people of India by the Government and the Missionary schools.*

* I should be glad to see a little more attention given to Vernacular Education, and the Normal School principle well carried out. It appears from an admirable Minute on Native Education, drawn up by Mr. Willoughby shortly before leaving Bombay, that in the principal institutions there the Vernacular languages are held of less account even than they are in the Bengal colleges. The writer says: "But to revert to the subject of Vernacular education, I would now inquire why, when a boy is admitted into the English college or school, should instruction in this mother tongue cease? Why, in fact, should not the study of English and Vernacular be combined?—a system which, I understand, has been successfully introduced into the plan of education pursued in the Hindoo College at Calcutta. By compelling the student to give his undivided attention to the new language, there must be a great risk of his losing the knowledge, at the best but superficial, he had previously acquired of his own language. I see no reason for this, but, on the contrary, think the study of both languages, being proceeded with *pari passu*, would in several respects be exceedingly advantageous to the student. Indeed, I am happy to observe that the system of combined instruction has recently been introduced here, though not to the extent which appears to me advisable."

CHAPTER II.

The Past and the Present—The First Indian Chaplains—Rise and Progress of the Church Establishment—Charles Grant—The Charter of 1813—the First Indian Bishop—Increase of the Church Establishment—Missionary Efforts—Progress of Christianity.

Of all the great controversial questions, which have arisen out of British connexion with the East, not one has been discussed with so much earnestness and so much acrimony as that which relates to the introduction of Christianity into India. Happily the controversy is now at an end, and the acrimony has died with it. It is well, always, that we should be tolerant of exploded errors, and remember that the demonstrated of the present may not have been the demonstrable of the past. There is no subject on which I entertain a stronger opinion than this—none, perhaps, on which I have thought and written so much. But I do not know what I might have thought or written if I had lived in India half a century ago. Many very good and able men have advocated a system of non-interference, under a rooted conviction that any attempt to convert the natives of India to the Christian faith would be attended with the most calamitous results. After-events have shown the groundlessness of their alarms; but candor admits that there may have been reason, half a century ago, in what now appears unreasonable and absurd.

In the reign of William and Mary the conversion of

the Gentoos was decreed in Letters Patent from the Crown. The Charter granted to the second East India Company in 1698 contained a clause, enacting that the said Company should constantly maintain "one minister in every garrison and superior factory," that they should in such "garrison or factories provide or set apart a decent and convenient place for divine service only;" and furthermore, that "all such ministers as shall be sent to reside in India shall be obliged to learn, within one year after their arrival, the Portuguese language, and shall apply themselves to learn the native language of the country where they shall reside, the better to enable them to instruct the Gentoos, that shall be the servants or slaves of the said Company, or of their agents, in the Protestant religion."

Though the Company antecedently to this period may never have cherished the great idea of the conversion of the Gentoos, by the agency of their own chaplains, they had not from the very first been unmindful of the spiritual interests of their own people. Some at least of their early ships took out chaplains, and it had been the custom for all to receive a sort of ecclesiastical benediction before braving the perils of the deep. A farewell sermon was preached on board by some learned divine, often in the presence of the governor and committees of the Company.* The prin-

* Mr. Anderson, in his very valuable "History of the Colonial Church," quotes one of these farewell sermons, by John Wood, Doctor in Divinitie, which was published in 1618. The discourse was delivered on board the *Royal James*, and is dedicated to Sir Thomas Smith, Governor of the Company, and his colleagues. It appears that Dr. Wood had several times before preached to the crews of vessels about to depart for India. A passage in the epistle dedicatory, quoted by Mr. Anderson, leaves a very favorable impression on the mind of the general character of the managers of the Company. "I must needs set down," says the old divine, "that as God hath greatly encreased your store, so ye have not been backward to impart much and more than any societie (that ever I could heare of) to the supply of the wants of his poore members; your daily reliefe of poore ministers of the Gospell; your charitie to prisoners, to widowes, to orphans, and to all well-minded poore people that you finde to stand in neede of your helpe, cannot but plead for you in the eyes of God and all good men. Goe on therefore (in God's name) in your noble designs, and rest ye still upon his blessing, who (I doubt not) hath many

cipal part, indeed, of the Company's establishments were on board the ships, and it would seem that the factors ashore relied mainly on the vessels both for spiritual and corporeal consolation. The surgeons and chaplains were not, it would appear, attached to the factories, but were part of the staff of the generals and captains who came out in the Company's ships. But there were godly men at that time among the factors who longed for something more than this. Old Joseph Salbank, whose letters I have quoted in the early part of this work, wrote urgently to the Company for zealous and able divines to teach the heathens, and counteract the subtle influence of the Jesuits. "Pray censure it not as a part of boldness in me," he said, "to advertise you of one matter, which may seem to be much fitter to be spoken of or written by another man than myself, even of your preachers and ministers, that you send hither to reside amongst us, and to break unto us the blessed manna of the Heavenly Gospel—very convenient it will be for you to provide such as are not only sufficient and solid divines, that may be able to encounter with the arch-enemies of our religion, if occasion should so require, those main supporters of the hierarchy of the Church of Rome, I mean the Jesuits, or rather (as I may truly term them) Jebusites, whereof some are mingled here in several places in the King's dominions amongst us—but also godly, zealous, and devout persons, such as may, by their piety and purity of life give good example to those with whom they live, whereby they will no less instruct and feed their little flock committed unto

more in store for you; and so long as you conscionably seek to honour his name among the heathen, and (under him) to advance the state wherein ye live, will (no doubt) affoord you many comfortable assurances of his love and favour, both to your bodies and soules here in this life, and crowne you with eternall glorie with himself in the life to come." Mr. Copeland, who afterwards did good service to the interests of Christianity in the West Indies, sailed as chaplain in the *Royal James*.

them, no less by the sincerity of the doctrine they teach them."*

The earliest mention of a Company's chaplain that I have been able to find is in a letter dated Ajmere, April 27, 1616. It is written by Sir Thomas Roe to "Mr. Lescke, chaplain at Surat." There was about this same time at Surat a Mr. Copeland, chaplain on board the *Royal James*, whose name subsequently became associated with the early history of the West Indian Church.† A curious letter, dated "Swally, March 4, 1617," relating to the conversion of a Mogul Atheist, is among the early records of the Company. On the first establishment of our factory at Madras, it would seem that in the absence of a Protestant ministry the settlers were fain to avail themselves of the ecclesiastical assistance of a Capuchin friar, who paid the penalty of his toleration by enduring imprisonment for five years in the dungeons of the Inquisition at Goa.‡ In 1655, a Protestant chaplain was ministering in Fort St. George.§ In 1667, Mr. Walter Hooke, and in

* *Joseph Salbank to the Company, Agra, November* 22, 1617. *India House Records.*—There is some obscurity in this passage as there often is in the phraseology of these old factors. Whether the writer meant to say that the matter whereof he advertised the Company was "even your preachers and ministers that (whom) you send hither (or are in the habit of sending hither) to reside amongst us"—or "even your preachers and ministers that you (should) send (some) hither to reside amongst us"—is not very apparent. He may either have meant that the Company should send ministers, as there were none then among them; or that they should send better ones than those appointed before.

† *Anderson's History of the Colonial Church.*

‡ See Orme's "Historical Fragments." The historian states that in 1661 the Presidency of Surat blamed the Madras agency for persisting in giving protection to two or three Capuchin friars, although one of them had suffered an imprisonment of five years in the Inquisition at Goa, for accommodating his ministry to the convenience of the settlement.

§ There may have been one before him, but this is the earliest mention of a Madras chaplain that I have been able to find. The passage in which it is contained is curious on other accounts. It is part of a report of a consultation held at Metchlapatam (Masulapatam) December 4, 1655. "Next was had into consideration what proportion of means was thought needful to be allowed to such of the Company's servants as are to reside at Madraspatam and Metchlapatam, and the subordinate factories, for their necessary expenses, charges, garrison, &c., excepted, it was agreed that 30 old pagodas should be allowed to Mr. Edward Winter to uphold the Company's houses at Metchlapatam, Verasheeroon, Pettepollee, Daleepadee, and 60 new pagodas for the president

1668, Mr. William Thomson, were elected chaplains for that settlement.* But it was not until 1680 that the first stone of the first English church in India was laid at Madras by Streynsham Master, chief of the factory, who carried on the pious work at his own charge, and never halted till he had brought it to an end.

At the beginning of the eighteenth century this church was finished, furnished, and, to a certain extent, endowed. Two ministers were attached to it, each on a salary of 100*l.* a year. Prayers were read in it twice a day. On Sundays, the whole settlement, headed by the President, proceeded thither in great state, through a street of soldiers, and reverently joined in the service, according to the forms of the Anglican Church.†

In 1716, an English Protestant church was erected in Calcutta, and two years later one was completed at Bombay. From that time there was necessarily more

and two factors, *the minister and his wife*, and chirurgeon, at Fort St. George."—[*India House Records. MS.*]

* From a list of "Chaplains in India prior to the union of the two Companies," given by Mr. Anderson in his "History of the Colonial Church," as obtained by him at the India House. Mr. Hooke's is the first name on the list, but it is certain that there were chaplains before him. I find mention of a Mr. Thomson and his wife at Madras in the year 1655. "It was propounded touching Mr. Thomson and his wife, that if they cannot find this year convenient passage for their own country, and if they remain at Fort St. George, they shall have diet at the Company's table—but Mr. Thomson himself is to be referred to the Company's pleasure what salary he shall have for his pains." I believe this to be the same Mr. Thomson as is referred to in the text, and that he and Mrs. Thomson are the "minister and his wife" alluded to in the preceding note.

† See a curious account by Charles Lockyer, who visited Madras about the year 1703: "The church is a large pile of arched building, adorned with curious carved work, a stately altar, organs, a white copper candlestick, very large windows, &c., which render it inferior to the churches of London in nothing but bells—there being one only to mind sinners of devotion, tho' I've heard a contribution for a set was formerly remitted the Company. . . . . Prayers are read twice a day; but on Sundays religious worship is most strictly observed. Betwixt eight and nine, the bell tells us the hour of devotion draws near; a whole company of above 200 soldiers is drawn out from the inner fort to the church-door, for a guard to the passing President. Ladies throng to their pews, and gentlemen take a serious walk in the yard, if not too hot. On the Governor's approach, the organs strike up and continue a welcome till he is seated; when the minister discharges the duty of his function, according to the forms appointed by our prudent ancestors for the Church of England."—[*An Account of the Trade in India, &c., &c., by Charles Lockyer*, 1711.]

outward recognition of the duties of religion, but, save in such exceptional cases as it is to be hoped will ever be presented by communities of Christian men, however limited their numbers, there was little genuine piety and little morality of life. Throughout the remainder of the century, the Company's ecclesiastical establishment, like their civil and military services, continued to grow in numerical strength; and even then there were earnest-minded men at home, as Dean Prideaux and others, who were eager to see that church-establishment placed under episcopal superintendence, and who would have sent out bishops and archdeacons, even an archbishop, to take spiritual command of the small bodies of Christians who were then located in the settlements of India. Perhaps such superintendence might have had an improving effect upon the lives of the Company's chaplains. It would seem that, at the close of the last century, they were a money-making race of men. There is a curious entry in the Journal of Mr. Kiernander, the old Danish missionary, running in these words: "The Rev. Mr. Blanshard is preparing to go to England upon an American ship in about a fortnight, worth five lakhs (of rupees). Mr. Owen two and a half lakhs. Mr. Johnson three and a half lakhs."* This was at the commencement of 1797. The first had been twenty-three years attached to the Indian ministry; the second, ten years; and the third, thirteen years. An average annual saving, if Kiernander is to be trusted, of 2500*l.*! It is needless to say that these fortunes could not have been realised out of the Company's allowances, even with the addition of the ministerial fees, which in India are liberally bestowed.† These churchmen must have devoted themselves to

* See Kiernander's Journal, in the *Calcutta Review*.

