BENGAL

UNDER THE LIEUTENANT-GOVERNORS.

BENGAL

UNDER THE

LIEUTENANT-GOVERNORS;

BEING

A NARRATIVE OF THE PRINCIPAL EVENTS AND PUBLIC MEASURES DURING THEIR PERIODS OF OFFICE, FROM 1854 TO 1898.

BY

C. E. BUCKLAND, *C. I. E.*,

OF THE INDIAN CIVIL SERVICE.

"The position of the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal has become by much the most important of any under the Supreme Government."
SIR G. CHESNEY, "INDIAN POLITY;" p. 92.

"The fact is that the Bengal Government is in every way a great charge—far the greatest Local Government in India."
SIR G. CAMPBELL, "Memoirs," Vol. II. p. 199.

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THE RIGHT HON. SIR RICHARD TEMPLE, BART. M.P.,
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CHAPTER VI.

THE RIGHT HON'BLE SIR RICHARD TEMPLE, *Bart* M.P., G.C.S.I. C.I.E., D.C.L., L.L.D., F.R.S.,

1874—77.

AMPLE materials would be available for a full account of Sir R. Temple's distinguished career previous to his time in Bengal if it were my intention to give complete lives of all the Lieutenant Governors. The bare enumeration of his appointments is a 'record' list of services, which no other Civilian has equalled. One or two brief allusions to his previous career must suffice. His first important work was as Secretary to the Lawrences in the Punjab. It was said of him that he had 'made the Punjab' by drawing the attention of the public to that Province by his well-known Administration Reports: and he was given the credit, even by an ill-natured critic, of having converted the Central Provinces from a *terra incognita* into one of the best-governed and most prosperous provinces in India. And a reviewer* of his book 'The Story of my Life' wrote: 'He now in his retirement looks back with pardonable pride on a career distinguished by success, justly attributable to zeal, loyalty, and capacity for using the heads and hands of other men, a constant readiness to do good, and a singular absence of ill-nature or vindictive passion." The autobiography just mentioned renders it unnecessary for me to do more than mention the appointments held by him before 1873-74.

Previous career.

Richard Temple, of the Nash, Kempsey, near Worcester, was born on the 8th March 1826; educated under Dr. Arnold at Rugby, and at Haileybury; arrived in India 8th January 1847, as a writer on the Bengal establishment; was an Assistant to the Commissioner of Revenue, Delhi Division, 1847;

* *Calcutta Review*, January 1897.

transferred to the Agra Division 1848 ; Assistant Magistrate-Collector of Muttra ; in 1850 Assistant to the Commissioner of Revenue, Allahabad Division ; Magistrate and Collector of Allahabad : in 1851, transferred to the Punjab as Assistant Commissioner in the Trans-Sutlej Territory ; in 1853, Settlement Officer in the Lahore Division ; and from July 1854, Secretary to the Chief Commissioner of the Punjab : went on furlough in 1856, rejoining Sir J. Lawrence at Delhi in 1858, when he resumed the Commissionership of Lahore. In 1860, he was Head Commissioner of Currency and Chief Assistant to the Financial Members of Council, (Mr. James Wilson and Mr. Samuel Laing) ; Member of the Bengal Indigo Commission and of the Military Finance Commission, President of the Civil Finance Commission, Member of the Commission for police organisation in India, and deputed to Arracan, Pegu and Tenasserim to report on the formation of a Chief Commissionership of Burma : he was also deputed to Hyderabad and elsewhere on special financial duty. In 1862 he was appointed Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces, (where he "initiated good Government,") and was made a C. S. I. in 1866 : in 1867 Resident at Hyderabad and K. C. S. I. : in 1868 Foreign Secretary to the Government of India : Financial Member of Council from April 1868 to April 1874, and took part with Sir W. Mansfield in advocating a legal tender gold currency for India. In January 1874, he was appointed by Lord Northbrook to superintend the relief operations in the famine-stricken districts of Bengal. He became Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal on the 9th April 1874. I was his Private Secretary throughout his time, except for 3 months in which Surgeon-Major F. P. Staples officiated for me.

The Bengal-Bihar Famine of 1873-74.

The famine so dominated Sir R. Temple's movements and absorbed so much of his time during the first few months of his Lieutenant-Governorship that an account of it must necessarily take the first place here. His connection with the famine relief operations has to some extent been indicated in Sir George Campbell's narrative in the preceding Chapter. As Financial Member of Council he had been in charge (under the Viceroy) of the business relating to the famine which came before the Government of India. On the 21st January 1874 he was, with the concurrence of Sir George Campbell

associated* by Lord Northbrook with the Government of Bengal and deputed to visit the distressed districts, with full powers to direct the relief operations under the rules laid down by the Governments of India and Bengal, reporting his proceedings to the Lieutenant Governor. Mr. G. Hart, of the Financial Department, and I were deputed to accompany him. The physical labour which Sir Richard Temple then endured, travelling, discussing, framing estimates, writing Minutes, was enormous, and the position of delegate from the Viceroy to the Local Government required much tact and discretion. The knowledge of the country and the officers thus acquired proved of the greatest use subsequently, so that, when he succeeded to the sole command, as Lieutenant-Governor, he had little or nothing to learn in these respects.

On the 14th April, only a few days after assuming charge he went up to Bihar again for famine inspections and conferences, and then for some months made his head quarters at the Karanchaura house, Monghyr, an excellent situation as a base of operations, being central, within easy reach of the worst localities, and removed from the distraction of the routine work of Government. When the rains commenced and the rivers had risen, Sir Richard moved about constantly in the *Rhotas* wherever his presence was required for famine work, or for other purposes,—such as meeting Lord Northbrook at Dacca. (The Government of India did not move to Simla

* *Notification.*—"The accounts which the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal has communicated to the Viceroy of the present condition of parts of Bihar, make it, in His Excellency's opinion, essential that some high officer should be present on the spot, with full power to direct and control the operations in connection with the relief of scarcity and distress under the general instructions which have been issued by the Government of India, and the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal.

As it is impossible, under the existing circumstances that the Lieutenant-Governor should himself proceed to Bihar, the Viceroy has agreed to associate with His Honor, for the above purposes, the Hon'ble Sir Richard Temple, who will first visit Bihar, and afterwards other parts of the country where distress may exist, with full authority to be delegated to him by the Government of Bengal, to direct the relief operations.

It has been arranged that the Lieutenant-Governor will give the necessary orders to all officers concerned.

Sir Richard Temple will report his proceedings from time to time to the Government of Bengal."

in 1874). He has given his own account of these months on the yacht.

"I went on board the *Rhotas* on the 15th of June on the Ganges within the limits of Bihar, lived in her for $3\frac{1}{2}$ months, that is, till the beginning of October, and disembarked from her with regret. She was a barge towed by a steamer the *Sir William Peel*, named after the Naval Commander who did such good service in the war of the Mutinies; and she belonged to a class of vessels called "flats."..... The *Rhotas* then was a barge with a large clear deck, at the end of which was a dining saloon. Below deck she had a series of cabins for the Lieutenant-Governor, his suite and guests. Steamer and barge together made up a floating and movable Government House. As the principal stations and towns are on the banks of the rivers, the Lieutenant-Governor thus steamed at a quick rate from place to place, 7 miles an hour against stream, and at a much quicker rate with it. Indeed when the Brahmaputra was in flood and the *Rhotas* was steaming full speed down stream, she would for several hours cover the same distance as a railway train. But she must always cast her anchor at sunset, and could hardly weigh it before sunrise. Thus, arriving at a station the Lieutenant-Governor would not only entertain, on board, the European community of the place, but also hold a ceremonial reception ("*darbar*") for the Native chiefs and gentry on the deck. Under several successive Lieutenant-Governors on this very deck Proclamations have been read to the Natives, titles conferred, rewards declared, honors awarded."

Sir R. Temple's health suffered somewhat from the great strain and exposure of the hot weather and rains, but was rapidly restored by the climate of Darjeeling, where he wrote his final famine Minutes in October. These were 3 in number. The principal one was the general Report. The second was a record of the services of officers arranged under special categories. The third acknowledged the services rendered by *zamindars*, landholders and other native gentlemen, as well as by European non-official gentlemen, indigo-planters, landholders and others. They were unusually full and gave general satisfaction. Throughout the whole of the year Mr. (the late Sir) C. E. Bernard was the special Famine Secretary, and on his leaving Bengal, in February 1875, after 4 years' service

in the Province, his ability, unwearying energy and fidelity were specially acknowledged by the Government of Bengal. Some paragraphs of the Report of the Famine Commission of 1878-80 compiled from the official records, (including Sir R. Temple's final Minute), will, with some additions, present an adequate account of the action of Government from the beginning to the end of the operations. The condensed account of the famine above quoted was supplemented by the Famine Commission by a more detailed narrative. The following passages may be extracted from the "Brief History".

Earliest Objective of the Local Government.—On the 22nd October, the Lieutenant-Governor, Sir G. Campbell, sent his first letter of warning to the Government of India; in Bihar and North Bengal the rains, late in coming, had been so heavy as to do great injury to the *bhadoi* crop, and they had stopped so prematurely that the winter rice was almost all lost, and there was great fear that the ground would be too dry to admit of the *rabi* being sown. In East and Central Bengal the crops would be poor, but not extremely so: in Orissa alone they were good. He asked that he might receive authority, (1) to commence relief-works at once, (2), to make such importations, as are "possible and not likely to be affected by private enterprise," and (3) that exportation of rice from India to foreign countries might be stopped. With regard to the management of relief-works, Sir G. Campbell's view was that—"to render effectual aid to the people, it is of all things most necessary that works should be offered in good time, so that the existence of public works may be known to the people at large, and those who stand in need of work may find their way to the work and be suitably provided for, before the greatest stress comes. All experience shows that work is wanted to avert starvation rather than to save people already half-starved and unfit for work, and that it takes time to draw to public works people who are not accustomed to labour for hire. In this view, in case of reasonable apprehension of scarcity, we can hardly begin too soon. * * * * There can be no surer test of the state of the country—no barometer, as it were, by which the condition of the people can be better gauged—than the degree to which they seek employment on public works. As such works are found more and more to attract classes usually self-supporting, so

we may judge that there is a want in the country; that is, provided that this test is established in sufficient time.

Principles of Relief, prescribed by Supreme Government.—On the 7th November the Government of India published a Resolution setting forth the principles on which it was proposed to administer measures of relief to the distressed. The request for the prohibition of exportation was disallowed, but on the other 2 points the desired authority was given, and certain large works were mentioned—the Sone Canal, the Gandak embankment, and the Northern Bengal State Railway—as suitable works for the employment of labour.

Grain was to be purchased only for the food of the labourers engaged on these works; it was not meant to "undertake the general purchase and distribution of grain throughout large tracts of country, or to regulate in any manner the prices of it in the market. The justification of the principle adopted was thus stated. Considerable bodies of men will be congregated on or near the works at a distance from their homes, and often in localities remote from the established markets. It will be necessary, therefore, that sufficient supplies of food be collected for their sustenance. If the accumulation of such supplies be left to the ordinary course of commerce, special pressure will be put on the grain-trade in certain localities at the very time when all its resources are being taxed for general supply of the Province or district. And if the wages were to be paid in cash to so large an aggregate of labourers, an extraordinary rise of prices would be created by the action of Government, thereby aggravating the crisis in districts already placed in critical circumstances, and so far counteracting the benefit which the works were intended to secure, namely, the mitigation of the effect of the security.

Now in regard to those public works carried on under the orders either of the supreme Government or of the Local Government, the State will be in the position of an employer of labour on an unusually large scale, and is justified in doing that which all other employers do, namely, selecting the mode of remunerating its workpeople most acceptable to them and most suitable to the surrounding circumstances. Such mode of remuneration will generally be payment in kind, that is, in food-grain. For this particular

purpose, then, sufficient supplies of grain will be purchased and laid in both by the Government of India and by the Local Government for the public works under their charge respectively. These supplies will be obtained in such a manner as to interfere as little as possible with the trade in grain and with the supplies of food ordinarily available for consumption in the neighbourhood of the works, or within the area of the distressed districts.

Advances also were to be given to landlords or tenants for public improvement, and at sowing time for seed grain, and to non-official gentlemen, *zamindars*, planters, traders, &c., who would undertake the provision and distribution of grain in localities where, from the difficulties of transport, the absence of traders or other local circumstances, food cannot during the period of scarcity be obtained by the people. The railways were directed to lower their rate of freight on food grains by half, fixing it at 1/8 of a pie per maund (7/2 of a penny, or a little more than a farthing per ton) per mile, compensation being paid them for the difference. Emigration was to be encouraged to the tea districts of Assam and to British Burma. Should the distress become severe, a Central Relief Committee would be formed in Calcutta and Local Relief Committees in the districts, to be assisted by Government. The Committees should organise a system of relief for those who may be threatened with death or disease for want of food, by the distribution to them of cash, grain, or cooked food, according to circumstances. Information should be published periodically and at short intervals regarding the state and prospects of the crops, the stock of food, the public works in progress, the relief operations, and other circumstances relating to the scarcity.

Earliest instructions as to Relief Measures:—On the 17th November the Lieutenant-Governor issued a circular of instructions to his officers. He defined the famine tract as consisting of—

(1) All 7 districts of the Patna Division.

(2) All districts of the Bhagalpur Division except the Sonthal country.

(3) The districts of Dinajpur, Rangpur, and Bogra, and part of Rajshahi, Malda and Murshidabad, in the Rajshahi Division.

In this area it was anticipated that the total outturn of food

in the year would be only $\frac{3}{8}$ of an average crop, unless copious rain should fall at an early date; in other parts of Central Bengal the outturn was expected to be half the average. He then recapitulated the main heads of relief measures laid down by the Government of India; dividing them into 5 classes. The first contained the principles about private trade and advances to assist importation. The second was relief-works. Besides the large schemes already mentioned, relief works were to be commenced wherever required, paying the ordinary wages of the country; earthwork on roads was mentioned as the most suitable kind of work. Third, with regard to laying in supplies of grain to pay the labourers with on these works, the rules laid down were—(1) that Government officers must, as far as possible, operate through the trade; (2) that they must get grain from a distance; (3) that they must only store grain where the local supply cannot be depended on to suffice for the wants of the labourers. But these are to be paid in cash as long as food is cheap: when prices come to something like famine rates (fall below, say, 10 seers per rupee), then food should be supplied by Government[1]. Every effort must be strained to get ready store-houses and provide transport for this grain. Fourthly, if events become unfavourable, it may be necessary to distribute charitable relief to the old, to children, to persons in reduced health, and to others who may be unable to do a full day's work. To do this would be the charge of the Relief Committees: Government would give a grant equal to the amount they raised by private subscription and may when distress goes very far be still more liberal. Fifthly, loans would be given to municipalities and landlords with which to carry on public improvements of works beneficial to villages; and in the case of petty village works which directly improve the water-supply, or are of direct advantage to the general public, Government would pay one third of the cost. In conclusion, weekly reports were to be submitted by each district and the heads of the reports were prescribed.

The Period of Preparation.—During the month of December the

(1) This was afterwards relaxed to some extent at the instance of the Government of India, especially as regards Burma "cargo" rice, which was found to contain much husk and was allowed to be sold cheaper than Bengal rice.

fears regarding the winter rice crop in Bengal and Bihar were realised. The *rabi* crops however sprang up much better than had been expected, and in the end of January and beginning of February the long-wished-for rain fell in such abundance as to secure a good harvest, and considerably to contract the area and the degree of extreme distress. Inquiry was pushed on regarding the deficiency of supplies and the anticipations of famine; information was collected as to the extent and population of the parts where it would be intense; and estimates were framed of the number of people likely to need relief and of the food-grain which would have to be placed in the country in order to provide relief.

The great anxiety of the Government now was to throw as much grain and as early as possible into the famine tract, so as to be beforehand with the distress when it should break out, to take advantage of the favourable weather before fodder and water became scarce, and to be free to act with vigour in case the *rabi* crops should fail and the prospects of famine become more grievous. The slowness of the progress made in transporting the grain caused considerable anxiety. Out of $18\frac{3}{4}$ *lakhs* of maunds (or about 70,000 tons) which it was proposed to place in the distressed tracts by the end of January, on the 3rd January only about 6 had been despatched by railway from Calcutta and the North-Western Provinces, and only 3 or 4 *lakhs* had started from the railway stations for the interior, very little of which had arrived.

At last in the end of January, the time having come when it was expected that distress would be actively and keenly felt, Sir R. Temple was sent to Bihar (he being then designated as successor in the Lieutenant-Governorship to Sir G. Campbell, whose health was so seriously affected that he was compelled to retire) to take charge of all relief organisations; his principal duty being to frame in communication with the local officers careful estimates of the number of persons in each district likely to come on relief, of the quantity of grain required for their food, and of the best means of providing transport for it into the interior of the district. About the same time a Central Relief Committee was appointed and a public meeting held (4th February); instructions were issued for the guidance of the local Relief Committees, and gratuitous relief was started all over the famine tract. By this time the numbers on

relief-works had risen to 113,000; but hardly any gratuitous relief was given before February.

Import and Transport Operations—The early part of this middle period witnessed an immense increase of activity in the importation and transport of food. During the whole of February Sir R. Temple was on tour in the famine tract, and, after visiting each district, he framed estimates, in communication with the local officers (though not always in agreement with them, for his estimates generally exceeded theirs) of the numbers likely to require relief in any form, whether in payment of wages, in gratuitously given food, in the shape of advances of grain to be repaid afterwards, or the sale of grain necessary. From Sir G. Campbell's first tentative estimate of 70,000 tons, subsequently raised to 150,000, the amount required now mounted up to 404,000 tons, or, including reserves, 480,000 tons. To carry this quantity from up-country and from Calcutta to the railway stations of Bihar and Bengal taxed severely, but did not surpass, the resources of the Railway Company, but to transport it from the railway stations to the interior of the country, and especially to the North of the Bihar and Bhagalpur Divisions, before the rains should set in in June and make the roads impassable, was a Herculean task, which nothing but immense energy and gigantic preparations could have surmounted. Water routes were used wherever it was possible, but the dryness of the season impeded navigation. Steam ferries were established to cross the grain over to the North of the Ganges, and steamers were bought or built in the country, and ordered from England; altogether 41 steamers and about 7,000 country boats and canoes were employed on the ferries and the water routes. A temporary railway, which was constructed to Darbhanga, at the rate of one mile a day, and at a cost of £330,000, (of which £145,000 was ultimately charged as the excess cost due to hurried execution on account of the famine), was opened on April 17th, and it alone carried 31,213 tons of grain, and 8,031 of fodder, before it had to be taken up in consequence of the floods in the second week of June. But the chief reliance had to be placed on country carts, and it was found necessary to abandon the system of hiring these direct from the cartowners, and to give contracts, at enormously enhanced rates, for the conveyance of large quantities. These contracts were mostly taken by companies of indigo-planters. For fear of these arrange-

ments breaking down, a reserve transport train was organised at Allahabad and sent down under the command of military officers, and, in case an epidemic should break out among the cattle, a quantity of camels, mules, and ponies were purchased from all parts of Northern India. About 100,000 carts and 230,000 draught or pack animals were at work in March. Altogether the casualties of the season amounted to 14,000 carts and 28,000 bullocks; a loss which might have seriously crippled the operations, had it not been for the Reserve Train, the whole of which was in effect brought into action as soon as it was got together and arrived on the scene. Altogether 340,000 tons were carried from the North bank of the Ganges to the interior, by the middle of June.

Increase of numbers in March.—Early in March there was a sudden rush of vast numbers on to the relief-works in the Darbhanga and Madhubani sub-divisions. About 400,000 persons came trooping in from the villages around and settled down on certain lines of relief roads. Almost all were in destitution, most were in very poor strength and condition, many were emaciated, and some were near starvation. The rush was so sudden that the local officers were taken by surprise and for a time the crowds defied all discipline and management. Sir G. Campbell recorded in his Minute of March 28th that up to that time there had been no such lack of food as had been dreaded. Active private import was going on, and food, though dear, had not reached extreme famine prices. The bazars were well supplied with grain, principally pulses, rice being scarce and dear. The time had not come for sales to the public, but he directed that the stores should be opened for the relief labourers, and rice sold them at 10 seers per rupee: it could not be sold cheaper (at 12 seers, as had been proposed) without deranging a still active private trade.

Close of Sir G. Campbell's tenure of office.—On the 8th April, Sir G. Campbell made over the office of Lieutenant Governor to Sir R. Temple. In the last letter written during his tenure of that post, dated April 6th, the following description of the prospects of the season is given. "The present season so far promises very well. There has been a beneficial fall of rain in Northern Bengal, and if the ensuing months are showery the Lieutenant-Governor would hope that, after the provision which has been made for supplying the distressed districts and maintaining a reserve, the

condition of the people in the greater part of Bengal Proper may not be greatly changed for the worse.

"In the parts of Bihar where the *rabi* harvest has for some weeks given employment to the people, we must expect a large accession to the numbers for whom employment and relief provision must be made between the end of the *rabi* harvest and the rains. But if the unusual drought is followed by early rains, as is frequently the case, that period will not be very long ; and when good rains commence, we may expect that, in all districts not reduced in an extreme degree, the people will of their own accord betake themselves to agricultural pursuits."

April estimate of the requirements of relief.—In April, sufficient knowledge having been gained regarding the state of the country, Sir R. Temple framed the following estimate of the area of suffering and the amount of relief required :—

	Area in square miles.	Population.	Number expected to require relief at the worst season	Per-cent.	Quantity (in tons) of grain allotted.
Very distressed tract	29,950	10,700,000	2,805,080	26·2	330,000
Partly distressed tract	19,159	7,064,650	918,484	11·5	74,000
TOTAL ...	40,169	17,764,650	3,723,564	20·9	404,000

This quantity was exclusive of the reserve which the Government of India desired to maintain at Calcutta, to meet possible contingencies: the total quantity including the reserve was 480,000 tons. The very distressed tract contained a large portion of the districts of Saran, Champaran, Tirhut, Bhagalpur, Purnea, Dinajpur, Rangpur and Bogra : the partly distressed tract contained portions of Shahabad, Gaya, Monghyr, Sonthalia, Malda, Rajshahi, Pabna, Murshidabad, Jalpaiguri, Bardwan, Birbhum, Bankura and Manbhum.

Condition of the country in April.—The following passage shows Sir R. Temple's view of the condition and prospects of the country in the middle of April, shortly after he assumed the reins of govern-

ment. "There was, on the whole, every reason to fear that the larger portion of the people in the worst tracts would be forced to look to the State for assistance, more or less until August. The official investigation had penetrated to every village. It was proved that the class of destitute poor and beggars, ordinarily supported by private charity, could no longer be sustained by these means, the donors of such alms being themselves in straits. It was found that the non-agricultural classes—weavers, workers in metal of all kinds, carpenters, artizans of all sorts, fishermen, menials and others—had nothing to eat, and were wholly out of work; that the extensive class next above these, namely, the field labourers, and the small cultivators who occupy some land and eke out their livelihood by working on the land of others, had eaten up their little stores and were bereft of employment. It was further apparent that destitution was gradually creeping over other classes, such as the cultivators generally (with the exception only of the occupancy tenure-holders) and such as the Brahmans, whose habits and notions unfitted them for active work. Although the distress had been successively checked in most places, the cases of starvation being very rare, yet in some places distress was discovered to have reached a critically dangerous degree, relief arriving only just in time to restore the emaciated, to resuscitate the fainting, and to avert considerable mortality."

It was then decided that all gratuitous relief should be given, and all relief wages paid, in grain, and that sales to the public might be much more generally authorised.

Close of famine.—In Bihar the rains began early in June and fell in a very favourable manner, and the numbers on relief-works, which had reached their climax in the first half of June, fell rapidly in June and July as the people dispersed to agriculture. An unusually large area was sown with the early crops, millets, &c., which ripen in August and yield the speediest return. The number on charitable relief, however, went on increasing, "because distress is extending over those of the lowest classes who cannot work, and upwards among those ordinarily above work, and because the whole class of professional beggars is thrown on the hands of Government." The men labouring on relief-works had also supported infirm dependents with their surplus wages, and when they dispersed to agriculture they left these people to be supported by Government.

In August the numbers of these classes also began to diminish, and in September relief was almost at an end. In Lower Bengal, however, the case was slightly different, for there a second failure of rain was threatened, none having fallen in August. But the destruction of the winter rice was averted by a timely downpour after the first week of September. During this time of suspense the numbers on relief mounted up rapidly, but they declined again when the rain fell and relief was administered with somewhat greater stringency. By the end of October, the special establishments and the large organisation collected together for the relief measures, were broken up; all but the accountants and auditors who were still busy in settling and posting the accounts.

Calculations as to numbers relieved at different times.—The number of persons who were receiving assistance from Government on the 15th June were thus calculated :—

"In order to make the estimate we have the following data to form a basis :—

Total number of relief labourers ...	1,770,732
Total number of persons on charitable relief	401,959
Total grain expenditure, in maunds, of first half of June	843,000

Thus we have 2,172,691 persons receiving relief, quite irrespective of those who are living on advances or purchases of Government grain. The amount of Government grain disposed of during the fortnight would give three-fourths of a seer a day to 3,401900 persons for a fort-night. But among the people who consumed Government grain were all the persons on charitable relief, and a large portion of the labourers. The district narratives show that, by the end of the first fortnight of June, the practice of paying all labourers in grain, though largely introduced, had not been fully carried out. The Bhagalpur return is the one which best distinguishes between sales to the public and those to labourers; and that shows 98,228 maunds sold to the public, as against 25,628 maunds sold to the labourers. All the district narratives show that the non-labouring public are the chief customers at our granaries.

"It would therefore be probably within the truth to take one-half

of the persons supported by Government grain as being outside the relief labour and charitable relief lists. By this reckoning, the total numbers receiving assistance in one shape or other would be—

Labourers and paupers as above ...	2,172,601
One-half the consumers of Government grain	1,700,950
TOTAL ...	3,873,641

"The best estimate that we can now frame shows that the number at the worst period was 3,900,000 persons receiving assistance of some sort.

"As stated at the time, this statement, though very large, may have been slightly under the truth, certainly not above it. It apparently agrees, as nearly as could be expected, with the estimated numbers given at the beginning of April. The general percentage of this number on the population affected was seen to be 26 per cent in the most distressed districts and 11½ in those less distressed. The ratio of course varied considerably, being in many places less than that above stated, but in the worst tracts of North Bihar it stood as high as from 50 to 70 per cent.

"But there was a further mode whereby assistance was rendered by Government which could hardly be included in any particular statement presented at that time, namely, the cash advances made by Government to individuals, European planters, native traders, and others for the importation of grain; and to landholders and *zamindars* for agricultural improvement. These advances of cash went on month by month, till they reached the sum of 46 *lakhs* of rupees, or close upon half a million pounds sterling. How many persons virtually derived their subsistence from this source it is impossible to say. But the sum was enough for feeding 500,000 persons for 7 months, and that number ought at least to be added to the 3,900,000 given in the above statement. On the whole, then, nearly four and a half millions of souls must have been receiving assistance directly or indirectly from the State at the worst period. Under this view of the case, it must be admitted that the actual distress did exceed the estimate. But, in reference to the uncertainties of the case, the difference between the estimate and the probable actual is not great."

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A similar estimate was made for the numbers on relief on the 15th August—

Labourers on relief-works	426,738
Persons in receipt of charitable relief	647,550
Persons living on purchases of Government grain, being the number of people that would be supported for one month by the grain sold between the 15th July and 15th August, at the rate of ¾ of a seer per day per head ...	1,282,464
Persons living on advances of Government grain, being the number of people that would be supported for one month by the grain advanced between the 15th July and 15th August ...	1,692,936
Add for persons still deriving support from advances of money made to *zamindars* and other residents	200,000
TOTAL ...	4,249,688

At the end of October about 150,000 were in receipt of Government assistance, and these were principally in the Burdwan Division.

"The only district North of the Ganges which shows any appreciable number of such persons is Saran. This most fortunate decline has occurred from the middle of September onwards at a quicker rate than was anticipated when the estimates of distress were first formed. Those estimates provided for 520,000 persons needing assistance during October, and 316,000 in November. Experience on former occasions showed that considerable distress occurred in the autumn. It seemed proper to assume that the same thing would happen on this occasion. In many of the worst districts the autumn crops were known to be small in ordinary years. It was therefore feared that such tracts would not receive a new supply in sufficient quantity till December. As it has happened, however, the distress at this season has proved very slight in most districts, and has so far most agreeably disappointed expectation. The cause is to be found partly in the administration of relief which had been going on during the previous months, which maintained the people in fair condition during the crisis, and so facilitated their discharge towards the end, but chiefly in the abundant produce of the early autumn

crops, which, as already described, had been sown over so much larger an area than in ordinary years."

The cost incurred in the famine relief operations was computed by the Famine Commission of 1878-80 as follows.

Statistical Summary of Expenditure and Relief.—The following statement shows the cost of the famine according to the figures drawn up by Sir R. Temple on the 31st October 1874, and 2 columns have been added to compare therewith the estimates which were made at 2 intermediate periods. It is instructive to observe how the expenditure increased as the principles of relief relaxed and the measures adopted grew in liberality and breadth. The figures in the column for actuals are taken from the Budget Statement of 1875-76, except those for advances recovered. The Budget Statement takes no notice of advances on either side of the account, but notes that about half a million further was expended out of Provincial or Local Funds.

EXPENDITURE.

ITEMS.	Estimate of 4th March.	Estimate of 13th April.	Sir R. Temple's figures.	Actuals (as far as known.)
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Special establishments ...	5,00,000	13,50,000	12,00,000	25,00,000
Promotion of private grain trade	15,00,000	34,00,000	45,30,000	45,60,000
Relief-works ...	1,00,00,000	2,53,00,000	1,28,00,000	1,10,80,000
Relief-works excluded from local or private funds ...	...	...	...	65,60,000
Grants in aid of private works ...	5,00,000	5,00,000	1,00,000	...
Darbhanga State Railway. ...	...	20,00,000	10,00,000	14,50,000
Government grain purchase ...	3,00,00,000	3,78,40,000	4,40,00,000	4,47,06,000
Government grain transport ...	1,44,50,000	1,75,00,000	1,76,00,000	1,76,28,000
Government reserve transport train ...	...	18,60,000	31,40,000	31,50,000
Charitable relief	10,00,000	20,00,000	28,00,000	31,71,000
Advances to *zamindars*, traders, &c. ...	50,00,000	50,00,000	46,00,000	31,71,000
Unforeseen ...	15,00,000	...	...	...
Total expenditure ...	6,44,50,000	9,67,50,000	9,17,70,000	9,94,05,000

RECEIPTS.

ITEMS.	*Estimate* of 4th March.	*Estimate* of 13th April.	*Sir R.* Temple's figures.	*Actuals* (as far as known).
Sales of grain to labourers and the public ...	1,50,00,000	1,83,30,000	95,00,000	2,62,40,000
Sales of grain to Relief Committees ...		15,00,000	27,00,000	
Sales of reserve grain in Calcutta ...		37,80,000	7,00,000	
Sales of surplus grain in the interior ...			30,00,000	
Recoveries of cash advances to traders, *zamindars*, &c. ...	...	45,00,000	46,00,000	31,00,000
Recoveries of price of grain advanced to *raiyats* ...	...	71,40,000	62,50,000	...
Miscellaneous ...	...	...	5,00,000	...
Increased Railway profits ...	...	...	63,23,000	40,00,000
Total receipts ...	1,50,00,000	3,52,50,000	3,35,73,000	3,33,40,000
Net expenditure ...	5,00,00,000	5,15,00,000	5,82,00,000	6,61,00,000

At this cost 735,000 labourers were employed for 9 months: 452,000 were gratuitously fed for 6 months; 118,000 tons were sold during a period of 7 months (April to October); and assuming that each person bought $1\frac{1}{2}$ lbs. a day or 315 lbs. during the 7 months, this quantity would supply 870,000 persons with food. If, again, a quarter of the labourers on relief-works were purchasers, there were about 700,000 of the public who benefited by the sale of Government grain at $\frac{2}{3}$ of the cost price. The number who received advances of grain has been estimated at about 400,000 cultivators, or, including their families, 2,000,000 souls; and the number who benefited by the advances of cash to *zamindars*, traders, &c., was roughly estimated at 500,000. The following, therefore, is the number who in one form or another received relief:—

	Number	*Period*
By relief-works	735,000	9 months.
„ gratuitous relief	452,000	6 „
„ sales of grain	700,000	7 „
„ advances of grain	2,000,000	
„ „ cash	500,000	7 „
Total	4,387,000	

or about 25 per cent. of the population of the famine tract, as estimated.

The Government of India reviewed the Famine reports in a Resolution dated the 18th. February 1875 and recorded their conclusions for the guidance of future famine administrators from the experience gained in 1874. It is hardly worthwhile to state their conclusions, as, so far as they have been superseded, they would be of comparatively little interest, whereas those which have survived have been incorporated in the Famine Codes. But a few paragraphs may be quoted as containing statements of importance and of permanent value.

4. On November the 7th 1873, the Secretary of State was informed that "Her Majesty's Government might rely upon the Government of India using every available means, at whatever cost, to prevent, as far as they could, any loss of the lives of Her Majesty's subjects in consequence of the calamity which threatened Bengal." The result has shown that the resources of the country and the energy of those who were entrusted with the conduct of the relief operations have been sufficient, by the blessing of God, to secure success.

5. The measures that have been taken have not only prevented the extensive mortality which must otherwise have occurred, but the general productive power of the country has not been allowed to deteriorate, and there is no reason to believe that any demoralization has followed from the relief operations. The strongest assurances of the gratitude of the people have been received, and it may confidently be expected that the assistance which has been given by the State during a time of calamity will be long remembered and appreciated, not only on the scene of the distress, but throughout the whole of Her Majesty's Indian Empire.

6. The cost of the relief operations cannot as yet be accurately stated; but it may safely be assumed that the total net cost will not

exceed the sum of £6,500,000, which was the estimate given in the Budget for the current year.

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18. It will be seen from Sir Richard Temple's Minute that a balance of about 100,000 tons of rice remained after the relief operations had been concluded. To this extent the measures taken have been in excess of the requirements of the case. The responsibility for this excess rests entirely with the Government of India. Having to deal with so vast a population, whose support depended upon many uncertain contingencies, it would have been imprudent not to have been prepared to meet larger demands than those which were actually made upon the Government. If a substantial reserve had not been provided, the success of the relief operations would properly have been attributed rather to good fortune than to foresight.

The experience of last year shows the necessity of such a reserve. In the beginning of September 1874 very great apprehensions were felt that the scarcity would be prolonged. This was only averted by a fall of rain at the very last moment when it could have been of use to allow the winter crops to be sown; and, if the rain had not then fallen, the rice in reserve would have been urgently required. It must not be forgotten that on previous occasions it has occurred that a second year of drought has followed the first.

19. The food-supplies of India, including British Burma, proved amply sufficient to meet the demand occasioned by the failure of the rice crop. Out of the total quantity of grain purchased by the Government, which amounted to 479,696 tons, only 54,300 tons were obtained from beyond British India. The rice exported from British Burma in the year 1874 amounted to about 815,000 tons. Of this quantity about 290,000 tons were sent to Bengal, and about 470,000 tons to Europe,—the exports to Europe have been only 33,000 tons less than in the previous year. The import of food-grains by railway from the North-Western Provinces and the Panjab is calculated by Lieutenant-Colonel Taylor to have amounted to 289,000 tons. This large export from Upper India did not greatly affect prices in the producing districts. The total quantity of food-grain carried into the distressed districts can hardly have been much less than 1,000,000 tons. * * * * * *

30. The Government of India desire, in conclusion, to convey to Sir Richard Temple their recognition of the distinguished services which he has rendered to the people of Bengal and Bihar during the time of difficulty through which the Province has passed. As a Member of the Council of the Governor-General, Sir Richard Temple was from the first intimately associated with the policy adopted by the Government of India

in respect to the scarcity. He took a prominent part in carrying that policy into effect under Sir George Campbell's administration: and, since he assumed the office of Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, in April last, he has unremittingly devoted himself to the personal direction and superintendence of the relief operations, which owe their complete success mainly to his exertions.

The 'Times', summing up the famine operations, wrote: "The Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal may take all credit to himself for hard work, faithfully done, and so may district and famine officers, while to Lord Northbrook will belong the high honour of commanding in one of the purest and noblest campaigns ever fought in India."

The Famine Commission of 1878-80 recorded the fact that, "there was absolutely no mortality from starvation:" "at the outside not more than 22 deaths could be said to have even been accelerated by hunger. Another point which may be noticed with satisfaction is that there seems to have been no permanent evil effect left on the minds and habits of the people." At the same time they did not conceal their opinion that the means employed were disproportioned to the end: in other words, that the forecast of the famine was erroneous, its extent and degree overrated: and that the new principles adopted in giving relief were mistaken.

Some years after, in 1882, Sir R. Temple wrote a brief account of this famine ("Men and Events of my Time in India," pages 399-408) which sums up its whole history:—

"On entering the Northern part of Bihar at the end of January 1874, I was struck by the difficulties affecting the transport of grain in large quantities during the dry season, which had already begun and would become drier still as the months rolled on. The traffic of the country was ordinarily carried by boats on the many navigable streams which flow from the Himalayas to join the Ganges; but these streams were now almost devoid of water. Wheeled carriage for commercial purposes did not exist in any considerable quantity, and thus trade was for a time paralyzed. The only persons, possessing carts and draught bullocks in large numbers, were the European indigo planters who used these vehicles for their manufacturing work. Their business was so slack, partly by reason of the famine, that they could spare their carts, which were accordingly hired by tens of

thousands, and the transport of the Government grain was so far secured. The organization of this enormous amount of hired transport was placed under Colonel (now Sir Charles) Macgregor of the Quartermaster-General's department, a public servant of high capacity and unsurpassed energy, with a large staff of military officers. But, as the security of the transport was vital, it was decided to construct a temporary railway from the Ganges to one of the points where distress threatened most. This work was under the vigorous supervision of Captain Stanton of the Engineers, constructed at the rate of a mile* a day. Further, a special transport train, consisting of carts, bullocks, mules and ponies, was obtained from northern India, and organized by Mr. Harry Rivett Carnac, of the Civil Service, with much promptitude and ability. Thus the several hundred thousand tons of Government grain were, despite the burning heat and the dust-laden tracks, conveyed to the remote villages with absolute punctuality and without failure even in a single instance.

At this time special correspondents deputed by some of the London newspapers had begun to arrive upon the scene. First and foremost among these was Mr. Archibald Forbes, on the part of the Daily News, who spared no effort of mind or body to probe the reality of the distress and to understand the measures adopted for its relief. He pourtrayed with graphic force and absolute fidelity, for the information of the English public, the mortal peril to which the people were exposed, and from which they could be rescued only by the utmost exertions of the Government. He discharged his professional duties with signal success, and also rendered much service to the general administration.

The transport for the Government grain having been secured, my object was to observe personally the physical condition of the people. For this purpose the able-bodied employed on relief works, and the infirm receiving gratuitous relief, were mustered at convenient spots for inspection. Thus tens and hundreds of thousands of poor people at different times and places, passed under observation, whereby a check was imposed on idleness or imposture. Often too, when

* This railway, from Champta *ghat* to Darbhanga, was commenced on the 23rd February, and the first train ran through on the 17th April : 53 miles constructed in 53 days.

marching through a village we would assemble all the men, women and children in it, so as to note any signs of emaciation or of distress. In short, no pains were intermitted to ascertain from personal observation all particulars regarding the physical condition of the people.

A system then was organized whereby, as the famine became worse, a visitation should be periodically instituted from house to house in every village, so that no case of individual distress could possibly escape observation. The whole country having been parcelled out into groups of villages, a relief centre and field-hospital were established in each group.

I had been in constant communication with the Lieutenant-Governor, Sir George Campbell, in conjunction with whom I was working in Bihar, but I was now obliged to proceed on similar duty to Northern Bengal. As the famine in Bihar was coming on apace, Campbell himself proceeded thither after my departure, despite his failing health, and supervised the details of the relief operations.

Having studied on the spot the condition of all the distressed districts, I transmitted to Campbell an estimate of the financial cost of the proposed relief operations on the assumption that the rains would fall propitiously in the coming season, also of the reserve stocks of grain to be provided in event of the rains again failing. He forwarded this to Lord Northbrook, who after a time required us both to revise it by the latest information.

In April Sir George Campbell proceeded to England, and I received charge of the Government of Bengal. The first step was for me to submit to Lord Northbrook my final estimate of the cost of the relief operations, before I quitted my head-quarters and proceeded to the field to personally superintend all the work. This estimate amounted in round numbers to 9 millions sterling in the gross, but then there were to be large recoveries consisting chiefly of the proceeds from the sale of Government grain to the people in the distressed districts, so that the net cost would be only $6\frac{1}{3}$ millions. Even this amount was seriously large and I was thankful for the opportunity thus afforded of obtaining sanction for the estimate from the highest authority. I knew that, even if under Providence these great operations should be blessed with success and should fulfil the humane purpose for which they were designed,

critics would cavil at the cost and perhaps demand inquiry. In that case it would be a source of satisfaction to know that the expense had been thoroughly considered beforehand in each and all of its bearings. Afterwards, when this affair had ended with a success exceeding our most sanguine hopes, and exception was taken to the outlay, we congratulated ourselves on having followed the financial maxim of undertaking nothing without an estimate beforehand. In fact we managed to keep the ultimate expenditure just within the estimate.

The month of May had now set in, and the famine had thoroughly declared itself. Employment, agricultural and other, was at a standstill, and there were no wages for the poor to earn. No supplies of grain were brought out and the corn markets were all closed. The Government, before opening its stores, waited to the latest safe day, in order to afford every possible chance to the trade. Its officers were however obliged to sell their grain in vast quantities, the prices being fixed at what were regarded as famine rates. Still starvation stared the people in the face, unless the Government should give them employment and pay their wages in grain. Accordingly many hundred thousand persons were thus employed and paid; their employment consisting chiefly of road making. Those who could not work were fed gratuitously, and search was made in every village, house to house, for the infirm and helpless, so that no deserving person should fail to receive succour. The strain in this contest for life or death became more and more intense as week after week rolled wearily on—as in certain battles it has been said that the struggle is even, and it remains to be seen which side has the stiffest back—till the middle of June, when the rain fell with a propitiousness beyond our hopes. A change for the better was felt at once, and tens of thousands of relief labourers went off to their fields. Still the famine must continue for some weeks till the new grain should begin to come in, and the majority of the poor people thus remained on our hands. Soon, too, the authorities found that those who had gone to till the fields had not the means of sustaining themselves when there, until the new harvest should begin to come in. So it was necessary to make large advances of grain to them on their engagement to pay for it after the next harvest. The value of the grain thus advanced was duly recovered after the termination of the famine when plenty had returned.

The rains, having begun well, became suspended for a time, and the worst fears for the future were resuscitated. At the eleventh hour they again descended favourably, before any irreparable harm had been done by their temporary suspension, and hereafter continued propitiously till in the autumn a good harvest was reaped. Thus week after week the poor people who had been for several months on the hands of the Government were discharged, till by the middle of October few of them were left.

The recipients of charitable relief from Government had been chiefly persons who in ordinary times subsist on the private charity of the village folk. The charity, which is thus dispensed in years of average prosperity, redounds to the honour of the Native community. But it is unavoidably suspended during famine, and the many thousands who depend on it must perish unless sustained by Government. These poor people had accordingly been thrown on the hands of the relief officers for several months. But now with returning plenty after the autumn harvest they were sent back in some hundred thousands to their villages, where they began once more to receive charitable support as formerly.

The greater part of the grain procured by Government was used, but a considerable portion remained unused. This was the reserve which had been provided in event of the rains failing for the second time, a failure which, though at one time apparently imminent, had been mercifully averted. The reserve grain then had to be sold, and as by that time the new harvest was coming in abundantly, the sale proceeds proved to be but a small recovery as against the cost which had been incurred.

Some angry criticism soon arose upon the fact of this grain thus having to be sold, as proving that, from some faults in the original calculations, there had been an excess provision. It was immediately shewn that there had been no error whatever, but that as a matter of deliberate policy a reserve had been provided. This reserve, indeed, was not wanted owing to the happy course which events had taken. But if any objections were urged against the policy of adopting this essential precaution, in a case where the lives of millions of people where at stake, they were hardly deserving of refutation.

The people, in the mass, behaved well throughout these critical

trials. They proved themselves to be neither demoralised nor pauperized by the receipt of relief. Their zeal and anxiety never slackened for restoring the cultivation and making the most of even momentary opportunities which might offer. Patient courage, unflinching endurance, self-help in extremity, were the honourable characteristics of their general conduct.

In most of these arduous operations for the relief of famine the chief executive officer was Mr. (now Sir Steuart) Bayley, the Commissioner of Bihar, who admirably discharged his difficult duties, and next after him in honour and responsibility was Mr. C. T. Metcalfe. The Secretary to the Government of Bengal in the Famine Department was Mr. C. E. Bernard (a nephew of John Lawrence); and from him I derived most valuable assistance. The local officers on whom the brunt of the work fell most heavily were Mr. A. P. MacDonnell and Mr. C. F. Magrath. All the officers mentioned above were members of the Covenanted Civil Service.

Many European officers of the Army were employed in this work with the utmost advantage. Native officers also were selected and placed at our disposal by the Commander-in-Chief, Lord Napier of Magdala, in order that they might render aid in the administration of relief. Their military discipline and training rendered them extraordinarily apt in this work. After the conclusion of the operations, their good conduct was acknowledged publicly.

It became my pleasant duty to prepare a long list of the names of those non-official gentlemen, European and Native, landlords or residents of the distressed districts, who by charitable munificence or unrewarded labours had contributed essentially to the relief of distress.

Conspicuous service was rendered by the servants of the East India Railway Company; indeed without that railway the Government grain could hardly have been conveyed to its destination in time; a more signal instance could scarcely be afforded of the value of Railways to India.

Thus the famine of 1874 was over; the deaths from starvation were so few compared to the many millions concerned that practically there had been no loss of life. The health of the people had been sustained, agriculture was unimpaired, the sources of the country remained uninjured, even the revenues were nearly all

realized. But there had been a large expenditure, which however had been exactly foreseen, and to which the Government had made up its mind beforehand.

But when the immunity from loss of life is chronicled it must be thankfully remembered that there was no epidemic of cholera, small-pox, fever, or the like. Indeed throughout this trying time the public health was remarkably good. This is very unlike the experience of other famines, when these fell diseases have come to aggravate the misery arising from want. Such freedom from collateral or concomitant calamity cannot be wholly explained by any known circumstances. One fortunate cause however was this, that in Bihar the streams rising in the lower ranges of the Himalayas, while no longer navigable, had yet a good supply of drinking water. The fact, that in time of drought the water supply often becomes impure is one reason why cholera prevails usually during famine.

Despite success which, owing to the mercy of Providence, had been unique in the history of Indian famines, and exceeded any hopes we ever dared to entertain, there emanated from some quarters an unaccountably bitter criticism, directed chiefly against the expense. By an irony of fate it was actually argued that the danger of famine could not have been extremely urgent because it had been successfully overcome. This argument was hardly worth considering in the face of the patent, indeed the notorious, facts of the time as known to a host of witnesses. It were bootless perhaps to divine the reasons of that hostility; the criticism possibly arose from the disappointment felt by some traders who thought that if the Government had not interposed so effectually some further opportunities might have presented themselves to trade. In fact, however, the Government had offered every chance to trade, and had interfered only when, under the peculiar circumstances of the threatened or distressed country, the commercial resources were demonstrably insufficient or wholly impotent. It was observable also that, during this time, trade had been extraordinarily active in all the districts which it could reach, and where, but for it, there would have been scarcity. It was indeed most unfortunate that the drought visited in its worst form the densely peopled tracts which were far away from the nearest railway. These tracts depended for their communication upon the very water carriage which from the nature of the case was

cut off on this dire occasion. Thus it happened that the trade became powerless and Government was obliged to supply the needful. The lesson to be learnt therefrom was this, that such tracts must not be left without communication by rail. Had a railway existed in Bihar and Northern Bengal in 1874, countless cares and labours would have been avoided, and a large part of the relief expenditure saved. The lesson has indeed been learnt with effect, or those tracts of country now (1882) have their railways, which advantages they doubtless owe to the famine of 1874.

Afterwards in 1880, when the Indian Famine Commission was sitting, the evidence shewed that, had railways existed there in 1874, offering due facilities to trade, perhaps half of the total expenditure incurred by Government on that occasion might have been obviated.

It may indeed be conceded to the critics that the relief given to the distressed was liberal and unstinted, that the object was to secure effectually the preservation of life, and that for the complete attainment of this object neither labour nor expense was spared. This was the policy which, to the best of our understanding, we were ordered to pursue and which we unhesitatingly pursued. The object, then, was absolutely attained; a contest with famine was undertaken and was won conclusively. Whether any lesser resistance to so dread an enemy as famine would have sufficed is doubtful; and the doubts which might be felt on this point will have been increased by subsequent experience. Whatever may be the merits or demerits of particular measures it must be acknowledged that in some other instances large expenditure has been humanely allowed by the State and yet there has been loss of life. In this instance the money was liberally spent indeed, but then all the lives were saved. If there are to be great expenses, it is well to make sure of success for the sake not only of the material results, but also of the moral advantages. Not only were the lives of the people saved, but also their lasting thankfulness was earned. Such national gratitude must add fresh stability to the foundations of British rule.

The manifestation of their gratitude by the people was conspicuous in various ways. The Native press, both English and vernacular, teemed with commendations of the policy prescribed by the Government and of the proceedings taken by its officers during the famine from first to last. At every place I ever visited in the Provinces

under the Government of Bengal during the year of the famine, or in subsequent years,—whether within or beyond the area which was then distressed—there were addresses presented which included, among many other things, strongly worded allusions to the measures adopted for averting the consequences of famine. Too much stress must not indeed be laid on such addresses, but, inasmuch as they contained remarks on local topics,—which topics varied in each locality and consequently in each address—the fact of the happy prevention of famine being the one and only constant theme proved that it was uppermost in the popular thoughts. On my return to Calcutta after the conclusion of relief operations, the Native chiefs and gentry of Bihar presented a congratulatory address specifically alluding to each step which had been taken and every measure adopted. If it were supposed that Bihar Native gentlemen were naturally disposed to entertain and express favourable sentiments on the policy which Government had followed, still that supposition cannot apply to the British India Association which represents the *zamindars* or landlords of Bengal. These Bengali Native gentlemen are notoriously outspoken and independent in their utterances, so much so that they have often been blamed for evincing an undue willingness to criticise the Government and its officers. Yet they also presented an address declaring in the strongest and warmest terms their gratitude on behalf of the Natives, their belief in the necessity of what had been done and their appreciation of the manner in which it had been effected."

Minutes.

While the famine relief operations were in progress, Sir R. Temple's time was so much absorbed by them that he could do little in the direction of developing the Province in other matters. It was his custom to record Minutes on every subject which, in his opinion, called for the personal attention of the Lieutenant-Governor. There lie before me 2 volumes containing 184 of these Minutes, dated from the 26th of May 1874 to the 10th of January 1877. Two of this number were the summaries prefixed to the Provincial Administration Reports of 1874-75 and 1875-76. Only 11 of these Minutes were recorded during the progress of the famine, and some of the 11 were connected with it. He began by

It has indeed been said that it was fortunate for Bengal that Sir G. Campbell was succeeded by another Lieutenant-Governor who, like him, had not served in the Lower Provinces, so that a fair chance was given to Sir G. Campbell's innovations to take root and come to maturity where they deserved to succeed, instead of their being ruthlessly cancelled as they might have been if the successor had been an officer of the old Bengal school. When a further period had elapsed, the innovations had shown their value, or the contrary, so that they had to be maintained or could more properly be set aside. From these volumes of Minutes then, as well as from the Annual Reports, it will be possible to give extracts which will present an adequate view of the main features of Sir R. Temple's work in Bengal.

And Sir R. Temple himself (Men and Events &c. p. 440) has briefly enumerated the other chief official matters of his time as follows :—During these years the various things relating to the administration had been claiming attention—the progress of canals already under construction and the elaboration of new projects for irrigation—the preparation of plans for branch railways—the repair of embankments—the execution of drainage works—the designs for the reclamation of swamps—the assessment and levy of cesses already authorized by law for roads and schools—the founding of new colleges, the opening of additional medical schools and the development of primary education—the legislation regarding the land, the partition of joint undivided estates, the registration of possessory titles, the determination of agrarian disputes—the extension of the forest laws to many hundred square miles of woods and jungle—the organization of the rural post—the improvement of the village police —the development of the statistical department—the constitution of the Municipality at the Capital on the basis of the elective franchise—the modification of the procedure in the department of Civil justice—and the limitation of the license of appeal by providing new appellate courts in the interior of the country with power of deciding finally.

By Act VIII (B. C.) of 1871 the Justices of the Peace for Calcutta had been enabled to purchase a plot of

The Calcutta

payers, besides better supervising and regulating all the markets of Calcutta. It was however ascertained that, on the true construction of the Act of 1871, the powers of the Justices were limited to the establishment of a market, and did not extend to its management on behalf of the public. Doubts were raised as to the power of the Justices to spend money from their revenues for the purpose, and it was found that, in order to give the new market a fair chance of success, it woud be necessary for the Justices to acquire the existing Dharmtolla market. To give them power to legally carry on the business of the new market, and to indemnify the Chairman in respect of certain sums which he had expended with this object, a brief Act was passed, II (B. C.) of 1874, conferring the requisite powers and authorizing the Justices to borrow a further sum of 7 *lakhs* of rupees to pay for the old Dharmtolla market. By the beginning of 1874 the Southern block was completed and opened to the public. The whole subject created some temporary excitement.

Railways in North Bihar and elsewhere.

One lesson learnt from the famine of 1873-74 was the importance of railway communication on the north of the Ganges. The Government of India desired to be put in possession as soon as possible of Sir R. Temple's views, so that he was unable to wait for complete information: but with the personal knowledge that he had acquired by travelling over the country he was in a position to formulate his views in a Minute dated the 9th July 1874. He recommended 5 projects in the order of their importance as they appeared to him.

1. A line leaving the Ganges at Hajipur opposite Patna, and passing through Tajpur and Darbhanga to Supaul (110 miles) with a branch from Darbhanga to Sitamarhi (45 miles).

2. A line crossing the Gandak from Hajipur, and proceeding through the district of Saran by Chapra and Sewan to Mirpur (80 miles).

3. A line from the Ganges opposite Mokameh to Tajpur and Muzaffarpur, and thence through the district of Champaran to Motihari, Segowlie and Bettia (150 miles).

It was roughly estimated that the cost of these lines would be about $2\frac{1}{2}$ millions sterling.

The principal point Sir R. Temple had in view was the connection of Muzaffarpur and Darbhanga, the principal trade centres

in Tirhut, with the Ganges. He pointed out that the best line of railway for Tirhut should start from Hajipur, on the other side of the Ganges opposite Patna. The question was whether this line should be taken *via* Tajpur to Darbhanga, or whether it should not run from Hajipur to Muzaffarpur, and thence to Darbhanga. The Government of India were not prepared to contemplate the construction of 2 lines through Tirhut to the Ganges, and the relative advantages of the Mokameh line or the Hajipur line were therefore to be considered.

The Government of India was also inclined to consider that it was premature to discuss any plans for the extension of railways beyond Muzaffarpur and Darbhanga, or for a line of railway from Hajipur through the district of Saran. The one point upon which orders were passed by the Supreme Government was the connection of Muzaffarpur and the Ganges at one point; and surveys of the country with this object were sanctioned, and estimates were prepared for the best lines to connect Muzaffarpur with the river and the main line of the East Indian Railway. During the year 1875, the line to Darbhanga was made permanent and an extension from Samastipur to Muzaffarpur was sanctioned by the Government of India. This was only one of the several schemes which Sir R. Temple proposed as temporary measures to meet the scarcity that was expected at the end of the year. Those schemes were as follows :—

		Miles approximately.
I.	From Darbhanga *via* Mudhapore to Gopal *ghat* on the river Tiljuga	32
II.	From Samastipur on the Boor Gandak to Muzaffarpur	30
III.	From Muzaffarpur to a point close to Sahibganj near the old bank of the Gandak	25
IV.	From Darbhanga to Sitamarhi	25
	TOTAL ...	112

The project of a light railway from Bankipur to Gaya also came under discussion. It was contemplated that Government might contribute a certain sum yearly to the payment of interest on capital if the District Road Fund Committees of Patna and Gaya would under-

take to pay the remainder. The application for the project was refused by the Government of India on the ground that the traffic returns were not likely to be large enough by themselves to make the outlay remunerative. In the same year also Sir R. Temple was asked by the Government of India to give his opinion regarding possible lines of light branch railways in these Provinces, the construction of which might be arranged by the help of local or provincial resources. He found that there were no lines to be recommended in eastern or south-western Bengal, or in Orissa; but in Central and Northern Bengal he suggested the following projects for consideration, as being branches to the trunk lines of railway already existing.

In Central Bengal,—lines to be arranged by local or provincial resources :—

	Miles.
From Ranaghat, on the Eastern Bengal Railway, *viâ* Krishnagar and Murshidabad, to Bhagwangola on the Ganges	86
Chakdaha, on the Eastern Bengal Railway, to Jessore ...	50
Barrackpore to Barasat	8
Sealdah (Calcutta) to Diamond Harbour	30
Rajbari (near the Goalundo terminus of the Eastern Bengal Railway) to Faridpur	19
TOTAL ...	193
Lines in Northern Bengal, proposed to be undertaken by the State Railway Department :—	
Rangpur to a point opposite Goalpara, in Assam ...	99
Parbatipur, on the Northern Bengal State Railway, to Dinajpur	20
TOTAL ...	119
To be arranged from local or provincial resources :—	
From Nator, on the Northern Bengal State Railway, *viâ* Rampur Boalia, to a point opposite Bhagwangola...	50
Sultanpur, on the Northern Bengal State Railway, to Bogra	26
From Jalpaiguri, on the Northern Bengal State Railway, *viâ* Kuch-Bihar, to meet extension towards Assam	55
From Purnea to Karagola, on the Ganges, opposite Sahibganj, on the East India Railway	28
TOTAL ...	159

A line from Raniganj (on the East India line) to Sambalpur to join the line projected eastwards from Nagpur, and so to produce a straight line of railway between Calcutta and Bombay, had come to be regarded as a matter of special interest.

A line from Ranaghat in the direction of Murshidabad was actually commenced and some length of embankment thrown up, but the scheme was subsequently abandoned. Before Sir R. Temple left Bengal, he was able in November 1876 to traverse the line of the Northern Bengal Railway, then under construction and complete (with the exception of 4 bridges) from Sara to Jalpaiguri, and it was expected to be open to traffic in the following year.

Canals.

In connection with the same subject, that is, the importance of protecting the country from a recurrence of the troubles of 1866-67 and 1873-74, Sir R. Temple locally examined the question of constructing irrigation canals from the river Gandak. Of the 2 places where it was considered possible to make a weir or headwork across that river, namely Tribeni *ghat* and Butsura (near Bagaha) 34 miles lower down the river, the latter was selected as the most favourable. Sir R. Temple recommended the scheme in the following order, stating the probable cost so far as could be ascertained without complete estimates:—

		Miles.	Cost.
I.	Weir on the Gandak at Butsura...		£ 411,800
II.	High Level Canal from Butsura to the Bhagirathi	...105½	£ 1,524,315
III.	Extension from the Bhagirathi to the Kamla ...	... 50	£ 566,225
IV.	Canal from Butsura *viâ* Sureya to Muzaffarpur ...	... 75	£ 497,887
V.	Navigable branch from Muzaffarpur to Hajipur	...37	£ 187,831
	TOTAL ...	267½	£ 3,188,058

He wrote also—"In my judgment all these works are very desirable, if the Government of India can afford means for their

execution; and it is difficult to say that one part is more important than another. But if the whole cannot be taken in hand at once, and one part must be selected for precedence, then I distinctly recommend the High Level Canal with extension to the Kamla. From the foregoing abstract it will be seen that the length of this piece would amount to 155½ miles of main canal, exclusive of distributaries, with a probable cost (including the Butsura weir and distributaries) of £2,803,340. I trust that this will appear as moderate a proposition as could be made. In round numbers, it is proposed to irrigate all North and North-West Tirhut at a cost of 2½ millions. This seems to be a minimum recommendation, if anything is to be recommended at all." At the same time a system of irrigation schemes in the Saran district was suggested. The project was to take off a supply of water from the proposed weir at Butsura, and turn it into certain old channels through the old branch of the Gandak. Much progress was made in working up these projects: Sir R. Temple, foreseeing that all the schemes put forward could not be accepted for want of money, specially recommended:—

(1)	A High Level Canal in North Champaran from Butsura on the Gandak, to the Kamla in North Tirhut, with weir and distributaries, probable cost	£2,500,000
(2)	A Railway from Hajipur, in South Tirhut, through Darbhanga, East Tirhut, to Supaul in North Bhagalpur	£660,000
	TOTAL ...	£3,160,000

In Orissa also Sir R. Temple recommended the extension and completion of the canal system at a total outlay of nearly 264 *lakhs* of rupees, or of certain works to cost nearly 196 *lakhs*. The measures were expected to fairly protect the Cuttack district, and part of Balasore, in the event of famine; at the same time establishing through canal navigation between Cuttack and the Hooghly below Calcutta. As the Government of India deferred the project of the weir across the Gandak at Butsura and the High Level Canal in Champaran, and the irrigation schemes put forward for North Bihar were definitely abandoned as being too expensive, Sir R. Temple continued to press the minor schemes of irrigation to utilize the

existing numerous small rivers and drainage channels in North Champaran, and the minor projects of irrigation from the streams of North Tirhut and Saran.

Surveys were sanctioned, to be undertaken with a view to proposing (1) inundation channels from the Gandak in Saran and Champaran in connection with the Gandak embankments, (2) the construction of minor irrigation works in Ramnagar and Madhubani, (3) further investigations of facilities for minor irrigation works in districts most exposed to future danger. When the winter rice harvest failed in 1875-76 in the Sitamarhi and Madhubani subdivisions of North Tirhut, Sir R. Temple urged the commencement of earth work on the Bhagmati and Kamla projects.

Emigration to Burma.

State emigration from the distressed tracts of Bengal to British Burma was undertaken in 1874, partly as a means of alleviating the effects of the scarcity and partly to promote the cultivation of the waste lands in the Province. The year was deemed peculiarly favourable for the experiment, not only by reason of the greater willingness on the part of the population to emigrate on account of the scarcity, but also because the transport of the emigrants could be readily arranged by the vessels employed in importing rice from Burma to Bengal: a Superintendent of State Emigration to Burma was appointed, and an allotment sanctioned towards the furtherance of the project. Favourable terms as to wages were guaranteed for 3 years to the emigrants. The total number of emigrants up to the close of November 1874 was 5,389: a small number comparatively, but it was hoped that the experiment would prove advantageous to British Burma, where the demand for labour and colonists was yearly increasing.

Drainage schemes.

The subject of the drainage of the country was fully examined by Sir R. Temple, as some of his long Minutes show. He wrote in one of them:—"The drainage of land in Bengal, and the law relating thereto, next claim notice. The protection of cultivated or culturable lands from injury by water, and the control of floods in the rainy season, have always been objects of solicitude to the Government and to the people in these Provinces. In Bengal the embankments constructed in old times, and maintained for many years either by Government or under State control, cover a length of 1,176 miles. In Bihar the

course of the Gandak for 130 miles presents a remarkable instance of embanking on both banks. In Orissa there are extensive embankments on the sides of the rivers Mahanadi and Brahmini. Of late years the inquiries which ensued upon the breaking out of the destructive fever in Burdwan caused attention to be further drawn to the advantages of draining and embanking, all which has resulted in the preparation of several schemes.

By Act V (B. C.) of 1871, it was laid down in regard to certain specified works in two districts—Burdwan and Hooghly—that a moiety of the proprietors of the lands concerned might assent to the drainage works, whereon the whole proprietary body would be obliged to combine to cause execution of the works, to obtain the necessary advance of money from Government, and to apportion among themselves the liability for the recovery of the advance. In fact, however, two thirds of the proprietors assented, and the project (Dankuni) was accordingly executed. The works are now in successful operation; swamps covering an area of 27 square miles, of which 10 square miles had never been cultivated, have been thoroughly drained and are under cultivation.

This principle was carried still further in the Embankment Act (B. C.) VI of 1873, the provisions of which Act are so framed as to comprise drainage works of all sorts. By that Act power is given to the land revenue authorities of causing the execution, from Government funds, of works necessary for the protection of lands from injury by water, and of recovering the cost from the landowners and tenureholders of the lands benefited or protected by the works. It would be preferable that the people should themselves come forward and ask the Government to advance the funds on the security of the lands to be benefited, and to cause the necessary works to be executed. If the landholders generally of any neighbourhood should desire the execution, on these terms, of any projected drainage or embankment, and if the revenue authorities should agree in its expediency, it would not be in the power of any individual, or any minority among them, to effectually object in the present state of the law.

Again, drainage falls within the scope of the Land Improvement Act, XXVI of 1871, according to which any landlord or tenant may, on giving security, obtain from Government an advance of money

for this purpose. The people, however, have but little availed themselves of this provision.

As already seen, one drainage project on the right bank of the Hooghly (known as the Dankuni project) has been carried out with great advantage. It has been proposed that 3 similar projects (formed some time ago) on the right bank of the Hooghly, near the confluence of the Damodar, should be taken in hand. These are known as the Rajapur, the Amta, and the Howrah projects. I have ordered the project for the drainage in the Midnapore district to be proceeded with, a part of the cost being chargeable to Government, in proportion to the benefit accruing to the canals, and the remainder to the *zamindari* estates, in proportion to the benefits accruing to them. We hope also to be able to undertake a project near Calcutta (known as the Bulli project), whereby the area of a large State property, about eight and a quarter square miles, may be rendered productive, instead of being, as it is now, not only valueless, but positively noxious.

The drainage of land in Bengal is certainly one of those problems nearly affecting the physical and material welfare of the people. Representations in various shapes are constantly made in respect to malarious swamps formed by the silting up of streams, the natural drainage of the country being stopped, old beds of rivers becoming receptacles for stagnant water, hollows in the surface of the country being filled with drainage that cannot escape. In central Bengal, the tracts traversed by the rivers Bhagirathi, Jalangi, and Mathabhanga, are year by year subjected to destructive inundations. The official flood map shows the whole area of these tracts as liable to submergence more or less at one time or other. These and other cognate circumstances must injure the health and strength of the Bengali population. And it is to be remembered that the numerous swamps which remain undrained, breeding fever, might not only be drained for the benefit of health, but might also be reclaimed for the spread of cultivation. In a Province under permanent settlement, the Government can seldom undertake such work at its own charge. It can indeed advance funds to the owners on the security of the lands to be benefited, and it can give professional and engineering aid. It can also, in cases where the combined action of many proprietors is necessary, compel the

minority to contribute towards a scheme which the majority desire and the authorities approve. For all this ample provision has been made, and considerable results will hereupon accrue in course of time. But the active and universal co-operation of the classes interested in the land is still wanting."

