

THE CITIZEN OF INDIA

READY SHORTLY

THE AUTHORISED GUIDE

TO THE

STUDY OF LEE WARNER'S

THE CITIZEN OF INDIA

BY THE

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HER MAJESTY VICTORIA QUEEN OF GREAT BRITAIN AND EMPRESS OF INDIA.
From a Photograph by Wallery, Limited, London

THE CITIZEN OF INDIA

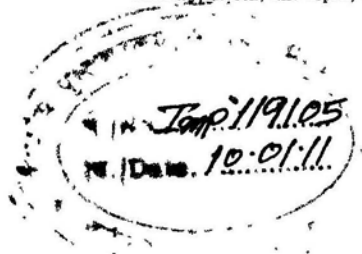
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PREFACE.

THE world has grown wiser and older by a century and a half since a famous French poet and philosopher offered the advice that a nation should cultivate its garden and rest content with that object in life. In the East as well as in the West men have now a wider outlook. They begin to take an interest, and consequently a part, in carrying on and even shaping their governments. From the West, which owes so much in the past to the Aryan race, India has in turn received freedom, free speech, free trade, free movement. The mass of the population remains uneducated, and cannot tell whence comes the new spirit that moves on the face of the waters. But the spirit breathes, and all men hear the sound thereof, and are stirred by its breath. The education of those who pass through our schools does not end in the school-room, and for those who are classed as "unable to read or write" it begins in the village, in the municipal town, in the courts of law, and on the railways. Knowledge or ignorance, truth or error, must circulate like the currency through the multitudes. It cannot be a matter of indifference what lessons we teach to the young, for what they learn they will pass on to others. Whether they are trained in the right path, or left to stray into prejudice,

intolerance, and disloyalty to their neighbours, the rising generation are born to be citizens. An effort ought to be made to teach our future citizens the A B C of their rights and duties. Who am I, and who are my neighbours? How am I governed and what is expected of me? What becomes of the taxes I pay? What is done to keep me and my property safe, and to protect me from disease and famine? These are questions which must occur to many, and they lead up to the further question: What is my duty to my neighbour? It is the main purpose of the author of this little volume to place before Indian school-boys a few simple facts about the land in which they live; but it is believed that older citizens of the British Empire may find in its pages some information about India which will be of interest to them. Be that as it may, the author at least ventures to hope that his work may lead some of the rising generation in India to value their heritage of British citizenship, and to acknowledge the duties which they owe to themselves and their fellow countrymen.

W. L. W.

November 5, 1897.

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CHAPTER I.

THE VILLAGE.

1. **Common Interests.** Every Schoolboy in India who has made such progress in his studies as to be able to read this book will be in a position to understand the two following simple statements. The first is, that the ties which ought to unite men as citizens of one and the same country need not be broken, or even strained, by the mere fact that they profess different religious creeds, or adopt different modes of life. The second is, that the unity of a society composed of various classes can best be promoted by enlarging their knowledge and the sympathy of each class with its neighbours, and by studying their privileges and duties as citizens of a common country. Men who live together in the same land must constantly work for, and with, each other. They have in fact common interests, and if any one should ask what is meant by common interests, he cannot do better than think of his own body. Nearly four hundred years before the beginning of the Christian era a wise man of Greece explained the subject in these terms. "The best ordered state," said Socrates, "is that in which the

greatest number of men use the expressions—'this is mine' or 'this is not mine'—in the same way and in reference to the same object." He went on to illustrate his argument by the following example—"If only the finger of a man is hurt, then the whole frame, drawn towards the soul as a centre and forming a united kingdom under one ruler, feels the hurt and sympathizes with it; and we all say that the man has a pain in his finger." The man with all his members takes the part, and feels the hurt, of any member affected. That which is true of a single man is true also of a community of men living in one country under one ruler, or, as it is often called, the "body politic." If one village suffers, the province should feel the pain in its village; or if the province suffers, the country should suffer with it. The interests of one class are the interests of all, and the best ordered empire is that in which the greatest number of citizens sympathize with each other.

2. Elements of Union in India. Just as the members of the body perform different duties, and are in form and other respects unlike each other, although they all minister to the common safety and well-being of the body, so a living unity of heart and mind in a great population can exist side by side with differences of creed and habits. In European countries there is a very keen sense of personal liberty and of freedom of conscience, which tends to draw not merely large classes, but also families and individuals, apart from their near neighbours. The tendency to separation is, however, corrected by a national respect for law and a general feeling of patriotism. In India these binding influences of law and love of country were not in

former days cultivated. But, on the other hand, the inhabitants have from time immemorial possessed certain traits of character and customs, conducive to union, which western countries have lacked. Personal devotion to a chief, obedience to the father of a family, a strong sense of religion, and village communities have in the past laid in India a foundation for useful citizenship. The people have long since felt in the family circle, in the religious sect, or in village life, the practical advantages of common action. To a large extent men have been accustomed to look beyond themselves, and to feel that they are members of a wider circle than that of their own separate families. The village and the caste system have thus introduced into the daily life of the country an idea of co-operation, and a feeling that, if one caste of labourers supplies one want of the village or the nation, its wants should be supplied in turn by other castes. The spirit of mutual helpfulness, and the sense, shared by all classes, of dependence upon government and a higher providence, are influences which even to-day tend to draw the people of India towards each other. On the other hand, the very system of family, caste, and creed which has fostered them, is sometimes apt to restrict the operation of these influences to a narrow circle. The natives of India are famed for their charity, but their charity is more confined within the caste or the sect than is the case in Europe. The citizen ought to have a wider range of duties and privileges than any class or sect of the community can have. As the family is merged in the village, so the village is merged in the province, and the province in the Empire, and by citizenship we

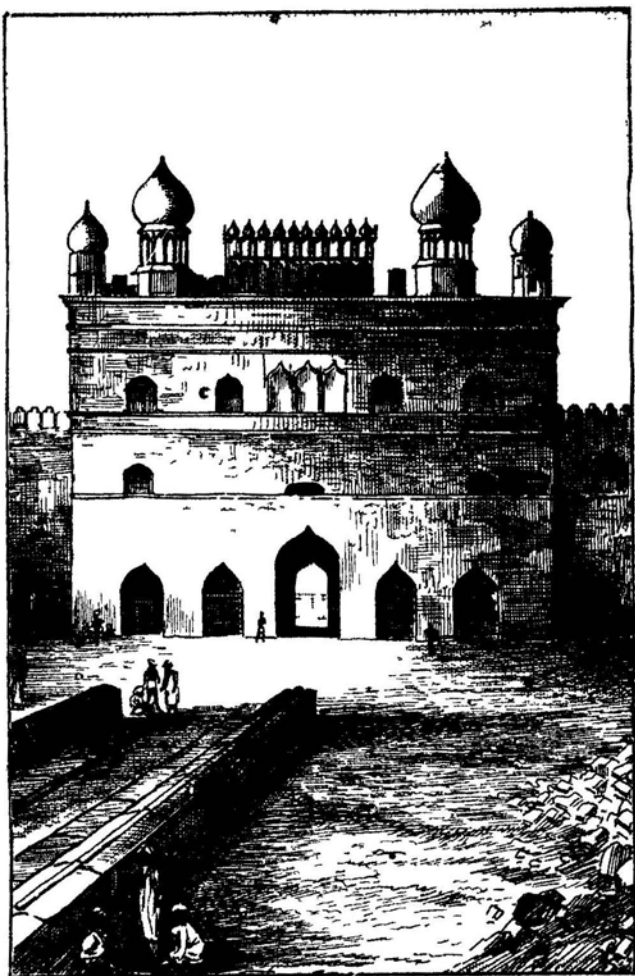
mean membership of the whole Indian empire, with the rights and obligations which such membership implies. In order that each citizen may know what he owes to his fellow countrymen and to his government, he has to some extent to shake himself free of prejudices, and to remember that, besides his duty to his family or sect or village, he owes something to the whole country of which he has inherited the right to call himself a citizen.