† In those days there may have been no lack of burials—but Christian marriages and baptisms were few.

something more lucrative than the cure of souls and the burial of the dead. What it was may be readily conjectured.

But with the new century came a new race of men to preside over the English Church in Bengal. In the rooms of a Fellow of King's College, Cambridge, a little group of young men might have been seen assembled when the studies of the day were at an end. They went thither to hear such truths as did not fall very readily from the lips of their ordinary preceptors; and what they then learnt was seldom forgotten. It seemed to be the peculiar privilege of Charles Simeon to prepare young men of large intellectual capacity and strong religious convictions for the active work of the Anglo-Indian ministry. It was, happily, too, in his power to do more than teach. Held in the highest esteem and veneration by such men as Henry Thornton and Charles Grant, he had little difficulty in furthering the views of his disciples, and Indian chaplaincies were readily procurable from Directors of the Company, who, not unmindful of the responsibilities of ecclesiastical patronage, joyfully availed themselves of every such occasion of turning their opportunities to profitable account. What Halle and Franke, years before, had been to the Danish mission, Cambridge and Simeon became to the English Protestant Church. David Brown, Claudius Buchanan, Henry Martyn, Daniel Corrie, and Thomas Thomason, were all of them chaplains on the Company's establishment in Bengal. They obeyed the orders of a Governor-General, and received every month from the public treasury a heavy bag of rupees. They were not missionaries, but the missionary spirit was strong within them, and in one, at least, it glowed with as burning and as chaste a zeal as in the breast of a Xavier or a Ziegenbalg. They were all of them single-hearted,

pure-minded men; men, too, of more than common intellectual capacity, and of industry which shrunk from no accumulation of labor in a cause so dear to their hearts. Of this little band of Christian athletes David Brown was the father and the chief. One after one, as the younger men followed him to the scene of his ministrations, he opened his doors to receive them, and send them on their way with a message of encouragement and advice.

And as they were speeding on their godly journey other words of encouragement came to them from high places far off across the seas. It was no small thing for them to know that they had not gone abroad to be forgotten—that good men and great men were thinking of them, and praying for them at home, and strenuously supporting their efforts. Charles Grant had not been long in the Direction before his influence became little less than that of the Company itself. It is slight exaggeration to say that for many years he was not a Director, but the Direction. He was a man of a solid understanding, of large experience, and of a resolute industry which took no account of mental or bodily fatigue. The exhausting climate of Bengal had not impaired his energies or unstrung his nerves. He was always ready braced for work; the claims of the country in which he had built up his fortune, of the people among whom he had spent all the best years of his life, pressed heavily upon his mind. He had attained less of worldly distinction in India than his friend and neighbour, John Shore, Lord Teignmouth, but he brought home to England a larger zeal, a more active benevolence, and far greater strength to measure himself with his cotemporaries at home and take his proper place among them. It was no small thing at such a time for a retired Governor-General of India to write pamphlets in behalf of Christian mis-

sions, and to preside over a society having for its object the circulation of the Holy Scriptures throughout all the dark places of the earth. But what Lord Teignmouth did for India, after his withdrawal from the scene of his vice-regal labors, was in comparison with the busy stirring practicalities of Charles Grant's new career, very much the work of a recluse. The head-piece of the Company in Leadenhall-street, the mouth-piece of the Company in St. Stephen's, the oracle, on all subjects of Indian import, of that little knot of warm-hearted, earnest-minded men who discussed great measures of humanity on Clapham-common, Charles Grant, whether writing elaborate despatches to the Governor-General, or addressing the House of Commons, or imparting his ample stores of Indian experience to William Wilberforce or Henry Thornton, so tempered the earnestness of his spiritual zeal with sound knowledge and strong practical sense, that whatever he said carried a weighty significance with it. Such a man was much needed at that time. He was needed to exercise a double influence—an influence alike over the minds of men of different classes in India, and of his colleagues and compatriots at home. So, whilst he was writing out elaborate despatches to the Governor-General of India—such despatches as had never before been received by an Indian viceroy—and to more than one of the Company's chaplains in India, letters of affectionate encouragement and parental advice, he was brushing away the cobwebs of error with which men's minds were fouled and clouded at home, and uttering sound practical truths with the stamp of authority upon them, such as no one ever ventured to designate as the amiable enthusiasm of a dreamer of dreams and seer of visions.

Conspicuous among his Indian correspondents was Claudius Buchanan. This able and excellent man had

been one of the recipients of Henry Thornton's bounty, and had by him, and I believe also by Isaac Milner, been recommended for an Indian chaplaincy to Charles Grant. The Director was not slow to recognise the merits of the young Scotchman, and Buchanan was sent to Bengal. He had less of the missionary spirit than Henry Martyn. He was altogether less earnest, less enthusiastic, less self-denying. The expansive Christianity of the son of the Cornish miner wandered out into illimitable space, far beyond the narrow sphere of archdeaconries and episcopal sees. But Buchanan, with a more worldy judgment and intellectual qualities of a more serviceable kind, believed in his heart that the regeneration of India was to be accomplished mainly by a Church Establishment. And, full of this idea, he drew up elaborate schemes of ecclesiastical extension, and wrote letter after letter to Charles Grant, and to many of the highest dignitaries of the English Church, setting forth the expediency of a large augmentation of the number of Indian chaplains, and the subjection of the whole body to the authority of a bishop, or rather a group of bishops, with a primate at their head. "An archbishop," he wrote, "is wanted for India; a sacred and exalted character, surrounded by his bishops, of ample revenues and extensive sway; a venerable personage, whose name shall be greater than that of the transitory governors of the land; and whose fame for piety, and for the will and power to do good, may pass throughout every region." His ideas upon this subject, indeed, were somewhat exuberant; and even now, after the lapse of nearly half a century, can scarcely be read without a smile. "It is certain," he said, "that nothing would more alarm the portentous invader of nations (Napoleon) than our taking a religious possession of Hindostan. Five hundred respectable clergy of the English Church, established in our

Gentoo cities, would more perplex his views of conquest than an army of fifty thousand British soldiers. The army of fifty thousand would melt away in seven years; but the influence of an upright clergyman among the natives of the district, would be permanent. He would be to them in time their mouth and mind, and speak for them peace or war."* Buchanan did not write this to Charles Grant, but to the Archbishop of Canterbury. The sagacious, large-browed Director would probably have smiled at the idea of the overthrow of Napoleon's invading legions by an army of five hundred Company's chaplains, with an archbishop at their head. But this great political heresy was, after all, not much more absurd than the orthodox belief which was, at that time, accepted by a large proportion of the most intelligent European gentlemen in the East. The current faith was not that the Bible would beat Napoleon's artillery, but that it would expedite our overthrow more surely and more rapidly. How curious and instructive is it to contrast such a passage as that which I have just quoted from the correspondence of Claudius Buchanan, with the following, taken from a letter now before me, written in 1808, by one of the most intelligent officers in the Company's service —a Resident at a native Court—to a high civil functionary in Calcutta. The reference, also, in this case is to the rumoured invasion of Napoleon :

"I most cordially assent to all the sentiments you express of the impolicy, or rather madness, of attempting the conversion of the natives of this country, or of giving them any more learning, or any other description of learning, than they at present possess. With respect to the Hindoos, they appear to me to have as good a system of faith and of morals as most people; and with regard to the Moossulmans, it is quite sufficient if we endeavour to con-

* The writer adds: "Friendly, admonitory, social intercourse is what is wanting to enchain the hearts of the people of Hindostan, and to make them *our* people." Nothing can be more true.

ciliate their confidence, and to mitigate their vindictive spirit. Sir Willlam Jones has in a very few words given us a correct outline of the only system of government adapted to this country—'To give them (the Hindoos) protection for their persons and places of abode; justice in their temporal concerns; indulgence to the prejudices of their religion; and the benefit of those laws, which they have been taught to believe sacred, and which alone they can possibly comprehend'—I can assure you that I do not feel so much anxiety and apprehension from the menaced designs of Buonaparte, as from the plans which have become so fashionable amongst the Puritans of the India House. This alarm has been chiefly excited by the perusal of some pamphlets, which have been lately published in London, and have been issued from your Bible Societies, your Christian Societies, and other corporations of bigotry. You have a Mr. or Dr. Buchanan—an officer of your College, who appears to me to have done a great deal of harm. From the prizes, which he presumed to offer for certain Exercises at the University of Cambridge, I am convinced that he is a man of wretched and most unchristianlike vanity. I do not even approve of your zeal in the translation of the Bible and New Testament into I know not how many languages. The Scriptures may appear very admirable to us, who are prepared to venerate them as the instrument of revelation. But I do not think they are calculated to excite respect and admiration in the garb of translations, in the minds of men who are prepared to deny their truth."*

It would be difficult to find a more remarkable contrast than is displayed in these two passages, and equally difficult to decide whether the one or the other is more preposterous in its exaggerations. A battalion of Company's chaplains was not less likely to defend India against the encroachments of Napoleon, than the "Puritans of the India House" were to facilitate his aggressive designs.

It was about this time that the great controversy was at its height. Never at any period was the one

* *MS. Correspondence.*

party more strenuous in its efforts to demonstrate the danger of making a show of Christianity in India, and never was the other more zealous in its endeavours to prove the fallacy of these tremendous expectations. That well-known historical event—the massacre at Vellore—came, at an inopportune moment, to stimulate and exasperate the controversy. There were not wanting, either in England or in India, writers and speakers to attribute this calamity to the alarm excited in the breasts of the people by the movements of the very few missionaries who were then suffered to pursue their peaceful calling in the Company's territories. The people of India, it was said, believing that their ancestral faith was threatened by the European usurpers, had risen up against their conquerors, and murdered them in their beds. This was but a foretaste, it was prophesied, of greater horrors to come. If the Bible were not shelved, and the missionaries recalled, the cantonments of the white men, from one end of India to the other, would be deluged with Christian blood. Reason and candor could not but pronounce all this a monstrous fable. But to many prejudiced minds, it was too acceptable not to be readily taken on trust, and the fiction found favor in London, no less than in Calcutta and Madras.