The Government of India accepted the principles so strongly advocated by Sir R. Temple that drainage schemes, when there was no doubt as to their immediately remunerative character, should be fostered and extended by the advance of funds from Government, as was done in the case of the Dankuni project. Accordingly plants and estimates were prepared for the projects at Rajapur, Howrah and Amta in the Howrah district, and the Beel Bulli project near Calcutta. The result of the Dankuni drainage works, which were finished in 1873-4, proved to be excellent both as regards cultivation and sanitation. Much complaint having been made to Sir R. Temple by Raja Digambar Mitra and other well-informed native gentlemen regarding the disastrous fever frequently prevalent in the districts round Calcutta and attributed by them to the obstruction caused to the natural drainage of the country by the construction of railways and roads, he appointed a special Committee to examine the localities specified and any other fever-stricken villages which the complainants might indicate.

The report of the Committee submitted to Sir Ashley Eden left matters exactly in the position where they were. The inquiry showed that the artificial obstructions to which the Raja referred had little connection with the outbreak of fever in those localities. On the other hand the Committee could not dispute the position that the saturation of the subsoil in the deltaic districts of Bengal was one chief cause of fever, or that this saturation might have been aggravated of late years by both natural and artificial changes. But, even were the measures which Government ought to adopt clear and indisputable, the financial condition of the Province prevented it from undertaking anything like a general system of district drainage at the cost of the public revenues. The attention of district officers and municipalities was directed to the laws which provided the means of improving the drainage of towns and village sites.

The Burdwan fever, which had so long prevailed, necessarily

came under Sir R. Temple's observation. When it was at its height in 1873 an opinion was expressed to the effect that the prevalence of the disease was in part due to the physical depression of the people by reason of insufficiency of food. An inquiry was ordered by the Government of India: the reports received did not support the theory. Sir R. Temple recorded his views as follows:—

The Burdwan fever.

"The Burdwan fever, which is so painfully remembered, has for the most part ceased. After afflicting or desolating large tracts of country for several years, it seems to have worn itself out; and it has left us, after much scientific and professional inquiry, still ignorant of its causes. Nothing could exceed the zeal and devotion of the local authorities during these years in coping with the unseen visitant. There seems to have been nothing peculiar in the form of the disease. It was the ordinary fever of the country. The peculiarity consisted in its extent, severity, and persistency. The lower classes in that part of the country are more than ordinarily poor, but poverty could hardly have been the cause of the extraordinary prevalence of this fever; for the victims were found in all classes—the affluent, the well-to-do, the workers, and the paupers. It is hard, too, to argue that hunger, or physical depression from want of food, could have been the causes; for when the scarcity began in 1873, the fever, instead of becoming worse, became better, and further improved during 1874. No doubt the population in those localities is remarkably dense for the food-producing area; but then the people have markets for their labour close at hand, and ample granaries filled with surplus produce of other districts whence to buy food with their wages. Defects in drainage will naturally suggest themselves as causes, but then the fever prevailed in the high and dry lands as well as in the swampy tracts. If, however, defective drainage be an element in the causation, as I suspect it is, though there is not clear proof, then that will be advantageously affected in future by the several drainage schemes which have been set on foot."

Apart from such schemes and such general remedies as improving the condition of the peasantry by good laws,—irrigation projects,—village sanitation—Sir R. Temple could propose nothing that had not been thought of during the many years this fever had afflicted the country.

Forest policy. The Sundarbans and other areas.

The Forest Department was greatly developed in Bengal by Sir R. Temple. His policy was first declared in dealing with the Sundarbans. Revised rules for the sale of waste lands had been issued in February 1874, but, with the formation of the Chief Commissionership of Assam, the districts in which the chief transactions in waste lands occurred passed out of the Lieutenant-Governor's control. A question soon arose regarding *leases* of lands in the Sundarbans, as the sale rules were found to be inoperative, the terms of sale being such as to prevent purchasers from coming forward. Sir R. Temple visited the Sundarbans, and examined the physical character and natural productions of this tract, and considered its relation to the surrounding districts and to the country at large. He found himself unable to accept the view that it necessarily was, or should be, a public object to get the whole of the Sundarbans gradually reclaimed and brought under cultivation. In his opinion the public interest might be supposed to lie in the very opposite direction as regards a very large part of this tract. "The Sundarbans include not only a mass of *sundri* trees of comparatively higher growth, but also masses of trees and shrubs of lower growth. The former are used for carpentry and timber work; the latter for fuel. The area of both is very considerable. The relation of the tract to the surrounding districts also was not to be lost sight of. The *sundri* forests supply wood for boat-building to the *24-Parganas*, to Jessore, to Backergunge, to Noakhali, and to other districts, and also furnish wood for many purposes of domestic architecture." An experiment was also being tried for employing the *sundri* timber in the manufacture of railway sleepers. The other, or lower trees, supplied fire-wood and fuel to Calcutta and to many other towns. The needs could hardly be supplied otherwise than by the Sundarbans. Thus the country at large had the strongest interest in the Sundarbans being preserved as a source of timber, wood, and fuel for the use of Southern Bengal, so that reclamation, as such, was not wanted there. In some parts of this tract the substitution of rice-fields or jungle might be desirable; but in most parts of the tract the ground already bore produce which was more valuable to Bengal than rice.

Sir R. Temple wished to restrict reclamation until it could

be established by adequate inquiry whether the Sundarbans could meet these wants and still afford room for reclamation. It was admitted that in every tract some portions must be cleared in order to render the remainder accessible to man and available for his use. Whatever reclamation might be permitted or encouraged in the Sundarbans should, in Sir R. Temple's opinion, be arranged solely with the above view, and to this end the selection of patches of ground should be carefully made.

Already much of the Sundarbans had been reclaimed, and Sir R. Temple thought that the time had come when the position should be reconsidered. Complaints were made to him in the Backergunge district that *sundri* logs of the best quality were more rarely seen in the market than formerly. There was not sufficient security against the best kind of *sundri* trees being cut down in the same reckless and wasteful manner as that which was known to have prevailed in many parts of India before the institution of the forest system. Holding these views, therefore, he considered that the public interest required that no new negotiations of any kind should be opened for disposing of unclaimed land in the Sundarbans till it was decided by what rules Government could best maintain the principle that reclamation in this tract must be subordinate to forest conservation and he deputed the Conservator of Forests (Dr. Schlich) to proceed to the spot and make inquiries.

The cessation of the famine enabled Sir R. Temple to devote more attention to the working of the Forest Department than he had previously been able to give to the subject, and his efforts for its improvement were effectively seconded by the Conservator and subordinate officers of the department. The result was that, at the close of the year 1874-75, there were 5 forest divisions, Darjeeling, Jalpaiguri, Palamau, the Sundarbans, and Chittagong; and 2 more in course of formation, *viz.*, Saranda and the Sonthal *Parganas*. Additions, amounting to 1,347 square miles, were made during the year to the reserved area, bringing up the total to 1,467 square miles. Of these additions, 115 square miles were in Jalpaiguri, 885 square miles in the Sundarbans, and 347 square miles in Chittagong. Besides these, 151 square miles of forests in Palamau were selected as reserves. Further progress was made in 1875-76 in

the formation of reserved State forests. Their area in square miles was thus tabulated :—

Divisions.	At the beginning of 1875-76.	Added during the year.	Total at the end of 1875-76.
Darjeeling ...	106	.....	106
Jalpaiguri ...	129	30	159
Palamau ...	.....	151	151
Sundarbans ...	885	314	1,199
Chittagong ...	347	223	570
Singhbhum ...	.....	400	400
Total ...	1,467	1,118	2,585

Thus two new divisions—Palamau and Singhbhum—were formed in the course of the year, and the reserved area was increased by 1,118 square miles. These figures did not include the Shahabad and Sonthal *Parganas* reserves, which were gazetted after the year had closed.

The area of the reserved forests which remained to Bengal in Kuch Bihar and Chittagong after the separation of Assam had been 120 square miles. During Sir R. Temple's Lieutenant-Governorship the reserved forest area was thus increased to above 2,585 square miles in 6 forest divisions. Five of these divisions were being worked at a good profit on the expenditure, and in future years a still larger surplus was confidently expected. But the immediate pecuniary returns were regarded as of small importance, compared with the permanent benefit which these Provinces would derive from the judicious protection of their principal forest areas. The primary work of the department was to afford this protection, and thereby to ensure a continuous supply of timber and other forest produce, which would speedily be destroyed if the consumption of it were altogether unchecked.

Besides these great additions to the Government reserved forest area, Sir R. Temple concerned himself in the conservation of the forests in Sikhim which had come under his notice. He caused the Sikhim *Darbar* to be addressed, and when touring in that State personally communicated with the Sikhim authorities. He similarly initiated proposals for bringing some private forests in the Chota Nagpur Province under Government management for the benefit of the proprietors, the object being, not to make any profit

for Government, but to preserve a sufficient number of trees for reproduction in order that the timber supply might be permanently maintained.

Development of the resources of the country through science.

Apart from his forest policy Sir R. Temple aimed at developing the resources of the country by scientific methods. He regarded the real need of the day to be the gradual education of the rising generation in all that relates to scientific agriculture, agricultural chemistry and the like. "It had been found necessary," he wrote, "to close the several model farms which had been temporarily established in Bengal because it was found that success could not be attained without scientific means and appliances much beyond any resources which we have at our command. The aim was to introduce new and foreign staples which may or may not prove suitable to this climate—a very difficult task, for the successful accomplishment of which the best talent procurable from Europe would be needed. But another object more immediately important seems to me to be this—to examine scientifically and botanically the physiological characteristics of all our principal indigenous staples, and the chemical properties of our soils, with a view to improving the fertility of our fields and the yield of our produce. In this, of course, the sciences of physiological botany and agricultural chemistry are concerned. Experiments in regard to these matters, in order to be at all conclusive, must be conducted and continuously watched by men of high scientific aquirements. With our limited resources this can be done only in a few selected areas. The lands belonging to the abolished Stud department at Pusa, in Tirhut, and a part of the large area belonging to the Botanic Gardens at Calcutta, are suitable for such a purpose, and in each case some trained scientific officers could be employed."

The Pusa estate was retained in the hands of Government for the undertaking of experiments in the raising and curing of tobacco, and possibly also for the establishment of an Agricultural college for Bihar. The latter scheme was in abeyance, as an Industrial school had been opened at Patna. In the same spirit he sanctioned expenditure for the improvement of the Royal Botanic Garden at Sibpur, Howrah, and for the formation of a Botanic Garden at Rangarun near Darjeeling : the intention was to have trees and

plants suitable to the Eastern Himalayas cultivated there for the advancement of practical science and for the public benefit. The soil and climate of Rangarun being found to be unsuited for such a garden, the project was abandoned. In its place a branch Botanic Garden was established at Darjeeling, where a good site was secured by Sir A. Eden through the liberality of a private gentleman (Mr. W. Lloyd) and where many useful experiments could be undertaken, more especially in connection with the proposal of the Home Government to grow in India as many as possible of the drugs used in medicine and imported from England at great expense. Similarly, in support of systematic botany, Sir R. Temple encouraged the collection of specimens for the Herbarium at the Botanic Garden, by exchanges with other institutions and visits to other parts of India; at the same time he indicated the direction which inquiries and experiments in the physiological branch of botany should take. The experiments which had been instituted for the purpose of discovering some preparation of the medical alkaloids of cinchona bark were also pressed on, with the object of substituting a cheap febrifuge for the expensive quinine alone available previously. The cinchona plantations near Darjeeling were extended and it was at first intended that the bark should be sent to Calcutta for manufacture, but subsequently a factory was erected at the plantations. In all these matters Sir R. Temple had the invaluable aid of Dr. King, Superintendent of the Botanic Garden. When he, (then Sir George King, K. C. I. E.) retired from the public service in March 1898, the excellent work he, "one of its most distinguished and valued servants," had done for Bengal and India was highly appreciated by Government in a farewell notice. "Sir G. King's labours in the fields of morphological and systematic botany have greatly extended our knowledge of the flora of India and the Malay Archipelago, and have established his reputation as a botanist throughout the scientific world. Nor was he less successful as a practical administrator. The striking improvements that have been effected during the past 25 years in the Botanic Garden at Sibpur are due to his business capacity and his talent for landscape gardening. By developing the Sikhim cinchona plantations and introducing the manufacture of quinine by a cheap process he rendered it possible to introduce and extend throughout the Province and in

other parts of India the system of selling quinine by the dose, and thus placed within the reach of the poorest peasant a remedy for the malarial fever that prevails in so many districts.

The Botanic Garden.

The Botanic Garden at Sibpur, Howrah, opposite Calcutta, had suffered greatly from the destruction of its large trees in the cyclones of 1864 and 1867. Sir R. Temple sanctioned a very liberal grant towards the improvement of the garden, to be expended in adding to the number of plant houses; in levelling and turfing the eastern portion of the garden; in laying out and paving some of the new roads, of which the earthwork had been previously done: in removing the labourers' huts to the northern part of the garden, and in improving the condition of the several pieces of water. At the same time he thought it would be a mistake to treat the garden only or principally as a pleasure-ground, or a mere ornamental specimen of landscape gardening. The maintenance of the garden as a centre of Botanic Science in Bengal was the first object to be carried out; and with this view he contemplated increasing the number of plant-houses, and if possible allowing the Superintendent the temporary assistance of a Botanic collector, who might be deputed to localities in the interior of the country to collect plants of scientific interest. Special attention was to be paid at the garden to the culture of herbaceous plants in the conservatories, and to the collection of orchids and flowering plants. Sir R. Temple thought the Botanic Garden should be and might be made, not only a place of economic value and scientific importance, but also an ornament in the suburbs of Calcutta.

The Zoological Garden of Alipore.

Sir R. Temple also did something for the science of Zoology, though more for the amusement of the public, by the establishment of the Zoological Garden at Calcutta. This has sometimes been spoken of as one of the most enduring results of his Lieutenant-Governorship. He wrote thus in September 1875:—

"It is not necessary to set forth in any detail the reasons which render it desirable to establish a Zoological Garden at Calcutta, the capital city of Bengal. There are great advantages for maintaining such an institution in Bengal, as very many varieties of animals are procurable readily and inexpensively. The natives of Bengal have a taste and aptitude for natural history, the teaching of which science

is manifestly facilitated by the display of living specimens. A permanent exhibition of this sort will have, therefore, a good educational effect.

"A particular difficulty, however, has always been felt in respect to the selection of a site, for which a considerable area of ground is required, in a situation, on the one hand, not so near to the populous part of the city as to cause inconvenience, on the other hand, sufficiently near to afford due facility for popular resort.

"In order to select the best available site, I appointed a Committee and their attention was drawn to the several situations from which apparently a selection might be made. After considering all the alternative sites, they chose the site which lies to the left bank of Tolly's *nala* close to the Zeerut Bridge. In this choice I fully concur, after having carefully examined the spot in reference to the special purpose of a Zoological Garden. From this point of view, indeed, the ground seems to me to possess a remarkable combination of advantages, as regards accessibility, water-supply, shade from trees, and other necessaries.

"Further, it happens that this ground is at present occupied by a large village which is in a very insanitary condition, and in which sanitation after long trial is pronounced to be extremely difficult. On sanitary and municipal grounds it had been decided to clear this locality on an early opportunity, and to use the land for some public purpose. Afterwards the project of a Zoological Garden presented itself as a most fitting object. Irrespectively of this project, however, the clearance of this ground had long been desired as constituting a considerable public improvement.

"Thereupon orders were given to take up the land for public purposes, with the award or compensation under the law.

"Complete and general plans and estimates will be deliberately prepared for the whole garden, on the understanding that the work must be undertaken in the simplest and most economical manner, and must be designed so that it can be gradually executed, piece by piece, according as funds shall be available.

"It is probable that in the first instance we shall be able to lay out only a part of the grounds, and to erect only a few cheap and temporary structures for the reception of the animals. I will sanction an amount of Rs. 5000 for this immediate purpose. For this a

special estimate should be taken in hand under the direction of the Chief Engineer.

"The present time is specially suitable for opening the garden, inasmuch as we shall have a handsome collection to begin with by reason of the munificence of Mr. Schwendler, who has been so good as to place his numerous and interesting specimens at the disposal of the Government of Bengal, thereby conferring a benefit on the public which will, I am sure, deserve and receive general appreciation. We hope also to obtain specimens from other quarters and to add to the collection from time to time.

"If, as I hope, we shall succeed in opening the garden by an early date, there is hope that some support may be received from the public in the shape of subscriptions or donations. Admission fees will hereafter be charged, and if the visitors, European and Native, shall be as numerous as we hope, the moneys thus received will help in defraying the cost of maintaining the institution."

Subsequently a Committee of management was appointed, under the Commissioner of the Presidency Division, assisted by selected officials; large subscriptions were obtained from the native nobility and gentry, and Europeans; and the garden was sufficiently advanced by December 1875 to admit of H. R. H. the Prince of Wales being asked to inaugurate it on the occasion of his visit to Calcutta. Sir Ashley Eden recorded that "these gardens have been most successful. A foul insanitary native village has been replaced by a much appreciated place of public amusement and instruction."

Rearrangements of certain Commissionerships.

The transfer of certain districts from Bengal to the new Chief Commissionership of Assam rendered it necessary to readjust several of the Civil Divisions of Bengal. Sir R. Temple accordingly carried out the following changes. The district of Tippera was transferred from the Chittagong to the Dacca Division: the Chittagong Commissioner was reduced to the rank and salary of a Non-Regulation Commissionership, with powers as a Judge: the Kuch Bihar Division was abolished, and its remaining districts placed in the Rajshahi Division: Murshidabad was transferred from the latter to the Presidency Division. About the same time the district of Tirhut, with $4\frac{1}{3}$ millions of inhabitants, was divided nearly equally into the 2 districts of Muzaffarpur and Darbhanga. In 1880 the former status of the

Commissioner of Chittagong was revived and a separate Judge was reappointed. Tippera was also restored to the Division.

Cyclone of 15th-16th October 1874.

The violent cyclone which occurred on 15th-16th October 1874 selected the Burdwan Division as one of the principal scenes of its devastation. It seems to have been formed in the Bay of Bengal; it raged from noon to midnight of the 15th in the North of Balasore, desolating the country; a storm-wave came ashore not far from Contai, on the Midnapore coast, and the storm travelled with the usual rotatory motion along a course from about S. W. to N. E. across the district of Midnapore with a diameter of about 20 miles, so that the whole country coming under its influence was wrecked, its intensity far exceeding that of the cyclone of 1864. The station of Midnapore was very severely injured; the loss of life in the town was great, and in the whole district amounted to 3,049, while 17,500 cattle perished. From Midnapore the storm passed over Ghatal and Jahanabad to the station of Burdwan, where it raged with great violence and committed an amount of destruction among the trees and houses which was very alarming, but by no means equal to the injury done at Midnapore. The Church tower was blown down at Burdwan, and the down-passenger railway-train was blown over near the Khana Junction. The Burdwan district suffered severely; more than 21,000 houses were destroyed. In the Hooghly district 9 deaths were reported, 29 from Burdwan, 27 in the Murshidabad district, 7 in Nadia, 4 in Rajshahi. The effects of the cyclone were also felt to a slight degree in the districts of Bankura and Birbhum. At the station of Suri, in 2 or 3 places, isolated groups of trees were attacked and blown down, as if they had come under the effects of a cannonade, whilst other groups of trees close to them were uninjured. The rainfall was extraordinary: namely, 10 inches in Midnapore, 16 at Murshidabad; at Burdwan 7·43; during the storm, at Berhampore 6, and at Rangpur 7. The cyclone was at its highest in the Murshidabad district between 8 A.M. and 4 P.M. on the 16th, crossed the Ganges, and spent itself in the Rajshahi district. A large number of boats, with their cargoes, were more or less injured on the river Hooghly. While 3392 persons were reported to have been killed on land the actual number of deaths was probably far more numerous. The Calcutta Central Committee sent a *lakh* of rupees for the relief of the sufferers.

The Calcutta-Howrah Bridge.

The construction of the Calcutta-Howrah floating bridge over the Hooghly was completed in 1874 under the supervision of Mr. (Sir) Bradford Leslie, C. E. (K. C. I. E.). An unfortunate accident, by which 2 sections of the bridge were destroyed, occurred on the 20th March 1874. The steamer *Egeria* broke from her moorings in the river, and came into collision with the bridge, damaging and sinking 3 pontoons and completely destroying 200 feet of the superstructure of the bridge, especially the main truss-girders, which were twisted and torn to pieces. The sunken pontoons were recovered; but a good deal of expenditure was incurred in clearing the wreck, and great delay was caused. Altogether the cost of repairing the damages caused by this accident was estimated to have been over Rs. 80,000. Had not this accident happened, and much valuable time been lost owing to materials not being supplied within contract dates, the bridge would have been completed between 1st January 1873 and June 1874. It was, however, opened for traffic on the 17th of October, and after that date proved to be a work of great utility, some 40,000 or 50,000 foot passengers crossing it daily. It was described at the time as a structure of much novelty and originality in its design. Its length was stated to be 1528 feet between abutments, and its cost to have amounted to about £220,000. The Port Commissioners accepted the duty of collecting the tolls and maintaining the bridge in repairs. Sir R. Temple wrote of it :—

"I am advised that the bridge is very strong, and probably strong enough to stand even a severe pressure from cyclones and storm-waves. Its strength, indeed, has been calculated and fixed with this view. I apprehend, however, that a guarantee cannot be absolutely afforded as to the bridge withstanding the utmost pressure that might be reasonably conceived as arising from such physical disturbances.

"But if, on the occurrence of such a cyclone and storm-wave, or from the force of an extraordinary tidal wave, the ships in the Port were to break away from their moorings and to be driven against the bridge, the structure must give way. And although a portion of the materials might be saved and be put together again, the temporary destruction of this fine bridge would be added to the list of casualties which must occur on such a grave occasion."

He urged therefore that every precaution should be taken in strengthening the moorings and the ships' chains. After some years the levy of tolls on the bridge was stopped.

Gazetteer Bengal.

Mention has previously been made of the inception of the Gazetteer and Statistical Account of Bengal by Sir W. W. Hunter. Late in the year 1874, the Government of India inquired into the present condition of the work and the Lieutenant-Governor's views as to the future conduct of the operations. Seventeen districts had already been printed off in 6 volumes and 30 districts remained to be completed. To expedite the progress of the work, Sir R. Temple arranged that 5 junior Civil Servants should be appointed as Assistants to Sir W. W. Hunter in the Bengal branch of his work for a period of 15 months from January 1875 to April 1876. Several of the districts were allotted to each officer, the remaining number, with the supervision and responsibility for the whole, being retained in the hands of Sir W. W. Hunter. He was to direct the conduct of the work, receive and pass the manuscript, and be responsible for its final form, literary execution, and the whole technical details connected with printing and publication. By these means, local knowledge and practical efficiency were combined with uniformity of execution, and the work was finished in the shortest time compatible with its satisfactory execution.

The work was to be completed in England within 23 months, and it was wholly in type within the time, in 20 volumes. The thanks of the Government of Bengal were offered as emphatically due to Sir W. W. Hunter for the vigour and energy with which he accomplished the collection of such diverse and varied information, and for the ability and literary skill uniformly displayed in dealing with the materials supplied to him from many quarters. The Statistical Account of Bengal has always been regarded as a standard work of reference, redounding to the credit and reputation of its distinguished author. The statistics have necessarily been superseded in many respects by more recent figures.

Primary Education.

Early in 1875, Sir R. Temple stated his general views on the subject of Primary Education, in which term he included the village schools designated depart-

mentally the "E. Schools," and the village schoolmasters styled locally as "gurumahashays", "abadhans" and other names. He entirely shared the views of his predecessors regarding the extreme importance of fostering this part of the national education. During his time the impulse given by Sir G. Campbell to primary instruction in Bengal was maintained strenuously, yet steadily. He thought that the local management of primary schools by the district authorities was essential to their success, and preferable to their more symmetrical control by the Education department. He wrote as follows—"Our aim has been not only to augment the quantity of this instruction in vast fields as yet imperfectly occupied, but also to improve its quality without making it too high for the purpose in view. At the outset large numbers of pupils in old village schools were brought under Government inspection, and appeared for the first time in the public returns. Hence it was remarked by some critics that the change was more apparent than real. Nevertheless there was a reality from the first, which, if unavoidably weak at the very commencement, is becoming stronger year by year. The inspecting mahcinery is gradually organised more and more, and the continuance of State aid is made with increasing strictness conditional upon the results of the inspection. The present curriculum, reading without any, even the simplest, book, rude writing, and rudimentary arithmetic, is the lowest possible. Even this is a gain to many classes of the people. Even though all the poor and humble who are now learning by this lowest standard were to be advanced to a somewhat higher standard (as I hope indeed they may be), yet that lowest standard should be continued for the sake of scholars poorer and humbler still. The analogy of a constantly widening circle seems to be applicable to this case. That which is now the outer circumference, represented by the lowest standard, will soon be occupied by something better; then the lowest standard will be pushed out to an additional circumference, embracing more thousands of scholars; that circumference will hereafter yield to a better standard; once more the lowest standard will be moved onwards to a new circumference, until at last the circle of education comprises the entire mass of the poorest classes.

With a view to enforcing some improvement in the curriculum of some at least of the primary schools, I have ordered the standard

of the examination for the primary scholarships to be raised to the following points :—

(1) Writing the vernacular of the district and reading it in printed books as well as in manuscript ;

(2) Arithmetic up to the first 4 rules, simple and compound ;

(3) Bazar and *zamindari* accounts, and simple mensuration ; it is to be remembered that the primary instruction is entirely in the vernacular."

By the end of 1875-6 there were 15,960 schools (with 495,585 pupils) aided and inspected under Sir G. Campbell's scheme, and of this number 376 schools were added during that year.

Technical Schools.

While mindful of the wants of Primary Education, Sir R. Temple attached no less importance to making a commencement with the work of Technical instruction. It seemed to him that the rapid expansion of the field of employment in the various mechanical arts and the want of natives qualified for this employment, so remunerative to the employès themselves and so valuable to the country, afforded a good opportunity for such an experiment. He contemplated the establishment in Calcutta of a Government institution to be called a Mechanical School and Factory, for natives only, in immediate connection with the Public Works Department, and he appointed a Committee to report on the project. It does not appear that any special institution was established immediately—but Technical education was advanced by the foundation of Survey Schools at Hooghly, Dacca, Patna and Cuttack with 122 pupils ; by assistance given to public associations in Calcutta viz., the Science Association, and the Technical School of the Indian League ; and by the opening of a Fine Arts Gallery in connection with the School of Art. It was hoped that the Survey Schools would prove a preliminary step towards the establishment of a system of Technical instruction and that they would be supplemented by the foundation throughout Bengal of Industrial Schools for the teaching of handicrafts and for the improvement of the several forms of manual industry existing in the country. On the occasion of the visit of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales to Bankipore in January 1876, the Native Chiefs and gentlemen of Bihar formed a scheme, in commemoration of that event, for the advancement of education in practical Science in the Province. Subscriptions

amounting to 2 *lakhs* of rupees were promised, of which it was proposed to allot half a *lakh* to the construction of a building for the institution and the remainder to the endowment thereof. Government promised an annual grant-in-aid equal to the interest on the invested capital, and a site for the building was granted by Government. A School was opened in March 1879, but was closed after a short period.

Sir R. Temple also encouraged the introduction of Science into the educational curriculum as far as possible. He had been struck by the overcrowding of the 2 professions of the Public Service and the Law. "Many find," he wrote, "that they cannot obtain either practice or places. They are by nature diligent, anxious to work for themselves and for their families, with which even young men in this country are surrounded. They look back on all the mental toil they have endured, and they are chagrined at discovering that in but too many instances it leads to nothing. This accounts mainly for the discontent and restlessness which are perceptible in the rising generation. The cause is partly this, that too many direct their studies to literature and philosophy, and too few to practical Science. The great problem is, as it seems to me, to guide a large portion of the educated youth into other walks of life besides the learned professions. Such new lines of employment can be opened out in many directions under the present circumstances of Bengal. It is sad to reflect that very many estimable men who are pining and languishing at the bar or in public departments, for lack of employment or promotion, might, if otherwise educated, have been land surveyors, or civil engineers, or trained mechanics, or mining engineers, or geological surveyors, or veterinary practitioners, or practical botanists, or foresters, or scientific gardeners, or engravers, or lithographers, or architects, or chemists, or medical men, for each and all of which capacities there is now a field in Bengal."

Thus, besides the assistance given to native Associations for the cultivation of Science, he improved and enlarged the means of practical instruction in Chemistry at the Medical College Calcutta; and, apart from education, he advocated the utilisation of the Pusa Farm and of the Botanic Garden, Calcutta, for scientific experiments connected with Physiological Botany and Agricultural Chemistry under officers of Scientific Departments.

Education.

The whole subject of Education was indeed a principal feature in Sir R. Temple's administration. He recorded numerous Minutes on every question that arose in the Department of Public Instruction. I find, for instance, the following subjects that came before him for decision :—the position of the District Committees ; the establishments in Government schools ; Scholarships for vernacular education and the encouragement (through Scholarships) of elementary Natural Philosophy and Physical Science ; the appointment of Deputy Inspectors and Sub-Inspectors of Schools in the districts : the establishment of authorized hostels or lodging-houses for students at Government Colleges and Higher English schools : the revision of grants-in-aid to unsuccessful schools : the backward condition of education in Bihar ; normal schools for vernacular instruction : provision for additional Colleges and high schools for Rajshahi, Rangpur, Ranchi and Chittagong by private resources aided by Government : new medical schools at Dacca and Cuttack : instruction at *madrasas* : the selection of text books : encouragement of female education : foundation of intermediate schools between those of the primary and middle classes &c. &c.

In addition to all these matters of principle and detail of education under the department, Sir R. Temple examined carefully the question of the education of children of poor Europeans and East Indians in Calcutta and the *mufassal.* Assistance was freely given on the grant-in-aid system, both to the formation of new schools and to the development of previously existing institutions. Sir R. Temple believed that these classes enjoyed fully as large a share of Government aid towards the education of their children as the State could reasonably be expected to give for this object. It was no doubt true that much remained to be done. An educational census of European and East Indian families in Calcutta and the suburbs, with incomes not exceeding Rs. 300 a month, which was taken in September 1876 by the Commissioner of Police, showed that between 800 to 900 children belonging to this class of society were being allowed to grow up in ignorance. But it was the opinion of the best authorities that there was school accommodation in Calcutta sufficient for the requirements of all, and that, if children were untaught, it was because their parents

were unwilling or unable to send them to school. Sir R. Temple gave such assistance as it was in his power to grant, and left what was still wanting to be supplied by those agencies to which he had already appealed—the societies interested in education, the clergy of the several denominations, and the benevolence of the general European community. As regards education in the interior of the country, schemes were considered for reorganizing and enlarging the schools at Cuttack, Hooghly and Jamalpur.

Art Gallery.

The Art Gallery has been mentioned in connection with technical education. Measures were taken by Sir R. Temple to establish this Gallery in connection with the School of Art. As an amateur painter for many years he entered into this project with much pleasure and conviction. He wrote,—"in such a place as Calcutta the establishment of an Art Gallery must be interesting from any and every point of view. But the interest is heightened when the Gallery can be the means of daily instruction; will become a lecture-room for classes of native students; may impart additional vigour to an institution designed to elevate the taste, refine the skill and enlighten the ideas of the native youth who are learning art as a means of livelihood; and may thus serve an important educational purpose." The object was to obtain original pictures, if not too costly, or comparatively inexpensive copies of pictures of merit in Europe. It was contemplated to collect plan-drawings of great engineering works in all parts of the world, as calculated to improve the minds of native youth. Specimens of statuary and casts of antique works were to be specially included. A site was found for the Art Gallery in Bow Bazar and it was opened by Lord Northbrook, himself a connoisseur in art and the owner of valuable pictures.

Proposal for a separate University in Bengal.

In one of his final Minutes Sir R. Temple,—having noticed in the *Gazette of India* that the Panjab University College was to be raised to the status of an University under the Government of the Panjab—made a similar claim on behalf of Bengal in the interest of high education. It seemed to him that the time had arrived for adopting this measure. The rapid advance which Bengal had made in the progress of high education rendered it necessary that the course of studies at the University should be adapted to that high standard, instead of being

regulated by the requirements of less advanced Provinces, and justice seemed to him to demand that Bengal should not be retarded in the progress of high education, because other Provinces were not sufficiently advanced to pursue a course of studies for which the educated mind of Bengal was ripe. Though the claim thus advanced met with no success, the principles on which it was based were of abiding interest and the Minute may therefore be quoted. "The circumstances of Bengal are in many respects widely different from the circumstances of other Provinces; and it is most essential that the Local Government should be able to adapt the University machinery to the growing requirements of the Province. The introduction and cultivation of practical science in the schools and Colleges of Bengal is a subject to which I attach the greatest importance; but practical Science is not sufficiently recognized by the University, and it is almost needless to observe that no Science which is not adequately recognised by the University can in the schools be cultivated with success. At present the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, beyond being a member of the Senate, has not a potential voice in the management or direction of the one highest educational institutions of his Province. The Governing body of the University is appointed by the Government of India, and not by the Government of Bengal. It comprises men of the highest attainments in all sorts of subjects, and represents an amount of learning, genius, and acquirements which justly excites our national pride. It is regarded everywhere with the utmost deference. I mean not the least disparagement to that eminent and distinguished body when I say that they cannot be expected to have that cognizance of the peculiar requirements of Bengal as separate from the requirements of other Provinces, which would naturally be possessed by a body chosen and selected from the Province, and feeling itself specially charged to direct the course and foster the progress of education in Bengal. Under such a body a closer union would arise between the University of Calcutta and the Government of Bengal than at present exists. That a closer union should exist is desirable for many reasons. Take, for instance, the case of legal education. The qualification for admission to the Bar of Bengal is the University degree of B. L.; but the standard of excellence required for this degree is not fixed

with reference to the standard of legal knowledge possessed by the Bar of Bengal, but with reference to the state of legal knowledge in other Provinces of the Empire. In Bengal the Bar is much overcrowded and it is possible that the standard for the B. L. degree, though suited to other Provinces, might with advantage be raised for Bengal. But closely as the Government of Bengal is interested in this question, it is a subject over which at present it can exercise, neither directly nor indirectly, any adequate control.

"I will take only another instance. University degrees are for the most part sought for as a means of obtaining Government employ. In Bengal appointments in the Subordinate Executive Service are offered to public competition, but these competitive examinations are conducted, not by the University, but by a separate body of examiners. Now, if a closer union existed between the Government of Bengal and the University of Calcutta, it would be possible to dispense with these separate examinations; and, what would then be far more preferable, an University degree, or an University examination in certain subjects, would then be taken as the sole and necessary qualification for Government employ.

"It is however unnecessary to enter into further details. The short and simple ground upon which I ask that Bengal should have an University of its own is this, that it is impossible that the education of a particular Province, which differs in its circumstances from other Provinces, can be properly cared for by a body which does not consider itself specially charged with the cause of education in Bengal, but which is equally bound to consider the requirements of other Provinces which have not attained that educational development which Bengal has attained.

"The territories under the Government of Madras and those under the Government of Bombay have in each case an University for their own. Whatever arguments exist for this arrangement there might be adduced with even greater force in favor of a similar arrangement in Bengal. Indeed, Bengal deserves to have an University of its own as much as any Province in British India; and I am sure that, if this concession were to be made, it would give a new impulse to high education.

"If this were to be conceded the existing University of Calcutta

might still remain as an University for all India. This, however, is a very interesting topic, on which I need not enter."

The rent difficulties: agrarian disturbances.

The matters in dispute between *zamindars* and *raiyats*, which had assumed so great a prominence in 1872-73, became less noticeable under the shadow of the larger questions connected with the famine of 1873-4. Things were still unsettled, but there was singularly little of agitation and complaint in the Native Press and elsewhere. Probably a good many cases were after all privately compromised. The public peace was not again at once glaringly disturbed. The scene of the struggle was transferred to the Civil Courts, and some of the points in dispute were gradually being settled by leading and final decisions of the Courts. In the Pabna district, a very large number of cases were instituted in the Munsif's Courts, but there were no other outward manifestations of ill-will between the parties. The *raiyats*, it was said, found the registration of estates and tenures under the Road Cess Act a very great protection, and almost always secured themselves with a copy of their *zamindars'* return as soon as it was filed, and refused to pay anything whatever beyond the rental therein entered. The Act in consequence became very popular among the cultivating classes. It was in the districts of the Dacca Division that indications of the unsatisfactory relations between landlords and tenants mostly manifested themselves on the question of rent. Early in January 1875 agrarian trouble actually began to occur in the Eastern portion of the Dacca district. A dispute regarding rent broke out between the *zamindars* and the *raiyats* and threatened to lead to breaches of the peace. The Commissioner was immediately instructed to warn all parties concerned of the consequences of such a breach, and to invite them to settle their differences by private arbitration.

Sir R. Temple examined the whole question in a series of Minutes, from which the following extracts may be made:—

"In parts of Eastern Bengal there seems to be a disposition among the *raiyats* to combine in something like leagues and unions. The object of such combinations may be various. If any success were obtained by these means there is always a chance that the *raiyats* might begin to combine in refusing to pay rent, whereon the *zamindars* might try to collect by force. The consequences of a

combination with this object would be serious in the present state of Bengal. It may be hoped that things will not, under any circumstances, come to this pass. Still we should guard against the possibility of such contingencies arising.

As yet no trouble has actually broken out since 1873, but as just seen something of the kind was very nearly breaking out quite recently, and despite our efforts may yet break out, and the apprehension of similar occurrences elsewhere in Bengal is, I believe, present to many thoughtful minds. It may be therefore well to consider what measures the Local Government can take in the existing state of the law for doing justice to both parties, and for preventing agrarian trouble.

In such event it could take steps for causing the disputed matters to be speedily determined by appointing additional Native Judges, Munsifs and others, if necessary, under the supervision of a special European Judge. It could station extra police to maintain order, and ensure that the judicial inquiries should be carried out quietly. If the *zamindars* should attempt to act contrary to the judicial awards, it could easily apply a remedy. If the *raiyats* should refuse compliance with the judicial decisions, and if necessity arose to execute decrees in large numbers, it could doubtless help in that process. But beyond and above all the things abovementioned, it could use its influence to prevent either party from resorting to violence, and to induce them to submit to private arbitration.

These resources taken together are not inconsiderable; and, if we cannot get more or better resources, we must make the best of them, and with them we must essay and strive to prevent agrarian troubles in Bengal. But in these resources there are, I think, several defects which might be easily remedied.

It will be seen presently that among the disputed cases the most important class will relate to economic and agricultural questions, with which Civil Courts are not well fitted to deal. Yet the procedure above described is entirely that of the ordinary Civil Courts. Suits must be formally brought before anything is done; the cases must be carried through the regular stages; matters pertaining to the profits of cultivation, the value of produce, the customary rents, and the like, will be argued out by opposing Counsel; appeals may be laid, and decisions can be enforced only by the formal process of execution. However

prompt the Courts might be, all these proceedings must take time; meanwhile excitement might be growing over the whole districts. Moreover, the Courts could not well travel beyond the evidence adduced, and might not be able to enter upon economic considerations, notwithstanding that such considerations might have an important bearing upon the cases.

That the main questions at issue are economic and agricultural will be apparent thus. There will seldom be any serious dispute between the tenants-at-will and the *zamindars*. The really serious disputes arise between the *zamindars* and the *raiyats* having right of occupancy—mainly men who have been 12 years and upwards in possession—a class who are constantly growing in numbers, and representing larger and larger proportions of the aggregate of *raiyats* and who probably are already the most important section of the *raiyats*. In some places the *zamindars* apparently allege that these occupancy *raiyats* are paying very low rents, and consequently claim some enhancement. The occupancy *raiyats* apparently allege that they ought not to be required to pay more than the old-established rates of their part of the country. If the *zamindars* persist in their demands they cannot eject the occupancy *raiyats*, but they can sue them under section 18 of Act VIII (B. C.) of 1869, which I will here quote *in extenso*:—

"18.—No *raiyats* having a right of occupancy shall be liable to an enhancement of the rent previously paid by him, except on some one of the following grounds, namely:—

"That the rate of rent paid by such *raiyats* is below the prevailing rate payable by the same class of *raiyats* for land of a similar description, and with similar advantages in the places adjacent.

"That the value of the produce, or the productive powers of the land, have been increased otherwise than by the agency or at the expense of the *raiyats*.

"That the quantity of land held by the *raiyats* has been proved by measurement to be greater than the quantity for which rent has been previously paid by him."

I do not enter into any question as to the fitness or otherwise of the Civil Courts to decide these matters in individual disputes in times of quiet. I only say that the Courts cannot be so well fitted as the land revenue officers to decide these matters affecting large numbers of excitable people on both sides in times of disquiet. In

these matters of urgency my desire is to obtain power by law to do through the land revenue officers, that is, the Commissioners, the Collectors, and the Deputy-Collectors under the supervision of the Board of Revenue—that which in these cases is needful for the peace and good Government of the country, without proposing any general change of the existing rent law.

By the present rent law (VIII (B. C.) of 1869,) the suits regarding rent are heard by the Civil Courts. They used to be heard by the land revenue authorities, but they were by this Act transferred to the Civil Courts. Many authorities consider that this transfer was not expedient. The *zamindars* (as I understand) generally dislike the change that was then made, and would desire to see these suits transferred to the revenue authorities. It is difficult to gauge the opinion of the *raiyats* in regard to the transfer of these suits to the Civil Courts ; I have no evidence, however, that they dislike it. I believe that the Civil Courts have done the work well according to the existing law, and have at least endeavoured to do substantial justice. Still, my own opinion inclines to be against the transfer that was made in 1869. I apprehend that the speedy and judicious decision of suits between landlord and tenant is very important to the future tranquillity of Bengal, and that the land revenue authorities are much better fitted than the Civil Courts can be to decide these suits to the advantage of both parties concerned. As, however, the law was passed in 1869, I am not disposed to move for its being essentially altered ; although, if the general wish should hereafter prove to be favourable to such alteration, I for one should not be able to object to consider the question.

But I recommend that the Local Government should have the power, upon good cause shown, of appointing the Collector or other officer, to settle authoritatively disputes of the nature above described, and to enforce awards. There need not be any power taken to interfere unduly between landlord and tenant, but only when the parties might apply for our interposition, and when such interposition might appear necessary for peace and good Government. There would be no necessity for giving more power to the Collector in fixing rents and rent-rates than that which is given by the existing rent law to the Courts of Justice. There would be nothing of a one-sided character in the matter. The *zamindars* might make

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application, so might the *raiyats*. Sometimes one of the 2 parties might avail itself of this advantage, sometimes the other. The interposition need not extend beyond certain limits, and would be limited to matters of rent and its rates, and the measurement of land as affecting such rents. Within the declared area of interference, and during the period of its duration (all which would be determined by the Local Government), the Collector would, after due inquiry and after hearing both parties, fix the rates of rent according to the circumstances, and with such guidance as the existing laws might afford him, and decide suits for rent, both current dues and arrears. The Collector should also have the power of fixing the disputed rents for a short term of years, so that there might be no chance of need arising for again exercising interposition within a reasonable period. The matters thus decided would not be open to revision by the Civil Courts, but appeals would lie to the Commissioner and to the Board. It might be thought that the parties, *zamindars* and *raiyats*, or either party as the local Government might direct, might be charged with the expenses incurred by the State by these proceedings; I do not, however, recommend this. The Collectors and the Deputy Collectors, in fact the existing establishment, would be able to do the work, which would not be of constant occurrence. For these objects I have prepared a draft Bill which I should be glad to introduce into the local legislature of Bengal. If this Bill, with such modifications or improvements as might be made during its passage through Council, should become law with the assent of the Governor-General, then for all ordinary times and occasions the Acts (VII. (B.C.) of 1869 and X of 1859) would remain in force as the rent law of Bengal. The difference between the present and proposed practice would be this that we should have the legal power, which we have not now, of dealing effectively with agrarian troubles through the agency of the land revenue authorities. It is only by such agency that the occurrence of these troubles is or can be prevented in Bengal. At present such prevention is effected at the best in a precarious and uncertain way: perhaps it may not always be effected. But, if the proposed Bill were to become law, the land revenue authorities would have power to prevent such trouble breaking out, and would be under responsibility for such prevention, which responsibility they would,

I believe, be able to discharge to the satisfaction of Government.

The foregoing remarks are meant to apply to Bengal mainly: they are however, equally applicable to Bihar. They apply, however, in a less degree to Orissa, to the Chota Nagpur Province, and to Jalpaiguri and the Western Duars, to which territories the Act VIII (B. C.) of 1869 was not extended, and where rent suits are tried by the land revenue officers under Act X of 1859. In these districts the Local Government has far better means of preventing agrarian trouble than in Bengal and Bihar. Still its hands would be strengthened even in Orissa and Chota Nagpur by the passing of the proposed Bill. I would extend the measure to all the territories under the Government of Bengal.

Sir R. Temple discussed the subject with many persons possessing local knowledge, and in August 1875 recorded the following conclusions:—

1st.—that there are larger disputes pending between *zamindars* and *raiyats* regarding the degree in which rent may be enhanced by reason of the increase, during recent years, in the value of the produce of the land:

2nd.—that when these disputes become embittered, then, besides the question of enhancement, other questions become involved, such as the levy of certain cesses, the payment of alleged arrears, the past rates of rent, the area of actual holdings; the end of all this being that the payment of rent altogether in some places is likely to be held in abeyance for some time:

3rd.—that, under such circumstances, *zamindars* have sometimes attempted, or may attempt, to collect rents by force, which attempts are forcibly resisted, the result being breaches of the peace:

4th.—that as yet there has been no serious nor general trouble since the agrarian riots in the Pabna district in 1872-73;

5th.—that this cessation is mainly due, however, to the action of the executive authorities in repressing the tendency to disturbance; that nevertheless there is a risk of trouble breaking out, which might spread to the districts of Dacca, Faridpur, Tippera and Backergunge; and that, if executive interposition were now withdrawn, such trouble would soon break out:

6th.—that the particular disputes in the Dacca district, which the

Commissioner and the Collector have been trying to settle by arbitration, are not yet settled, despite the exertions of those concerned in the settlement."

Meanwhile a Bill for the determination by the revenue authorities of agrarian disputes was introduced into the Bengal Legislative Council, its main object being for the revenue authorities to assume the jurisdiction for the settlement of the questions at issue between the parties, and for the ordinary action of the Civil Courts being barred in such cases. While the Bill was in Council the Advocate-General raised an objection to the effect that it would be *ultra vires* for the Bengal Legislative Council to pass the measure, and that it could only be passed by the Governor-General's Council. Sir R. Temple accordingly had 2 Bills prepared: the *first*, the major measure, conferring the full jurisdiction on the revenue authorities and making the decisions of the Special Courts constituted by the Bill final and conclusive, and the *second*, the minor measure, conferring on the local revenue authorities a provisional jurisdiction, only subject to revision by the Civil Courts: i. e. giving force to orders and adjudications of the Collector only until modified in due course of law. With the sanction of the Government of India the major measure was proceeded with. The Bill became Act V. (B. C.) on the 10th July 1876. It was intended to afford a speedy and effectual means for the settlement of disputes regarding rent. The cardinal point of the Act was that, upon the receipt of instructions from Government to inquire into any specified matters, the Collector, and not the Civil Court, was empowered to try all suits relating to a particular tract of country, of the nature of those specified in section 23 of Act X of 1859. It contained certain rules for the determination of the rates of rent in enhancement suits to assist the Collector in arriving at a correct conclusion. The Act was to remain in force only for 3 years. On the passing of the Act Sir R. Temple wrote :—

"Now that the Act has passed, there will be no difficulty in taking prompt and effective action, should any more disputes spring up. On the one hand while the peace is absolutely kept by Magisterial force, on the other hand the merits of the question involved will be calmly investigated and authoritatively decided. As yet, however, no more disputes have arisen, nor are there signs of any rising. It is

very possible that the knowledge that this Act is on the statute-book, and that there is ready at hand a power of bringing the whole question to judgment, may deter the disputants on either side—landlord or tenant—from provoking or challenging a final issue. Perhaps each party is for the moment disposed to concede something to the other rather than enter on a contest which will not be allowed to drag its length from one Court to another, but will be immediately investigated and will soon be brought to a complete and final decision. Nothing fosters disputes so much as uncertainty as to how or when a decision can be had. The Act may therefore have a very sedative effect, although it has seldom to be put in force. At all events, it arms the Government with full power to prevent agrarian trouble and the importance of this can hardly be overestimated. Under the agrarian and rural circumstances of the country, moreover, the materials for such disputes are unfortunately so abundant that many well-informed observers think that, notwithstanding the outward calm which now prevails, there are questions growing inwardly between landlords and tenants which must sooner or later burst forth in the shape of extensive quarrels, unless some rules more definite than any which now exist shall be framed for the guidance of the authorities in the determination of rents."

Before the Bill giving power to deal with agrarian disturbances was passed some anxiety was felt also in Bihar in respect of the partial failure of the crops at the end of 1875, the demands for arrears of rent and the question of tenant right. Sir R. Temple was of opinion that in Bihar the exercise by the landlord of the power of distraining the *raiyats'* crops was carried to a degree clearly beyond the letter and spirit of the law, and beyond the actual practice in Bengal. He therefore caused the district officers to warn the landlords from time to time, as opportunity arose, that the law of distraint imposed conditions which could not be safely disregarded, even though deviations might have, in the course of years, grown up into a sort of usage in Bihar.

Indigo.

The relations between indigo planters and *raiyats* in Bihar continued to cause anxiety to Government. From time to time, troublesome cases were reported. Although there was no manifestation of widespread discontent in regard to indigo-planting, there were signs which required watching

in the shape of occasional complaints, disputes and affrays. The Commissioner of the Division recommended that a formal Commission should be appointed to investigate the whole matter like that which sat in Bengal in 1860. But Sir R. Temple declined to accede to this recommendation, on the ground that it would create a considerable disturbance, excite feelings which would not readily subside, shake vested interests, place capital in jeopardy, and bring proprietary status and occupancy rights into uncertainty for a time. He preferred to trust to the existing law and its enforcement. He refrained therefore from making general inquiries and issuing general instructions which might be liable to be misunderstood and to bring about the very disturbances they were intended to prevent. He contended himself with warning the officers to deal very strictly and firmly with each case that might come under their cognizance, trusting to the example thus illustrated producing its unmistakeable effect on the community, and reminding all concerned of the several means which the laws already afforded for the administration of justice—such as the recognition of the occupancy status; the assumption by the revenue authorities of jurisdiction for preventing agrarian disturbances; the limitation of the power of distraint; the institution of *patwaris* or village-accountants in Bihar, together with the village records; the quartering of police upon turbulent localities; the protection of the cultivators against forcible compulsion and of the planter against rioting.

Improvement of the substantive law for determination of rent.

In April 1876, Sir R. Temple formulated some definite proposals for the declaration of principles whereby the rent to be paid by the *raiyat* to the *zamindar* should be ascertained and determined. He wrote;—

"Our consideration may be narrowed to the occupancy *raiyats*, who have now become a very large section of the tenantry in Bengal; regarding the remainder, who have no occupancy rights and may be called non-occupancy *raiyats*, it does not seem to be anywhere alleged that any alteration of the law is needed. By occupancy *raiyats* are meant those *raiyats* who, under Act X of 1859 and Act VIII (B. C.) of 1869, cannot be ejected so long as they pay a fair and equitable rent, which rent, in event of dispute, can be determined only by a Court of Justice.

"It may be well at the outset to call to remembrance that by

section 18 of Act VIII of 1869 "no *raiyats* having a right of occupancy shall be liable to an enhancement of the rent previously paid by him, except on some one of the following grounds (see above page 633).

"Now this section, so far as it goes, is excellent. No man will have his rent enhanced on account of improvements which he himself has made. If he is holding land in excess of the quantity for which he is paying rent, of course he is assessed to rent on the difference. So also, if he is paying at rates less than those paid by his neighbours under corresponding circumstances, he is justly liable to enhancement. Still, the section leaves untouched the deeper, the broader question as to what, in reason and justice, ought to be the prevailing rate for occupancy *raiyats* in any district or division of a district; nor is any test afforded in any part of the law for the decision of this question. Yet this is the question which agitates the thoughts both of *zamindar* and *raiyat* throughout the country. All that can be gathered from the language of the law is that the rent is to be fair and equitable; but the question remains as to what are the principles on which a fair and equitable rent is to be ascertained and determined.

"Thus, though the law imposes on the Courts of Justice the responsibility of determining a fair and equitable rent in case of dispute, it affords no specific rule, whereby such determination may be arrived at."

His proposals were subsequently summarized thus:—"1st.—that a Bill be introduced as supplementary to Act VIII (B.C.) of 1869, for the further laying down of principles whereby rents should be decided between the land-lords and the occupancy *raiyats*, as defined by the Act;

2nd.—that this supplementary legislation be confined to occupancy *raiyats* (who now form a large portion, perhaps the majority of *raiyats*), leaving non-occupancy *raiyats*, or tenants-at-will, to the operation of the existing law.

3rd.—that in cases of dispute the rent of the occupancy *raiyat* should be fixed at rates less by at least 25 per cent. than the rates ordinarily paid by non-occupancy *raiyats* in the neighbourhood or in the district.

4th.—that even more favourable rates should be allowed to old occupancy *raiyats* who had (either of themselves or by those from whom they inherited) held their lands 30 years and more.

5th.—that the ordinary rates payable by non-occupancy *raiyats* should be ascertained by evidence in the usual way, but that, if from any cause this ascertainment should be found impracticable, then the Collector should be directed to ascertain ; or, if he failed, then the rent of a non-occupancy *raiyat* should be calculated at one-fifth (20 per cent.) of the value of the gross produce as the basis for determining the rent of an occupancy *raiyat* the result of which would be that an occupancy *raiyat's* rent, calculated on that basis, and being at least 25 per cent. less, would be 15 per cent. of the value of the gross produce."

After further considering the criticisms offered on the above proposals, Sir R. Temple contemplated introducing a Bill, in continuation of, or supplementary to the existing rent law of Bengal, Acts X of 1859 and VIII (B.C.) of 1869, to provide specifically for the following matters :—

1st.—In cases where an occupancy *raiyat* is liable to enhancement of rent under section 18 of Act VIII (B. C.) of 1869, such enhancement is either to be regulated by the principle that his rent should be less than the ordinary rent of a non-occupancy *raiyat* by a certain percentage from 20 to 25 per cent, or else be calculated on a certain proportion of the value of the gross produce, from 15 to 25 per cent, provided always that no occupancy *raiyat* shall be entitled to claim under the foregoing rule any abatement from the rent which he has heretofore paid.

2nd.—The definition of an occupancy *raiyat* as given in section 6 of Act VIII (B. C.) of 1868, to be somewhat extended so as to include *raiyats* cultivating under other *raiyats* in certain classes of cases.

3rd.—The right and interest of an occupancy *raiyat* to be rendered liable to sale for default in paying rent, and also transferable by private agreement.

4th.—The process for realizing arrears of rent in undisputed cases to be simplified by the Court or other deciding authority—Collector or other—being empowered, on application from the landlord, to issue a notice to the *raiyat* requiring him either to pay or to appear and show cause to the contrary ; in the event of the *raiyat* neither paying nor appearing, the Court to order attachment sale of the defaulter's property.

5th.—The rents payable by tenure-holders or others possessing a permanent transferable interest in land, intermediate between the proprietor of an estate and the *raiyat*—when not fixed by special agreement or by the circumstances of the tenure—to be determined according to a standard similar to that of the occupancy *raiyats*, but more favourable by 10 per cent.

On the question of enhancement, he expressed his opinions as follows :—

"Now, there are many persons who think that the best way is to leave things alone—to let landlords and tenants fight it out, and that the result probably would be that rents would remain absolutely unchanged. The Lieutenant-Governor must say definitely that he entirely dissents from that view. It is impossible to prevent cases arising regarding enhancement of rent. That such enhancement of rents should be possible is distinctly contemplated by the existing law of Bengal, which lays down precise provisions with the view of what shall happen when such a thing takes place. Therefore it is too late to say that enhancement of rent should be out of the question. Sir Richard Temple desires and hopes to see a contented and prosperous peasantry, the *raiyats* having heritable tenures handed down from generation to generation with proper equitable rents which cannot be enhanced, except by the decision of a Court of Justice, and with full security of enjoying the fruits of their labour and a full share of the general advantages which arise from a secure and settled Government. But, on the other hand, it never was contemplated that there should be no such thing as enhancement of rent. However much it may be stated in the permanent settlement that the rights of undertenures should be protected, it never was asserted that there should be a special and perpetual sub-settlement with the *raiyats*. Nor was it ever suggested that the old *pargana* rent-rates, though taken as a guide, should not be open to alteration or to augmentation as time went on. What these *pargana* rates ought to be was never settled. If the intention had been to make such a settlement, the Government of the time would have provided for it ; and it could only have been done by a regular settlement of rents throughout the country. If the value of land is to increase with the rise of prices and the improvement of produce, it seems to follow that there must be a gradual, though moderate,

augmentation of rent throughout the country from time to time—enough to satisfy the demands of the landlord, while leaving a clear and liberal margin of profit to the *raiyat*."

A Bill was accordingly published on the 13th December 1876, but Sir R. Temple left Bengal before it could be passed into law. In his last Minute on the subject he advocated the early passing of at least the procedure portion of the Bill, to enable the *zamindars* to realise rents admittedly due, without delay and expense, (the more difficult and intricate question of the enhancement of rent being postponed): he thought the *zamindars* fairly entitled to ask for a simple measure to facilitate the collection of rent. A Bill to provide a more summary procedure for the recovery of arrears of uncontested rent was referred by Sir A. Eden to the Government of India for introduction into the Governor-General's Legislative Council.

Visit of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales to Calcutta.

During his tour in India, His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales spent several days in Calcutta at the end of 1875 and beginning of 1876. From Madras he came up the river in the *Serapis*, and was met near Diamond Harbour by Sir R. Temple on the evening of the 22nd December. The next day he landed at Prinsep's *ghat*, was welcomed by the Viceroy, all the officials, Native Chiefs, and the public, with every demonstration of loyalty, received an address at the *ghat* from the City of Calcutta, and was conducted in grand procession by the Ellenborough course, the road being lined with troops and crowded with spectators, to Government House, as the guest of the Viceroy (Lord Northbrook). A series of ceremonies and festivities in honor of the Prince ensued, such as—Addresses, State Banquets, a State Ball, receptions of the principal Chiefs and return visits, a Levee, a Ball at the Town Hall given by European Society, a native entertainment at Belgachia, visits to Barrackpore and Chandernagore and the Botanic Garden, Horse-races, visits to Hospitals, Garden party and Dinner at Belvedere, inauguration of the Zoological Garden, Chapter of the Order of the Star of India (the Prince acting as High Commissioner), the unveiling of Lord Mayo's statue, a polo match between Calcutta and Manipuri players, illuminations, fireworks, a State night at the Theatre (to see Mr. Charles Mathews, the Comedian), native horsemanship, investi-

ture of the Prince with the Degree of Doctor in Law at the University of Calcutta, a visit to a native gentleman's house &c. &c. On Christmas Day the Prince attended Divine Service at the Cathedral. All cutcherries and offices were closed throughout Bengal from the 23rd December to 3rd January; on the latter date the Prince left Calcutta, and was received the next morning at Bankipore by Sir R. Temple, the local officers, the Railway Volunteers, and an escort of Volunteer Cavalry. A levee was held, at a camp pitched on the *maidan* there, when all the officials and non-officials, European and Native, especially those who had distinguished themselves in the Famine, were presented to His Royal Highness. A breakfast given by Sir R. Temple followed, at which loyal toasts were proposed. After inspecting the gifts of the Bihar Maharajas and a procession of nearly 400 elephants magnificently caparisoned, the Prince received addresses and some presents of Indian work, and left for Benares to continue his tour. On leaving Bombay in the *Serapis* on the 13th March, His Royal Highness addressed a letter (which was published) to Lord Northbrook expressing the sincere pleasure and the deep interest with which he had visited this great and wonderful country, his gratification at his reception, and his thanks for the hospitalities tendered to him.

Bishop Milman.

The death of the Lord Bishop of Calcutta, the Right Reverend Robert Milman, D. D. at Rawalpindi, in the Panjab, on the 15th March 1876, was a painful shock to all who had seen him lately in apparently good health. He had been in Calcutta during the Prince of Wales' visit and had proceeded on one of his episcopal tours. In the 8 years of his episcopate (he succeeded Bishop Cotton in 1867) he had, by hard work and his personal qualities, made his reputation, though he hardly rose to the eminence attained by some of his predecessors. He had been a working parish clergyman for 28 years before he became a Bishop. He was born in 1816, educated at Westminster and Oxford, ordained in 1839, Curate of Winwick for 2 years, Vicar of Chaddleworth for 10 years, of Lambourne for 11 years, and of Great Marlow from 1862 to 1867: always a worker of no common vigor and earnestness. By far the larger portion of his time in India was spent in visiting the various parts of his enormous and widespread diocese, often under circumstances of great physical strain and mental

exertion. Humanly speaking his death was caused by the grea changes of temperature and exposure to wet and fatigue which he went through after leaving Calcutta on his last tour. It was said that within a year of his arrival he had preached intelligibly in the vernacular to a native congregation. As a public speaker he was always welcome, as he had on such occasions scope for the free play of his natural sense of humour. There were traditions about him (which not diminish his popularity) that as a young man he had been d in sport, and that in one of his parishes he had acquired able knowledge of the points of a horse. His personal idness, and humour, were united with energy, earnestness, liberality, "a generous temperament which never failed shness and single-mindedness, and such liberal views lone but noble aims, he inspired Natives, who were not nists, with profound respect." He was altogether an d popular head of the Church and was ably assisted by the hospitalities at the Palace. He belonged to the High y. A Government Notification, after stating that the of the Bishop's death had been received with the ret, added "The Governor-General-in-Council desires to ord the sense which he entertains of the late Bishop s indefatigable energy in the discharge of the high functions of his office;—of his charity and munificence;—of his zeal in promoting all good works - especially the education of the poorer classes of Europeans in India—and of his broad and benevolent sympathy with all classes of the community. The Bishop has devoted his health and strength to the conscientious fulfilment of his ordinary duties in ministering to the spiritual and temporal welfare of his diocese; and he has now died in the midst of his labours, doubtless in consequence of them."

"The Governor-General-in-Council is sure that Bishop Milman's untimely death will be felt as a personal loss, and that his memory will be affectionately cherished by Her Majesty's subjects in India."

On the 11th April 1876 a public meeting was held at the Town Hall, the Viceroy (Lord Northbrook) presiding, to promote a fund in memory of Bishop Milman; when, on the motion of the Lieutenant-Governor (Sir R. Temple), a Resolution was carried "that, as being the most useful in itself, and the main desire of the late Bishop

Milman, there can be no fitter memorial than the establishment of an additional Bishopric in Northern India." The late Bishop had been about to take leave to England for the purpose, among others, of arranging for the establishment of a Bishopric at Lahore.

The Calcutta Municipality.

Sir George Campbell had expressed the opinion that the Calcutta Municipality should be radically reformed but had not time to take up the project. The necessity of consolidating the number of Acts, not always consistent with ea other, relating to the municipal affairs of Calcutta impressed on Sir R. Temple. Accordingly, on the 2nd of Januar a Bill was introduced into the Council by Sir Stuart Ho solidate and amend the law. During the passage of the B Council, the constitution of the Corporation was materia The old Corporation consisted (so Sir R. Temple Justices of the Peace, 129 in number, partly official and official, some being European gentlemen, the majority, being Native gentlemen of rank and position, (the num elsewhere stated to be 98 Europeans, 46 Native gentle of other nationalities, total 153). Notwithstanding the hig borne by the Justices and the good services rendered by t many years, it was felt that the Corporation did not s represent various classes in the community, who, by their g wealth, their improved education, their increasing claims to consider ation, were entitled to a definite voice in the management of the city. I therefore deemed it my duty to propose to the local legislature a new Municipal constitution and a Corporation, to consist of 72 Commissioners, of whom two-thirds should be elected and one-third appointed by Government. At the same time, a power of control, considered necessary in the case of a new and untried body, was reserved to the Government. The Commissioners were still to have power to execute all the works necessary for the well-being of the city, and to fix all the establishments, with the exception to the Police, the strength of which was to be determined by the Government, and to raise the necessary taxes. In the event, however, of their failing to execute works of proved necessity for the health and safety of the place, there was to be a power vested in the Government, after inquiry duly and formally made, to cause authoritatively the required proceedings to be taken. The sections

relating to control were not indeed new, but were mainly taken from either the Madras or Bombay Act." Various memorials having been submitted objecting in some shape or other to the degree of control reserved to Government when the Bill was before the Council, the controlling sections were referred specially to a Select Committee of the Council, who were empowered to hear the arguments of learned Counsel or delegates on behalf of the memorialists. This was accordingly done, and certain modifications were accepted by Sir R. Temple and Various objections were still urged at n the 25th of March 1876 by the Hon'ble , for instance, that Government retained hands: but these were over-ruled. Apart constitution, the Bill made considerable ostantive Municipal law. It provided, for on of the water-supply, the raising of the sein the lighting rate, and introduced the ower to Government to appoint a Com- s report in case the Corporation failed to ect of any block of huts which through their olved risk of disease to the inhabitants of ie town was divided into 18 wards, 6 of to return 3 representatives each. When the , a considerable portion of the body of nd a body of Commissioners was returned, ily representing the wealth and intelligence of the native community. Sir R. Temple wrote:—"Among many classes there is apathy respecting these proceedings. By some influential ctions of the educated classes an animated interest was felt. The imber of European gentlemen elected being small, I have appointl persons belonging to this important section of the community to be Commissioners and have so endeavoured to make up the desired proportion of Europeans at the Board of Commissioners."

The Bill became Act IV (B.C.) on the 6th April 1876. The material improvements effected by the late Corporation of the Justices during the 12 years of its existence were thus summarized, and will give some idea of the measures which had combined to gain for Calcutta a reputation among the natives as a 'health-resort.'

"First in importance are the new drainage works. The complete scheme provides for 39 miles of brick sewers and about 137 miles of pipe sewers, and up to the end of 1875 the late Corporation had completed about 38 miles of brick and 37 miles of pipe sewers. Those who know what the old drainage used to be, or who now see what the drains are which yet remain to be taken in hand, can alone appreciate the magnitude and significance of the improvement. The mechanical power and appliances, whereby the vast volume of liquid sewage is daily carried off to the Salt Lake, several miles dista are upon an imposing scale.