3. **The Village Community.** The current of the people's life in a healthy state of society ought to flow through the family and the village into the province, and so forth to the whole empire. In many parts of India the village used to be a separate, and rather stagnant, centre of national life. The village community contained in miniature all the materials of the State. Within its walls or ring-fences families of different castes or religions dwelt together, supplying each other's daily wants, and uniting to defend their homes when attacked by an enemy, who generally came from a neighbouring village or province. All that the inhabitants knew of government and of the duties of the State to its subjects was collected before their eyes. Public authority was represented by the head-man, who united in himself the several functions of collector of revenue, of police superintendent, of magistrate, and even of civil judge. He was aided by an assistant, and by the village accountant. The other officials who took part in the public administration were the silversmith who assayed money, and the village watchman who tracked thieves, carried messages, guarded the boundaries, and arrested wrongdoers. [

Outside these official classes were other families

which ministered to the wants of the community, bound to their neighbours by the ties of common interests, and rendering to them services in return for a share of the village produce and the protection which they received. They were the village blacksmith, the carpenter, the potter, the grass-rope maker, the sweeper, the cobbler, the barber, the washerman, and the water-carrier. The expenses of carrying on the affairs of the village and of managing the temple were met by a tax upon the lands or the houses of the village. Such is the picture of a little State contained in the village, which was drawn by a writer who was well acquainted with native society in the Dekhan in the year 1820.

4. The Past and the Present. The striking changes which India has witnessed in the last century have greatly changed the people's mode of life. The appearance of the villages themselves has altered, the rules which compelled the inhabitants to remain attached to their villages have been repealed, and the large powers which were concentrated in the hands of the village officers have been divided. If you should look at a picture of any good-sized village as it appeared in 1820 you would see that it was walled round, or at least defended by a stout fence of prickly pear. In some of the native states, and in all the countries bordering on India, the villages are to-day in a similar state of defence, as if they expected attacks at night. Their walls and fences, no doubt, offer a substantial obstacle to the intrusion of robbers, but they also oppose the passage of free air, and otherwise interfere with ventilation and sanitary habits. It was in the interests of public health that the fine old walls of



THE PALACE GATE, DELHI

Ahmedabad were partially demolished, but the gates are for the most part still preserved.

The interior arrangements of the village used to correspond to its exterior. The artizans could not leave their homes without great difficulty. At home their services were at the disposal of the government for the performance of forced labour, or else, at the call of the villagers in return for certain moderate dues or shares of the village-produce fixed by custom with a sparing hand. In any case it was not convenient to let them emigrate until famine left them without their shares of grain. Then again the village officers exercised very large authority over the rest of the inhabitants. In short, all that the village thought about was itself and its lands, and all that it knew about justice and government was contained in the authority of its head-man. It was walled off from the rest of the country in more senses than one. To-day the village walls are thrown down, and its prickly pear is severely pruned. The postman brings its newspapers from the capital of the province, and the villagers may go where they like in search of employment and profit. The divisional and district courts outside its limits are open to receive any complaints which the humblest inhabitant may prefer.

5. The Merits of the Old System. A statesman, Mountstuart Elphinstone, whose name is still connected with the leading college and high school of Bombay, and who felt a high admiration for the virtues of Indian rural society, expressed the opinion that the village communities were probably "not suited to a good form of government." But he added, "they are

an excellent remedy for the imperfections of a bad one, and they prevent the bad effects of its negligence and weakness, and even present some barriers against its tyranny." Every one must admit that there was much that was attractive in the picture of village society which has just been drawn. The villagers were taught to render services to each other, to work for each other according to their several trades, to depend upon each other, and to stand shoulder to shoulder in self-defence. At a time when disorder reigned, and the rulers employed no police to protect their subjects, the people were enabled to provide to some extent for their own safety. If the higher revenue officials exacted from the raiyats more than they could pay, the village rose up as one man to resist the demand. If families quarrelled, the public opinion of the village restrained them, and although the head-men combined executive with judicial powers, they had sometimes the united pressure of their fellow-villagers to correct them in the discharge of their duties. The provinces frequently changed hands and passed from one native ruler to another, but the village life usually ran on in an even course or without much alteration. The villagers sowed and reaped, even though their rulers carried off as much of the crop as they could.

6. Faults of the Old System. There was, however, another side to the picture which was not so pleasant. The villages received no real protection from government, and no help in time of distress. Their inhabitants had no motives of self-interest, no spirit of competition, to stimulate their labour or induce them to improve their condition. It will be well to realize the condition of Indian villages in past times in these

several respects, and the consequences which flowed from them. It is the duty of a government to protect its subjects from foreign foe and civil disorder. But a government can only do this effectively if it can call to its aid the united resources of the whole country. The independent action of a number of isolated villages is of no use in repelling a strong enemy. India learnt this to her cost when a Tamerlane, or a Nadir Shah, laid her capital cities in the dust, deluging their streets with blood. As foreign armies marched upon Delhi or any other city they over-ran the villages in their path, destroying crops and property, and converting the tilled land into a desert. The forces of the native rulers did their best to defend the capital towns, but they left the villages to their fate. Even in times of peace the public taxes were spent on the adornment of the cities—Delhi, Agra, Fatehpur Sikri, Bijapur, and others—whilst little was spent on district canals and roads or public works of local benefit. At times also it was not even a foreign foe, but an unruly band of Pindaris or organized plunderers living in India, who inflicted misery on the villages. The fate of Guntur which perished with all its families in the flames lit by its own inhabitants, in order to escape the hands of the Pindaris, was not unknown to other villages in the Dekhan. In times of famine or pestilence the State took no action to save the lives and properties of the suffering masses. In short, the governments in former days left the villages without any attempt to rescue or assist them, and the consequence was that the word patriotism, or love of country, was unknown in India. If the rulers of the country did not treat their subjects as children, it was

only natural that the people should confine their regard to their village magnates and local leaders, and entertain no feeling of love or devotion for their country at large.

Within the village itself, there was no motive for enterprise or improvement. The cultivators saw their crops removed and a bare subsistence left to them, no matter what care or industry they bestowed upon their fields. The artisans worked without reward for the State, or else for each other in return for a small customary payment in kind. The traders were often obliged to sell their goods at a fixed price, and their operations could not extend to distant places when the country was full of disorder and the roads insecure.

But with all these drawbacks the villagers held together, and bent their heads before the storms which blew over them. By the ties of family feeling and common defence village society was kept united, isolated it is true, but still able to rise up again after numerous falls and disasters. If the villagers lived always in a state of siege, at least they lived, and the village sites survived the revolutions which overtook the province. Their nominal rulers changed constantly, but village life, hard at all times, suffered no very great change, whatever might befall the country or the province. In short, the poorest occupant of a hut in an Indian village may boast that he still occupies the site in the palm grove which his forefathers selected many centuries ago.