The currency which the fiction acquired for itself disquieted the "Puritans of the India House." It could not stand the touch of reason, it is true, but fictions that cannot stand the touch of reason are often very long-lived and robust, for there are thousands and tens of thousands of people who never reason at all. It was easy for such a man as Charles Grant to explode the error in a few argumentative sentences, but he was too sagacious not clearly to perceive the mischief of its dissemination:—

"I most of all suffer," he wrote, "from the absurd, malevolent, and wicked stories, which the weak, the prejudiced, the enemies of Christianity, have poured forth on this occasion to discredit, to bring into suspicion, to blacken as dangerous and mischievous, the few poor and assuredly harmless efforts, which have been made under the British Governments, to introduce the light of the Gospel into India. Greater efforts were made by other nations, centuries anterior to our ascendancy there. The natives have seen converts made to Christianity, though in small numbers, from age to age. No influence to disturb the public peace has ever followed. In our time, what perfect indifference have the generality of the Europeans shown to the religion they call theirs—what complacence in the superstitions of the country—how utterly abhorrent of everything that looked like compulsion. What have the few missionaries labouring there done but proposed a message of peace in the language and temper of peace, reason, and affection? Was there a missionary, or a chaplain, or any ostensible advocate for Christianity anywhere near Vellore? But I am hurrying into a subject which requires to be treated with deliberation and seriousness. All the disaffected to the propagation of the Gospel, among our own people both in India and here, take this opportunity to speak of the danger of allowing missionaries to exercise their functions in India. Doubtless prudence and discretion are always necessary in that work—they are particularly so now; but if from unworthy fears we should disavow our religion, or even be led to silence all attempts to communicate it to our subjects in a mild rational way, I should fear that the Great Author of that religion would be provoked to withdraw his protection there from us."*

And again he wrote, with how much sound sense, and with what a clear perception of the real weakness and the real strength of all human governments:

"They predict dreadful consequences from the preaching, writing, and itinerating of a few missionaries. These men, as far as I can judge, are remarkably peaceable, humble, pious, and affectionate in their whole demeanour, and pretending to no influence but what the truth, fairly exhibited, is calculated to produce. I

* *MS. Correspondence.*

know that the idea of converting the natives to Christianity has always been offensive to many of our countrymen in India, but chiefly to those who were no friends of Christianity in their own persons. And from such men the cry now comes that the activity of those missionaries will excite the jealousy and resentment of the natives; although no one instance of any expression of such suspicion or dissatisfaction on the part of the natives against the Government is given, or I believe can be given. I fear that these reports, taken up and re-echoed here, will lead to some precipitate measure, offensive to God, and all the more serious part of the community of this country, as well as injurious to the real interests of the Company abroad and at home. They have already various enemies who will oppose the renewal of the Charter, and if they act upon any principle which, however, disguised amounts in effect to an exclusion of the Gospel from the natives of India, a weight will be thrown into the opposing scale likely to bear them down.

"I have for many years considered the question of introducing Christianity among our Indian subjects. . . . . Caution and prudence are at all times necessary in proposing the truths of Christianity to heathens; there may be particular conjunctures when these, and perhaps a degree of forbearance are specially required—but for a Christian nation to say deliberately that they will prohibit the communication of that religion which comes from God to fifty millions of men, sunk in idolatry, superstition, and vice, is a proposition so monstrous and shocking, so contrary to the most rational and probable cause to be assigned for the conduct of Providence in committing so vast an empire to our care, that I tremble at the thought of it and the consequences it would be likely to produce. . . . . Minor questions are agitated about the irregular entrance of some missionaries into India, and the imprudence of continuing their labors, after the natives have shown so much alarm (in the reports chiefly I believe of Europeans), but the real question depending is whether the door shall be shut to the entrance of missionaries into British India? It would require much time and space to advance all that is to be said upon the question, but if ever it is deliberately settled in the negative, I shall consider the warrant is signed for the transition of our empire there, and I hold this opinion with men of greater authority and name than mine."*

* *MS. Correspondence.*

As the period for which the old Charter of 1793 had been granted wore to a close, men began to bestir themselves in England about this great matter of Christianity in India. The question which then agitated the mind of the religious community was twofold. There was a comparatively small, but most respectable, party, who believed that the great end to be gained was an extension of the Church establishment—who looked up to the lawn sleeves of the bishop as the great agent of evangelisation, and scarcely shrunk from the avowal of an opinion that the stability of British rule in the East much depended on the foundation of archdeaconries and episcopal sees. There was another, and much larger party, who took but little account of dignities and dignitaries—who, remembering what had been done by fishermen and tent-makers, sought only that earnest-minded Christian men, no matter of what worldly estate, should be suffered, on their own responsibility, as men without any official stamp upon them, to visit and teach the Gentiles. These questions, much brooded over in private before, were now publicly discussed. Many and various were the opinions expressed—many and various the exponents of those opinions and the outward shape of the exposition. Some betook themselves to the printing-press, and a war of pamphlets commenced. Others embodied their views in public petitions, and a heavy rain of memorials then began to descend upon the Legislature. Others, again, declared their sentiments before Parliamentary Committees, and set forth the experiences of their lives in such a manner as to make the uninitiated wonder how any two men of similar antecedents should deduce from their connexion with the past such dissimilar conclusions.* And

* Compare the evidence given by Warren Hastings and by Lord Teignmouth. It is instructive on more than one account to read the examination of the latter in the present day. The Committee seemed to know the kind of man they had to deal with, and assailed him at starting by putting an extreme

finally, members of Parliament, in both Houses, spoke out with much antagonistic earnestness, and brought both questions to an issue.

On the 22nd of March, 1813, the House of Commons went into committee on the India Bill. Lord Castle-

case: "Would it be consistent with the security of the British empire in India, that missionaries should preach publicly, with a view to the conversion of the native Indians, that Mahomet is an impostor, or should speak in opprobrious terms of the Brahmins, or their religious rites?" To this, of course, Lord Teignmouth replied, that there might be danger in such indiscretion; but that no one contemplated the conversion of the natives of India by such means; and when, soon afterwards, the question was put, "Is your lordship aware that an opinion prevails in India, that it is the intention of the British Government to take means to convert the natives of the country to the Christian religion?" he answered, without a moment's hesitation, "*I never heard it, or suspected it.*" One would have thought that there was little need after this to put the case hypothetically; but the witness was presently asked whether, allowing such an opinion to exist among the natives, the appearance of a bishop on the stage would not increase the danger. "I should think," said Lord Teignmouth, "it would be viewed with perfect indifference." Determined to work the hypothesis a little more, the Committee asked him whether, "*were* the Hindoos possessed with an idea that we had an intention of changing their religion and converting them into Christians, it would be attended with any bad consequences at all?" "I will expatiate a little in my answer to that question," said Lord Teignmouth; and he then delivered himself of the following explanation, the admirable good sense of which is not to be surpassed by anything to be found in the entire mass of evidence, elicited throughout the inquiry, upon all points of the Company's charter:

"Both the Hindoos and Mahomedans, subject to the British Government in India, have had the experience of some years, that, in all the public acts of that Government, every attention has been paid to their prejudices, civil and religious, and that the freest toleration is allowed to them; that there are many regulations of Government which prove the disposition of Government to leave them perfectly free and unmolested in their religious ordinances; and that any attempt at an infringement upon their religion or superstitions would be punished by the Government of India. With that conviction, which arises from experience, I do not apprehend that they would be brought to believe that the Government ever meant to impose upon them the religion of this country."

But the Committee had not yet done with their hypothesis, and were determined not to let the witness, whatever might be his opinion of its absurdity, escape without giving a direct answer; so they assailed him again, by asking, "*Should the state of things be altered, and we not observe the conduct we have hitherto observed, but introduce new modes, and enact new laws, for the carrying into effect the conversion of the natives to Christianity,* would not that be attended with disagreeable consequences?" To this, of course, but one answer could be given; and Lord Teignmouth gave that answer, leaving the Committee to make what use of it they could. "If a law were to be enacted," he said, "for converting the natives of India to Christianity, in such a manner as to have the appearance of a compulsory law upon their consciences, I have no hesitation in saying that, in that case, it would be attended with very great danger." Surely this is not the way to elicit the truth. I cannot help thinking that the licence given to this kind of wild questioning, which still obtains in committee-rooms, is rather calculated to embarrass and obscure the truth than to develop it. Wilberforce, writing to Lord Wellesley at the time of these charter discussions, said, "Your lordship can scarcely conceive, if I may judge of the House of Lords from the general condition of the members of the House of Commons, how ignorant in general their lordships are likely to be regarding India, and therefore how little they are qualified to ask questions in committee."

reagh was then Foreign Secretary and Leader of the House of Commons. It devolved on him to state the intentions of Government, which had been embodied in a series of resolutions. When he came to what were irreverently called the "pious clauses," he seemed to think that it was necessary to speak apologetically of the proposed measure, and expedient to hurry over the ground with all possible despatch.

"Another resolution," he said, "which he should "propose to the House, would be on the subject of Re- "ligion. He was aware that it was unwise to encroach "on the subject of religion generally, and that this, "under the circumstances of our Government in India, "was a most delicate question. But there was one "regulation on the subject necessary, even for the sake "of decency. The Company entrusted with the supreme "Government, in this as in other matters, had per- "mitted the free exercise of religion at their settle- "ments; but there was no sort of religious control, and "the members of the Church of England could not re- "ceive the benefits of those parts of their religion, to "which the Episcopalian functions were necessary,—for "example, the ceremony of Confirmation. He hoped "that the House did not think he was coming out with "a great ecclesiastical establishment, for it would only "amount to one bishop and three archdeacons, to su- "perintend the chaplains of the different settlements. "The Company, he hoped, would not think it an en- "croachment on their rights, that while British subjects "in India were governed by British laws, they should "be permitted to exercise their national religion."

The Resolutions, as I have said, were stated to the House on the 22nd of March, but it was not until the 17th of June* that the twelfth clause, "That it is the

* There had been some intermediate discussions, in which the two Charles Grants, father and son, had taken leading parts. The younger, on the 31st of March, had made a brilliant speech in favour of the "pious clauses." It must have been a fine thing to see the two fighting side by side on the floor of the House of Commons.

"opinion of this Committee, that it is expedient that "the Church establishment in the British territories "should be placed under the superintendence of a "bishop and three archdeacons, and that adequate "provision should be made, from the territorial reve-"nues of India, for their maintenance," came formally under discussion. It passed without a division. The Missionary clause came next. That was the field on which the great battle was to be fought between the Christian and the Philo-Hindoo parties. The resolution, cautiously worded, so as to contain no direct mention of missionaries and Christianity, was: "That it is the "opinion of this Committee, that it is the duty of this "country to promote the interest and happiness of the "native inhabitants of the British dominions in India, "and that such measures ought to be adopted as may "tend to the introduction among them of useful know-"ledge, and of religious and moral improvement. That "in the furtherance of the above objects, sufficient "facilities shall be afforded by law, to persons desirous "of going to, and remaining in, India, for the pur-"pose of accomplishing those benevolent designs." A special day, the 22nd of June, was fixed for the discussion. Wilberforce, who twenty years before had fought the battle of Christianity almost single-handed, and who now took intense interest in the great struggle, had girded himself for the conflict, and gone down to the House with quite an encyclopædia of authorities in support of his favorite opinions. His whole heart was in the encounter. He spoke long and well, tossing about the testimonies of the learned with a prodigality that was quite overwhelming. He quoted the opinions of all the Governors-General, one after the other, to show that the people of India were the most abandoned people on the face of the earth. He quoted the historians; he quoted the missionaries; he quoted the

civil servants of the Company. He quoted Orme, Verelst, Scrafton, Bolts, Malcolm, Grant, Mackintosh, Colebrooke, Kerr, Marshman, Carey, Ward, and an infinite number of official reports. He piled up authority upon authority to demonstrate the claims of this unhappy and most benighted people, upon the Christian sympathies of the British nation. It was a noble piece of special pleading, not exempt from exaggeration—that exaggeration, which is perhaps seldom absent from the addresses of a man very full of his subject, very earnest and energetic, thoroughly convinced in his own mind, and intensely eager to bring conviction to the minds of others. The grandeur of its aims, the high character and pure sincerity of the speaker, imparted a dignity and a purity to the address which it was impossible not to venerate. It made an impression upon the House; it made an impression out of the House; it made an impression throughout the country. Carefully corrected by the speaker, the speech was published by Hatchard, and found its way into extensive circulation. Its course was one of not unobstructed success. The Resolution was carried that night by a majority of 89 to 36; but, after a day or two, the question was re-opened in another stage of the business. On the 28th, the elder Grant made a long and able speech in defence of the Company. Mr. Lushington followed, with a reply to Mr. Wilberforce, and a defence of the Hindoos, to be answered by stout William Smith, who, with Mr. Stephen, in more than one good battle on the side of Christianity, had fought as the lieutenants of Mr. Wilberforce. On the 1st of July, the discussion was again resumed, and a very remarkable speech, on the wrong side of the question, was delivered by Mr. Charles Marsh, a gentleman who had formerly been a member of the legal profession at Madras. It created a strong sensation in the House,

but not an abiding one. His hearers admired the eloquence of the speaker, but were not convinced by his arguments. The address, which he delivered on the 1st of July, 1813—an elaborate protest against Christian liberty in India—even now that a second Charter has nearly expired since it was reported, cannot be read without the strongest feelings of regret, that such fine talents were turned to such bad account.*

This speech called forth a rejoinder from Wilberforce, distinguished by no common ability. Southey had ransacked his marvellous common-place book to supply illustrations, drawn from Portuguese history, of the little danger, that attends interference with the customs of the people of India. And now the speaker, thus fortified by the erudition of the newly-appointed laureate, cited Albuquerque with good effect; entered into an elaborate explanation of the causes of the massacre of Vellore (an event which Mr. Marsh had of course emphatically dwelt upon, for it was the stock in trade of his party); spoke of the suppression of female infanticide by Jonathan Duncan and Colonel Walker, and of the Saugor sacrifices by Lord Wellesley; rebuked Mr. Marsh for speaking of the Missionaries as Anabaptists and fanatics; and compared the present contest with the great struggle, in which he and his friends had so long been engaged, for the suppression of the slave-trade. He was followed by Mr.