"These works, so important to the health and convenienc the inhabitants, have already cost 67 *lakhs* of rupees, say £67 and it is estimated that a further sum of 22 *l* be required to complete them.

"Closely connected with the drainage of a diffused and regular supply of pure w other purposes. When the Justices first ass could be obtained only from tanks, of which t impure, often deleterious, and never sufficie reform of the arrangements for supplying water the Justices, who have, with the support and approva provided Calcutta with a daily supply of 7,000,000 gal filtered water, at a cost of about 62 *lakhs* of rupees (say £ On this supply (large though it was) being found insufficie Justices at once devised and carried out a supplementary sch by which about 1,500,000 gallons of unfiltered water is daily sup plied for street watering and conservancy purposes. This additional scheme cost upwards of 2½ *lakhs* of rupees (£25,000).

"The lighting of the town by gas had been taken in hand before the appointment of the Justices as a Municipal Corporation, but the lighting under their administration has been greatly extended. Then are now about 105 miles of streets thus lit. s,

"To the Justices also the city is indebted for the establishmo. of thoroughly clean and healthy slaughter-houses, and more espe cially for the construction of a really beautiful and commodion market place for the European quarter of the place. ed.

"The sanitary arrangements of the Municipality have also receiis.[1] the careful attention of the late Corporation, who at a considera

cost constructed a line of rail about 11 miles in length for the daily removal of the street sweepings. The ventilation and improvement of the city have also been greatly improved by the opening out of some new streets of adequate breadth, by the widening of other streets, and by the converting of neglected and insalubrious areas into spacious squares and gardens."

It was in 1876, when Dr. A. J. Payne became Health Officer of Calcutta, that, during his incumbency and at his instance, the first real steps were taken towards the improvement of the sanitary condition of the town. Calcutta, it has been said, "is a remarkably difficult administrative charge. In the first place, it lies on a dead level, a feature that renders drainage and water-service matters of the utmost expense and trouble. Then again it includes numerous plots of land which are let out by their proprietors as sites for collections of huts, huddled together regardless of sanitation and with strong rights against municipal action. Finally, it is surrounded by suburbs, which the Census showed to be increasing at a greater rate than the City proper."

Mufassal Municipalities.

Sir G. Campbell's endeavour to legislate in 1872 was vetoed, it will be remembered, by Lord Northbrook, mainly on the grounds that the legislation proposed would comprehend many classes of people not prepared for it and would lead to a sensible increase of local taxation. In 1875 Sir R. Temple undertook the task of consolidating the law relating to *mufassal* Municipalities, which was contained in a number of Acts. The new Bill aimed at avoiding the general objection taken to the measure vetoed on the ground that its tendency would be to increase municipal taxation, and at adopting those taxes only which were familiar and already in force in different places. As regards the principal tax which would provide most of the funds in the Municipalities,

subject which came immediately before Government was the question of the best route for the development of commercial transactions with Tibet from our territories. An opinion had been expressed that the line to be encouraged would be the route through Sikhim from Darjeeling, in connection with the Northern Bengal Railway (then being undertaken). While all attempts for the exploration of the routes into Tibet from the Bhutan Duars and the Assam valley had hitherto failed, and a passage through the Nepalese districts to the West would have to be secured through foreign and semi-civilised territory, Sir J. Edgar's personal experience confirmed the assurance that a safe and practicable line of communication could be effected in almost a direct course to the Tibetan frontier, passing through a country in friendly relations and willing to afford assistance. Sir R. Temple recommended that effect should be given to the provisions of the treaty of 1861 with the Sikhim Raja which referred to the construction of a road through its territory, and that the suggested alignment of road should be professionally surveyed. There were no trustworthy statistics of Tibet trade, but a large expansion of exports from British territory was anticipated, especially of piece goods and Darjeeling tea, and possibly of salt. Trade and traders, it is said, were waiting for the opening of means of communication. "If to this can be added the hope that Her Majesty's representative in Pekin could prevail upon the Imperial Cabinet to discountenance the interference of its agents at Lhassa against the admission of our goods and merchandise, nothing would be wanting to ensure the most unlimited success." When the Government of India asked for statistics of the existing trade and an estimate of the cost of survey of a route to the Tibet frontier, it was calculated that the total trade, including both imports and exports, amounted to about $4\frac{1}{4}$ lakhs of rupees *per annum*, that the best route, to be made by the district officer of Darjeeling passable for laden animals, would be *viâ* Pedong (37 miles from Darjeeling) to the Jeylap pass, 93 miles and on to Chumbi, and that the survey of the route would cost Rs. 5,00 The Government of India approved the scheme for improving t route, but allowed no grant from Imperial revenues. The construct of a bridge over the Tista and the survey of the route were order but the improvement of the road was postponed for want of fun This trade route came into prominent notice a few years later.

The Excise Policy.

During 1874-75, a number of memorials emanating from Missionary and Temperance Societies and leading Natives, regarding the operation of the Excise system in Bengal, came before Government. The Board of Revenue (Sir Alonzo Money, K. C. M. G. C. B.) reported fully on the subject and Sir R. Temple recorded his views at l[illegible]gth on the Excise policy of Government, as follows :—

"They (the memorialists) may be su[illegible]that the Government entirely agrees with them in thinking that any [illegible]neral excess in the consumption of liquors, spirits, or drugs, is [illegible]a national evil; that, so far from encouraging its existence or its gr[illegible]h for the sake of the revenue, the Government already does, and [illegible] willingly do, everything in its power to impose a check, or to exercise repression, upon any excess, and that the efforts of Government in this direction are only limited by considerations of the practicability or otherwise of attaining actual success in such repression. Whether or not in former periods, separated by many years from the present time, the excise laws, or the administration of them, may have indirectly led to expansion of the consumption, it has been shown that no such effect has been produced during recent years, and that, on the contrary, every endeavour is made to prevent any such effect arising. The result of the fiscal regulations of Government now is to render liquors, spirits and drugs dearer than they would otherwise be; to place some artificial restrictions on the productions and sale of these articles; and *pro tanto* to impose a check on consumption. It is impossible to doubt that, but for these fiscal regulations, the consumption would be greater than it is; and that, if the present system of taxation upon these articles, and the consequent interference on the part of the State, were to be abandoned, there would be an increase in the consumption. If it be an object morally (as I quite admit it to be) to do all we properly can to prevent the consumption exceeding reasonable limits, then that object is in some degree effected by the fiscal interference, without which indeed even this degree would not be attained. In making its arrangements, the Government is not influenced by the desire of fiscal advantage, or by the fear of fiscal laws. If any measure or proceeding of this [illegible]ature could be demonstrated to be capable of checking excessive consumption, the Government would not be deterred from intro-

ducing it by the prospect of diminution in the revenue. If such measure or proceeding should promise an enhancement of the revenue, the Government would refrain from adopting it if there were reason to fear that an excessive increase of consumption would be a concomitant result.

But it must not be forgotten that, in making its arrangements, the Government is never free from the question as to how far it is possible to check the consumption. It is not possible to stop the consumption altogether, nor even to attempt to check it in any very great degree, without introducing a fresh class of evils. Nothing would be easier, in the first instance, than to do all that is recommended in the memorials, to shut up public distilleries, to close shops, to withold licenses for production and vend, to pass prohibitory regulations. But all this would utterly fail to stop or even check manufacture. One main result would be that the manufacture, which is now licensed and controlled, would continue, though illicit, and would be without any really practical control. While, on the other hand, new evils, namely inquisitorial proceedings on the part of Government officials, and persistent evasion on the part of the people—both circumstances directly conducing to demoralization—would be introduced.

It is to be remembered that the materials from which liquors and spirits are manufactured, namely, molasses, rice, and the flowers and juice of certain trees, are articles produced in the greatest abundance in the country, are most easily obtained, and yield liquor or spirits by the cheapest and simplest processes within reach of the poorest persons. If therefore any section or sections of a vast population desire (as they certainly do desire) to make liquor or spirits, it is not in the power of the most highly organised Government to altogether prevent them, without at least resorting to measures more injurious even than excessive consumption.

The problem, therefore, is how to impose adequate restrictions without offering a clear premium on smuggling and other illicit practices; how to frame the fiscal laws and rules in such a manner that there shall not arise any undue temptation to infringe them. The practicable solution of this problem has long occupied, and will continue to occupy, the attention of the ablest fiscal officers in Bengal. I will not venture to say that a perfect solution has been

yet arrived at; but without repeating the description given by Mr. Money of the several methods now in force, I will say that much progress has been made, and that, if any ways can be seen for further progress, they will be followed.

Similar remarks may be made regarding the drugs, opium, and ganja. The opium, though not universally produced, is yet grown over a very extensive area. If there were to be anything like prohibition of the local consumption (and the memorialists seem to desire something like prohibition), the temptation to illicit practices would be so great that they would spring up to a degree beyond our power of prevention. Already these practices do exist, even in the absence of any special inducement, and frequently give rise to some anxiety. From this we can imagine what they would become if such inducement were virtually afforded by prohibition of local consumption. The production of the particular sorts of ganja now in use is, no doubt, much more limited. It has been considerably restricted of late years. Whether any further restriction will be practicable is a question under consideration.

Next I observe that there is some difference of opinion on the question as to whether the consumption of spirits and drugs has increased of late years absolutely or relatively. It appears that the question is answered affirmatively or negatively, according as a longer or a shorter period is taken for the purpose of comparison. On the whole I believe that there has been no material increase whatever within the last 5 years, and that there is no tendency whatever towards excessive increase among the population as a whole.

I have said no "excessive increase," because it cannot be affirmed that there will be no increase either absolutely or relatively. It is an obvious fact that the population is growing in numbers: it is almost certain that they will not diminish their average rate of consumption per head: it is on the contrary probable that they will slightly augment the rate as their resources and prosperity increase. We may suppose that some of the agricultural and labouring classes will, while erecting better cottages, using better household utensils, wearing better clothes, and eating a better ration, slightly add to their consumption of liquor. If they do, they will not be acting differently from other nations; nor could such a consequence be deemed unreasonable.

But I cannot discover, either from the evidence in the possession of Government, or from inquiries I have been able to make while travelling about the country, that excessive consumption of drugs or spirits is prevalent among the people as a whole. The best calculation that I can obtain seems to show that the people of these Provinces do not drink more than a wine-glassful of spirits per head in a year. It is difficult to imagine how as a people they could drink a smaller quantity unless they abstained altogether. Any supposition that they are becoming at all addicted to intemperance would be unjust to them. Taken in the mass, they must be regarded as a sober, quiet, and abstemious people. Neither has it been shown that crime is in any part of these Provinces attributable to intemperance. A similar calculation as regards opium shows that the consumption does not exceed one ounce *per annum* for 14 persons, which may be considered an extremely low average rate.

It is probable that a great part of the people never see spirits at all. Among the lower classes, the only class who enhance their consumption are the labourers who are congregated upon large works and industries, belonging either to the State or to individuals or to corporations. With these particular classes there is not as yet any reason to apprehend excess, especially when the severity of their toil is borne in mind.

But I fear that to this generally favourable description there is one notable exception to be made, and that relates to several sections of the educated classes among the natives at the Presidency town (Calcutta) and at other large centres of national life. With these sections (which I trust are limited sections) intemperance appears to be on the increase. This fact is derived not at all from foreign or hostile evidence, but from the testimony of the best-informed among the natives themselves. Such a circumstance cannot but cause sorrow and concern to the Government, inasmuch as these are the very classes who are bound to us by many ties of common subjects of study, a common vehicle of thought and expression, and common examples of knowledge for imitation. Some measures in detail have been proposed for counteracting this most sad and unfortunate tendency; but I cannot hope that any such will prove efficacious unless the moral sense of these classes themselves shall restrain them from intemperance, unless the weight of public opinion shall help to

enforce the necessary abstinence. I know that among the best-educated sections of the native community many classes are still proof against this miserable temptation. Having regard to the intellectual industry which distinguishes the whole of these sections of the people, to the desire to excel in mental pursuits and to win their way in life, which animates them all, I cannot but hope that those who have yielded, or are inclined to yield to this temptation, will eschew their dreadful error before it is too late, and will return to the principles of that sobriety which is honorably characteristic of their nation generally.

I apprehend that it is the contemplation of this intemperance among a limited section of the people under their immediate observation which has induced the memorialists to generalize (as I think) too much, and to fear that the extent of the evil is much wider than it really is."

Intemperance among the Sonthals.

The Missionaries also submitted memorials describing the evils of intemperance among the Sonthals, and urging Government to adopt remedial measures. The subject caused some anxiety to Government owing to the nature of the Sonthals, and the magnitude of the evil, cases being known of whole villages being found drunk for days together. Much was done to check drinking and to lessen the facilities for buying drink by reducing the country-spirit shops from 532 to 207 and the *pachwai* (ricebeer) shops from 113 to 35 in 3 years. Sir R. Temple wrote :—

"The fact remains that the drinking is not so much of country spirits, nor of *pachwai* beer sold at licensed shops, but chiefly of the home-brewed ricebeer, called "*pachwai*" or "*handia*." While the distillation of spirit other than under regulation is strictly prohibited, which prohibition is fully obeyed, the brewing of beer from rice for consumption at home, and not for sale, is permitted without restriction, the permission dating so far back as 1835. It is certain that the Sonthals drink very little of distilled spirits or of ricebeer purchased at the licensed shops, but they do drink very much of the homebrewed ricebeer at all seasons habitually, and at some seasons to such an extent as to cause long-sustained inebriation among the mass of the people for days, even for weeks, consecutively.

"The Reverend Missionaries, in the main, recommend the entire prohibition of the home-brewing of ricebeer. The Commissioner and the local officers (with only one exception) earnestly deprecate this : they

doubt whether it could be enforced ; or, if it could, then they apprehend that the enforcement would bring a fresh class of serious evils into existence. Looking to the present circumstances of Sonthalia, and to the several administrative measures which are now being carried out there, I am not at all prepared to announce or enforce any such general prohibition. On the other hand, we must not be content with expressing in general terms a regret that such an evil should exist, and a hope that it may remedy itself during the progress of society. Something practical must be attempted. I think that Government must make it clearly understood, both by the local officers and by the people themselves, that this excessive drinking of home-brewed ricebeer is a very serious evil which must be remedied sooner or later. The other races of Bengal do not indulge in this vice : neither can the Sonthals be allowed to do so. And the Sonthals must be clearly made to comprehend this. Whatever may be thought or said to the contrary, the Sonthals have a feeling of fear and respect for the commands of the Government ; and the knowledge that the Government is fully aware of the prevailing drunkenness, condemns the evil, and purposes to mitigate or to prevent it, so far as possible, will have some effect. But this is not enough. The Commissioner should instruct the local officers to summon the various headmen of *parganas*, of circles of villages, and of villages, and to concert with them measures for restricting the excessive consumption of the ricebeer. These men must well know that the Sonthals are the worse cultivators, the worse tenants, the worse woodmen, the worse traders, for all this inebriation ; and their co-operation can, more or less, be reckoned upon. They must be made to set a good example, and they must understand that hard drinking will be held to be a disqualification for the office of headman of any grade, whether of a village or of a circle of villages. It is probable that in the first instance the Sonthals will be induced to agree to some restriction or diminution of the brewing and the consumption. Much will depend on tact and management on the part of the local officers in obtaining such agreement, and in ensuring its being acted upon to some extent. Full reliance cannot, of course, be placed upon voluntary agreements in such a case as this. And thereafter when the people shall have become accustomed to a partial restriction carried out with their own co-operation, and when their moral sense shall have been roused to its necessity, it may become quite feasible to render the restriction authoritatively absolute. When the way shall have been paved for it by degrees, the people may hereafter be induced to accept it. Meanwhile the endeavours, made in consulation and concert with the people themselves, will have practically shown in detail the particular shape which the restriction should ultimately take.

Danger of their rising.

For some time, before the question of their intemperance arose, there had been manifested various symptoms of uneasiness and restlessness among the Sonthals. Government was on the alert, as these people had risen more than once before. The disaffection manifested itself by a spirit of resistance to the payment of rent. A settlement was in progress between the *zamindars*, (chiefly Bengalis) and the *raiyats* (chiefly Sonthals), with the object of securing reasonably low rents fixed for terms of years, and to the *zamindars* more punctual realization of their dues. A sort of religious movement had been for some time perceptible among the Sonthals and was increasing: they were leaving their aboriginal religion and joining Hinduism, hoping perhaps thereby to form a kind of political organisation. When the local authorities reported that disturbances were threatening, additional police were deputed to the Sonthal *Parganas*, and 2 companies of Native Infantry from Bhagalpur were stationed at Naya Dumka. After these precautions no attempts were made by the Sonthals to rise and the measures adopted produced a sedative effect.

Reformatories.

Sir R. Temple advocated the establishment of reformatories for juvenile offenders, that is, for the detention of young persons who were either criminal or were growing up in ways which must lead to crime. He formulated the principles on which such institutions should be based and proposed to legislate in the Bengal Council for the purpose. Subsequently the Government of India decided to legislate for the whole of India, as the matter concerned all parts of India alike, and Act V of 1876 was passed. A reformatory was to be established at Calcutta, and others were contemplated as funds permitted. "But," (Sir R. Temple wrote) "the measure has been shorn of much of its usefulness by the restriction which confines it to persons actually in jail under conviction for a particular crime or offence. I had hoped to see it extended to those young persons outside the jails who are homeless, friendless, and uncared for, growing up in ways of vice and ignorance, which must lead to crime. It would have been easy and in accordance with the practice of civilized countries, to enact that the Magistrate should in all cases, on proof rendered, have power to order such persons to be placed in a reformatory. This course would be consistent with the highest moral duties of the State, and would

save the society from much harm. I trust that hereafter the legislature may be induced to adopt it, especially if the experience of the present reformatories shall prove satisfactory." A reformatory was opened at Alipore on the 23rd March 1878 with 91 boys: and in 1882 a second reformatory was opened at Hazaribagh for the Divisions of Bihar and Chota Nagpur.

Legislation.

Besides the legislation which has already been mentioned, several important Acts were passed by the Bengal Council under Sir R. Temple, to which brief allusion may be made. The legislature was indeed unusually active. An officer (Mr. H. L. Dampier) was for 2 cold-weather sessions placed on special duty in charge of legislation. Some projects of law, after being launched and advanced to a certain extent, were abandoned. Such were, for instance (1) a Bill to provide for the appointment of Managers in joint undivided estates, with the object of relieving the tenants from the trouble of separate collections of rent being made by several sharers. This separate Bill was rendered unnecessary by some provisions introduced into the Land Registration Act. (2) A Bill to amend the revenue Sale Law. (3) A Bill to amend the General Police Act V of 1861, so as to give legal effect to executive changes introduced into the police force of late years: (such as the organisation of the force, the powers of the Inspector-General and officers on the one hand and the Divisional Commissioner and Magistrate on the other): (4) A Bill to prohibit the levy of illegal cesses in navigable channels, high roads and market places. The project of consolidating into one Code the enactments comprising the Land Revenue law of Bengal appears never to have advanced beyond a Minute of Sir R. Temple and the memorandum on which it was based.

Among the important Acts passed were an Act of 1875 to enable Government to recover the sums due on account of loans advanced by Government during the famine operations of 1874—an Act of 1876 to provide for the voluntary registration of Muhammadan marriages and divorces—a consolidating Irrigation Act—the Land Registration Act of 1876 to provide for the registration of all lands, whether revenue paying or revenue-free, and of the proprietors and managers thereof, i. e., for the compulsory registration of proprietory and possessory titles in landed estates, so that the persons in actual possession and responsible for the discharge of the duties of landed proprietors

might be known, as always contemplated by the old Bengal Regulations—and the consolidating Act of 1876 for the Partition of Estates with a view to prevent estates being subdivided into too minute properties, unless under a redemption of the land revenue. This measure (after having once been vetoed) eventually allowed partition to be carried down to the limit of one rupee of revenue, with power to the landholder to redeem, in case the land revenue after partition should be less than one rupee.

Powers of the Bengal Council.

About this time, in connection with legislation, the powers of the Bengal Legislative Council came under consideration. By section 42 of the Indian Councils Act, 1861, that Council could alter or repeal with certain exceptions any of the Acts or Regulations of the Indian Legislature relating to Bengal passed before that Act. And by section 43 of that Act, several matters were specified on which the Bengal Council could not legislate without the previous consent of the Governor-General. Sir R. Temple wrote as follows :—

"In reference to this, however, it is to be observed that of late years there has been a great work of consolidation going on in the Legislative Council of the Governor-General, whereby the several laws, relating to any one subject previous to 1861, are collected and formed into one enactment, which is then, generally with some new amendment, passed as a fresh law by the Council of the Governor-General; consequently the law upon that particular subject at once passes beyond the power of the Legislative Council of Bengal. Year after year one or more subjects will be coming under the process of consolidation, until ultimately the greater part of the substantive law of India will be found to have been re-enacted since the year 1861. In making this remark, I do not in the least desire to object to the principle of consolidating and amending the law, which is indeed an excellent principle. I only mean to point out that this necessarily curtails the functions of the local legislature of Bengal. Indeed the time may come when the local Council will, from this cause, find itself almost without any important work to do. There would, even in that case, remain some purely local and municipal matters to be dealt with by the Bengal legislature. But, upon most matters of real importance, the power of legislation will virtually have been assumed by the legislature of India.

* * * * * *

Admitting the excellence of the principle that the general laws of India should be consolidated, I quite perceive the difficulty of so arranging that the local legislature may not be bereft of a great part of its present functions. The only remedy which I can suggest is this, that power should be allowed to the local legislature (of Bengal or of other places as the case might be) to legislate upon general matters which had been dealt with by the Council of the Governor-General, provided that the sanction of the Governor-General had been previously obtained, and subject also to the restrictions already prescribed by section 43 of the Indian Councils Act. This would be only an extension of the principle of the section 43. In this manner no undue interference could be exercised by the local Council; its proceedings even as regards the introduction of measures would be under complete check by the Governor-General, while on the other hand, its usefulness, as now existing, would remain unimpaired."

Some years after, when a new Statute was passed, this suggestion of Sir R. Temple's was adopted.

Civil Appeals and Appellate Benches.

Early in 1875, the question of amending the law relating to Civil Appeals in Bengal, which was before the Legislative Council of the Governor-General, came to Sir R. Temple, who dealt with it in one of his longest Minutes. Certain defects in the existing state of the law of Civil Appeal were generally admitted. Sir R. Temple wrote :—

"There is at present a first or regular appeal to tribunals in the *mufassal* (that is the interior of the country as distinguished from the Capital, Calcutta)on both law and facts. There is a second or special appeal to the High Court at Calcutta, on law only. It is this special appeal which is regarded on all sides as unsatisfactory—by suitors, because they cannot properly contend upon what, in India, is generally a most important point, the finding of the facts, which is at least as important as the application of the law—by Judges, because they find themselves unable to do full justice to the merits of the case that are brought before them. There can be no doubt that if there is a second appeal at all (and all acknowledge that in many classes of cases there ought to be such appeal to the High Court) it must be upon facts as well as upon law. I need hardly stop to say more upon an argument which is incontrovertible, as there is so much yet to be said upon points which are open to controversy.

"The only thing here to be added is, that the effect of opening an appeal before the High Court on facts, as well as law, must tend to augment the number of appeals cognizable by, and the amount of work devolving on, that tribunal.

"In the next place, I believe, in common with many others, European and Native, that there is already a want of finality in the decisions passed by appellate Courts in the *mufassal*, that already there is a tendency to bring not only all important cases, but also many cases of comparatively small importance, before the High Court in Calcutta. This want, and this tendency, must necessarily be aggravated by having the second appeal before the High Court on facts as well as on law."

Sir R. Temple further dwelt on the arguments against the concentration of Civil Appeals in Calcutta before so expensive a tribunal is the High Court, and gave his opinion that they all pointed to the expediency of establishing tribunals in the *mufassal* for the lesser civil appeals, whose decisions should be final. He summed up his proposals in the 4 following propositions :—

I.—that provisions be inserted in the Bill (for amending the law of appeal in civil cases in Bengal) for the establishment of Appellate Benches in the districts of the *mufassal* or interior of the country, such Benches to consist at least of 2 Judges, one a Covenanted Civil Servant and the other a native officer :—

II.—that the present law, under which no second appeal is allowed in cases of the Small Cause Court class when laid by a single appellate Judge, or in rent suits in which there has arisen no question of right to enhance or vary the rent, or relating to the title of land, or some interest in it, and the present law of appeal in suits for enhancement of rent, remain unaltered :—

III.—that all appeals, other than those above described under heading II, and the value of which does not exceed Rs. 200, shall be tried by the District Appellate Benches :—

IV.— that where the Judges of such Appellate Bench are unanimous, their judgment shall be final, provided that it shall be discretionary for the Bench, at the request of either of the parties, to state a case for the opinion of the High Court upon any question of law, or equity, or usage having the force of law, or construction of a written document affecting the merits of the case ; and that, when the Judges differ, the judgment of the Court shall be the judgment

of the Judge who concurs with the Court of first instance, provided that a second or special appeal shall lie to the High Court.

To carry out such a scheme, Sir R. Temple proposed to constitute the Appellate Benches in one of 3 ways, either—

I.—*Zilla* or District Benches, consisting of the District Judge and the Subordinate Judge of each District, with the same territorial Jurisdiction as was possessed by those officers :

or

II.—Eight Divisional Benches, in which the Judges would be selected members of the Covenanted Civil Service and selected Native Judges, with jurisdiction extending over a Division comprising several districts, and with power to hear the said appeals from every district within the Division :

or

III.—Eleven Divisional Benches, constituted as above, and with the same finality as regards their decisions up to Rs. 200, but with additional power of hearing appeals up to Rs. 5000 in value, with the proviso that, in the cases above the value of Rs. 200, a second appeal be allowed to the High Court.

The third of these alternatives was regarded by Sir R. Temple as probably more free from objection than any of the others ; and as the one most calculated to obtain the concurrence of the Judicial authorities.

He advocated the adoption of at least one of the alternatives. "By one or other of them the requisite limitation upon second appeals would be imposed ; better hearing and deciding would be provided for first appeals ; finality of appeal would be obtained nearer to the homes of the people ; appellate tribunals would be established in the interior of the country, more likely to command their confidence ; the status, the dignity, the independence, the prospects of the native judiciary would be raised ; the Native Bar would be strengthened ; and the administration of Civil Justice generally would be brought more into harmony with the circumstances and the requirements of the Provinces under the Government of Bengal."

The Lieutenant-Governor's proposal came in due course under the consideration of the High Court. The Chief Justice (Sir Richard Garth) preferred the third plan of 11 Appellate Benches, each to consist of 2 Judges, one European and one Native, but he express-

ed his doubts whether 11 Civilian Judges could be found with sufficient experience and legal knowledge to perform the duties efficiently and to command the confidence of the public ; and he suggested that some of the Judges should be selected from amongst the members of the Bar. To this criticism, Sir R. Temple replied by naming individually more than a sufficient number of officers qualified to preside over the 11 Appellate Benches, and pointed out that the salary proposed for the appointments would not be high enough to obtain the services of Barristers of sufficient status and experience for the appointments, and that any Barrister so selected would be wanting in acquaintance with the people and the language of the country. The scheme was further considered after Sir R. Temple had left Bengal, but eventually came to nothing.

Economic Museum : Statistical Department and Reporter : proposed Industrial Survey.

The Economic Museum, which was established in Calcutta by Sir G. Campbell, received Sir R. Temple's full support. Its objects were the collection, identification, and classification of the economic products of Bengal, both raw materials and manufactures ; the Committee of Management being further charged with the work of ascertaining all that was already known regarding such products, and digesting and reducing the information into practicable form for circulation. The Central Committee in Calcutta were to correspond with Local Committees in each district. A very large number of specimens of all classes of products were collected and scientifically arranged in the Museum : the collection of rice alone included more than 800 samples. In 1885-86 the Museum was removed from its old premises in Hastings Street, to the buildings adjoining the Imperial Museum constructed for the Calcutta International Exhibition of 1883-84. The Committee was eventually dissolved on the 1st April 1887, after making over, under a special Act of that year, to the Trustees of the Indian Museum the collections under their charge, which were grouped into 4 sections, viz., artware, economic, ethnologic, and industrial. The Trustees subsequently transferred the charge of the economic, ethnologic, and art sections to the Reporter on Economic products, under their control.

Similarly Sir R. Temple developed his predecessor's scheme for the collection of statistics of all kinds, but chiefly those in connection with the land and trade. He proposed therefore the

formation of a special Statistical Department in the Government Secretariat, so that the collection and exhibition of the general statistics of the Province might be undertaken by the Government rather than by the Board of Revenue or any other authority. The Junior Secretary to Government (Mr. H. J. S. Cotton) was for the time placed in charge of the department. A monthly publication, named the Indian Economist, had been for some time brought out under the supervision of Mr. Knight, the Assistant Secretary, to which was added a supplement, named the Statistical Reporter. The property in this paper was purchased by Go v ernment and it was decided to discontinue the Indian Economist as an organ of opinion on economic matters, but to keep up the Statistical Reporter as a Government publication, to be published monthly and contain all the Statistical information received by Government. It was about this time that a proposal for an Industrial Survey of India, originated by Dr. Forbes Watson, came under the consideration of the Government of Bengal. The scheme contemplated a complete survey of the production, and consumption of Indian wealth, with a full description and classification of collected specimens of every product and of the machines and implements used. It contemplated also the formation of Honorary Committees in each district to be assisted by the local officers in collecting specimens and transubmitting them to a Museum in London. The final result of the scheme was to be the preparation and publication of a Dictionary of Commerce for India, to be prepared in England to illustrate the Museum to be established there. Sir R. Temple regarded the scheme as hardly practicable. He considered that the desired results could be more successfully and satisfactorily achieved by proper arrangements designed and perfected in Bengal itself, than by an organisation however ably superintended having its head and centre in England. He thought that the industrial exploitation of India should be undertaken by the several Provincial Governments and the administrations, subject of course to higher authority, but that the management of such work should be dealt with in detail by special departments under the Local Governments. In other words, he considered the principal features of Dr. Forbes Watson's project to be administrative matters within the special Province of Government and beyond the pale of such an

inquiry as an Industrial Survey resting upon any basis less sure than that of Government. While expressing his willingness to co-operate as far as possible with the scheme proposed he addressed himself to the development of the Statistical Department and Economic Museum in Bengal. The defective character of Agricultural statistics in Bihar and North Bengal came prominently to notice in connection with an inquiry undertaken under the orders of Government, after the famine of 1874, by Mr. (now Sir) A. P. MacDonnell into the agricultural condition and food-supply of those Provinces, the results of which were presented in an elaborate and valuable Report, with a view to placing in clear relief the relations in each district between the failure there and the consequent distress, in order that in future Government might benefit by this experience in determining the provision to be made for meeting distress. Sir R. Temple was anxious to prosecute inquiries in selected areas in certain districts, specially in Bihar, to obtain accurate agricultural statistics, but financial exigencies did not admit of the proposal being sanctioned. The want of agricultural statistics had arisen partly from the fact that the revenue survey, when carried out, deliberately abandoned any idea of displaying any interior details of cultivation and waste, or of lands, culturable or unculturable. Sir R. Temple wrote that he could scarcely foresee the time when a cadastral survey of Bihar and North Bengal would be made, or when complete agricultural statistics worthy of the name could be obtained. This was written in 1876 and what seemed so improbable then was actually undertaken in 1891, as will appear hereafter.

The Civil Service in Bengal : four new districts proposed : Natives in higher Executive posts.

For some years the promotion and prospects of the members of the Civil Service in Bengal had been far from satisfactory. In the years 1861, 1862 and 1863, a very large recruitment was made, with the result that the Civil servants of subsequent years were somewhat lower in the scale of promotion than men of preceding years and than they might reasonably have expected to be. The complaint had been found by inquiry to be true in the N. W. Provinces and certain measures of relief were sanctioned, namely—the grant to military officers in civil employ of certain pecuniary inducements to retire : the grant to civil servants who had not completed 21 years' residence in India, but who had completed 20 years'

service or more, of a pension proportionate to the length of their actual residence: the grant of personal allowances to any Civil servants who might be shown to have suffered unduly and extraordinarily from slowness of promotion: the possible formation of additional districts in places where the district jurisdictions were excessive in size.

Sir R. Temple examined the matter and came to the conclusion that the position of the Bengal section of the Service, though not so unfavourable as that of the North-West, still afforded valid grounds for alarm. He suggested the employment of Bengal Civilians in Assam, the guarantee of a minimum salary to all officers, and permission to senior officers to retire on a graduated scale of pensions. At the same time, Sir R. Temple recommended as an administrative improvement and public benefit, irrespectively of the object of accelerating promotion in the Civil Service, the formation of some additional districts in Bengal. He thought the following districts to be very large; namely, the 24-*Parganas*, Nadia, Jessore, Midnapore, Mymensingh and Rangpur, and proposed the redistribution of their areas. He proposed that there should be 4 new districts, having their headquarters respectively at Khulna, Kushtia, Contai, and Jamalpur (in Mymensingh) at a total cost of a *lakh* and ten thousand rupees for salaries and establishments, besides a *lakh* of rupees for buildings. After some years the district of Khulna was created. The admission of natives of proved merit and experience to offices previously reserved for the Civil Service having been determined upon, Sir R. Temple discussed the subject in a Minute dated 5th June 1876, which may be quoted as follows:—

"The two main branches are of course the Judicial and the Executive. It is not necessary to add much to that which has so frequently been urged regarding the suitableness and propriety of appointing natives to the higher offices in the judicial branch. Doubtless they are well qualified for this important kind of work, and this naturally is the branch wherein their employment in the higher capacities will first be extended; in fact such employment of them has already been tried, in some instances with a good degree of success.

But believing the measure to be designed for gradually giving to

the natives a larger share than heretofore in the higher posts of the administration of their native country, for placing them more and more in positions of trust and responsibility, for elevating and strengthening their character, mentally and morally, I desire to point out the expediency—nay even the necessity—of appointing them to some of the higher offices in the executive branch. The moral effect upon the natives of the higher kinds of executive employ would be greater even than that of the higher kinds of judicial employ.

"When recommendations are made for restricting the measure to the judicial branch, there seems to be some idea underlying this view, to the effect that the judicial branch chiefly demands those intellectual qualities in which natives excel, whereas the executive branch demands qualities other than intellectual, such as energy, decision, self-reliance, power of combination and organisation, of managing men, and so on, and also physical activity, qualities which are deemed to be as yet imperfectly developed in natives. Therefore it seems to be thought preferable to refrain from placing natives in the higher class of executive posts, which, according to this view, had better be reserved for the present exclusively for Europeans.

"But, if this be the case, it is a cogent reason for beginning to appoint natives to the higher offices in the executive branch. For certainly these qualities, other than intellectual, are of the utmost consequence to the well-being and progress of a nation. If our rule, having been firmly consolidated, is to be made to guide the natives on and on towards their highest good, these are the very qualities that should be specially cultivated. And one notable way of cultivating them is to employ meritorious natives in those higher executive capacities which will stimulate energy, enforce activity, strengthen the will, brace the sense of responsibility, and educe those moral forces which are summed up in the expression "manhood." If in due course of time we do not succeed in calling forth these qualities in the natives, there must be doubt whether our rule succeeds morally and socially, however successful it may be materially and politically. And if it be the fact that such qualities need further development in the natives, then in the discharge of the responsibility which we have assumed towards the people we surely ought to do all that in us lies to supply the deficiency. If we do

not attempt to do this, we shall be allowing a manifest imperfection to exist in our arrangements for the practical training of the people. The employment of the natives in the higher civil capacities is a potent instrument in such training. And of the two parts of such employment, namely, the executive and the judicial, the executive is, for this purpose, the better.

"If it be said that natives ought not to be appointed to a higher class of civil posts when it is doubtful whether they will succeed, I should rejoin that if no such trial is made then certainly the natives never will or can become fit: that the question cannot be brought to a satisfactory issue until a trial is made; that it is but just to the natives to give them a chance: that their unfitness ought not to be assumed until they have been tried and found wanting; and that all the reasons which justify the general measure under consideration dictate that it should be applied to the executive as well as to the judicial branch.

"The higher judicial posts to which natives should be appointed are judgeships, and I have elsewhere explained the manner in which this could be best arranged. The question remains as to what are the higher executive posts to which natives could be appointed? These are none other than Magistrate-Collectorships or the charges of districts. In our system the office of Magistrate-Collector or District-Officer is the unit of responsibility; it is the cardinal office which is deemed to test a man's fitness for independent command, and to call forth all those qualities which have just been described. Already natives fill many executive posts, short of the charge of a district, with credit and advantage; but they have never yet been appointed to the charge of districts. It appears to me that, if the measure now ordered is to have a full trial, some selected natives ought to be appointed to district charges, that is, to be Magistrate-Collectors or District Officers. In no other way will their real worth be so well tested as in this, and no other kind of appointment would be so effective as this for carrying out the policy now determined upon.

"In the first instance it would be expedient to choose some of the smaller and easier districts, of which there are some few in these Provinces, in which to appoint natives to be Magistrate-Collectors. And it is to be borne in mind that in a district so chosen the subordinate offices, generally filled by Europeans in other districts, must be filled

by natives, such offices as those of the Joint-Magistrate, the Assistant, the District Superintendent of Police, the Civil Surgeon. Herein there will be no difficulty, as qualified natives are available for all these offices.

"This Minute refers only to the principle of the matter. I do not advocate any extensive employment of natives either as Judges or as Magistrate-Collectors. It would suffice at first to appoint one or two in each branch. The further extension of the system would depend on the success of the trial, and on the arrangements connected with the constitution of the Covenanted Service, which should be separately considered."

These suggestions were not acted upon by the Government of India, but conduced to the general settlement of the question in 1879.

'The Fuller case.'

In 1876 the Bengal vernacular newspapers teemed with references to "the Fuller case," the case of an assault on a native servant resulting in his death, which had occurred in Upper India—and it has not been forgotten to this day. It came before Lord Lytton soon after his arrival in India, and he caused the following letter to be addressed from the Government of India to the North Western Provinces Government. Though the occurrence took place elsewhere, the order of Government greatly affected Bengal, and may well be quoted here.

"The facts of the case are as follows: One Sunday morning, Mr. Fuller, an English Pleader at Agra, was about to drive to Church with his family. When the carriage was brought to the door, the syce failed to be in attendance, but made his appearance when sent for. For this cause Mr. Fuller struck the syce with his open hand on the head and face and pulled him by the hair, so as to cause him to fall down. Mr. Fuller and his family drove on to Church; the syce got up, went into an adjoining compound, and there died almost immediately.

"The Joint Magistrate of Agra, before whom Mr. Fuller was placed to take his trial, framed the indictment under section 323 of the Indian Penal Code for "causing hurt to one Katwaroo, his syce;" and it appeared from the evidence of the Medical Officer who had conducted the *post mortem* examination that the man had died from rupture of the spleen, which very slight violence, either from a blow or a fall, would be sufficient to cause, in consequence of the morbid enlargement of that organ. The evidence in the case does not show any other assault; at least the Joint

Magistrate disbelieved (apparently on good grounds) all that portion of the evidence which reffered to any other assault. The Joint Magistrate found Mr. Fuller guilty of "voluntarily causing what distinctly amounts to hurt," and sentenced him to pay a fine of Rs. 30, or in default to undergo 15 days simple imprisonment ; directing the amount of the fine to be made over to the widow of the deceased. At the request of the Local Government, the High Court expressed an opinion on the case, which was to the effect that the sentence, though perhaps lighter than the High Court would have been disposed to inflict under the circumstances, was not specially open to objection.

"The Governor-General-in-Council cannot but regret that the High Court should have considered that its duties and responsibilities in this matter were adequately fulfilled by the expression of such an opinion. He also regrets that the Local Government should have made no inquiry, until directed to do so by the Government of India, into the circumstances of a case so injurious to the honour of British rule, and so damaging to the reputation of British justice in this country.

"The Governor-General-in-Council cannot doubt that the death of Katwaroo was the direct result of the violence used towards him by Mr. Fuller. He observes that the High Court assumes the connection between the two events as being clear. Yet on reading Mr. Leeds' judgment he does not find that that gentleman ever considered the effect or even the existence of this connection. Mr. Leeds did, indeed, consider whether Mr. Fuller ought not to be subjected to a more serious charge, but only because there was evidence given of further violence used by him, which evidence Mr. Leeds rejected, on grounds which are here assumed to have been sufficient. He seems, however, to have viewed an assault resulting in the death of the injured man in just the same light as if it had been attended by no such result.

"The class of misconduct out of which this crime has arisen is believed to be dying out ; but the Governor-General-in-Council would take this opportunity of expressing his abhorrence of the practice, instances of which occasionally come to light, of European masters treating their native servants in a manner in which they would not treat men of their own race. This practice is all the more cowardly, because those who are least able to retaliate injury or insult have the strongest claim upon the forbearance and protection of their employers. But, bad as it is from every point of view it is made worse by the fact, known to all residents in India, that Asiatics are subject to internal disease which often renders fatal to life even a slight external shock. The Governor-General-in-Council considers that the habit of resorting to blows on every trifling provocation should be visited by adequate legal penalties,

and that those who indulge it should reflect that they may be put in jeopardy for a serious crime.

"The Governor-General-in-Council cannot say whether Mr. Fuller would have been convicted of a more serious offence, such as that of causing grievous hurt, or that of culpable homicide, had he been charged with it. But this he can say with confidence that in consequence of Mr. Fuller's illegal violence his servant died, and that it was the plain duty of the Magistrate to have sent Mr. Fuller to trial for the more serious offence; a course which would not have prevented him from being punished (indeed he could thus have been more adequately punished) for the lesser offence, if that alone had been proved.

"But besides his error of judgment in trying this case himself, the Governor-General-in-Council thinks that Mr. Leeds has evinced a most inadequate sense of the magnitude of the offence of which Mr. Fuller was found guilty. The offence was that of "voluntarily causing hurt." That is an offence which varies infinitely in degree, from one which is little more than nominal to one which is so great that the Penal Code assigns to it the heavy punishment of imprisonment for a year *and* a fine of Rs. 1,000. The amount of hurt and the amount of provocation are material elements in determining the sentence for such an offence. In Mr. Fuller's case, while the provocation was exceedingly small, the hurt was death. For this, Mr. Leeds, while saying that he intends to inflict a punishment something more than nominal, inflicts only a fine of Rs. 30. The Governor-General-in-Council considers that, with reference either to the public interests, or to the compensation due to Katwaroo's family from a person in Mr. Fuller's position (and it does not appear from the papers that Mr. Fuller has made any other compensation), such a sentence is wholly insufficient. He considers that Mr. Leeds has treated the offence as a merely nominal one, and has inflicted a merely nominal punishment; and that to treat such offences with practical impunity, is a very bad example and likely rather to encourage than repress them.

"For these reasons, the Governor-General-in-Council views Mr. Leeds' conduct in this case with grave dissatisfaction. He should be so informed, and should be severely reprimanded for his great want of judgment and judicial capacity. In the opinion of the Governor-General-in-Council, Mr. Leeds should not be entrusted, even temporarily, with the independent charge of a District, until he has given proof of better judgment and a more correct appreciation of the duties and responsibilities of Magisterial officers for at least a year."

In 1876 also, there was much excitement in a station in Bengal

with respect to the action of the Magistrate in certain municipal affairs and specially in the institution of criminal proceedings against a Municipal Commissioner. Government took what they considered adequate notice of the Magistrate's conduct, but the Native Press became violently agitated on the subject and the British Indian Association addressed Government, asking that further notice might be taken of the matter. The Association expressed an opinion that the Magistrate's misconduct had been imperfectly understood by Government and insufficiently visited, and they went on to say that there had been a grave failure of justice and a derogation from the high principles of our ordinary administration. Sir R. Temple reviewed the situation in a Minute which embodies principles of considerable interest:—"I must at the outset express my surprise that the Association should have been betrayed into language so unmeasured and so uncalled for. There has been no failure of justice whatever. On the contrary, much care has been taken to mete out justice to both of the parties concerned, and to set such an example as shall ensure a moderate and cautious exercise by District Officers of the large and varied powers entrusted to them. On the other hand, the Government has had to avoid even the semblance of sacrificing its officers to a certain sort of clamorous agitation which happens to have arisen in this case.

Removal of a Magistrate.

"Mr.——was severely censured by the Government of Bengal—1stly, for marked discourtesy towards Babu——in ordering him to leave the Committee room on the occasion of a meeting of the Municipal Commissioners; 2ndly, for having issued a warrant for his arrest, and for bringing him to trial on certain charges which were not supported by evidence; and 3rdly, for having passed orders directing the Babu to see that the latrines were guarded, which orders were so worded as to cause offence.

"On a careful review, then, of all the circumstances of the case, I considered that the displeasure of the Government would be sufficiently marked by depriving Mr.——of his district, and that the want of judgment and proper discretion which had been shown by Mr.——under somewhat exceptional and difficult circumstances did not call for a heavier punishment. The punishment inflicted, it is to be observed, moreover, was by no means a light one; for Mr.——would have retained his acting appointment until his time arrived to be

confirmed, and by his reduction he has forfeited an acting allowance of Rs. 400/ *per mensem*, or about one-third of his total salary. The charge of the district was given to him as a reward for service in the famine. The loss of it entails a lowering of position considerably detrimental to the prospects of a rising officer, and cannot but be felt by a junior civil servant, not only as a severe punishment, but as a heavy blow. The British Indian Association seem to regard the punishment as light or nominal, to represent that he was merely transferred from——to headquarters, that he was merely deprived of an appointment which he could not under any circumstances have long retained, and so forth. All this is pure misapprehension. On being summarily removed from his Collectorship, he was ordered to Calcutta until his services could be made use of. He was shortly afterwards posted to——, an undesirable district. In this part of their representation, the Association show themselves to be ill-informed or misinformed to a degree which is very unsatisfactory.

"The statement made by the British Indian Association, that the insufficient notice taken by the Government of conduct was tantamount to a failure of justice, is apparently based on the assumption that Mr.——had no warrant whatever for his proceedings. In fact, however, the Babu was by no means blameless, and fully deserved to be visited by some notice from the Magistrate, though, of course, that notice ought to have been taken in a proper and legal manner. The real case, in my judgment, as regards the Babu was this. He had, as a Municipal Commissioner, opposed strenuously certain measures regarding public latrines. This opposition on his part was quite legitimate, and he had a right to make it if so minded. But while doing this he must have seen an excitement growing among the townspeople which ended in acts of incendiarism. He may not have at all intended that such consequences should follow ; he may have regretted their existence. But he must have known the necessity of preserving a temperate demeanour. Nevertheless, after a final and conclusive meeting of the Municipal Commissioners, he allowed himself to be drawn into a conversation with an excited crowd outside the Municipal building, after which the people proceeded to acts of violence. The Magistrate, Mr.——, was bound to investigate this on hearing of it ; but, instead of making such investigation first and taking evidence on oath, he at once arrested the Babu on a criminal

charge of using language to the crowd calculated to excite them to violence. The charge broke down, because it was impossible to prove what exact words the Babu had used. But that the Babu had behaved very injudiciously there can be no doubt; and, if he had trouble and anxiety in defending himself from the public charges, these were consequences which he had brought upon himself by his own conduct.

Mr.——'s fault was in this wise. He had cogent reasons for instituting inquiry; the Babu did deserve to be placed seriously on his defence; but he gravely erred in arresting under critical circumstances a Municipal Commissioner on a criminal charge without having any sworn or recorded information. The Magistrate had indeed power by law to order the arrest, but he made a very injudicious use of the power. The consequence was that he placed himself in the wrong, while affording, however erroneously, a semblance of right to the other side. The trouble occasioned by the opposition —the Municipal opposition—which he had received appears to have irritated his mind and disturbed his judgment, rendering him too hasty to prosecute. But essentially he acted in good faith; indeed there is no conceivable motive for his acting otherwise.

And as regards the orders to the Babu to guard the latrines, however injudiciously they may have been worded, still it is to be remembered that the latrines were the points in danger; some had been fired and burnt and some had been threatened. When, therefore, special constables were enrolled (of which the Babu was one), it was natural and necessary for the Magistrate to order them to guard those quarters where the latrines were situated, though it was also desirable that the orders should be so worded as to avoid causing offence unnecessarily."

The Cyclone and Storm-wave of the 31st October 1876 in Backergunge and Noakhali.

Sir R. Temple was proceeding in Noakhali on an ordinary tour when he heard of the disaster which had happened in the highly cultivated and thickly inhabited islands at the mouth of the Megna, known as the groups of Sandip, Hatia, and Dakhin Shabazpur, and on both the banks of that great river. He promptly visited the points where it seemed probable that the worst stress of the storm must have been felt. He inspected a number of villages on the islands and the banks of the river and had the precise mortality

in each house ascertained in his own presence on the spot. In estimating the mortality, he was assisted by Mr. Beverley, late Inspector-General of Registration, an officer of known statistical ability. The estimate was prepared with all possible care. The conclusion arrived at was that, in an area of some 3000 square miles, out of 1,062,000 persons suddenly thrown into danger, 215,000 must have perished. "This of course is only an estimate; the exact number cannot be known yet awhile, perhaps never will be known. We found in some villages 30 per cent. of the inhabitants lost, in others 50 per cent, in some even 70 per cent. The total seems very high; I earnestly hope that it may be found to exceed the truth, and that the facts may not prove to be quite so dreadful. Still such is the estimate at present. At the least there must have been a most shocking loss of human life. And even the urgency of our duty towards the surviving cannot drive from our minds the sorrow for so great a multitude of dead".

Sir R. Temple described the occurrence and his visit to the locality in picturesque Minutes, from which the following passages may be extracted :—

"There was a severe cyclone in the Bay of Bengal on the night of the 31st October 1876. But it was not the wind which proved so destructive, though that was terrible enough. It was the storm wave, sweeping along to a height from 10 to 20 feet, according to different localities; in some places, where it met with any resistance, mounting even higher than that.

In the evening the weather was somewhat windy and hazy, and had been unusually hot, but the people retired to rest apprehending nothing. Before 11 o'clock the wind suddenly freshened, and about midnight there arose a cry of "the water is on us," and a great wave several feet high burst over the country. It was followed by another wave, and again by a third, all 3 waves rushing rapidly onwards, the air and wind being chilly cold. The people were thus caught up before they had time even to climb on to their roofs, and were lifted to the surface of the surging flood, together with the beams and thatches of their cottages. But the homesteads are surrounded by trees—palms, bamboos and a large thorny species. The people were then borne by the water on to the tops and branches of these trees. Those who were thus stopped were saved, those who were not must have been swept away and were lost.

"The bodies of the lost were carried to considerable distances, where they could not be identified. The corpses began to putrify before the water cleared off the ground, so they were left unburied in numbers all over the country. Weather-tossed sea-men in the Bay of Bengal saw many corpses floated out from land with the waves. Corpses were flung on to the sea-shore at Chittagong, and living persons were borne thither across an arm of the sea, clinging to the roofs or beams of their own houses, as if upon rafts.

Most of the local native officials were drowned,—Deputy Magistrates, Police Inspectors, Native Civil Judges, Notaries and others. There were few resident landlords and few land-agents on the spot. The villagers mostly consisted of cultivators with various kinds and degrees of tenures, and of sub-proprietors—a substantial yeomanry in fact—and they were the richest peasantry in all Bengal.

The loss of cattle, cows and bullocks, was utterly disastrous. Some part of the large herds of buffaloes was saved, these animals being excellent swimmers.

When the storm burst there was an abundant rice crop ripening for the harvest—the well-known deltaic rice crop, which is much beyond the needs of local consumption, and affords quantities (measured by thousands of tons annually) for exportation to distant districts. A part was lost, that in which the plant had not advanced beyond the stage of flowering, and a part was saved, that in which the grain had formed or begun to form. That which is saved is now amply sufficient for the population now on the land.

Since the first few hours of inevitable destruction, not a life, so far as we can learn, had been lost from any preventible cause, nor has any one been in extreme danger. Those who perished in that fatal instant of time passed suddenly beyond aid; but those who then escaped are still sustained, or are sustaining themselves, sufficiently well. The disaster, big though it be, has yet happened in the midst of plenty and of rural wealth. All around the fated and wasted area there are excellent crops and abundant stores. The local authorities acted with the utmost energy in giving temporary succour to the most distressed, in re-establishing social order, which had been suddenly broken up by the universality of the disaster, and in restoring public confidence. Those who have lost their agricultural wealth

have still some left, and doubtless possess considerable credit. Soon, therefore, will boats come pouring in by the numerous channels and creeks, from districts teeming with water-carriage; soon will fresh cattle be swum or ferried across the rivers from the over-stocked districts of Eastern Bengal; soon will the grain bazars be reopened, and the rustic marts be filled with the surplus produce of neighbouring tracts.

Fortunately cholera, although it has been sporadic all over Backergunge, did not break out in this district with overwhelming severity.

The above remarks refer more particularly to Noakhali Proper, to Hatia, and to the Backergunge district, but not so much to the Sandip group of islands belonging to Noakhali. The inhabitants there, instead of being scattered in little hamlets, are towards the centre collected into large villages well protected by trees and (what was very important), having large tanks with high banks round them. Consequently, although towards the shores of the islands the people were swept off exactly in the manner I have described, yet towards the middle they for the most part escaped, as the wave was not relatively quite so high, and the trees were more efficiently protective, apparently checking the rapidity of the wave and allowing the poor people a few minutes of time, during which they crowded on to the banks of the tanks, and so kept their heads above water. On the outer villages towards the shores the mortality was quite as sad as anything that has been reported. In the inland villages it was fortunately less.

On the other hand, the storm waves here came from the south, that is from seawards, and receding left the tanks and other drinking water brackish (instead of being fresh, as was happily the case in Hatia and in Backergunge), and caused the stagnant water, remaining after the wave had passed, to be fœtid. Thus cholera set in soon after the first disaster. A little later there came a storm of wind and rain (the ghost, as it is called, of the cyclone), suddenly lowering the temperature of the atmosphere and sorely chilling the houseless people. This fresh misfortune aggravated the choleraic plague, and left the people in a state of deep depression. It seemed as if the survivors of the cyclone wave would slowly perish by pestilence. Every arrangement which forethought could suggest

has however been carried out by the local authorities. Native medical officers with medicines have been stationed at appropriate places, additional Native Doctors and Assistant Surgeons have been despatched from Calcutta, the Sanitary Commissioner was deputed to the spot; still, notwithstanding all these exertions, the mortality from cholera has been very great, and in some places was expected to exceed the mortality from inundation.

"It may be asked whether any protective means against such calamities in future can be devised—any embankments or the like. This question will be duly considered; but at present I know not how to devise such safeguard, nor have I seen anyone who can suggest anything. The area to be protected would be too great to be encompassed with protective works. If embankments became breached in such a storm, they would afterwards do more harm than good, for they would prevent or retard the running-off and the subsidence of the waters. Perhaps the people might build perches for themselves on platforms and the like; but the trees which invariably surround the homesteads serve this purpose admirably, and it is to them that the survivors mainly owe their escape. Another means of protection would be the construction of a large mound some 30 feet high in the midst of each village, to which the people might fly on emergency. But this could hardly be managed unless the scattered hamlets should be much more concentrated into villages than at present; and it would involve a considerable change in the mode of habitation, a change in which the people would probably not acquiesce. They will, I fear, be found unwilling to undertake troublesome and expensive precautions, seeing that these disasters, though not unfrequent somewhere or other in a less severe form, do not visit the same locality in such intensity save at long intervals of time. Without specifying the exact date when the last event of such gravity befell the delta of the Megna—one case of this kind happened in 1822,—most people say that there has been nothing like the recent cataclysm since the middle of the last century."

A special officer was deputed to inquire and report and the fullest instructions were issued by Government for the relief of the suffering population. The Queen telegraphed through the Secretary of State that she was 'deeply concerned at the appalling loss of life in India.'

Subsequent inquiries showed that the actual loss of life by drowning was fortunately not so great as at first estimated. The total number who perished on that disastrous night, so far as the officers of Government could ascertain, was 98,945, of whom 2,901 belonged to the district of Chittagong, 43,544 to Noakhali and 52,500 to Backergunge. The terrible outbreak of cholera which followed did not disappear till the end of January 1877. The deaths from cholera were known to have reached the number of 37,662, and the actual mortality was probably even greater. The total loss of life, directly and indirectly attributable to the cyclone, must have amounted to nearly 150,000 souls. The authorities exerted themselves to the utmost to alleviate distress and to combat sickness. Charitable relief was afforded where required, advances of money were given to the distressed *raiyats*, the payment of the Government revenue on some estates was suspended, and large additions were made to the local medical staff. It was satisfactory to find that, notwithstanding the appalling destruction of life and property and the serious injury done to the crops on the ground, the affected localities showed no signs of permanent impoverishment. The people soon returned to their accustomed avocations, trade and commerce resumed their activity, and the resources of the districts proved sufficient not only to supply the wants of their own population, but to export food in large quantities to meet the demands of Madras.

Miscellaneous.

The above pages will have shown that, when the Bengal-Bihar famine of 1874 terminated, a number of important administrative matters of which some account has been given came before Sir R. Temple. Matters of less importance, to which also he devoted his personal attention, were numerous, such as, the appointment of a Health Officer for the Port of Calcutta, the establishment of a floating hospital, a navigation canal between Calcutta and Eastern Bengal, the establishment of a vernacular Medical School at Patna, *ghatwali* tenures in Bankura, the establishment of authorized lodging houses (or hostels) for students at Government Colleges and Higher English Schools, an asylum in Calcutta for natives afflicted with incurable diseases, scholarships for girls, condification of the Land Revenue law of Bengal, revision of the Bengal Jail Code, Street tramways for Calcutta to be established by private enterprise, &c. &c. With a view to

encourage physical exercise and manliness' in Bengal youths, he held a gymnastic tournament (one of the first meetings of the kind in the Province), at Belvedere on the 7th January 1875, the competitions being limited to Government institutions.

Some of the projects to which I have alluded were carried out, some made no further advance, others contained the germs for future development. The years 1875-76 were characterised by the personal energy and activity, both physical and mental, of Sir R. Temple. Being devoted to riding, he made a point of seeing everything with his own eyes and discussing all questions on the spot with the best local information available. He rarely omitted to take his ride, morning or evening, whether in the plains or in the hills, and encouraged others to maintain their health and consequent efficiency for the public service. It was on one of these morning rides that he nearly lost his life, as he has himself described:—"I narrowly escaped an accident which exemplified the risks attending all horsemen on Himalayan bridle-roads. Close to Darjeeling I was riding quickly round a sharp corner on an Australian mare. Meeting an officer, I took my right hand off the rein to return his salute. At that moment my mare got her hind feet over the precipitous side of the roadway. I instantly slipped off to relieve her of weight, and tried to hold her up, but in vain. She tore herself away from me and fell—in a second or so I heard a crash—she had come upon the top of a great tree that rose up from below. I obtained assistance and extricated her from the tree. But she reached the shelving rocks at its base and swerved before I could catch her. Then she went down headlong till stopped by a stump which staked her. We made a sick-bed for her on the steep hillside and afforded medical treatment. But she died, not so much from the stakewound as from the nervous shock." Thus, he made considerable tours in Sikhim, combining health with the investigation of important political questions, the results of which were duly recorded. One of these tours took him into the heart of Sikhim to the monasteries of Tassiding, Pemiongchi and Sangachelling: another to the passes of the Chola, Gnatuila, Yakla, and Jeylep, from Sikhim into Tibet: another along the Nepal-Sikhim border to the snowline of Kinchinjunga. And every part of the Provinces was visited in turn, the horses (Walers and Arabs) always being taken if possible. In July 1875

he went by the *Rhotas* from Dhubri to Gauhati, and rode thence up to Shillong to confer with Colonel R. H. Keatinge, v. c. the Chief Commissioner. We rode the 60 miles down on a sultry day in July; one stout officer had a touch of sunstroke, but Sir R. Temple did not suffer. Indeed his activity was so great, and his movements were so constant that they were the subject of general comment, especially in the famine year, 1874. He has himself thus reproduced these comments (Story of my Life, I. 250): "European society at Calcutta seemed disposed to take umbrage at my constant absence from the capital. Perhaps they did not adequately bear in mind the permanent need, of saving life from famine, which had called and kept me away. The feeling was cleverly reflected by one of the comic newspapers of the day in Calcutta by a cartoon representing my various modes of locomotion. First I was seated in the observation car of a railway train, looking out of window in all four quarters. Then I was riding on a mule, winding my way through packloads and transit-carts—next on an elephant, looking quite cross at the slowness of the pace. Anon I was standing on the deck of my State barge, going at full speed with the river's current, then in a little launch pushing up into creeks and streamlets. Lastly I was galloping on horseback up to the great gateway of Belvedere Park, my own Government House, over which was a large board attached, with the words "Belvedere to let." All this must have been meant for satire, but, perhaps unintentionally, the satirist was conveying the highest forms of compliment; and my hope was that I deserved it. When however, I had settled down for a while at the capital, a cartoon of another sort came out, amidst a series of pictures then appearing of public men. I was in Court dress standing before a mirror, evidently in some reverie relating to Indian promotion. This time the caricaturist missed his aim, for my ambition, such as it was, lay far away from India."

Assumption of the Imperial title by Her Majesty the Queen.

By the Act of Parliament, 39 and 40 Vic. Cap 10 ("to enable Her Most Gracious Majesty to make an addition to the Royal Style and Titles appertaining to the Imperial Crown of the United Kingdom and its Dependencies"), and by the Proclamation dated the 28th April 1876, Her Majesty assumed the additional title of "Empress of India." Lord Lytton, by a Proclamation dated the 18th August announced

his intention "to hold at Delhi, on the 1st day of January 1877, an Imperial Assemblage for the purpose of proclaiming to the Queen's subjects throughout India the gracious sentiments which have induced Her Majesty to make to Her Sovereign Style and Titles an addition specially intended to mark Her Majesty's interest in this great Dependency of Her Crown, and Her Royal confidence in the loyalty and affection of the Princes and Peoples of India." The Delhi Assemblage was attended by Sir R. Temple as Lieutenant-Governor, accompanied by a number of ladies and gentlemen and leading native gentlemen of Bengal. The assumption of the Imperial title was celebrated throughout Bengal on the 1st January 1877 by *darbars* held at the head-quarters of each of the Divisional Commissioners. In Calcutta a *darbar* was held by the Commissioner of the Presidency Division, for Calcutta and the *24-Parganas*. At the head-quarters of every other district a *darbar* was held by the chief civil authority. The ceremonies which were observed at the *darbars* consisted of the reading of the Act of Parliament authorising an addition to the Titles of Her Majesty, and of the Royal Proclamation, in English and the vernacular, the delivery of an address by the presiding officer, the distribution of certificates of honour to those gentlemen who had distinguished themselves by assisting in the administration of the district or who had otherwise rendered good service to Government; and, in those districts where troops were stationed, they were paraded and fired salutes and a *feu-de-joie*. The *darbars* were in most cases followed by fire-works, illuminations, and other public rejoicings, and by the distribution of alms to the poor. The sum of Rs. 40,000, granted by the Government in aid of the public rejoicings on this occasion, was distributed among Calcutta and a few of the chief towns, and was largely supplemented by contributions from private individuals in other districts. At some stations subscriptions were collected with a view to commemorate the occasion in some permanent form. Under the orders of the Government of India, 3,082 convicted prisoners in Bengal were released on the 1st January and partial remissions of their sentences were granted to 5,862 more. Sixty four debtors were also released from the civil jail on the same date, the Government taking upon itself the responsibility of paying the claims for which they were detained, amounting in all to Rs. 3,389. A certain number of

convicts undergoing sentences of transportation at Port Blair and other penal settlements were released. In all districts there was a very commendable display of loyalty on the occasion of the proclamation of the Queen's new Title, and the gracious sentiments expressed towards the people of India by Her Majesty were well received and appreciated.

Deputation to Madras and Bombay Famine.

When Sir R. Temple attended the Imperial Assemblage at Delhi he was, at the time, Governor-designate of Bombay. The threatened famine in the Madras and Bombay Presidencies was causing great alarm to the Government of India, especially with reference to the famine administration and the great expenditure in Madras under the Duke of Buckingham's Government. Sir R. Temple was accordingly deputed to those Provinces by the Viceroy (Lord Lytton) by the following Notification, issued at Delhi on the 5th January :—

"His Excellency the Governor-General-in-Council, having had the advantage of personal conference with the Governors of Madras and Bombay regarding the condition of parts of their respective Presidencies which are at present afflicted by scarcity, deems it expedient that a high officer fully acquainted with the views of the Government of India should visit those Presidencies for the purpose of inspecting the distressed districts and communicating personally with the two Governments rgarding the measures which are being carried out, and which will have to be carried out, for the relief of distress, and of offering for their consideration any suggestions he may deem suitable. His Excellency in Council has accordingly resolved to depute the Hon'ble Sir Richard Temple, *Bart*, K. C. S. I., Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, on a special mission for the above purpose. Sir Richard Temple will report his proceedings from time to time to the Government of India in this Department."

He made over charge of Bengal to the Hon'ble A. Eden at the Allahabad Railway station on 8th January 1877 and proceeded to the Deccan. Accompanied by Mr. (Sir) C. E. Bernard, C. S. I., as Secretary, myself as Private Secretary, Major S. Rivett-Carnac, Dr. Robert Harvey, Major (Sir) W. W. S. Bisset, he spent the months, from January to the end of April, chiefly in Madras, on this famine mission, and on its termination the Government of India issued the following Notification, dated the 30th April 1877 :—

"The Hon'ble Sir Richard Temple, *Bart*, K. C. S. I. being about to assume the office of Governor of Bombay, to which he has been appointed by Her Majesty, and being in consequence under the necessity of closing the special mission on which he has been employed since the beginning of January in the Presidencies of Madras and Bombay and in the territories of His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore, His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General-in-Council desires to give public expression to the high sense which the Government of India entertain of Sir Richard Temple's services on this occasion.

'When in January last it was deemed expedient that a high officer fully acquainted with the views of the Government of India should visit the Presidencies of Madras and Bombay for the purpose of inspecting the districts afflicted with scarcity, and communicating personally with the two Governments regarding the measures which were being carried out for the relief of distress, the choice of the Government of India at once fell upon Sir Richard Temple as the officer whose experience, ability, and energy pointed him out to be specially qualified for the duty. At a considerable sacrifice of personal comfort and convenience, Sir Richard Temple promptly responded to the call made upon him, and has conducted his arduous and delicate mission with signal ability and success.

