, that the artisans and the better sorts of labourers get higher wages than ever, but that the wages with the humbler labourers though rising do not rise as much as might be wished because the increase of population is apt to overstock the labour market. For this last-named disadvantage, the only one visible in the material

aspect of the country, there is no remedy except the promotion of public works. Emigration will hardly be a remedy, as emigrants have not yet come forward in sufficient numbers.

Still these latest enquiries have tended to resuscitate the apprehensions lest in some districts the multiplying population should prove too dense for the due sustenance of all For the whole country, however, despite the ever-growing multitudes, the average density is still exceedingly moderate, being only one hundred and eighty-five inhabitants per square mile, which represents a population far from excessive.

As already seen, the external sea-borne trade has been well sustained. For 1897–8, about five thousand vessels with four millions of tons entered the Indian ports and about the same number cleared. Of this vast number only some few hundreds were foreign and the rest were flying the British flag. These numbers were on the whole nearly as good as any that have been seen in India, and they represent a goodly portion of the British shipping in the world.*

The really recondite and disputable matters relate to the moral and mental effect.

It is said with as much truth as usually pertains to general statements, that in India, Islam or the faith of Muhammad, is unchanging. It may shrink, or decay, or wither, but in essential elements it never

* *Statesman's Year Book*, 1899.

alters anywhere. Therefore it will be in India as it is in places familiar to Europeans like Constantinople, Cairo, or Tangier. If this broad proposition be accepted, then there is not much discussion needed on the Indian branch of Islam. It follows that the fierce and positive fanaticism, which is a primary characteristic, must be burning in the heart of many a true Moslem. Indeed this quality was manifested during the troubles in the middle of the century, though it has subsequently grown milder. This refers only to the Moslems of the blood from Central Asia, Mogul, Afghan, Persian, who form only a portion of the Indian Moslems, but hardly at all to the Moslems of humble Indian origin like those in North-eastern Bengal who form the numerically important and fast-increasing section of the Indian Moslems. It is not conceivable that they can be imbued with the austere bigotry, the fiery pride, of the descendants of those who in Mid Asia caught the real *afflatus* of Islam.

It is said by some, with a kind of picturesque irregularity, that the historic Hindu nation has long since died, that its heroic traditions have vanished into mist, its golden age faded into obscurity; its epic poetry ceased, its muses become silent, its religion lost all authority, its philosophy moth-eaten, its dramatic poetry extinguished, its courts and camps faded in brilliancy—and that to it, *mutato nomine*, may be applied the words, "'tis Greece but living Greece no more." Though such a description as this

could not be accepted as accurate, yet there is enough of *vraisemblance* about it to deserve a brief consideration. The Hindus numbering over two hundred millions, are greater in material prosperity, wealth and numbers in 1899, than in any year since they became a congeries of nationalities under one faith many centuries ago. They cannot be described today in a single category. They comprise several categories, each of which must be noticed separately; but these categories relate to scattered masses and classes of people rather than to localities or even to regions.

The tongue of Moslems in India was wont largely to be Persian, but since the middle of the century it has become Hindostani, formerly called Oordu, which is still the official language of the Courts in the districts round Lahore, Delhi, Agra, Lucknow. Elsewhere the official language of the courts is the language of the region, that is to say, Bengali for Bengal, Oorya for Orissa, Hindi for Behar and Benares, Mahratti for Nagpore and the Central Deccan to Bombay, Gujerathi for the Western Coast, Telugu for the Southern Deccan and the eastern coast, Kanarese for the south-western coast, and Tamil for the southern peninsula. Of these main languages, all save the Hindostani and the Tamil are derived from Sanskrit. The Burmese for Burma has a separate origin. Besides these principal tongues, each of them with a separate literature of its own, there are many other lesser languages

more or less recognised by the British Government.