* "There was little or nothing in this address that had not been said before; but Mr. Marsh assuredly said it better than it had been said before. He said, indeed, everything that could be said upon the subject; and he said it extremely well. A dexterous allusion to the murder at Blackheath of Mr. and Mrs. Bonar by their footman, Nicholson, which was to the year 1813, what the Manning murder was to 1849; and to the still mysterious affair of the alleged attack upon the Duke of Cumberland by his valet, Sellis—two incidents which were then exciting the public mind—told with something of novel effect on the House, and must be regarded as an original illustration of the superior virtue of the native servants, who sleep at the doors of Anglo-Indian residents."—[*Author in the Calcutta Review.*]

Forbes, Mr. William Smith, and other speakers, among whom was Whitbread, who spoke out manfully in favor of the Resolution. "I am charmed with Whitbread," wrote Buchanan to a friend, a few days afterwards, "when he sounds the right note." The House divided; and there were fifty-four votes for the clause, and thirty-two against it. A hundred members could not be induced to sit out this important debate. Five hundred had divided a few weeks before on the Roman Catholic Relief Bill. In the House of Lords the Resolution passed without a division.

And so the victory was gained. I must briefly speak of its results. On the 28th of November, 1814, the first Indian bishop ascended the steps of one of the ghâts of Calcutta. His landing, in his own words, "was without any *éclat*, for fear of alarming the prejudices of the natives." On Christmas-day he preached his first sermon, before a congregation of 1300 persons, and administered the sacrament to 160 communicants, including the judges and the members of council. "The day," wrote Bishop Middleton to his friends in England, "will long be remembered in Calcutta."

And so commenced the episcopal period of Christianity in India. There was no commotion—no excitement at its dawn. Offended Hindooism did not start up in arms; nor indignant Mahomedanism raise a war-cry of death to the infidel. English gentlemen asked each other, on the course, or at the dinner-table, if they had seen the bishop; and officious native sircars pressed their services upon the "Lord Padre Sahib." But the heart of Hindoo society beat calmly as was its wont. Brahmanism stood not aghast at the sight of the lawn sleeves of the bishop. He preached in the Christian temple on the Christian's *bara din;* and that night the Europeans in Calcutta slept securely in their beds—securely next morning they

went forth to their accustomed work. There was not a massacre; there was not a rebellion. Chowringhee was not in a blaze; the waters of the "Lall Diggy" did not run crimson with Christian blood. The merchant took his place at his desk; the public servant entered his office; and the native underlings salaamed meekly and reverentially as ever. In the Fort, the English captain faced his native company; and the sepoy, whatever his caste, responded to the well-known word of command, with the ready discipline he had learned under the old charter. Everything went on according to wonted custom, in spite of the bishop, and his lawn sleeves, and his sermon on Christmas-day. No one looked differently; no one felt differently; and it really seemed probable, after all, that British dominion in the East would survive the episcopal blow.

The truth is, that such of the natives—the better educated and more intelligent few—as really thought anything about the matter, thought the better of us for evincing this outward respect for our religion, and have thought the better of us and our faith ever since. All that was written and spoken, of old, about alarming the Hindoos, and weakening our hold of India; all the ominous allusions to the Vellore massacre, and anticipations of new catastrophes of the same class, now appeared in their true light, and were valued at their proper worth. Mr. Buchanan's "sanguinary doctrines," as Mr. Twining ludicrously called them, in one of his pamphlets, had now been fully reduced to practice; and yet not a drop of blood had been shed—not a blow struck—not a menace uttered—not a symptom of disquiet had evinced itself. Our empire in India was then "not worth a year's purchase;" and yet now for forty years has it survived that first awful episcopal sermon on Christmas-day.*

Bengal had become accustomed to the great episcopal

* Author in the *Calcutta Review*.

danger when the bishop prepared to set out on a visitation tour, and threw Madras into a paroxysm of alarm. The Coast authorities had not forgotten the Vellore massacre. Visions of blood were still floating before their eyes. It seemed to them that the visit of the bishop to the south would be the signal for another rising, more grievous than the last, as Hindoos and Mahomedans might for once be banded together. But the further he proceeded the more apparent it became that the natives regarded his approach without a feeling of alarm, and his presence without a sentiment of aversion. Native princes received the Christian bishop with reverence, and embraced him with affection. Native priests came out from their temples to welcome him, and implored his assistance in their behalf. He visited the great pagodas of Chillumbrum; where the Brahmins pressed forward to gaze at the chief-priest of the Feringhees. They showed him all the noticeable things of their temple, and, instead of anticipating that he had come to demolish it, asked for a little money for its repair. Elsewhere the same feeling prevailed. A deputation of Brahmans from the Tinnivelly Pagodas visited the bishop at Palamcottah. They came respectfully to the Lord Padre to seek his sympathy and assistance as a brother hierarch. They were, they said, in a miserable state of depression. Their church-lands, after paying the Government demands, yielded so little that the priests were in danger of starving. Could not the head of the Christian Church, they meekly suggested, intercede in their behalf, and induce Government to better their position?

From that time it became apparent that any amount of Church establishment that the British Legislature could be induced to sanction would never alarm or irritate the natives. The establishment in Middleton's time was miserably small. "The total number of clergy, both

civil and military," says Mr. Le Bas, in his life of Bishop Middleton, "did not, there is reason to believe, in 1814, exceed thirty-two in the proportion of fifteen for Bengal, twelve for Madras, and five for Bombay. This number, small as it was, was subject to continual reduction, by illness, death, necessary absence, or return to England; such, for instance, was the amount of these casualties at Bombay, on the arrival of Archdeacon Barnes, in 1814, that he found at that Presidency only one efficient clergyman." A more recent writer on the state of the Anglican Church in India, Mr. Whitehead, says that this computation is too high, and makes a corrected statement on the authority of Mr. Abbott, the Ecclesiastical Register:—"On the arrival of Bishop Middleton, in 1814, he found effective resident chaplains in Bengal, eight; in Madras, five or six; and in Bombay, one. Missionaries under episcopal jurisdiction, or licensed by the bishop, there were none. India then possessed fifteen parochial clergy." From that period, however, the Anglican Church has progressively increased in extent and importance. Under the Act of 1833, the bishop and the three archdeacons, whom Lord Castlereagh had apologetically introduced to the notice of the House, grew into three bishops and three archdeacons.

Madras and Bombay were raised to the dignity of episcopal sees; and with this increase of ecclesiastical supervision there was also an increase of ordinary ecclesiastical agency. The establishment had gradually grown under the Charter of 1813; but there has been greater growth since its close. In 1832-33 there were on the establishment of the Bengal Presidency *thirty-seven* chaplains; in 1850-51 there were *sixty-one*. Under the Madras Government there were, in 1832-33, *twenty-three* chaplains; in 1850-51 there were *twenty-nine*. Attached to Bombay, in 1832-33, there were *fifteen* chaplains; in 1850-51 there were *twenty-three*. The total cost

of these establishments was, in 1832-33, 96,000*l.*; in 1850-51 it had risen to 112,000*l.*

But far more important than this extension of the Church establishment, was the removal of the great barrier which had hitherto restrained the tide of missionary labor from flowing freely into India—almost, it may be said, from flowing there at all. It is curious in these days, when Christian missionaries cover the country by hundreds, to think of the dismay which the efforts of missionary units excited in the minds of the members of Lord Minto's Government, and the efforts which were made to control these dangerous excesses. Materials are not wanting for a vivid picture of the alarm which the mild efforts of the Serampore missionaries excited in the Council Chamber of Calcutta; but it hardly comes within the scope of this work to enter into such details. I would merely speak of the ascertained results of the labors of Wilberforce, Charles Grant, and their Christian comrades, which emancipated the Gospel throughout our British possessions in the East. A vast impulse was necessarily given to Christian missions by the "pious clauses" of the Charter Act of 1813, and all through the twenty years of its operation the magnitude of our missionary works steadily increased, and the results of missionary labor were more apparent. But in this, as in every other great field of operation, it is since the passing of the Act under which India is now governed that the greatest strides forward have been made. In 1830 there were 10 missionary societies at work in India; in 1850 there were 22. In 1830 there were 106 missionary stations; in 1850 there were 260. In 1830 there were 147 missionaries in the field; in 1850 there were 403. Such has been the progress made in the twenty years between 1830 and 1850.*

* These missionary statistics are taken from an elaborate paper, entitled "Results of Missionary Labors in India," originally contributed by the Rev. Mr. Mullins, in the *Calcutta Review*, and subsequently published in a sepa-

The effect of this increased agency may, in some measure, be gathered from the following statistical paper, laid before the Missionary Conference in Calcutta a few years ago. It showed, that in Lower Bengal, exclusive of Kishnaghur, the accessions of native converts to the Christian Church had been made thus:

From 1793 to 1802	27
„ 1803 to 1812	161
„ 1813 to 1822	403
„ 1823 to 1832	675
„ 1833 to 1842	1045
„ 1843 and 1844 (two years)	485*

I have no doubt that there are many readers who will be glad to see, in one comprehensive view, the statistics of Protestant missions in India, as existing at the present time:

	Missionaries.	Native Preachers.	Churches.	Members.	Christians.
In Bengal, Orissa, and Assam	101	135	71	3,416	14,401
In the N. W. Provinces	58	39	21	608	1,828
In the Madras Presidency	164	308	162	10,464	74,512
In the Bombay Presidency	37	11	12	223	554
In Ceylon	43	58	43	2,645	11,859
Total	403	551	309	17,356	103,154

It will be gathered from this statement, that under the Presidency of Madras, which does not in respect of secular affairs exhibit very encouraging signs of progress, missionary labor has hitherto made the greatest impression.† But it is probable that the progressive results are even more satisfactory in Bengal.

rate form. I am told that these statistics have been most rigorously tested, and that their accuracy has been abundantly demonstrated.

* Mullins.