'The energy and devotion which have enabled him to undergo an amount of physical exertion which few could have accomplished are not more remarkable than the thoroughness of his inquiries and the judgment and tact which have characterized his communications with the Local Governments and their officers. To the Government of India Sir Richard Temple has rendered invaluable assistance at this trying juncture, in enabling it by his clear and lucid reports to appreciate the actual facts of the situation ; and His Excellency in Council is persuaded that the Government to which he was accredited must recognise the advantage of his practical suggestions for the relief of distress and for promoting a judicious economy in the heavy expenditure which is being necessarily incurred.

"The Governor-General-in-Council has no doubt that, if life and health be spared to him in the high office which he is about to assume, Sir R. Temple will add fresh and important services to those which he has already rendered to the State during his long and distinguished career. In entering upon his new duties he carries with him the best wishes of the Government of India."

A contemporary author wrote of him as follows :—

Observations.

'Sir R. Temple succeeded to the Lieutenant-Governorship, with the cordial goodwill of Lord Northbrook, whose, rather than Sir George Campbell's, famine officer,

or dictator, he had been. He was in robust health when he took up the duties which his predecessor in ill health had let fall. His career as an officer had been one of marked success; in particular, as Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces, he had shown qualities scarcely expected in him, for healing the wounds of war by developing and fostering arts of peace. That he had a powerful pen, and an extraordinary amount of physical endurance, were spoken of as facts known to every one; and he had a knowledge which Sir George Campbell did not possess, of what is meant by the phrase "live and let live," together with a faculty of infusing a cheerful spirit into other men, while carrying out his own ideas in cases of dispute. The Viceroy and Sir George Campbell had appeared to clash from the first. The Viceroy and Sir R. Temple agreed from the first, and agreed to the end. In the relations of Sir R. Temple to his officers and to Native India, there cannot be a doubt that the change from Sir George Campbell was welcomed generally. The new Lieutenant-Governor did try to please. A noble project, worthy of further reference, to create a Native Science Association had for some years hung on the verge of success. Sir R. Temple pushed it over the verge and it succeeded, or at all events lived. Even his financial speeches, opposed as they justly were in much, unpopular as they were in many points, exhibited a wonderfully facile power in the mastery and arrangement of details. That he soon forgot the opposition to him is perhaps a proof that he cared merely for performing well the duties of the passing hour, whereas Sir George Campbell would have proceeded on some hard and fast line of principle which years would not have obliterated. When Sir Richard left Bengal for Bombay the Native Press was, as far as I saw, all but unanimous in asserting that he had meant to rule justly and well. His great qualifications were, good administrative ability, cheerful spirits, an interest in other people, and a valuable power of forgetting. He could be a veritable Lieutenant-Governor without state, and could maintain his dignity without perpetually insisting upon it in his intercourse with men of any rank.'

I was so intimately connected with Sir R. Temple both by marriage and by office that I must refrain from adding comments of my own. One remark perhaps is permissible, that his Lieutenant-

Governorship was merely one episode of a public career of 49 years, and not the climax of his services to the state.

Governor of Bombay.

He had been made a Baronet in August 1876, after the Bengal famine of 1873-74; he succeeded Sir Philip Edmond Wodehouse, K. C. B., G. C. S. I. as Governor of Bombay on 1st May 1877 : and was made a G. C. S. I. in January 1878.

Subsequent career.

Sir R. Temple is the only Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal who has held high office in India after holding the Lieutenant-Governorship substantively. His Governorship of Bombay does not fall within the scope of this work. The despatch of the Indian troops to Malta in 1878 and the Afghan war were events of that period. He afforded great assistance to the Candahar column, particularly by pushing on the railway to Quetta. His statue was erected in Bombay by public subscription, and unveiled by Lord Reay, who expressed a hope that the Civil Service would in future boast many men equal to Sir R. Temple in personal energy, unfailing industry, and versatility. He suddenly returned home to England in March 1880, in order to accept the candidature offered to him by the Conservative party for East Worcestershire, but was defeated. He sat as a Conservative in the House of Commons for the Southern or Evesham Division of Worcestershire from 1885 to 1892, and for the Kingston Division of Surrey from 1892-5. He was for years a Member, for the City of London, of the London School Board, and was elected Vice-Chairman and Financial Member thereof from December 1885 to Easter 1894. He was President of the Social Science Congress at Huddersfield.

He was the author of "India in 1880" ; "Men and Events of my Time in India," in 1882 ; "Oriental Experiences," in 1883 ; "Cosmopolitan Essays," 1886 ; "Palestine Illustrated," 1888 ; "Journals kept in Hyderabad, Nepal, Sikhim and Kashmir ;" Memoirs of "John Lawrence," in the series of "English Men of Action" ; and "James Thomason" in the "Rulers of India" series : "The Story of my Life," 1896 : "Life in the House of Commons," 1900, besides separate articles on Indian subjects.

After his return to Europe Sir R. Temple maintained for years the same activity of mind and body which had distinguished him in India. Besides his labours in the House of Commons, he

found time for other pursuits. He wrote the books above mentioned. He travelled more in Europe, America, Egypt and Palestine than any other Anglo-Indian ; and he took a prominent position in addressing many scientific and religious Societies and Associations connected with India and others, such as—the Royal Geographical Society, the Church Missionary Society, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, Chambers of Commerce, the British Association, the Institute of Bankers, the Society of Arts, the Royal Institute of British Architects, the United Service Institution, the Scottish Arboricultural Society, &c. &c. and for several years was President of the East India Association, and Chairman of the Board of Visitors of the Cooper's Hill Engineering College. He was granted Honorary Degrees by the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge. A notice of Sir R. Temple and his career appeared under the heading "Celebrities at home" in the *World* some years ago, which contained the following passage: "Although he has during nearly the whole course of his life been placed in positions of great authority and responsibility, it may be said that he has enjoyed the rare fortune of never making an enemy, a fact which is undoubtedly due to his unvarying sense of justice and to his kindness of heart."

On the 8th of February 1896 he was sworn as a member of the Privy Council, and retired from Parliamentary life.

He married, 1st, in 1849, Charlotte Francis, (who died in 1855) d. of B. Martindale Esq., of London (by whom he had 2 sons and one daughter), and, 2nd, in 1871, Mary Augusta, eldest daughter of C. R. Lindsay Esqre., B. C. S. Judge of the Chief Court of the Panjab (by whom he had 2 sons).

CHAPTER VII.

THE HON'BLE SIR ASHLEY EDEN, K. C. S. I.

1877-82.

AFTER two Lieutenant-Governors from other Provinces, the appointment reverted to the Lower Bengal branch of the Civil Service, the officer selected being one who had for years been among its most prominent and able members. The Hon'ble Ashley Eden was the third son of Robert John Eden, third Lord Auckland and Bishop of Bath and Wells, and nephew of George Eden, Earl of Auckland, Governor-General of India. He was born at Hertingfordbury in Hertfordshire on 13th November 1831: educated first at Rugby, and then at Winchester until 1849, in which year he received a nomination to the Indian Civil Service. He spent 1850 and 1851 at Haileybury, but did not pass out (last of his term) until December 1851. He reached India on the 29th May 1852 and was first posted as Assistant Magistrate-Collector at Rajshahi, and had charge of the Subdivisions of Nator, and of Aurangabad in the Murshidabad district: was Assistant to the special Commissioner for suppressing the Sonthal insurrection, 1855, Deputy Commissioner Sonthal *Parganas*, 1856: on medical leave to the Mauritius, and exposed the wrongs of the Indian coolies there: Magistrate and Collector of Barasat 1856, and Magistrate of Murshidabad; during the Indian Mutiny he did much to check sympathy with the revolt in that city: was Junior Secretary to the Board of Revenue, 1859: Magistrate and Collector and Salt Agent of Cuttack: Special Envoy to Sikhim 1861, signed a treaty with the Raja, which secured protection to travellers and free trade: 1862-71, Secretary to the Government of Bengal and *ex-officio* Member of the Bengal Legislative Council: in 1863-64 Special envoy to Bhutan: (an account of this Mission has been given in its proper place): on leave from May 1867 to November 1868: in March 1871 Officiating Chief Commissioner of British Burma (being the first Civilian to hold that appointment): confirmed in 1873: in 1874, C. S. I.: in 1875, Officiating Member of the Governor-General's Executive Council for 6 months:

Previous Career.



Photogravure. Survey of India Offices, Calcutta, November 1900.

THE HON. SIR ASHLEY EDEN K. C. S. I.

From a photograph by Messrs Bourne & Shepherd.

Additional Member of the Governor-General's Legislative Council, October 1875 to February 1876: leave, February to December 1876: in January 1877 Officiating Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, confirmed on 1st May 1877: K. C. S. I. in 1878. On his retirement from India he was appointed a Member of the Secretary of State's Council in 1882.

When Lord Lawrence reached Calcutta in January 1864, to take up the Viceroyalty, the Bhutan Mission under Sir A. Eden had started. In a letter to Sir Charles Wood, then Secretary of State, the Viceroy made some remarks on Sir A. Eden which may be reproduced here, as showing the reputation he had already gained: "When I first arrived in Calcutta there was so much pressing matter that I gave no heed to the Bhutan Mission. When I saw from Mr. Eden's notes that he had met with difficulties and impediments I became a little anxious, but I did not like to recall him. There was not sufficient information to justify my doing so, and Beadon moreover thought that it was too late, and that Eden had got too far on the road to be recalled: I therefore did nothing, trusting that his *savoir-faire* and judgment would bring him through..... It seems to me that it was a mistake sending a Mission into the country at all; for there was no proper authority with whom to negotiate. But it was a still greater mistake for Eden to go on, when he found that the Rajas were unwilling to receive him. Perhaps, however, I am only wise after the event; and I do not wish to condemn Eden who, by all accounts, is a very fine fellow."

A character sketch.

Before he became Lieutenant-Governor Sir A. Eden was thus described in an Indian newspaper by an anonymous writer: "The portraits of the Hon'ble A. Eden in the Anglo-Indian Press convey the idea of an official Ghoul of naturally malign proclivities, or of a bad-tempered Indian Machiavel. The Native papers, on the other hand, have uniformly held him up as the undaunted champion of their rights and claims, their chief protector against 'the self-seeking of the European adventurer.' The English public has not on the whole, in Bengal at least, cherished towards him very friendly feelings. He has been too frequently in opposition to great interests to be much loved: and men will ascribe all evil to him who puts their craft in danger, however closely he may follow ideas of duty,

false or true. Even those who had suffered nothing at his hands regard him with suspicion as a clever and prejudiced official, whose pen drops gall, and whose tongue cuts shrewdly, who came somehow to grief in Bhutan, and is, therefore, presumably the author of every misfortune that has befallen the country since. Among his brother officers there are many whom his sparkling abilities and social geniality have made his friends; and it is said no stauncher friend than he could any man possess. But his inability to overlook an inanity, forgive an injury, or endure a snob,—his reckless satire and love of pungent antithesis,—have made him seem to many a very guerilla, the Ishmael as it were of the Civil Service.

Impiger, iracundus, inexorabills, acer,
Jura negat sibi nata, nihil non arrogat armis.

There is not in the whole Indian Civil Service one who has been more emphatically a public man, regarding whom more facts are known or more lies told, or who has been the happy recipient of more rapid promotion."

It was also said of Sir A. Eden that, if Bengal had had to choose a Lieutenant-Governor, he probably would have been its choice. On the other hand it may also be mentioned that the Viceroy had nominated for the vacancy his colleague in Council, Sir A. J. Arbuthnot, K. C. S. I., (who was the second choice when Sir G. Campbell was appointed), but high legal authority in England had pronounced him to be ineligible, as he had retired from the Civil Service. Sir A. Eden had attended the Delhi Imperial Assemblage as Chief Commissioner of British Burma, and took over charge of Bengal on the 8th January 1877 at Allahabad, as has been said above. His Private Secretaries were Capt. H. Boileau, I. C. S. : Lt. Col. H. H. Stansfield : and Mr. E. R. Henry, I. C. S., successively.

The Annual Administration Reports.

The Annual Administration Reports in Sir A. Eden's time were not so interesting as those of his predecessors. He deliberately reverted to a more formal style. "Of late years there has been some tendency to depart from the instructions of the Secretary of State and Government of India, and to give the Report a more or less discursive character. It is understood that what the Local Government is really required to furnish is a concise record of the realized administrative facts of the year, mainly for proposes of official reference. Such a record is

obviously not intended to be an argumentative vindication of the policy of Government, or to be made a vehicle for the speculative discussion of questions which have no immediate bearing upon the actual occurrences of the year under report. Such discussions are apt to raise hopes which may never be fulfilled, and are not unfrequently quoted as pledges of a policy which Government may at a future time find itself unable to carry out."

Events of political significance and the famine.

The year 1877 opened with the Imperial Assemblage at Delhi. The loyal enthusiasm which the occasion evoked throughout the land was even then overclouded by the shadow of the general calamity of famine which shortly afterwards overspread the southern and western Presidencies. The outbreak of war between Russia and Turkey appealed strongly to the sympathies, both political and religious, of an important section of the population. In Bengal, however, the effect of these occurrences was less keenly and less directly felt than in other parts of the Empire. In connection with the war between Russia and Turkey, religious services were held in some of the Calcutta mosques, and subscriptions were raised to succour the sick and wounded and the families of soldiers who might fall in the war; but the movement hardly extended beyond the Presidency town, and excited little interest among the bulk of the Muhammadan population in the eastern districts. The famine, which desolated the districts of southern India, extended to only one corner of the Provinces under the Bengal Government, a tract of about 100 square miles in the south-west of Orissa, near the Chilka lake. Throughout this tract the harvests entirely failed, and a population of about 12,000 souls was reduced to a condition of the utmost destitution. Relief was afforded by Government and from private charity; local public works were set on foot; and, though there was much unavoidable suffering, the worst extremities of famine were thus averted.

Result of the famine.

One result of the famine in the south and west of India was to stimulate commercial activity in Bengal to an almost unprecedented extent. Large quantities of grain were forwarded westward by the railway, still larger quantities were sent by sea to the south. The charges for freight rose to an unusual height; the Port of Calcutta was crowded with vessels taking cargoes

on board for Madras; there were not enough cargo-boats to put the rice on board, and the number of pilots to take the ships to sea was insufficient. For several months all the appliances of the Port were strained to the utmost to supply this unusual demand. A Famine Relief Committee was organized, embracing all classes of the community, and subscriptions to the amount of above £12,000 were collected and remitted to the distressed districts. A separate appeal, made by the Chief Commissioner of Mysore, was liberally responded to in the districts of Bihar, which had been assisted 3 years previously in the time of their own need, and a sum of about £1,300 was collected and forwarded to Mysore from the Patna and Bhagalpur Divisions.

Extension of the system of provincial finance.

Under the orders of the Government of India, in connection with the Imperial budget for 1877-78, the system of provincial finance received a further and a very important development, arising out of the pressing necessity of providing in prosperous times a substantial surplus of income over expenditure, in order to meet famine charges and to enable the Government to defray expenditure on all unremunerative public works out of ordinary income, and not from borrowed capital.

The decentralization scheme of 1870-71 had resulted both in economy and improved administration. The growth of expenditure had certainly been checked, and, in the few branches of revenue that had been transferred, there had been a decided development of income. The Government of India therefore considered that the best way out of their financial difficulties lay in giving the Local Governments a direct interest in the improvement of some of the more important heads of revenue, securing at the same time to the Imperial Government a share in the results that might be expected to follow.

Accordingly, the revenues of the following departments, hitherto under Imperial control, were surrendered to the Local Government on condition of the payment of a fixed annual contribution to the Imperial treasury:—excise; stamps, with law and justice: and portions of the customs, salt, marine, and miscellaneous receipts. The contribution to be made in respect of excise was calculated so as to secure an annual increment under that head of one *lakh*

of rupees for the Imperial Government. Under stamps, and law and justice, $2\frac{3}{4}$ *lakhs* per annum were similarly demanded as the normal growth of that head. The contributions under the remaining heads transferred were generally calculated on the basis of existing receipts.

The opportunity was taken to make over to the Local Government with fixed grants various branches of expenditure hitherto reserved as Imperial. In fact, the Supreme Government retained under its direct control only those grants which for some special reason it was undesirable to make over to provincial control.

The various departmental receipts were transferred to the Government of Bengal for a fixed contribution in 1877-78 of Rs. 1,91,07,000 and the charges were transferred with a fixed total assignment of Rs. 1,34,70,000. Combining the previous Imperial assignment with these figures, the result was an Imperial grant (for 1877-78)...of Rs. 54,22,000. The Government of India, however, in concluding these arrangements, deducted Rs. 5,90,000 from the previous Imperial grant of 1,10,59,000 as a lump retrenchment or contribution from provincial resources. The net grant for 1877-78 therefore stood at Rs. 48,32,000.

In connection with the development of the system of provincial finance it was resolved to render the Local Government responsible for the cost incurred, and to be incurred in the future, on the construction and management of extraordinary public works—that is to say such public works as railways and works of irrigation—which had been constructed with borrowed money and had not been paid for out of the revenue of the year. The Provincial Public Works Act, II (B. C.) of 1877, was accordingly passed, and came into force in June 1877, to provide for the levy of a cess for the construction, charges, and maintenance of provincial public works. It was little more than an application of the existing method of assessment and valuation under the Road Cess Act to the new cess. It made the Road Cess valuations the basis of a new additional assessment, the proceeds of which would be devoted to the construction and maintenance of provincial public works. The rate of the cess was to be fixed by the Local Government from time to time for each district, but was not to exceed the rate of half an anna in the rupee of the annual value of the lands in a district : and half of it was to be paid, as the

road cess had previously been, by the *raiyat* and the other half by the *zamindar*. The time and manner of making payments were to he the same as under the Road Cess Act. Also, in order further to provide funds to meet the heavy expenditure which might at any time be rendered necessary by relief measures in any Province, it was decided that Bengal should contribute for this purpose a sum, which for the year 1878-79 was fixed at Rs. 21,15,000; and as it would have been unfair to throw additional taxation on the agricultural classes, who had to bear the burden of the local public works cess, the further sum required was directed to be raised from the commercial and industrial classes by means of a license tax on trades, dealings, and industries. This led to the passing of Act I (B. C.) of 1878, the Bengal License Act, which came into force towards the close of February 1878. The Act provided for the levy of a license fee on trades, dealings and industries throughout Bengal. No person whose annual earnings from his trade, &c. were less than Rs. 100 was liable to the tax; but, when his earnings exceeded that sum, he was charged according to his means, the Collector determining the class in which he should be placed. The fees varied from Rs. 500 to Re. 1; and if any person could show that the fee levied upon him exceeded 2 per cent upon his annual earnings from his trade or dealing he was entitled to have it reduced to that of some lower class or grade. In the *mufassal* certain important and leading occupations formed the first class of the Schedule, and paid a fee of Rs. 500 or Rs. 200, as the Collector might determine, subject always to the 2 per cent limitation. In the lower classes no specification of callings was attempted, and the Collector was left free to classify the applicants for licenses according to his judgment of their means. The rates of fee in those classes were Rs. 100, Rs. 50, Rs. 20, Rs. 5, Rs. 2, and Re. 1. For Calcutta it was thought better to adopt, with slight modifications, the schedule of callings already in force under the Municipal Act, only raising the rates of fee to correspond with the Schedule for the *mufassal*. The tax was collected in Calcutta through the municipal agency, and power was taken in the Act to make similar arrangements in any *mufassal* Municipality. The proceeds of the tax were to be applied "for the purpose of increasing the revenues available for defraying expenditure incurred, or to be incurred, for the relief and prevention

The Bengal License Act.

of famine in the territories administered by the Local Government, or, if the Governor-General-in-Council so directs, in any other part of British India."

It gave rise to some discontent among the classes brought under its operation: in fact, it was unpopular with all classes affected by it, but one of the chief causes of its unpopularity was removed later by the exemption of the assessees possessed of incomes below Rs. 250 *per annum*, who formed the great majority of the persons affected by the measure, from the incidence of the tax, reducing the proceeds of the tax from 27 to 17 *lakhs* of rupees. In 1880 an Act was passed under which the minimum assessable income was fixed at Rs. 500.

The result of this extension of the Provincial Services scheme proved most satisfactory. The receipts under the chief heads of revenue largely increased, while unnecessary expenditure was cut down, and the money thus saved was devoted to improving those branches of the administration which most required an increased outlay, to public works of general or local utility, to the advance of education, the reform of prisons and other similar objects, which had for some years past had to stand over for want of funds.

Reconstitution of the Secretariat.

Having regard to the great increase of financial work involved in this expansion of the decentralization system, and to the great importance of watching and controlling the provincial revenues and expenditure, Sir A. Eden found it absolutely necessary to relieve the Judicial and Revenue Secretaries, who were already fully worked, of all questions Connected with the finance, accounts, and taxation, and to place these departments of the administration in the hands of a separate Secretary, who should give his whole time to such subjects, and should also take charge of the important work of supervising the collection and collation of trade statistics—a duty which had previously been performed by the Junior Secretary. A Financial Secretary and an additional Under-Secretary were appointed, the post of Junior Secretary being abolished, and the salary of the Junior Secretary to the Board of Revenue being at the same time reduced. These proposals were sanctioned as an experimental measure and subsequently confirmed. Excluding the Department of Public Works, which was not affected by these changes, there were thus constituted 3 Secretaries to the Government of Bengal, in charge

of the Judicial, the Revenue, and the Financial Departments respectively. The Judicial and Revenue Secretaries were each assisted by an Under-Secretary, and the Financial Secretary by an Assistant Secretary. The appointment of Assistant Secretary was conferred on a native gentleman.

Separation of the Civil Service into Executive and Judicial branches.

The details of the scheme for the separation of the Civil Service in the Lower Provinces into the distinct branches the Executive and the Judicial, were finally settled, and it was arranged that every Covenanted Civilian should be called upon, between the tenth and the twelfth year of his service, to elect the branch of the service to which he desired to be attached, and that orders should be passed on his choice by the Local Government. The Government did not bind itself to accept absolutely the choice made by each officer, but reserved a power of decision, in view of the interests of the public service and the qualifications of the officers concerned. But when an officer had once been placed on the list of one branch of the service, he was not to be transferred to the other branch without the previous sanction of the Governor-General-in-Council. In applying these principles to the senior members of the service, it was ruled that officers who had already been substantively promoted to District Judgeships or to Collectorships of the first grade should be considered to have elected the judicial and the executive branches respectively. Adding to these the officers to whom an election was offered, it appeared that 92 officers had chosen the executive, and 59 the judicial, line of the service. Of the whole number of appointments, 55 belonged to the executive and 39 to the judicial branch, while 24 appointments were open to members of either branch. These appointments were exclusive of the Civilian Judgeships of the High Court and of the Registrarship of the High Court on the appellate side, these last appointments not being under the Government of Bengal, but officers holding them would be understood to have elected the judicial branch. Looking to the number of appointments available to the two branches of the service respectively, the proportion of officers who elected to serve in either line corresponded very accurately with the number of appointments open to them.

With the view of providing a better judicial training for Covenanted Civilians and especially for those who elected the judicial

branch of the service, the following proposals were submitted to the Government of India :—

(1) that all Covenanted Civilians should after 5 years' service be vested with the powers of a Munsif, and that they should exercise those powers in addition to the powers with which they were vested as Magisterial and Revenue officers : (2) that all Covenanted Civilians should be called on to elect between the executive and judicial branches of the service after 9 years, instead of (as previously) between the tenth and twelfth years of service ; (3) that officers electing the judicial branch should, on making their election, be relieved, as far as possible, of executive duties, and be vested with the powers of a Subordinate Judge, and also with the power of hearing criminal appeals from Magistrates of the second and third class.

The increase in the litigation of the country afforded ample civil judicial work for Covenanted officers without any diminution being made in the number of Munsifs or Subordinate Judges ; and the adoption of these proposals was expected to improve the judicial training of all Uncovenanted Civilians, and enable Government when necessary to depute Civilians for the decision of rent suits to any part of the country where agrarian disputes might be rife and where the presence of a Covenanted officer might be of great service in checking agitation.

In furtherance of this scheme, several Covenanted Civilians, whose duties had hitherto been confined to executive and criminal judicial work, were invested with powers as Civil Judges, and entrusted, according to the length of their service, some with the functions of a Subordinate Judge and others with those of a Munsif. The scheme involved some preliminary difficulties in its introduction, and some alteration of its original form was required before it could be said to work satisfactorily.

Retirements of Civilians.

The alleged injury caused to the junior members of the Covenanted Civil Service in Bengal by the stagnation of promotion arising from numerous admissions to the service in the years 1861 to 1863 had for some time been under the consideration of Government. In March 1877, the Secretary of State agreed to extend to the Lower Provinces of Bengal the concession previously sanctioned for the Civilians of the North-Western Provinces and to allow during 1877 any Civilian of 20 years' service,

who had not completed the full term of residence, to retire on a pension bearing to £1,000 per annum the proportion which his actual residence bore to 21 years, the full term required for full pension. Officers who accepted this offer were also permitted, under certain conditions, to receive the capital value of a portion of their pensions. Eight Civilians applied to retire under these orders.

Lotteries.

In 1877 the question of lotteries came before Sir A. Eden, as at that time a lottery annually held at Umballa on the Derby had grown to considerable proportions, and the Panjab Government withdrew the prohibition against the publication of advertisements of lotteries not authorized by Government. The Commissioner of Police at Calcutta reported that advertisements of lotteries and race-sweeps printed beyond the limits of Lower Bengal were sent in large numbers to hotels and places of public resort in Bengal, in contravention of Section 294 A of the Penal Code, and that the proprietors of newspapers and other periodicals in Bengal complained bitterly that their columns were closed to notices and advertisements which were freely permitted elsewhere. Sir A. Eden considered that the different treatment of lotteries by the several Local Governments was exceedingly unsatisfactory; in Bengal the law was strictly enforced, while in the Panjab and elsewhere it was habitually broken with impunity, and newspapers were allowed to advertise and circulate proposals directly opposed to the provisions of the Penal Code. He wrote to the Government of India expressing his opinion that, if these lotteries and race-sweeps were mischievous, they should be put down by law, instead of being allowed to develop themselves year by year; but that, if they were considered to be a harmless amusement, the prohibitory clause in the Penal Code should be repealed, and lotteries should not be discouraged: he himself considered them exceedingly mischievous. The Government of India concurred with his opinion as to the mischievous character of the lotteries and race-sweeps advertised, and believed that the mischief was year by year assuming greater dimensions. As the intention of the law on the subject was clear and as its provisions were intended to operate in one Province as much as in another, the Government of India considered that the law should be uniformly enforced. Local Governments and Administrations were therefore requested to enforce the law

after giving due notice thereof by publication of the orders of Government in their several official Gazettes.

The Order of the Indian Empire.

On the first January 1878 the Order of the Indian Empire was instituted as an Order of Distinction. The Royal Warrant recited that there did not exist adequate means of rewarding important and useful services rendered to Her Majesty and to the Indian Empire, and that, with a desire to commemorate the event of the proclamation of the Style and Title of Empress of India and her Indian Dominions, Her Majesty had resolved to institute a new Order of Decoration. A number of Councillors were declared *ex-officio* and for life Companions and Members of the Order. Fifty nominations to the order were at first made, and it was ordered that in any successive year the nominations should not exceed 20, exclusive of *ex-officio* appointments. Sir A. Eden, as Lieutenant-Governor, was appointed an *ex-officio* Companion, and several gentlemen connected with Bengal "who by their services have merited the Royal favour"[1] were appointed to be Companions of the Order.

In February 1887 (on the day of the celebration of Her Majesty's Jubilee in Calcutta) a change was announced, in the constitution of the Order of the Indian Empire, by Letters Patent, so as to enable Her Majesty "to reward a greater number of persons who by their services, official or other, to Her Majesty's Indian Empire, have merited the Royal favour." It was henceforth to be styled "The Most Eminent Order of the Indian Empire": besides the Sovereign and Grand Master, (and Extra and Honorary Members) there were to be 50 Knight Commanders, and an unlimited number of Companions of the Order, to have place and precedency next after the corresponding classes of the most distinguished Order of Saint Michael and Saint George: new Statutes were issued: several gentlemen connected with Bengal received the Royal Favour on this occasion. In June of the same year a further change was made by the addition of a higher class, viz., Knight Grand Commanders of the Order.

Railways.

In May 1877 the Northern Bengal, Tirhut, Nalhati, and Calcutta and South-Eastern State Railways were made over to the control of the Government of Bengal, in pursuance of the policy by which the Local Governments became responsible to the Imperial Government for interest on the capital expended

on reproductive works. The Northern-Bengal State Railway, running, with only a break at the crossing of the Ganges from Porada on the Eastern Bengal Railway to Jalpaiguri, was formally opened in January 1878. An extension from Jalpaiguri to Siliguri was opened in November 1878. This Railway, through some of the richest districts in Bengal, was expected to carry a heavy traffic in tobacco, grain, seeds, jute and tea. The Tirhut Railway starting from the Barh station of the East Indian Railway, with a short line to the south bank of the Ganges, crossed the river by a steam ferry, and was continued on the north bank, a distance of 52 miles, to Muzaffarpur with a shorter branch of 23 miles to Darbhanga.

The Darjeeling Steam Tramway.

In 1878-79 a Company for the purpose of constructing, maintaining and working a steam tramway between the terminus of the Northern-Bengal State Railway at Siliguri and the station of Darjeeling was started, with Government aid, under a formal agreement between Mr. Franklin Prestage and the Secretary of State. An Act was passed in Council to give the Company the necessary powers to construct and maintain the tramway &c. It was hoped that the delay and difficulty previously experienced in getting passengers and goods to and from Darjeeling and the Northern Bengal State Railway terminus would be obviated by the construction of the tramway, and also that the prosperity of the hill stations of Darjeeling and Kurseong would be thereby rapidly developed, and that the Northern Bengal State Railway would itself feel the benefit of the increased traffic. The line was pushed on and opened for traffic in 1880-81, and its name was subsequently changed to 'The Darjeeling-Himalayan Railway.'

The Railways in 1881-82.

The development of railways in Bengal during the years 1874-82 was very rapid. In 1874, there were, excluding the guaranteed lines, 55 miles of Provincial Railways open for traffic, with a capital outlay of Rs. 76,90,000. At the end of the year 1881-82, 525 miles had been completed, with an outlay of Rs. 40,500,000, while 309 miles, including 130 miles of the Bengal Central Railway and 6 miles of the Deoghur Railway, were in course of construction, 780 miles had been surveyed, probably to be commenced shortly, and 800 miles projected.

The following was the list of railways in Bengal, either completed, in course of construction, under survey, or projected in 1881-82.

Open for Traffic.

I. The Northern-Bengal State Railway.
II. The Kaunia-Dhurla and Mogul Hat light State Railway.
III. The Darjeeling-Himalayan Railway.
IV. The Tirhut State Railway.
V. The Patna-Gaya State Railway.
VI. The Calcutta and South-Eastern State Railway.
VII. The Nalhati State Railway.

Under Construction.

I. The Calcutta and South-Eastern Railway extension to Diamond Harbour.
II. The Tirhut Railway extensions to Bettia and Pipra Ghat.
III. The Tirhut Railway alternative line to Semuria (opposite Mokameh).
IV. The Northern Bengal Railway extension to Dinajpur.
V. The Central Bengal Railway to Jessore and Khulna.
VI. The Deoghur Railway.

Surveyed or under Survey.

I. The Northern Bengal Railway extension from Dinajpur to Manihari, with a branch to Purnea and the Kosi.
II. The Tirhut Railway extension to Bullora on the Kosi.
III. Muzaffarpur-Hajipur branch.
IV. The Central Bengal Railway to Bhugwangola.
V. The Dacca and Mymensingh Railway.
VI. The Nagpur Railway.

Projected.

I. The Tirhut Railway extension to Sitamarhi.
II. The Daudkandi and Chittagong Railway.
III. The Railway from Comilla, north to Cachar and Assam.
IV. The Palamau, Daltonganj and Barun Railway.
V. The Railway to Bihar.
VI. The Baidyabati and Tarakeswar Railway.
VII. The Midnapore and Puri Railway.
VIII. The Kishenganj and Kotechandpur Railway.
IX. The Bhagalpur and Bausi Railway.
X. The Burdwan and Katwa Railway.
XI. The Khairabad Branch Railway.

Relations between landlords and tenants in Northern Bihar.

In some of the districts of Northern Bihar, the relations between landlords and tenants were described as being by no means cordial. The *zamindars* complained that the *raiyats* did not pay their rents, and that they were unable to enforce decrees; while the *raiyats* complained of illegal distraints, oppression, enhancements, and summary ejectments. There could be no doubt whatever that the combined influence of *zamindars* and *ticcadars* had ground the *raiyats* of some parts of Bihar down to a state of extreme depression and misery. The majority of them probably, as a matter of fact, possessed rights of occupancy, but, owing to change of plots, and the subjection of the *patwaris* to the *zamindars*, they were unable to produce legal proof of this. There were, however, signs that the *raiyats* were beginning to understand better their legal rights. They were beginning to pay their rents into Court in accordance with the *zamindars'* returns under the Road Cess Act; they were learning to recognize and to resist illegal attempts at distraint; they found that the subdivisional and district officers were ready to listen to them and advise them for their good, and they were beginning to resort more freely to them for such advice. The tenants of small proprietors, moreover, saw that in the great Darbhanga estate the position of the cultivators was being improved, defined, and settled, and this encouraged them to demand more equal treatment for themselves. The indigo-planters had already intimated their readiness to pay them better rates. There was, in fact, a general stirring throughout the Division, which could not fail to have a good effect; and Government acknowledged its duties, to guide, foster, and control the movement, through the local officers, assisted by the better classes of planters and *zamindars*, until the relations of all parties were placed upon a just and equitable basis.

Indigo cultivation in Bihar.

It was pointed out to the many intelligent and wealthy landholders in Bihar that it was for them to consider whether it was not to their advantage to meet this movement half way and endeavour to establish permanent occupancy rights and security of tenure on their estates, and to check at once the system of treating the cultivators of the soil as mere squatters, liable to eviction and to be rack-rented at the whim of the proprietor or *amla*—a system which then existed in too many estates. Nothing

could tend, it was said, so much to the prosperity of an estate as a good, well-to-do, and contented tenantry, having a permanent interest in the soil : and it was for the landholders to establish such a state of things, before the growing discontent and increasing intelligence of the people led to open rupture between *zamindars* and *raiyats*. The system of irregular distraint had been carried to great extremes in some parts of Bihar, and Sir A. Eden desired the Commissioner to impress upon the Collectors the necessity of *putting a stop to this, continuously and gradually, confining the zamindars* to the procedure laid down by law. No doubt the conditions under which the people of Bihar held their lands were in some respects exceptional, and Sir A. Eden intimated his readiness to consider, if necessary, exceptional legislation for this part of the country in the matter of the collection of rent.

With regard to the question of indigo cultivation in Bihar, Sir A. Eden had occasion, soon after assuming charge of the administration to declare, in considering a proposal, which was *made the year before, for a Commission of inquiry into the system* of indigo planting, that, before taking any steps to regulate it by law, he would await the result of the measures of reform which the planters on his invitation themselves resolved to initiate. He declared himself ready to consider any suggestions which they might make, and any amendments of the existing rent law which they might deem necessary, to place the relations of *zamindar*, planter, and *raiyat* on an equitable basis. He was fully convinced that the downfall of the indigo industry in Bihar would be a public calamity, and had no doubt whatever that it might, by judicious modifications and a fairer distribution of profits, be carried on without friction and to the advantage of all concerned. He gladly acknowledged that a very considerable step towards placing matters on a sounder basis had already been taken, and that his proposals for reforming the old system had been met by the planters in a cordial and conciliatory spirit. Indeed he saw every reason to believe that they recognised the fact that, if the indigo trade was to continue, it could only be by a greater recognition of the rights and interests of those who actually grew the crop. The reforms which some of the planters had already introduced into the system were attended with the most beneficial results.

The attention of Government was specially drawn during 1877-78 to the abuses which had been allowed to grow up in connection with indigo cultivation in Bihar. A Report submitted by the Commissioner of Patna conclusively showed that the system, as it existed, involved an amount of lawlessness and oppression, principally in the shape of extorted agreements to cultivate and of seizure of ploughs and cattle, which could not be tolerated. It was clear that, although there was no such manifestation of widespread discontent as to render the appointment of a Commission necessary, as had at one time been proposed, there was certainly much discontent, manifest enough to local officers, and of such a nature as to require very close watching and very strong officers to deal with it.

On receipt of this Report, some of the leading planters as well as officials of Bihar were consulted through the Commissioner. It was an object to do nothing which would unduly excite the mind of the *raiyats*, and to avoid any such agitation as might lead to breaches of contract and general embitterment of relations between planters and *raiyats*; and, as some of the leading planters declared themselves sensible of the necessity of reform and willing to assist in the work and for this purpose undertook the establishment of a Planters' Association, any action on the part of Government was postponed and the matter was entrusted to their hands. This body showed a sincere desire to place the relations between planter and *raiyats* on a more satisfactory footing, and drew up a series of rules for the guidance of the members of the Association. These rules embodied very important reforms, and the action thus far taken by the Associations was thoroughly satisfactory to Government.

The most important reform, however, was some measure for giving the *raiyats* greater security of tenure and consequent freedom of action. This was a subject which could only be adequately dealt with by legislation, and was beyond the scope of the measures within the power of the Planters' Association. While the scheme for amending the Rent Law was under consideration, Sir A. Eden in September 1878 appointed a Committee to consider the question of improving the Rent Law in Bihar specially, as the requirements of Bihar and Bengal were different. "In Bengal," he wrote, "the primary want is a ready means of recovering rents which are

clearly due and which are withheld either for the sake of delay, or in pursuance of some organised system of opposition to the *zamindar*. In Bihar, what is most wanted is some ready means of enabling the *raiyat* to resist illegal restraint, illegal enhancement, and illegal cesses, and to prove and maintain his occupancy rights." The report of this Bihar Rent Committee was submitted on 8th March 1879 and was one of the causes contributing to the Bengal Tenancy Act of 1885, as the Committee (like the Rent Law Commission) came to the conclusion that the time for a complete revision of the existing law had arrived.

Proposed legislation to facilitate the realization of rents.

The information which Sir A. Eden acquired in his visits to various parts of the Lower Provinces was that there was little open display of animosity going on between landlords and tenants, and it was not necessary in any case to have recourse to the special procedure of the Agrarian Disputes' Act. In some districts there was every indication that the landlords and tenants, who had been disputing for years, were coming to terms and making concessions. The causes of dispute, however, were not removed, and the real grievance was that the state of the law was such as practically to involve a denial of justice to either party who might attempt to put the law in motion. The *zamindar* who applied to the Courts to obtain an enhancement of rents or the recovery of arrears due to him, the *raiyat* who complained of excessive demands or of illegal distraint,—found himself hampered, and eventually baffled, by the technical and dilatory procedure which regulated the disposal of these classes of suits. So long as this was the case, it was to be apprehended that the differences would smoulder without being extinguished; that both parties would remain quiescent, but that the latent animosity would from time to time break out in acts of violence and outrage. Two aggravated cases of the murder of *zamindars* by *raiyats* occurred —one in Faridpur, the other in Midnapore. This evil could only be effectually remedied by an amendment of the law; and Sir A. Eden accordingly expressed his desire of introducing a measure to facilitate the realization of rents by a more speedy and summary procedure than existed at the time. A Bill was prepared and referred to the Government of India for introduction into the Governor-General's Legislative Council. Subsequently the Supreme

Council passed an Act which enabled the Bengal Council to deal freely with the subject, so that a Bill for the more speedy realization of arrears of rent and to amend the law relating to rent, was introduced into the Council, and on the 11th January 1879 referred to a Select Committee. In consequence, however, of the Committee urging very strongly the propriety of taking up the revision of the rent law of Bengal in a much more comprehensive manner than was contemplated at first by the Government. Sir A. Eden believed that the best mode of dealing with the subject was to appoint a small Commission of experienced revenue and judicial officers, whose duty it would be to prepare a careful analysis and digest of the existing rent law, and of the decisions of the Courts since the passing of Act X of 1859. The Commission would then consider the suggestions for amendment that had been put forward, and endeavour to prepare a draft Bill embodying such additions to the substantive law and such improvements in the law of procedure as might commend themselves to their judgment. As it was necessary that one member of the Commission should have his hands free from other duties to enable him to find time to prepare, under the instructions of his colleagues, the digest and the draft Bill, Mr. C. D. Field, L. L. D., Judge of Burdwan, was placed on special duty for this task, the other members of the Commission being the Hon'ble H. L. Dampier (President), the Hon'ble J. O'Kinealy, Mr. H. L. Harrison, and Babu Brojendra Kumar Seal.

This action was approved by the Government of India. Mr. Field completed his digest of the existing law of landlord and tenant, which was circulated throughout Bengal for criticism.

Rent Law Commission.

The labours of the Rent-Law Commission were brought to a close in June 1880. They submitted a full and complete Report with a draft Bill, both of which were published with a view of eliciting the opinions of the officers of Government, as well as of the classes interested in land, upon the proposals put forward. No actual recourse to legislation was contemplated until the Government had had time fully to consider the opinions and criticisms invited upon the measure, or until the orders of the Government of India and of Her Majesty's Secretary of State had been passed upon the proposals which the Local Government might eventually make.

A landlord and tenant Bill.

In 1881 a draft Bill to amend the law of landlord and tenant in the Lower Provinces was submitted to the Government of India. The Bill was based on the draft Bill prepared by the Rent-Law Commission, but numerous alterations were made in the original Bill with reference to the various reports and criticisms received by Government after the publication of the Commission's Report. The measure would, it was hoped, if it became law, fully secure the rights and interests of both landlords and tenants.

Cinchona Febrifuge.

In 1878 the cinchona plantation, begun in British Sikhim in 1862, covered about 2200 acres. In 3 years it yielded a considerable outturn of bark, the crop amounting to about 340,000 lbs. The object of Government in maintaining these plantations was to supply the hospitals and the people with a cheap remedy for malarious fever, and on the advice of the experienced chemist, who had been appointed Government Quinologist, it was decided to issue the preparation of cinchona bark, named cinchona febrifuge—a whitish powder composed of the alkaloids existing in the bark. The favourable experiments made with it in the Calcutta hospitals and the Burdwan district led to its being largely issued for trial. As to its value, there was, at first, some difference of opinion but, on increased experience, it was largely substituted for quinine: 3000 lbs. were used in Government hospitals and dispensaries during the year, resulting in a considerable pecuniary saving. The sale of over 2000 lbs. of it at the Botanic Garden office proved that its value was appreciated by the public. The revenue, thus derived, exceeded the expenditure by about Rs. 11,000, besides the large saving arising from the diminished issue of quinine. The plantation was moreover capable of meeting a larger demand.

Agriculture and Horticulture.

Sir A. Eden recorded, in a few words, his opinion on the important subject of Agriculture. He wrote thus—"The Government of Bengal has no Agricultural Department and does not attempt to teach the Bengali cultivator his business, believing that he already knows how to make the most of the soil and the material available to him, and to meet the varying demands of the open market better than any European can teach him. In Horticulture however, many useful experiments are carried

on in the Royal Botanical Garden at Howrah, under the skilled superintendence of Dr. King. Fresh improvements were made in various parts of the Garden. The building in which the herbarium and office were placed was enlarged and improved :"

Hospital management and medical expenditure.

In February 1878 Sir A. Eden nominated a special Committee to consider, among other subjects connected with medical administration, the question of hospital management in Bengal. The Committee made a detailed inquiry into the administrative history of each institution in Calcutta and the Suburbs, and submitted a Report containing a series of well-considered recommendations on each subject. In the Government Resolution which thereupon issued on the 25th January 1879 Sir A. Eden wrote as follows :—

"The primary object of the Lieutenant-Governor, in instituting this inquiry, was to put an end to the confusion and waste which appeared to have crept into the administration of some hospitals, and to introduce an economical and uniform system of management. Some of the facts which have come to light will require explanation. But the Lieutenant-Governor is not now immediately concerned with the apportionment of praise or censure. Such cases will be dealt with separately and on their own merits, and, while the Lieutenant-Governor cannot permit any medical officer convicted of unpardonable carelessness and neglect of duty to resume or continue the management of a hospital, no such officer will be condemned until he has had an opportunity of furnishing an explanation of the charges brought against him. The Committee's remarks allude in many places to a state of things which existed under Superintendents of hospitals now no longer in India. In dealing with the Committee's Report, therefore, Sir A. Eden will for the present avoid the mention of the name of any officer in any way responsible for a state of things which he may consider it his duty to condemn. Whatever explanations may be forthcoming, the facts stated in the Committee's Report cannot be gainsaid. The object now in view is the establishment of a uniform system of hospital management, which will provide for the greatest economy consistent with full regard for the care of the sick, the elimination of vicious principles of administration, the selection of methods found by experience to offer the best results, and the distinct apportionment

of the duties and responsibilities of the different classes of officers. It should be stated at the outset that it is the desire of Government, not that less than they require should reach the sick but that the public money should not, under the pretext of their needs, be wasted by the acts of dishonest or careless and inefficient subordinates. Fixed and uniform principles are required for the protection at once of the suffering poor and of the public funds."

The Committee's recommendations were duly examined and the appropriate orders issued by Government, with the result that the reforms introduced caused a saving of more than a *lakh* of rupees during the first year, notwithstanding that there was an increase of 3,849, or 15 per cent, in the number of indoor patients. In the orders of Government the maximum limit for the cost of diets of Europeans and natives, inclusive of extras and stimulants, was fixed at 8 annas for the former and 3½ annas for the latter; and the actual cost during a year in the different hospitals showed conclusively that these limits afforded an ample margin for any extras that the medical officer might think it necessary or desirable to give. Taking all the institutions together, the average cost of European diets was 7 as 7 p. and of native diets 2 as 6 p. In order to avoid the waste of expensive drugs in *mufassal* dispensaries, which had hitherto been supplied gratuitously by Government with European medical stores, it was decided to adopt the system in force in Madras and Bombay under which dispensaries paid for all medicines and instruments they received from the Government stores. The dispensaries that could not afford to pay for their own medical stores were to be closed, unless there were some very special circumstances to render their maintenance necessary.

In the general reform of the Medical Administration to which Sir A. Eden devoted special attention, he was chiefly guided by the knowledge, experience, and sound judgment of Dr. A. J. Payne: *lakhs* of rupees were saved with improved administration.

Settlement Legislation.

Settlement work throughout Bengal was much facilitated by the passing of Act III (B. C.) of 1878, which laid down a procedure to be followed for bringing the under-tenants and *raiyats* to an early decision with respect to the Settlement Officer's rates, and giving *a priori* validity to these until they were set aside by a decree of Court: it provided that enhanced rents

recorded as demandable by a Settlement Officer under Regulation VII of 1822 should be deemed correctly enhanced until the contrary should be proved. It was found, however, in practice that the Settlement Officer was unable to obtain the correct facts required by the Civil Courts for basing his grounds of enhancement, and an Act, III (B. C.) was passed in 1879 repealing the Act of 1878, to remove this difficulty while securing the *raiyat* against arbitrary and excessive enhancement. The only grounds of enhancement were distinctly enunciated in the measure and rates laid down, in accordance with which the rent recorded as demandable from an undertenant might be determined, and every *raiyat* was to be liable to pay the rent recorded as demandable unless he could prove that such rent had not been assessed in accordance with the provisions of the Act.

Education.

The organization of the Education Department was revised by Sir A. Eden in July 1878 with the view of distributing more satisfactorily among the authorities concerned the supervision of the different branches of Education and defining more precisely the powers to be exercised by each. The Director was to be held responsible to Government for the state of education of every kind. Superior education in Colleges and Madrasas was placed under his immediate control. In matters of secondary education, the final distribution of the grant-in-aid assignment was to rest in his hands, all grants being sanctioned and withdrawn by him. His power of appointment to teacherships and other offices, and of promotion therein, was defined and enlarged. In other matters connected with secondary education, he was to look to the Inspector, and in those belonging to primary education to the Magistrate; retaining in each case the final control and revision, subject to the orders of Government, of important and disputed points. The immediate duties of Magistrates and District Committees on the one hand, and of Circle and Assistant Inspectors on the other, were similarly determined. In addition, each class of officers was empowered, and indeed invited, to communicate freely to the other any observations on educational matters not falling within their own control which the experience of their daily work might suggest to them. With regard to the subordinate officers of the department, the Deputy Inspector, who had been charged with the supervision of all classes of schools in his district, was to be subor-

dinate to the Inspector in regard to secondary, and to the Magistrate in regard to primary, education. In the first month of his tenure of office, Sir A. Eden earnestly appealed to all district officers to use their utmost exertions, first to increase the number of primary schools and scholars in their districts, and secondly, to see that the primary school grant was administered in such a way as to produce the best and largest results. He held out the example of Midnapore, as an instance of judicious and economical administration, where a system of payment by results had been introduced by the Magistrate, Mr. (afterwards Sir) H. L. Harrison.

The Engineering College at Sibpur.

A Committee was appointed in January 1878 to consider and report what measures it was necessary or desirable to take for the establishment of a technical school to be connected with the workshops and manufactures of the Public Works Department at the Presidency. The Committee was further to consider whether it would not be desirable to remove the Civil Engineering branch of the Presidency College to the neighbourhood of the new institution, so that the 2 might be worked together, and theoretical instruction be combined with thorough practical technical training. They unanimously recommended that this branch of the Presidency College should be incorporated with the proposed institution, the whole forming one great technical school for the training of engineers and mechanics; but that the theoretical and practical branches should be under entirely independent management, the supervision and control of the former resting with the Education Department, and that of the latter with the Public Works Department.

A site was then procured for the new institution by the purchase of the Bishop's College premises at Sibpur, near Howrah, and by the acquisition of a large area of land on the river bank immediately above those premises; and workshops were constructed on a scale that would meet the requirements of an Engineering College and Technical School in its earlier stages, and admit of expansion afterwards to any extent that might be required.

In regard to the organisation of the institution, the following principles, recommended by the Committee, were approved by Government. Four classes for (1) Civil Engineers, (2) Mechanical Engineers, (3) Civil Overseers, and (4) Mechanical Overseers, were

at first to be maintained, a fifth class for draftsmen, and a sixth for the improvement of skilled workmen, being added later, if desirable. The courses for each of the above classes provided for both a theoretical and a practical training.

Government did not guarantee an appointment in the public service to any one trained in the institution, but it promised to select the most distinguished students, and the most capable apprentices, to fill such vacancies as might arise, and not to appoint men in this country to the Public Works Department, or to district appointments, who had not been trained in this school, as soon as qualified men were obtainable from this source.

It was hoped that the institution, which was opened just as the year 1879-80 closed, would do more good to the people of this country than any school which had yet been established. It was to give native boys of all classes the means of obtaining a thorough practical education, enable them to leave the beaten track of clerical and ministerial service, for which alone they cared to qualify themselves, and was to open to them a large and lucrative professional career. At the same time it was to provide a suitable and useful training to Eurasian boys in this country, and place them in a position to earn an honorable livelihood in a profession for which they were well adapted.

Education of poorer classes.

The question of the education of European and Eurasian children of the poorer classes had long been regarded as serious. Lord Lytton, in a Minute dated 25th March 1879, give the number of children as between 11,000 and 12,000, and called for a scheme for dealing in as complete and practical a manner as possible with the whole subject. Archdeacon J. Baly submitted a valuable Report to give effect to Lord Lytton's views, which was circulated to the Local Governments. In due course a Committee was appointed under Mr. (Sir) A. Croft, Director of Public Instruction in Bengal, to draft a code for regulating the conduct of European education in the Bengal Presidency, so far as it was dependent upon Government support. The Committee reported in July 1882, and the Government of India passed orders on it in the following year.

Jails.

The year 1878-79 was one of great activity in the Jail Department. The Report of the Prison Conference and the orders of the Government of India passed upon it led to the introduction of a new and more economical scale of diet and

helped to bring about a reorganisation of the whole jail service and the substitution of warders for police guards. The question of the improvement of prison accommodation received much attention, and the prisoners of 16 jails were employed almost wholly on building operations. Jail industries were developed in accordance with the principle that each central jail should have 1 or 2 special manufactures, and the prisoners of district jails be employed on some form of unskilled penal but profitable labour. Sustained efforts were made to increase the discipline and penal character of all the jails, and special attention was given to the identification and segregation of habitual offenders. In all these directions, great progress was made and the results of the reforms introduced in many instances soon became manifest. Under Sir A. Eden's orders great improvements were effected in every branch: the jail service, both superior and inferior, was revised, new jail buildings were constructed, discipline amongst the prisoners was strictly enforced, and at the same time corporal punishment was much diminished; a better water-supply and a more liberal scale of diet much improved the general health of the prisoners, the fortnightly weighment of the prisoners was regularly carried out, with the best results, as the weights at once afforded an indication when a change of diet or of labour was desirable; the mark system, under which the prisoners were enabled by good conduct and industry to earn a reduction of the term of imprisonment was amended, and proved a great incentive to good behaviour; the services of convict officials were more largely utilised, and finally the registers and forms were thoroughly revised. A new jail code received the approval of Government, simplifying still further, both generally, and in detail, the administration of the department.

Greater efficacy in the internal discipline and management of the jails resulted from the substitution of warder guards for the police. The latter were to be employed merely to guard the outer gates of the district and central jails, and it was contemplated to replace them entirely by warders. This scheme was introduced tentatively into some of the principal jails.

The Vernacular Press Acts, IX and XVI, of 1878.

The seditious character of the writings in some of the vernacular newspapers and their obvious tendency to excite disaffection against the Government and to bring upon it the hatred and contempt of the unenlightened

masses to whom they were principally addressed, as well as the system of extortion to which the native feudatories and many native employés were exposed by the rapacity of unscrupulous native editors, had for some years engaged the attention of the Government of India and of the Secretary of State. In 1873 Sir George Campbell, as Lieutenant-Governor, had expressed himself decidedly of opinion that a much stronger law was required than that which then existed (viz., Act XXV of 1867, and Section 124A of the Penal Code, as amended by Act XXVII of 1870). The consideration of certain newspaper articles had shown that the enforcement of the existing law would be attended with great difficulties, and that prosecutions under it were undesirable. But the evil continued. Lord Lytton's Government therefore took up the question, and obtained the opinions of the Local Governments, who were all with one exception agreed that a special law was needed for the control of the Native Press. A Bill was therefore introduced into the Governor-General's Council and passed into law as Act IX of 1878 on the 14th March. Its main object was to place newspapers published in the vernacular languages of India under better control, and to furnish the Government with more effective means than the existing law provided of punishing and repressing seditious writings which were calculated to produce disaffection towards the Government in the minds of the ignorant population. Another object was to prevent unscrupulous writers using their papers as a means of intimidation and extortion. A special measure was considered necessary, as the object was to repress an evil of a special and united nature, and a special procedure was devised to *prevent* the commission of offences. The measure was fully explained to the Council by Sir Alexander Arbuthnot, Member of the Supreme Council, in a statesmanlike speech, and Sir A. Eden spoke as follows :—

"My Lord,—The subject before the Council appears to me to be one regarding which there is very little to be said ; for it is a matter regarding the merits of which I can conceive the existence of no two opinions. What there was to say has been so ably and logically said that I find myself with but little to add, like my Hon'ble friend Mr. Colvin. However, I feel that I ought not to give a silent vote in respect to the passing into law of a measure such as that before the Council, and this the more from the fact that I have had occasion to

bring before the Government of India instances of the licentiousness and sedition of the vernacular Press, and to urge the necessity of bringing that Press under control, and making it powerless for mischief.

"The evil has long been felt by the Government of Bengal, and I believe by nearly all the other Local Governments. My predecessor, Sir G. Campbell, very strongly stated on several occasions his conviction that measures for controlling the vernacular Press were called for.

"I can very plainly foresee the misrepresentation and abuse to which the Government of India exposes itself by its determination to deal with this question in a bold and unflinching spirit, and I therefore desire, as a Member of this Council, to take upon myself my full share of responsibility for the measure.

"An attempt has been made by several very unscrupulous members of the Native Press to mislead the people into the belief that what Government desires to check is, not sedition, but fair criticism of public men.

"This is an assertion which I most emphatically deny and repudiate. What Government does object to is the sedition and gross disloyalty of some of the vernacular papers, and their attempts to sow the seeds of disaffection to the British rule in the minds of ignorant people.

"There have been laid before the Government extracts from the vernacular papers which establish the constant use of language of this description, and show that they habitually attack and misrepresent the Government, under which they live in peace and prosperity, in terms intended to weaken the authority of Government, and with a reckless disregard of truth and fact which would not be tolerated in any country in the world. The writings to which I allude have nothing to do with personal attacks. The personal abuse, the falsehoods, the scurrility and the exaggerations which are applied to individual officers may well, as heretofore, be left to the ordinary action of the law Courts, or be treated with the contempt they deserve. But it has been prominently stated that even this practical irresponsibility for personal abuse is a public mischief, and is used for the purpose of extorting money or frightening timid subordinates from a proper discharge of their

duties. But it is not on this ground that I desire to support this measure. What I do recognise, and long have recognized, as a fact, is, that the licentiousness of the Press has, under false ideas of freedom and independence, been allowed to reach a stage which promptly calls, in the interests of the public at large, for the interference of the Legislature.

"I entirely agree with the Hon'ble Mover of the Bill in thinking that the whole of the vernacular Press is not open to these charges. I believe with him that there are many such papers conducted by respectable men on excellent principles; but the law proposed cannot injure them. If papers do not write sedition, or endeavour to incite disaffection towards the Government, or endeavour to extort money by intimidation, their position will be no worse when this Bill has become law than it was before. If they do publish matter of this objectionable character, then it is the plain duty of Government to interfere with them in the interests of the public, and I am sure that the public will have no sympathy with them.

"I can quite understand that the Government of India has, as the Hon'ble Mover of the Bill has stated, felt some difficulty in applying a measure of this sort to a portion of the Press and exempting another portion. But the difficulty, it seems to me, is imaginary rather than real. The papers published in this country in the English language are written by a class of writers for a class of readers whose education and interests would make them naturally intolerant of sedition; they are written under a sense of responsibility and under a restraint of public opinion which do not and cannot exist in the case of the ordinary Native newspapers. It is quite easy and practicable to draw a distinction between papers published in English and papers published in the vernacular, and it is a distinction which really meets all the requirements of the case, and should not be disregarded merely because some evil-disposed persons may choose to say that Government has desired to show undue favour to papers written in the language of the ruling power.

"The Press must be treated on its own merits. Had the English Press of India been in style and tone what it was 20 years ago, I for my part should have had no hesitation in voting for its inclusion in the present Bill. But I know nothing that has improved more of late years than the tone of the Anglo-Indian Press. It no doubt

attacks Government measures and Government officials, and often very undeservedly ; but, as I have said before, it is not this sort of criticism to which Government objects or desires to control. On the whole the English Press of India, whether conducted by Europeans or Natives, bears evidence of being influenced by a proper sense of responsibility and by a general desire to discuss public events in a moderate and reasonable spirit. There is no occasion to subject that Press to restraint, and therefore, naturally enough, it is exempted. It would be a sign of great weakness on the part of Government to bring it within the scope of this measure merely to meet a possible charge of partiality. If it should ever happen that the Anglo-Indian Press should adopt a tone calculated to excite feelings of disaffection to the British rule, I shall be amongst the first to ask for its inclusion in a low of this sort.

"My Lord, I will not take up the time of the Council any further I have never lost an opportunity of stating my opinion on the subject we are now discussing, and I hope that I have explained with sufficient distinctness the grounds upon which my opinions are based. But even if I did not entertain these opinions as strongly as I do, I consider it my duty, when told by Your Excellency, as Head of the Executive Government, that on full and calm consideration it had been determined that a measure of this sort was necessary for the maintenance of peace and order, to give it my hearty support."

The Act contained a provision (section 5) which enabled the publishers of vernacular newspapers to withdraw themselves from its restrictive provisions by submitting their proofs to a Government Officer. The Secretary of State, when assenting to the Act, objected to this portion of it and desired that it should be suspended or abandoned. It was accordingly repealed on the 16th October by Act XVI of 1878. In the debate which then took place it was distinctly stated that, as a consequence of the earlier Act, there had been a very marked improvement in the general tone of the Vernacular Press of India as well as in the style and matter of the articles published. On the passing of the Act, a translation of it was forwarded to the publishers of all vernacular papers in Bengal, and their attention was called to its provisions. A hope was expressed that it might not be necessary to enforce these against any members

of the Vernacular Press, but it was also notified that Government did not intend the Act to remain a dead letter, and that seditious language calculated to excite hatred and contempt against the Government or maliciously defamatory of Native Chiefs and officials would undoubtedly cause action to be taken against the offending journal. The Act soon had a beneficial influence upon the tone of the Native Press, and thoughtful discussion was, it was hoped, gradually taking the place of the disloyal, scurrilous, and defamatory articles of the past. The tone of the English newspapers under native management was in the majority of instances considered to be all that could be desired. They contained much keen, and often unfavourable, criticism of Government measures, but were generally free from gross personalities, and thoroughly loyal in feeling and tendency.

In 1879 the tone of the Native Press generally improved under the check imposed by the Act. Subjects of public interest were freely discussed, but in more temperate language than formerly. It was clearly shown that, while the Act did not discourage legitimate criticism, the mere fact of its existence was generally sufficient to restrain license.

The Act was once put in force, I know, as I was Press Commissioner with the Government of India at the time. Proceedings were taken against the *Som Prokash* newspaper for publishing seditious matters, and a bond was demanded from its printer under Act IX of 1878. The action was taken by the Magistrate of the *24-Parganas* under orders of the Bengal Government, who were set in motion by the Government of India. The printer executed the bond, but subsequently stopped the issue of that paper and started the *Navabibhakar* in its place. The following year permission was sought to revive the *Som Prokash* and such permission was accorded on the Editor's giving a pledge for its future good conduct. Subsequently both the *Som Prokash* and the *Navabibhakar* were published, their management and establishment being separated—the office of the *Navabibhakar* being removed to Pataldanga, Calcutta, while the *Som Prokash* remained at its old office at Chingripotta, in the suburbs of Calcutta. Thus no prosecutions took place : no further publicity was given to the incriminated articles : a warning was given to the whole Native Press, and its tone perceptibly improved, without any diminution of free, fair, honest criticism

The next year, 1880, it was noticed that, although some improvement had taken place in the style and language of the vernacular newspapers since the introduction of the Vernacular Press Act, their general tone was one of opposition to Government and Government measures. They never hesitated to impute unworthy motives to Government and were full of personalities regarding Government servants. They, however, generally preluded their remarks by expatiating on their individual loyalty, and complaining of the passing of the Act. The leading organs of the Press were naturally found in Calcutta. They were altogether wanting in originality and habitually followed the English Press and borrowed largely from it. A new feature in their columns was the amount of attention and space devoted to matters connected with English politics. The virulence of party controversy at home, as reproduced in many organs of the English Press, afforded much congenial matter to the Native papers in Bengal.

But in 1880 the Government was changed in England: Mr. Gladstone, who had denounced the Vernacular Press Act, came into power, and the new Governor-General, the Marquis of Ripon, had (it was understood) instructions to repeal the Acts. The contemplated repeal was anxiously looked forward to by the Native Press, and was generally attributed to the agitation that had been maintained. The Acts were accordingly repealed by Act III of 1882, which retained power to the Post office authorities to search for and seize any vernacular publications of a seditious nature, the importation of which had been prohibited under the Sea Customs Act, 1878. For some years no further action was taken in Bengal towards the vernacular Press. The repeal of the special Acts left Government and individuals no other remedy against seditious and otherwise objectionable writings but recourse to the ordinary criminal law, viz., section 124A of the Indian Penal Code, which had previously been considered unworkable.

The proceedings taken in 1891 against the *Bangabasi* newspaper will be found in another Chapter (X). It came to be generally admitted by Government that the law was in an unsatisfactory state: and a bitter feeling obtained among officials that they were denied proper and reasonable protection against immoderate Press criticism. Certain disastrous occurrences in another part of India practically

forced the hand of Government, and legislation was undertaken to amend the difficult, if not unworkable, Section 124A, of the Penal Code. Act IV of 1898 repealed that section and substituted a new one, to deal with "Sedition": it inserted a new section 153A, in the Code, to punish "promoting enmity between classes": and it substituted a new section 505, to punish "statements conducing to public mischief." The preventive procedure of the Act of 1878 was abandoned, and all journals, English and Native alike, are now subject to the same law, and must be dealt with by the ordinary tribunals.

Excise: the outstill system.

In 1878-79 the excise policy was developed in the direction of a return from the central distillery to the outstill system. A commencement in this direction had been previously made, but the progress effected in closing distilleries and licensing shops under the outstill system was very rapid in this year. The Board of Revenue in reporting on it remarked that—

"the outstill system is beginning to show its superiority notwithstanding its imperfect development and the great difficulties arising from permitting the concurrent existence of the outstill and *sadar* distillery systems in the same or adjacent districts. During the past year, owing to the high price of food-grains and the scarcity which existed in some parts of the country, a diminution of the Government revenue might certainly have been expected under the *sadar* distillery system, as the high cost of the liquor produced in the *sadar* distilleries would have prevented many of the poorer labouring classes from satisfying even their most ordinary cravings. The outstill system has supplied the people with a cheaper and weaker liquor, which is comparatively free from intoxicating effects, and has led to no complaints of any increase of drunkenness. The financial results have been very satisfactory, and the settlements of the current year show even more favourable financial prospects."

Government noticed with satisfaction that the Board were sanguine as to the financial results of the measure. There were reasons to fear that the excise revenue would exhibit a falling-off, though it was premature to express any opinion as to whether this was in any way connected with the introduction of the outstill system, or was solely due to high prices or other causes. As regards the moral effect of the change, it was also premature to express a

decisive opinion. It could not be disputed that the licensee had a more powerful interest in augmenting the sale of his spirit under the outstill system than when he paid according to the amount consumed. The spirit distilled was weaker, but also cheaper, and was drunk in larger quantities. In contrasting, however, the moral effects of the two systems, it was essential not to lose sight of the important element of illicit distillation which necessarily flourished far more under the *sadar* distillery system than under that of outstills.

It was subsequently claimed for the outstill system that, though it had supplied the people with more wholesome liquor, it had caused no general increase in drunkenness, while it had certainly checked illicit distillation and in some degree tended to discourage the use of deleterious drugs. It was probably accompanied by an increase in actual consumption, as there was an increase in the quantity of spirits removed on payment of duty from the *sadar* distilleries where such existed : but this was attributed to the increased prosperity and spending power of the people. From the statistics furnished by the *sadar* distilleries of Patna and the Sonthal *Parganas*, and the fact that higher rates were offered for licenses not only for country-spirit shops, but also for *tari* shops, it was clear that there was a great increase in the demand for liquor, apart altogether from the source of supply. An expansion of the excise revenue in all countries follows on favourable harvests and general agricultural prosperity, and Bengal was no exception. The duty of Government under such circumstances was to see that undue facilities for drinking were not offered, and that the price of liquor was not unduly reduced by letting the shops on inadequate terms. A special inquiry was instituted into the administration of the excise in some districts. But it was considered obviously unwise, because the people would have liquor, to revert to a system which had been found in practice to lead to fraud, to loss of revenue, and to the demoralization of the subordinate officers, without affording any check on consumption. It was held to be a matter for satisfaction that this enhanced demand should have been met by a supply of weak and wholesome liquor, and not of strong or adulterated spirits from the old distilleries or from illicit sources.