Before adverting to the Hindus proper it may be well to say what there is to be said regarding the Aboriginal races, and the Aborigines who have been converted to Hinduism in a sort of way, and who help to swell the total of the low caste men in the aggregate of the Hindu religion. The effect of British Rule on their minds and morals has been but little for the better though not all for the worse. The fringe of them has been largely touched by the preaching of Christianity; the success of the Missionary efforts has been very much in the proportion to the means employed. If these means were to become largely augmented, the success might be indefinitely extended. On the other hand, it must be remarked that these Aborigines are not likely to remain altogether as they are; on the contrary they are open to the proselytising from the Hindus proper. It is probable that many thousands of them have thus gone over to Hinduism during the latter half of the century; and although then Hinduism may sit loose upon them, and although they may still afford a fairer field than most races would, to Christianising effort, still the fact of their having come under the sway, however slightly, of the Brahmin priesthood, would be *pro tanto,* an impediment to the approach of Christianity. In other words, unless the Christian Missionaries shall succeed in being the first in the field with them, there is always

a danger of their going over to the Hindus. These considerations are well worthy of attention on the part of the Societies for Religious Missions.

The really strange and curious question relates to the mental and moral condition of the Hindus proper, who form, as has already been shown, the mass of the Indian population.

Respecting the humbler classes of the Hindus numbering some scores of millions, the British Rule with its elementary education has improved their intelligence in common matters, and by the example of its governance has doubtless raised their ideas of the virtue which exists in the world. But the effect of all that on these people as they are, is not very much though it is something. As regards their religion, that is probably to-day just as it was in the ninth century after the restoration of Brahmanism and before the first coming of the Moslems. In the book *India in 1880*, it was then written regarding them, with the freshest and fullest knowledge, "It (the old religion) survives with the mass of the Hindus who still flock in countless multitudes to hallowed bathing places, still approach inner sanctuaries of idols with heartfelt awe, still load the shrines with offerings, still brave the toils and often the fatal hardships of their pilgrimages." * In all probability there has been no change in these respects up to the present day.

* See *India in 1880*, by Sir Richard Temple, p. 117.

The same book went on to state as follows:—"With the educated classes of Hindus, the priestly influence is sinking fast towards its final decadence. There remain indeed some Hindus of culture and learning, who stand by the ancient faith and its observances. But as a rule, educated Hindus pay little more than an outward respect to the forms and to the ministers of the national religion. . . . This must surely be recognised by many of these keen-witted and clear-sighted priests. Proud as they are of their race and lineage, strong in the faith of their divine origin, persuaded of their own sanctity, conscious of their own intellectual superiority, they cannot but regard with indescribable sentiments the new empire which crushes prejudices, superstitions and antiquated ideas as the Jaganath car of their own traditions crushed its victims of yore."

The policy long pursued of placing some selected Natives in the superior rank of the Civil Service, of promoting meritorious Natives to seats in the Legislative Councils and on the Judicial Bench, of improving the emoluments and the pensions for all grades of Native officials, will it is hoped bear fruit in raising their character and their trustworthiness. Combined with these tangible considerations are the moral influences of the new education. Still it is felt that under the conditions of British Rule, the posts where danger might have to be encountered must continue to be held by Europeans.

Under the great latitude allowed for public dis-

cussion, Associations of educated Natives have been formed which occasionally hold what they call Congresses. Perhaps their debates may be regarded as academic; still they have doubtless unintentionally propounded theories incompatible with British Rule, proposing virtually that Native Assemblies should have control over the finances, while the British Government bears the responsibility of imperial defence. Probably these ideas may die out of themselves, otherwise they should be discouraged.

There has not been within the last very few years any recrudescence in the Native Vernacular Press of that disloyalty which has occasionally obliged the Government to strengthen the laws of repression. Meanwhile the circulation and number of these Newspapers increase greatly.

Upon all this the question arises whether the Hindus have during the nineteenth century lost their originality in poetry, literature, the drama, art and philosophy. Certainly, no more national epics are composed, but the same may be said of every Western country. There is little good poetry written nowadays, and at all events nothing like the verse of such men as Kalidasa, still renowned as the sweet singer of India. In literature they never had much of history, or of any prose except didactic. Since the introduction of state-education during the second half of the nineteenth century they have written much, but according to the annual Reports by the Government of India their writings have been of an ordinary