† The causes of this are well explained by Mr. Mullins in the paper which I quoted above: "By far the greatest progress has been made in South India, in the provinces of Tinnevelley and Travancore. Missionary work has long been carried on in these districts, and the people are far more open to the Gospel than other Hindoos. In Travancore there is a native Government, and the Brahmins are both numerous and powerful. But the majority of the people, both there and in Tinnevelly, are not Hindoos like those in Northern India. They are Shanars, a large body devoted especially to the cultivation of the palm-tree: and, whether immigrants, or a portion of the aborigines of the land, who have been enslaved by Brahmin conquerors, they still retain their original customs. They

The number of missionaries, mission stations, churches, and converts, entered under the Bombay head, is comparatively small—comparatively with the agency at work under the other presidencies—but comparatively with the past, how great. In 1847, on his departure from Western India, Mr. Fyvie, an American missionary at Surat, spoke thus of the changes which he had lived to witness in Bombay:

"Persons arriving at Bombay now visit it under different circumstances from what it was twenty-five or thirty years ago. When I landed on your shores, there was only one church in Bombay, and one service on the Lord's Day, very thinly attended indeed. There are now six places of public worship on this island for divine service in English, and a seventh is now building. Thirty or thirty-five years ago, evangelical preaching was, I fear, but little known on this island; but now the case is happily very

are all devil-worshippers, and worship the objects of their fear with horrible ceremonies and disgusting dances. They continually add to the number of their devils: and singularly enough in one district, *an Englishman was worshipped as such*, for many years. The offerings presented on his tomb, were *spirits and cigars!* The Shanars are said to be 'the least intellectual people found in India.' Their long servitude and oppression have debased them to a very low level: and, though a few are found to possess considerable ability, the majority are marked by apathy, indifference, ignorance, and vice, and are unable to carry out a process of thought for any length of time. Their social bonds, such as those of parents to children, are feeble; and their social amusements few. But withal they are a docile and pliant people, and decidedly willing to improve. The causes, which led to such a rapid progress of Christianity among them, are readily discernible. Their religion sat very lightly on them; their caste is low; the religion of Europeans, was, of course, looked upon with favor. In Travancore a special reason existed. Many years ago, General Munro procured an order from the Rani, that Christians should be exempted from work on their sabbath, and from employment in the Hindoo festivals. These circumstances have contributed much towards the easy passage of so many converts from Heathenism to Christianity. The whole number, now under instruction, we reckon to be 52,000. It must not, however, be supposed that they are all true Christians. None know this better, or have spoken it more plainly, than the missionaries, who instruct them. Yet had they only given up their abominable devil-worship, a great thing would have been accomplished. But they have done more. They have placed themselves under an evangelical ministry; they regularly attend public worship: more than 17,000 children and young people are daily instructed in Christian schools, some of whom are being educated as teachers, and others as preachers to their countrymen. Best of all, a goodly number have exhibited in their lives the fruits of conversion to God. A great improvement has taken place in this numerous body of Christian natives; a great desire is evinced for increased instruction; family prayer is not uncommon; the public services are well attended; and a large sum in the aggregate is annually contributed for Christian books and for the poor. The whole Shanar population, 120,000 in number, is open to missionaries; and, if societies are faithful, and missionaries faithful, we may hope, in two or three generations, to see the whole of the southern provinces of India entirely Christianised."

different, and has long been so. Less than thirty-five years ago, there were no Educational, Bible, Tract, or Missionary Societies here. Is not the case now very different? Then one hardly knew where to look for a decidedly pious person, for the worship of God in families, and prayer-meetings in public. In how many pious families, in this place and at other stations, is the voice of prayer and praise presented to God, morning and evening, at the family altar: while weekly prayer-meetings are also numerous. In viewing all that has been done among our countrymen, have we no cause to say, 'What hath God wrought!'

"Thirty years ago, if any native had wished to become acquainted with Christianity, there was then no Bible, Tract, or Christian book in Mahrathi or Gujurati, to put into his hand. During the last twenty-five years, however, the Bible has been translated and printed in both these languages, so that the people can now read in their own tongues the wonderful works of God. Tracts, discourses, prayers, and catechisms, have been prepared and widely circulated, and are read by thousands throughout the length and breadth of the land. Some of the heathen at the different missionary stations have believed the Gospel report; others, an increasing number, are convinced of the truth of Christianity, but have not yet sufficient moral courage to put on Christ, and to forsake all for his name: some of the converts have become preachers of the Gospel. When I arrived in India, the American brethren, Messrs. Hall and Newell, were laboring amidst many discouragements to establish their first native school. Now there are numerous schools at all the different missionary stations; and they might be greatly increased. When I arrived, with the exception of the two American brethren mentioned, there were no missionaries in the whole of Western India. Since that time, the great Lord of the harvest has thrust forth many laborers from Great Britain and Ireland, America, and the Continent of Europe. Let us bless God for this: and pray that they may be upheld, directed, comforted, and sanctified, and their labors greatly blessed. No doubt, but in due time, they or their successors shall reap largely, if they faint not."

In the whole history of Indian progress there is nothing that cheers the heart more than the progress of morality and religion among our own people. It was said of old that we must begin there—that we must

first convert ourselves, and then think of converting the people of India. It is certain that the English, in our Eastern settlements, are not now open to the old reproach, "Christian-man—Devil-man." As to the conversion of the heathen, it is equally certain that our people have labored diligently for it—that they have done much, and suffered much, in the good cause—and that the results, as far as the human eye can discern them, have well repaid all this toil. What the amount of real conversion may be, humanity cannot determine; it can only speak of the palpable results. I have now before me, from the pen of one who speaks of what he has seen,* some account of the encouraging indications of a change coming, or come:

"Temples are being allowed, to a great extent, to fall into decay, while the number of new ones erected is by no means large. In those parts where missions have been carried on most extensively, a considerable falling off in the attendance at the great festivals is distinctly observable. The swinging festival, for instance, in Lower Bengal is very different from what it used to be. The number of idols sold at festivals is greatly diminished, and the offerings at the great temples are of far less value than they once were. A great change has taken place in the views and in the spirit of the people at large. Formerly they knew nothing of what true religion really is; but they have been enlightened on the nature of moral obligation, the duty of love to God, of love to men, and the nature and evil of sin. Missions have gone far, during the last fifty years, in developing a conscience amongst the natives, in whom it was in a deadly sleep. Is not this alone a great result? The Hindoos, too, have begun to lay aside some of their old notions. The Brahmins are no longer so highly honored; the clever Sudras thrust them aside from place and power without scruple; by far the greater increase of wealth and wisdom has been diffused among the latter. Thousands now approve of female education; and, in the great cities, the ladies of numerous families are being privately taught. Even the remarriage of widows is discussed by the native papers, and its

* Mr. Mullins.

advantages fully acknowledged. A numerous body is coming forward in society, possessing far more enlightened notions than their fathers did; a body of men, who put little faith in the Shastras, and look upon the old pandits and teachers as ignorant bigots. The great contrast between these two parties shows how great a step has been made in the process of public enlightenment. The spirit, in which Bible truth is heard, has also greatly improved. Formerly, when a missionary preached, he was compelled to enter into disagreeable and apparently useless controversies; the same objections were brought forward again and again; and the discussion was frequently closed, with the practical application of broken pots, sand, dirt, and cries of 'Hari bol!' But now, in all the older missionary stations and even beyond them, discussions seldom occur. The people come to the chapels, and often listen to the end: frequently acknowledging aloud the truth of what is said. What is even more singular is, that small companies have been found in various parts of the country, who have gathered a little collection of Christian books, and meet together to read and study them. These facts are full of encouragement from the proofs they furnish, that the word of God, though hidden, is not lost; but that, like good seed, it *will* spring up and put forth, first the blade, then the ear, after that the full corn in the ear. Only let this word, so extensively known, be applied with power 'by the Holy Ghost sent down from heaven,' and, at once, 'the little one will become a thousand, and the small one a great nation.'"

I think that these signs are most cheering. God only knows what they indicate. But this I know, and may say, that the missionaries have proved themselves worthy of the confidence reposed in them, and that they have seldom or never done anything to embarrass the Government, under which, without molestation from the State, and with much encouragement generally from the servants of the State, they have conducted their peaceful operations. The improved relations, indeed, between the missionaries and the Government are in themselves no small evidence of the better temper of the latter.

I know that it may be said, as it often has been said, that the Indian Government still countenances much that

it knows to be wrong—much error, much superstition, much that every Christian man must desire to see rooted out of the land. I am anxious to state the case with all fairness. It is not to be denied that the question, when it presented itself for the solution of Christian administrators, was a very difficult one. The question was not whether Christianity was to be supported in India, and heathenism discouraged; but how far, consistently with outstanding pledges and existing obligations, Christianity could be supported and heathenism discouraged. Whether those pledges were wisely given—those obligations wisely contracted—might have been another question; but it is of little use now to discuss it. There they were in legible black and white, in substantive regulations, and there was now no ignoring them. It remained only for us to put upon them the right practical construction, and it was only in respect of this construction that any difference of opinion could have arisen among reasonable and well-informed men.

The practical observation of a solemn pledge, deliberately given and distinctly enunciated to the natives of India, was plainly and unmistakeably incumbent upon us, and we should have erred if we had neglected it by going in search of any more remote and speculative, perhaps unattainable, good. But it was our duty, at the same time, to be cautious of going beyond the pledge—of giving too literal a construction to the words of the obligations which we have taken upon ourselves. I think that there was a tendency at one time to run into this extreme. At all events, the British-Indian Government, from year's end to year's end, has been growing less and less tenacious on the score of the over-strict observance of these old pledges, and has been gradually loosening its connexion with Idolatry, in the manner least calculated to excite alarm, or to occasion offence. There is a great difference between active participation in

evil, and simple toleration of it. The Regulations of 1793 had promised the natives of India "to preserve to them the laws of the Shaster and the Koran," and to "protect them in the free exercise of their religion." But they had not pledged our Government to interfere in the internal management of their temples, the decoration of their idols, and the ordering of their religious processions. Little by little these errors were swept out of our administrative system. From the time when, in 1809, Government decreed that "the superintendence of the idol of Juggernauth and its interior economy" should be thenceforth vested in the Rajah of Koordah, the chains which have bound us to the externalities of the false creeds of the country have gradually been loosened; and now there is little left of a system which, in these days, few Christians are prepared to commend. It was partly, in a spirit of tenderness and compassion for the poor people whom we had trodden down with the iron heel of conquest, partly from considerations of policy, that, at the outset of our career, as rulers, we had been more regardful of the honor of the Hindoo religion than of our own. But the error, founded as it was on what we then believed to be a sense of justice, has given way to the increased regard which the rulers of India entertain for the obligations of the religion they profess; and, whilst on the one side they have learned to treat with courtesy and respect the bringers of glad tidings, whom of old they cast out with reproach, they have ceased to cherish the abominations against which the good men whom they discarded were not suffered to do battle by themselves.

It is fitting that a sketch of Indian Progress should be closed with a brief mention of these things. Never at any time has the Government of India evinced, by acts of practical beneficence, so kindly an interest in the welfare of the people, as within the last few years of its rule.

It has bethought itself of better means of securing the allegiance of the people than by pampering their priests and decorating their idols. It has not only, in these latter days, loosened the chains which bound the rulers of the country to the idolatry, which from remote ages has been the curse of the people, but has loosened the chains which bound to it the Gentile worshipper himself. It has been well said that, "as soon as a little fellow could be made to understand that the earth was 25,000 miles round there was an end of the Shastre."

My labors draw on to a close. In looking back at what I have written, I find that I have left unsaid much that I had comprehended in the original scheme of my work. But I think I have written enough to show that the East India Company and their servants have not been unmindful of the great trust that has been reposed in them, and that their administration has been one of progressive improvement—improvement which is now advancing with strides such as have never been made before. Never were the rulers of India so mindful as now of the duties and responsibilities which have devolved upon them, as guardians of the happiness of that immense section of the great human family, which Providence has so mysteriously committed to their care. The last twenty years have witnessed more great changes tending to increase the prosperity, the happiness, the civilisation of the people of India, than the antecedent two centuries of British connexion with the East. But the changes which have been consummated, and of which we are now witnessing the results, are small in proportion to those which we have originated, and of which the next cycle of twenty years will witness the completion. If the great administrative system, under which our Empire in India has been built up, remains fundamentally unchanged, those will be bright chapters of Indian progress which will grow beneath the pen of the historian of 1873. I

believe that under no other system would that Empire have risen to its present height—under no other system would it have survived the assaults of time and the shocks of circumstance. If India had been grievously misgoverned, we should not have been masters of it now.