Government afterwards recorded that the outstill system was

found by experience to be the only system under which the sale of country spirits could be conducted with success in the existing condition of the Province; and the *sadar* distillery system was entirely withdrawn from the Rajshahi, Dacca, Chittagong, and Patna Divisions and from the districts of Purnea, Manbhum, and Singbhum. With a few exceptions, the change of system was made with care and good judgment; the sites for shops were selected with discretion, and competition among bidders for licenses was stimulated. District officers were directed to be on their guard against allowing an undue multiplication of shops at unduly low rates, thus both reducing the price of spirits and giving unnecessary facilities for obtaining them. "If, however, they exercise care in selecting the sites for shops, and stimulate a healthy competition among the bidders for licenses, there can be little doubt that, as has been the case under the fixed duty system, the revenue paid to Government and the price charged to the public will rise with the desire and power of the public to purchase. It is only by confining the number of shops and stills to the genuine wants of the district, fixing a substantial upset price and encouraging competition among candidates for licenses that the price of liquor can be kept at rates sufficiently high to act as a check on consumption."

The question of the effect of the outstill system in encouraging the consumption of liquor occupied much attention. In a few districts, where the system was mismanaged in the face of the orders of Government, some increase in drunkenness among the labouring classes took place. "This is the result that must ensue where shops are multiplied and let for small fees, and it is entirely independent of the system under which the liquor is manufactured. The dealers compete among themselves for the custom of consumers instead of being compelled to compete for the original right to sell, and they are enabled to sell spirits at low rates because they have low rates of fees to pay to the State. Precisely the same result would ensue under the *sadar* distillery system if shops were scattered in clusters over the country, while the rate of duty was reduced to a minimum. In those districts, however,—and these form the large majority—where the outstill system has been managed with discretion, and where the orders of Government have been strictly obeyed, the results have been very different. Illicit distillation has been suppress-

ed and the interests of the State have been protected, while the people have been supplied with a wholesome weak spirit at reasonable rates. That a larger quantity of this weak liquor is consumed there can be no doubt, but there is nothing to show that the consumption of alcohol has increased beyond the normal increase which always takes place when the people have money to spend on luxuries, or that drunkenness has been in any way promoted by the outstill system. No comparison can be made between the quantity of spirits actually consumed under the 2 systems. The accounts kept by the distillers cannot be taken as accurate, and the strength of the 2 classes of liquor is different. No doubt the people have actually spent more money on drinking during the past 2 years than they did before, but this is a result which would have occurred altogether apart from any change in system. Evidence of the increased expenditure on exciseable articles presents itself on all sides, and the increased spending power of the people is shown equally in larger sales of the ordinary articles of commerce. Notwithstanding the competition of outstill liquor, the quantity passing into consumption from such *sadar* distilleries as remain has shown a steady increase."

The soundness of the outstill system, when worked according to the principles insisted on by Government, was regarded as being amply established; and it was the settled policy of Government to extend it to every part of the Province when the special circumstances of the locality did not render such a measure inexpedient. There was a considerable improvement in the working of the system. The difficulty of gauging the real demand for liquor in each district was at one time the main drawback to the system, and this undoubtedly caused the opening of an unnecessarily large number of shops in some districts at the commencement; but constant attention was given to this point, and it was believed that a fairly just proportion had been established between the number of licensed shops and the popular demand for liquor. At the settlements of 1881-2, the number of shops under both the outstill and the *sadar* distillery system was reduced from 6,284 to 5,780, and a further reduction to 4,417 was subsequently effected.

During Sir A. Eden's administration, the excise revenue rose from nearly 69 to nearly 94 *lakhs*: this remarkable increase was due in a considerable degree to the re-introduction and develop-

ment of the outstill system, but a much more powerful stimulant was found in the bumper harvests, the activity of trade, and the general prosperity which marked the years 1879—81. Sir A. Eden wrote: "No hope whatever can be founded on the recent rapid expansion of the excise revenue. The increase has been so remarkable that a check is probable, and, if a bad harvest occurs, is inevitable."

The Army Commission.

Sir A. Eden having been selected to preside over the Commission appointed by the Supreme Government to inquire into and report on the organization of the army in India, the office of the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal was, during his absence at Simla, from July 15th to the commencement of December 1879, filled by Sir S. C. Bayley, Chief-Commissioner of Assam, who retained also charge of the Assam administration (and Sir A. Eden's Secretaries and Private Secretary, Mr. Henry.) It has not been found possible to distinguish in the annual Reports between all the measures of Sir A. Eden and Sir S. Bayley: the general policy of the Bengal Government remained unchanged, as was intended. I find that Sir S. Bayley, during this time, unveiled the statue of Lord Northbrook, south of the High Court, and installed the Maharaja of Darbhanga. Of the Army Commission, Lord Lytton said in Council, in March 1880, "I cannot too highly express my lasting sense of our great obligation to my Hon'ble friend Sir Ashley Eden for the astonishing industry with which he has devoted his great intellectual powers to the accomplishment of one of the most arduous, and one of the most important, tasks ever undertaken by an Indian Statesman." Sir John Strachey spoke also of the Commission as having been presided over by one of the most eminent of Indian Statesmen.

Changes in the executive administration.

Several important steps were taken during the year 1879-80 towards carrying out more fully than hitherto the policy of admitting natives of the country to the higher ranks of the public service. The Government of India deemed it desirable to formulate definite rules for the guidance of the Local Governments and Administrations on the subject, and, under these, persons not natives of India were declared admissible to certain specified classes of appointments only, and all other appointments were in future to be exclusively filled by natives. The higher grades of the Subordinate Judicial and Exe-

cutive Services were thus practically closed to Europeans, save in exceptional cases, in which the sanction of the Supreme Government was to be obtained to a departure from the rules. The steady decrease in the number of Covenanted Civilians allotted to Lower Bengal, and the increase of work in almost every branch of the administration having rendered an addition to the Subordinate Executive Service necessary, the sanction of the Government of India had to be obtained to an increase of 31 in the strength of this service. A saving in the cost involved was, however, effected by the creation of a new grade of Deputy Collectors on a salary of Rs. 150 per mensem, (the lowest grade formerly having been Rs. 200,) and the new officers were appointed to this grade. Rules were also issued by the Supreme Government to provide for the regular and periodical appointment of Natives of India to the Covenanted Civil Service under the Statute 33 Vic., c. 3. One such appointment had been made in Bengal in 1878. Under the new rules the Local Governments were annually to nominate persons for appointment by the Government of India. In 1879, 2 appointments were allotted to Bengal, and 2 gentlemen appointed as probationers, subject to confirmation on their passing the departmental examinations and being favourably reported upon. An additional judgeship for Burdwan and Bankura was created and given to a native subordinate judge.

Proposed Divisional Appellate Courts.

A scheme for the constitution of Divisional Appellate Courts, which should be able rapidly and efficiently to dispose of the mass of appeals which had hitherto come before the High Court, was submitted by the Local Government in 1877. The main objects aimed at were to diminish the arrears in the High Court and the consequent hardship on suitors, owing to the delay in the decision of their claims ; to secure that an appeal to the High Court, when allowed, might be a complete appeal on the facts as well as on the law ; to remedy the injustice imposed on all but the richest litigants who were unable to obtain a final decision on their cases without carrying them on from the remote interior to the tribunal in Calcutta ; and to increase the finality of the decisions of the Local Appellate Courts by strengthening their authority and enhancing their reputation. The adoption of this scheme had been indefinitely postponed on the ground of

financial pressure, and the final orders of the Government of India and the Home Government on the application of the Local Government asking for a reconsideration of the measure were not received before Sir A. Eden left Bengal.

Labour Emigration.

Various important administrative questions in connection with the working of the Indian Emigration Department came before Government during 1879-80, such as the action to be taken to encourage free emigration to the tea districts; arrangements for an improved watersupply on board the river steamers and for securing more careful inspection of the emigrants *en route*, the strengthening of the medical staff on board, and inquiries into the causes of cholera among the labourers in transit. A Commission representing the principal interests concerned in inland emigration was appointed to sit in Calcutta during the cold season of 1880-1, and all points in connection with the subject were reported upon for the necessary amendment of the law, to be proceeded with as soon as possible. The main object to be secured was the making of recruiting more easy, and the supply of labour to the tea districts generally less expensive.

Withdrawal of troops from out-stations.

The Bengal Government in 1879-80 recommended to the Government of India and the Army Commission the withdrawal of troops from most of the small out-stations in Bengal, and while final orders were pending the Government of India acted on the suggestion so far as to withdraw the Native Infantry from Bhagalpur, Naya Dumka, Dacca and Berhampore; and subsequently the wing of the 18th Native Infantry was also removed from Jalpaiguri. No addition to the police force at Naya Dumka was considered necessary; but, in accordance with the scheme of the Bengal Government for the replacement of the troops at out-stations by police, an additional special reserve force of one inspector, one sub-inspector, 8 head-constables and 100 constables was organized at each of the stations of Bhagalpur and Dacca, and a similar force of one sub-inspector, 4 head-constables and 50 constables at Berhampore.

Legislation: Presidency Magistrates' Act (IV of 1877).

The passing of the Presidency Magistrates' Act (IV of 1877), enabled the Government to avail itself more largely than before of the services of Honorary Magistrates in Calcutta. Such Magistrates were previously em-

ployed in hearing Municipal cases only, but it was from this time arranged that they should sit in rotation with the Stipendiary Magistrates as a Bench for the disposal of police cases.

In 1880 the Council of the Lieutenant-Governor passed an Act I (B. C.) of that year to authorize the making, and to regulate the working, of street tramways in Calcutta.

Act I (B. C.) of 1880, the Calcutta Tramways Act.

The Corporation of Calcutta having entered into an agreement for the construction and maintenance of street tramways in the town, the object of the Bill, (introduced by the Hon'ble Kristo Das Pal in Dec. 1879), which followed the lines of the Bombay Tramways' Act, 1874, was to confer the necessary legal powers on the contracting parties, and to make proper provision for the working of the tramways. The Bill also contained a provision for extending it to such suburban tramways as might afterwards be undertaken.

Act VI (B. C.) of 1880, for the drainage and improvement of lands, repealed Bengal Act V of 1871, which provided for certain works for the drainage and reclamation of lands in the Hooghly and Burdwan districts, known as the Dankuni scheme, but empowered the Lieutenant-Governor to carry out similar works throughout all the territories under his administration. Col. Haig, R. E., Secretary to Government had shown how such operations could profitably be applied to the Howrah *jheel* (3·41 sq. m.), and to those of Amta (3·56 sq. m.) and Rajapur (6·87 sq. m.). The Act provided that each scheme under the Act should be prepared with plans and estimates by the Government engineers and published for general information. The cost of the works was to be assessed, on the lands reclaimed and improved, in proportion to the benefit derived, by Commissioners appointed by the Lieutenant-Governor, of whom the majority were to be proprietors. The recovery of the sums apportioned on the several proprietors was left in the hands of the Collector. The works when completed were to be kept up in the same manner as public embankments at the expense of those whose lands were benefited, and in their maintenance the Collector was to be assisted by a Committee of proprietors appointed for that purpose. A material alteration from the procedure under Act V of 1871 consisted in allowing the Commissioners an opportunity of watching results for 3 years after the works were completed before they proceeded to

Act VI (B. C.) of 1880, the Bengal Drainage Act.

apportion the costs of the works. Thus the liability to reply any portion of the capital was deferred for 3 years.

The Cess Act was one for amending and consolidating the law relating to rating for the construction, charges, and maintenance of district communications and other works of public utility, and of provincial public works. During the 8 years during which the Road Cess Act of 1871 had been in force, several points of importance had come to light on which it required amendment. The opportunity was also taken of repealing the Provincial Public Works Act of 1877, and of consolidating into one Act the law relating to Road Cess and to the Provincial Public Works Cess, both of which were assessed on the same principle, and levied according to the same procedure and by the same machinery.

The Cess Act, IX (B. C.) of 1880.

The measure contemplated many important alterations in the law. In the definitions given of immoveable property, houses, shops and other holdings were excluded, the levy of the cess upon houses having been attended with much irritation and vexation. In the part relating to the imposition and application of the cesses it was provided that the Lieutenant-Governor should not be required by law to pay from the public revenues any sum as road cess in excess of such sum as might have been paid as such cess to the Collector by persons liable to pay the same. In consideration of the public works cess being collected by establishments paid from the District Road Fund, the Lieutenant-Governor was empowered to make an assignment of such proportion of the cost of establishment as he might think right to the district Committees.

The Bill was introduced into Council on the 10th of January 1880 and received the assent of the Lieutenant-Governor on the 22nd of April 1880. The Governor-General however, refused his assent to the Bill, on the ground that 2 sections contravened the provisions of the Civil Procedure Code. At the same time His Excellency agreed to assent to the Bill on the omission of the sections in question, and proposed to re-enact them in the Supreme Legislative Council if they were deemed essential. The Bill was re-introduced in September (without the 2 sections), was assented to by the Governor-General, and became Act IX (B.C.) of 1880. It was amended in 1881.

Calcutta Municipal Act.

The improvement of Calcutta had been making progress for some years: not altogether continuously. Thus, complete illumination of the town with gas was provided for in 1877-78, and about the same time the doubling of the water supply was contemplated. Act VI (B.C.) of 1881 (a Calcutta Municipal Act) besides making other amendments of a less important nature, empowered the Government to declare any portions of the environs of Calcutta to be a part of the town for the purposes of the water-supply, and provided for the extension of the water-supply to the suburbs and the levy therein of a water-rate not exceeding the maximum in Calcutta. It also provided for the payment by the Calcutta Municipality of $\frac{3}{4}$ths of the pensions of certain police officers; for the filling-up of foul tanks whether within a private enclosure or not, at the expense of their owners; for the taking-up and reclamation of filthy *bastis*, and for a revised sinking fund in respect of all future public loans.

Sanitary condition of villages.

In April 1878 Sir A. Eden issued a Resolution on the improvement of the drainage of towns and villages in Bengal, as he attributed much of the unhealthiness prevalent to the excessive humidity of the soil caused by obstruction to drainage, naturally, that is by the silting up or destruction of old water courses, rather than by artificial means such as the embankments of roads and railways. He relied upon all executive officers and District Road Committees to take up the matter earnestly and use their ample powers under the existing laws. Later again in June 1880 Sir A. Eden received a number of reports on this question, and encouraged local authorities to do all they could, while he trusted to the new Drainage Act for carrying out more extensive schemes of drainage, which involved projects of reclamation. The Sanitary Commissioner's activity again elicited an expression of Sir A. Eden's views on the same subject. The Sanitary Commissioner made some suggestions which could be only carried into effect by legislation, and he was informed that Sir A. Eden entirely concurred in the view recently expressed by the Government of India, that the time had not come for enforcing general sanitary regulations among the villagers by law. All that could be done was to seek to bring the people gradually to a sense of the evils induced by their traditional habits, and show them that obstructed drainage, filthy surround-

ings and admixture of decomposing matter with their drinking water, must result in disease. The amalgamation of the Sanitary and the Vaccination Departments was expected to render it possible to do a great deal in this respect. The Sanitary Commissioner would thus have a staff of officers in constant contact with the villagers during the working season, and it would be possible not only to urge upon the people the adoption of simple measures of sanitation, which were neglected, but also to invoke the influence of the executive authorities in cases in which the general public health was seriously injured by filthy practices.

The Nadia fever Commission.

Fever was especially fatal in 1881 in Nadia, where the death-rate attained the very high figure of 39·72, as compared with 29·53 per thousand in the previous year, notwithstanding the deputation of a special staff of medical officers to the villages attacked and the lavish and gratuitous distribution of medicines. Towards the end of 1881, a special Commission was appointed to visit the worst parts of the district and endeavour to ascertain the cause of the outbreak, and at the same time to impress on the *zamindars* and the people the advantage of retaining a supply of pure water in their villages and of observing sanitary precautions. The members of the Commission spent the cold season in the district. The conclusion at which they arrived on the main question was of a negative character. They discovered no specific cause for the epidemic but were satisfied that there was no foundation for the impression generally entertained by the people themselves that it had been brought about by artificial obstructions to the natural drainage of the country. They found the roads and the railway embankments everywhere adequately supplied with waterway, save to an unimportant extent in a few localities. Their Report, however, pointed out a variety of causes, for most of which the people themselves were responsible, which must contribute to unhealthiness in the villages. Some improvement would, it was hoped, be effected in these matters by the Local Boards about to be appointed.

Retirement of the Nawab Nazim of Bengal.

Syud Mansur Ali, the Nawab Nazim of Bengal, who had for many years resided in England, retired from the position of Nawab Nazim, and by a formal deed executed on the 1st November 1880 renounced all right of interference with the affairs of the Nizamut in consideration

of an annual stipend of £10,000, the payment to him of 10 *lakhs* of rupees in settlement of various miscellaneous claims, and a suitable provision for his children born in England. The title of Nawab of Murshidabad was conferred on Syud Hassan Ali, the eldest son of Syud Mansur Ali, and the title of Nawab Nazim became extinct. The Nizamut deposit fund ceased to exist, the office of Agent to the Governor-General was abolished, and the allowances to the various members of the Nizamut family were in future to be paid to them direct by the Collector of Murshidabad. The last Nawab Nazim died at Murshidabad on the 5th November 1884. His eldest son, Syud Hassan Ali, was given the title of Nawab Bahadur of Murshidabad in February 1882, and that of Amir-ul-Omrah in July 1887, with the rank of the Premier Noble of Bengal: and subsequently provision was made, by Act XV of 1891 and an indenture attached to the Act, for the support and maintenance of the Nawab Bahadur and of the honour and dignity of his station.

The Orissa and other canals.

A project for constructing a range of canals, 92 miles in length, to complete the line of inland water communication between Calcutta and Orissa, was sanctioned towards the close of 1880-81. The canals were to consist of still-water channels with tidal locks, and be fed during the dry season by tidal water through high-level supply sluices, and during the rains supplied as far as possible from the drainage of the neighbouring country. This was a work of the first importance to Orissa, which was previously dependent on the sea for its communications with Bengal. The ports were bad, and, if any serious failure of the crops were to occur, it would not be possible to throw a sufficient supply of food into the Province. When the projected canal was made, steamers and country boats would be able to ply at all seasons of the year, and, while the Province would be protected from famine, there would be a large expansion of trade. Their length (92 miles) was divided into 4 ranges as follows :—

(1). Canal between the Rasalpur and Subarnarekha rivers, 30 miles in length. (2). Canal connecting the Subarnarekha with Panchpara, 18 miles in length. (3). Canal between Panchpara and the Barrabullong, 6 miles in length. (4). Canal connecting the Barrabullong with the Mettai, 38 miles in length. The canals were to have a minimum bottom width of 50 feet with 7 feet depth of

water. The estimate of 33 *lakhs* was sanctioned too late in the year to allow of much work being done, but a new Division was formed, and arrangements were made for collecting labour and materials and for taking over the land.

The canals which were taken over by this Government in 1877 were financially of a very different character from the railways, and there was never any hope of their being in a position to pay the interest on the capital invested in them for many years to come. The construction of the Orissa, Midnapore and Hijli canals was originally undertaken in 1863 by the East Indian Irrigation and Canal Company, with the most extravagant expectations of profit. Five years after the work had been begun, the Government of India purchased the canals from the Company for Rs. 1,17,28,560, and proceeded to develop a modified scheme. These works had always been up to 1880-1 a heavy drag on the provincial resources, which had to bear the charges. The receipts from irrigation on the Orissa and Midnapore canals, however, were steadily increasing; leases were taking the place of yearly agreements; and, as the system of distributaries was extended, the revenue would gradually develop. One great reason why these canals paid so little was that they were prematurely stopped under a false notion of economy. The head works and canals were finished, while the distributaries were never constructed; the water was there and the people were ready to use it, but, expenditure having been suspended, the water could not be distributed. The new Coast Canal was expected to increase the navigation receipts on the Orissa and Hijli works. The opening of the Sone Canals had given a great impetus to the extension of sugarcane cultivation, and had caused a considerable increase in the agricultural wealth of the tracts supplied. The increase of profit from this source in the district of Shahabad alone was estimated in 1879-80 at Rs. 4,73,000 *per annum*. The people were also beginning to use canal water as a motive power in sugar and flour mills. Apart from these schemes, other irrigation and canal works were undertaken from provincial funds. A sum of Rs. 6,28,000 was spent on a canal to connect the river Gandak with the principal water-courses of the Saran district. A still more important work was the Joojooty scheme, whereby a constant supply of pure water from the river Damodar was poured into old channels in the Burdwan and

Hooghly districts. The silting-up of these channels was undoubtedly for many years the cause of much disease and suffering throughout a large tract of country, and the introduction of a copious supply of pure water for drinking and irrigation purposes had at once a marked effect on the health and prosperity of the people. Heavy expenditure was also incurred in the improvement of the condition of the Calcutta Canal, which had been very unsatisfactory. The storm-water loaded with the sewage of the town discharged into it: boats grounded at low water, causing numerous accidents and hindering traffic; and the channels silted up, entailing very heavy annual expense in maintenance. These defects were remedied, large locks of 40 feet in width with capacious basins were constructed, so that it might be possible to maintain a sufficient depth of water in the canal. The canal was also widened, and ample accommodation provided for the traffic. In order to supply fresh water to the canal, and to afford the means of flushing the lower end of the new drainage channel, a large inlet was constructed at the Hooghly entrance of the canal. Half the cost of the work was to be borne by the Calcutta Municipality and the other half met from provincial funds. It was expected that the total expenditure on this canal from provincial funds would have amounted to 23 *lakhs* by the end of 1881-82.

Attack on the temple of Jagannath in Puri by fanatics.

Intimation was received by the Commissioner of Orissa on the 9th March 1881 that a party of fanatics, consisting of 12 men and 3 women, had entered the Temple of Jagannath in Puri on the 1st idem, with the object of burning the idol of Jagannath, and that a disturbance had taken place, in which one of the fanatics had lost his life. The party in question were residents of Sambalpur in the Central Provinces, and they stated that they were induced to come to Puri in consequence of one of their co-religionists (the deceased) having been commanded by their "guru," an invisible being without shape or form, to bring the images of Jagannath, Balaram, and Subhadra out of the temple and to burn them on the road. For the purpose of carrying this order into effect, a large body of men and women left their homes in Sambalpur, taking their children with them, but, when within a few miles of Puri, 12 men and 3 women separated themselves from the main body and preceded them to the temple.

The disturbance formed the subject of an immediate investiga-

tion by the local authorities, from which the following facts were collated.

One of the door-keepers of the temple, who was on duty at the Lion gate when the disturbance occurred, in describing the scene, stated that about 12 men and women, who were almost in a state of nudity, came up to the temple shouting "alekh," "alekh." They had with them an earthen pot containing cooked rice, of which, judging from the state of their hands, they had evidently only recently partaken. The door-keeper tried to prevent them from entering the temple by closing the gate, but they succeeded in pushing it open and forcing their way into the building accompanied by some 200 pilgrims. One of the fanatics still held in his hand the pot of rice, but, on being remonstrated with by the door-keeper, he consented to leave it outside and was then permitted to enter. The party next proceeded to break down the door of the *Bhogmanadab*, the apartment in which the offerings of the worshippers of the idols are usually displayed, but which was at the time empty. They then made their way into the great hall of the temple in front of the shrine, the crowd of spectators having by this time doubled. Finding the door called *Jaibijai* shut, the fanatics went out into the enclosure and rushed about like mad men and women, endeavouring to find an entrance in some other direction. The crowd of pilgrims at this time was estimated to number upwards of 1000, and a great deal of pushing and struggling took place, in the midst of which one of the fanatics fell or was pushed on to the stone pavement. He was lifted up by some of his companions and was assisted out of the temples, and shortly after expired.

The rioters were arrested by the police and were placed on their trial on charges framed under sections 147 and 297 of the Penal Code before the Deputy Magistrate of Puri, and on conviction were each sentenced to 3 months' rigorous imprisonment.

Shortly after the arrest of the party of fanatics above referred to, the Assistant Superintendent of Police learnt that a second party were on their road to Puri, with a similar object in view, and he accordingly sent out a patrol and caused them to be arrested before they could enter the town and do any mischief. This second party consisted of 6 men, 11 women, and 11 small children. The adults were placed on their trial as persons having no ostensible means of

subsistence, but they were acquitted by the Deputy Magistrate on the grounds that they were in the same position as hundreds of other beggars, and that there was nothing in their case to raise a suspicion that they earned their livelihood by improper means.

The rioters being inhabitants of Sambalpur, the Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces was asked to favor the Lieutenant-Governor with information regarding the tenets of the sect to which they belonged and with particulars regarding their place of residence, habits, and pursuits. In compliance with this request, the Chief Commissioner furnished the following particulars :—

'There is a peculiar sect of Hindu dissenters in the Sambalpur district, known as Kumbhupatias. The word Kumbhupatia is derived from "Kumbhu," the name of a kind of tree, and "pat," the bark of a tree, and the sect is so called because its followers make ropes from the bark of the tree and wear them round their waists. The religion is also known as that of Alekh, and its followers claim revelation as its foundation. Alekhswamy, the god incarnate, used, it is said, to reside in the Himalayas, but about the year 1864 he came to Malbaharpur in Banki, *zilla* Cuttack, and revealed the religion professed by the Kumbhupatias to 64 persons, the principal of whom was Govind Das ; and it is chiefly owing to the exertions of these disciples that the religion was propagated. Alekhswamy (which signifies "the lord whose attributes cannot be described in writing") removed to Dhenkanal, a feudatory State, where, for 3 years immediately preceding his death, he led the life of a mendicant and wanderer. Although the religion originated in Cuttack, it spread more rapidly in the district of Sambalpur, and men of all classes and castes, except the Uriya Brahmins, are freely embracing it. It is not so much the peculiarity of the rules of any particular caste or sect that tends to increase the number of converts to it as the position in life of the converts themselves : thus in Khinda the people of a whole village embraced the Kumbhupatia religion because the Gaontia had done so. The names of some 30 villages are given as those in which the Kumbhupatias chiefly reside.' A full account of their sects, tenets and habits was added.

The Census of 1881.

The Census of Bengal (as part of the general Census of India) was taken on the night of the 17th February 1881. The general plan of operations was to make a pre-

liminary enumeration of the population at leisure sometime before the date of the actual Census, and then, on one night, the 17th February, to finally correct the previous entries. Special arrangements were made for the enumeration of boats and their occupants; for counting the population on railways; for the Census of persons in cantonments, in camp, travelling by road, or living without a home; for jails, hospitals and other public institutions; and for the Census of the Sundarbans. The demeanour of the people during the preliminary operations as well as on the night of the Census was, in most places, all that could be desired, but in many places disquieting rumours as to the object in view were spread abroad, and in a few tracts of country there was a show of resistance to the taking of the Census. In the Sonthal *Parganas* and in those parts of the neighbouring districts where Sonthals formed a large proportion of the population, interested agitators seized the opportunity for a tribal demonstration. In the districts adjoining the Sonthal *Parganas* the exertions of the district officers were sufficient to allay the irritation; but in the Sonthal *Parganas* themselves, where the people were terrified by the rumours circulated among them, and were in a highly excited condition, it was thought advisable to dispense with the final nocturnal checking, and to march detachments of troops through the country. The figures showed that the population of Bengal (after allowing for the separation of Assam) had increased from 62,705,718 to 69,536,861 during the 9 years which had elapsed since 1872, there being thus an increase of 6,831,143 or 10·89 per cent. Out of the grand total of 69,536,861 the males numbered 34,625,591, and the females 34,911,270, the latter thus exceeding the former by 285,679. The population of the town of Calcutta on the 17th February was 433,219 as compared with 409,036 in 1876, the date of the previous Census; the population of the suburbs was 251,439 and of Howrah 105,575, total 790,233. The Hindus were 45,452,806 and the Muhammadans 21,704,724: the Christians 128,135. The apparent rate of increase varied enormously in different parts of the Province: one Division only, that of Burdwan, showed an absolute decrease by 2·77 per cent, clearly attributable to the effects of the Burdwan fever from 1864 to 1874. The average density of the population of the entire Province was 371·41 persons to the square mile, and this varied much in different districts. The total urban

population of the Province was only 36,64,229 and there were only 96 towns with a population exceeding 10,000 souls: while there were 264,523 villages, each containing less than 5,000 inhabitants. Of the castes or tribes in Bengal, 65 claimed more than 100,000 members, each. The number of houses in Bengal was returned at 11,645,383, of which 11,036,774 were occupied, giving an average of 6·30 persons to each occupied house. Between 1872 and 1881 the Hindus increased at the rate of 13·64 per cent, the Muhammadans by 10·96 per cent, Christians by 40·71 per cent, and Buddhists by 93·29 per cent (the last named figures being for the most part due to more accurate enumeration.) The increase among Christians was attributed, partly to immigration from Europe and partly to conversions, especially in the districts of the Chota Nagpur Division.

Public Works.

Sir A. Eden was able, by careful management and a full treasury to incur a large expenditure on Ordinary Public Works under the contract of 1877. The expenditure on works during the scarcity of 1874 was abnormal, the provincial balances were exhausted, and the Government of India found it necessary to accept the outlay, and to make the Local Government a net grant of 5 *lakhs* with which to begin the year 1876-77. The expenditure on Ordinary Public Works during that year was Rs. 25,59,000. In 1877-78 it was thought necessary to proceed with extreme caution in the matter of expenditure. The charges thrown upon the provincial revenues on account of Productive Public Works were very serious; the full outturn of the P. W. Cess could not be obtained during the year, and it was considered necessary to secure a substantial working balance to provide for emergencies. The expenditure in that year was therefore restricted to Rs. 25,12,000. In framing the revised estimates for 1878-79, it was found possible to make provision for various important and useful schemes that had been left in abeyance for want of funds; but in that year and the next the expenditure was, under the instructions of the Supreme Government, kept down in consequence of the financial difficulties which famine, war, and adverse exchange had brought upon the Government of India. In 1879 the Government of India found itself compelled to call upon Local Governments to make all possible reductions in expenditure. The orders went so far as to direct that no new work estimated to cost more than Rs. 2,500 should be

commenced, even though it might have already received the sanction of Government. Under the influence of the same policy of retrenchment, unduly low estimates were made for 1880-81, but the Local Government was afterwards permitted by the Government of India to increase the grant by 20 *lakhs* and the expenditure during the year was Rs. 47,60,000. The provision for 1881-82 was Rs. 67,93,000. It included, besides the estimated expenditure on miscellaneous improvements, on buildings and on the construction, bridging and metalling of provincial roads, provision for new Court houses at Sealdah, Jessore, Mymensingh, Dacca, Ranchi, Gaya, Darbhanga, and Motihari, for various sub-divisional buildings and Munsifs' Courts, for new Jails at Jalpaiguri, Bogra, Pabna, Gaya, Darbhanga and Motihari, for a College at Rampur Boalia, and a Railway school at Kurseong, and for the completion of the new Secretariat buildings and the new obstetric hospital at the Medical College. It seemed to Sir A. Eden wrong that large balances should be allowed to lie idle, while the revenue was increasing and numerous works of improvement remained to be executed.

New Bengal Secretariat, in Writers' Buildings.

The concentration of the public offices, contemplated by his 2 predecessors, was effected by Sir A. Eden. It was decided to bring together the various Secretariats of the Bengal Government and the more important departments with which the Government is in continual communication, into a single set of offices in Writers' Buildings, as such an arrangement would greatly facilitate the transaction of public business. The necessary accommodation was obtained by adding 3 large wings on the north side, at right angles to the rear of the existing building. The works were in progress in 1878 and it was hoped that they would be sufficiently advanced for the Government to complete the concentration of its office establishments towards the end of 1879.

These new wings were completed during 1879-80, and were partly occupied; and designs were prepared for a new facade to Writers' Buildings, the construction of which would give some additional accommodation and admit of easy communication between the different departments. The new facade would, it was believed, be effective without being expensive and add greatly to the appearance of that portion of Calcutta.

The south facade towards Dalhousie Square was practically finished in 1881-82: all that remained to be done was the finishing of some of the ornamental parts of the building and the completion of the railings. An octagonal building was constructed as a Chamber for the Bengal Legislative Council in the southwest corner of the range of Writers' Buildings, and advantage was taken of its position to add to the architectural effect of the new Government Offices. The new Council Chamber was first used in the cold weather session of 1883-84.

Provincial finance: results of decentralization.

In reviewing the Provincial Finance in June 1881 Sir A. Eden was in a strong position to assert that the system of decentralization had been thoroughly successful in Bengal. "The revenues have rapidly increased, independently of any new taxation; useless expenditure has been curtailed; and funds have been made available for improvement under all branches of the Administration. All grades of the service have shown the deepest interest in increasing the resources of Government, under the belief that the surplus revenue would be available for the good of the Province. The 3 heads of improvable revenue made over to the management of the Provincial Government, with an income of 165¼ *lakhs* in 1876-77, will stand with an income of not less than 217¼ *lakhs* in 1881-82. In the meanwhile the Lieutenant-Governor has been able to carry out numerous works of improvement on his own responsibility, many of which, under the previous system, would have been indefinitely postponed. Besides making a special contribution of 20 *lakhs* to the Imperial treasury in time of need, he has been able during these 5 years to increase the staff of executive and judicial officers; to provide increased facilities for the administration of justice; to increase the grant for education; to make grants-in-aid of district communications and of works of drainage, sanitation, and municipal improvement; to build schools, colleges, and hospitals; to replace the huts in which the public business was transacted or prisoners were confined, by substantial masonry court-houses and jails; to spend 20 *lakhs* on railways which will bring in a large return, 5½ *lakhs* on tramways, ¾ of a *lakh* on a steamer service to improve communications with Assam, and 2 *lakhs* on a road to develop the trade with Tibet; to spend 11 *lakhs* on the first portion of a work which will develop the trade of Orissa and protect it from

famine ; and to spend 38¼ *lakhs* on improving navigation and providing a supply of pure water for the people. While 77½ *lakhs* have thus been expended on great measures of material improvement, and the expenditure on Ordinary Public Works has been increased from Rs. 25,12,000 in 1877-78 to Rs. 63,53,000, exclusive of expenditure on preliminary works of railway construction in 1881-82, and while no legitimate outlay has been spared to strengthen every department of the Administration, the 5 years' period, which opened with a credit balance of Rs. 2,68,000 only will close with a credit balance of at least Rs. 14,46,000. When it is recollected that, under the system which prevailed before 1871, every new charge required the sanction of the Imperial Government, that the decision on the demands of each Province took no cognizance of the extent to which it had contributed to the general Exchequer, that nothing was to be gained by economy, because money left unspent by any one Government was practically lost to it and only went to increase the amount to be scrambled for by all, some idea may be gained of the advantages which Bengal has reaped from the control of its own finances. There is no department of the service which has not felt the benefit of the financial independence conferred on the Government immediately responsible for its administration." On the eve of his departure Sir A. Eden was able thus to sum up the results of his 5 years' financial administration :—"The revenue has increased by 26¼ *lakhs* under Excise, 25 *lakhs* under Railways, 12 *lakhs* under Stamps and 5 *lakhs* under Irrigation and Navigation. The general increase since 1878-79 has been at the rate of 17½ *lakhs* a year. Improvements have been made in the general administration, and the expenditure under the great heads of Land Revenue Administration, and Law and Justice, has in consequence been increased by 8 *lakhs* of rupees a year between 1877 and 1882. The funds available for Education have been increased, while the charges of the 2 spending Departments of Jails and Medical have been reduced. Finally Sir A. Eden has spent during the 5 years from the surplus revenue of the Province, Rs. 20,78,000 on Railway works Rs. 39,00,000 on Irrigation and Navigation works, and Rs. 141,00,000 on the construction of Roads and Buildings or in contributions to district works : in all Rs. 2,00,00,000 on original works of all kinds. This useful expenditure would have been even greater had not the

Government of India exacted from the Provincial Revenues a special contribution of Rs. 20,00,000 for its own purposes. This contribution has now been generously returned, but it only goes to swell the closing balance at the credit of the Province. The 5 years' period opened with a credit balance of Rs. 2,88,000. It closes with a balance of Rs. 42,62,000, exclusive of the special grant which forms a part of the new contract."

The figures were stated somewhat differently in another place as follows :—

"The total provincial revenue in 1881-82 amounted to Rs. 3,77,97,000. Compared with the income of 1877-78 the first year of the contract, the revenue for 1881-82 gave an increase of 25 *lakhs* in excise, 12 *lakhs* in stamps, one *lakh* in law and justice, $1\frac{1}{4}$ *lakhs* in jails, $25\frac{3}{4}$ *lakhs* in railways, and 7 *lakhs* in irrigation and canals ; while the expenditure showed an excess of $3\frac{1}{4}$ *lakhs* in land revenue, $1\frac{1}{3}$ *lakhs* in administration, $4\frac{3}{4}$ *lakhs* in law and justice, $\frac{1}{2}$ *lakh* in jails, $2\frac{1}{2}$ *lakhs* in education, $24\frac{1}{2}$ *lakhs* in railways, $21\frac{1}{3}$ *lakhs* in irrigation and canals, and $41\frac{3}{4}$ *lakhs* in roads and buildings, and a decrease of $3\frac{1}{4}$ *lakhs* in medical relief. More than four-fifths of the additional income from excise had accrued within the past 2 years, in consequence of the abundance of the harvests, the cheapness of food, and the greater spending power of the people ; but it was not probable that this source of revenue would maintain in future the rate of progress reached within this period, and the advance in the revenue in 1881-82 was comparatively small.

Both the gross revenue from, and the expenditure on, railways advanced rapidly during the 5 years 1877-1882, the former having risen from Rs. 7,32,000 to Rs. 33,08,000, and the latter from Rs. 6,26,000 to Rs. 30,84,000. These results were to be expected from the great development which had taken, and was still taking place, in the railway system. The net receipts of the last year, after deduction of the working expenses, amounted to Rs. 14,02,000 or nearly 9 times the revenue in 1877-78 ; while the total charge for interest on the capital expended was only Rs. 12,86,000. Not only were all the enormous advantages derived from the railways thus enjoyed free of cost by the people, but the Government actually received from them a clear gain of over a *lakh* of rupees. The revenue from irrigation and canals was advancing, though the rate

of progress was still slow in comparison with the large increase of expenditure which it had been found necessary to incur for the improvement of existing works and the completion of new projects. The vast excess in public works expenditure on roads and buildings had been caused by the construction of works which had been postponed for years, and of which the Administration stood in much need. Apart from the Government expenditure on public works, a great deal was also accomplished by means of the large sums granted from the provincial finances during the past 5 years in aid of projects undertaken by local bodies."

Local Self-Government.

The attention of Sir A. Eden's Government was specially directed during 1881-82 to the development of the policy of Local Self-Government and financial decentralization. In accordance with the instructions of the Government of India, a careful scrutiny was made of the provincial, local, and municipal accounts, with the object of ascertaining what items of receipts and expenditure could be transferred from "provincial" to "local" heads, for administration by Committees containing non-official, or where possible elected, members, and what redistribution could be made of items already so administered, in order that only such items should be made local as the people were most likely to be able to understand the use of and to administer well. Inquiries were also made as to the most suitable form to be given to the local bodies by which the funds thus localized should be administered, endeavours being made, as far as possible, to utilize the existing Committees. Attention was also given to the relations between the various local bodies and the officers of the general administration, and to the degree of control and inspection to be retained in the hands of Government. The general lines of the plan which commended itself to Sir A. Eden were communicated by him in April 1882 to the Government of India. It was considered that the unit of the system of Local Self-Government should be as far as possible the sub-division, and not the district. Provision was made to ensure that the Local Boards should have a more representative, and, where feasible, an elective character. They were to be entrusted with very extensive powers for the management of local expenditure on communications, village sanitation, education, and medical charity, and to be provided with funds over and above the proceeds of the

District Road Fund by grants from Government to supplement, if necessary, the receipts from pounds and ferries. Meanwhile all municipalities, except Calcutta, the Suburbs and Howrah, were relieved from all charges on account of police, and it was stipulated that the sums so set free should be devoted to the purposes of education, sanitation and charity. Sir A. Eden thought that in many districts in Bengal there were able and energetic men willing to take a share in the management of public affairs, whose readiness to assist only required judicious management and direction. He anticipated that the ultimate result of the legislation contemplated would be a large measure of relief to the public departments and of lasting benefit to the best interests of the people.

Archæology :

Early in 1877 it came to notice that certain Burmese gentlemen, who had been deputed by the King of Burma to repair the inclosure of the Buddha Tree and Temple at Bodh Gaya, were working in such a manner as to injure rather than improve the buildings. Dr. Rajendra Lala Mitra was therefore requested to visit the place and report on the work done, and the manner in which the operations should be controlled. It appeared from his Report that large portions of the building, of great historical interest, had been virtually swept away by the demolitions and excavations which had gone on. Arrangements were accordingly made to complete the repairs of the temple under the supervision of the District Engineer of Gaya, working in communication with Dr. Mitra and the Commissioner of Patna.

Indian Marine :

An important change was introduced during the year 1877 into the constitution of the Marine Service of India. The whole of the marine establishments, afloat and on shore, employed under the several Governments and Provinces of India, were amalgamated into one Imperial service, designated "Her Majesty's Indian Marine." This service was entirely under the Supreme Government, but it was intended that such portion of it as might be required for service within the limits of Local Governments should from time to time be placed at the disposal of these authorities.

The Eden Hospital :

The obstetric hospital was designed by Mr. G. A. D. Anley on plans furnished by Dr. T. Edmonstone Charles, and was considered to be one of the most complete

hospitals in India. It was made to afford accommodation for 78 patients and all the necessary staff for such an institution; the wards and verandahs were paved with marble, and a well-proportioned staircase afforded access not only to the different floors but also to the roof, which was intended to form a pleasant promenade for the patients. The building was completed and formally opened by Sir A. Eden on the 19th of April 1882, and is now known as the Eden Hospital.

The Lieutenant-Governor's residence at Darjeeling.

It was not until Sir A. Eden's time that an official residence was assigned to the Lieutenant-Governor when at Darjeeling. His predecessors had from time to time visited this hill station, for longer or shorter periods, as they pleased, and had sometimes occupied the little old cottage (for it was nothing more) which stood on the site of the present building in 'the Shrubbery' grounds on Birch Hill. This property had passed from 'Mr. Barnes' Estate' to the Maharaja of Kuch Bihar, and during the latter's minority was purchased by Government, on 31st October 1877. Additions and alterations were made to adapt it for a Lieutenant-Governor's residence. The Public Works Department completed the main work of construction in October 1879, so that the new house was first occupied in the summer of 1880. Subsequently, the porch and tower were added by Sir A. Eden. A photograph of the original building is still extant as a curiosity. Only small portions of the old building were retained in its enlargement. The grounds were tastefully laid out under the instructions of Sir G. King in 1878. In a few years, owing to the increase in the number of residents and visitors to Darjeeling, it was found that the reception-rooms as constructed in 1877—79 were not nearly of sufficient size, while the want of proper accommodation for public ceremonies and State occasions had long been felt. A Darbar Hall of a light and cheap character was accordingly built by Sir C. Elliott, on Birch Hill, N. of the residence. The picture on the opposite page shows the S. aspect of the main building.

The Eden Sanitarium at Darjeeling.

The construction of a hospital at Darjeeling for European patients from the neighbouring tea-gardens of the district as well as from the plains was sanctioned in accordance with a Minute recorded by Sir A. Eden on the 11th June 1881. The project consisted of cutting down the old Post Office Hill where the Bhutia school stood, and



Photogravure. Survey of India Offices, Calcutta, December 1900.

THE SHRUBBERY, DARJEELING.

thus making a site for an extensive two-storied building sufficient to accommodate 16 first class, 20 second class, and 20 third class patients. While the designs and estimates for the building were being prepared by the Government Architect, the preparation of the site was taken in hand and vigorously prosecuted, and was sufficiently advanced for the commencement of building operations in November 1881 : owing to delay on the part of the contractors, it could not be thrown open to the public until the 22nd April 1883 : the construction cost Rs. 1,67,752, besides Rs. 23,750 for furniture &c. During its construction, a temporary hospital was opened in a building adjoining the municipal dispensary.

Other measures.

Among the other measures which Sir A. Eden carried out were the following—the transfer to the Government of Bengal of the management of the affairs of the Ex-King of Oudh and of the Mysore Princes—the appointment of a Surgeon General for Bengal, the control of the provincial medical work being accordingly withdrawn from the Surgeon-General of the Indian Medical Department—medical education at the Campbell and other vernacular schools of medicine—the establishment of 2 scholarships of £200 a year each to be held for 2½ years by Bengal B. A.'s at Cirencester—police investigations and magisterial inquiries in Sessions cases—the publication of a Police Gazette in 3 languages, so that the departure of every professional thief from his house should be notified for the information of the police of other districts—extension of Muhammadan education—the abolition of the Assistant and Joint Sessions Judge of Darjeeling and Jalpaiguri in 1878-79—the abolition of the appointment of Political Agent of Hill Tippera—the constitution of the district of Noakhali into a separate judgeship—the substitution of the Kaithi for the Persian character in the Bihar Courts and offices—the re-arrangement of jurisdictions with a view to reconstitute the districts of Bankura and Birbhum into suitable charges and to relieve the too large and unwieldy districts of Burdwan and Murshidabad. He sanctioned an Exhibition of Art manufactures which was entrusted to the Committee of the Economic Museum and held at the Indian Museum. It was opened by the Viceroy on the 4th January 1882 and lasted for 2 months.

Town Hall meeting on Sir A. Eden's retirement.

On the 21st April 1882, a public meeting was held at the Town Hall, Calcutta, in honour of the retiring Lieutenant-Governor. It was attended by numerous and enthusiastic representatives of every class of the community. The Chief Justice, Sir Richard Garth, was in the chair: Mr. G. H. Morrison, Vice President of the Chamber of Commerce, and the Maharaja of Hatwa moved and seconded the first Resolution, viz., "that this meeting desires to record its high appreciation of the successful administration of Sir Ashley Eden as Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal."

Mr. Branson, Barrister-at-law, moved and Maharaja Sir Jotindra Mohan Tagore seconded, the next Resolution "that a marble statue of Sir Ashley Eden be erected in this city as a memorial of his distinguished career in this country."

Archbishop Goethals and the Maharaja of Gidhore moved that subscriptions be collected for the statue and the work entrusted to an artist in England.

A farewell address to Sir A. Eden was agreed upon at the meeting and presented by a Deputation as follows:—To the Hon'ble Sir Ashley Eden, K. C. S. I., C. I. E.

Sir,—We, the undersigned, on behalf of a meeting of the admirers of your administration, desire, on the eve of your departure from this country, to approach you with this expression of our appreciation of your meritorious, vigorous, and successful rule as Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal.

About 30 years ago you first arrived in this country, and, after passing through the usual noviciate, have held from time to time high positions of trust and responsibility. In all those positions, whether ruling a district or a Province, aiding in the suppression of a revolt or fulfilling a political mission, presiding over the Secretariat or assisting in the work of legislation, you have evinced a breadth of mind, thorough knowledge of the country, strong common-sense, great vigour, firmness and frankness, and above all a generous and enlightened sympathy with all classes of the people.

As the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, your task has been one of grave difficulty and delicacy. Inhabited by a varied population, representing on the one hand European commerce and enterprise, and on the other the most advanced Indian intellect, and with

political aspirations such as sometimes give rise to conflict of interests not only as between the 2 races but also among the different sections of the vast native public, this Province presents an administrative problem of no ordinary difficulty ; but during the last 5 years your ability and prudence have kept these jarring interests subordinate to those of justice and the good of the general community.

Bengal has long since passed the patriarchal epoch, and in the present state of its political existence the administration of its affairs has in a great measure to move in well-defined grooves. It is not, therefore, given to the ruler of the Province to strike out new and bold paths for progress. His task is not so much one of construction as of consolidation. His special duty it is to see that the administrative machinery be kept in perfect gear, that all the wheels move freely and smoothly, and that those in charge of the machine do their duty honestly and faithfully. Beyond question such merit may justly be claimed for your guidance of the State machinery of Bengal.

You have done more. There have been measures adopted by you, which will form land-marks in the history of the administration of this Province.

In the practical working of the scheme of local finance, Bengal has shown that, if she be allowed to use her own money for her own benefit, her resources are ample for all purposes without necessitating fresh taxation ; and this result is entirely due to your careful, vigilant, and skilful management.

As regards internal communications Bengal has, under your auspices, during the last 5 years, received far greater impetus to material improvement by the construction or extension of roads, railways and canals than it had been her lot to see during the whole period since the creation of the Lieutenant-Governorship.

Education has found in you a zealous champion, and the grants for both liberal and primary education have been increased under your Government, scope has been given to the development of the voluntary system, and encouragement accorded to Sanskrit learning. You have also established a College of practical engineering at Sibpur, and founded scholarships to enable students to study agriculture in the Cirencester College in England.

Justice has been brought nearer to the poor man's door by the multiplication of Courts, both civil and criminal, which has also served to extend the employment of native agency. Steps have been taken for the better training of Covenanted Judges by giving those who may select the judicial branch an opportunity in their early career to familiarize themselves with the trial of civil suits. In the administration of the law, the liberty of the poor subject has been protected by the imposition of proper checks upon the arbitrary and capricious manner in which certain sections of the Criminal Procedure Code used to be enforced.

The public health has occupied a large share of your attention, and large grants have been made from the provincial treasury to several districts for the improvement of drainage and water-supply.

Although Bengal is fortunately not prone to political convulsions, there was last year an uneasy feeling amongst the Sonthals, but the knowledge which you had gained of that people during the revolt in 1855 enabled you on this later occasion to pacify them without having recourse to extreme measures.

In matters of legislation you have sought to give the land rest, not only by your immediate action in the local legislature, but also by your earnest and well-timed protests in the Supreme Council. Your intimate knowledge of the circumstances of the people of this country has convinced you how ill-suited to it is direct taxation, and you have lost no opportunity in protesting against the imposition or extension of anything partaking of the character of an Income Tax. You have been a warm advocate of the principle of governing India for India, and the manner in which you have asserted this principle will be gratefully remembered by the people of this country. You have always supported judicious proposals for the reduction of public, and particularly of military, expenditure, and as President of the Army Commission you have, in conjunction with your colleagues, made recommendations, which have been generally approved by the Government of India, and which, if carried out, are calculated to effect large savings without impairing the efficiency of the Army.

It could not be expected that all your measures should meet with universal assent, but it cannot be denied that your rule, as a whole, has conferred solid benefits upon this country. Every class in the community without distinction of race or creed has reasons

to be grateful for services rendered to it. Whilst to commerce, trade, and private enterprise you have accorded every encouragement, the peasantry are indebted to you for a considerable improvement in their condition, and some of the oldest native families have been laid under deep obligation by your friendly offices for their rescue from the disastrous effects of protracted litigation.

We cannot conclude without acknowledging your personal qualities, which have endeared you to all who have the pleasure of your acquaintance. Your kindness, courtesy unfeigned friendship, and desire to do good to all, consistently with your position and duties, have not a little heightened the value of your services as a ruler. By freely mixing with natives, by your generous treatment of them, and the kind and warm sympathy you have always manifested towards them, you have set an example, which has already borne fruit on congenial soil, and the beneficial results of which, it is to be hoped, will not pass away with your departure from this country.

In now taking leave, we have the consolation of knowing that with your departure from this country your official connection with it will not cease. In your seat at the Council of the Secretary of State you will still have opportunities for the exercise of your knowledge, experience, and sympathies in promoting the cause of good Government in India. We wish you a safe voyage home, and pray that the Author of All Good will bless you with long life, prosperity and happiness."

This address was duly presented at Belvedere and suitably acknowledged by Sir A. Eden, who at the same time consented to sit for his statue, to be placed in Calcutta.

Similar addresses were presented by the Bengal Chamber of Commerce, The Trades' Association, The Bihar Landholders' Association, the Rajas, *zamindars* &c. of the Bhagalpur Division, and by other bodies. On Saturday 22nd April, Sir A. Eden was entertained at a farewell dinner by the Civil Service at the Town Hall. His departure on the 24th April from Calcutta for England was signalized by an enthusiastic demonstration of loyalty and regard on the part of the public, European and native. Crowds assembled in the streets, the ships in the Port were decorated, and repeated cheers were given as he passed, and as his steamer started from the jetty. Strong as he was, not easily moved by his feelings, he could not but be overcome by emotion at the remarkable honours paid to him.

Observations.

It must always be remembered that Sir A. Eden had a turn of good fortune which was denied to many of his predecessors and successors. It has been well observed that his term of office was favoured with entire immunity from famine and other forms of natural disaster; the commercial torpor then paralysing the industries of the civilized world had not yet spread to India; and a succession of splendid harvests raised the cultivating classes almost into temporary affluence. He also enjoyed the advantage of a financial contract with the Government of India which secured to Bengal the entire benefit accruing from improved administration and in the event yielded financial results surpassing all anticipation. The ample resources thus unexpectedly brought within his reach he liberally employed in improving many branches of the machinery of Government and in supplying the Province with railways, canals, public buildings, and other permanent improvements, of which the want had long been admitted. He said himself—"I can imagine no policy more shortsighted than that of starving public works." As the *Englishman* said on his retirement—"He looked upon the work of developing the resources of the country, of spending its surplus revenues for its own improvement, of diffusing education, of protecting life and property, of strengthening the administration of civil justice, of removing all avoidable restrictions on trade—he looked upon this work as the simple duty not the special policy, of a Governor. Beyond this he had no policy"—as he himself declared. "To use the words of Carlyle, he had no ambition to swallow the universe. . . . He had no crotchets and no perverted ambition. He sought to give the land rest, to let the trees that had been planted grow where they had been planted, to keep the machine which had been bequeathed to him strong and efficient. His policy was the prosperity of the country and the happiness of its people." By his own singular tact and ability and by inspiring confidence, he induced the Bihar planters to reform their own body and their relations with the cultivators: he greatly advanced the reconstruction of the rent law: he exerted himself to adjust differences between the members of old families and save their estates from ruin by litigation: he did much to reform the great administrative departments of the Police, Jails, and Medical Service: in Education his progressive policy was all in a practical

direction: of the wisdom of his financial administration enough perhaps has been already said: he showed himself "a true though discriminating friend to commerce": his work on the Army Commission has been separately mentioned. Fearless honesty of purpose was the keynote of his character and work. The social aspect of his Lieutenant-Governorship did not escape notice. It was undemonstrative and unsensational but sterling, genuine and true. His kindly presence, his cordial humour, and his utter ignorance of parsimony lent a grace to the hospitality of Belvedere, which he greatly improved. His private liberality, his broad sympathies and his kindness of heart, secured to him a host of friends. In the exercise of his power he bore no malice to his former rivals. He was a wonderfully quick worker and saw at a glance the weak point in any case. Though an indifferent linguist he could elicit all the information he wanted from any native. Though he was a very ready writer, he wasted no time or labour in composing model Minutes or despatches. He was quick-tempered, but his anger never lasted. Lord Ripon said of him that he never knew a man less likely to be led away by vague sentiment or mere theory than Sir A. Eden. Briefly,—though I make no comparisons—it must be acknowledged, as it has always been, that Sir A. Eden was a great and successful Lieutenant-Governor.

Unveiling of Statue.

Sir A. Eden's marble statue* at the North-West corner of Dalhousie Square, (on the site of the former memorial to those who perished in the Black Hole in 1756) was unveiled by Sir Steuart Bayley on the 15th April 1887, in the presence of a large gathering of European and Native gentlemen, both official and non-official. The Hon'ble Mr. Justice H. T. Prinsep first spoke on behalf of the Eden Memorial Committee as follows:—

"Before I ask you, Sir, to perform the ceremony for which we are here assembled, I propose shortly to state the origin of the movement which we are now bringing to a conclusion. Five years ago, at the termination of Sir Ashley Eden's tenure of office as Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, a public meeting was held at the Town Hall, at which all classes of the community in Calcutta and throughout Bengal were numerously represented, and it was there

* Now in process of removal to the middle of the North side of the square, while these pages are being printed.

unanimously determined, in appreciation of his eminent services, to erect in this city some memorial of the high estimation in which his administration was held. To carry out this, a Committee was appointed, many members of which are no longer present among us, and of them I would only mention the Chairman, Sir Richard Garth, in whose absence I have been invited to preside on this memorable occasion. A marble statue of Sir Ashley Eden has been constructed by Mr. Boehm, an eminent sculptor of London, which is now before us. It is not for me at present to ask your criticism of that work, but I have no doubt that, when it is exposed to your view, you will not fail to recognise its excellence, both as an accurate resemblance of its illustrious original and as a work of art. I am fortunately able to express my own opinion, as I had an opportunity, some 18 months ago, in London, to accompany Sir A. Eden to his last sitting to Mr. Boehm. I was then able to compare the original with its representation and to appreciate the labour and talent of the artist.

"It seems almost unnecessary that I should attempt to remind you of the successful character of Sir A. Eden's administration as Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, which we desire now to commemorate. Those who were present in Calcutta and in Bengal 5 years ago cannot have forgotten the enthusiastic meetings held everywhere to do honour to our departing Governor, or the overpowering outburst of feeling shown by assembled crowds at the place of embarkation to bid him a regretful farewell. You, Sir, as one who has long been intimately associated with him in the public service, are in a better position than I to expatiate on the distinguished character and services of Sir A. Eden, and I therefore feel that in your presence it is not fitting in me to undertake this duty. History will record, and future generations will admit, that, without any invidious comparison with his brilliant predecessors, he fairly surpassed them all in the brilliancy and soundness of his administration and in the lasting benefits that he conferred on all classes of the community. It may be said that he was fortunate in his opportunities, but I venture to assert that no one, not even the most captious critic, can fairly say that he failed to grasp the situation, and did not avail himself to the utmost of every one of those opportunities. It was on such an occasion that the force of his character as an administrator asserted itself to our admiration. The keenness of his perception; his incisive analysis

of every scheme suggested to him ; the vigour and resolution with which he carried through what he had become convinced was for the benefit of the country ; the fertility of his resource to overcome obstruction ; his long and varied experience ; and, above all, the thorough honesty of purpose and the confidence he inspired among all, official and non-official, with whom he was placed in contact, combined to secure that brilliant and successful administration which will ensure for his reputation a monument more durable than it is in our power to erect.

"One word more. To the lasting honour of Sir A. Eden be it borne in mind that on more than one occasion, and with some risk to his own public career, he has courageously stood forth as the redresser of wrongs, the champion of the oppressed, and has been the means of securing liberty and freedom of action to the poorest classes of the community. We are justly proud of such a distinguished public servant, and rejoice at doing honour to his memory in India." (Applause.)

Sir Steuart Bayley, before unveiling the statue, made the following speech :—

"MR. PRINSEP, LADIES, AND GENTLEMEN,—

"It is with special pleasure that I respond to the call made on me by the Committee to preside at the unveiling of the statue of Sir Ashley Eden. This statue, as you have heard to-day was subscribed for and voted 5 years ago by a very full and enthusiastic public meeting, representing all classes of the community, classes with very conflicting interests and with very diverse views on many matters, but all determined to sink those differences and unite in the common object of doing honour to their departing ruler.

"But many members remain, and to them, as representing all the most distinguished elements of the Calcutta community, I return my thanks for the privilege of presiding on this occasion. I began by saying it gave me special pleasure to do so, because though I could have well desired that the occasion were graced by better oratory than I can boast, and I confess the making of speeches is to me always a difficult and painful duty, but inasmuch as I have for nearly 30 years been on terms of close intimacy, both personal and official, with Sir Ashley Eden, and it is so greatly due to his encouragement, guidance, and support, that I owe what measure of success I have

achieved, I feel that there is a certain appropriateness in his former pupil and subordinate being called on to offer the crowning honour to his Indian career.

"It was when he was Magistrate of Barasat that I took charge of my first sub-division, Halasor, in his district, and it was then I learned from him some of the most valuable lessons of my career, especially that of unrestrained intercourse with natives. Later on, during almost all his career as Secretary to the Government of Bengal, I was his Junior Secretary, I was again his Secretary when he became Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, and during his absence on the Army Commission I was selected to officiate for him.

"It is this intimate knowledge which emboldens me in undertaking a task, which in other circumstances I should gladly have transferred to more accomplished hands. I will not go at any length into the incidents of his career. He first distinguished himself by his bold and vigilant attitude during the Sonthal outbreak, and the sound and practical advice he gave in regard to Sonthal administration. On going for his health to the Mauritius the oppressions practised on the Indian emigrants attracted his attention, and he succeeded in arousing the authorities here to vigorous and successful action on their behalf. His next fight was the great battle against the old system of indigo as then carried on. The interest opposed to him was enormously powerful, and he entered on the struggle, so far as he knew, almost single-handed. It was not long, however, before he received the full support of Sir J. P. Grant, without whose determined aid and sympathy the battle would not perhaps have been won so soon; but to Sir A. Eden is due the initiation of the struggle, and on him was heaped the obloquy which those who enter on such a struggle must be content to accept as one of its accidents. From this he soon rose, first to the Secretaryship of the Board of Revenue, and then, after a service of only 10 years, to the Secretaryship to the Government of Bengal. From this period, with brief intervals of his mission to Bhutan, and his absence on leave, with the exception of the 5 years during which he administered Burma, his official history is to a great extent a history of Bengal, for as a strong and trusted Secretary he took an important part in shaping the measures of Sir Cecil Beadon and Sir William Grey, and from the beginning of 1877 till he left these shores the administration of the

Province was in his own hands. The address which was presented to him by the meeting, of which you have heard to-day, recapitulated briefly those points in his administration as Lieutenant-Governor which had specially attracted attention. The address dwelt on his administration of Bengal finance, on the extension of internal communications, roads, railways, and canals; on the development of education, and especially the foundation of the Sibpur College, on the improvements of the Courts, on improved judicial administration, on his encouragement of sanitation, his sound views in regard to legislation, and above all on that which came upon him daily—the smooth working of the administrative machinery. It is unnecessary that I should go over the same ground again. I would add a few points: the great care which he bestowed on the administration of the hospitals so as to combine economy with efficiency, the wise action he took in dealing with threatened indigo troubles in Bihar, the interest he displayed in the foundation of industrial and art museums in Bengal, and the pains he took to maintain peace and harmony in the great historic families of Bengal. The greatest perhaps of all his labours, and the one which gave most evidence of his singular ability and mental vigour, was the work he did as President of the Army Commission. The work has hitherto been well-nigh fruitless owing to difficulties and obstructions which have their origin elsewhere than in India, but the day will come when men will wonder why such obvious reforms should have been delayed, and his work on the Commission will be properly appreciated. These were the acts of his administration which exacted general admiration, and which led them to vote to him the honour, unique as applied to the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, of erecting his statue in Calcutta. A very capable judge of these matters, who is well known as a keen critic and a cautious observer, said to me the other day that Sir A. Eden was the best Lieutenant-Governor Bengal had ever had. Without entering into comparisons of this nature it will perhaps be admitted that he was the most successful, and one great element of his success was, no doubt, as pointed out to you just now, the use he made of opportunities in managing to secure the approbation, not of this class or that class, but of almost all classes. Looking through the speeches made on the occasion of the Town Hall meeting 5 years ago, I find all the speakers alluding very much

in the same terms as my honourable friend has done to-night to the qualities which specially characterised Sir A. Eden as a ruler. Thus Mr. Morrison spoke of his "quick appreciation of facts, calmness of judgment, courage for the truth, vigour in action, and the faculty of effective organization and command." Mr. Branson said that which above all commended Sir A. Eden to them was his "strong common sense." He had the power of quickly seeing the true aspect of any schemes which were propounded to him. The address itself says "he evinced thorough knowledge of the country, strong common sense, zeal, vigour, firmness, and frankness, and above all a generous enlightened sympathy with all classes of the people." And lastly, his aged friend, Raja Rajendra Narain Deb, dwelt on his knowledge of the people, his unshaken allegiance to his convictions, and his fearless efforts to carry them out.

"To this sketch of his character drawn by various hands (and I have intentionally preferred to place before you their words rather than my own), I can add little; but, apart from the strength of his character and his sound common sense, which were obvious to all, I was always struck by the extraordinary quickness and acuteness of his mind. He had an intuitive faculty, which Lord Ripon in one of his speeches has also noticed, of getting at salient facts. He would grasp all the leading points of a complicated bundle of papers, while another man would be still fumbling over the top letter. He managed to be acquainted with all that was going on around him, and he had a genius for supplying the missing links in a chain of circumstances, which he applied to the facts of everyday life—a genius almost like that which enabled the great palæontologist, Professor Owen, to reconstruct an antediluvian monster from a single bone. But nothing served him better than the genuine and sympathetic friendship unrestrained by constant intercourse with the native friends who had gathered round him in the early part of his career and clung to him to its close, and in this respect he offered an example by which I hope the younger members of the service, anxious to walk in his footsteps and render their service of real use to the country, will not fail to profit. He was always ready to receive his native friends, and talked to them with the utmost fondness. He was never stiff or formal, nor did he shrink if necessary from saying unpleasant things. But he treated them as friends because he felt

towards them as friends, and this was one of the many elements of his success. Of course there were faults on which his policy failed or stumbled. This however, is not the time or place to speak of these, and I leave the ungracious task to others. Of course also he was extraordinarily fortunate in the 2 facts that the years of his Lieutenant-Governorship were blest with bountiful harvests, and that his provincial contract was made in 1877 rather than in 1887. I look back upon the resources at his command with feelings of envy and amazement. He was able to spend out of strictly provincial resources no less than 103 *lakhs* in 5 years on original civil works, besides devoting 60 *lakhs* to capital expenditure on railways and canals. Those were halcyon days indeed. If I am able to devote one-fourth of this sum to the same purposes, I shall deem myself fortunate, and so far as I can see what he could afford to spend on material progress in one year must now last Bengal for five. I need not tell you, gentlemen, what this means. You know as well as I do that with an empty treasury neither administrative nor material progress is to be looked for. I do not complain of this. Of the 2 alternatives of increased taxation or diminished provincial resources, I for one do not hesitate to choose the latter. But be it well understood that the price we pay for this is a check on our administrative progress, and a policy of strict economy and niggardly public works, and I cannot help looking back with feelings of envy to the opportunities which Sir A. Eden had, and of which, be it added, he made such excellent use.