7. The Modern Village. The Indian village has ceased to be a state in miniature enclosed within walls and fences. It is an integral part of the province and so of the empire. Its barriers are broken down, and



INDIAN VILLAGE.

the eyes of its inhabitants are fixed upon the outside world, in full confidence that their attention will not be required every night upon the walls of their village defences. All are free to go where self-interest leads them, and the hand of government is visible wherever they go. The raiyats know exactly what assessment they have to pay, and the profits of extra diligence and care go into their own pockets. There is no wasteful dispute about the share of the standing crops belonging to the state, and there is no need to bribe the official gatherer of their rents. Every cultivator or proprietor knows precisely what will be demanded of him, and the State takes no more than the sum which is entered in the public accounts. The classes owning no land of their own who live by labour, and the artisans of the village, can go where they please in search of employment, and many of them find work for a few months in the great cities, returning home for the rainy season. The village traders supply the merchants who keep their eyes fixed on the world's markets, and they sell the village crops where they can obtain the best prices. The protection of government is enjoyed by every class, and instead of mud huts the people often live in houses of brick and stone. The villagers are neither attacked at home by robbers in the night, nor are their houses laid in ruins by an invading army. When they go forth on their business they travel safely by roads or railways connecting their homes with distant cities. Even the village well is frequently not the sole supply of water. Each village shares with others the benefits of the canals which traverse the country, and the links which unite the villages with the large towns of the province are

numerous. The authority of the village officers is regulated by law, and the civil and criminal courts held at headquarters are open to all. The village school leads on to the subdivisional school, and that to the district high school. Even the village registrar collects his returns of births and deaths, and regularly sends them on to a central office. Thus every one of the 537,991 villages and towns, in which 221 millions of people live in British India, maintains its identity as a distinct village, but feels at the same time that it is only a living part of the great empire to which it belongs.

8. A Matter of Experience. When once it is understood that the interests of every village are bound up with those of others, every one who can read or write must wish to learn something about the working of the great machine which carries on the public administration. He knows from his own experience that his village belongs to a district, and the district to a province, and he ought to have some idea as to how the provinces were formed, and what are their relations to the empire at large. When he goes out into the country he will probably cross the boundary of a native state, and he will find that he has stepped outside the jurisdiction of British courts. He has to live by the side of people of different creeds and races, and he will take more interest in them if he knows how their ancestors found their way into India, and what qualities they have brought to the common stock of the country. Other questions will be constantly suggested by matters within his daily observation. Whence comes the machinery which is opening the mines under the earth, or driving cotton mills in the

cities? How is the peace maintained in so vast a country, and how is the public health preserved? The practical experience of every man will give rise to these and other similar questions, and if education is of any value it ought to assist him in giving correct answers to them.

9. Personal Duty. For the answer is not a matter in which we have no concern. Its character for good or evil depends to a large extent upon our own efforts. The human body cannot enjoy health if the several members do not work together for it. In the same way the government of a country cannot be carried on if the citizens do not take an active part in assisting it. It is not at all necessary that a man should be in the service of the State in order to fulfil his duty to the State. We hear sometimes complaints of the corruption of the police, of the miscarriage of justice, or of the spread of disease which can be prevented. But bribes would not be taken if they were not offered, false evidence must be given before justice is perverted, and disease would not spread if it were not first produced and diffused by neglect of proper precautions. The country has a right to expect that each citizen will use his best endeavours to promote the causes of justice and public health. Within the village community there used to be a spirit of mutual help and service for the common good. Although the sphere of our duties is enlarged, there is no reason why the same idea should not animate the residents of a province or a country. In an address delivered in Calcutta in December, 1896, the Honourable Mr. Justice Ranade, C.I.E., made these observations: "The State after all exists only to make individual members

composing it nobler, happier, richer, and more perfect in every attribute with which we are endowed: and this perfection of our being can never be insured by any outside arrangement, however excellent, unless the individual member concerned is in himself prepared in his own private social sphere of duties to co-operate in his own well-being."

10. **The Future.** If Mr. Ranade's excellent advice were more generally followed, we might look forward to the future as described by an English poet, Lewis Morris

"There shall come from out the noise of strife and groaning,
A broader day, a juster brotherhood
A deep equality of aim postponing
All selfish seeking to the general good.
There shall come a time when each shall to the other
Be as God would have him, brother to brother."

CHAPTER II.

THE CITY.

11. **Towns.** Before we proceed from the village to the district, we must learn something about the town or city. The population of the villages is called rural, and that of the towns urban. There are two points which should be noticed in dealing with the urban population of India. The first is that it is extremely small, as compared with what we find in England and in most other European countries. The other is, that it has greatly increased under British rule. In England and Wales, which cover only 58,309 square miles with about 29 millions of people, there are 185 towns, each containing more than 20,000 inhabitants, and all together counting an urban population of $15\frac{1}{2}$ millions. In the whole of India, including the native states, with its huge area of 1,560,160 square miles, there are 225 such towns, of which about 50 are in the native states. The population of these 225 towns was returned in 1891 at less than 14 millions. It may be said that in one portion of the British Isles more than half the population lives in towns severally containing more than 20,000 inhabitants, while in

India not even a twentieth part resides in such towns. At the same time the urban population of British India has grown considerably in the last fifty years, and it is very much denser than in the native states.

12. Advantages of Towns. If any one should feel surprise at the small number of Indian towns, he will find an explanation of the fact in the state of the country before the arrival of the British. Three influences induce men to draw away from the villages and live together in large towns, namely, self-defence, trade, and the privileges of self-government which are generally granted to large towns and cities. One might have expected that in the centuries of invasion and civil war through which India has passed the people would have preferred towns to villages as affording to them a better protection. But the terrible fate which overtook Delhi and other cities warned the people that their frequent invaders, whose object was plunder and not government, would assuredly attack the wealthy city and not the poor village. Large towns attracted not merely the foreign foe, but also the cupidity of their rulers, and they were even liable to be moved from one place to another to please the whim or ambition of a prince. The ruins of many cities of Delhi bear witness to this experience. The influence of self-defence, which has proved elsewhere so strong in the formation of town colonies, was greatly weakened in India by these considerations.

Trade could never flourish in India when the country was exposed to internal disorder and foreign invasion. The population barely sufficed to keep the villages populated and their lands tilled; and although

there were cities whose industries in copperware, silk fabrics, muslins, and lacquer work, obtained for them a reputation not confined to India, there was neither a large demand for these products of industry in the country, nor any safe means of exporting them to foreign countries. At present if the urban population of England shows signs of decrease, the inference is at once drawn that the foreign trade of Great Britain is falling off; but the chief trade which India carried on with other countries up to the establishment of British rule was a commerce in the produce of the land and the forests, and not in the products of skilled labour. India sent abroad her pepper, lac, fibres, ginger, and timber, and her trade stimulated the rural rather than the urban population. The value of Dacca¹ muslins exported in 1787 was thirty lakhs, but in 1813 it had fallen to less than four lakhs.

The third influence which leads men from the countryside to the town was unknown to India before British rule. Such small measure of self-government as the people enjoyed was confined to the village whose institutions were described in the last chapter. Even in the present day the progress of municipal life is slow, and such must be the case until the class of residents who possess wealth, education, and leisure is largely increased. In the meanwhile, as the towns increase under the influences of peace and trade, every opportunity is taken to entrust to the townsmen powers of self-government.

13. Municipal Towns. It is then to these towns that attention must be paid by those who wish to learn

¹ The muslins of Dacca were famous in Roman and even Assyrian times.

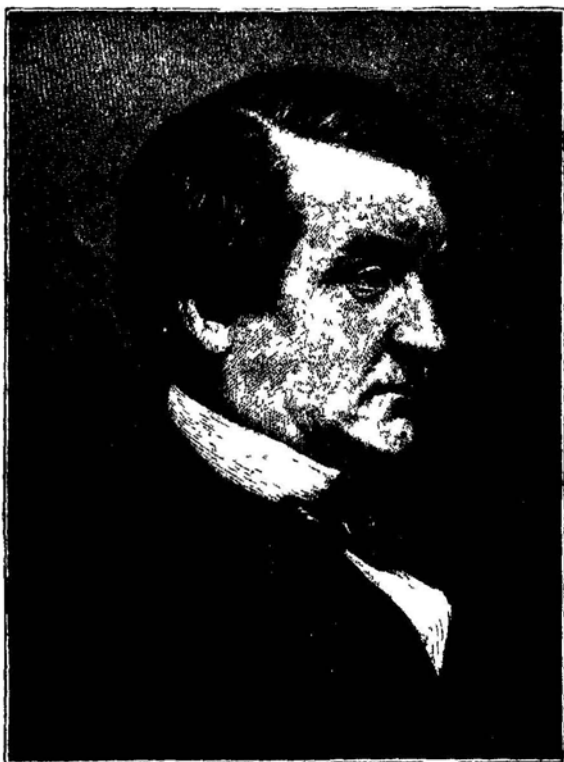
something about the machine of government. Leaving on one side for the present the three capital cities of Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay, and Rangoon the chief



THE EARL OF MAYO, K.P., 1869 TO 1872.