character without any marked originality. As to their drama, the stage is still much esteemed and many popular plays are written. But when any grand effect is desired then resort will be had to the plays of the elder time, works of world-wide fame, and translated into many languages, and much the same may be said of the English stage to-day. The old pictorial art is still most highly esteemed, but there is fear lest it should deteriorate by the attempts made under European agency to improve or to advance it. The moral is that while we teach the Indians some things which they never knew before, we should not engraft anything European on the beautiful trees they already have. Of their industrial arts some few (as previously stated) are extinct, but then some additional branches have appeared. The English market has for them been added to the Indian; so on the whole they stand in as high a position as ever, which, take it all in all, is perhaps the highest in the world. Of their philosophy a large part has become obsolete though it has long exercised many of the most studious minds in Europe, and is supposed to have influenced European thought in some directions. Another part, however, seems to be bursting into fresh life and to have a fascinating attraction for some Europeans who fancy that they can catch a guiding light from it under the name of "esoteric Booddhism," and other names pertaining to what is called theosophy. Of the courts and camps among the grandees many are still flourish-

ing as of yore, though it must be admitted that some of the greatest, such as those of the historic Oojein and Bijayanagar, have disappeared, though not at all through British instrumentality. In regard to palaces it is probable that these buildings nowadays in the Indo-Saracenic style are better than almost any constructed in former days.

After all, there remains the question whether any movement marked with originality has occurred during the latter half of the nineteenth century. Certainly there has, and that may be called Brahmoism in Bengal; at least, that was its first name; there was a movement in Bombay called the Sarva Janik Sabha; and there may have been sub-divisions of these; besides branches in Madras and Southern India. The movements are all in the same direction, and they would probably now fall under the generic name of Vedic. Their purport is the rejection of the polytheism of modern Hinduism or, more exactly speaking, Brahmanism, and reverting to what is presumed to have been the faith of the race when their earliest books were written, named the Vedas. Consequently a Vedic philosophy has been reconstructed, and the new religion would be really described by its professors as Vedic, though the nomenclature may not as yet have been formally or publicly settled. Its substance seems to be a simple theism, with rules for conduct derived from the most ancient Hindu writings. Of these writings the moral effect may well be

gathered from the book by the late Sir Monier Williams, entitled *Indian Wisdom.* This theistic movement is directly a product of the latter half of the nineteenth century, and its liberality of thought does come from the Western instruction imparted by the British Government. There was hope that the men thus affected would accept Christianity. Such has not been the case, however, for they have taken up Brahmoism instead.

But between the modern Hindu theists and the uncompromising Brahmin priesthood, mentioned above, there is an increasingly large class of Hindus whose faith in the polytheism of the day has been shaken, who are yet not prepared to join the Brahmoist theism or the new Vedic religion, who are still too rationalistic and too speculative to adopt Christianity, who know not what religion to adopt, and who, thus being uncomfortable in themselves are inclined to rail at every other community, and especially attack the British Government, which by its education has caused all this mental unsettlement. They repeat in their own Oriental phrase what has often been said for them by Europeans, that the British have by education taken their own religion from them and have given them nothing in its place. In truth, Britain, not through her Government, lest that should savour of compulsion, but through her private agencies, on a vast scale, offers her own holy Religion though they do not as yet accept it. Still they cavil and complain, not because the British

Government cannot find them a religion, but because they cannot find one for themselves. This uneasiness has been portrayed by Sir Alfred Lyall in three letters supposed to be written by a Brahmin of this type under the pseudonym of "Vama deo Shastri," and republished quite recently in the Second Series of *Asiatic Studies*. Certainly these letters set forth, better than they have ever been before shown in the English language, the perplexities of a large number of thoughtful Hindus at the present day, and there is nothing better worth reading for those who take an interest in the state of the Hindu mind. Sir Alfred makes his Hindu thus address the British: "With the decay of religious beliefs . . . you are beginning to perceive that where no other authority is recognised, the visible authority is recognised, the visible ruler becomes responsible for everything. You consequently by various devices shift off upon the people themselves the burden of their immense responsibility for their own destinies, and stir them up into accepting it by spirited appeals to their independence, their progress in education and their duty of self-help. In vain, for the mass of the Indian people impute to the English all the confusion and disquietude that have accompanied their sudden introduction, unprepared, into a world of new and strange desires . . . the general unrest produced by the subsidence of old landmarks, religious, social and political. They say that your civilisation and education were none of their seek-

ing . . . and that foreigners, who set up in India the rushing and screaming locomotive you call Progress, must drive it themselves."