"One word more about Sir Ashley's administration before I sit down. He once said in public that he had no policy. This I take it, if analyzed, means the same thing as a remark which I once heard fall from Sir J. P. Grant, that good administration was like a good digestion. It did its work, and you heard nothing about it. Sir Ashley meant that he did the day's work as it came, and distrusted political formulæ—large generalizations which require a great deal of piecing and cutting off of angles before you can square them with the facts to which they are to be applied. Of course this can be carried too far, but with him it merely meant "take your stand on facts rather than on theories," and as a matter of fact his well-known dislike of fads and theories was consistent with a very sound appreciation of political and economical science.

"I will not detain you longer, or I would have liked to say something about his faculty for getting the best work out of subordinates, while interfering very little with them or confining himself to the Captain's duty of setting the ship's course without always laying hold of the helm. His Secretaries knew what he wanted done, and how he wanted it done, without constant reminding, and so thoroughly was his vigorous mental attitude impressed on them that their personal idiosyncrasies were wholly absorbed in it. I should like to have said something of his admirable hospitality, guided as it was by excellent taste on a strong sense of decorative art and beauty, of his personal qualities, which made him the best liked and most trusted of friends, while to many outsiders he seemed reserved and morose. But I have already detained you too long, and I can only in conclusion congratulate this City of Statues, as Lord Lytton called it, on the addition of one more worthy endowment to those works of art which form one of its special claims to distinction."

A story is on record that, when the report of Sir Steuart Bayley's speech appeared in the papers in London, one of Sir A. Eden's colleagues in the Secretary of State's Council, meeting him, remarked laughingly—"Eden, do you see what Bayley has been saying about you? You should be in one perpetual blush!" "No," replied Eden; what has he been saying?" "Why, Bayley says you are the most enlightened and the ablest administrator India, or rather Bengal, has ever had." "Is that all?" said Eden. "Why, I knew that before well. Can't he say anything more original than that?"

Sir A. Eden died suddenly of paralysis on the 9th July 1887 in London, and was buried at Armthorpe, near Doncaster.

Speech by Lord Northbrook.

At a luncheon given at the Northbrook Indian Club in London, on the 12th July 1887, Lord Northbrook made the following remarks regarding Sir Ashley Eden, who had so recently died. "The Indian Civil Service has been rich in able administrators, but I do not think that any Indian gentleman will hesitate to agree with me that we have seen of late years no abler administrator than Sir Ashley Eden. He was a member of the Council of the Viceroy and Chief Commissioner of British Burma when I was in India; while filling the latter office he showed great financial ability. During the Bengal famine it was necessary to buy

enormous quantities of rice in Burma and despatch it to Bengal. The business was entrusted to Sir Ashley Eden, who transacted it admirably, and thereby contributed most materially to the success of the relief operations ; but it was afterwards, as Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, that he most particularly made his mark in India. When he left Calcutta 5 years ago a great meeting was held in his honour, and it was determined to erect a statue to his memory, and last April the statue was uncovered by Sir Steuart Bayley, the present Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal ; on both these occasions the expressions of gratitude to Sir Ashley, and appreciation of his high qualities from all classes in Calcutta, were very remarkable. Sir Ashley Eden was distinguished for quickness of perception, for sound judgment, for firmness in carrying out his views, and for his power of securing the confidence of those who served under him. It was said, and every rightly said, at the great meeting at Calcutta that these qualities were rendered still more valuable by "a generous and enlightened sympathy with all classes of the people." Some of us recollect the great troubles in Bengal many years ago connected with the cultivation of indigo. The man who instituted the reform of the abuses of the old indigo system was Sir Ashley Eden. As Mr. Prinsep said, "he courageously stood forth as the redresser of wrongs at some risk to his own career, and was the means of securing liberty and freedom of action to the poorest classes." Sir Steuart Bayley made a remark in his speech which is so true, and at the same time so much in accordance with the objects of the Club, that I will venture to quote it. He said that nothing served Sir Ashley Eden better throughout his successful administration of Bengal "than the genuine and sympathetic friendship of his native friends, who had gathered round him in the early part of his career, and clove to him to its close, and in this respect he offered an example by which, I hope, the younger members of the Service, anxious to walk in his foot-steps, will not fail to profit." These two distinguished statesmen (Sir Barrow Ellis and Sir Ashley Eden) were also members of the Council of the Secretary of State for India for many years, and I am sure you will agree with me that we not only regret their loss upon personal grounds, but because the country has lost the services of two men whose opinion on all Indian questions was entitled to great weight."

CHAPTER VIII.

SIR AUGUSTUS RIVERS THOMPSON, K.C.S.I., C.I.E.

1882-87.

Previous career.

THE appointment of a Lieutenant-Governor has always been made by selection, though seniority has necessarily to some extent affected the choice. Sir A. Eden was the only Lieutenant-Governor who preceded another Lieutenant-Governor senior to himself: he had for years held a higher position than his successor, Augustus Rivers Thompson. The latter was a son of G. Powney Thompson of the Bengal Civil Service, a member for many years of the *Sadar* Court at Agra. His great-grandfather George Nisbet Thompson, was Private Secretary to Warren Hastings. At Eton he distinguished himself, by both playing in the Cricket Eleven (beating Harrow and Winchester) and rowing in the Eight (beating Westminster) in 1847. I heard him say at an Eton dinner at Belvedere that the proudest day of his life was that on which he had both rowed against Westminster and played against Harrow. Having been appointed after the usual course at Haileybury to the Bengal Civil Service in June 1850 he arrived in India on the 28th December 1850. After serving as Assistant Magistrate-Collector, Bankura, 1852, he held the following offices :—Assistant to the Governor-General's Agent, south-west frontier, September 1853 : Magistrate, Birbhum, 1855 : Deputy Commissioner in the Sonthal *Parganas*, 1856 : (furlough from October 1856 to January 1859); Superintendent of Survey, January 1859 ; Junior Secretary, Board of Revenue, April 1859 ; Junior Secretary, Government of Bengal, July 1859 ; Secretary, Board of Revenue, April 1861 ; Collector of Customs, November 1861 ; Magistrate-Collector of Rajshahi 1862 ; Civil and Sessions Judge of Nadia, May 1862, confirmed August 1865 ; (furlough from February 1866 to February 1868); Superintendent and Remembrancer of Legal Affairs, February 1868 ; Commissioner of Revenue and Circuit, Presidency Division, January 1869 ; Secretary to the Government of Bengal, Revenue and General Departments, September



Photogravure. Survey of India Offices, Calcutta, November 1900.

SIR AUGUSTUS RIVERS THOMPSON, K.C.S.I., C.I.E.

From a photograph by Messrs. Bourne & Shepherd.

1869; Ditto, in the Judicial and Political Departments, November 1871; (furlough from March 1872 to December 1873); Secretary to the Government of Bengal, December 1873; he refused a seat in the High Court in 1875, but soon afterwards went to officiate as Chief Commissioner of British Burma, April 1875; was confirmed 1st May 1877; Member of the Governor-General's Council, 18th April 1878; Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal 24th April 1882.

Provincial Finance.

The Provincial financial contract of 1882 with the Government of India was in force for the 5 years 1882-83 to 1886-87, and its term practically coincided with Sir R. Thompson's tenure of office. The previous contract of 1877 may be described as falling naturally into 3 parts: (1) in respect of the branches of service which had been provincialised by Lord Mayo, the old principle was retained; a fixed annual grant was made from Imperial revenues, which, together with the receipts of those departments, was expected to cover their expenditure, any growth of charges being provided for from the increase in the receipts; (2) in respect of the civil heads of revenue and expenditure now provincialised for the first time, a separate contract was made for each head of revenue and for each head of expenditure; the rates of increase in the payments on account of the revenue from Excise, Stamps, and Law and Justice being advisedly taken at a low figure, so as to leave the Local Government a margin wherewith to meet the normal growth of civil expenditure for which no direct allowance was made; (3) in respect of public works constructed from borrowed capital, the Lieutenant-Governor was authorized to resort to local taxation to make good the deficit of interest charges in excess of net earnings.

The contract of 1882 differed materially from that of 1877. The principles on which it proceeded, in common with the contracts for all other Provinces in India, were summarised thus:—

"Instead of giving the Local Government a fixed sum of money to make good any excess of provincialised expenditure over provincialised receipts, a certain proportion of the Imperial revenue was devoted to this object. A few heads were reserved as Imperial; others were divided in proportions, for the most part equal, between Imperial and Provincial; the rest were made Provincial. The balance of transfers, being against the Local Government, was recti-

fied by a fixed percentage on its Land Revenue otherwise reserved as Imperial. At the same time a distinct declaration was made of the policy to be followed during the term of the contract. The Imperial Government was to make no demand on the Local Government except in the case of disaster so abnormal as to exhaust the Imperial reserves and resources and to necessitate a suspension of the entire machinery of public improvement throughout the Empire. On the other hand, the Local Government was to look for no special aid from the Imperial Government except in the case of severe famine, and then only within the following limits :—(1) current income must have been exhausted, every avoidable expense in every department having been retrenched, and the public works grants having been applied to famine work to the very utmost possible ; (2) savings of past years in excess of the ordinary working balance must have been drawn up to two-thirds of their total amount ; (3) the margin of Provincial surplus in normal years was to be liable for the completion of works begun as relief works, and, where there was no need of such completion, was to be chargeable up to one-fourth at most for payment of interest on any Imperial loans which might have been raised to meet the excess cost of the famine in general.

"The chief points in which the contract of 1882 differed from that of 1877 were the following :—*first*,—the excess of provincialised expenditure over provincialised receipts was balanced, not by an annual allotment of fixed amount, but by a fixed percentage of the land revenue of the Province : *second*,—the Local Government was no longer permitted to appropriate the whole of the increase in the 3 principal sources of improvable revenue, *viz.*, Excise, Stamps, and Registration : under the old contract the Local Government surrendered fixed sums under Excise and Stamps, and nothing under Registration ; under the new contract one-half the receipts (including one half of the profits) under all these heads was to go to the Government of India : *third*,—in the new contract the Local Government gained an interest in the revenue heads of Assessed Taxes and Forests, and other less important heads of service : *fourth*,—the contract of 1882 was a *consolidated* contract. In other words, no attempt was made to estimate the future receipts and expenditure under separate heads, and to fix distinct assignments

for each. The new arrangements were applied to the revised estimates for 1881-82 as a whole, the total receipts were compared with the total expenditure, and (after making a deduction of 27 *lakhs* from the revenue side, being the share of the profit on the old contract which the Imperial Government decided to appropriate) the adjusting percentage of land revenue was calculated so as to balance the account.

The general financial result of the contract of 1882 was summarised thus—the revenue, which was estimated at Rs. 3,93,11,000, had averaged Rs. 4,19,58,000, giving an increase of Rs. 26,47,000; the expenditure, which was estimated at Rs. 4,48,53,000, had averaged only Rs. 4,31,27,000, being a reduction of Rs. 17,26,000; and the deficit, which averaged Rs. 11,69,000, had been met by drawing upon the accumulated balances of the Province to the extent of Rs. 58,49,000. The chief branches of revenue which had contributed to the increase in receipts were—Stamps, Provincial Rates, and Registration; while the reduction in expenditure had been almost wholly confined to the Public Works Departments, in which the grants for civil works, for capital expenditure on railways and canals, and for irrigation (net charges), had been cut down so as not merely to balance the account, but to provide for a large increase of expenditure on revenue establishments, judicial Courts, jails, police, education, superannuation, and the net charges of provincial State Railways. The last year was expected to close with a credit balance in the Imperial treasury of only Rs. 16,94,000.

In February 1886 the Government of India appointed a Commission (generally called the Finance Commission) under Sir C. A. Elliott, then Chief Commissioner of Assam, as President, "for the purpose of examining expenditure, whether Imperial or Provincial, and reporting to Government as soon as might be possible, what economies were therein practicable." The Provincial contracts were to expire at the end of the financial year 1886-7; the revision of these contracts was to come before the Committee who were to extend their inquiries to all Departments of the Government, whether Imperial or Provincial, also to examine the home charges and certain military charges. The Commission examined, in consultation with the local authorities, the details of revenue and expenditure in every Province, so that the Government of India was in a position to

judge more accurately than on the former occasion of its financial position and resources.

Inland Labour Emigration, and from Bihar to Burma.

A new Inland Emigration Law (Act I of 1882) came into force from the 6th of January, 1882. Its leading principles may be thus briefly described. While retaining safeguards against irregular recruitment and the improper treatment of emigrants on their journey to the employer's estate and during the term of their engagement, it sought to facilitate emigration to the tea districts by providing for an increase in the number of registering officers in the recruiting districts; by permitting garden-*sardars* to recruit any number of persons, whereas they were formerly restricted to 20; by severing all connection between them and contractors; and by authorizing the employment of local agents to supervise the operations of garden-*sardars*, or under special license, to recruit emigrants themselves and despatch them to the labour districts without the assistance of *sardars*. The term for which contracts might be made was extended from 3 to 5 years, and no restriction whatever was imposed on free emigration. The labourer was thus enabled to proceed to the tea districts either as a free emigrant, taking work on an ordinary contract, or entering into a contract under the Act. In the first case he was in no way subject to the Act; in the second he was subject only to such of its provisions as referred to the carrying out of the labour contract; and in the third he was completely under the Act from the date of his recruitment until the expiration of his engagement. As far as the Government of Bengal was concerned, which chiefly had to deal with questions connected with the recruitment and passage of the emigrant to the labour districts, the recent extension of the railway system, the improvement in the means of communication, and the consequent shortening of the journey, had much diminished the need of any emigration law. In the labour districts, where the emigrant came under contract, the case was different in the interests both of the employer and the employed; but for Bengal the continuance of any special law at all was likely to be found unnecessary after the lapse of a few years. An important step in the promotion of rapid communication with the Assam Valley was taken in 1882-83 by the establishment of a subsidised daily steam service between Dhubri and Dibrughar,

the firms who took the contract having engaged to accomplish the voyage between these places regularly in 4 days. To this service the Bengal Government contributed Rs. 35,000 a year. In January 1886 a similar service was started by the same firm between Narayanganj and Sylhet and Cachar, with prospects of great advantage to the health and comfort and convenience of future emigrants. Here, too, the Government of Bengal promised an annual subsidy of Rs. 10,000 for 2 years, when the enterprise was expected to be self-supporting.

It had for some years past been considered desirable to discourage as far as possible recruitment through the agency of contractors, and to promote in its place the general employment of garden-*sardars*; and the provisions of the new law, permitting the appointment of local agents, were introduced especially to further this object.

The great feature, however, of this period was the development of free emigration. This third system worked outside the Emigration Act, and under it recruiters without any license might collect labourers in the recruiting districts and take them to Assam on their own responsibility, unaided by Government. This came to be the principal method of recruitment, and accounted for the large reduction in the year 1885 in the number of coolies who emigrated under the special protection of the Act. In 1886 free emigration was both actually and relatively more active than in any previous year, emigration under the other 2 systems having fallen to the lowest numbers recorded for 5 years. It was expected that eventually the entire supply of labour to the Province of Assam would be by free emigration.

In 1882, the Bihar-to-Burma emigration scheme was introduced with a view to relieving the congested tracts of some of the redundant population. Most favourable terms were offered by Government. The passage of each family was paid to Rangoon, and their conveyance to the village in which they were to live was defrayed by Government. Houses were supplied, and food given, free of cost, until wages could be earned; and work was assured to able-bodied labourers for one year. After completion of a year's work holdings of culturable land in proprietory right, of an area varying from 10 to 20 acres, were to be allotted to each family.

These holdings were to be exempt from land revenue for 5 years. Finally a special officer was to be deputed to take charge of the colonists and to guard their interests. About 70 men and 4 women were sent to the Pyuntaza plain. They remained for a few weeks on the sites selected for them, receiving Government rations and doing but little work. At the end of that time they abandoned their homes, and took employment as coolies on the railway line or returned to Rangoon. The scheme failed, after costing Government Rs. 33,000; its failure was attributed to the dislike of natives of India to abandon their homes and settle in a foreign country, to the non-fulfilment of promises held out to immigrants by subordinate emigration agencies, and to the annoyances experienced in a new country by the immigrants.

The Indian Education Commission of 1882.

In the beginning of 1882 a Commission was appointed by the Government of India composed of departmental and executive officers of Government and representatives of the educated native community of each Province (except Burma, to which the inquiry was not extended). The main object of the inquiry was to investigate the working of the system founded in 1854 and to ascertain the actual position of education in India at the time (1882). Since the last reviews prepared by the Government of India of the state of Education in the country the control of the Education Department had been transferred, under the decentralising policy, to the Local Governments, and a more thorough examination was required than could be obtained from Reports and statistics. The Commission was under Sir W. W. Hunter, K. C. S. I. as President and reported in September 1883. The Government of India came to the conclusion that the experience of nearly 30 years had brought to light no serious flaw in the general outlines of the policy laid down in 1854 and confirmed in 1859, and that any unsatisfactory results found to exist were generally due to non-observance of the principles of the despatches of 1854 and 1859.

The recommendations of the Commission—so far as they received the confirmation of higher authority, and were found to be compatible with the circumstances and resources of Bengal,—were likely to largely determine the future progress of education in the Province. The changes recommended were expected not to affect the Bengal

educational system as deeply or vitally as those of some other Provinces ; for in many respects it was the system and policy already followed in Bengal that were recommended for general adoption. In the support and countenance afforded to indigenous schools, whether of elementary or of higher instruction ; in the encouragement afforded to private enterprise in education by the grant-in-aid rules, and the spirit in which they were worked ; in the reluctance of the Department to open Government schools whenever private institutions could be expected or encouraged to do the work ; in the active support given to the higher education of Muhammadans ; in throwing open Government scholarships to unrestricted competition and making them tenable as freely in institutions under private as in those under Government management,—in these as well as other vital points the Bengal system met with approval. In other points the system was held to be defective. The insufficiency of the grant allotted for primary education ; the necessity of raising the standard of instruction ; the need of further provision for inspecting primary schools and for securing a due supply of qualified teachers ; the desirability of offering more liberal rates of aid to private Colleges ; the need of increased provision for the supply of female teachers,—these were points in which the Bengal system was regarded as laying itself open to criticism. The possibility of some of the reforms indicated depended on the possibility of increased funds being granted for education.

The Government of Bengal, in accordance with the recommendations of the Commission, took steps to transfer the Berhampore and Midnapore Colleges to private management ; while it recognised the claims of private enterprise by sanctioning a grant-in-aid to the College classes opened in connexion with St. Paul's School for Europeans at Darjeeling and to the new second grade College for native students at Narail in Jessore. The Colleges at Krishnagar and Rajshahi were retained under Government management, in the absence of any local agency to which they could be transferred with adequate guarantees of permanence and efficiency. A special exception was made in favor of the small and expensive College at Chittagong, on account of its distance and isolation. The proposal of the Commission for the promotion of primary education at an increased cost of 10 *lakhs* a year had to be postponed for want

of funds. On the formation of District Boards under the Local Self-Government Act of 1885 all Government middle and primary schools were transferred to their management; and subsequently the grant-in-aid allotment, and primary grant for middle and primary schools in extra-urban tracts were similarly transferred. For primary school teachers, training classes were established in connection with middle schools. The proposal to establish an alternative standard at the Entrance Examination, in the future interests of technical instruction, was referred to the University. Briefly the recommendations of the Commission received the fullest attention compatible with the necessity of avoiding any considerable increase of expenditure.

The Ilbert Bill.

The excitement which "the Ilbert Bill" caused at the time has long since subsided and there are probably not many persons in India who could state correctly offhand what was the exact object of that measure, though it may be generally remembered that the intention of Government was in some way or other to subject Europeans to the jurisdiction of native Magistrates in a manner which had not been previously authorised by law. The measure was of such political importance, and aroused such strong passions that it will be worth-while, even at some length, to record precisely what was aimed at, what was effected and what part Sir Rivers Thompson, as Lieutenant Governor, took in the controversy. The idea of legislating did not originate with him but was the outcome of a letter of the 20th March 1882, written under Sir Ashley Eden's orders, one of the last letters of any importance issued before his retirement. Nor did the Bill originate in any opinion given by Sir C. P. Ilbert, the Legal Member of Council. He explained in Council that Sir A. Eden's letter was received and circulated to the Local Governments before he took his seat (on the 1st May 1882) in Council and that he never heard anything of the subject until after the replies of the Local Governments had been received. But the Bill, as it first issued, was accompanied by a Statement of Objects and Reasons, to which his name was attached, and was therefore always called after him. The letter of the Government of Bengal of the 20th March, and Mr. B. L. Gupta's note, (which initiated the whole matter) admit of no abridgment, if the origin of the Bill is to be understood. They ran as follows :—

"I am directed to submit for the consideration of the Government of India, the accompanying copy of a note by Mr. B. L. Gupta, of the Bengal Civil Service, representing the anomalous position in which the native members of the Covenanted Civil Service are placed under the provisions of the Code of Criminal Procedure, which limit the jurisdiction to be exercised over European British subjects in the interior to judicial officers who are themselves European British subjects. Chapter VII of Act X of 1872, which deals with the subject, has been reproduced in the new Code of Criminal Procedure (*vide* Chapter XXXIII of Act X of 1882).

Dated the 30th January 1882.

The question raised in Mr. Gupta's note is one which requires full consideration, and on which the Government of India will probably deem it desirable to obtain the opinions of all the Local Governments and Administrations, inasmuch as it may not be expedient to apply to the Madras and Bombay Presidencies a rule which may be applicable to Bengal. Mr. Gupta desired that the question of the jurisdiction to be exercised by Covenanted Civilians over Europeans in the *mufassal* might be considered in connection with the Bill to amend Act X of 1872 ; but the Lieutenant-Governor felt that a discussion on the subject could not with propriety be raised at the final reading of that Bill. Sir Ashley Eden is, however, of opinion that the matter should receive full and careful consideration, whenever, on any future occasion, a fitting opportunity occurs.

As a question of general policy, it seems to the Lieutenant-Governor right that Covenanted Native Civilians should be empowered to exercise jurisdiction over Europeans as well as over natives who are brought before them in their capacity as Criminal Judges. Now that Native Covenanted Civilians may shortly be expected to hold the office of District Magistrate or Sessions Judge, it is also, as a matter of administrative convenience, desirable that they should have the power to try all classes of persons brought before them. Moreover, if this power is not conferred upon native members of the Civil Service, the anomaly may be presented of a European Joint-Magistrate, who is subordinate to a native District Magistrate or Sessions Judge, being empowered to try cases which his immediate superior cannot try. Native Presidency Magistrates within the towns exercise the same jurisdiction over Europeans that they do over natives, and there seems to be no sufficient reason why Covenanted Native Civilians, with the position and training of District Magistrate or Sessions Judge, should not exercise the same jurisdiction over Europeans as is exercised by other members of the service.

For these reasons, Sir Ashley Eden is of opinion that the time has now arrived when all native members of the Covenanted Civil Service

should be relieved of such restrictions of their powers as are imposed on them by Chapter XXXIII of the new Code of Criminal Procedure, or when at least Native Covenanted Civilians who have attained the position of District Magistrate or Sessions Judge should have entrusted them full powers over all classes, whether Europeans or native, within their jurisdictions.

Jurisdiction over European British subjects

As the law now stands—section 72 Chapter VII of Act X of 1872—no Magistrate or Sessions Judge has jurisdiction to inquire into a complaint or to try a charge against a European British subject unless he is a Justice of the Peace and himself a European British subject. An exception to this rule is allowed within the limits of Presidency towns where, under Act IV of 1877, a Presidency Magistrate, whether himself a European or not, has the same jurisdiction over Europeans as over natives of the country.

Previous to the passing of Act X of 1872 (the present Criminal Procedure Code) no Magistrate or Justice of the Peace, even though a European himself, had jurisdiction (outside the limits of the Presidency towns) to try a charge against any European British subject. But all Magistrates who were Justices of the Peace had jurisdiction to inquire into charges against Europeans and to commit them to the High Court for trial. (See sections 39, 40, and 41 of Act XXV of 1861, the old Criminal Procedure Code.) And by section 3, Act II of 1869, the Government was empowered to appoint any Covenanted Civil Servant to be a Justice of the Peace. Under Act X of 1872, however, a Covenanted Civil Servant, even though a first class Magistrate and a Justice of the Peace, would have no jurisdiction over a European British subject unless he himself is a European British subject.

This provision of the law would give rise to an invidious distinction and to many practical inconveniences in the case of those natives of the country who in the course of time expect to attain to the position of a District Magistrate or of a Sessions Judge. Hence, when the Bill for Act X of 1872 was still before the Council, an amendment to section 72 in favor of the native members of the Covenanted Service was proposed by the Hon'ble Mr. Ellis. The amendment* was put to the vote and lost by a majority of 7 against 5. But it is remarkable that the minority in that instance comprised the highest officials of the State. The President and Governor-General, the Commander-in-Chief, the then Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, and his successor in office, all voted for the amendment, and I would humbly

* See proceedings of the Governor-General's Council on the Criminal Procedure Bill at a meeting held on the 16th April, 1872, published in the Supplement to the India Gazette of the 4th May 1872, page 572.

invite attention to the utterances of those dignitaries on that occasion. Nothing can be added to the eloquence or sound reasoning of those speeches, and I shall content myself with appending a few extracts for ready reference.

The Bill of the new Criminal Procedure Code now before the Council proposes (section 443) to perpetuate the distinction noted above, and the disability under which myself and other Indian members of the Service labour. The arguments which were uttered in 1872 for its removal present themselves with redoubled force after an interval of 10 years. They are too obvious to require mention, and they would lose all their grace and much of their force if repeated by one who is personally interested in the matter. My only statement on the subject is, that if you do entrust us with the responsible office of a District Magistrate or of a Sessions Judge, do not cripple us in our powers. The question affects seriously the efficiency of district administration ; and I make bold to trust that the expediency of a change in the law cannot but be recognized if the matter be put before the Council in its present true light.

Since the passing of Act X of 1872, however, the constitution of the Civil Service has undergone an important change, with reference to which a few words need be said. Under a recent measure of Government, natives of India have been appointed to the Covenanted Civil Service under a system of nomination and without the test of any competitive examination or a compulsory journey to England. This fact somewhat alters the aspect of the question discussed in the Council in 1872, and under existing circumstances stronger objections would probably be raised against any proposal to extend generally the criminal jurisdiction over European British subjects to all native members of the Covenanted Civil Service. I would therefore venture to make a suggestion which would probably meet the urgent requirements of the case, at the same time that it would obviate all reasonable objections and command a general assent. I would propose that the extension of jurisdiction over European British subjects be limited to natives of this country holding the office of a Magistrate of the District or of a Sessions Judge.

B. L. GUPTA.

The Government of India consulted all the Local Governments and Administrations, and on receipt of their replies a Bill was prepared "to amend the Code of Criminal Procedure 1882, so far as it relates to the exercise of jurisdiction over European British subjects." The Bill and the Statement of Objects and Reasons, dated the 30th January 1883, were as follows :—

Whereas it is expedient to amend the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1882, so far as it relates to the exercise of jurisdiction over European British subjects; it is hereby enacted as follows:—

Preamble.

The last clause of section 22 of 1882:

"May by notification in the official Gazette appoint such European British subjects as he or it thinks fit to be Justices of the Peace within and for the territories mentioned in such notification."

1. For the last clause of section 22, the following shall be substituted:—"may, by notification in the official Gazette, appoint such persons as he or it thinks fit, who, being

Amendment of section 22.

(*a*) members of the Covenanted Civil Service,

(*b*) members of the native Civil Service constituted under the Statute 33 Vic., c. 3,

(*c*) Assistant Commissioners in Non-Regulation Provinces, or

(*d*) Cantonment Magistrates,

are invested with the powers of a Magistrate of the first class, to be Justices of the Peace within and for the territories mentioned in the notification."

Section 25.

"In virtue of their respective offices the Governor-General, the Ordinary Members of the Council of the Governor-General, the Judges of the High Courts and the Recorder of Rangoon and Justices of the Peace within and for the whole of British India, and Presidency Magistrates are Justices of the Peace within and for the towns of which they are respectively Magistrates.

2. In section 25, after the words "British India" the following shall be inserted:—"Sessions Judges and District Magistrates are Justices of the Peace within and for the whole of the territories administered by the Local Government under which they are serving"

Amendment of section 25.

Section 443.

"No Magistrate unless he is a Justice of the Peace and (except in the case of a Presidency Magistrate) unless he is a Magistrate of the first class and an European British subject, shall enquire into or try any charge against an European British subject."

Section 444.

"No Judge presiding in a Court of Session shall exercise jurisdiction over an European British subject unless he himself is an European British subject; and, if he is an Assistant Sessions Judge, unless he has held the office of Assistant Sessions Judge for at least 3 years, and has been specially empowered in this behalf by the Local Government."

Section 450.

"If the Judge of the Sessions Division within which the offence is ordinarily triable is not an European British subject, the case shall be reported by the committing Magistrate for the orders of the highest Court of Criminal appeal for the Province within which such Division is situate.

The last 16 words of section 459.

"or on any Magistrate or Sessions Judge outside the Presidency towns not being an European British subject."

3. In section 443, the words "and an European British subject" shall be omitted.

Amendment of section 443.

4. For section 444 the following shall be substituted :—"444. An Assistant Sessions Judge shall not exercise jurisdiction over an European British subject, unless he has held the office of Assistant Sessions Judge for at least 3 years, and has been specially empowered in this behalf by the Local Government."

New section substituted for section 444.

Assistant Sessions Judges who may try European British subjects.

5. Section 450 and the last 16 words of section 459 are hereby repealed.

Repeal of section 450 and of the last 16 words of section 459.

6. (1) In this Act "section" means section of the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1882.

X of 1882.

* * * * * * *

Statement of Objects and Reasons.

Shortly after the Code of Criminal Procedure, Act X of 1882, was passed, the question was raised whether the provisions of that Code which limit the jurisdiction over European British subjects outside the Presidency towns to judicial officers who are themselves European British subjects should not be modified. It was thought anomalous that, while natives of India were admitted to the Covenanted Civil Service and held competent to discharge the highest judicial duties, they should be deemed

incompetent to be Justices of the Peace and to exercise jurisdiction over European British subjects outside the Presidency towns.

After consulting the Local Governments, the Government of India has arrived at the conclusion that the time has come for modifying the existing law and removing the present bar upon the investment of native Magistrates in the interior with powers over European British subjects. The Government of India has accordingly decided to settle the question of jurisdiction over European British subjects in such a way as to remove from the Code, at once and completely, every judicial disqualification which is based merely on race distinctions.

With this object the present Bill has been prepared. In section one it amends section 22 of the Code, which provides that only European British subjects can be appointed Justices of the Peace, and gives the Government power to appoint to that office such persons as it thinks fit belonging to the following classes :—

(*a*) Members of the Covenanted Civil Service ;

(*b*) Members of the Native Civil Service constituted by the rules made under the Statute 33 Vic., c. 3 ;

(*c*) Assistant Commissioners in Non-Regulation Provinces ; or

(*d*) Cantonment Magistrates, and being persons invested with the powers of a Magistrate of the first class.

The Bill then in section 2 amends section 25 of the Code, and makes all Sessions Judges and District Magistrates *ex officio* Justices of the Peace.

Section 3 repeals so much of section 443 of the Code as limits jurisdiction over European British subjects outside the Presidency-towns to Magistrates who are themselves European British subjects.

Session 4 repeals the similar provisions of section 444 of the Code with regard to Sessions Judges.

Lastly, section 5 repeals section 450 of the Code, which provides for the case where the Sessions Judge of the Division within which the offence is ordinarily triable is not an European British subject. The same section of the Bill also repeals so much of section 459 of the Code as provides that that section shall not be deemed to confer on Magistrates and Sessions Judges outside the Presidency-towns, not being European British subjects, jurisdiction over European British subjects.

The 30th January, 1883.

C. P. ILBERT.

On the 2nd February 1883 Sir C. P. Ilbert moved for leave to introduce the above Bill and it was introduced formally on the 9th idem : but the Council were not then invited to discuss the principle

of the Bill until full time had been given for its consideration by the public. On the 9th March Mr. Ilbert moved that the Bill be published in the Gazettes. This motion was agreed to without a division, but after a debate in which the most opposite opinions were expressed, from those in support of the measure to those urging its immediate withdrawal. The latter was pressed by Sir R. Thompson, who said: 'If it be the opinion of the Government of India that this is a case of temporary excitement which will soon die out I am sure they are mistaken; for I feel that in the whole of my experience in India this is unmistakeably the strongest and most united and unanimous expression of opinion of public discontent that I have ever known and that the last state will be worse than the first.' The debate occupies pages 764-830 of the *Supplement to the Gazette of India* of April 21, 1883, and is too long to reproduce.

The Bill, with the *Statement of Objects and Reasons* was circulated for the opinions of Local Governments and Administrations on the 17th March 1883: but before that date, and indeed before the debate in the Legislative Council on the 9th March, the fierce opposition which the project of law was to encounter had manifested itself. A public meeting of the European community of Calcutta was held at the Town Hall on the 28th February. The room was crowded and no one who was present can ever forget the scene. The speakers were cheered again and again, and the utmost unanimity and determination to resist the measure were exhibited. The following Resolutions were adopted. The first—proposed by Mr. J. J. J. Keswick, seconded by Mr. J. H. A. Branson, supported by Mr. W. Bleeck, was:—

"That in the opinion of this meeting the Bill for the amendment of the Criminal Procedure Code is unnecessary in the interests of justice; uncalled for by any administrative difficulty; based on no sound principle; founded on no experience; whilst forfeiting a much-valued and prized and time-honored privilege of European British subjects, it confers no benefit upon natives; whilst imperilling the liberties of European British subjects, it in no way affords any additional protection to natives; it will deter the investment of British capital in the country by giving rise to a feeling of insecurity as to the liberties and safety of the European British subjects employed

in the *mufassal* and also of their wives and daughters; and it has already stirred up on both sides a feeling of race antagonism and jealousy, such as has never been aroused since the mutiny of 1857." The second Resolution was proposed by Mr. J. Pitt Kennedy, seconded by Mr. W. H. Pratt, supported by Mr. J. G. Apcar :—

"That memorials of protest be drawn up, and circulated for signature in Bengal and other Provinces; and, when duly signed, be presented to His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General-in-Council and to Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India; and that the Sheriff be requested to sign the same on behalf of this meeting."

"That petitions for the protection of the rights, privileges and liberties of Her Majesty's European British subjects be drawn up and circulated for signature in like manner, and, when duly signed, presented to both Houses of Parliament."

Third Resolution.—Proposed by Mr. J. Murdoch, seconded by Mr. D. Cruickshank, supported by the Revd. H. Finter.

"That a Committee be formed consisting of the following gentlemen :—Messrs. Keswick, Flemington, Thomas, A. B. Miller, Apcar, Branson, Ezra, Gubboy, Finter, Madge, Murdoch and Cruickshank, with power to add to their number, for the purpose of preparing the memorials and petitions in terms of the last Resolution."

The Viceroy and Members of the Supreme Government left Calcutta for Simla while the question was in the state described above. The opinions collected by the Government of India from all India were published in an *extra Supplement to the Gazette of India* September 8th 1883, pages 1—416.

Sir R. Thompson's opinion, as Lieutenant-Governor, on the Bill was laid before the Government of India in the Secretary's letter of the 22nd June 1883, as follows :—

I am directed by the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal to submit his opinion upon the Bill to amend the Criminal Procedure Code to which his attention was called in your letter No. 25 C., dated the 17th March last. On receipt of that letter, a circular was issued to Commissioners of Divisions, inviting an expression of their views upon the subject, after consulting selected officers interested in the measure, and qualified to express an opinion upon it. Copies of the replies received have already been forwarded from time to time for the information of His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General-in-Council. This is the

first time that an opportunity has been offered to the Bengal Government and its officers to report upon the Bill ; and though the Lieutenant-Governor has little doubt that the impassioned controversy which has arisen, since the intention to legislate was declared, has strongly influenced opinions on both sides of the question, the fact remains that the general result, as gathered from the replies received, is, both in the number and weight of judgment, decidedly against the principle and policy of the proposal. It appears that, excluding the Judges of the High Court in Calcutta, whose reply has been submitted direct to the Government of India, there were 79 officers in Lower Bengal whose Reports appear in the published replies, and, from as fair an analysis of these Reports as can be made, the result is that, while 20 gentlemen approve of the principle of the Bill, and would recommend its enactment, there are 59 who are either entirely against it, or who, accepting the soundness of the theory upon which the Bill is based, object for one reason or another to its being passed into law. Of the 20 writers in favor of the measure, 19 are natives and one (Mr. Coldren) is a gentleman connected with the American mission in the district of Balasore. All but one of the 19 natives are in the public service, and include the Covenanted Civilians, now officiating as Magistrates and Collectors in charge of districts. The others, with 2 exceptions, one of whom is a Government Pleader, are Deputy Magistrates and Deputy Collectors in Government employ. Mr. Coldren, to whom reference has been made is an American, and, though in his brief remarks he recorded his personal support of the Bill, he adds that from inquiries made he finds that a large majority of the leading members of the Christian community under him are not in favor of having native gentlemen to try Europeans. Out of the 59 gentlemen opposed to the proposed legislation, it will be sufficient to notice that the list comprises the Superintendent and Remembrancer of Legal Affairs, all the Commissioners of Divisions, all the district officers and Judges who were consulted, and includes Mr. Badshah, the Covenanted Native Civilian in charge of the subdivision of Goalundo, 9 native officers of Government, 8 of whom are in the uncovenanted Service (most of them being Deputy Magistrates), and one a Government Pleader, besides 3 native gentlemen in independent positions unconnected with Government employment. Besides these, it is evident that several other gentlemen, whose replies have not been forwarded, had expressed opinions unfavourable to the Bill, and that the non-official European community is unanimously opposed to it. If the Lieutenant-Governor had had any doubts regarding the necessity or the policy of the contemplated legislation before, he must say that they would have been entirely removed by the great weight and the numerical superiority

of the earnest arguments now adduced in condemnation of the Bill; and he has only, therefore, to say that the opposition which he has consistently maintained to the introduction of the measure from its first submission to the Executive Council of the Government of India in 1881 has only been confirmed and strengthened by the later developments of the discussion.

Before referring to the grounds upon which this opposition, in which Mr. Rivers Thompson regrets to find himself at variance with His Excellency the Governor-General-in-Council, is based, I am directed to notice some points in the Bill which demand consideration. If the Bill, as it has been circulated for opinion is passed (1) all native Sessions Judges and Magistrates of districts will, by virtue of their office, be empowered to exercise the same jurisdiction over European British subjects as now belongs to European officials in the same positions; and (2) any native Magistrate of the first class who is a Covenanted or Statutory Civilian, or who is an Assistant Commissioner in a Non-Regulation Province or a Cantonment Magistrate, may be invested, at the discretion of Government, with similar powers. Hitherto the Government has widely exercised the power of appointing as Justices of the Peace many Europeans who, not being in the Government service, do not come within any of the classes above mentioned, and a great administrative convenience has been thereby secured. The withdrawal of this power, even if vested interests are saved, will, in the Lieutenant-Governor's opinion, operate to the detriment of the administration of justice, because it may very well happen that in many places such as the minor sea-ports, out-of-the-way subdivisions, and occasionally at railway stations, the services of an Honorary European Magistrate would secure all that was requisite, when neither Covenanted nor Statutory Civilians were available for the duty. The omission of course might be easily remedied; but, if it is remedied by the reservation of such powers in the hands of Government as now obtain, it is obvious that one principle upon which the Bill is based will be compromised, and the limitation of the grant of such judicial powers to European British subjects alone could not be defended. As the Lieutenant-Governor understands, however, the Government of India is not prepared to go to the extent of conferring such powers upon natives generally.

Again, in the matter of cantonments, the observations of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, speaking with the authority of Government in the debate of the 9th March last, seem to show that there was no intention of conferring the office of a Cantonment Magistrate upon natives. It is not readily intelligible why, if race distinctions in judicial offices are untenable, such distinctions should be entertained in favor of

the military, and not of the civil population of the country; but assuming that the decision is final (and the Lieutenant-Governor is clearly of opinion that the decision is a right one), clause (d), section 1 of the Bill will have to be amended. But in this connection it is necessary to direct attention to paragraph 11 of the Report received from the Commissioner of Orissa, where he points out that in Cuttack the Joint Magistrate, or, in his absence the Magistrate of the district exercises the judicial powers of the Cantonment Magistrate, and if, "either of these officers should be a native, he would, as Cantonment Magistrate under the Bill exercise the jurisdiction which His Excellency appeared unwilling to concede." However, supposing the Bill to be modified as suggested, the difficulty, though involving an anomaly, might be met by the executive arrangement of never appointing a native Covenanted Civilian to the Magistracy or joint Magistracy of Cuttack.

The Bill, as it proposes to enlarge the powers of Assistant Commissioners in Non-Regulation Provinces, does not affect any of the districts under the Bengal administration, and the Lieutenant-Governor may leave it to others to deal with this clause. He would only remark that it very often happens that an Assistant Commissioner is a native, in no respects different from the Deputy Magistrates of the Regulation Province, and with but a tithe of the experience which the older Deputy Magistrates possess in the administration of the criminal law. If the Deputy Magistrate is not to exercise jurisdiction over European British subjects, there is a much more forcible reason why the native Assistant Commissioner should not have such a power. The case as regards the Statutory Civilians seems stronger still; and the Lieutenant-Governor is constrained to refer more at length to the question as it concerns the officers appointed under 33 Vic. c. 3, because his own judgment is here entirely in accord with that of the great majority of those who have commented upon and condemned the proposal. The system under which natives of India are thus admitted to the Covenanted Civil Service of the country has been in force for 3 or 4 years. Altogether, up to the present moment, 6 gentlemen have obtained appointments to the Covenanted Civil Service under the Statute, and all of them are still Assistants to Magistrates and Collectors, and 4 only out of the 6 have passed the preliminary departmental examinations which qualify them for promotion. It may be accepted as certain that it will take at least 7 or 8 more years before any of these officers will be in a position to enjoy the dignity of an officiating Magistrate and Collector of a district. The chances of advancement to a Sessions Judgeship are even more remote. On the ground, then, of any immediate necessity for legislation on their behalf, even if the principle of the

Bill be affirmed, no cause whatever can be shown. But this is only a very small part of the question. The system itself is in an early and experimental stage of its operation; and if it is to be continued, which the Lieutenant-Governor considers is likely to evoke discussion very soon (because any system of nomination is objectionable, and, as against Europeans and Eurasians in India, one of the worst anomalies based on purely birth and race distinctions), it has not yet justified, and probably never will justify, the conclusion that the men so selected and admitted to a great service will be competent for other than subordinate positions in it. This is the common testimony, with a few exceptions, of all the Reports upon the Bill. It is quite truly represented that these nominated officers, chosen very often more for their social connections than for any other qualifications, have given no guarantees of ability and character which should place them in the same category as the officers who have faced the difficulties and disabilities of a voyage across the seas, and have, by open competition in England, won their place in the Civil Service. What the Commissioner of the Presidency Division says upon this part of the subject is quite true. "The officers of the Native Civil Service came from the same classes as those from which the uncovenanted service is recruited. They have the same race-feeling as those of their brethren of the latter service; and, save that they are not so experienced or so hardworking, there is no difference, as regards race qualification or disqualification, between a Deputy Magistrate and a member of the Native Civil Service under the Statute 33 Vic. c. 3." There is no magic in the words "Covenanted Service" which should be able to transform young men, taken from the same ranks as the general run of the Subordinate Executive Service, into superior beings fitted for posts of high responsibility. If anything is gained by a temporary sojourn of some 3 years in England, which is claimed for the Covenanted Native Civilian who enters the service by competition, the advantage is wholly wanting in the case of the Statutory officers. There can be no kind of assurance that in their case they will be free from native thoughts and native prejudices; and ignorance of the ways and habits of Europeans is a distinct disqualification for dealing with criminal prosecutions against Europeans. The Lieutenant-Governor would ask attention to the forcible remarks made by the Magistrate and Collector of the 24-*Parganas* upon this point. Mr. C. C. Stevens, the officer in question, has had 20 years experience in many districts in Bengal. His whole career has been marked with an intelligent desire for the promotion of native interests. He has had under him in his district work native Civilians of both classes, and his report throughout expresses that sense of regret which every one must share with

him, at having to deal with such a question of such invidious delicacy for such a cause as this Bill represents. Yet the fact is apparent, not from his Report only, but from the Reports of many other competent officers (and in this native opinion seems to be almost as decided as European), that there is an essential difference between these 2 classes of native Civilians; and that if the large body of uncovenanted officers are to be excluded from having jurisdiction in cases against Europeans, on the ground of unfitness, the disability extends with greater force to those of the Covenanted Service who enter it by nomination in India.

The Lieutenant-Governor is quite willing to recognize that the case of competition native Civilians stands on a different footing. They have made sacrifices to secure the honorable positions which they hold, and they are sacrifices of a kind which Englishmen, of all people in the world, are best able to appreciate. They have abandoned caste, they have surrendered religious feelings, they have broken family ties and set themselves against the devout sentiments and doctrines of their ancient creeds. The sentiment may not be so strong now as it was 15 or 20 years ago; but, apart from the religious aspect of the case, the expense incurred in such an undertaking, and the risks of a long sea-voyage (exaggerated in its perils to every native mind) to a foreign country, where they must live as strangers and encounter, in the competition for the prize they are seeking, a large body of English youth who have enjoyed the advantage of the highest training and education—all these circumstances justify a claim to consideration on the part of the Government. There is weight, too, in the argument which finds a place in many of the papers that, with the attainment of the status of a district officer, whether he be European or native, there should be no distinction on the ground of nationality in the powers and privileges to be exercised. As an abstract proposition, the Lieutenant-Governor assents to this, and, indeed, with much which Mr. Justice Romesh Chunder Mitter advances in his Minute of the 25th May 1883, the Lieutenant-Governor would be willing to agree, if the premise could be accepted that to administrators and statesmen the policy of the measure was irrelevant and a matter of indifference. The learned Judge carefully excludes himself as a judicial officer from all such considerations in the opening paragraph of his memorandum; but it can scarcely be conceded that we are in India simply to make our laws symmetrical and to redress the sentimental grievances of an infinitesimal minority. They are high sounding phrases which have appeared very frequently in the discussions upon this controverted measure, which talk of the abolition of "race distinctions" judicially, and the suppression of what one officer has called the enormous force of argument that is supposed to lie in the word

"anomaly." But it appears to the Lieutenant-Governor that time at least has shown, if not the arguments of the opponents of the Bill, that the attempt to remove a single petty anomaly, which injures no one, reveals only the innumerable anomalies with which our whole position as the dominant power in India is surrounded; and that the Bill itself exposes that, so far from race disqualifications in judicial administration being abolished, this very evil becomes very greatly intensified and accentuated by the exclusion from the power, which it is proposed to assign to a few, of a large body of equally competent and meritorious public servants. The fact is that, with whatever sincerity finality may be pleaded, finality in such legislation is impossible, if once the principle is yielded; and the Lieutenant-Governor is inclined to suspect that very much of the vehemence of the agitation on both sides of the dispute arises from the knowledge that such is the case. The single question, then, is whether the time has come for the concession of the principle in any form and subject to any modifications of the Bill; and, for the reasons to be immediately given, the Lieutenant-Governor is certainly of opinion that it has not.

It has been put forward, not so much from any concession to popular sentiment in the matter as from the necessities of the case, that, with the abandonment of much which now appears in the Bill as regards Cantonment Magistrates, Assistant Commissioners and Statutory Civilians, the power to try European British subjects should be extended only to the Covenanted native Civilians who have entered the service by competition and that the power should be restricted to such officers as District Magistrates and District Judges by the virtue of their office. In presence of the extreme animosities which the question has excited, this seems rather a small object to be attained, and the descent from the original proposal suggests something of the trivial results of great efforts. In the first place, it may be noticed that such an issue would prospectively affect just 9 individuals in India, and most of these at a distant period. Immediately it would confer a privilege (if so it may be called) upon 3 native gentlemen——2 in Lower Bengal and 1 in Bombay——and, if legislation is justifiable only where a clear case is made out for recourse to it, the condition seems hardly to be fulfilled in this instance. But the objection seems to be valid still further, because, of the 2 native gentlemen whom the Lieutenant-Governor has had recently the pleasure of appointing to districts, one at least will, in all probability, be relieved of this charge in the course of the next cold season, by the return from furlough of senior officers; and the Bill, by the time it became law, would affect only the 1 native Civilian in the Bombay Presidency, and possibly 1 in Bengal. It cannot be pretend-

ed, then, that there is any urgency for the legislation ; nor in the constitution of the office of the Magistrate and Collector of a district in Bengal is there any necessity for it. It may be asserted beyond contradiction that, from the beginning of the year to the end, a Magistrate of a district rarely, if ever, thinks of dealing with criminal cases. He has the full power to do so ; but his avocations are so numerous and his responsibilities so various in the general supervision of district administration, and in the particular charge which he retains in his own hands in connection with revenue and fiscal matters that he would never have the leisure to attend to work on the Magisterial side, and, as a consequence, the whole of this falls, by a necessary division of labour, and in the regular course of procedure, to the Joint Magistrate of the district and his native subordinates in that line. Mr. Romesh Chunder Dutt is now officiating as Magistrate and Collector of the Backergunge district. The Lieutenant-Governor ventures to say that, with the extremely heavy revenue work of that district, he has no time, and probably has no inclination, to touch any work in the criminal courts ; and if any case arose in which a European was involved the parties would not be put as Mr. Romesh Chunder Dutt asserts to "the hardship and inconvenience of travelling to a different district" but would find, in the European Joint Magistrate on the spot, an officer not only competent to deal with the case, but one who in the ordinary course of business would have to deal with it without the necessity of any interference from his superior. This is not always the case : there are some districts in Bengal where Joint Magistrates are not permanently stationed, but in such places not unfrequently there are European officers of the uncovenanted Service, who, as the law now stands, can exercise jurisdiction over European British subjects. The argument based on "administrative inconvenience" is utterly untenable in the present constitution of the Civil Service ; and if it is untenable in Bengal, where 6 out of the 9 native Covenanted Civilians are employed, it can scarcely affect any other administration in the country. The consensus of opinion received from different Provinces is very much invalidated by the fact that there is not a single member of the native Covenanted service, who has entered it by competition, in Madras, the Panjab, the Central Provinces, Burma, Assam, Sindh, or Coorg. There are 2 such officers in the Bombay Presidency ; one, a very junior officer, under the Government of the North-Western Provinces ; and 6 in Lower Bengal. There is scarcely an exception in the support given to the irrelevancy of the "administrative inconvenience" theory among all the Reports from local officers. At the present moment, there are 45 districts under the Bengal Government. At the same time there are 2 native Civilians for whom, as Magis-

trates in charge of districts, immediate provision has to be made; and the contingency may arise of a third being appointed in the course of next year to a Civil and Sessions Judgeship. Executive arrangements will, it is obvious, quite easily provide, without detriment to the public interests or to the personal claims of these native officers, either that they should be in charge of districts where there are no Europeans, or, as regards the Magistrates, that they should be in charge of districts where the presence of a European Joint Magistrate, or of a European Deputy-Magistrate with full powers, would prevent any kind of inconvenience. Even if the time ever arrives when one-sixth of the Magistracy of this Province is in the hands of natives—though that is quite a different thing from one-sixth of the Covenanted appointments being filled by natives, and is in itself very improbable—there could be no difficulty in carrying on the administration of criminal justice without any change in the law; but, as a question of very remote concern, it is scarcely necessary to dwell upon the requirements of very distant circumstances.

The Lieutenant-Governor would have been glad if he could have stopped here. He is ready to admit that, if every thing which he has already urged against the Bill was conceded, but the competency of a native Magistrate to exercise jurisdiction in European cases was admitted, the proposal for the present modification of the Criminal Procedure Code would render the position of the advocates of the Bill, not unassailable, because many political considerations would still affect the issue, but much stronger than it is now. But the question is to be met whether the legislation contemplated is justified by the fitness of the native judiciary for the powers which it is proposed to confer upon them, and in the Lieutenant-Governor's judgment the answer must be in the negative. He comes here to that part in the discussion which, as contained in the *Statement of Objects and Reasons* appended to the Bill, represents the aim of it to be to secure the fair and impartial administration of justice, and to the observations of the Hon'ble Member who introduced the Bill, that these particular cases against Europeans were in India admittedly few and exceptionally troublesome. Now the Lieutenant-Governor has little sympathy with that section of the opponents of the measure which represents the possibility of unrighteous judgments leading to severe and unjustifiable sentences at the hands of native Magistrates, who are supposed to be a corrupt body biassed against the European. If bias there might be in critical cases, there is little justification for any apprehensions from excessive punishments. If we have taught the natives anything, we have taught them to respect the purity of judicial administration, and, in the Lieutenant-Governor's opinion, in these days of railways and tele-

graphs no wilful injustice could occur in the remotest corners of the country without being at once brought to light and remedied. Apart however, from the main objection, which the Lieutenant-Governor will presently advert to, there are other drawbacks which must be noticed. The surroundings of a *mufussal* Magistrate's Court are not exactly the surroundings of a Court at Westminster, or of the High Court in Calcutta. An Englishman, much more an English woman, summoned to such a Court (frequently, as evidence shows, on a false charge) has to undergo many indignities which a European officer can at once control and check, but which in a Court presided over by a native find free course amidst a sympathetic audience. There is no exaggeration in this, as most persons who have had to deal with such cases can testify; and the absolute distrust which the European in the interior has of such Courts arises, not so much from any positive want of confidence in the Magistrate if left to himself, as from the atmosphere of perjury, forgery and intrigue which is about him and around him. Beyond this, however, the Lieutenant-Governor is bound to say that there is a much greater risk of the failure of justice from a want of nerve in the native to deal in the presence of public excitement with the kind of "troublesome cases" to which these papers refer. The experience of every officer in the country will supply illustrations in which this independent force of character has been found wanting in the natives, and the reports before Government show innumerable cases in which a constitutional timidity has led natives to shirk duty because it is difficult. In judicial trials, it is a much easier thing to acquit when the acquittal terminates all inquiry and disposes of a serious embarrassment, than to convict and punish in complicated cases against the resolute determinaton of a violent Englishman backed by a strong local opinion in his favor. The Lieutenant-Governor would ask if any Head of an Administration in India would place a native officer in independent charge of a frontier district. A Bengali in such a position at any rate might know all our criminal codes by heart, and be animated by the strictest desire to apply the law of evidence, and yet would certainly fail if a crisis impended from any sudden irruption of frontier tribes. In the recent discussions about Appellate Benches, one of the earliest, and as it appears to the Lieutenant-Governor the simplest method suggested for limiting petty appeals, was to constitute at capital stations a Bench composed of the European and First Subordinate Judge to finally dispose of all such cases, and yet the objection came from the most competent Judges of native character—the natives themselves—that on such a tribunal the native Judge could exercise no independence. A good deal has recently been heard of Local Self-Government schemes, in which the presence or absence of the Magistrate of the district as President of the Committee

is considered a very material point; but the argument on which the natives' objection is based is that the presence of even a single official on a Committee would stop discussion, would paralyse the action of the native members, and would imperil the object for which the scheme has been introduced. There is probably much more than this dislike of control which repudiates the co-operation of English officers in the prosecution of a great reform; but, taking their own admissions, there can, in the Lieutenant-Governor's opinion, be scarcely a stronger argument for the unfitness of natives to carry on such a measure alone than the incapacity which they allege in the presence of the European. These may not all be exactly apposite illustrations to the position of a Magistrate discharging judicial functions; but they indicate what many passages in the Reports before Government describe, and what any practical experience of the country confirms, that the quality of courage, whether moral or physical, is not among the virtues of the people with whom we have to deal in Bengal. The disqualification referred to is further evidenced by the notorious fact, common to every district, that even native litigants in emergent and difficult cases will ask for the trial of their suits by an English tribunal. It can scarcely be a matter of surprise that what is an object of distrust to the natives themselves should be an object of distrust to Europeans.

The Government of India will scarcely need a more convincing proof of the unqualified repugnance which the European community throughout India entertain towards this Bill than the general reprobation of it which public opinion in various forms has expressed. The strong feelings which the measure has evoked have, it is to be regretted, found not unfrequent expression in unnecessary bitterness and hostility towards Government.

The Lieutenant-Governor would fain hope that this excess of feeling in this matter will not influence the judgment which is to decide the fate of the Bill. If he urges himself its withdrawal, it is in the conviction that it is not necessary for the judicial work of the country, and that it takes away a privilege, which Englishmen in India very highly value. In asking for the retention of that privilege, they ask only for what has been theirs since British Courts of criminal judicature were established in the country, and they ask it in no derogation of the claims of the natives who, on their own side, enjoy privileges, which, if the question of an impartial administration of justice is concerned, affect it much more seriously than the concession in favour of some half dozen native Magistrates. The political issues are of course of much wider consequence. "The very bad thing about the Bill is its principle"—the principle, that is, that by a stroke of the pen we are to establish

"(*b*) All District Magistrates and Sessions Judges will be *ex-officio* Justices of the Peace, and will have power to try European British subjects;

"(*c*) District Magistrates will be empowered to pass upon a European British subject a sentence extending to 6 month's imprisonment or 2,000 rupees fine, or both, that is to say, a sentence twice as severe as they are empowered to pass at present, but any European British subject charged before a District Magistrate will have a right to require that he shall be tried by a jury of which not less than half the number shall be Europeans or Americans, or both;

"(*d*) A European British subject committed for trial before a Court of Session will have a similar right, even in those districts where trials before the Court of Session are not ordinarily by jury.

"When a jury is claimed before a District Magistrate, and the Magistrate has reason to believe that a jury composed in the manner required by the law cannot conveniently be constituted to try the case before himself, he may transfer it to another District Magistrate or Sessions Judge. The question as to the particular Court to which the case should be transferred is one which must obviously be determined with reference to administrative considerations, and to the varying circumstances of different districts. Accordingly it is left to general rules, which are to be framed by the High Court with the approval of the Local Government. But there is power for the High Court to make special orders in exceptional cases. The Court to which a case is thus transferred is to try it with all convenient speed, and with the same powers and according to the same procedure as the Magistrate from whose Court it is transferred."

Besides the provisions relating exclusively to European British subjects, the amended Bill contained other provisions of general application, to which no further allusion is required. The Bill was, after debate, passed on the 28th January without a division, and became Act III of 1884. In the debate Sir Griffith Evans made it clear that the European community had not assented to the principle of the Bill nor to anything of the kind, but that, retaining their own view of their own privileges and rights, they had assented to the passing of this Bill in order to procure peace. The agitation then subsided. It may be mentioned here that on the day of one of these important debates Sir R. Thompson was so ill that he was

forbidden by his medical adviser to attend Council: he attended, however, at the risk, it was said, of his life.

Sir John Strachey has* thus described the result eventually attained:—"The controversy ended with the virtual though not avowed abandonment of the measure proposed by the Government. Act III of 1884 extended rather than diminished the privileges of European British subjects charged with offences, and left their position as exceptional as before. The general disqualification of native Judges and Magistrates remains; but, if a native be appointed to the post of District Magistrate or Sessions Judge, his powers in regard to jurisdiction over European British subjects will be the same as those of an Englishman holding a similar office. This provision, however, is subject to the condition that every European British subject brought for trial before the District Magistrate or Sessions Judge has the right, however trivial be the charge, to claim to be tried by a jury of which not less than half the number shall be Europeans or Americans. No such claim can be made by natives charged with offences, and it is a claim which could not be made by an Englishman in any Magistrate's Court in his own country. The Legislature has virtually declared that the summary powers of the European District Magistrate over European offenders shall be taken away, not because this was held to be in itself desirable, but because such powers could not be given to a District Magistrate who is a native. While this change was made in the powers of District Magistrates, the law in regard to other Magistrates remained unaltered. All English Magistrates of the first class, outside the Presidency towns, other than the District Magistrate, are appointed to be Justices of the Peace, and they exercise jurisdiction over European British subjects as they did before; but no native Magistrates in similar positions can be appointed to be Justices of the Peace or exercise such jurisdiction. There are many districts in which it may happen, when a charge against a European British subject comes before a District Magistrate, that a sufficient number of Europeans and Americans cannot be found to constitute a jury; the case must then, under the orders of the High Court, be transferred to another district where a jury can be formed. Thus opportunity is offered for the occasional revival of the old scandals

* India, Editn. 1894.

connection with irrigation operations, and especially complaining against the alleged oppressive procedure on the part of the canal revenue officers and their subordinates in the assessment and recovery of water-rates, and in the application of the certificate procedure under Act VII (B. C.) of 1880. There were complaints of a less general character regarding drainage; and the existing tariff of rates, both for long and short leases, was a grievance. While such was the character of the objections and remonstrances locally raised in Orissa, the canal revenue, which had been steadily, though slowly, progressing, showed a sudden falling-off. On the expiry of the five-year leases in November 1882 the gross receipts had decreased from Rs. 1,80,325 in 1882-83 to Rs. 1,11,856 in 1883-84 and Rs. 51,245 in 1884-85, while the net loss, after meeting the cost of maintenance and working expenses, had been Rs. 35,271, Rs. 67,662, and Rs. 1,85,781, in the same 3 years, respectively. The condition of arrears was also unsatisfactory, and it was impossible to be indifferent to the inadequacy of the realisations in relation to the demands, and generally to the failure of the expectations, upon the strength of which Government had taken over the concern from the Madras Irrigation Company, and subsequently spent very large sums in extending the irrigation system in the Province.

Upon a consideration of these facts Sir R. Thompson appointed a Commission of Inquiry into the working of the Orissa Canal system. It appeared to him that it was only by the personal investigations on the spot of an expert Commission that the real position of things could be ascertained.

The members of the Commission assembled at Cuttack, the capital of the Province, on the 15th December 1884, and from that date till the end of January 1885 were engaged in examining witnesses, in inspecting different parts of the canal on the Cuttack and Balasore districts, and in investigating a large number of complaints formulated on behalf of the people in the irrigated tracts by different local Associations. The Report of the Commission was considered by the Board of Revenue and the Commissioners of Orissa. Sir R. Thompson, after the receipt of the Reports on the subject, visited different portions of the canals himself, and a conference was held of the chief Local Civil and Public Works officers, when the whole subject of the Commission's inquiries, and the connected

papers, were brought under discussion, and definite orders passed on each of the questions at issue.

The revenue administration of these canals had never come up to their requirements; there were scandals during the time when Sir G. Campbell was Lieutenant-Governor—extraordinary divergencies between estimates and actual receipts; and throughout, continual complaints by the people of oppression and illegal proceedings—much the same sort of complaints as those towards which the inquiries of the Commission of 1884-5 were directed. At the same time the difficulties of the position were very great. The character of the climate of Orissa; the average rainfall, which is quite sufficient in ordinary years for all agricultural purposes; the apathetic and indolent habits of the people; and the hostility exhibited by both cultivators and *zamindars* to all canals and distributaries, were elements, in a purely optional system, which made successful administration almost an impossibility. The *zamindar*, who never remits a pice of his dues, is indifferent whether the *raiyat* takes water or not; or, if he is stirred to any action, it is in the way of discouragement of the practice. The *raiyat* in favourable years avoids all contact with the Irrigation Department; he trusts to good rains, and it is only when these fail him at the last moment that he thinks of seeking for canal water to save his crops. It was the common testimony of all concerned in the business that on such occasions there was a general tumultuous rush of *raiyats* willing to take any amount of water and willing to promise any amount of payment. But as soon as the danger was past, the obligation to pay for the benefits received passed away with it; and the *raiyat* considered himself perfectly justified in employing every subterfuge (and there were many) to avoid the payment of a single pice.

These were some of the difficult conditions under which the revenue officer had to labour. They were aggravated by the almost entire absence of anything like a proper survey of the country, so that recourse had to be had to detailed measurements of the several areas of land for which water was originally asked, with the result that in almost every case it was discovered that the area had been purposely understated, or the water passed on to lands for which no application had ever been made and no lease granted. It thus happened that a system which from the small amount of the indivi-

dual demands should, to be successful, be self-acting, involved the deputation of inferior officers given to greed and inclined to be oppressive. As a result, there were complaints of exactions, with litigation and disputes, and, in the end, a long list of arrears. The measures adopted on the Commission's Report were expected to give a partial remedy to these evils, but the substantial fact remained that, except for a year of such exceptional calamity as 1866, works of this magnitude were not required in Orissa, and that they would never return a reasonable direct percentage upon the enormous expenditure incurred.

The Orissa Coast Canal, which was to connect Orissa with Bengal by inland communication and put an end to the isolation of the former, would have been finished in Sir R. Thompson's time, but for the cyclone of 1885: it was completed soon after he left, having cost about 40 *lakhs*.

Admission of females to the Calcutta Medical College.

In 1883 the subject of admitting females as students to the classes of the Calcutta Medical College came before Sir R. Thompson. The question had been raised in Sir R. Temple's time and favourably received, but had led to no practical results. When the Director of Public Instruction brought it in 1882 before the Council of the Medical College in accordance with wishes expressed to him by the parents of some young ladies, the Council resolved not to admit females on any terms to the Medical College classes, whether after passing the Entrance Examination or the First Arts Examination as a preliminary qualification. Sir R. Thompson overruled the Council and wrote as follows:—

"On this question, looked at from the standpoint of general policy, as well as of individual freedom, there is not, in Mr. Rivers Thompson's opinion, any room for doubt as to the action which Government should take. It is indeed in the Lieutenant-Governor's judgment a subject of great reproach to the Bengal Presidency, in which education has made such wide progress, that it should be so far behind other Provinces in matters regarding the medical education of native ladies; and this reproach is the more appreciable in that the backwardness of Bengal in this respect would seem to be due, not so much to the prejudice of native parents and guardians (which might in the present circumstances of India be only natural) as to the attitude which the Medical College Council have thought fit to assume. Already these Provinces have suffered

from the Council's failure to take a broad and unprejudiced view on this question; for the Lieutenant-Governor learns to his regret that some Bengali ladies, fully qualified by educational attainments for admission to the College, have had to betake themselves to the more liberal Presidency of Madras, there to prosecute those Medical studies from which the Council of the Calcutta Medical College had excluded them. It is, in Mr. Rivers Thompson's opinion, clearly opposed to the public good, as well as to legitimate private interests, that such a state of things should continue, and that the educational system of Bengal, progressive in other respects, should be illiberal and retrograde in this. Illiberality here has great and numerous evil consequences. It encourages *zanana* prejudices; it strengthens the barriers of caste; and it suppresses the natural and reasonable aspirations of Indian ladies to enter a profession which would find, in India of all countries in the world, a wide sphere of action and of beneficent service. Every day that passes widens our knowledge of the fact that among the native community there are women in every position of life who would prefer death to treatment by a male physician, and the misery caused by neglected, and unskilfully treated illness must be widespread and most lamentable. There is but one way by which this suffering can be relieved, and that is by the medical education of females; for in the present conditions of Indian life it would be useless to wait till opposition, based upon prejudices (if such they can be called), is removed. The Lieutenant-Governor therefore considers it his duty to support this movement; and he looks on the objections which have been made to it, on the ground of the difficulty of teaching mixed classes, or the alleged inaptitude of females for the profession of medicine, as unsubstantial and obsolete. Experience gained in Europe, in America, and in Madras, has shewn that mixed classes can be taught without any bad results; while the aptitude of women for the study and profession of medicine is, in the Lieutenant-Governor's opinion, no longer open to discussion or doubt. Even if the aptitude of women for the profession of medicine were still an open question, it would be an inadequate objection here, for the fitness or unfitness of women to practise medicine can only be proved by experience. The issue therefore is, shall it be put to that proof in Bengal? The ladies who apply for admission to the College will be the only losers if they fail in the trial: the community will be the great gainers if they succeed. For his own part the Lieutenant-Governor has no doubt they will succeed far beyond the expectations of their most sanguine supporters, and he looks forward to a not distant time when Calcutta hospitals shall be partly officered by lady doctors. And if the success of the principle be established in the capital, there is no reason why our medical schools in the Provinces should not

afford opportunities for a more general extension of the policy, with incalculable advantage to the country."