An acute author of the present day has observed: "The historian knows the end of many of the transactions he narrates. If he did not, how differently often he would narrate them. It would be a most instructive thing to give a man the materials for the account of a great transaction, stopping short at the end, and then see how different would be his account from the ordinary ones."* I have often thought, when consulting the early records of the Company, how different would be my forecast of the issue of all these rude struggles of our English adventurers in the time of the Stuarts, if I had addressed myself to the task of research in utter ignorance of more recent events—if, indeed, I had groped my way along paths of virgin inquiry, making discoveries at every step, as in the pages of a new romance. But I think that the essayist has stopped short at a point where his reflection was susceptible of a much more important application than that to which he has directed it. It is from the difference between our own rough-hewing and the shaping of our ends by a higher power† that the great lesson is to be learnt. The inequality of the means to the end — the seemingly irreconcileable difference between the magnitude of the effect and the pettiness of the cause—the utter unlikelihood, prospectively, of such a sequence of events as, retrospectively, we know to have arisen—the entire confusion, indeed, of all the calculations of human wisdom,

* *Friends in Council.*

† There's a Divinity that shapes our ends
Rough-hew them as we may.

which we so plainly discern when we look at such an event as the establishment of our Indian Empire in its inchoate fragmentary state, as with the eyes of a cotemporary of Bacon or Clarendon—are so many finger-prints of the "hand of God in history," which he who would read the annals of the Company aright, should dwell upon with reverence and humility.

In the inscrutable manner in which, whilst the nationalities of the East and the West, were breaking up around us, Providence preserved that little party of London merchants to work out its great designs, is to be found the key-note of Anglo-Indian history. It was not for any petty ends that this great miracle was wrought in our behalf. It was not for any petty ends that principality after principality was surrendered into our hands, and the will of the Company became law from the banks of the Indus to the banks of the Irrawaddy. It was that the great Christian nation, thus mysteriously selected, should achieve great things in the East, and finally work out the scheme of India's emancipation. How we are now fulfilling our mission, I have in some sort endeavoured to show. Physically* and morally —materially and intellectually, we are impressing ourselves abidingly on the country and on the people. I hope that I have shown that the English in India have not sat down idly under the weight of their responsibilities and fallen asleep in the shade, whilst they ought to have been bearing the burden and heat of the day in strenuous efforts for the elevation of a long-oppressed fallen race.

* I feel that I ought, as, indeed, I intended, in this work, to have said something of the efforts that have been made in India to improve the *physique* of the people, by means of great sanatory measures. It is hard to say to what extent the intellectual and moral character of the natives of India is influenced by these causes. The diffusion of the medical science of the West will, doubtless, do much to invigorate the people; but, perhaps, the sanatory measures, initiated by Mr. J. R. Martin in the capital, and radiating thence into all parts of the country, will still more extensively affect the character of the people. In the regeneration of the people of India, this will not be one of the least effective agents.

I believe that our Indian Empire is the admiration and the envy of the European world. There is not a foreign state that does not wonder at the marvellous success which has attended, not only the progress of our arms, but the progress of our administration. France, under the burden and the trouble of a new Empire in Algeria, seeks counsel from the East India Company as to the true mode of governing Mahomedan subjects.* Austria looks on with respectful wonder, gravely confessing a right understanding of all the elements of our national grandeur, except our marvellous Empire in the East.† Prussia sends forth her princes to see the great marvel for themselves, and to tell on their return how we conquer kingdoms and how we retain them. Russia, with ill-disguised chagrin, tries to believe the falsehoods of our enemies, and yet knows in her inmost heart what is the wisdom and beneficence of our rule.‡ The marvel and the mystery are more patent to stranger eyes than to our own.§ We think too little of the

* This, I believe, was in 1847.

† The Duke of Newcastle stated, in a speech delivered at Haileybury in the summer of 1852, that travelling, in the Austrian Tyrol, he fell in with a very intelligent Austrian general, who, in the course of a conversation on our national resources, said that he could understand all the elements of our greatness, except our Anglo-Indian Empire, and *that* he could not understand. The vast amount of administrative wisdom, which the good government of such an Empire demanded, baffled his comprehension.

‡ I am told that De Warren's *L'Inde Anglaise* is a text-book with the Russian officers on the Eastern frontier. What are their real ideas of the duties of Christian states may, perhaps, be gathered from the fact that Prince Saltikoff told an English officer, who had been exerting himself to bring about the suppression of Suttee in Rajpootana, that he thought it a pity to suppress anything so romantic, for that in proportion as such customs as these were abolished the people of India would cease to be interesting.

§ Hear the evidence of another nation. Italy, through Sismondi, says:— "Such as they are, however, the English are still the best masters that India has ever had. Wherever in this vast continent their dominion is direct, it is a real benefit. They have re-established security and justice; they have given the people a feeling of duration, and of something to look forward to; and exactly because they keep themselves apart, because they do not wish to direct everything, to change everything, they have permitted Indian civilisation under them to resume its natural progress. Agriculture is flourishing; the arts are cultivated with ease; population and riches begin to increase; intelligence makes some progress; and European opinions engraft themselves naturally and gently on the old ideas of India; in short, the conquered people have learnt to defend the foreign rule; the native army is formidable, and there is little probability that if the road to India were opened to the Russians, they could sustain a struggle against the English."

mighty Providence which out of a petty mercantile adventure has evolved the grandest fact recorded in the History of the World.

We should never close our eyes against the great truth of this mysterious interference. It should enter largely into all our thoughts of the practicalities of Indian administration. The face of God has never yet been turned away from us save when we have done manifestly wrong. Often, in the weakness of our faith, we have doubted and hesitated; we have given ourselves up to petty shifts and temporary expedients, only to find that the very essence of political wisdom is to dare to do right. When that large-minded director of the Company, Charles Grant, declared that "if from unworthy fears we should disavow our religion, he should fear that the Great Author of that religion would be provoked to withdraw his protection there from us,"* he uttered sentiments which, forty years ago, were declared to be those only of an amiable fanatic. But what was once believed to be the wild mouthing of enthusiasm, is now looked upon as the language of calm and authoritative reason. Since our Indian statesmen and soldiers began to take more solemn views of their duties as Christian men, and the Directors of the Company have recognised more clearly and more gratefully the wonderful interposition of Providence in their behalf, they have achieved an amount of practical success such as never attended their efforts, when they suffered manifold idle fears and vain vaticinations to arrest the stream of Indian Progress.

* *Ante*, p. 638.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

(A)

THE SALT DUTIES.

[*From the Statistical Papers relating to India, prepared at the India House.*]

BENGAL.

THE supply of salt in Bengal is provided partly by manufacture, conducted on account of the Government,* partly by importation, and in one instance† by private manufacture, under a system of excise. The duty‡ on all imported salt is two and a half rupees per maund of 82lbs., or about three farthings per lb. The same rate of duty is levied as excise on salt manufactured by private individuals; and the Government salt may be purchased at all times in quantities of not less than 50 maunds, at a fixed price, which is composed of the cost price, with the addition of two and a half rupees per maund, or three farthings per lb. The average cost price of production§ is about 80 rupees per 100 maunds, or a trifle below one farthing per lb., thus making the Government selling price under a penny per lb. The supply of salt is no longer a monopoly; its manufacture and sale have not been relinquished by Government, but individuals participate in its provision, both by importation and manufacture, under a combined system of customs and excise.

The system of *fixed prices* and *open warehouses* commenced in

* The manufacture is carried on, not by hired labour on the part of the Government, but by a system of pecuniary advances; the parties receiving them being bound to deliver, at a fixed price, all the salt manufactured. Probably 100,000 laborers (called Molunghees) are engaged in the manufacture in the Sunderbunds.

† Mr. Prinsep's salt-works at Narrainpore.

‡ The duty is levied at the time of the clearance of the salt from the bonded warehouses.

§ The salt agencies are located along the head of the Bay of Bengal, viz. at Hidgelee, Tumlook, Chittagong, Arracan, Cuttack, Balasore, Khoredah.

1836-37, when the previous system of *fixed qualities* and *periodical sales* was abolished.*

	Maunds of 82 lbs.
During the seven years commencing with 1837-38 and ending with 1843-44, the duty on salt was 3rs. 4a. per maund. The annual average† quantity of salt sold and imported during that period was	4,627,030
In November, 1844, the duty was reduced to 3rs. per maund, and the annual average sale increased to	4,966,917
In April, 1847, the duty was further reduced to 2rs. 12a. per maund, and the annual sale increased to	5,452,909
In April, 1849, the duty was again subjected to reduction, when it was fixed for five years at its present rate of 2rs. 8a. per maund.	

It will thus be seen that in the five years above adverted to, the reduction effected in the salt-tax amounted to nearly 25 per cent.; but it would appear that no further reduction can, for the present, be expected consistently with the maintenance of the revenue, the last reduction in 1849 having led to no further increase of consumption.

NORTH-WESTERN PROVINCES.

The supply of salt to the North-Western Provinces is furnished partly from the lower provinces of Bengal, and partly from the Sambhur Salt Lake,‡ in Rajpootana, and other localities on the western side of India. The salt of Bengal having paid the excise or import duty of 2 rupees 8 a. per maund, passes free into the North-Westen Provinces. The Sambhur and other salt, on crossing the north-western frontier customs line, is subjected to a duty of 2 rupees per maund, and to a further duty of half a rupee§ per maund on transmission to the eastward of Allahabad, thus coming into competition with the salt of Bengal under an equal duty of 2 rupees 8 a. per maund.

MADRAS.

At Madras salt is manufactured on account of Government, and

* As recommended by the Select Committee of the House of Commons in 1836. All the recommendations of that Committee have now been fully and fairly carried out, viz.—

1st. Open warehouses and fixed prices.

2nd. Imported salt to be subjected to the same rate of duty as native manufactured salt.

3rd. The rate of duty to be fixed below the average of net profits for a series of ten years (such average having been calculated at 3 rupees per maund).

† These averages are exclusive of the quantities disposed of by retail sales, which cannot be given with perfect accuracy.

‡ The Sambhur Lake belongs to the native States of Joudpore and Jyepore.

§ The Allahabad special duty was fixed by Act 14 of 1843 at one rupee per maund; but in 1847, and again in 1849, when reduction of duty on Bengal salt was effected, corresponding reductions were made in the Allahabad duty.

sold for internal consumption at one rupee per maund, or under one farthing per lb.* The duty on imported foreign salt was 3 rupees per maund, but it has been recommended by the home authorities that the import duty should (as in Bengal) be equal only to the difference between the selling price and the cost of manufacture; the difference between the cost price and the price at which the salt is given out for consumption being the duty to be realised.

BOMBAY.

In Bombay the manufacture of salt is carried on by individuals, but subject to an excise duty of twelve annas (1*s.* 6*d.*) per maund,† a similar duty being imposed on imported salt. Salt exported from this presidency to Calcutta is subject to the above excise duty, but credit for that amount is given at Calcutta in the adjustment of the local duty. Facilities are also afforded for the export of salt to Malabar, Travancore, Cochin, and other places.

PUNJAB.

The excise duty on salt at the Punjab salt mines has been fixed at 2 rupees per maund.