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town of the province of Burma, we find that British India possessed in 1896 no less than 733 municipalities of which the population numbered 13,298,613 persons.

Bombay had 170 of them, the Punjab 149, Bengal 146, and the North Western Provinces 103. In Madras there were 56 such towns, and in the Central Provinces 53, the remainder being distributed in small numbers over the rest of India.

14. Self-government. The objects which the British authorities have kept in view in creating municipal boards in India have been two-fold—first, to enlist local interest in the management of local funds devoted to education, sanitation, medical charity, and local public works, and, secondly, to serve as instruments of political education. The former view was insisted upon by Lord Mayo in 1870 in a Resolution dated the 11th of February, and the second was enlarged upon by Lord Ripon in 1881-1882. It has been the steady purpose of Lord Ripon's successors to unite both policies. Before the government of India passed to the Crown in 1857, the East India Company had already conferred municipal powers upon the larger cities, and also in Bombay, upon several towns as far back as 1850. But no general advance was made throughout the country until the years 1871-1873, when several Acts were passed which were amended and enlarged in 1883 and 1884. Prior to 1883 there was a tendency to keep municipalities in leading strings, and to subject them to constant official control. The intention was to see that their powers were not ill-used, and their revenues not misapplied. After that year it was recognized that by removing official control in some cases, and in other cases by legally defining the limits of the State's interference, the people might be brought to take increased interest in local affairs, and so learn to devote to them the same care and

attention that they bestow upon their own concerns. The expression self-government indicates that within certain defined limits the authorities entrust to non-official bodies of citizens various powers of administration, which otherwise would be exercised by the officers of government.

15. **Trustees for the Public.** In order that self-government may not be discredited by neglect or other scandals, the State in delegating to these bodies or boards some of its own authority and powers, expressly reserves to itself a right to compel municipalities to exercise their lawful powers in cases of dangerous epidemics or other grave public necessity. It also defines precisely the class of taxes which the boards may levy, and the objects to which their funds are to be applied. The total revenue raised by the 733 municipalities in the year 1895 was about 249 lakhs, and this large income was spent by the people themselves on their own local wants through their trustees, the municipal committees or boards. Two instances may be given to explain the nature and objects of the restrictions imposed by the State on the powers of boards to raise taxes. In India the form of tax which is least felt, because it is least observed, is a tax upon articles of consumption called octroi. It is only fair that the residents of municipalities, numbering 13,298,613 persons, should tax themselves to supply local wants, but it is not fair that other consumers, who do not live in municipal limits, should be taxed for objects of no interest to them. Some years ago the richest municipality in Sindh was a mere village on the Indus where corn was brought to be carried down the river to a foreign market. The levy of octroi upon this

corn taxed not the municipal residents but the distant consumers of the corn, and thus it tended to drive Indian corn out of the market by raising its price. To prevent such practices an estimate is made of the extreme limit of the corn or other article which the population of the town can possibly consume, and if the municipal tax levied on that article produces a revenue much in excess of what such a tax upon the local consumption would give, a case arises for the interference of government. Another instance of restriction is afforded by the rule that the general taxation of the empire must not be injured by municipal finance. If the State raises a revenue from certain articles, the town must not tax those articles; otherwise it might destroy the trade in them, and so injure the public revenues.

As regards expenditure, municipal boards must not be extravagant with the monies entrusted to them by the State for a special object. The needs for which they are expected to provide are the conservancy and cleanliness of the town, its public health and dispensaries, its water-supply, roads, and other local public works, and primary education. It is the duty of the State, to whom the residents of the towns pay general taxes in addition to those levied by the municipality, to provide for the public peace, justice, military charges, the district police, and the cost of all general establishments in which the municipal residents are interested as subjects of the State.

16. **Political Education.** The general principle just stated can easily be understood. Within the town the inhabitants require many special conveniences of lighting, water, drainage, and medical comforts, which they

can thoroughly appreciate. For these local advantages they tax themselves, and the State entrusts to their representatives the duty of applying the local income to local wants. Within the municipal area the commissioners, some of whom are elected by the people themselves, carry on the local government under the legal powers conferred upon them by the State. This is what is called local self-government, and its success depends not merely on the ability of the members of the boards, but also upon the influence of local public opinion. If the citizens unite to oppose abuses of authority and suggest improvements, their views are sure to carry the day. This is what Lord Ripon meant by the phrase, "instruments of political education." The municipal commissioners are taught by experience to administer a public trust, and the citizens learn for themselves many lessons which they might be tempted to forget without it. The municipal residents find out by degrees that their votes and opinions may become a force which acts upon the local authorities. Each citizen can thus feel that he is a part of the government of his own town. He is raised to a new sense of right and duty, and the prosperity of the town becomes a source of pride to its whole population.

17. **Calcutta.** The rise of Calcutta from a mere collection of huts in 1700, when the village was bought by the English from a son of the Emperor Aurangzeb, to its present position as a city of palaces and the capital of India, illustrates the action of the three forces—protection, trade, and municipal honours—to which attention has been called. Its present prosperity is entirely due to the maintenance of the public peace, and to the triumph of science over natural obstacles.

The Company's first care was to free the settlement from the attacks of the Marathas, whose bands had penetrated Bengal from the western side of India. In 1756 the fort was captured by Siraj-ad-Daula, and after the tragedy of the "Black Hole," the British occupation and the very name of Calcutta were for a short time wiped out. But the successes of Clive in recapturing the city, and then in winning the decisive victory of Plassey on June 23, 1757, gave a fresh start to Calcutta, and in 1773 it was recognized as the capital of British India. Since that year its progress has never been interrupted by any serious local disturbance.