Jury system.

Special inquiries were made in 1883 as to the feasibility of extending the jury system in districts other than the 7 in which it then obtained. Judged by the comments of the vernacular press, the subject had a special interest for natives. Everywhere the suggestion was opposed by the local Judges, on the ground chiefly that there was not a sufficient number of educated natives in the districts to form a qualified jury list. The High Court Judges also were opposed to the measure.

English and Native journalism.

During the year 1883 the Native Press was much excited on various subjects, such as, the Ilbert Bill, the Local Self-Government and Municipal Bill, and the imprisonment of the Editor of the *Bengali* by the High Court for contempt. Sir Rivers Thompson expressed his views on the subject as follows :—

"The last year was one of exceptional excitement unfavourable to calmness and moderation, and no one could be less desirous than Mr. Rivers Thompson of judging the Native Press on the evidence which such times afford. Indeed, it must be admitted that the absence of calmness and moderation was not peculiar to the Native Press last year, and that English journals lost much of the self-restraint and good feeling which is usually their honourable characteristic in dealing with political and social questions in India. But English journalism in Bengal has, with insignificant exceptions, recovered its proper function of temperate criticism; while native journalism as a rule is still disfigured by a spirit of reckless hostility, a ready acceptance of unfounded rumours, and a proneness to impute unworthy motives to Government and its officers. Many utterances of the Native Press and of the Anglo-Native Press, from which the vernacular papers take their tone, were during the year such as to bring the papers containing them within the scope of the criminal law. In 3 instances applications were made to the Government by native officers to sanction the prosecution of calumnious articles in vernacular papers; but the Lieutenant-Governor has been personally opposed to any action which would put that law in motion, hoping for the time when prejudice and passion would give way to better feelings. Some articles have recently appeared in Anglo-Native journals which counsel moderation, and the Lieutenant-Governor would be indeed glad if he could take them as the precursor of a better tone and temper. The benefit which a free Press, acting with justice and independence in the interests

of the ruled and the rulers, can do in Bengal is incalculable. Its assistance would be welcomed by the Lieutenant-Governor as an invaluable aid to good Government, both in the denunciation of what is wrong and in helping the people to an appreciation of the efforts of Government to do right. A free Press can interpret the rulers to the people and the people to their rulers; and through the medium of the press honestly conducted the Government can discover the wants of the country much more clearly and usefully than through the medium of official Reports. But when it is seen that day after day the Anglo-Native and the vernacular Press abuses its opportunities and the forbearance of the Government to propagate among a credulous people libels on individual officers, false imputations on the Courts of Justice, and disloyal comments on the Government itself, then it becomes a serious question whether, in the interests of the country and of the mass of readers and their circles of auditors who are thus being misled, toleration may not be pushed too far. If this expression of the Lieutenant-Governor's views has the result of in any way influencing the Native Press, to reconsider what it owes to the Government as well as to the public, then the result will be wholly good in establishing the confidence of Government in the honesty and value of the criticisms of the Native Press. Mr. Rivers Thompson may say at once, judging them from his intercourse with all classes, that, constituted and worked as it is at present, the Native Press is only an exponent of the views of its conductors, and not of those of the people of the Province."

Judicial training of civilians.

During the year 1880-81 the question of improving the training of officers of the Covenanted Civil Service who elected the judicial branch of the service was under the consideration of Sir A. Eden, and a tentative scheme was proposed by him and sanctioned in the following year by the Government of India, which would, it was hoped, remove the defects of the system under which officers were called on to perform the important duties of a District Judge without any experience in the administration of civil justice, and with no experience of criminal justice beyond that afforded by the work of a Joint-Magistrate. In furtherance of this scheme, in 1881-82 several Covenanted Civilians, whose duties had hitherto been confined to executive and criminal judicial work, were invested with powers as Civil Judges, according to the length of their service; some with the functions of a Subordinate Judge, and others with those of a Munsif. The scheme was on its trial during the 2 following years with very little success.

It was an attempt to obtain from officers already overburdened with their own duties work of a new and technical character. It was found to have occasioned a greater amount of inconvenience than was at all commensurate with the advantages to be expected from it. At length in 1883-84 it was pronounced a failure by the High Court, and its abandonment recommended.

Calcutta International Exhibition, 1883-84.

In the year 1883-84 an International Exhibition was held in Calcutta. It was the first undertaking of its kind in India. The idea of having an Exhibition in Calcutta of the products of the Indian Empire was under the consideration of Sir R. Thompson, when, in October 1882, Mr. Jules Joubert, who had before successfully promoted International Exhibitions in Australia, arrived in India and suggested the wider project. With the consent of the Government of India, and with a promise of assistance from other Local Governments, Sir R. Thompson gave his sanction and support to the undertaking, and preparations were commenced in January 1883 under the supervision of a General Committee. For the collection of samples of the products and manufactures of India, the Bengal Government provided a sum of Rs. 50,000, which was distributed by the Government of India among the different Local Governments; and in all cases the allotments thus made were supplemented by grants made by the Local Governments from their own funds. A sum of Rs. 10,000 was at the same time placed in the hands of an Executive Committee for the collection of exhibits in Bengal. Many exhibits were also lent by Native and European gentlemen in India, and the Calcutta community furnished and equipped a separate court entirely at its own expense. Three of the Australian Colonies, viz: Victoria, New South Wales and South Australia, appointed Commissioners to promote the objects of the Exhibition, and official representatives were sent to the Exhibition by the Colonies of Ceylon, the Straits Settlements, Tasmania, British Guiana and Mauritius. From foreign countries delegates were sent by the Government of Austro-Hungary, by the French colonies of Cochin China and Tonquin, and by the Dutch colony of Batavia, and Great Britain, France, Germany, Italy, Belgium, Turkey, Japan, and the United States of America were represented by exhibitors. The Exhibition was held in the Indian Museum building, and in extensive temporary buildings con-

structed by the Public Works Department: part of the *maidan* west of the Museum was enclosed for the purpose. The total space enclosed for the exhibition amounted to nearly 22 acres. Even this space was, however, insufficient for the proper display of the exhibits, which in some courts were overcrowded, and numerous applications for space had to be refused. The total number of exhibitors in all the courts of the exhibition amounted to 2,500. The exhibits exceeded 1,00,000 in number, and 3,590 certificates of merit with medals were given. The Exhibition was managed by the Executive Committee acting in concert with M. Joubert. It was opened by Lord Ripon on the 4th December 1883, and was closed by him on the 10th March 1884. The total number of persons admitted into the Exhibition exceeded a million. The number of visitors continued to increase before the closing of the Exhibition; and as its fame extended only gradually to distant places in the interior it would certainly have attracted visitors for a much longer time if circumstances had permitted it to remain open. The gross expenditure on the Exhibition amounted in all to nearly 5,80,000 rupees and the total gross receipts to nearly Rs. 5,03,000. A report was published, giving an exhaustive account of the circumstances under which the Exhibition was held and describing with much detail the exhibits which were brought together. The beautiful collection of art work in the Indian Courts was probably the most vividly recollected by those who visited the Exhibition; but the solid merits of the collections of raw products and rough industries in the Indian Economic Court afforded special ground for satisfaction to all persons interested in the welfare of the Empire. It was an especially interesting feature of the occasion that a very large number of native ladies visited the Exhibition.

In return for the advances, amounting to Rs. 50,000, made by the Government of Bengal to other Local Governments in India for the purchase of exhibits, the Government of Bengal was permitted to select articles from the collections sent from the various Provinces to the value of its advances. The selection made, together with the collection of exhibits purchased in Bengal from the sum of Rs. 10,000 placed in the hands of the Executive Committee, formed the nucleus of the Art portion of the Economic and Art Museum established in the building adjoining the Imperial Museum, which, extended

and enlarged as funds became available, was a permanent memorial of the Calcutta Exhibition of 1883-84.

The Bengal Agricultural Department.

The idea of the direct intervention of Government in agricultural progress and reform in India was revived in 1881, in consequence of the Report of the Famine Commission. Struck with the absence of proper means of collecting trustworthy information in times of prosperity, on which action might be based in adverse times, the Famine Commission made certain recommendations for the organisation of an agency for its collection. Looking at the condition of the country from 2 points of view, namely, the prevention and the relief of famine, the Commission recommended, (1) that better methods of cultivation should be introduced, and that agricultural knowledge should be more widely diffused; and (2) that measures should be adopted for the collection and record of results of past experience and current events to enable Government to deal systematically, effectively, and economically with famine.

These recommendations were considered by the Government of India, and, though some points of detail were not approved, the leading principles were adopted and submitted for the sanction of Her Majesty's Government. This sanction was accorded in 1881, the Secretary of State, at the same time, defining the objects of the new Revenue and Agricultural Department to be—

the collection and embodiment in convenient forms of the statistics of vital, agricultural, and economic facts, in order that Government and its officers might always be in possession of an adequate knowledge of the actual condition of the country, its population, and its resources:

the general improvement of Indian agriculture with the view of increasing the food-supply and general resources of the people:

better and prompter organisation of famine relief, whenever the actual approach of famine might be indicated by statistical information.

While the objects of the new Department were thus declared, the attention of the Government of India was invited to the necessity of establishing under Local Administrations a suitable machinery for the collection and record of statistical information, and for the improvement of agriculture throughout the country. It was the want

of such machinery which marred the usefulness of Lord Mayo's plans; and, to avoid a repetition of such a failure, the Government of India recommended that provincial agencies should be created to give effect to what was its settled policy in the matter of agricultural and industrial improvement and the prevention and relief of famine.

It seemed to Sir R. Thompson, on his assuming charge of the office of Lieutenant-Governor, that, apart from the question of statistical information, the creation of an Agricultural Department was calculated to confer many benefits on a people 75 per cent of whom were agriculturists, and many administrative advantages to Government; he accordingly submitted proposals for giving effect to his views as well as to those which had been repeatedly expressed by the Government of India and the Secretary of State. He showed that nothing substantial had hitherto been achieved towards collecting trustworthy agricultural statistics and obtaining correct records of rents or tenures such as were found in other parts of India. Owing to the want of village agency, this defect could not, as far as permanently-settled estates were concerned, be remedied without special legislation. The case was, however, different in estates the property of Government and of disqualified proprietors. Government could make surveys and settlements of rents in them, and establish village records under the powers afforded by the existing law. The Government of India, in expressing to the Secretary of State their general approval of the views of the Bengal Government, and in advocating the creation of a special Department, laid particular stress on what it understood would, pending the adoption of more extensive operations, be the first duty of the new Department, namely, the organisation of the *patwari* staff and the preparation of a scheme for the collection of agricultural statistics in estates under the management of Government and of the Court of Wards. The Secretary of State, while doubting the feasibility of the objects at which the Local Governments and Government of India ultimately aimed, was disposed to admit the importance of providing the Lieutenant-Governor with the requisite agency for advising the Government generally in all matters relating to agriculture and statistics, as well as for undertaking the preliminary inquiries necessary in connection with the experimental survey of the Patna Division, which had been sanctioned by his predecessor. He accordingly sanctioned, as a

temporary measure, for 2 years, the employment of an officer for the purpose above explained, and also for collecting the information necessary for enabling the Government of Bengal to submit in a complete shape a detailed report on certain points connected with the management of Wards' and Government estates, on which he desired further information.

For the performance of these duties, Mr. M. Finucane, C. S. was selected to be Director of the Agricultural Department, and was first employed mainly on pressing work in connection with the Bill, which subsequently was passed as the Bengal Tenancy Act. On the 2nd May 1885 a Resolution was issued, defining broadly the functions of the newly-created office to be of two kinds—*agricultural research*, including the arrangements for the experimental survey in the Muzaffarpur district, and for the maintenance of the results obtained by a system of village records, as also for the collection of the returns of the prices of food-staples required by the Bengal Tenancy Act; and *agricultural improvements*, to be undertaken with the co-operation of such societies as the Agri-Horticultural and the Zoological, of local Committees, and of such landowners or farmers as might be good enough to lend their assistance. In regard to duties of the first class, the Director was placed under the control of the Board of Revenue and instructed to report to them; while his efforts for agricultural improvement were to be made under the direct orders of Government in the Revenue Department. The services of 2 members of the Civil Service and of a Deputy Collector, all of whom were graduates of the Cirencester College, were placed at his disposal, so far as this could be done without interfering with their other duties.

The period of 2 years, for which the Agricultural Department was sanctioned, expired at the end of 1886. It was recommended to be established as a permanent institution, and this was sanctioned.

Legislation: Tramways:

The Bengal Tramways Act was passed to enable Government to sanction, and local authorities or private persons to undertake, the construction and maintenance of tramways throughout the Province. It was an entirely new departure, so far as Bengal was concerned, and prescribed the procedure to be adopted in obtaining sanction, the manner of construction of tramways, the powers and rights of the promoters in respect of the use of

roads, the rules as to fares and traffic, the penalties for offences, and other conditions.

By another Act the Port Commissioners were empowered to construct docks at Kidderpore and to raise the necessary loans, the interest on which was guaranteed by the Secretary of State for India in Council.

Kidderpore Docks.

The question of affording increased facilities to the trade of Calcutta had been under the consideration of Government from time to time since the year 1839. In 1881 proposals were again submitted for the construction of docks at Diamond Harbour, and a strong Committee was appointed by Sir A. Eden in December 1881 to report on the scheme. In the Report the majority of the members were in favour of it, but the merchants in a body opposed it on the ground of the increased expense which double establishments and offices at Calcutta and Diamond Harbour would entail. Apart from this there were serious objections to this site on account of its exposure to cyclonic waves, and the difficulty of taking large vessels into docks on what would be for some months of the year a lee shore. It was at this stage that the question came before Sir R. Thompson, and by him a general Committee comprising several mercantile members was again appointed in 1883, with the object of instituting inquiries as to the measures possible for extending the existing accommodation of the Port, and the cost at which this could be provided. After a most thorough inquiry the Committee reported that 21 jetties might be provided on the Calcutta side of the river in positions where they could be erected without causing public inconvenience, and 20 on the Howrah side between the Botanic Garden and the lower boundary of the Port. But they estimated that the same amount of accommodation could be provided in a wet-dock at not much greater cost, and they pointed out that vessels lying at jetties would have neither the security nor the convenience afforded by a well-arranged wet-dock. They considered it also most undesirable to divide the accommodation, and to place half on the Calcutta and half on the Howrah side. Jetties, though they might cost less in the first instance than docks, would cost more to maintain. The Committee therefore thought the construction of wet-docks was the best and the most economical of all measures for affording the increased accommodation required for the commerce of Calcutta. They also considered the

Kidderpore site to be the most suitable for the purpose. After further inquiries conducted by selected medical officers as to the sanitary conditions of the proposal, the scheme, which was strongly supported by Sir R. Thompson, received the sanction of the Government of India and of the Secretary of State. It consisted of an outer dock and an inner one with entrance to the river through a tidal basin. The supply of water for the docks was to be drawn from Tolly's *nala* which was to be provided with locks, and improved as well as extended by Government so as to bring the boat traffic of the Province through the canal system into direct communication with the docks. To connect Tolly's *nala* with the docks a canal was to be cut, the entrance to which was to be provided by a lock 300 feet long and 40 feet wide. The docks were to be connected with the jetties and inland vessels' wharves by an extension of the river bank railway from Chandpal *ghat* to Kidderpore and with the Sealdah terminus by a direct line of Railway. The cost of the scheme was to be 300 *lakhs* of rupees, to be raised by loans by the Port Commissioners on the guarantee of the Secretary of State. The works were taken in hand, and it was believed that they would be completed before March 1889.

Local Self-Government.

The two most important measures which came before the Bengal Legislative Council while Sir R. Thompson was Lieutenant-Governor were the Local Self-Government Bill and the Municipal Bill. The first of these provided for the creation of a machinery for the development of Local Self-Government. Lord Ripon's Government had laid down in a Resolution of the 18th May 1882, the general policy which was to be carried out. According to the Bill as originally laid before the Council in 1882-83, Union Committees were to be established for the management of village affairs. A group of unions was to constitute the circle of a Local Board, vested with certain executive powers and responsibilities and possessing a certain degree of financial independence. The general control of Local Boards, as well as of all Municipalities throughout the Province, was to be placed in the hands of a new authority, denominated the Central Board, consisting of members appointed by Government. The Bill specified minutely the powers that were to be exercised by each of the Local Government bodies so constituted, the duties that were to devolve upon them, the funds to

be placed at their disposal, and their relations towards each other and towards the officers of Government. The decision of the Secretary of State negativing the proposed appointment of a Central Board rendered it necessary in the following year to recast many of the provisions of the Bill. As so amended, the Bill provided that the District Board should be an administrative body where there were no Local Boards, and either wholly or partly a controlling body where there were such Boards. Under this scheme there was to be a District Board established in every district, but a Local Board, as far as possible on a representative basis, might be constructed in any subdivision or subdivisions, and must be constituted in any subdivision in which the subordinate system of *thana* Union Committees had been introduced. Provision was made for the election of members and for the control of administration. Power was given to the Lieutenant-Governor, and, subject to his direction, to the different Boards, to make rules for the disposal of business. The Bill as preliminarily amended was published for general information in April 1884, and circulated to obtain opinions. It was again brought up in the session of 1884-85, and passed with considerable modifications. As finally passed, Local Boards were empowered to elect as members of the District Board any persons qualified for election to a Local Board. A schedule was added of districts, in every subdivision of which a Local Board should be constituted and $\frac{2}{3}$ of the members elected. Provision was made for filling casual vacancies at Board meetings, and for the appointment of Chairmen. Briefly, the Act gave the Boards extensive powers and duties in regard to roads and communications, educations, hospitals. dispensaries, sanitation, vaccination, famine relief, taking of census, maintenance of staging bungalows, fairs and exhibitions, and other matters of public interest and utility: also to construct and maintain tramways, railways and water-works, and to take charge of and construct public buildings on behalf of Government. It was made clear that District Boards were to manage public, primary and middle class schools other than those for Europeans and Eurasians, and power was given to the Lieutenant-Governor to transfer funds to those Boards for the improvement of such primary schools as did not submit departmental returns. District Boards, with the sanction of the Lieutenant-Governor, might guarantee the interest upon capital expended for

the purpose of improving means of communication so as to benefit their districts. No change of any importance was made with regard to Union Committees. The rate at which the road cess might be levied in any district could not be reduced without Government sanction. The Commissioners were given the same power of dealing with the estimates as was given in the Municipal Act in regard to municipal estimates. When the measure was passed in the Bengal Council on the 4th April, Sir R. Thompson expressed his personal satisfaction with it as proceeding on a sound, practical and safe basis, and as the time had come for securing the co-operation of the people to some extent in district administration. The Bill became Act III (B. C.) of 1885.

The Municipal Act of 1884.

The Municipal Bill, as laid before the Council in the session of 1882-83, was mainly intended to consolidate and extend the existing law, and did not involve such broad questions of principle as were raised in that relating to Local Self-Government. As passed in 1883-84, the principal changes made by this Act were the abolition of the classification of municipalities, the extension of the elective system to all municipalities except the few that were scheduled, and the grant in nearly all cases to the Municipal Commissioners of advanced municipalities of the right to elect their own Chairman. The approval of Government was to be no longer necessary for the election of a Vice-Chairman. While greater freedom was thus granted to municipalities in the appointment of their representatives and in the conduct of their business, special provisions were introduced enabling the Magistrate to exercise an effective control.

The Bengal Tenancy Act VIII of 1885.

When Sir R. Thompson became Lieutenant-Governor in April 1882, the question of the amendment of the rent law in the Lower Provinces, which had for nearly 10 years been the subject of agitation and discussion, had reached a stage at which it was certain that some legislative measure would be introduced, though the nature of that measure had not yet been finally determined. The necessity for legislation had, indeed, been apparent ever since the occurrence, in 1873, of the serious agricultural disturbances in Pabna. The Bihar famine of the following year diverted the attention of the Government to more pressing duties, but the report of the Famine Commis-

sion dwelt strongly on the necessity of placing the relations of landlord and tenant in Bengal upon a surer basis. The Agrarian Disputes Act of 1876 was passed by Sir R. Temple's Government as a temporary measure to meet emergencies like those of 1873, pending the fuller consideration of the whole question. A Bill dealing with the principles upon which rents should be fixed was prepared in 1876, but was not further proceeded with and in 1878 the Government of Bengal proposed a measure intended to provide only for the more speedy realisation of arrears of rent. This Bill was introduced into the Bengal Council, but it was found impracticable to confine it to the limited object indicated by its original title. The Select Committee on the Bill recommended that the whole question of a revision of the rent law should be taken in hand, and in April 1879 the Government of India sanctioned the appointment of a Commission to prepare a digest of the existing law and to draw up a consolidating enactment. Proposals which had been separately made for amending the rent law in Bihar were also referred to the Commission for consideration.

The report and draft Bill of the Commission were presented in July 1880, and after the whole question had been further considered the matured proposals of Sir A. Eden's Government were submitted to the Government of India in July 1881. In March 1882 these papers were forwarded by the Government of India to the Secretary of State, with an important despatch, in which the history of the question was reviewed and the views of the Governor-General-in-Council, of which Sir R. Thompson was a member, were fully explained. The Secretary of State, in September 1882, while concurring in the view that legislation was necessary, and while accepting the majority of the recommendations made by the Government of India, demurred to a proposal which formed a prominent feature of the despatch. The Rent Commission had desired to maintain the existing rule by which occupancy right was acquired by 12 years' continuous possession. The Government of Sir A. Eden had recommended that the occupancy right should be enjoyed by all resident *raiyats*. But the Government of India proposed to take the classification of lands instead of the status of the tenant as the basis on which the recognition of the occupancy right should be effected, and to attach the right to all *raiyati* lands. It appeared to

the Secretary of State that this involved a great and uncalled-for departure from both the ancient custom and the existing law of the country, and he declined to sanction it. The Government of India defended their proposals in a subsequent despatch written in October 1882, but the Secretary of State adhered to his former opinion, though he expressed his willingness to assent to the introduction of the Bill in the form which the Government of India preferred. The Government of India, however, declined to introduce a Bill in a form of which the Secretary of State disapproved, and it was determined that the measure should be framed upon the lines suggested in the latter's despatch.

A revised draft of the Bill was prepared by the Government of India, and (on the 2nd March 1883) Sir C. P. Ilbert moved in Council for leave to introduce it. On the 12th March Sir Steuart Bayley, in whose charge the Bill had been placed, moved that it should be referred to a Select Committee. After a long debate, extending over 2 days, the Bill was referred to a Select Committee consisting of the gentlemen named in the margin. Mr. T. M. Gibbon and Mr. Amir Ali were afterwards added, and, on the death of the Hon'ble Kristodas Pal, Raja Piari Mohan Mukerji succeeded him on the Committee. Its meetings commenced in November 1883, and were carried on till the following March, when a preliminary report was presented, including a revised draft of the Bill. Four members of the Committee recorded Minutes of dissent from the Report.

The Lieutenant-Governor.
Sir Steuart Bayley.
Mr. Ilbert.
,, Hunter.
,, Quinton.
Babu Kristodas Pal.
The Maharaja of Darbhanga.
Mr. Reynolds.
Mr. Evans.
Major Baring.

The revised Bill was republished, and was subjected to a careful examination by Divisional conferences of the executive officers of Government, as well as by judicial officers and by the non-official public. When these opinions had been considered, the views of the Local Government of Bengal were submitted to the Government of India on the 15th September 1884. This letter contained a detailed and authoritative exposition of Sir R. Thompson's views. Among other points of less importance, Sir R. Thompson proposed to allow the free transfer of occupancy holdings of Bengal, giving the landlord, however, a veto if the transfer were to any but an agriculturist; to leave such transfers in Bihar to be regulated by custom; to omit the clauses of the Bill which gave the landlord a

right of pre-emption; to abandon the provisions for enhancement on the grounds of the prevailing rate, or of the increased productive powers of the land; to withdraw all limitations upon enhancement by suit, but to maintain them in cases of enhancement by contract; to restore the check which limited enhancements to a certain proportion of the gross produce; to provide that tables of rates should be prepared only on the application of parties; to retain substantially the existing law of distraint; and to provide for a cadastral survey and the preparation of a record of rights.

The Select Committee resumed its sittings in November 1884, and early in 1885 presented its final Report, which was accompanied by Minutes of dissent from several members. The debate, however, which followed showed that the great majority of the dissentients fully accepted the principles of the Bill, though they thought some of its provisions unsatisfactory or incomplete.

On the 27th February 1885 the Bill was brought forward in Council by Sir Steuart Bayley, who moved that the Report of the Select Committee should be taken into consideration. To this an amendment was moved that the Bill should be republished before being proceeded with. After an exhaustive debate, which extended over 2 days, and in which the principles of the Bill were fully discussed, the amendment was rejected by a large majority. The Council then proceeded to discuss the clauses of the Bill. Above 200 amendments were placed upon the notice paper; but many of these were formally withdrawn, or were tacitly dropped. Upon all the important provisions, however, of the Bill, there was an animated debate, which extended over the 4th, 5th, 6th, 9th, and 11th of March. During this discussion it was the object of the Government of Bengal, while resisting those amendments which subverted or weakened the principles which the Bill was intended to establish, to strengthen the position of the occupancy *raiyat* by extending the right to the *pargana* instead of confining it to the village; to modify the rule of enhancement on the ground of the prevailing rate; and to give the non-occupancy *raiyat* the security of a 5 years' initial lease. These amendments were not accepted by the Council, but the Government of Bengal was successful in maintaining, against a strong opposition, a limitation upon the enhancement of an occupancy *raiyat's* rent by private contract. The Bill was passed by the Council on the 11th March,

received the assent of the Governor-General on the 14th, and became law as Act VIII of 1885. The Act came into force on the 1st November following, except the Chapters relating to distraint and deposit of rent, the operation of which was postponed to the 1st February 1886, to enable the High Court to frame the necessary rules.

This Act differed in some important particulars from the Bill which had been introduced into Council 2 years before. Perhaps no legislative enactment was ever subjected to fuller examination or to more searching criticism. The question had engaged the attention of the Government and the public for more than 10 years; the Select Committee, which included members holding the most diverse views, held no less than 64 meetings, and had before it several hundreds of Reports, opinions, and memorials. The result was that the Bill which finally passed the Council was in some respects a compromise, and, if it was less thorough and complete, was certainly a more practical and workable law than the draft which was originally laid before the Council. Some of the more important modifications which were introduced may be briefly noticed here. The Bill as originally brought in embodied provisions for the sale of *patni taluks*; but it was eventually determined to leave Regulation VIII of 1819 untouched. The settled *raiyat* acquired by the original Bill an occupancy right in all land held by him in the village or estate. The Act limited this to land held in the same village. The occupancy *raiyat* was empowered to transfer his holding, subject to a right of pre-emption by the landlord at a price to be fixed by the Civil Court. The pre-emption clauses were struck out, and the power of transfer was left to be regulated by local custom. The rent of an occupancy *raiyat* could not be enhanced, under the Bill, to an amount exceeding $\frac{1}{5}$th of the gross produce, nor that of a non-occupancy *raiyat* to an amount exceeding $\frac{5}{16}$ths, but no limitation of this kind found a place in the Act. In suits for enhancement the Bill provided that no increase of demand in excess of double the old rent should be awarded: but there was no corresponding provision in the Act. A prominent feature of the Bill was the preparation of tables of rates, by which lands were to be classified according to the capabilities of the soil, and rent rates were to be fixed, which should be in force for not less than 10, or

more than 30 years: but this Chapter was entirely struck out. The Bill provided that the non-occupancy *raiyat*, if he were ejected from his holding, should receive compensation for disturbance: but no such stipulation will be found in the Act.

The only material point in which the Bill was modified in the opposite direction was in the enhancement of an occupancy *raiyat's* rent by contract out of Court. The Bill allowed such enhancements to the amount of 6 annas in the rupee upon the old rent: but the Act reduced this to 2 annas in the rupee, the Government of Bengal being strongly impressed with the danger of allowing pressure to be put upon tenants to enter into contracts which would virtually defeat the object of the legislature. It was, however, provided that a higher rate of rent might be recovered by suit if it had been actually paid for 3 years.

The Bengal Tenancy Act, perhaps the most important measure which has passed into law since the Regulations of 1793 were promulgated, had 3 main objects in view, to one or other of which almost all of its sections can be referred. The ancient agricultural law of Bengal was founded on a system of fixity of tenure at customary rents. But this system was gradually ceasing to be suited to the altered economic conditions of the country, and the attempts which were made to solve the question by the substitution of positive law for customary usage had hitherto been unsuccessful. In some parts of Bengal, in which the *zamindars* were powerful, the *raiyat* was treated as a mere tenant-at-will: in other parts, in which the population was comparatively sparse, the *raiyat* refused to pay any rent unless the *zamindar* agreed to his terms. Act X of 1859 rather added to the difficulty than removed it. On the one hand, this Act made it almost impossible for the *raiyat* to establish a right of occupancy: on the other hand, it placed insuperable obstacles in the way of the *zamindar* who sued for an enhancement of his rent. The Courts of law, with rigid impartiality, required the *raiyat* to establish his occupancy right by showing that he had cultivated the same plot of ground for 12 successive years, and demanded from the landlord the impossible proof that the value of the produce had increased in the same proportion in which he asked that his rent, should be enhanced. The legal maxim, *semper presumitur pro negante*, was never more copiously illustrated than in the various phases of this

rent litigation. The party upon whom lay the burden of proof was almost certain to fail. To this evil the Tenancy Act was intended to afford a remedy. The principle of the Act may be said to be based upon a system of fixity of tenure at judicial rents, and its 3 main objects were,—*firstly*, to give the settled *raiyat* the same security in his holding as he enjoyed under the old customary law: *secondly*, to ensure to the landlord a fair share of the increased value of the produce of the soil: and, *thirdly*, to lay down rules by which all disputed questions between landlord and tenant could be reduced to simple issues and decided upon equitable principles. A good example of the first will be found in the clause which throws upon the landlord the onus of disproving the *raiyat's* claim to a right of occupancy: the second is illustrated by the section relating to price-lists, which relieves the *zamindar* of the trouble of showing that the value of the produce has increased: the third pervades the whole of the Act, and is especially conspicuous in the valuable section which authorises an application to determine the incidents of a tenancy, and in the Chapter which relates to records of rights and settlements of rents. The maintenance of the principles of the Act is further safeguarded by a section which restricts the power of entering into contracts in contravention of its fundamental provisions.

In pursuance of these principles the Act laid down rules to guide the Courts in determining whether a tenant is a tenure-holder or a *raiyat*: it provided a procedure for the registration of the transfer of tenures: it defined the position of *raiyats* who hold at fixed rates of rent: it simplified and facilitated suits for the enhancement or reduction of rent: it established a system for the commutation of rents payable in kind: it specified the grounds on which a non-occupancy *raiyat* may be ejected: it prescribed rules for instalments, receipts, and interest upon arrears: it encouraged the making of improvements: it restricted subletting: it provided for cases in which holdings are surrendered or abandoned: it protected the interests, both of the parties and of the general public, in cases of disputes between co-sharers: it laid down a procedure for recording the private lands of proprietors: it introduced a new system of distraint: and it gave protection to sub-tenants when the interest of the superior holder is relinquished or sold in execution of a decree.

That the Act was a complete and final settlement of the questions with which it dealt was not alleged by its most strenuous advocates. But that this want of completeness and finality was not merely natural but inevitable was forcibly urged by Sir C. P. Ilbert in the course of the debate on the Bill, and the question could hardly be better summed up than in the words he used :—"What the Council have to consider, as practical men, is, not whether this is an ideally perfect measure, not whether it is a final settlement of questions between landlord and tenant in Bengal, not whether it is likely to usher in a millennium either for the *zamindar* or for the *raiyat*, but whether it represents a step in advance, whether it does something substantial towards removing admitted defects in the existing law, whether it does not give some substantial form of security to the tenant, some reasonable facilities to the landlord. It is because I believe that the measure, however it may fall short of ideal perfection, does embody substantial improvements in the existing law that I commend it to the favourable consideration of the Council."

The Act came into operation on the 1st November 1885, and had, when Sir R. Thompson retired, been too short a time in force for a full estimate of its working. The principal business of the revenue officers in connection with the Act had related to the issue of notices and payment of landlord's fees on transfers of tenures. A petition was addressed to Government on the subject of the working of the provision that tenants holding at a rent fixed in perpetuity must give notice and pay a fee to the landlords, through the Collector, on transferring their holdings. It was alleged that *raiyats* not holding at fixed rates adopted this procedure, thereby creating evidence which in future might be accepted as proof that they really occupied the privileged position which they claimed. It was pointed out that this fear did not rest on any solid foundation. There were, in 1885-86, 223 cases of appraisement of produce, which occurred principally in the Patna Division. The result was reported to have been so far satisfactory. During the year 1886-87 the most important action taken by the Board of Revenue was the preparation of a draft set of rules for settlement procedure with special references to the changes effected by the Act.

The provisions of the Act on the subject of receipts for rent produced a very immediate and striking effect, and gave matter for

comment in every part of the Province. It was part of the enactment on this subject that rent receipts should contain certain stated particulars; and further, that if a receipt did not contain substantially the particulars required, it should be presumed, until the contrary was proved, to be an acquittance in full of all demands up to date. Such a change affecting every payment of rent throughout the Province, and tending to bring old disputes to a head, naturally gave rise to some trouble and misunderstandings at first. The misunderstandings were soon in many cases cleared away, and by degrees only those cases remained which the law was intended to meet, viz., those in which the landlord had been keeping his accounts so as to show a higher rent than that authorised by law; those in which illegal cesses had been collected; and those in which through former neglect the real rent had never been ascertained. On such estates the first effect of the new law might be to increase contention with the ultimate effect of producing a satisfactory settlement. Even in these cases what would bring matters to an issue would be merely the insisting on the discharge of an obligation which existed under the old law, and had always been considered necessary in Bengal—the entry in the receipts of the period in respect of which rent is paid. This was a necessary form of honesty and fair dealing insisted on in business of every kind; and, if its observance in transactions between Bengal *zamindars* and their *raiyats* caused friction, that was the best proof that the precaution was necessary either to clear up uncertainty or to prevent fraud. That an appreciable effect had already been produced from the provision of the new law appeared from the fact that during 5 months nearly $7\frac{1}{2}$ millions of the specimen forms of receipt were sold. In addition to these, forms were printed at private presses, those supplied by Government having purposely been disposed of at a price which permitted of their being undersold.

With the exception of these difficulties in regard to notices of transfer and to receipts, the working of the new law was free from any such disturbance of the relations between landlords and tenants as was apprehended by some of those who opposed the introduction of the measure. The other provisions of the Act worked smoothly, recourse being had to the sections relating to the appraisement of produce rents and to the registration of improvements, and some applications were received for the settlement of rents. In 1887,

however, there were no materials for forming an opinion on the operation of the more important sections of the law, such as the publication of price-lists, the sale of tenures subject to encumbrances, and the modified procedure for distraint. The real benefits of such a measure as the Tenancy Act were to be looked for, not in the number of cases in which application might be made to the Courts to enforce its provisions, but in the peaceful acceptance by all classes of the principles which underlay it, that the landlord was to be secured in the enjoyment of his fair rent and that the tenant was to be maintained in the possession of his rightful holding.

Muzaffarpur experimental Survey.

On the passing of the Tenancy Act, an experimental survey was carried out in 1885-86 in *pargana* Bisara, in Muzaffarpur, under Chapter X of the Act, including a record of rights and a settlement of rents. The cadastral survey was conducted by a professional party, and the record of rights and settlement of fair rents by officers acting under the immediate supervision of the Director of the Agricultural Department. The professional party recorded the areas of holdings, facts of undisputed possession, of crops grown and of irrigation. The maps and measurement records of each village, as they were completed, were made over to the revenue officers, who proceeded to the village and determined and recorded the status and interests of all parties concerned They also recorded the amounts of existing rents, and settled and recorded fair rents on the application of either landlord or tenant, or otherwise. The total area cadastrally surveyed to the end of June 1886 was 410 square miles. The rents were recorded and the status determined of 15,876 tenants, while fair rents were settled on the application of either landlord or tenant in cases of 3,546 *raiyats*. Also 323 boundary disputes were amicably settled, and in no case was an appeal made to the Special Judge from the decisions of the Settlement Officer. The total cost of both survey and settlement was estimated at about $8\frac{1}{3}$ annas per acre. The success of the work may be judged by the absence of those disputes and difficulties which were expected in connexion with it. In 1886-87, however, the orders of the Secretary of State were received that this experimental survey should, for the present, be abandoned.

Much public criticism was directed to the sanitary condition of Calcutta during 1882-83. An important memorial on the subject, numerously and influentially signed, was presented to the Sir R. Thompson in January 1883. Subsequently, in July 1884, another memorial, signed by a large number of residents, was presented, praying that a Commission might be appointed to inquire into the sanitary condition of the town. The memorialists urged (1) that the measures taken by the Commissioners for the general sanitary improvement of the town were inadequate ; (2) that the mortality of March and April 1884, especially that from cholera and small-pox, was of an abnormal and alarming character, and that there was a likelihood of the recurrence of the mortality ; and (3) that the Commissioners as a body were not qualified to judge of the special sanitary measures most immediately required, or to realise the responsibility under which they lay as regards the condition of the unhealthy portions of the city. This memorial was forwarded to the Commissioners, with the remark that no time should be lost in preparing a comprehensive scheme for, *first*, the thorough sanitary improvement, and *second*, the structural improvement, of the streets of the town. To this object the Government of Bengal invited their co-operation, and proposed to appoint a Commission, of which the Chairman of the Corporation would be the President, and of which the members would be, 2 of their own body nominated by the Commissioners, with 2 medical officers, an engineering officer, and a non-official European gentleman to be nominated by Government. It was pointed out that the duty of the Commission would be, not to sit in judgment upon the proceedings of the Commissioners, but to draw up (1) for each section of the town a complete scheme for the reclamation of *bastis*, the filling-up of tanks, the provision of water-supply, surface-drainage and the like, and (2) for the whole town such a scheme of structural improvements in the way of opening-up new streets and straightening or enlarging existing streets as might come within the limits of the probable financial resources of the Corporation. The Commissioners rejected the proposal made by Sir R. Thompson, who was therefore obliged to accede to the prayer contained in the memorial, and accordingly on the 14th August 1884 a Commission, under section

Calcutta Sanitary Commission of 1884-5.

28 of Act IV (B. C.) of 1876, was appointed, consisting of—

(1) The Sanitary Commissioner for Bengal.

(2) A member to be appointed by the Commissioners in meeting within 30 days of the date of the Government notification, or in their default by the Lieutenant-Governor.

(3) The Hon'ble H. Beverley, C. S.

The members of the Commission were requested to report whether they were of opinion that the cleaning and the conservancy of the town were defective to an extent likely to be prejudicial to the health of the inhabitants of the town or of any part thereof; and, if they should be of such opinion, to specify in their Report what further provision should be made for the cleaning and conservancy of the town up to the end of 1885-86, and to submit an estimate of the cost of the said further provision. The Commissioners selected as their nominee Mr. H. J. S. Cotton, C. S.

The Commission concluded their inquiry and submitted their Report in January 1885. While giving the Corporation every credit for the way in which they had controlled their finances, they were of opinion that the expenditure for the cleaning and conservancy of the town had not been on a scale commensurate with its requirements. They held 58 meetings, took the evidence of a number of witnesses who came forward to give their evidence regarding the work of the Corporation, and visited nearly all the *bastis* and other insanitary parts of the town. Their Report was an exhaustive narrative of the municipal administration of the town, and contained a number of recommendations for drainage, water-supply, sanitation, roads and conservancy &c. Action was taken on many of their suggestions, but the full adoption of all their recommendations depended upon amendments of the law which required the approval of the Legislative Council.

Defences of the river and Port of Calcutta.

On the 12th May 1885 Sir R. Thompson returned to the Presidency from Darjeeling to preside over a Commission appointed by the Government of India, after the "Russian scare" in connection with "the Penjdeh incident," to examine into the state of the defences of the river Hooghly and of the Port of Calcutta. Accompanied by the members of the Commission, which met for deliberation periodically at Belvedere, Sir R. Thompson made a trip down the river and person-

ally inspected the fortifications at Fulta and the sites proposed for new forts and defences on both banks of the river.

Calcutta Municipal Legislation.

During the previous 5 years, and even from an earlier period, complaints had been frequently made, as has been shown above, as to the insanitary condition of the suburbs immediately surrounding the town of Calcutta; and it was strongly urged that to effect any improvement in the former they should be united with the town under one system of municipal Government. Indeed, the necessity of such a measure had been recognised so long before as 1864. Accordingly Sir R. Thompson, on the 20th June 1885, appointed a special Committee to prepare a scheme for the amalgamation of the urban portions of the suburbs with the town.

In the meantime the Government of India, in a letter dated the 31st August 1885, entirely supported Sir R. Thompson in his action towards the Calcutta Corporation, laying down distinctly that no question of remission of municipal taxation could possibly arise until it was shown that all important sanitary improvements were adequately provided for, and that income should be maintained at the maximum until the town was properly cleansed, drained and watered. The Secretary of State fully supported the authorities in India, and the Army Sanitary Commissioners recorded a memorandum in which they pointed out that nowhere could the plea of Local Self-Government be set up as any excuse whatever for averting public interference, and advocated a more liberal expenditure on sanitary work. They also expressed their approval of the prospect of the greater part of the vast population of the city and suburbs being placed under one consolidated administration at no distant date. The 2 areas, they wrote, were so connected that it was scarcely possible to ascertain the death-rate of either area; and, if municipal Calcutta were entirely freed from localising causes of epidemics, it would by no means follow that the public health would be safe from disease causes left to develop epidemics in the immediate vicinity of the improved area.

The special Committee submitted their Report on the 10th December 1885. They recommended the inclusion of the 7 suburban wards within the limits of the metropolitan municipality, and stated that, to give effect to their scheme, the existing municipal law, Act IV (B. C.) of 1876, should be altered. Accordingly a Bill

to consolidate and amend the law relating to the municipal affairs of the town and suburbs of Calcutta was introduced in the Bengal Legislative Council on the 10th April 1886. It was allowed to remain before the public until the legislature met again on the 27th November when, with some remarks from the President and Member in charge, it was referred to a Select Committee.

Its main results were intended to be that the available resources of the town would be neither increased nor diminished by the arrangement; the suburbs would be assisted to the extent of 3 *lakhs*, but would have to pay themselves also more than they previously paid in taxation; and Government would assume the responsibility of over 3 *lakhs* a year, than which no better evidence of their interest in the scheme could be supplied. The special Committee had calculated that the municipal revenue of the new Calcutta would be about 34 *lakhs* of rupees; whereas in the old area of the town the annual income was about 28 *lakhs*, exclusive of the police-rate. The old area of the town consisted of about 6 square miles: the new metropolis would cover about $11\frac{1}{4}$ square miles. The population of the town within the jurisdiction of the Corporation amounted to about 400,000; the additional number to be included would be about 182,000. The total result would not make Calcutta as large or as populous as the Bombay municipality which contained about 22 square miles and 800,000 inhabitants. Generally, while the Bill recognised the full freedom of the Commissioners in the conduct of the affairs of the municipality, it reserved completely the right of interference on the part of Government, where circumstances demanded intervention; though the area of the municipality was extended, the number of Commissioners would not be increased; the constitution of a Town Council would be clearly defined, and measures should be taken for a fair representation of every section of the community.

Village Police.

In the cold weather of 1882-83 a Commission was appointed to inquire into the working of the *chaukidari*, or village police, system; and it submitted a Report shortly after the commencement of the following year. The principal complaints had been that the *chaukidars* were not regularly paid, and that the *panchayats* kept no regular accounts. Accordingly, a draft Bill came under the consideration of Government during the

year 1885-86; in which, while retaining the *panchayat* system, an endeavour was made to provide for a better method of appointment of *panchayats*, and for the more punctual payment of the salaries of the *chaukidars*. This Bill became law, Act I (B. C.) of 1886, during the year 1886-87. The measure affirmed the principle that it was better to have the *chaukidar* as a servant of the villagers and subordinate to the principal men of the village than directly under the control of the regular police; and it was held that, if the *panchayats* could be got to act up to their obligations and responsibilities, the gain to the public interests would be great, by securing influential local co-operation in the prevention and detection of crime, and by constituting a local agency which could be utilised in other directions.

Divisional Appellate Benches.

With regard to Civil Justice, in the year 1881-82, owing to the long recognised necessity for special measures to facilitate the disposal of appeals before the High Court, a scheme for the constitution of Appellate Benches in the interior was submitted by Sir A. Eden for the approval of the Secretary of State. The scheme proposed to establish 4 Benches at Patna, Burdwan, Dacca, and the 24-*Parganas*, each consisting of a Covenanted officer and a member of the Subordinate Judicial Service. It was hoped that the appellate work of the High Court would be materially reduced. The Hon'ble Judges of the High Court, however, were never very favourable to the arrangement; and, when the matter came up for disposal, Sir R. Thompson considered that the financial circumstances under which his predecessor had been able to promise his support to the scheme obtained no longer. No provision had been made in the provincial contract for the large outlay involved, and it certainly could not be borne by the provincial revenues in their reduced condition. Beyond this it seemed to Sir R. Thompson that a much simpler expedient, by which the already existing judicial agency at the principal stations could be used to constitute Appellate Benches, would meet all the necessities of the case. No orders were passed by the Government of India before Sir R. Thompson retired.

Mr. H. A. Cockerell, C. S. I. Officiating Lieutenant Governor.

Sir R. Thompson had long struggled against ill health but was eventually compelled to take a sea trip to Ceylon. During his absence from 11th August to 17th September 1885 Mr. Horace Abel Cockerell, C. S. I.

was temporarily Lieutenant-Governor. His service dated from 1853. After filling junior and district appointments he had held charge of several Revenue Divisions, and twice officiated as Chairman of the Justices for Calcutta and Commissioner of Police: he was Secretary to Sir A. Eden in the Judicial, Political, and Appointment Departments from August 1877 to April 1882, and received a C. S. I. for his services: he had been a Member of the Bengal Legislative Council, and Member of the Board of Revenue from June 1882. He was immediately available, and carried on the administration without any breach of continuity of policy for the few weeks he held office. He retired in March 1887.

Floods.

The excessive rainfall of August and September 1885 caused extensive floods in South-West and Central Bengal and in other parts of the Bhagalpur Division. The Ganges, and the great rivers into which it divides as it passes through Central Bengal, rose to unusual heights, and spilled in destructive floods over the surrounding country. The districts which suffered most, and mainly from the breach caused in the Lalthiakuri embankment, were Murshidabad and Nadia. In the former no less than 1,250 square miles, or more than one-half of the total district area, were under water. In the latter district nearly 2,200 square miles were inundated. Though much temporary hardship and discomfort were caused by these floods, they did little permanent harm, except where sand was thickly deposited, while the after effects ensured to the cultivators for the next few years crops far more abundant than those they lost. For the relief of immediate distress relief-circles were formed in the affected areas, and a Central Committee was formed in Calcutta to collect subscriptions and organise relief for those forms of distress with which Government agency could not adequately cope. The Committee received Rs. 65,665 in subscriptions, and expended Rs. 37,000 in the relief of distress. The balance was invested so as to form the nucleus of a distress fund to be applied promptly on the occurrence of future calamities by famine or inundation in Bengal.

Orissa storm-wave of 22nd September 1885.

A great disaster overtook the Province of Orissa in the storm-wave which submerged a portion of the cost of the Cuttack district, at the mouth of the Mahanadi river, on the 22nd September 1885. At 6-20 A. M.

on that date a sea-wave 15 feet in height broke over False Point. It submerged 250 square miles in its course; 11 villages were completely swept away, every man, woman, and child in them being drowned; 150 more villages were entirely levelled, and their crops completely destroyed, but a considerable portion of their population escaped. It was estimated that altogether about 5,000 persons were drowned by the storm-wave. Immediately after the disaster the Government officials visited the devastated country and distributed food to the survivors. At the beginning of the relief operations, as many as 8,000 persons daily were in receipt of charity. The villages which were not utterly destroyed recovered from the effects of the storm with remarkable rapidity, and within a short time few vestiges of its destructive character remained. In the Balasore district much less damage was done by the storm-wave. It was stopped by the embankment of the sea-coast canal, which thus saved hundreds of square miles of country from being submerged by salt water. As a protection against a similar visitation a strong place of refuge was constructed on the highest ground available at False Point.

Ethnological inquiry.

In September 1882 the Government of India, at the instance of the Census Commissioner, issued a circular to all Local Government and Administrations, suggesting that steps should be taken, on the basis of the statistics recorded in the Census of 1881, towards collecting fuller and more precise information regarding the castes and occupations of the people of India. Sir R. Thompson, fully recognising that the Provinces under his charge, with a population made up of many diverse elements, offered a singularly promising field for the proposed inquiry, gave effect to the wishes of the Government of India in 1885 by appointing Mr. H. H. Risley, C. S. to this special duty.

In publishing the results it was proposed to maintain, so far as possible, the distinction between the administrative and the scientific branches of the subject. For administrative use it was intended to embody in an ethnographic glossary a detailed description of all tribes, castes, sub-castes, sections, occupations, and religious sects traceable in Bengal, either from the statistics of the Census of 1881 or from other sources. This work had already been commenced, and was likely to be soon completed and be available for use in the next Census of Bengal.

The scientific aspects of the subject were to be dealt with in a second volume. The materials for this portion of the work were to consist of deductions from the descriptive record of customs contained in the ethnographic volume, together with the statistics of physical characters as collected. By piecing together the evidence comprised under these two heads, it was hoped that it might be possible to analyse and classify the chief component elements of the population of Bengal, and to offer some explanation of the manner in which that population had been developed.

The Excise Commission.

The objections of a portion of the public to the outstill system, which had been strongly urged during the last years of Sir A. Eden's Government, were renewed after Sir R. Thompson's accession to office, notwithstanding the stringent orders issued against the multiplication of shops, which led to a large reduction in the number of outstills. At length, in consequence of clear indications of a serious increase in the consumption of spirituous liquors in Bengal, and as there appeared to be reason to believe that this increase was to some extent due either to the outstill system of excise or to the manner in which that system had been worked, Sir R. Thompson, on the 4th December 1883, appointed a Special Commission under Sir John Edgar, K. C. I. E., C. S. I. to consider and report upon the subject of the excise on country spirits in all its aspects after careful local inquiry. The Commission began their labours on the 10th December and were occupied continuously from that day until the 10th April 1884 on which they brought their labours to a close, in examining witnesses, inspecting outstills, in practical inquiries and conducting experiments in distillation of a most valuable nature in different districts. The result was embodied in an admirably clear Report, submitted on the 10th September 1884, which, whatever might be the future systems of Excise in Bengal was sure to take its place as a standard work of reference, to which every one would turn who might desire information on the history of the Excise revenue, or on indigenous methods of distillation and their results.

It was, Sir R. Thompson believed, an idea commonly accepted by many who had not studied the subject, that the outstill system was a novelty; that it had never been tried before; and that,

until the form of the system in existence in 1883 was introduced, there had never been any change from the central distillery arrangements which had immediately preceded it. As a matter of fact, however, the outstill system was by far the older of the two, dating, it was believed, from the time of the Mughal emperors, and central distilleries were only first established in 1813. It was not till 1863 that it was decided to substitute them generally for the older outstills. This *sadar* distillery system, as it was called, was found to encourage illicit distillation, and in 1871 the outstill system began again to be gradually introduced, and was finally sanctioned on a larger scale in 1877 and the following years, so that the Excise Commission, in commencing their inquiries in 1883, found an exclusive system of outstills in existence in all but a few districts where *sadar* distilleries were preserved. Under this system the license-holder paid a certain fee, the amount of which was commonly settled by auction, for the right to distil and sell liquor in a certain fixed place. He was allowed to work only one still, and was forbidden to distil at night or to sale wholesale quantities. Sales after 9 P. M., or in any place other than the shop for which the license was granted, were also prohibited; but no restrictions were placed either on the quantity to be distilled, or on the quality of the liquor. Under former rules the capacity of the still had been always defined: but in 1878 the rule prescribing a limit of capacity was abrogated under orders of the Board of Revenue, and since then the holder of an outstill license had been permitted to increase the size of his still at discretion.

Under this system the revenue rapidly increased, rising from Rs. 28,90,000 in 1877-78 to Rs. 52,13,000 in 1883-84, and financially, therefore, the scheme was a success. But the Commission's inquiries led them to believe that, even from this point of view, the system, for various reasons, would not in the long run prove so lucrative as it at first sight appeared. The most important question, however, was that of increased consumption, and if it was proved that the then existing system offered undue encouragement to the drinking of spirits, Sir R. Thompson was of opinion that financial reasons could not be allowed to stand in the way of the needed reforms. The special object, therefore, of the Commission was to ascertain the causes of this increase, and to suggest means by which they might be removed. In their opinion the primary cause of the growth of

the habit of drinking among the people was the influence of social moral, and religious changes in relaxing the restrictions which had previously kept large classes from indulging in spirituous liquors. Increase in the purchasing power of the consuming classes was assigned as a reason for some part of the increased consumption; but the greater part of it had to be otherwise accounted for, and the Commission enumerated the following causes:—(1) the suspension in 1878 of the long-established rule limiting the capacity of stills, thus enabling the distillers to produce from their large stills greatly increased quantities of liquor at greatly reduced prices; (2) the excessive number of shops that had been licensed, total population and area having alone been considered, although the proportion of the consuming population to the total population varied greatly in different districts: (3) improper selection of sites for shops.

For removing these causes the Commission made certain recommendations, the principal of which, together with the action taken upon them by Government, are here briefly described. The Commission was of opinion that the outstill system properly regulated was the most suitable for the country in general; but, when special means of close supervision existed, and a large drinking population was found in a small and well-defined area, central distilleries, in which alone a uniform tax could be levied on spirit according to its strength, should be established. Sir R. Thompson accepted this suggestion, and it was decided to place such distilleries in certain large towns.

The Commission also recommended that in other towns the outstills should be grouped within one enclosure outside the inhabited parts of the town, and that care should be exercised in the selection of the retail shops within the town supplied by these stills. Sir R. Thompson considered that this dealt with a matter of municipal rather than of excise administration, and that, as long as District and Municipal Boards had a voice in the selection of sites and other matters of local interest, no general rule need be laid down. The essence of the proposal was that outstills should not be placed where they were likely to be objected to as nuisances; and, where no objections were preferred, no change need be made.

It would have been useless, however, to re-establish central dis-

tilleries if proper safeguards were not provided against the competition of surrounding outstills; and this led to the consideration of the third recommendation, made by the Commission, that the capacity of each still should be limited to the existing demand for liquor in the area to be supplied by it, and that the upset price of each still should be proportionate to that capacity and calculated on the basis of the duty which could be levied by Government on its out-turn at a given strength. In connexion with this, other recommendations were made by the Commission, the most important of which were that in each district a maximum aggregate capacity for all outstills should be fixed, and that the aggregate capacity of the fermenting vats allowed to each still should also be fixed. Another recommendation of the Commission was that a minimum price should be fixed for the cheapest sort of liquor, according to the circumstances of each district and the prices prevailing. The 2 principal objects of the proposed rule were—*first*, to break down the growing tendency towards the establishment of monopolies caused by wealthy capitalists being able to force down prices until they drove their poorer rivals out of the trade; and *second*, by thus raising average prices and restricting consumption, to encourage the production of a more wholesome liquor. Sir R. Thompson was not prepared to accept in full these suggestions made by the Commission without further inquiry and consultation; and the Board of Revenue were therefore requested to make a full experimental trial, in the district of Patna, of those points of the system, and in all other districts where central distilleries had been established to fix a certain area in the neighbourhood of such distilleries within which no outstills would be allowed, and a somewhat larger area within which the capacity of outstills should be limited.

The last of the main proposals made by the Commission was that excise establishments should be increased. Sir R. Thompson accepted their views on this point, and the excise staff was strengthened in several districts.

These orders of Government were not all of them passed till the 10th March 1886, but the substitution of *sadar* distilleries for outstills was carried out before this date, in 9 large towns during 1885-86, and in 2 more from the 1st April 1886.

After the conclusion of the year 1885-86 a full experimental trial

of the system recommended by the Commission was conducted at Patna. At the outset no difficulty arose on account of the restrictions imposed on the capacity of stills and fermenting vats. In this district, during the half-year ending the 30th September, the net financial result of the reforms effected was a decrease in the revenue of Rs. 10,635 as compared with the corresponding period of the preceding year. But the local authorities were confident that this loss would be more than made up by increased realisations in the next half-year, the average daily receipts on account of duty and distillery fees being in December more than double what they were in April and May. Sir R. Thompson being of opinion that the measure of success already attained was sufficient to justify the extension of the system to other districts from the beginning of 1887-88, orders were issued accordingly. These orders aimed at the cautious development of the system recommended by the Commission, and the degree of success which had been attained in Patna was held to justify the hope that, with due care and attention on the part of the local officers, the manufacture and sale of liquor throughout Bengal might gradually be brought under efficient control without any serious loss of revenue. The experiment of fixing a minimum price of liquor was also tried in Patna, and appeared to work well. In view, however, of the expediency of working cautiously in effecting a general change of system involving large financial results, Sir R. Thompson thought it best to gain another year's experience in the Patna district before laying down a rule fixing a minimum price elsewhere. In all other districts, besides those to which the Patna system was to be extended, it was considered sufficient for the time that the recommendations of the Excise Commission should be partially adopted, namely, to the extent of restricting the capacities of outstills, so as to make them conformable to the local demand. Moreover, in those districts in which there were *sadar* distilleries, another step in advance was taken by limiting the number and size of the fermenting vessels of the outstills bordering on the *sadar* distillery area.

Railways.

While Sir R. Thompson was Lieutenant-Governor, there was in Bengal an increase in open railway mileage of $522\frac{1}{4}$ miles, or about 104 miles on the average in each of the 5 years. The details of the increase will be found in the following

table, which shows that about $\frac{3}{5}$ths of it occurred upon the State lines and the remaining $\frac{2}{5}$ths on the assisted lines. The duty of completing the greater portion of the extension of the State lines was inherited from preceding administrations; and the wisdom of their policy was shown on the whole to have been justified by the increase of provincial revenue which had accrued :—

Railway.	April 1882. Miles.	April 1887. Miles.	Increase of mileage. Miles.
East Indian	729	738¼	9¼
Patna-Gaya	57	57	...
Tarakeswar	...	22	22
Eastern Bengal	202	234	4
Calcutta and South-Eastern ...	28		
Bengal Central	20¾	125½	104¾
Dacca	...	85½	85½
Northern Bengal	243	249	6
Tirhut	85	246	161
Bengal and North-Western ...	...	92½	92½
Darjeeling-Himalayan ...	50	50¾	¾
Deoghar	5½	4	—1½
Nalhati	27	27	...
Assam-Behar	...	38	38
Total ...	1,447¼	1,969½	522¼

The manner in which these extensions affected the means of communication throughout Bengal may be sketched as follows :—

A branch of the East Indian Railway was opened from Bankipore to the Ganges at Digha *ghat*. The Hooghly river was crossed at Naihati by a bridge, the importance of which as an engineering work was comparable with anything else of the sort previously attempted in India. The bank of the Hooghly, upon which Calcutta and its wharves are situated, was placed in direct railway communication with that part of India from which its principal export produce was derived. An enterprising Joint-Stock Company connected Tarakeswar, an ancient place of Hindu pilgrimage, with the railway system of India. Diamond

Harbour, which may be considered as the actual mouth of the Hooghly, was connected with Calcutta by a branch of the Calcutta and South-Eastern Railway. An entirely new line was constructed connecting Narainganj, Dacca, and Mymensingh. A swift daily steamer service was established between Narainganj and Goalundo on the Eastern Bengal State Railway, the chief districts of Eastern Bengal being thereby placed in close communication with Calcutta. The densely-peopled districts of Central Bengal (Jessore and Khulna, with a connected steamer service to Backergunge) were brought into railway communication with Calcutta by another Joint-Stock Company. The Assam coolie traffic was greatly facilitated by the construction of the Kauniya-Dharla line, which shortened by several days a tiresome and often deadly journey for this helpless class of emigrants. The Tirhut system was extended in 3 directions throughout the exceptionally populous districts of Darbhanga and Champaran, and was immediately connected by a magnificent bridge over the river Gandak with the metre gauge system of railways which during the same five-year period was constructed by the Bengal and North-Western Railway Company. The latter ran for a distance of between 300 and 400 miles through populous and prosperous districts in the North-Western Provinces and Oudh down to Sonpur in Bengal, where all this newly-developed traffic was delivered on to the East Indian Railway by a ferry over the Ganges. The Assam-Bihar system was an extension of the Northern Bengal system of metre gauge railways into the Purnea and Dinajpur districts, and was, when completed, to bring Bihar and Western Bengal into direct communication, *via* Sahibganj on the East Indian Railway, with Darjeeling and Assam.

The following table exhibits the progress made during the 5 years of Sir Rivers Thompson's administration in the financial development of railways in Bengal :—

Head of Account.	1881-82.	1882-83.	1883-84.	1884-85.	1885-86.	1886-78. (estimated).
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Gross receipts . .	32,70,000	37,88,000	41,24,000	43,10,000	45,03,000	50,49,000
Working expenses	19,03,000	20,40,000	25,00,000	30,72,000	30,98,000	32,88,000
Net earnings . .	13,67,000	17,48,000	16,24,000	12,38,000	14,05,000	17,61,000

From the 1st April 1887 the control of the Eastern Bengal State Railway and of the railways worked by it was vested in the Government of Bengal.

Archæology.

Archæology and the conservation of ancient monuments received attention from Sir R. Thompson. A *lakh* and a quarter was expended in the repairs of the great temple at Bodh Gaya, about Rs. 18,000 in the conservation of Sher Shah's tomb at Sasseram, Rs. 12,000 on the Rohtasghar, Rs. 3,000 in Puri, and about Rs. 9,000 in the exhumation of the great Adina *masjid* at Hazrat Pandua and Gaur. Petty sums were also spent in the conservation of the monument over the tomb of the first wife and child of Warren Hastings in Murshidabad; of the old tombs in the cemetery at Kasimbazar; of the monument to the victims of Mir Kasim at Patna; of the monument to the British soldiers at Chattra, and of the old Dutch tombs at Kalkapur.

The works undertaken at Bodh Gaya were completed, and comprised not only the conservation of the temple of Mahabodhi, but the repair of a vast number of old votive memorial and cinerary *stupas*; of the old Buddhist railing round the Bodhi tree set up originally by Asoka; of the existing remnants of almost all the old temples and sacred Buddhist objects seen and described by Hiuan Tsiang or mentioned in Buddhist books; of portions of the great monastery built by the Ceylonese King; of the Buddha Kunda tank with its steps and covered *ghat* and a portion of the cloisters round; and of the more deserving of the numerous sculptures and inscriptions which were brought to light in the course of the operations. Some careful excavation by trial trenches undertaken by the Archæological Survey disclosed the lower portions, almost intact, of one of the 8 great monasteries which once stood near the great temple. This made the second of the great monasteries actually found, the first being the great Ceylonese one already mentioned as partially repaired; and there were therefore 6 more yet to be looked for. When it was remembered that here for fully 1500 years stood the temple and tree, which during that period continued to be, with rare interruptions, the head-quarters of the State religion, and that for 1800 years before the Muhammadan invasion it was the holiest spot in the world for a vast and wealthy body of believers, it was not surprising that a *lakh* and a quarter of rupees should fail

to exhaust the possibilities of further interesting research. It would rather have been surprising if so small a sum had been found sufficient for the thorough exploration of such a spot, and at the same time for the renewal of a building which could not have cost less than 10 *lakhs*, exclusive of the accessory buildings in the surrounding Necropolis. Of the sculptures, those which had undoubtedly belonged to, and formed a part of, the temple or of the other conserved monuments, were reset in their original positions, the missing ones being replaced by such others as best suited the vacant positions; but, of the surplus sculptures, although a very large number were left at Bodh Gaya, some were placed in the Indian Museums at Lahore, Jaipore, South Kensington, Oxford, Edinburgh, Berlin, and Vienna.

Celebration of the Queen Empress's Jubilee.

The 16th of February 1887 was the day appointed by the Viceroy for the celebration in India of the Jubilee of Her Most Gracious Majesty the Queen Empress in commemoration of the 50th year of her reign. An Imperial salute of 101 guns was fired, the troops were reviewed by the Viceroy, a Thanks-giving service was held at the Cathedral, and the Viceroy received addresses from Public Bodies for transmission to Her Majesty. On the 17th all Government buildings and vessels in the river were illuminated, as well as private premises: the Viceroy, Lieutenant-Governor, and others driving in procession through the streets of Calcutta. The occasion was observed by all—the rich and poor alike—with the greatest enthusiasm. It was solemnized not merely by the display of fireworks, by illuminations and other festivities, but by works of public utility, such as the construction of buildings for schools, establishment of dispensaries, excavation of tanks, sinking of wells, and the like. In the execution of these works, several of the municipalities took an active part, and subscribed sums out of their own funds. In Calcutta the celebration of Her Majesty's Jubilee was observed by the Municipal Commissioners, who, besides expending Rs. 43,518 on a display of fireworks and a general illumination of the town, voted a sum of Rs. 85,000 for the erection of a permanent public memorial consistent with the purposes to which the Municipal funds might be legally applied. A congratulatory address on behalf of the Corporation was presented. A number of prisoners, both Civil and Criminal, were released, and

the sentences of others were reduced, in all the jails throughout British India, and at the Penal Settlement in the Andaman Islands. The total number of those released was 23,305. Subsequently, the 21st June 1887 was appointed to be observed as a holiday by the Armies of India, in commemoration of the Jubilee anniversary of the accession of Her Majesty.