English salt, it is said, may be laid down at Calcutta at 44s. per ton, or about 80 rs. per 100 maunds.‡

According to another authority,§ 65 rs. per 100 maunds is the lowest possible rate at which the transaction could be effected. But salt from the Persian Gulf and other Arab States is laid down at Calcutta at 40 rs. per 100 maunds. It is therefore the high cost of producing Bengal salt (80 rs. per 100 maunds) which alone enables English salt to keep a footing in the Calcutta market.

In Bengal salt is obtained by boiling the sea-water.

In Bombay and Madras the process is that of solar evaporation.

In the Punjab it is extracted in a pure state from the salt mines.

The Sambhur Salt Lake, in Rajpootana, overflows during the rains, and when the waters subside, a deep incrustation of salt is deposited on its shores for several miles round.

* By Act 6 of 1844, sect. 43, the selling price of the Government salt was fixed at one and a half rupees per maund. It has subsequently been reduced to one rupee, by order of the Court.

† The duty on salt on delivery from salt-works was fixed, by Act 27 of 1837, at half a rupee per maund. It was subsequently increased to one rupee per maund by Act 16 of 1844, and reduced to twelve annas, its present price, by order of the Court in the same year.

‡ *Aylwyn on Salt Trade.*

§ *Calcutta Review.*

Salt purchased at Calcutta at 1d. per lb., the Government price, is sold at Benares (400 miles from Calcutta, where it comes into competition with the salt from Rajpootana) at 12 lbs. the rupee, or 2d. per lb.; and, moreover, it is stated to be then considerably adulterated. The consumption of salt in India has been usually estimated* at 12 lbs. per head per annum; and assuming the wages of agricultural labor† at 3 rupees per mensem (the rate now paid on the Calcutta and Bombay mail-road, and also to village watchmen), it would, at Calcutta, absorb the income of five days' labor to provide the quantity required for a year. The salt duty thus operates as a tax of about 1½ per cent. upon the laborer's wages, if he have none but himself to provide for. If he have a wife or children, the per-centage will of course be increased by the amount of their consumption. It is to be observed, however, on the other side, that the wife and children would generally contribute something to the common fund by the earnings of their labor, and thus again reduce the per-centage.

At Benares the purchase of the same quantity of salt (12 lbs.) would absorb ten days' earnings, thus constituting a charge of 3 per cent. on the laborer's income. But for this additional charge the Government duty is in nowise accountable. The difference in price is occasioned by the cost of conveyance, profits of trade, wastage, &c., the ordinary charges of commerce.‡

The pressure of the salt-tax on the laborer cannot be regarded as severe, inasmuch as it is the only way in which he contributes to the pecuniary necessities of the State; in all other respects he is not necessarily subject to taxation.

The preceding remarks apply to the Upper and Lower Provinces of Bengal. In the territories of Madras and Bombay the duty on salt is only about one-third of that which prevails in Bengal; but from other causes the mass of the people are believed to be in inferior circumstances to those of Bengal. In Madras they are still subject to various taxes (moturpha tax, duty on tobacco, &c.), which have been abolished elsewhere.

A comparison of the amount of salt produced with the numbers of the population consuming it, will show that the estimate which assigns 12 lbs. as the ordinary annual consumption of an individual, is nearly in correspondence with fact. The quantity of

* *Report of Board of Customs, Salt and Opium: Calcutta*, 1819. Also *Calcutta Review*, 1847.

† In 1846, 2000 laborers were engaged for employment on the Calcutta and Bombay mail-road, at 3 rupees per head per mensem.—See also *Regulation XXII. of* 1816, *sect.* 4.

‡ Of these the principal item is cost of carriages, but on the completion of the railway now in progress this will be greatly reduced in the districts which it traverses. It is computed that the expense of conveying a ton of merchandise will not exceed 2¾d. per mile; consequently salt may be carried from Calcutta to Benares for one halfpenny per lb.

salt sold wholesale and retail or imported was, in 1846-47, as under:

	Maunds of 82lbs.
Bengal	6,166,258
North-Western Provinces	2,670,943
Madras	4,587,720
Bombay	2,573,625
	15,998,546
	82
	31,997,092
	127,988,368
	1,311,880,772lbs.

If the entire population of *British* India be assumed at ninety-nine millions, which from the latest official information may be considered as about its actual extent, the above-mentioned quantity of salt would afford to each individual about 13 lbs., the facts collected by statistical research thus corroborating an estimate founded on observation of the habits of the people.

The following table exhibits the quantity of salt imported into Calcutta from all countries, and also from England, for the last seven years:*

	Imported from all Countries.	From England.
	Maunds.	Maunds.
1844-45	970,595	791
1845-46	1,581,968	502,616
1846-47	1,466,744	352,835
1847-48	1,615,084	752,998
1848-49	1,626,706	459,803
1849-50	2,126,848	624,673
1850-51 (the first six months of)	1,455,007	672,092

* *Board of Customs, Salt and Opium*

STATEMENT exhibiting the Net Revenue derived from Salt from all sources—viz., Government Sales, Excise on Private Manufacture, and Customs Duty, from the year 1839-40.

Year.	Bengal.	N.-W. Prov.	Madras.	Bombay.	TOTAL.
	Rupees.	Rupees.	Rupees.	Rupees.	Rupees.
1839-40 ...	1,61,94,188	26,90,511	33,82,422	12,72,209	2,35,39,330
1840-41 ...	1,63,80,084	24,43,614	30,21,805	14,58,218	2,33,03,721
1841-42 ...	1,57,50,967	26,81,822	33,61,806	13,42,601	2,31,37,196
1842-43 ...	1,64,33,412	25,06,731	32,10,959	16,25,339	2,36,76,441
1843-44 ...	1,55,78,010	35,86,467	37,35,644	16,99,579	2,45,99,700
1844-45 ...	1,60,42,730	47,82,645	37,81,369	18,47,502	2,64,54,246
1845-46 ...	1,49,09,021	37,75,196	40,34,020	21,01,109	2,48,19,346
1846-47 ...	1,62,79,725	52,47,071	39,84,188	17,77,565	2,72,88,549
1847-48 ...	1,65,83,668	48,26,209	41,94,855	23,45,006	2,79,49,738
1848-49 ...	1,41,44,321	45,65,642	37,69,440	21,06,855	2,45,86,258
1849-50 ...	1,61,07,384	53,79,810	38,33,312	21,57,591	2,74,78,097*

[Having given above the Statistics of the Salt Duties, I append some remarks, written by a friend in India, and published in the *Morning Chronicle*, on the social and moral aspects of the question. They appear to me to be as just as they are able.]

Of all the great sources of Indian revenue not one has been so much assailed as the "monopoly" of Salt. It is here that the philanthropist will find his most palpable object of censure, the partisan of free-trade his most vulnerable point of attack, and the advocate of the Company his least defensible position. Now it is conceded at once, that salt is as necessary a daily condiment to the Indian cultivator as it is to the English peasant: that in a country where sudden and mysterious attacks of disease are common, it has been thought essential to a healthy condition of the physical system: that in some parts of Bengal it may be manufactured at a trifling cost and with the slightest amount of labor by any one who will scrape together a few handfuls of earth, and yet that in those very localities, where it is most readily made, the transport of salt is only permitted under the most rigid observance of certain forms, and under the safeguard of authenticated passes, whilst the adulteration, the import, the manufacture or even connivance at

* Government Sales and Excise Duty ..... Rupees. 1,75,98,287
Customs Duty on importation by sea..... 45,00,000
On passing North-West Frontier customs line 53,79,810
2,74,78,097

the manufacture thereof, are punishable by severe fines and by imprisonment. For a clear understanding of the subject I must state first that the salt eaten by the inhabitants of the whole of the Agra and the Bengal Presidencies including the Punjab, is supplied from four different great sources. 1. The salt manufactured by the Bengal Government. 2. Sea-imported salt which pays duty at Calcutta. 3. Salt imported into the Agra Presidency from native states. 4. Rock salt brought from the salt range in the Punjab. From all four sources the Government derives some revenue, but as the idea of monopoly is generally associated with the direct manufacture of the article by the Government, I will proceed first to describe the state of things in the salt producing localities of Lower Bengal, where the laws against illegal transport, store or manufacture, are by means of a preventive establishment maintained in all their severity. The reader who may choose to consult the map of Bengal, will see along and above the tract known as the Sunderbunds, a number of tidal creeks and rivers of all sizes, by which the waters of the Gangetic Delta and of the whole of Bengal find their way to the sea. From the hills which border the Eastern frontier to the province of Cuttack in the West, and from the very shores of the Bay northward as far as the spring tide reaches in the dry season, the soil impregnated with saline particles is singularly well fitted for the manufacture of salt. For a great part of this tract, which may be four hundred miles in length and one hundred and twenty in depth, there is a dense and increasing population who subsist principally on rice and fish. Any landholder in these parts, were it not for the Salt Laws, would have only to lay out a moderate amount of capital in order to establish a successful and lucrative salt manufactory. Any Ryot without capital, with the help of a stew-pan, a few sticks and a few handsful of earth, would extract day by day, or week by week, salt sufficient for the consumption of himself and his family. But I will take a somewhat parallel case in England, though it does not apparently equal the present one in hardship. In a well-wooded, well-watered, and rich country in England there is a large estate, of ten thousand acres, the proprietor of which is a strict preserver of game. His tenants, who pay a high rent, are not permitted to shoot one single head of the hundreds of pheasants and scores of hares which devastate their finest crops. Poaching is visited with unrelenting severity by magistrates, who have a fellow-feeling with the game-preserving landlord. The law creates offences, and punishes with rigor the offences it creates. Still, in defence of this system it may be said that winged and four-footed game, in such plenty, is not the spontaneous production of the climate and the soil; on the breeding, rearing, and multiplying of pheasants, much care, time, and money have been expended by the proprietor. His love of

field sports helps to bind him to the estate. It is not essential to the health and prosperity of his tenants that they should dine off pheasants and partridges, or to the punctual payment of rents, that they should despatch bags of game to the poulterers in town. Harsh as the system may appear to a philanthropist, it has some redeeming points, and it is associated with much that is attractive in the character of an English gentleman, his delight in active exercises, his healthful recreation, his love of a rural life. It is looked on by farmers, the sportsman will say, sometimes with positive indifference, rarely with hatred. It does not on the whole press heavily on the poor man who earns a few shillings a week. But in the salt-producing localities of Bengal, a small proprietor and a poor cultivator, placed within arms' length, as it were, of this condiment, are, by a code of laws cunningly devised, carefully guarded, and enforced to the letter, forbidden, except through the intervention of Government, to procure one single handful thereof for their simplest meal.

I believe that the most avowed opponent of the Company must allow that the above are the most damaging accusations which could, with any just foundation, be brought against the Salt-tax. As to the statements relative to the bad quality and excessive price of the Company's salt, I trust to show that they are without good foundation. I return to the locality in which the salt of Bengal is produced, for, as it is there that the salt code is rigorously enforced, it is the inhabitants of those parts, and those only, who have any right to cry out against it as a hardship. The reasoning which I ventured to adopt in the case of the opium monopoly, I may venture, *mutatis mutandis*, to apply to this case also. The law is a dead letter where no temptation to break or evade it exists, even though that law be in theory harsh, oppressive, and unjust. It is no more a hardship to tell the inhabitant of Patna or Ghazepore that he shall not manufacture salt, or the rice eater of the Sunderbunds that he shall on no account cultivate the poppy, than it is to tell an elderly gentleman that he must not rob an orchard, or an Oxford undergraduate that he is not to play at marbles in the High-street. I will, however, proceed to describe briefly the mode followed by the Indian Government in making salt. At and near the spots best suited to the purpose are situated the salt agencies, which are six in number. The land most capable of producing salt is retained in the hands of Government, and the proprietors thereof are indemnified for the loss of revenue otherwise attainable from its cultivation. The salt is manufactured yearly, to the amount fixed by the Board of Revenue, by a class of men who gain their livelihood in this manner, and who receive every year advances in hard cash for the purposes of manufacture. These men, molunghees, as they are termed in Indian parlance, agree to deliver the salt at so much a maund at the

various store-houses of Government. A great portion of the salt so manufactured and stored is transported to large store-houses at the Presidency, where it is sold to the native dealers in this article, who retail it all over the country. A certain duty added to the cost of transport and to that of manufacture is what Government pretends to levy. At the present time salt is manufactured at the different agencies, at an average rather under one shilling a maund, and is sold at that price, plus a fixed duty of five shillings for the same quantity. Add to this the cost of transport to the Presidency, and you will have the sum total at which salt is purchased by the native dealer from Government. In round numbers it is rather more than six shillings a maund, and a maund is equal to eighty-two English pounds.