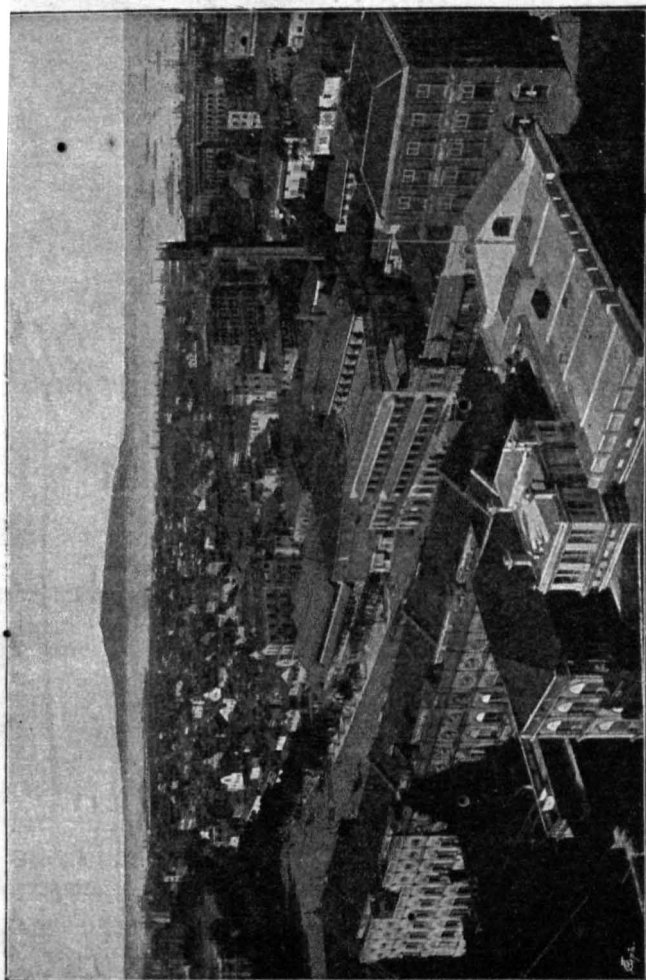
Calcutta, far more than Bombay, owes its favourable position as a trade-centre to the triumph of human skill and science over natural obstacles. In 1853 serious alarm was felt at the constant silting up of the Hughli's channel by which ocean steamers carry the commerce of Bengal to the sea, distant some 80 miles. It seemed as if Calcutta might follow the fate of Thana in the western presidency, but ceaseless observations, skilled pilotage, and gigantic dredgers have repaired the mischiefs caused by currents, and although the anchorage is at times visited by cyclones, yet the city holds its own as the first port of British India, the value of its trade in 1895-96 having been 72 crores of rupees. The river side is crowded with jetties and warehouses, and the population has risen by leaps and bounds from a few fishermen to 180,000 in 1822, to 361,370 in 1850, and now to more than 800,000 persons.

Municipal honours have added to its importance. Its affairs are conducted by a chairman and 50 commissioners,

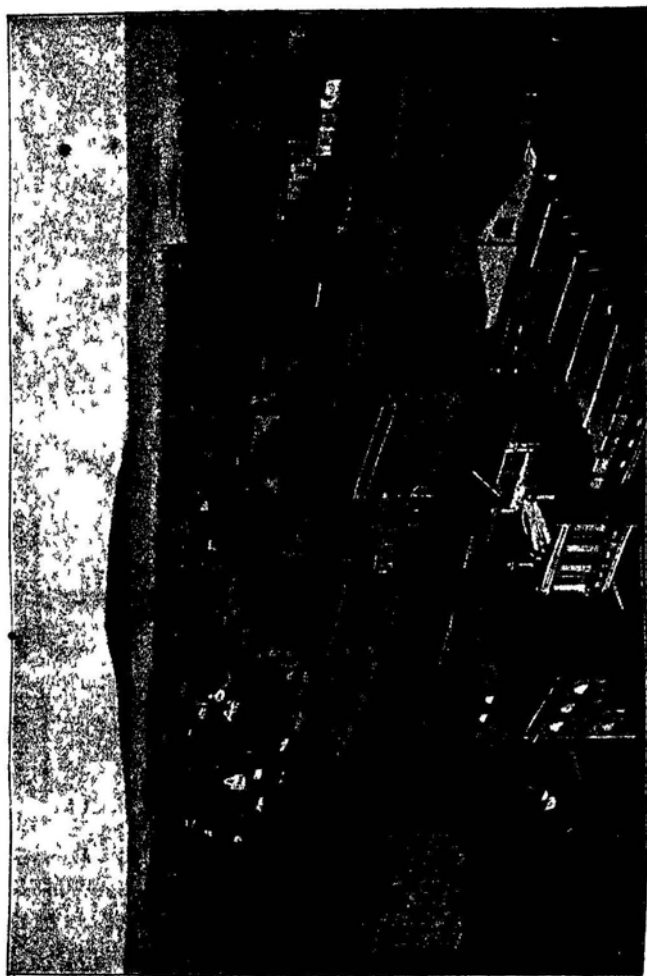
of whom 25 are elected by their fellow-citizens, 10 are chosen by public bodies, and 15 nominated by government. The office of commissioner is one of dignity, and it becomes a stepping stone to higher positions. The annual income at the command of the commissioners is about 47 lakhs, and they have incurred debt to the extent of 246 lakhs.

18. **Bombay.** The city of Bombay, second in respect of trade to the capital of India, is behind no other city of India in population and wealth. It has never during the British occupation known the reverses which have overtaken Calcutta and Madras, although its protection from its near neighbours the Marathas, and from the pirates whom neither Hindu nor Mahomedan rulers of India could effectively control, has required constant care and effort. When the British crown received the place as part of the dowry of Catherine Braganza, Queen of Charles II., its revenues were calculated at 51,542 Rs. a year, and its population at "10,000 fugitives and vagabonds." In 1716 its population was only 16,000, and in 1816 it was 161,550. But in 1872 it had risen to 644,105, and in the last census it was 821,764. Its growth from a collection of fishermen's huts, lying on sandy waste and unwholesome swamp, to the present stately city of splendid buildings and beautiful gardens is almost marvellous. When the British first occupied it, the air was so pestilential that seven governors died in the space of thirty years, and no European children could survive a residence in it. Liable as it still is to serious outbreaks of disease and plague, it is on the whole healthy. In natural scenery few cities in the world can compete with it. The whole secret

of this wonderful change is to be found in British protection. The ships which visited the western coast of India in times past were afraid to anchor in the splendid harbour of Bombay. They therefore sought refuge up the stream behind the little forts in the Thana creek or at Kalyan. Even long after the dock-yard was made at Bombay in 1671, the harbour continued to be infested with pirates, whose refuges and forts were not destroyed until 1756. The Marathas threatened the settlement for some years later, until the victory won at Kinkee in 1817 led to the establishment of peace and the creation of the Presidency of Bombay. Other difficulties in course of time interfered with the prosperity of the settlement, which, being situated on an island, had little room to expand. The waters of the sea were, however, excluded from the flats by the construction of the Vellard in 1771. By these means Bombay, protected at last by sea and land, advanced rapidly in population and trade. Fugitives from the dreaded inquisition at Goa found a refuge there, and during the disturbances which devastated the Dekhan and Guzerat, when the Maratha chiefs were struggling for supremacy, a continuous stream of settlers sought protection under the British flag. The Duke of Wellington described the city in April, 1804, as a general asylum for the oppressed. "This island," he wrote, "has now become the only place of security in this part of India for property, and for those who are objects of the Peshwa's enmity and vengeance, thus affording the strongest proof of the confidence which the natives repose in the justice and wisdom of our policy and our laws." Indeed, the popularity of the British courts of law led to



BOMBAY FROM THE TOP OF THE CLOCK TOWER.



BOILEY FROM THE TOP OF THE CLOCK TOWER

such an increase of expenditure that the Company complained. The Mayor's Court, the Court of Requests, and the Recorder's Court could not cope with the work, and at length, in the reign of George IV., the Supreme Court was established, and the jurisdiction of the High Court of Bombay now extends to Zanzibar and Aden.