Again the supposed Hindu says: "You offer us your creeds; we cannot accept them with implicit faith, we are such unconvertible rationalists that we should find scope for argument in every metaphysical proposition, or further in reference to God: We are incapable of apprehending a Personality except in the sense of something that marks or represents an incomprehensible nation."

The idea of such Hindu regarding the future state is thus expressed: "The only point in all our Theology of direct interest to humanity in regard to its future destiny is the process of the soul's transmigration through incessant births and deaths, until at last it becomes absorbed in the totality of existencies."

Or again: "The cardinal ideas run through our deeper religious thought. One is the Maya or cosmic illusion which . . . produces unity by exhibiting the universe as a shadow projected upon the white radiance of eternity; the other is the notion of the soul's deliverance by long travail from existence in any stage or shape."

After vainly attempting to think the unthinkable, know the unknowable, fathom the unfathomable, these Hindus will more and more fall into the Vedic theism above described. On the opposite extreme of society the Hinduism will be successful-

ly attacked by Christianity. But the lower middle class will, for some time to come, follow the present observances of polytheism.

Caste too, even if its religious significance shall fade, must long continue as a social institution. Even those who visit Europe and thereby break their caste rules, have on their return to India to obtain restoration to the caste in which they were born, doubtless after making suitable offerings.

Before quitting the subject of religion it is to be remembered that there are two faiths fully preserved, namely that of the Jains and that of the Parsees—the former is at least as old as the earlier Booddhism, the latter dates from the Zoroaster and the Zendic, one of the primeval religions of the world.

It is noteworthy that despite the Pax Britannica long established, sanguinary conflicts still occasionally occur between either rival religionists, or between hostile castes. There have been three such occurrences within the last decade of this century; one at Bombay, so very grave that the Government were obliged to bring artillery on the ground in order to strike terror into the rioters; one at Calcutta in 1896 when European troops had to be employed; and one in this year, 1899, in the Southern Peninsula, that is in the Madras Presidency.

Lastly there is the question as to how far the Natives are loyal to British Rule. Loyalty and patriotism such as, for example, Britains feel for their country and their constitutions, is not to be expected

from the Natives of India towards the British Government. Still among them there is much of loyalty and still more of friendly acquiescence. In many cases there is the strongest personal gratitude towards the Government or to its Officers. There is some actual disloyalty here and there as is proved by the political trials at Bombay in 1896. It was seen that among the Western Ghaut mountains there are influential Brahmins who will not submit to British Rule if they can help it, and that they look back to the memory of Sivaji, the national hero, in the hope that some deliverer may reappear. This accords with experience in the same quarter during 1879. In my own book entitled *Men and Events of my Time in India*, published in 1881, there was the following summary or analysis of the subject, which was written then with the freshest knowledge and which doubtless holds good still.

Actively loyal.	I. The princes and chiefs of the Native States.
	II. The banking, trading and industrial classes.
	III. The Zemindars or landlords of permanently settled estates.
Loyal but passive.	IV. The peasant proprietors and the cultivators.
	V. The labourers.
Largely loyal but some the reverse.	VI. The educated classes.
	VII. The Native aristocracy in the British territories.
	VIII. The Hindu and Mohammedan priesthood.

Excitable and ready for mischief.	IX. The fanatics. X. The hangers-on of Courts and Camps of grandees. XI. The mob.

Now classes I., II., and III. are quite the most influential in the country, classes IV. and V. quite the most numerous, classes VI., VII. and VIII., though not wholly to be depended on, do yet furnish many good subjects, classes IX., X. and XI. are the only bad ones, and are not numerous. Thus there appears to be, on a reckoning of forces, for and against, a great balance in favour of the British. Added to this preponderance of the Indian classes and masses on the British side, there is the priceless advantage of the clear head, the stout heart, the strong arm, directed by the unity of will, on the part of the British themselves. Moreover there are the appliances of Western science, which are even more potent than physical power.