The salt stored in the repositories of Government is a sound, pure, and healthy edible. Any doubt on the subject may be instantaneously removed by an inspection of the great storehouses at the Presidency, near the terminus of the railway, when it will at once be acknowledged that the stories of the Indian Government making, by means of an unjust monopoly, a dear and unwholesome article, are so many idle tales. If the salt of Government is adulterated, it is adulterated by the retail dealer, and what system, whether confined to Government or open to all speculators, could guarantee the prevention of this evil? I repeat, too, that the Salt Laws operate differently in other parts of the empire to what they do in the salt-producing localities. In the tract mentioned as stretching along the Bay of Bengal within the influence of the tides, their operation is certainly severe and uniform. It is a misdemeanor, within this tract, for any private individual to manufacture salt, to store the article, or to transport it from one place to another without passes specifying its destination, owner, date of sale, and other minute particulars. Within this tract, too, preventive officers may stop and search any boats whatever, adapted to sea navigation, on mere suspicion of their containing salt: and they are permitted, in the presence of regular police-officers, to make a forcible entry into any house or warehouse in which they may have received information that salt, exceeding one maund in quantity, is actually stored. The limits of the tides are the limits of the preventive establishments, armed with these apparently terrible powers—the limits, in short, within which the salt code is vigorously upheld: but now comes the other side of the picture. The practical result of the code in increasing the number of inmates of gaols and reducing poor men to beggary is nil; the means taken to mitigate its severity and to supply salt to the cultivator are judicious. Men who have the welfare of the Indian population at heart will be glad to learn that in this large tract of country the number of cases instituted against individuals for the illegal manufacture of salt were in the year considerably within two

hundred, and the number of men imprisoned for offences against the Salt Laws of all kinds did not at the close thereof exceed *one dozen*. That is to say, in a tract of country comprising at least three millions of inhabitants, who have every apparent temptation to violate the law, a mere fraction of the population had been found to engage in the illicit manufacture. Let this result be compared with the results of the operation of the Game Laws in any three counties in England! The reason for the fewness of convictions is neither a want of diligence on the part of the preventive officer, nor a want of spirit on that of the desponding cultivator. The reason is partly, that Government, anxious to mitigate the harshness of the monopoly, has directed that, in the salt-producing tract, where there is most temptation to manufacture or smuggle, salt shall be retailed by its own officers, at its own shops, at a price sufficiently low to take away from the poorest cultivator the temptation of violating the law; and partly because hundreds of Ryots, too lazy to go as far as the retail shops, do occasionally scrape together a few handsful of earth within the precincts of their huts, and manufacture each a pound or so of salt without the cognisance of the preventive officer. Cases in which individuals have been arraigned for transporting salt without any protective documents, or with documents of an informal character, or for transporting more salt than the quantity specified in their passes, are naturally more numerous than those of mere illicit manufacture. But the penalties enforced in these cases fall on individuals of a very different class from the mere tiller of the earth. They fall on habitual and determined smugglers, on merchants who cannot be content with their reasonable gains, on men, in short, who, under any Government or system in the world, would be the first to speculate on the best mode of baffling authority or resisting the payment of any lawful dues. They fall, too, in many cases, on the very men who derive a direct benefit from the monopoly, as it centres the traffic of salt in their hands. It is not in behalf of men like these that philanthropy should be anxious or sympathy be awakened.

Still, some objector may say, that if the salt monopoly were abandoned, and every man in the salt-producing localities were permitted to turn salt-manufacturer, the condition of the peasantry would be bettered, and the sources of wealth would be enlarged. It is impossible to argue on a supposition like this except from the known character of landlords, and tenants, and speculators, in the East. There is little doubt but that an individual or company might, with a little capital, manufacture salt for the Indian market at a cheaper rate than it is now made by Government, and thus consumers in the Bengal and Behar provinces might be benefited, but whether the inhabitants of the salt tract would be the better for it, is another question. Abandon the monopoly, and salt

would be manufactured by every native landholder who could command money and energy enough for the purpose, or by every foreign adventurer who could obtain a lease of land from the apathetic or heedless Zemindar. It is not likely that such men would quietly permit every tenant on their estates to boil salt in his own salt pans, and enjoy a new luxury without interruption. The localities in which the salt of Bengal is manufactured are those in all India where rapacious landlords and their unscrupulous agents are most adept in practising extortion on a peasantry feeble by nature, enervated by climate, timorous by example, and vilified by the domination of centuries. Every person conversant with Lower Bengal will know the amount of dread which a wealthy Zemindar can strike into his tenantry by his rank and position, by his armed retainers, by the influence of superstition, by a control more strict than could be ever exercised by any preventive force of Government, by the unlimited command of evidence to suit every unforeseen occurrence in a long course of litigation, and by working on that unconquerable feeling which still pervades the masses in the East, and whispers to them that such men are set above the law. The testimony of hundreds of witnesses and the records of litigation for half a century present us with one dreary picture of landlords enhancing rents, forcing cultivators to purchase the necessaries of life only at their own markets; deciding disputes in the village on the principle that both disputants are to pay something into the judge's privy purse, levying every sort of illegal cess on the most frivolous pretences, and making of Eastern society only two great divisions, those who suffer, and those who inflict. It is idle to talk to a Bengali peasant about defending his rights and acting with a manly spirit. It is idle to say that there are courts open, European functionaries accessible, and prompt justice at hand, which neither money can purchase nor power defy. If, in our own England, it is well known that tenants have been ruined and driven forth houseless, because at some election they would not vote with the Lord of the Manor, it may easily be conceived what sort of remedy would be possessed in law by that Eastern tenant who should dare to lessen, by one penny, the profits of his landlord, or cross the most trivial of his cherished aims.

The abandonment of the salt monopoly in the rich alluvial and saline districts of Bengal, would in all probability, have the effect of enriching a few individuals, of supplying some of the up-country markets with a somewhat cheaper article, of depriving the Government of about a million of revenue, of preventing the free import of Liverpool and Manchester salt by sea, and of leaving the peasantry of the salt-producing localities in the condition in which they have always been.

Before quitting this part of the subject it is impossible not to

notice a singularly erroneous statement which has lately appeared on the salt monopoly, and which has been read probably by some thousands of readers in a periodical, captivating from its variety, usually accurate in its statements, and just in its conclusions. In the number of the "Household Words," for July, 1851, the following are gravely set down as "Facts about Salt." I enumerate them in due succession, and as far as possible in the author's own words. "The salt manufactories are situated in dreary marshes. The workers, following their occupation in pestiferous regions, annually fall victims, by hundreds, to the plague or the floods. The price of salt to the Indian consumer is about eightpence a pound. In addition to the vast powers vested in the hands of the preventive officers, fines may be inflicted on a person who erects a distilling apparatus in his own house, without any proof of the same, and at the discretion of the judge. The monopoly gives the East India Company a revenue of three millions sterling, and besides acting as an incubus on the energies, the mental resources, and social advancement of the immense population of India, it in a great measure engenders and facilitates the ravages of the cholera."

I confess, sir, that I read the above "Facts about Salt," with mingled amusement, regret, and surprise. In a periodical originating with genius and fostered by talent, appears an account so entirely at variance with the truth, and yet so plausible in its appearance, as to be calculated to deceive many a "Household," whose knowledge of the subject may be confined to "words" so written for their instruction. Either from wilful malevolence or astounding credulity, or "*crassa ignorantia*," some points are mistaken, and others are introduced where they have no meaning or connexion, in order that the Salt Monopoly of India may appear in the eyes of grievance-mongers, real philanthropists, and the English public in general, a monopoly of so "odious and oppressive a nature as only to be worthy of the old Spanish Inquisition." I proceed, however, in due order emphatically to deny, and to refute from personal observation, as well as from other sources, every one of the assertions selected above. The "dreary marshes" are not peculiar to the salt-producing localities. They exist in eight or ten districts, out of reach of the tides. They are to be found, more or less, wherever the rice crop is sown and grown: they are the result of the tremendous down-pourings of the rainy season, which falling on a rich, tenacious, and alluvial soil, convert the whole country for four, five, or six months in the year, into one enormous marsh, not dreary, nor unproductive, nor invariably inimical to life, but prolific in vegetation, teeming in resources and tenanted by thousands, or even millions of inhabitants. That Bengal Proper is remarkable for a moist and humid and not a dry climate: that tropical showers which the clayey

soil refuses to drink up, and the brilliant sun can only exhale by degrees, are favorable to the spread of vegetation: that vegetation unchecked is apt to produce miasma: that over miles of country in districts, where not one ounce of salt is ever manufactured, or one clause of the Salt Laws enforced, the communication is carried on in boats from July to November as it has been carried on for centuries: that an Indian cultivator may step from his house into his light shallop and on his way to the bi-weekly market pass over an extent of plain converted into a "marsh," but covered everywhere with a magnificent rice-crop growing, in water five and six feet deep—are all facts which are undeniable. But they only prove that those who choose or are compelled to live in Bengal at all during the rainy season must often be content to live on the borders of a "dreary marsh," whether their occupation be to manufacture salt, or to cultivate indigo, or as a servant of Government to do justice between one man and another. The factories are not selected on account of the "dreary marshes," but the marshes will persist in locating themselves in proximity to the factories. Moreover, out of the six salt agencies where the monopoly is carried on, only two, that of Hidgellee and that of Tumlook, are situated in localities at all remarkable for unhealthiness: and as the manufacture of the article can only be carried on during the dry season from December to May, when there are no rains, no inundations, and in consequence no miasma, the assertion that the workers of salt fall victims to the floods, is quite contrary to fact. In making mention of the "plague" as the destroyer of victims, it is difficult to believe that the writer in the "Household Words" can have had any other wish than to see how far he could impose with impunity on the credulity of Englishmen. The non-occurrence and non-existence of the plague in India is a fact as well established in science as is the non-existence of tropical vegetation on the summit of Mount Hecla, or of an eternal glacier on the chalk hills of Kent. The next "fact" stated is, that the price of salt to the consumer is about eightpence a pound, and that thirty millions of public, whose average earnings are three shillings a week, are compelled to expend one fourth of that pittance in the purchase of salt. Now, in no part of the Bengal or Agra Provinces does salt cost the consumer more than one fourth of the above price; and in many places it only costs him one eighth. In the case of the higher price, the increase arises from the carriage of the article, and to convey salt some four hundred miles from the place of manufacture, not unnaturally raises the price thereof on arrival at its destination. This must be the case whether salt still continue to be manufactured by the Indian Government, or whether all the superfluous capital and indignant philanthropy of Manchester be suddenly let loose to improve the tracts bordering on the Sunderbunds. The Government takes no part in the