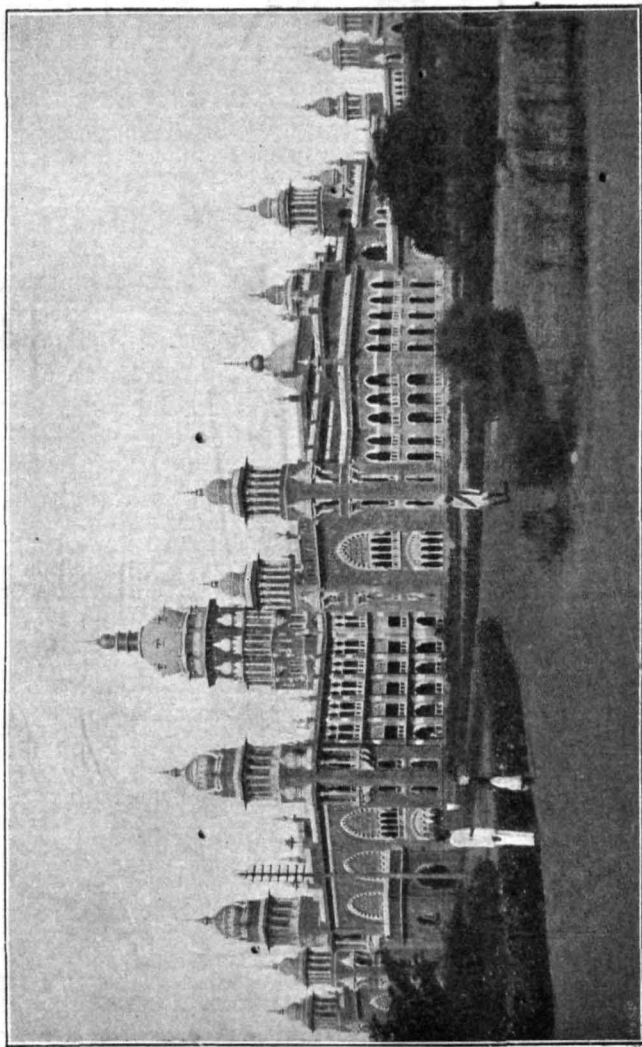
That trade should follow in the wake of protection was a matter of course in the case of a harbour situated like Bombay, and defended by the naval power of England. In 1802 the annual trade of the port, together with that of Surat, was worth less than a crore and a half. In 1895-96 it was worth nearly 66 crores of rupees. At the end of the eighteenth century cotton was being exported to China, but now the people of India have been taught to work up their own cotton, and to export to China cotton goods. The first cotton mill of the Bombay cotton spinning and weaving company was erected in 1854, and there are now in the city and Presidency of Bombay 101 spinning and weaving mills. Of factories of all sorts there are 124 in the city alone, employing nearly 100,000 workmen.

It is impossible to contemplate the trade and the population of Bombay without a sense both of pride and duty. The municipal government of the city is entrusted to a corporation of 72 members, of whom 36 are chosen by the ratepayers, 16 by government, and the rest by various public bodies. The chief sects of the citizens are represented in it—the Parsis by 24 members, the Europeans by 18, the Hindus by 16, the Mahomedans by 12, and the Portuguese by 2 commissioners. The annual revenue at their disposal is about 71 lakhs of rupees, and the administration of this revenue as a

public trust for the welfare of so large a population cannot fail to be a powerful factor in the political education of the people. The splendour of the municipal office is sufficient of itself to indicate the dignity and importance of self-government in Bombay

19. **Madras.** The city of Madras has sprung from even a smaller origin than Bombay, but it possesses none of the advantages for trade which either the Hughli or the western harbour enjoys. The site on which it stands was granted to the Company by a raja in 1639, and the town and fort built upon it were exposed to attack both by sea and land. In 1741 the Marathas attacked the fort, and five years later the French captured it. After its restoration to the English, it was again besieged by the French in 1758, but since that siege it has enjoyed the blessings of peace. Unfortunately the roadstead is sometimes swept by hurricanes, and engineering skill can never do for Madras what it has done for Calcutta. The extension of railways and the construction of the Buckingham Canal have done much to counteract the natural disadvantages of the site of the city, and its trade, population, and revenues have increased under British protection. In 1871 the population was 397,552, and the municipal income about 5½ lakhs. Its population is now 452,518, and its municipal revenue about 13 lakhs a year. The value of its trade is about 11 crores of rupees. The affairs of the city are administered by a president and 32 members, of whom 24 are elected.

20. **Rangoon.** The history of this promising city is quite modern. Taken in 1824 during the first



NEW LAW COURTS, MADRAS.

Burmese war, Rangoon was restored after the war, and soon after its recapture in 1852 it was injured by fire. Fortunate in the possession of a navigable river, it was made a city in 1880, and its foreign trade, now valued at 12 crores of rupees, already exceeds the trade of Madras. Its population numbers 180,324, and its affairs are managed by a president and 24 members, of whom 17 are elected. Of the members 21 are non-officials, and 11 are natives. The municipal income is about 30 lakhs a year, and there is every prospect that this capital of the province of Burma will eclipse Mandalay, which at present is a more populous town, not merely in the growth of trade, but also in its population.

21. Capital Cities. The four cities just described are the great trading centres of India, and exhibit in its most impressive form the working of self-government. But there are other cities in India which deserve a passing notice. Karachi, with a population of 105,199, already carries on a trade almost as valuable as that of Madras. Lahore, with a population of 176,854, is the capital of the Punjab; Allahabad, with a population of 175,246, is the capital of the North-Western Provinces, and Nagpur, with 117,014 souls, is the capital of the Central Provinces. The capital of Oudh, Lucknow, is the fourth city in British India with 273,028 inhabitants; Benares comes next with 219,467; and Delhi is the sixth with 192,579 souls. In these and many others municipal institutions have been granted by the British government, in order that their citizens may share with government the burdens and glory of the British empire, of which they are a part.

22. A Retrospect In looking back at the past, the

reader can realize one change which has taken place. The capital cities of former dynasties were fortified and securely placed in the interior of the country, as at Delhi, Mandalay, Hyderabad in Sind, Lahore, Poona, Bijapur, and other stations which will occur to the reader. They were planted where their rulers wished, and they received sometimes favours and at others severe treatment. The inhabitants were either drawn to the city by a lavish expenditure of imperial funds, or else held there by force, and forbidden to leave it if they wished to go. Under British rule cities may grow up just where they please, and the residents may go wherever they desire. The public taxes drawn from the rural population of the villages are not lavished on them. Their citizens pay local rates as well as public taxes, and the representatives of the people administer the local taxation. It will be observed that the capital cities of British India have grown up wherever that is possible on the sea coast, or on a tidal river where trade can reach them by water, and where the arm of England can best protect them. A well-known poet, Campbell, has shown the advantages of such a position in the following stirring lines :

"Britannia needs no bulwarks,
No towers along the steep ;
Her march is o'er the mountain-waves,
Her home is on the deep.
With thunders from her native oak
She quells the floods below—
As they roar on the shore,
When the stormy winds do blow."

CHAPTER III.

THE DISTRICT.

23. Centres of Life. Every village and town in India forms a part of some district, and there is no intelligent inhabitant of either who cannot tell you the name of his own district. Having gained this step in learning something about his country, the citizen of India ought to take an interest in knowing more about the government of the district. When one hears that in British India alone the villages and towns number 537,991, it may seem difficult for a single village to grasp the idea that it is a part of the empire. The mind is oppressed by a sense of numbers, and by the very small part which one village fills in the whole collection. But with the districts this is not the case. Including Aden and six districts in Berar, which for different reasons might have been excluded, the census of 1891 enumerates 250 districts in the whole of British India. This number, however, excludes Calcutta and its suburbs, although it includes Bombay. But whether the number of districts should be stated as 244 or 251, the result is practically the same. The full importance of the district is at once felt when

we know that about 250 of them make up the whole of India outside the native states.* The district is a portion of the empire which every one can readily appreciate, and for this reason it is generally described as the centre of life in the Indian empire. It is in the district that we see the great machine of government at work, and by its results there we can, to a large extent, estimate its success. If the machine works well at this vital centre, the whole empire is probably well governed. Cities, and even provinces, appear and disappear from the map, but the districts have on the whole preserved their names through the many changes of rule through which India has passed.