Inasmuch as the Sovereigns will be mentioned for Japan and China, it is well here to name our own Sovereigns who have been on the throne during the nineteenth century. They are: 1800 to 1820, George III. and the Prince Regent; 1820 to 1830, George IV.; 1830 to 1837, William IV.; 1837 to 1901, Victoria (Queen, Empress of India), who, having commanded boundless respect and loyalty throughout a reign of sixty-three years, was succeeded by her son, Edward VII.

In India the following have been the Governors-General:

1800–1805—*Marquess Wellesley.* Overthrew the Mahratta Empire, conquered the North-Western Provinces and established the British Power.

1805 —*Marquess Cornwallis* (for the second time). Died in the year of his arrival in India.

1806–1813—*Earl of Minto.* Confirmed, under difficulties, the imperial policy of Marquess Wellesley; subdued Travancore.

1813–1823—*Earl of Moira, Marquess of Hastings.* Completed the reduction of the Mahratta power, undertook war with Nepal, conducted the Pindarry War for the pacification of Central India, extended and developed the British dominion.

1823–1828—*Lord Amherst.* Conducted the first Burmese War, annexed the coast districts and Assam.

1828–1835—*Lord William Bentinck.* Conducted peaceful reform and began a regular system of legislation.

1835 —*Sir Charles Metcalfe.* Established the freedom of the Press.

1836–1842—*Earl of Auckland.* Undertook the First Afghan War.

1842–1844—*Lord, afterwards Earl, Ellenborough.* Finished the Afghan War, annexed Sind.

1844–1848—*Sir Henry, afterwards Viscount, Hardinge.* Conducted the First Sikh War and annexed frontier Territory.

1848–1856—*Earl, afterwards Marquess, Dalhousie.* Conducted the Second War and annexed the Panjab, including Cashmir and North-West frontier; conducted the Second Burmese War and annexed Pegu (Rangoon); annexed Oudh and Nagpore; introduced railways and electric telegraph.

1856–1862—*Viscount, afterwards Earl, Canning.* Confronted the crisis of the Mutinies and the war relating thereto, first Viceroy and Governor-General.

1862–1864—*Earl of Elgin.* Dealt with threatening disturbances on North-West frontier.

1864–1869—*Sir John, afterwards Lord, Lawrence.* Pursued a steady and peaceful policy on North-West frontier and with Afghanistan ; undertook expedition against Bhutan ; prosecuted internal improvements of every kind.

1869–1872—*Earl of Mayo.* Conducted negotiations with Ameer Shere Ali of Afghanistan ; initiated the system of Provincial Finance.

1872–1876—*Lord, afterwards Earl, of Northbrook.* Pursued steady and peaceful policy with North-West frontier and Afghanistan ; established in full practice the principle that the State is to do its utmost in saving life during famine.

1876–1880—*Lord, afterwards Earl, Lytton.* Held Imperial Assemblage at Delhi for proclamation of the Queen as Empress of India ; undertook the Second Afghan War ; dealt successfully with famine.

1880–1884—*Marquis of Ripon.* Concluded Afghan War ; proceeded with system of Local Government in India.

1884–1888—*Earl of Dufferin (afterwards Marquess).* Undertook the Third Burmese War and annexed the Kingdom of Ava.

1888–1893—*Marquess of Lansdowne.* Sent expeditions to settle Eastern frontier ; took up currency question and closed mints against free coinage of silver.

1893–1898—*Earl of Elgin.* Undertook war on North-West frontier ; dealt successfully with a great famine.

1899 —*Lord Curzon of Kedleston.* Still ruling.

PART TWO.

JAPAN.

CHAPTER XV.

INTRODUCTION.

In this Part as in the former Part, no attempt at geographical or historical description will be made. Still it is necessary to summarise the important points of Japan, in order that the narrative of its progress during the nineteenth century may be understood.

The name Japan is not Japanese at all, that is to say it is not native. The country was first reported to Europeans by Marco Polo in the twelfth century, under the name of Chipangu. Dr. Murray, one of the latest and best authorities, writes: "The name Chipangu is a transliteration of the Chinese name. . . . From it the Japanese derived the name Nippon, and then prefixed the term dai, or great, making it Dai Nippon, the name which is now used to designate their empire. Europeans transformed the Chinese name into Japan or Japon, by which the country is known to them at present. . . . The is-