24. Parts of the Province. At the same time, important as the Indian district is, it remains but a part of the province or empire, from whose fortunes it cannot detach itself. It is therefore impossible to form a correct judgment regarding the treatment of any particular locality without bearing in mind that the interests of one district, and those of others or of the whole province may at times seem opposed to each other. It is the government of the empire, or that of the province, which must hold the balance between conflicting interests when they arise. We must not at once infer from any loss suffered by one district that the government is to blame. There may be an absolute necessity for the sacrifice of some local claims in order to protect the greater and wider interests of the whole nation. For instance, in the old days former rulers of Indian provinces permitted disorder and violence in their frontier districts in order to discourage their neighbours from entering their territories. The outer fringe of the kingdom

was sacrificed for the interior. In one corner of the Punjab a jaghir was conferred upon Karim-ud-din, Khan of Chamkanni by the Sikhs in return for twenty Afridi heads, which he was expected to produce every year. On the extreme eastern frontier of India there is still a settlement of wild Was, or head-hunters, who, under the Mandalay government, excited such terror as to prevent the immigration of Chinese bands into the Shan states. The British government adopts no such methods for defending India from invasion, or from the inroads of plundering gangs. But there are ways in which the residents of one locality are at times called upon to suffer loss for the gain of others. When the Kashmor embankment was made to protect Jacobabad and parts of the Sukkur district from the floods of the Indus its effect was to exclude some tracts of land in Jacobabad from the overflow of the river's waters which they needed for cultivation. The loss of the cultivation on that frontier of Sindh was serious, but the gains of a more numerous population further west outweighed the sacrifice. It was necessary to injure the few in the interests of the many. Whilst then it is correct to regard the district as the centre of the real life of India, and to look there for traces of prosperity and good rule, we must not forget that at times the losses or injury of one district may prove necessary for the good of others.

25. Area of the District. In parcelling out a country into counties or districts, the object of a good ruler is to give to each district-officer an equally onerous charge. Yet it is evident that the districts vary much in size and population in the different provinces. The average size and population of the British dis-

tricts, after excluding the four cities described in the last chapter, is 3,875 square miles and 880,965 persons. But in Madras these figures are largely exceeded, and 1,466,000 persons and 5,882 square miles form the average district. In Bombay outside Sindh, the average area is 4,292 square miles, and in Sindh it is 9,558 square miles. The North-Western Provinces have the smallest average of area, 2,194 square miles, but an average population to the district of nearly one million souls. In Bengal the population of the districts averages one-and-a-half millions. How are these differences explained? Much depends upon the two conditions just noticed, area and population. The district must be under one head, who is responsible for its government, and a single officer cannot cover more than a certain area of inspection and control. Again, in a smaller area he cannot do his duty by too vast a population. Much also depends upon the character of the people, their neighbours, and the land-tenure. If the people are turbulent, or if their neighbours are misgoverned or are savage tribes, the district officer's attention is distracted by disorderly classes, or by the affairs of his neighbours. His police arrangements involve more care and time. So too, the extent of his revenue duties depends largely upon the number of his rent-paying landlords. The Benares division of the North-Western Provinces is larger in area and population than the Agra division. But the former has five districts with 20 tahsils, while for Agra six districts and 31 tahsils are needed. The land-revenue of Benares is less than 48 lakhs, while that of Agra exceeds 80 lakhs, and in the former much is paid directly into the treasury

by large landlords, whereas in Agra the small cultivators are more numerous. Consequently, the districts in Agra require larger establishments. The differences in size and population of the districts of British India are to be accounted for by these distinctions. As far as possible, the charge of each district represents an equal responsibility.

26. The Executive. The district officers are the most important executive officers of government. They carry out or "execute" the commands of law and of government. Above them are officers, who control, supervise, or issue orders. But the district officials, namely the collector and his assistants, the judge and his subordinate courts, the superintendent of police, the executive engineer with his assistants, and the district surgeon constitute the officials upon whom the government relies to give effect to its orders or to administer the law. They are the chief wheels in the machine of government, and their names are familiar to all the villages and towns in their districts. Upon their integrity, capacity, and energy depends the success of government. The system of the central government may be quite excellent, but if the district officers are inefficient, its benefits will never reach the masses of the district population. The sphere of duties entrusted to the executive of a district is very wide. They preserve order and maintain the public peace, they administer criminal and civil justice, they collect the public revenue and decide land disputes, they propose and carry out public works, administer famine relief, and watch over the public health. They not only manage the affairs entrusted to them, but also control the working of municipal and other local

self-governing bodies. To them the population of the districts look in all their troubles and difficulties, and through them the people learn the intentions and wishes of the provincial and the supreme governments. They are not merely the mouth but the eyes and ears of government. The legislative machine which makes or alters laws is not entrusted to them, but their reports are the spring which, under the direction of the governors of provinces, sets the legislative wheel in motion. The expenditure of public funds is entrusted to them, the jails and schools are visited by them, and any defects are duly brought by them to the notice of the departments concerned.

27. The Collector. The chief of the whole district staff is the collector, although in his own sphere of duty the district judge is independent of him. In arranging for the proper conduct of affairs in the district, government have to keep two objects in view—unity and economy. When the British took over the districts from the rulers who preceded them there was no distinction drawn between judicial and executive duties. The native governments ruled absolutely, and such powers as they entrusted to their district officers, were exercised without much control; an entire unity of purpose was thus secured. There were no written laws providing for the creation of municipalities or for the establishment of courts or the collection of taxes. To the present day there are in the native states no bodies, working independently of the executive, to whom is entrusted the power of making laws. The ruling chiefs issue their commands, and their commands are the law. The British government was the first to introduce into India the principle of

making executive officers subordinate to the law, and of entrusting to a body, separate from the provincial government, the task of making laws which the government itself and its officers must respect and obey. As soon as the country had really settled down to peace, and civil government was firmly established, the functions of chief executive officer and chief judge in the district were separated. Accordingly in every settled district there is a collector and a judge, to the former of whom is committed the chief executive command, and to the latter the chief judicial authority. But with this exception unity and economy are served by making the collector head of the several departments in his district. The collector is not merely the officer who is responsible for the collection of the land revenue and the taxes, he is also the district magistrate, and the chief local officer who controls the operations of the police and, if necessary, invokes the aid of the military forces. In short, he is responsible for order and public peace. He is also responsible for the public welfare, and has a powerful voice in determining what roads and public works are needed, what sanitary measures are required, and where and when self-government should be extended to the towns. He is often registrar of deeds, and inspector of factories, and generally he is the pivot upon which the local authority of government revolves. If anything goes wrong, it is the duty of the collector to correct the mischief if he can do so, and, if not, to report it to the proper authority.

28. Subdivisions. Beneath the collector are several officers who are responsible for the government of portions of his district called subdivisions, generally a group

of "Tahsils" or "Talukas." These subdivisions are liable to more frequent changes of area than are the districts. There are more than 1000 subdivisions into which the 250 districts enumerated in the last census are divided. The chain of authority and responsibility is by them extended throughout the villages of British India, and the principle of unity is preserved. Above the district there is usually an officer of control and supervision, who has authority over several districts. He is called a commissioner, and his sphere of control is styled a division. There are 53 divisions in the territory classed by the census as British India, but in Madras there are no commissioners their functions being taken by a central Board of revenue. The commissioners differ from the collectors in this respect, that they are officers of control rather than officers in immediate executive charge of divisions. The real centre of active and direct authority lies in the districts, and the main fact to be borne in mind is that British India is divided by the census returns into 13 provinces or administrations, forming 250 districts which, as already explained, exclude one city and include Berar and Aden.

29. District Appointments. It is evident that the utmost care is needed in the selection of collectors or chiefs of the Indian districts. Their powers are considerable, and no pains must be spared to select the best men that can be got. Ability, good character, and personal knowledge of the principles upon which British administration is conducted are the three main qualifications. Every Indian subject of the Queen Empress has exactly the same right as her subjects living in the United Kingdom, or in the colonies and dependencies of the Crown, to compete for the Civil Service

of India, from whose ranks men are chosen for the office of collector. An annual examination is held at the centre of the empire in London, at which all candidates from all quarters of the British Empire, who have satisfied the tests prescribed as to age and nationality and proof of good moral character, may compete for the Indian Civil Service. The same papers are set to all, and the same time is allowed for their answers. The candidate's name does not appear upon his answers, and the examiners only know him by a number, so that they cannot tell who is the author of the papers which they have to mark. Those who get the highest marks obtain the reward of being selected as candidates, and after a short period of probation in England and further examination they are enrolled, if finally successful, in the Civil Service of India. By their residence in England candidates who may have lived in other parts of the British Empire acquire some personal knowledge of the institutions and public life of the country on whose behalf they are sent to conduct the British administration of India. At present the number of civil servants so selected and serving in India is 1003, including the natives of India who have succeeded in the public competition. After their enlistment in the ranks of the Civil Service the selected candidates are trained in the various grades and departments of that service, and when qualified for the posts they are appointed to be district judges or district collectors. As a general rule no subject of the Queen can attain to the rank of collector except by means of this public competition, but in the case of natives of India power has been taken by an Act of Parliament to appoint them by direct

selection for certain civil offices, if they are of proved merit and ability. The statute passed by Parliament in the 33rd year of the reign of Queen Victoria explains what is meant by "natives of India."

30. Subdivisional Appointments. In the subdivisions of districts the British government to a very large extent employs natives of India. In this respect its practice differs from that of other European countries, such as France or Russia, which possess territories in Asia. A recent traveller in Transcaspia, a province in Central Asia under the dominion of Russia, writes in a paper read before the Society of Arts in London on the 1st of April, 1897, as follows: "Every one of these posts of high office in the civil and military administration in Transcaspia and Turkestan, with the exception of one inspectorship of police, is held by a Russian; nay more, not only are the natives excluded from the post of subdivisional officer, corresponding to Tahsildar or Mamlatdar which in India is invariably held by a native, but the subdivisional officer's staff, with assistant secretary and two clerks, are all Russians. The only post held by natives in the civil administration are those of interpreters, to the governors, and in the various offices one or two have been appointed *pristavs*. They are absolutely excluded from all share in the executive government. The state of things in the army is the same. In Turkestan as in Transcaspia there is no native army, and there is not a single native in the Russian army of occupation." In contrast with this state of affairs, it is interesting to compare the progress made in India during the last twenty-five years in the increased employment of the natives. The example of one

SUBDIVISIONAL APPOINTMENTS.



province will suffice. If you turn to the civil list of Bombay in 1872, you will find a list of 37 deputy collectors and magistrates, of whom 11 were Europeans. In the same list there were 83 subordinate judges, of whom 5 were Europeans. In January, 1897, there were 51 deputy collectors in the same divisions of the province, of whom 4 were Europeans, while out of 103 subordinate judges there was only 1 European. The Mamlatdars in 1897 were without exception natives of India. In short, the administration of India is only controlled and supervised by a limited number of British officers; while the vast bulk of the civil appointments are held by the natives. The experiment is one which is watched by foreign nations with some degree of wonder but it has always been a declared aim of the British government to teach the people of India to administer their own affairs in accordance with those principles of justice, integrity, and public duty which are required by public opinion in the United Kingdom. The association of a few hundred British officials chosen by competition in England, with several thousands of natives in the work of administration is the means by which it is sought to achieve this end.

CHAPTER IV.

THE PROVINCES.

31. Akbar's Subahs. Rulers have constantly changed in the course of Indian history, and invaders have come and gone, but the names and sites of villages and even the arrangements of districts have survived dynastic changes. The case has been different with the divisions of the country into provinces. The thirteen provinces into which India is to-day divided, and which are marked on the maps used in all quarters of the globe, are a matter of modern creation. For many centuries the broad division of the country into Hindustan and the Dekhan answered all purposes. By Hindustan was indicated the basins of the great rivers Indus and the Ganges with their affluents, whilst the Dekhan signified the country, more or less known, lying to the south of the Satpuras. It was not until the firm rule of Akbar had knit together the north and the south and the east and the west under one empire, that the provinces took shape, and the villages and districts of India became familiar with the titles of the provincial governors who administered their affairs. It requires

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some advance in the settlement of a country and in its peaceful submission to a central authority before it can be mapped out into well recognized provinces. When civil disorder reigns villages may survive, but the boundaries of subahs or provinces are readily lost and ignored. In the reign of Akbar the time was suitable for creating provinces, and Abul Fazl Allámi,



THE EMPEROR AKBAR.

author of the *Am-i Akbari*, gives the following account: "In the fortieth¹ year of the divine era, his Majesty's dominions consisted of 105 Sarkárs or divisions of Súbahs, and 2737 townships. When the ten years' settlement of the revenue was made (which amounted to an annual rental of 3 Arbs, 62 crores, 97 lakhs,

55,246 dams and 12 lakhs of betel leaves), his Majesty apportioned the empire into 12 divisions called Súbahs, and distinguished them by the names of the tract of country or its capital city. These were Allahabad, Agra, Oudh, Ajmer, Ahmedabad, Behar, Bengal, Delhi, Kabul, Lahore, Multan, Malwa; and when Berar, Khandesh, and Ahmednagar were conquered, their number was fixed at fifteen." As an example of the thorough manner in which the empire was mapped out, the following details regarding the Súbah of Allahabad are here given. The Súbah comprised nine Sarkárs (districts), and possessed 15 separate revenue codes. The districts in turn were divided into Mahals, and the area* and revenue of each Mahal were recorded.

32. British Provinces. The very names of the 13 provinces of India under British administration indicate some of the changes which have taken place. They are Madras, Bombay, Bengal, North-Western Provinces, Punjab, Central Provinces, Assam, Burma, Ajmer, the Berar, Coorg, Baluchistan, and the Andamans. But there are differences between the Moghal and the British systems which do not lie on the surface. One can see at a glance that Akbar's India included Kabul, a term which embraced Kashmir, Swat, Bajaur, and Kandahar, and that British India, although contracted on the west, is to-day extended on the east as far as the river Mekong. Nor can one fail to notice in reading the names of the provinces that the effective control of the Imperial government over the south and south-west of India is greater than it was four centuries ago. But an essential difference

* A.D. 1594-95.

between Akbar's and the present provincial arrangements of the Indian Empire lies in the modern practice of excluding the native states from the provinces of the empire. Under Akbar's rule Mewar and Marwar were integral parts of the province of Ajmer, Baroda was a Sarkar of Guzerat, Udaipur, Ratlam, and Dhar were included in the province of Malwa, and Indore was a part of Berar. In short, the Empire of Delhi treated the native states as a part of Moghal India, whilst under British rule three-eighths of India, or, some 600,000 square miles, are scrupulously excluded from the British provinces, and thus preserved against the risk of annexation or encroachment. How the British provinces took shape must yet be told, but before that point is reached a few words are needed in order to explain the expressions local government and local administration.

33. Titles of the Provinces. It is very probable that the limits of some of the British Indian provinces may be altered. They vary considerably in size, from small Coorg with an area of 1583 square miles, to Burma with its territory of 171,430 square miles, and in population the differences are still more striking. Each of them is under a local chief, but his title varies from governor to lieutenant governor or chief commissioner. Two—Madras and Bombay—are under governors, and still retain their old title of presidencies, their affairs being administered by a Governor selected in England and aided by a Council over which he presides. Four—Bengal, North-Western Provinces, Punjab, and Burma—are local governments, under lieutenant governors chosen by the Viceroy. In these six provinces there are two features common to all. The