Miscellaneous.

A number of matters of less importance were dealt with by Sir Rivers Thompson, and other events worthy of mention occurred in his time; among them were the following: the opening of the Jubilee Bridge (designed by Sir Bradford Leslie, K. C. I. E.) over the Hooghly at Naihati, by the Viceroy on the 21st of February 1887—the formation of Union Committees—the establishment of medical scholarships for females, and of the Maharani Svarnamayi's hostel for female medical students—the reclamation of the Mugheya Domes in Champaran—an inquiry into the management of the Presidency Jail—the proposal to introduce an Octroi into Calcutta—an inquiry into the educational endowments founded by Muhammadans—the employment of Muhammadans in the public service—the transfer of the Midnapore College to the local Municipality and of the Berhampore College to the Maharani Svarnamayi, C. I.—the encouragement of Sanskrit learning in Bengal—the appointment of a Committee to consider the question of establishing a Central Railway Station in Calcutta—the amalgamation of Municipal and Cantonment police with the regular force—the proposed establishment of a veterinary School in Bengal.

Conclusion.

From the preceding pages it can be perceived how, owing to financial difficulties, the task imposed on Sir Rivers Thompson varied from that which fell to the lot of his predecessor. During the 5 years 1882-87 the financial history of Bengal was altogether different from that of 1877-82. The contract of 1877 was succeeded by a settlement which left little scope for the development of the provincial revenues, and which speedily necessitated a serious contraction in the scale of provincial expenditure. Trade at last succumbed to the influences which had produced universal stagnation in the commercial world of Europe and America, and its languishing vitality was promptly reflected in many branches of the public exchequer. A scanty and uneven rainfall in 3 years in succession swallowed up the 5 years of plenty, and, although actual

distress was nowhere so acute as to call for the intervention of the State except on a small and partial scale, in many districts the resources of the poorer classes were wholly exhausted, and no margin whatever left for expenditure on luxuries. It was often difficult to provide adequately for the ordinary requirements of the public service, and it was necessary rather to seek for opportunities of effecting economies than of introducing administrative reforms. The chief measures of Sir R. Thompson's Government were of the class to which large financial resources were not indispensable. The Bengal Tenancy Act, the prosecution of the Kidderpore Docks, the grant of an elective constitution to Municipal Boards, the inauguration of Local Self-Government, the introduction of competitive examinations for appointments to the Subordinate Civil Service, the appointment of the Commission for the revision of ministerial salaries, and the re-arrangement of work and authority in the district and Divisional offices—all these were measures whose importance was mainly economic and political, and which left little trace on the financial history of the time. Nevertheless funds were provided for certain reforms and improvements which the progress of the Province had rendered more than ordinarily pressing. The establishment of an Agricultural Department supplied a want to which in other Provinces a much higher degree of priority had been attached, and which the revision of the law of landlord and tenant in Bengal forced into immediate prominence. The survey of the district of Muzaffarpur proved a successful experiment, and it was hoped that the survey would some day be extended to other districts. The Excise Commission suggested important reforms, and the sacrifice of revenue which their proposals involved was cheerfully accepted by the Government as instrumental in stamping out an insidious social evil, and as money advantageously laid out. The increase to the salaries of the Subordinate Executive and Judicial Services improved the prospects of a deserving body of public servants. The appointment of additional judicial officers supplied the means of a swifter, and therefore of a better, administration of justice. The progressive additions to the grant for primary education kept pace with the downward filtration among the masses of the desire for mental improvement, and the encouragements offered to European and Muhammadan education were acknowledged as equitable measures which had long been felt

to be of urgent necessity. The Calcutta exhibition of 1883-84 was instrumental in spreading a wider knowledge of the raw products of India among the manufacturers of Europe and Australia and in acquainting the native populations of India with the capabilities of European machinery. In taking over and carrying on the iron-works at Barakar, when private enterprise failed, Sir R. Thompson kept alive an industry which could not fail to have a great future before it, when the mineral wealth of Chota Nagpur and Central India should have been adequately exploited. The Orissa Coast Canal was a work of supreme importance for the development of Orissa, and its completion was the surest safeguard against a repetition of the calamity of 1866-67.

Sir R. Thompson himself suffered, as has been mentioned, from indifferent or bad health during the greater part of his 5 years of office. He never looked really well: and his Government was not one of high pressure or great activity. In the ordinary routine of administration he was easy-going, but his was a stormy time, of a few great political controversies, especially those of the Ilbert Bill and the Bengal Tenancy Act; and he was guided throughout by the high principles which had distinguished his whole career. Other high officers have exhibited the same love of justice, an equal devotion to duty and courage: but he was singularly free from self-seeking, and appeared to be only anxious to do what was right, regardless of the consequences to himself. As a Member of Council he had minuted against the withdrawal from Candahar, in opposition to the Viceroy, and with the same fearlessness he, as Lieutenant-Governor, asserted his own convictions, and adhered to them as he thought right. His attitude necessarily drew upon him the animosity of the Native Press, which took advantage of the repeal of the Vernacular Press Act to write with unusual freedom and virulence. On the other hand, he gained great popularity with the European Community, who appreciated not only the part he took in the Ilbert Bill, but the general manliness and the moral qualities of his personal character. On the 17th March 1887 he was entertained at a farewell dinner by his admirers and friends to the number of about 250. After his retirement his extremely bad health—his lungs were affected—made it impossible for him to do any active work in England, and his time was spent at various health-resorts. He

Observations.

wintered twice at Malta, and was on his way to Algiers when he became so ill that he had to remain at Gibraltar, and died there in a hotel on the 27th November 1890. He was buried in the cemetery by the sea-shore. He was married to a daughter of E. Currie, Esqre., of the Bengal Civil Service, and had four daughters.



Photogravure. Survey of India Offices, Calcutta, January 1901.

SIR STEUART COLVIN BAYLEY, K.C.S.I. C.I.E.

From a photograph by Messrs Bourne & Shepherd.

CHAPTER IX.

SIR STEUART COLVIN BAYLEY, K. C. S. I., C. I. E.

1887-90.

Previous Career.

WHEN Sir Steuart Colvin Bayley acted for Sir A. Eden as Lieutenant-Governor in 1879, it was understood that Sir R. Thompson's claims to the permanent vacancy were preserved : and they were recognised, as has been seen. In 1887 no one stood out so prominently for the succession as Sir S. Bayley : he was the first, the rest nowhere. Not only had he gone through the course of appointments which had culminated in the Lieutenant-Governorship in the cases of the first 4 holders of the office, but throughout his career he had seemed marked out for it. He was the youngest son of William Butterworth Bayley, the distinguished Civil Servant of the East India Company (who arrived in India on November 6th 1799, officiated as Governor-General of Bengal from March 13th to 4th July 1828, left India in December 1830, and was elected a Director of the East India Company, July 23rd, 1833) ; he was educated at Eton and Haileybury : arrived in India 4th March 1856, and held the following appointments : Assistant Magistrate-Collector, *24-Parganas*, 1856 : at the Kalaroa and Baruipur subdivisions, 1858-9 : Junior Secretary to the Government of Bengal, 1862 : confirmed, 1863 : (medical leave from February to December 1866) : Officiating Secretary to the Government of Bengal, October—December 1865 and March 1867 : Civil and Sessions Judge, Shahabad, May 1867 : Magistrate and Collector, Monghyr, November 1867 : Additional Secretary to the Government of Bengal, January 1868 : Magistrate and Collector, Patna, December 1868 : Civil and Sessions Judge, Tirhut, April 1870 : Commissioner of Chittagong, January 1871 : Officiating Secretary to the Government of Bengal, April 1871 : on special duty, November 1871 : Commissioner, Presidency Division, January 1872 : Commissioner of Chittagong, February 1872 : Commissioner of the Patna Division, March 1872, confirmed September 1873 : C. S. I., 1875 : (furlough from September 1875 to October 1876) ; resumed

his appointment at Patna, October 1876 : Secretary to the Government of Bengal, April 1877, confirmed, May 1877 : Additional Secretary to the Government of India, Financial Department, August 1877 : Personal Assistant to the Viceroy (Lord Lytton) for famine affairs, September 1877 : Additional Secretary, Government of India, Public Works Department, Famine Branch, in addition to his own duties, December 1877 : K. C. S. I. 24th May 1878 : Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, June 1878 : Officiating Chief Commissioner of Assam, June 1878 ; Officiating Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, (retaining charge of the Chief Commissionership of Assam), 15th July to 1st December 1879, while Sir A. Eden was President of the Army Commission ; confirmed as Chief Commissioner of Assam, June 1880 : Resident at Hyderabad, March 1881 : C. I. E., May 1881 : Member of the Governor-General's Council, 9th May 1882 : he became Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, 2nd April 1887. His Private Secretaries were Mr. E. G. Colvin, I. C. S. : Mr. P. C. Lyon, I. C. S. and his son Lieutenant S. F. Bayley, successively. In 1860 he had married Anna, daughter of R. N. Farquharson Esq., B. C. S., and had a numerous family.

Provincial Finance.

The year 1887-8 was the first year of the quinquennial period for which a new contract was made with the Government of India. In this contract no material advance in the system of decentralization was made, but by a re-distribution of the shares of the Provincial and Imperial Governments in the 3 principal heads, Land Revenue, Stamps and Excise, and by certain reductions in expenditure which were considered feasible, a general standard of normal revenue and expenditure was obtained, which was adopted as the " Ruling Account " in settling the contract. This Ruling Account showed a surplus of normal revenue over normal expenditure of Rs. 6,90,000, and this surplus the Government of India decided to appropriate to the Imperial Revenues through the Land Revenue head, leaving Bengal with a revenue and expenditure exactly equal.

The following were the principal changes made in the Provincial Receipts and Charges under the new scheme. The Government of Bengal was admitted to a quarter share in the Land Revenue collections, except those from the Government estates, in the place of 32.2284 per cent on the entire collections inclusive of those from the

Government estates; while its share under Stamps and Excise was altered from $\frac{1}{2}$ under the last contract to $\frac{3}{4}$ and $\frac{1}{4}$ respectively, in the new contract. The cost of "Surveys and Settlements" under Land Revenue, which under the last contract was divided between the Imperial and the Provincial Governments in the proportion of 67.7716 and 32.2284 per cent., was made entirely Provincial. Under Stamps and Excise the Imperial Government retained only the same percentage on charges for collection as had been retained of the receipts under those heads. To the existing Provincial charges was added the cost of maintenance of agricultural works and embankments, which was Imperial under the last contract. "Refunds and Drawbacks" followed the new proportions assigned for the revenues. The Patna-Gaya State Railway was made Imperial, while the Eastern Bengal State Railway was made Provincial, with this reservation, that any excess over 30 *lakhs* in the net revenue would be credited to Imperial Revenues, and that any deficiency below 20 *lakhs* would be made good by Imperial to Provincial. Hitherto no interest had been charged on funds provided for from Provincial Revenues, or from Famine Insurance Grant, for outlay on State Railways and Irrigation Major works entrusted to the administration of Local Governments: under the new contract the interest was to be calculated on the entire capital outlay, including "loss by exchange," from the commencement of operations, irrespective of the sources from which the outlay had been met, and the head under which it had been recorded, i. e., Productive, Frontier, Protective, or Ordinary.

Cyclone of 25th May 1887: loss of 2 steamers.

The month of May is often prolific in storms in the Bay of Bengal. From the 20th of that month in 1887 a storm was reported by the Meteorological Department as forming in the Bay. On the 25th it advanced to the East of False Point, towards the Sandheads, and in moderate intensity to the Southward of Saugor. The centre of a violent cyclone passed to the Westward of Saugor early on the 26th; the sea was described as running high beyond all experience. The storm travelled inland, Eastward of Balasore, and at Calcutta amounted to a moderate gale only; a storm-wave passed up the river, fortunately, on the ebb. For several days no vessels left the river except the ship *Godiva*, which left on the 25th in tow of the steam tug *Retriever*, and the steamer, *Sir John Lawrence*, (the Chandbally boat) with 735 passen-

gers, chiefly pilgrims, which left on the 25th afternoon. The *Retriever* and the *Sir John Lawrence* were both lost at sea with all hands, except one native fireman of the tug, who was picked up: the *Godiva* cast off, went ashore, and was ultimately saved. A Marine Court of inquiry under the Chief Presidency Magistrate was held (lasting 27 days) into the circumstances attending the loss of the *Sir John Lawrence* (which foundered probably between the Ridge Light and Palmyra Point); the foolhardiness of the Captain in proceeding to sea in such weather was much blamed: and, with a view to lessen the danger of sea-going vessels under certain meteorological conditions, Government adopted such measures as were possible, and among them considered the question of improving the Code of Storm Signals.

Frontier tribes of the Chittagong Hill Tracts.

In 1887-88, there were 3 raids made by the tribes beyond the frontier, 2 of which were more serious than any which had occurred since 1872. The first was an attempted attack on the village of the widow of a chief named Vanoya, on the 27th January 1888, by a party of northern Howlongs. A guard had been posted in the village at the Rani's request, and, as the village sentries were on the alert, the enemy retired, killing a villager whom they met on their way back. The second raid was committed on the 3rd February 1888. The camp of Lieutenant Stewart, who was employed on survey duty within the Hill Tracts district, was attacked by Howsata Shindus; he and his 2 European soldiers and a native sepoy were killed. The camp was taken by surprise, and the remainder of the guard appear to have been seized with a panic, and to have fled without attempting resistance. In the third case an attack was made on the village of Rowajah Prenkyne, situated on the Chima Khal, in the South of the Hill Tracts, on the 15th February 1888, by Southern Shindus. Four men were killed and 2 wounded, one of whom subsequently died, while 23 persons were carried off as captives. These raids were committed on the North, Centre and South of our lines, and the Commissioner of Chittagong and the Deputy Commissioner of the Hill Tracts recommended that an expedition should be sent to prevent the perpetration of the outrages which, in their opinion, showed clearly that the memory of the punishment inflicted in 1871-72 had faded from the minds of the tribes. Failing an

expedition, the Commissioner recommended that the frontier guards should be considerably strengthened, and at least 3 new posts held in force. The Government of India decided against undertaking the punishment of these outrages during the cold season of 1888-89, but a force of 250 sepoys was despatched to the Hill Tracts to act as a reserve.

Lushai Expedition.

But in 1889-90 it was considered necessary to undertake an expedition in the Chin-Lushai country. For the peace of the frontier it was essential that the tribes who had raided should be punished. Previously Government had been content to punish and evacuate the country attacked: this time it was determined to punish and control. This new policy was rendered necessary by the fact that Upper Burma had been annexed, so that Lushai-land had become an *enclave* of head-hunting savages, surrounded by settled British territory, whereas it had previously been a buffer between India and the King of Burma. The same policy of bringing these wild tribes under control was being simultaneously worked in the Chin-Hills from the Burma side: the expeditions from both sides worked in unison. The operations were brought to a successful conclusion. A number of captives, who had been carried off in the Chengri valley and Chima valley raids, were recovered, and in addition to the permanent posts at Demagri, Burkal, and Ruma, and the newly established one at Lungleh, 3 temporary posts at Pyramid Hill, Joormorang, and Keokradong were occupied during the year. The frontier police force performed their very arduous duties in connection with the expedition cheerfully and well, and the coolie corps from the Sonthal *Parganas* was of great service. Two parties of Shindus who lived to the South of Fort Lungleh, and whose country was not affected by the expedition, entered British territory apparently for raiding purposes, but patrol parties were immediately despatched and prevented any mischief being done. Trade again declined in consequence of the unsettled state of the country.

Sikhim affairs: Tibetan aggression and repulse.

*Between Nepal and Bhutan is situated the small State of Sikhim, or the "New Palace," known to the inhabitants as Rong, and to Tibet as the 'land of rice.' There has been no occasion to mention Sikhim affairs

* Moral and Material progress of India, 1891-92, p. 23.

since the visits of Sir R. Temple and Sir J. Edgar to that country and the passes into Tibet, which led up to the construction of the trade road to the Tibetan frontier *viâ* the Jeylàp pass. But they assumed considerable prominence in the latter half of the decade 1880-1890: and a graphic account of our relations with Sikhim, and of the Tibetan aggression into Sikhim and its repulse by our troops, will be found in Mr. H. H. Risley's interesting Introduction to the official Gazetteer of Sikhim (1894). Some extracts from this Introduction will give a complete account of these important events.

"Seven years later, the question of promoting commercial intercourse with Tibet, which had dropped out of notice during the troubles in Afghanistan, was again pressed on the Government of Bengal in the general interests of British trade in the East. Mr. Colman Macaulay, Financial Secretary to that Government, was deputed to visit Sikhim and the Tibetan frontier in order to inquire into certain rumours of the stoppage of trade through Darjeeling by Tibetan officials; to ascertain whether a direct road could be opened through the Lachen valley between Darjeeling and the Province of Tsang, celebrated for the quality of its wool; and if possible to communicate, through the Tibetan officials at the head of the Lachen Valley, a friendly message from the Government of India to the minister at Tashe-lhunpo, the capital of Tsang. At Giagong in the north of Sikhim, Mr. Macaulay met the *Jongpen* or civil officer of the Tibetan district of Kamba, and collected much interesting information regarding the possibilities of trade between Tibet and India. In the following year, 1885, under instructions from the English Foreign Office, he visited Pekin, and obtained from the Chinese Government passports for a mixed political and scientific Mission to proceed to Lhassa for 3 or 4 months, to confer with the Chinese Resident and the Lhassa Government on the free admission of native Indian traders to Tibet, and the removal of obstructions on the trade through Sikhim and Darjeeling, it being understood that no proposal for the general admission of Europeans would be brought forward.

"Early in 1886 the Mission was organised, and assembled at Darjeeling with a small escort of native troops for the protection of the treasure and presents which it carried. While it was waiting to start, negotiations commenced with China concerning the North-

Eastern frontier of Upper Burma, then recently annexed, and in deference to Chinese susceptibilities the Government of India consented to forego their intention of despatching a Mission to Lhassa. This forbearance, though highly appreciated by China, seems to have been misunderstood by the monastic party in Tibet, whose desire to promote a policy of exclusion, and to maintain their own monopoly of trade with India, was connived at by the Chinese Resident. Arguing in true Asiatic fashion, the monks concluded that we broke up our Mission because we were afraid of them. They assumed a highly aggressive attitude, and sent a small body of Tibetan militia to occupy Lingtu, a point about 12 miles to the Sikhim side of the frontier, on the top of a high peak crossed by our road to the Jeylap, one of the passes of the Chola range. Here the invaders constructed, at an elevation of 12,617 feet above the sea, a stone fort, blocking and commanding the road; they warned off one of our native engineers, and announced their intention of stopping all trade by that route between Tibet and India. This open violation of territory under our protection was at first looked upon by us as a temporary outburst of Tibetan Chauvinism, which we could well afford to disregard. It was confidently expected that the mob of archers, slingers, and matchlockmen collected on a barren, windswept ridge at a height which even Tibetans find trying, would speedily fall away under stress of cold and starvation; and that the Chinese Government, moved partly by our diplomatic remonstrances, and partly by fear lest we should treat the Lingtu demonstration as a pretext for entering Tibet in force, would compel the Lhassa authorities to adjust their relations with Sikhim on a basis involving the recognition of our predominance in that State.

"Our expectations were signally disappointed. Not only did the Tibetans hold their ground at Lingtu with characteristic Mongolian obstinacy, but their refusal to receive letters or to enter into negotiations with us soon began to produce an alarming effect in Sikhim. When called upon to visit Darjeeling in June 1887 for the purpose of conferring with the Lieutenant-Governor concerning the affairs of his State, (with a view to induce him to modify his relations with Tibet and to return to his previous friendly policy towards this Government), the Raja of Sikhim, after exhausting the standard Oriental excuses, replied in so many words that he and his people had in

1886 signed a treaty declaring that Sikhim was subject only to China and Tibet. He was therefore unable to come to Darjeeling without the express permission of the Tibetan Government.

... ...

"From the commencement of our relations with Sikhim there have been two parties in that State—one which may be called the Lepcha or national party, consistently friendly to our Government, and a foreign or Tibetan party, steadily hostile. The family of the chiefs has generally been by way of siding with the latter, partly in consequence of their habit of marrying Tibetan women, and partly through their fondness for Chumbi in Tibet. Of late years a further complication has been introduced by the settlement of colonies of Nepalese in parts of Sikhim—a measure favoured by the Lepchas generally. These settlers look to us for protection in case of danger, and are naturally friendly to our Government; but their presence is regarded with disfavour by many influential Lamas, who allege that they waste the forests, allow their cattle to trespass, and make themselves unpleasant neighbours in other ways. In truth, however, the unwarlike Sikhimese have a wholesome dread of the fighting races of Nepal, and fear lest the industrious Newars who have settled along their Southern border should be merely the forerunners of an invading army of Gurkhas. So long as these 3 parties maintained what may be called their natural relations, there was no fear of our influence declining, and the internal affairs of the country could be trusted to adjust themselves with the minimum of interference on our part. But when we came to inquire how things actually stood, and to look below the surface of the Lingtu demonstration, we were forced in spite of ourselves to admit that within the last 3 or 4 years some remarkable changes had taken place in the political situation. Tibet had assumed an attitude of unmistakable, though probably cautious aggression; while the leaders of the Sikhim people, and Nepalese settlers with influence and property in that country, had begun to ask themselves seriously whether it might not be necessary for their ultimate safety to cast in their lot with the Tibetan party. These men, although as anxious as ever to keep up their former relations, and fully as hostile to Tibetan encroachment, had begun to doubt our desire or our ability to assist them, and openly expressed their fear of being "drowned," as they worded it, if they persisted in

trying to swim against the current now running in favour of Tibet. The head of the Nepalese party, himself a resident of Darjeeling, explained in the clearest language that he would do anything we told him to do if assured of our support and ultimate protection; but that, failing this guarantee, he must make his peace with the Tibetan party as the only hope of saving his property in Sikhim from confiscation, and his relatives there from imprisonment or death. The fact that this line was taken by a representative of the Nepalese settlers in Sikhim was of itself the clearest indication of the extent to which our influence had been undermined. Things must have gone very far before these settlers—people almost bigoted in their Hinduism, with just enough Mongolian blood in their veins to make them hate the Mongols—could bring themselves to contemplate the possibility of coming to terms with their ancient enemies. Things clearly had gone so far that, unless we bestirred ourselves in a speedy and effective fashion, Sikhim would either become once for all a province of Tibet, or, if we were not prepared to acquiesce in that solution of the difficulty, would have to be regularly conquered by us, with the people of the country either actively hostile, or, which is perhaps worse, sulkily and treacherously neutral. Some months before representations had been made to China in the belief that her influence would suffice to bring about a peaceful settlement. But it is a far cry from Pekin to Lhassa; the wheels of State move slowly in China, and no effective action appears to have been taken. In default, therefore, of any means of introducing the Tibetans themselves to civilised methods of settling international disagreements, it was decided to send an ultimatum to the troops at Lingtu, warning them that, if they did not abandon the post by the 14th of March, they would be driven out by force of arms. Meanwhile, lest it should be supposed that even then we were not in earnest, the 32nd Pioneers, a very fine regiment of low-caste Sikhs, were sent forward to bridge the Rongli river, and His Excellency the Viceroy addressed a letter to the Dalai Lama, explaining the reasons which had induced him to take so decided a line of action.

... ...

The peculiar position of Sikhim renders it impossible for us to ignore it was we ignore Bhutan, or to treat it on terms of compara-

tive equality as we treat Nepal. Sikhim cannot stand by itself, and, if we withdrew out support, it must ultimately fall either to Tibet or to Nepal. But for our treaty obligations the latter consummation would hardly be one to be deeply regretted, but it is difficult to see how it could be brought about peaceably. The Tibetan party would certainly try to hold the country for themselves; and, although the stronger races of Nepal would probably win in the long run, the period of transition would be one of intolerable anarchy. Once let our hold be relaxed, and Sikhim would become the Alsatia of the Eastern Himalayas, and such a state of things would react most formidably on the security of life and property in the great European settlement of Darjeeling. Every rood of land in that district that is not expressly reserved by Government for the cultivation of food-crops has already been taken up for tea, and a very large capital has been sunk in its cultivation, which gives employment to an enormous number of natives, mostly immigrants from Nepal. On all sides the hills are dotted with Europeans' bungalows; tea-gardens cover the slopes which face towards Sikhim; and the summer residence of the Head of the Bengal Government is to all appearance within a stone's-throw of the stream which forms the boundary of British territory. The station of Darjeeling itself is no doubt adequately protected by the European troops stationed at the cantonment of Jalapahar; but a large number of outlying tea-gardens are absolutely at the mercy of possible raiders from Sikhim. Nor is it only the planters and their native labourers that have to be considered. Many of our subjects, Tibetans settled in Darjeeling, Lepchas, and Nepalese, have large transactions and interests in Sikhim, about which disputes constantly arise. For the last 25 years our relations with the Sikhim Government have been so close, and our hold over it so strong, that the Deputy Commissioner of Darjeeling has, as a rule, found little difficulty in settling such disputes when referred to him. Processes, both civil and criminal, issued by the Darjeeling Courts, are virtually current in Sikhim, and the Darjeeling police have free access to the country. Sikhim, in fact, has been treated substantially as part of British India, subjected for political reasons to the nominal rule of a princelet of the Merovingian type. An instance will serve to illustrate what is meant. In July 1888 a murderous outbreak occurred in the Darjeeling jail;

a warder was killed and 8 convicts escaped. Some fled to Nepal; others were believed to have taken refuge in Sikhim. In the case of Nepal no hot pursuit was possible; the frontier was close, and we could not follow our criminals over it. The utmost that could be done was to demand extradition through the Resident at Katmandu, sending a formal record of the evidence against the offenders, with proof of the nationality of each. In the case of Sikhim no such formalities were necessary. The Deputy Commissioner sent off a party of armed police with orders to arrest the runaways, wherever found, and bring them back at once. Now, if Sikhim were allowed to become a part of Tibet, cases of this kind would give rise to inconvenient negotiations, and might even become a cause of friction between our representative at Pekin and the Chinese Government. It must further be remembered that a Tibetan Sikhim would lack the stability, the common sense, and the capacity for gradual advance towards civilisation, which characterise the Nepal Government. An extradition treaty would hardly be workable, and every absconding criminal would become the subject of an irritating diplomatic wrangle.

"Enough has perhaps been said to show that the obligation of driving the Tibetans out of Sikhim was imposed on us by the essential conditions of our policy towards the East Himalayan States; that this policy is a just and reasonable one; and that it involves the assumption on our part of no more authority than is necessary if we are to keep the peace in this particular corner of the Indian Empire. To maintain this policy by the cheapest and most effective means was the sole object of the military operations commenced in March 1888, and terminated by the engagement of the 24th September of that year. For the better understanding of the principles on which this little war was conducted, a further glance at the conformation of the country will be needed. Lingtu is a peak about 12 miles to the Sikhim side of the frontier, over the top of which our road runs to the Jeylap pass. The sides of this peak are very precipitous, and the road could not have been taken along them except at great expense. A force holding Lingtu can therefore block the road, and can also command the steep downs below the Jeylap, where Tibetan herdsmen pasture their sheep and cattle during the summer months. Both points probably counted for something with the Tibetans, who have

a considerable, if not an excessive, sense of the value of position in warfare, and who seem also not to have overlooked the possible support which the habits of the herdsmen might give to the theory of a pastoral frontier extending to the Garnei. As a matter of fact, no such theory is at all tenable. The practice arises partly out of the necessities of the case—the pastures lie on both sides of the frontier, and cattle are bound to stray—and partly from the accident that a large part of the property owned in Tibet by the Rajas of Sikhim and their wives has consisted of cattle tended by Tibetan herdsmen, their servants. On the Singilela range, where it forms the border between Darjeeling and Nepal, Nepalese shepherds feed their flocks on either side of the frontier, paying grazing fees to our Forest officers—just as the Tibetans pay rent to the Raja of Sikhim for the period spent by them on the Sikhim side. But no Nepalese official would be so inconsequent as to make this a reason for asserting that the whole of the grazing tract belonged to Nepal.

"At the beginning of hostilities, while our troops were being moved up from the plains, public opinion in India had hardly made up its mind to take the Lingtu garrison seriously. A turn for cheap swagger is a prominent trait in the Tibetan character, and it seemed not impossible that, in invading Sikhim, the Lamas were merely "trying it on", and would withdraw their rabble directly the advance of our troops showed that we were in earnest. In order to leave open the door to an early reconciliation, and to make it clear that our only object was to restore the *status quo* in Sikhim, and to secure that country and Bhutan from future aggressive interference on the part of Tibet, General Graham was directed not to pursue the enemy across the frontier, unless it was absolutely necessary to do so for military reasons. These instructions were carefully observed. In the storming of the stockade* at Jeyluk, a short distance below Lingtu, only 32 Tibetans were killed; and no attempt was made to pursue the Lingtu garrison, who fled from their fort when Sir Benjamin Bromhead and some men of the Pioneers (and the Derbyshires) reached the gate. The methods of defence adopted at Jeyluk recall some of the incidents of mediæval warfare. Walls and stockades had been built across the most precipitous part of the road; the

* The stockade at Jeyluk was carried on the 20th March and Lingtu taken on the 21st idem.

road itself was cut away so as to leave an impassable chasm ; rocks and tree-trunks were piled at favourable points, with levers to hurl them down on an ascending enemy ; and slings and arrows were freely, but vainly, used as our men advanced. The issue, one would think, might have shown that the weapons of Morgarten avail little against modern infantry. But the lesson was lost on the fanatical monks of the great monasteries around Lhassa. Their only answer to our pacific messages was to hasten up to the frontier all the troops they could collect, and to occupy the Jeylap and Pembiringo passes with a continually increasing force. Meanwhile we had fortified the more sheltered and defensible position of Gnatong, about 8 miles to the South of the Jeylap, and lay waiting there for events to develop themselves. The whole of April and the early part of May were spent by the Tibetans in massing their troops on their own side of the passes. On the 21st May Sir Steuart Bayley arrived at the Gnatong camp on a visit, of which the enemy made an occasion for an attack, with a view possibly to his capture. On the 22nd May, encouraged by a promise of victory from the "shaking oracle" at Naichang, the Tibetans attacked Gnatong in force, were repulsed with heavy loss, and retired over the Jeylap. In order to avoid needless slaughter, our men were not encouraged to follow the flying enemy farther than was necessary to completely break up the attack and convince the Tibetans that they had been really defeated. This conviction, however, came slowly to those who had taken no part in the fight. Strange rumours of the prowess of "the Lama army" that was gathering at Lhassa found their way across the frontier ; fresh troops were beaten up in all directions ; terrible threats were conveyed to the leaders of the force on the frontier ; and every thing went to show that the counsels of the monastic party were still for open war. It is hardly surprising that this should have been so. The new *Ampa*, despatched by China with instructions to bring about a peaceful settlement, had not yet arrived, and the Lamas lacked the sagacity to perceive that we were only holding back in order to give him time to make his influence felt. To their eyes we appeared to forego without purpose our own advantage, and they drew from this the conclusions which most Asiatics would draw under similar circumstances.

"Nevertheless, though the Lamas knew it not, their obstinacy,

wasting itself on our defensive tactics, was daily bringing us nearer to the real object of the campaign. At relatively small cost to ourselves, we were wearing out the resources of Tibet, and leading her on to strike the blow which should be our opportunity. The prisoners taken at Gnatong confirmed the reports received from our officers in Almora and Ladakh, that forced levies had been beaten up from the most distant provinces, and were fed and kept together with the utmost difficulty. The Tibetan commissariat is indeed somewhat less elaborate than our own. Forty pounds of barley flour, half a brick of tea, half a pound of salt, half a small sheep's bladder of butter, and 3½d. to buy meat, are said to represent a month's rations for a fighting man; and it may be surmised that he gets little or no pay beyond this. But the simplest supplies are hard to obtain in a barren region intersected by mountain-ranges, and wanting in all effective means of carriage; while a militia snatched on the spur of the moment from pastoral and agricultural pursuits is proverbially unsuited for prolonged hostilities.

"As soon, then, as it was clear that Tibetan patience was coming to an end, and that our forbearance was still mistaken for timidity, fresh troops were ordered up and preparations made for bringing the campaign to a close directly the rains were over. By the middle of August, General Graham had under his command at Gnatong a wing of the Derbyshires, the 32nd Pioneers (Sikhs), one of the newly raised Gurkha regiments, and 6 mountain guns—in all, nearly 2,000 men. After a month of waiting for fine weather, the conclusive engagement was brought on by the action of the Tibetans themselves. Two ridges, the Tukola and the Nimla, intervene between our position at Gnatong and the Kaphu valley, into which the Jeylap and Pembiringo passes open. On the night of the 23rd September 1888, our advanced pickets came in as usual, and reported no unusual activity on the part of the Tibetans. At daylight on the morning of the 24th the Gnatong garrison became aware that the enemy had advanced during the night 4 miles from their camp; had occupied the Tukola ridge, 13,550 feet above the sea, and 1,500 feet higher than Gnatong; and had built a stone wall 2 miles in length all along the crest of the ridge. Notwithstanding this marvellous piece of impromptu engineering, the weakness of their new position

was apparent at a glance. The whole of their large force, numbering more than 11,000 men, was distributed in line along the wall; no attempt had been made to take advantage of the ground or to concentrate troops at points of importance; while the entire position was enfiladed by the Tukola peak, on which their right flank rested. Once in possession of this peak, less than a mile and-a-half from Gnatong, we could roll up the enemy's line at leisure, and the conformation of the ground was such that a force retiring towards the Jeylap must need suffer terribly during its retreat. This fact determined the scheme of our attack. Approaching the Tukola peak by a route which covered them from the fire of its defenders, the Gurkhas carried the position by a rush, and their attack, combined with the parallel advance of the Pioneers, swept the Tibetans from the ridge. In their flight down that fatal hill, and the ascent of the Nimla ridge, which lay between them and the Jeylap, the ill-armed, undrilled militia whom the monks had sent forth as the army of Tibet lost nearly a tenth of their number in killed and wounded. On our side, Colonel Sir Benjamin Bromhead, commanding the 32nd Pioneers, was severely wounded in the attempt to take prisoners 3 Tibetans, whom he believed to have surrendered; one of the Gurkhas was severely, and 2 Pioneers were slightly, wounded. No effort was made by the Tibetans to rally their broken troops or to keep up a running fight; the rout was complete. We bivouacked that night in the enemy's camp on the Jeylap, and no resistance was offered to our advance upon Rinchagong next day. Straggling parties of the enemy were seen emerging from the Tibetan side of the Pembiringo pass, but they broke off into Bhutan as soon as they realised that we were about to enter Rinchagong, and the village was empty when our troops reached it. The march to Chumbi through the beautiful valley of the Mochu was a mere promenade, and our troops returned to Gnatong without seeing any more of the enemy.

"There seems to be reason to believe that this unavoidably severe lesson has been taken to heart by the Tibetans. The force which was dispersed at Gnatong had been drawn from all parts of the country, and the knowledge of our overwhelming military superiority must by this time be so widely diffused that even the arrogance of the Lamas can no longer affect to ignore it. Indica-

tions, indeed, are not wanting that the Tibetan claim to suzerainty over Sikhim had already been practically abandoned, though the Tibetans tried hard to retrieve their defeat in the field by a diplomatic triumph of the Fabian type, and seem for a time to have had the support of China in their ingenious efforts to tire out our representatives.

"The Anglo-Chinese Convention of 1890 secures the formal acknowledgment of our rights which the Gnatong victory entitles us to demand. At the close of a costly and vexatious campaign, carried on at an elevation never before reached by regular troops, and involving transport difficulties of the most serious kind, it was clearly essential to have something in the nature of a final settlement to show for our trouble.

"But we can afford to be content with a distinct surrender of the indefinite claim to control the course of events in Sikhim which for the last 3 years has troubled the peace of our frontier and stopped all trade between Darjeeling and Tibet. Above all things, we have no call to irritate the Tibetans and possibly excite the jealous territorial susceptibilities of China by introducing stipulations granting to European traders or travellers the coveted right of exploiting the commercial and scientific treasures of the interior of Tibet. Traders would assuredly fall foul of the monopolies reserved to the monks of the great monasteries; while scientific research, however modest in its aims, could scarcely fail to come into collision with some form of religious or social prejudice. Here surely is one of the cases where "the half is more than the whole." Be the treaty never so meagre, we anyhow remain in possession of the disputed tract, while the roads and bridges made during the campaign ensure us the command of the passes against Tibetan inroads. Our influence is predominant in Sikhim; it has been vigorously asserted by the introduction of essential reforms in the government of the State, and we need not fear that it will hereafter be permitted to decline."

In* short, the Anglo-Chinese agreement of 1890 provided for the boundary between Tibet and Sikhim being settled in accordance with our contentions; for the recognition of the British Protectorate

* Sir S. Bayley's Introduction to "*The 2nd Battalion Derbyshire Regiment in the Sikhim expedition of 1888*," *by* Captain Iggulden.

over Sikhim, with *exclusive* control over its internal administration and its foreign relations ; and in the future, for trade facilities, which have been systematically evaded. So far as Sikhim is concerned, the effect has been admirable ; the country is progressing peaceably and rapidly, untroubled by Tibetan aggressiveness.

The reforms above mentioned were—the appointment of a Political Agent (Mr. J. C. White, of the Public Works Department) at Guntok to assist the Maharaja in Council with his advice in the administration of affairs, the establishment of a Council for the conduct of ordinary, civil, criminal and revenue work, the settlement of unoccupied waste land and land occupied by monasteries, and the preservation of *sal* forests by bringing them under the direct control of the *darbar*.

The Indian Public Service Commission.

In January 1888 the Indian Public Service Commission presented its report to the Government of India. It had been appointed in October 1886 (consisting of 14 members with Sir Charles Aitchison, K. C. S. I. Lieutenant-Governor of the Panjab as President) to consider the question of the admission of natives to higher and more extensive employment in the civil administration in India, a question which affected Bengal as much as any other Province in India. The circumstances which gave rise to the necessity for this Commission have been summarized as *follows :—

"As regards the admission of natives of India to the administration, it was enacted in 1833 under 3 & 4 Will. IV., c. 85, s. 87, that "no native of the said territories (India), nor any natural born subject of His Majesty resident therein, shall by reason only of his religion, place of birth, descent, colour, or any of them, be disabled from holding any place, office, or employment, under the said (East India) Company." The great extension of the system of State instruction that has since taken place, together with the establishment of Universities in the 5 principal towns of India, soon supplied the Governments with a wide and amply-stocked field of selection for most of the offices other than those usually held by members of the Covenanted Service. For this last, however, in spite of the removal of disabilities of race or creed, up to 1870, only one native of the country had successfully competed. In that year, therefore, an Act

* Moral and Material Progress of India Report, 1891-92, p. 74.

was passed (33 Vic. c. 3), under which natives of India of proved merit and ability could be employed in the Civil Service of Her Majesty in India without entering that service in the manner provided in the Act for the Government of India, 1858. The rules under this Act, which had to be sanctioned by the Secretary of State, were at first drawn up so as to confine the field of choice to those who had proved their merit and ability by their previous service in the subordinate ranks of the service of the Crown, but a revised code was afterwards sanctioned, in which this restriction was removed. One or two appointments only, and those to the judicial branch of the service, were made under it. The subject was reconsidered in 1879, and fresh provision made, under which the recruitment by this means could extend up to $\frac{1}{5}$ of the total number of Civilians appointed in the year, and the nominee should be on probation for 2 years after his selection. A most important point was prominently brought by the Government of India in promulgating these rules to the notice of the local authorities who had the duty of selecting the nominees; namely, that in their opinion, the appointments should, generally speaking, be confined to young men of good family and social position, possessed of fair abilities and education, to whom the offices open to them in the inferior ranks, or uncovenanted service, had not proved a sufficient inducement to come forward for employment, whilst the appointment of men already in the service of Government, or in the practice of a profession, should be quite exceptional and confined to persons who had obtained great distinction in their former career. This recommendation was based on the experience of the results of the extension of Public Instruction, as above mentioned. Advantage of the new system had been taken to the full by the sedentary or literate classes, who, except under the Brahman Peshwas, and as financiers and accountants under the Muhammadan rule, had been debarred from reaping the whole benefit of their intellectual superiority. But the ruling classes of the Hindus, and, still more markedly, the upper grades of the foreign community that was in power immediately before the introduction of the British regime, kept studiously aloof from institutions that would bring them into rivalry, and probably an unsuccessful one, with the classes whom they had so long regarded as their inferiors in position and capacity. In a very few years, however, it was found that the attempt to introduce

the latter element into the administration by the above means was a failure, as men could not be got who combined high social position with the requisite intellectual and educational qualifications, and the men who were appointed were in many cases of a class that would have been content to have been provided for in the lower grades of the public service, above which their qualifications in either sense, social or intellectual, did not rise. In consideration of the fact, therefore, that, through the scheme inaugurated under the Statute of 1870, the end which it had been the wish of the Government to attain, whether on the ground of political expediency or of administrative advantage, had been in no way furthered, it was determined to institute an inquiry by means of a Commission on which the natives of India should be as adequately as possible represented, with the object of devising a scheme which might reasonably be hoped to possess the necessary elements of finality, and to do full justice to the claims of natives of India to higher employment in the public service."

The Government of India expressed their views on the Report of the Indian Public Service Commission in a despatch of the 9th October 1888, which the Secretary of State answered on the 12th September 1889. Lord Cross wrote :—

"The scheme framed by the Commission does not suggest any very serious change in the main features of the existing system of administration. It proposes that, for the conduct of the higher branches of the Executive and Judicial work throughout India, there should continue to be, as at present, 2 distinct Services. The first of these would be the existing Covenanted Civil Service, which the Commission has proposed to call the Imperial Service, recruited by competition in England, and open without distinction of race to all natural-born subjects of Her Majesty. Its numbers would continue to be regulated on a scale which would enable it to fill the majority of the highest civil offices, with such a number of smaller offices as will provide a course of training for the younger men. The second of the 2 Services would be called the Provincial Service, and it is to the constitution of this Service that the principal recommendations of the Commission refer. It would be recruited in each Province of India separately, and would hold the higher appointments of the existing Uncovenanted Service, together with a certain number of the appointments now ordinarily reserved by law or practice to the Covenanted Civil Service, which would be transferred to the Provincial Service. It is proposed that the 2 classes of appointments should be gradually amal-

gamated, and that recruitment should be effected provincially under various methods adapted to local circumstances. Among the appointments to be transferred to the Provincial Service are $\frac{1}{3}$ of the offices of District or Civil and Sessions Judge, and $\frac{1}{6}$ of the offices of Magistrate and Collector of a district, as well as others of both higher and lower rank. To facilitate this measure it is proposed that the transferred appointments in the Regulation Provinces should be excluded from the schedule of the Statute 24 & 25 Vict., c. 54, and that the strength of the Covenanted Civil Service should be proportionately reduced. The Provincial Service would be open to all natural-born subjects of Her Majesty, but recent residence of at least 3 years in a Province and thorough knowledge of its language are recommended as among the essential conditions of admission to its Provincial Service. The Commission further proposes that the grades of pay in the Provincial Service, and the pay of appointments to be held by its members, together with the general conditions of that Service as to leave and retiring annuity, should be fixed on independent grounds. The terms offered to the Provincial Service in these respects would be those which are necessary to secure locally in India the desired qualifications."

These proposals were generally accepted, so that this was in brief the general result of the Commission. The Civil Service throughout India was to be divided into 2 sections, (1) the Civil Service of India, and (2) the Provincial Service of each Province. The first it was decided to recruit as before by open competition in England "keeping it as a *corps d'élite* and its numbers limited to what is necessary to fill the chief administrative appointments of the Government, and such a number of the smaller appointments as will ensure a complete course of training for junior civilians." As regards the "Statutory Civilians," i. e., the appointments made under the Statute of 1870, the alternative was offered to the incumbents of either entering the Provincial Service with a preferential claim, other qualifications being duly considered, to the higher appointments to be made available for that Service or else of remaining in their posts, outside any organised service, and therefore without any claim to promotion on the ground of seniority but only on that of special merit and ability. Members of the Provincial Service were admitted in 1892-93 under the new scheme to certain judicial and executive appointments otherwise reserved to the Indian Civil Service, in accordance with rules made under the Act of 1870, in supersession of those of 1879, above quoted. The appointments thrown open

were 6 posts of District and Sessions Judge, 4 posts of District Magistrate-Collector, one post of Junior Secretary to the Board of Revenue, one post of Under-Secretary to Government, and some other subordinate appointments. But the posts referred to were not to be thrown into the general *cadre* of the Provincial Service, until all the existing Statutory Civil Servants were provided for either by promotion or by amalgamation with the new Provincial Service, and until the prior claim of officers of the Civil Service of India and Commissions had been satisfied. The lower grades of the existing Uncovenanted Service were constituted a Subordinate Civil Service with the privilege of promotion to the Provincial Service in case of conspicuous merit.

The Dacca Tornado of 7th April, 1888.

A severe tornado visited the town of Dacca on the evening of the 7th April 1888, causing considerable loss to life and property. It lasted only a few minutes, and extended over an area of $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles in length and about 200 paces in breadth. About 130 persons lost their lives and more than 1,200 were seriously wounded, while the value of the property damaged was said to have been about 7 *lakhs* of rupees. It caused much damage to the police barracks at Lalbagh and to many public and private buildings.

At about 8 o'clock p. m., of the 23rd of April, another tornado passed over the town of Bhadreswar near Serampore in the Hooghly district, lasting from 5 to 7 minutes and destroying houses and property to the value of Rs. 25,000. Twelve persons and 400 cattle were killed.

Excise.

It was Sir S. Bayley's object to give effect, as far as possible, to the recommendations of the Excise Commission of 1883-4 in regard to the outstill system, and every effort was made in Bengal to render the description of that system given in the Government of India's despatch of the 25th June 1887 to the Secretary of State, strictly correct. That description ran thus:—"The outstill system, as understood in India, is not a system by which, on payment of a lump sum the distiller is free to brew as much spirit as he likes and sell it whenever he likes. The duty is levied upon a strict calculation of the number of gallons which the still can produce, and the conditions, both of distillation and sale, are carefully regulated with reference to the existing local demand."

The system was still on its trial, and, in the face of all the difficulties which had accompanied its introduction, it could not be alleged that it had everywhere been successfully enforced. Inquiry had indeed shown that it had lamentably failed in the metropolitan districts of Hooghly and Howrah, in which, as was seen by the light of experience it would probably have been better if it had never been tried. In such a tract the central distillery system was probably preferable to the outstill or contract system, and the question whether it would not be better to restore the *sadar* distilleries in this locality had to be considered. But as a general rule the system was understood to have met with a fair measure of success. The operations at the outstills, though liable to inspection, testing, and correction at the hands of Government officers were not brought at once absolutely under control, and the transition from a system of unrestricted outstills to one of rigid regulation admitted only of gradual accomplishment. It was manifest that the success of the system depended a great deal on the tact and intelligence displayed by the officers engaged in the administration of excise, and that, without very close supervision and personal attention to details, there was every risk of the revenue being sacrificed without in any way checking drunkenness. The policy pursued was the steady reduction in the liquid capacity of outstills in accordance with the local demand in each district, the prevention of the undue cheapening of liquor by obtaining the highest possible fees from shops, by fixing the upset prices with reference to the quantity of liquor produced and the profits derived therefrom, and the maintenance, as far as possible, of a minimum price for the cheapest kind of liquor made in each district. Thus the liquid capacity of the stills in all districts for 1888-89 was calculated to be 62,363 gallons, as against 111,538 gallons in 1886-87, and the average amount of monthly license fee rose within the same period from Rs. 820 to Rs. 1,011. The number of shops under the *sadar* distillery system fell from 655 in 1886-87 to 570 in 1887-88, and that of outstills fell from 3,608 to 3,535.

The desirability of appointing an Excise Commissioner for Bengal came under discussion in 1888-9 and it was decided to appoint one tentatively. This experiment took effect from the 4th April 1889, and the appointment was afterwards made permanent.

The Government of Bengal continued to direct its efforts towards carrying into effect the recommendations of the Excise Commission by the abolition of outstills and the substitution of the *sadar* distillery system in the 24-*Parganas* and Howrah, and in the Serampore subdivision of Hooghly. The principle definitely established was that outstills should be gradually abolished in one populous district after another, until central distilleries were established in all localities suitable for their introduction. It was known that the immediate result of such reforms must be an appreciable loss to the Excise revenue, but they were nevertheless to be persisted in, and further action in the same direction was sanctioned. At the same time, where the system of outstills still obtained, no efforts were spared for its improvement; and with this object their number and capacity were reduced, and the Excise Commissioner was to endeavour to raise the duty paid on outstill liquor in the form of license fees to the rate per gallon, London-proof, charged on distillery liquor in each district. Licensing officers were instructed to ascertain and consider local opinion regarding the location of shops, and the rule was laid down that on no account should sites be selected near markets, schools, factories, or other public places. The appointment of a better class of officers to the immediate charge of distilleries and the extension of the system of fixing minimum prices for the sale of country liquor to all districts with the exception of those of the Chittagong Division, which were excluded on account of local peculiarities, were the most important of the minor improvements carried out in the course of the year. The *Patna system*—so called because it was first introduced in that Division—was in force in 18 districts. Under it the size and capacity of each still, and the number and capacity of the vats in which the yeast was prepared, were regulated by the local demand, upon which also the upset fee was calculated. Its success was so far testified to by the fact that where it was in force the total consumption of country spirits fell by 238,492 gallons, the revenue increasing simultaneously by Rs. 1,09,772.

The Excise policy of the Government of Bengal was based upon the following principles: that any extension of the habit of drinking was to be discouraged; that the tax on spirits should be as high as possible without giving rise to illicit methods of making and

selling liquor; and that, subject to these considerations, a maximum revenue should be raised from a minimum consumption of intoxicants. Most important action was taken in this direction under Sir S. Bayley's administration, and especially during 1889-90. No pains were spared to improve the outstill system where outstills were retained. In the face of all the difficulties which must ever accompany the introduction of radical changes, it could not be said that all the restrictions recommended by the Excise Commission had been successfully imposed; but it was undoubted that great improvements had been effected; that the distiller was not free to brew as much spirit as he liked and sell it whenever he liked; and that the levy of duty as well as the conditions both of distillation and sale were carefully regulated with reference to the existing local demand. A system of regulated outstills had been organised, and, as the Excise Commission were careful to explain, if the producing capacity of outstills was limited and the revenue paid on each outstill was calculated in proportion to its capacity, there was little real difference in principle between such a system and the system of central distilleries.

The total revenue derived from outstill license fees decreased in a year from Rs. 31,34,561 to Rs. 27,74,925. As the fees were being gradually raised so as to force the retail price of liquor up to the price fixed by the distillery rate of duty for each district, the distillers in many cases refused to accept settlement. It was, however, always anticipated that the policy adopted would entail an immediate loss of revenue, and the deliberate intention throughout had been to force the *abkars* to increase their retail prices and so reduce consumption. If this result was attained, a temporary loss of revenue was regarded as comparatively a small matter; and unless the demand for liquor had been artificially stimulated by an undue cheapening of outstill liquor, as compared with the price maintained by distillery spirit, it was certain that the normal demand would re-assert itself and the revenues recover. Unfortunately the effect of bad seasons rendered the influence of these changes on the revenue more conspicuous than they would otherwise have been.

In regard to the extension of the central distillery system, Sir S. Bayley declared on more than one occasion that it must be distinctly understood by the Excise Commissioner and by all

officers concerned with the administration of excise in Bengal that the policy which had received the approval of the Secretary of State and of Government was that the outstill system should be replaced by a central distillery system whenever circumstances rendered it expedient; and, speaking generally, the only circumstances which rendered the change inexpedient were sparse population, difficulties of supervision, proximity to alien territory, and a liquor which would bear neither transportation nor keeping. It was not intended that outstills should be suppressed in localities where experience showed that no other system could be advantageously introduced, and it was not thought possible to work up the central distillery system in Bengal to the extent attained in some other Provinces. One-half of the Bengal revenue from country spirits, and outside Calcutta much the greater part, was derived from a tract of country where the principal material used for the manufacture was the flower of the *mohwa* tree, and the spirit so made would not bear transport, and rapidly deteriorated when kept. It was of the weakest possible description, being 80 or 90 per cent. below London-proof. Such spirit had to be manufactured near the place where it was consumed; and this, if there were no other objection, was a conclusive reason why a central distillery system could not be successfully introduced into the rural parts of Bihar and Chota Nagpur. The people were accustomed to this weak liquor, and would only drink it when fresh. It would no doubt have been possible, as was done in Bombay, to manufacture a pure and strong spirit from the *mohwa* flower; but this would not have been the liquor previously consumed, and any scheme to replace a weak liquor by a strong one would have been opposed to the first principles of excise administration. In Bengal the number of central distilleries must always be limited. The failure of the old system of distilleries was largely due to their excessive number—which at one time was 220—and to the consequent impossibility of exercising proper supervision over them. It was accordingly deemed advisable to have central distilleries only at the head-quarters of districts where they could be thoroughly watched by responsible officers, and in some cases arrangements were made for the establishment of depots or warehouses at subdivisional head-quarters from which shops remote from the distilleries could be supplied with liquor.

From the 1st April 1889, outstills were abolished throughout the

whole of the *24-Parganas*, Howrah and the Serampore subdivision of Hooghly. From the 1st April 1890 they were abolished throughout the whole of the Burdwan, Presidency, Dacca, and Orissa Divisions. The total revenue realised under the central distillery system during 1889-90, notwithstanding the extension of the distillery area, was only Rs. 19,32,207, against Rs. 19,55,754 in the previous year, while the statistics of consumption showed a large decline from 1,057,119 to 853,259 gallons. The explanation of this decrease was that the year was one of general depression and bad trade.

Special rules were issued for general guidance on the subject of the selection of sites for excise shops: distinct instructions were given to ascertain and consider local opinion, and it was ordered that where municipalities existed the Municipal Commissioners should be consulted in determining the location of shops.

The Excise system and tea gardens.

In 1889-90 complaints were made, which reached the Secretary of State, by tea-planters and the Agents for tea gardens, that outstills and liquor-shops had been opened, sometimes in spite of the planters' protests, close to or upon tea gardens, and that the facilities for drinking, the evil of drunkenness among tea garden labourers, and the drink revenue had all greatly increased during the last few years. A thorough and exhaustive inquiry was made into the complaints both in Bengal and Assam. With the latter I am not concerned here. The only districts in which tea is grown extensively in Bengal are Darjeeling and Jalpaiguri. The results of the inquiry were duly communicated to the Government of India and to the Secretary of State. The evidence collected by the Deputy Commissioners of Darjeeling and Jalpaiguri did not support the conclusion that there had been any increase of drinking or of drunkenness among the garden coolies in recent years. The opinion held by some observers that drinking and drunkenness had increased was accounted for mainly by the fact that the number of the coolies of the drinking classes had increased very largely, and partly by the fact that, when drinking was only possible by obtaining illicit liquor, both the drinking of such untaxed liquor and any consequent drunkenness were carefully concealed as far as possible; while, when the demand for drink was met by the supply of taxed liquor, there was no such powerful motive for concealment. The facilities for obtaining drink

had not been increased. In Darjeeling the number of shops had actually been diminished, while in Jalpaiguri the increase in the number of shops had been in a very much smaller ratio than the increase in the acreage under tea cultivation and in the numbers of the coolies of the drinking classes. The price of the liquor sold from the outstill shops had not been lowered, and had become as high as for the time it was possible to raise it in view of the facilities for illicit distillation and smuggling. The taxation was also as high as it could reasonably be made, and much higher than formerly.

The selection of sites for shops had always received careful consideration, and the wishes of the planters in this matter had not been disregarded, but had been allowed weight in all cases in which they were obtainable. Objections made by planters had not always been allowed, but their objections had not been put aside without reason. An example was quoted of a case in which it would have been inexpedient to close a shop in deference to the objections of planters. Two tea planters objected to the location of a shop on or near one of the gardens. But at the same time they had still stronger objections to 2 shops in Sikhim just over the border, at which liquor was sold at lower prices than at the licensed shop. If the licensed shop had been closed, the result would have been not to diminish drinking, but to compel the coolies to buy all their liquor from the foreign shops over the Sikhim frontier, where they could obtain it untaxed and cheap.

As an illustration of the evil effects of the outstills, some of the planters stated that the attendance of their coolies on the days following market days was seriously diminished in consequence of the drinking and drunkenness induced by the facilities for drinking afforded at the markets. As to this the evidence did not show satisfactorily that the attendance was seriously or steadily less on the days after market days than on other days ; while there were causes, other than drunkenness at the market, which would fully account for any falling-off that might have occurred. The charge that the outstill liquor was subjected to injurious adulteration was clearly shown by the evidence to be unfounded.

During the inquiries made, the question whether it was desirable to make any radical change in the system of excise in the tea

districts was very carefully considered. Government had no hesitation in stating that the existing outstill system was that which was best suited to the tea tracts in both Darjeeling and Jalpaiguri, alike in the interests of the Government, the labouring population, and temperance. The justice of the conclusion was very strikingly confirmed by the fact that the great majority of the planters of both Darjeeling and Jalpaiguri were in favour of the maintenance of the outstill system in preference to any other.

Government were fully alive to the objections which were generally urged against the outstill system. But in many places it was the system which was least open to objection—and indeed the only possible system if any sort of control were to be attempted. In such places all that could be done was to improve the administration to the fullest possible extent and to this the Government of Bengal were devoting great attention.

The consideration of the Reports from Bengal and Assam in this matter led irresistibly to the conclusion that the accusations made against the excise administration in the tea districts were for the most part unfounded and in all cases exaggerated. Nevertheless, it was not regretted that these complaints had been made, because the inquiries that ensued had brought the planters into closer communication with the district authorities on the subject, with the result that they had been brought to look into the complex questions of excise administration from more than one point of view, to understand the difficulties with which the district officers had to contend, and had thus acquired information which qualified them to advise and assist Government in the future.

The total revenue from excise fell during 1889-90 from Rs. 1,08,88,973 to Rs. 1,04,73,426, while the charges increased from Rs. 4,32,765 to Rs. 5,18,739.

Condition of the lower classes.

At the instance of the Government of India, a special inquiry was made in 1887-8 into the condition of the lower classes in Bengal, with a view to discover what localities, if any, were, on account of the pressure of population and insufficiency of produce, in need of relief. The general result of this inquiry was that in the greater part of the Lower Provinces the industrious classes found no difficulty in supplying their primary wants, and were, as a rule, well nourished. Their prosperity was

greatest in the eastern districts, and gradually diminished towards the west. It did not seem to be impaired even where endemic disease had reduced the population and left the survivors to some extent emaciated or enfeebled. On the contrary, the Reports from districts so afflicted showed that the inhabitants were rather better off than in neighbouring tracts. But the signs indicating prosperity ceased on reaching Bihar, where, though the cultivators who had holdings of a size sufficient to afford full occupation to their families were well-to-do, and the middle class enjoyed exceptional comfort, wages were so low that those who depended for their living entirely or mainly on their daily labour earned a very scanty subsistence. The number of these labourers, including those who held some land, was estimated at about 40 per cent of a population of over 15 millions. The cause of the lowness of wages appeared to be the multiplication of labourers in a healthy climate and under a social system founded on early marriages up to the point at which employment could be found on the lowest terms consistent with the maintenance of their families. This cause was of a permanent nature, social and climatic conditions remaining unchanged. Its effects could not be counteracted by any conceivable development of local industry, for that could hardly progress in geometric ratio with the increase of population. Emigration could afford a sufficient and lasting remedy only if it were conducted on a large scale and continuously. If, after a system of emigration had been established, its operation were to be checked by the occupation of waste lands, the existing difficulty would arise again. It was possible that popular education, which had hardly touched this part of the population, might in the course of many years effect a permanent change for the better, by altering the views and habits of the people, and in the meanwhile it would greatly facilitate the application of partial and temporary remedies, such as the introduction of new industries and emigration.

Emigration to Burma.

The Bengal Government accordingly about this time took into consideration the question of affording some measure of relief to the over-populated districts of Bihar by promoting emigration, and, as Burma, with the high wages there earned and its large tract of unoccupied land, seemed to offer a suitable outlet, Mr. P. Nolan, C. S., Secretary to Government, was, early in August 1888, deputed to that country by the Government of India

for the purpose of conferring with the officers of the Burma Commission and proposing definite measures on the subject. The general result of the discussions which took place was to show that emigration from Bengal to Burma would be beneficial to individuals as well as to the State, and that with ordinary help from Government the existing emigration might be considerably stimulated without interfering with the voluntary system on which it was conducted, and which was its most valuable characteristic and had worked extremely well. For facilitating the desired movement, Mr. Nolan recommended that the cost of deck passages from Calcutta to Rangoon should be reduced, by granting a subsidy for the purpose to the British India Steam Navigation Company according to the terms of their contract; that equitable terms should be offered to capitalists willing to reclaim waste lands in Burma by the agency of Indian labourers or *raiyats*; that a model settlement should be made at the expense of Government; and that employment should be offered to Biharis on any great public works undertaken in Burma. Some gentlemen of position having intimated their intention to visit that Province in order to ascertain for themselves the prospects of success in the proposed undertaking, and having expressed a wish to be accompanied by a Bengal official competent to assist them with information and advice, the Director of Land Records was deputed to Burma in March 1889. During this visit he settled certain detailed rules, which were afterwards approved by the Chief Commissioner of Burma and the Government of India, offering lands on specially favourable terms for the introduction of settlers from Bihar and Chota Nagpur. The reduction of the deck fares was arranged, and certain capitalists obtained leases of areas in Burma for reclamation by Indian settlers.

Calcutta Municipal Act of 1888.

The legislation in connection with the Calcutta Municipality (which had been impending for some time) was effected by Act II (B. C.) of 1888. The more prominent alterations in the law introduced by this Act may be summarised as follows. It extended the jurisdiction of the Calcutta Corporation over a large portion of the suburbs. The sections regulating the qualification of voters at elections were recast, and made to include the system of allowing plural votes according to a recognised method. The duties of the Corporation were minutely indicated; while ample powers were reserved to the Local Government to

compel the Corporation to discharge any of these duties should it neglect to do so. A section was introduced authorizing the imposition of a duty on petroleum. The Chapter relating to the imposition of rates was thoroughly recast, as also the system of valuation of house property in Calcutta. The scale prescribing the supply of filtered-water was considerably enlarged. The building regulations regarding houses and huts were almost entirely re-written, with special reference to the construction of houses and *bastis* on a recognised plan, so as to guarantee proper ventilation, air-spaces, open grounds around them, and such other sanitary conditions as were deemed desirable. The first elections under this Act took place in March 1889. Instead of voting by papers previously distributed the vote had to be given in person. The number of voters being 11,614, the voting power was found to be 46,402, and in wards where the seat was contested about 43 per cent of the voters came to the poll.

The Inland Emigrants' Health Act, 1889.

The restricted meaning attached to the word "labourer," as defined in the Inland Emigration Act, 1882, had hitherto rendered it impossible for the Local Government to apply the sanitary provisions contained in that Act to the case of "free" or unregistered emigrants, a class of which large numbers were being drafted annually through Bengal to the labour districts of Assam. Outbreaks of cholera were occurring among the emigrants from Bengal to Assam, and certain emigration depots or rest houses had been found to be very defective in sanitary arrangements; it seemed necessary that supervision should be exercised over "free" emigrants as well as over the labourers who executed engagements under the Act. The object of Act I (B. C.) of 1889 was to obviate this difficulty, and this was done by vesting the Local Government with power to make rules for the sanitary protection of *all* emigrants during their passage through Bengal, similar to those which existed under the Inland Emigration Act, 1882, in regard only to "labourers" as defined by the Act. Arrangements were made as soon as possible for the medical care and protection of emigrants *en route* to Assam.

Subordinate Executive Service.

As it stood in 1888-89, the Subordinate Executive Service was divided into 2 branches. The upper was composed of 242 Deputy Collectors 35 probationary

or officiating Deputy Collectors, and 29 Special Deputy Collectors; and the lower of Sub-Deputy Collectors, 14 special temporary officers, 8 *tahsildars*, and 67 *kanungos*. For 23 years the question of the best means of recruiting this service had engaged the attention of successive Lieutenant-Governors; and, although the same policy had on the whole been followed throughout, the serious difficulties encountered in dealing with the question, which had apparently arisen rather from the nature of the subject than from any difference of opinion as to the main object to be kept in view, had led to frequent changes in the system by which it was attempted to carry out the policy. These changes had produced inconvenient and embarrassing results. Claims created or recognized by one method of selecting candidates had been ignored or imperfectly satisfied on the introduction of another, and each system in turn had involved Government in a number of implied pledges which it had become practically impossible to fulfil. These causes, operating during a period of 12 years, had produced a state of such extreme complication and confusion that in 1888-89 it was decided to introduce a comprehensive scheme, which should take account of the essential and permanent requirements of Bengal and should at the same time provide for giving play to more than one method of selection.

It was foreseen that, although in any scheme intended to be final the principle of competition must occupy a prominent—perhaps the most prominent—position, yet that this alone would not meet all wants. In the first place, the diverse character of the population affected had to be considered, and care taken to guard against a single race or class obtaining a virtual monopoly of the service, by which a large proportion of the every-day work of administration was done. At the time, and probably for many years to come, the immediate effect of recruiting the Subordinate Executive Service on an exclusively competitive basis would have been to debar Muhammadans, or natives of Bihar or Orissa, from any reasonable chance of obtaining appointments. In the next place, there were special reasons for appointing particular native gentlemen to the higher grades in the public service, *e. g.*, social or representative position, family connections, distinguished University attainments, or meritorious service in other branches of the administration, and such

qualifications might give a claim to appointment by nomination. There remained also a class of claimants, comprising, in the case of the upper branch of the Service, those Sub-Deputy Collectors who passed the Native Civil Service Examination in the years 1872-75 and had earned by distinguished service in the lower branch the fulfilment of a promise of promotion to the upper given by Sir George Campbell, and, in the case of the lower branch, certain *kanungos* to whom the original conditions of their appointment had given claims for promotion.

To meet these difficulties the following schemes were evolved, and orders issued for carrying them into effect. It was decided, in the case of the upper branch of the service, that an annual competitive examination should be held, open to all persons fulfilling certain conditions, and that $\frac{1}{2}$ the appointments should be given to those who obtained the highest aggregate of marks at that examination. Of the remaining appointments, it was intended to bestow $\frac{1}{2}$ on those who had claims to appointment by nomination, provided that the nominee had obtained not less than $\frac{1}{3}$ of the full number of marks in the examination, and the remaining $\frac{1}{2}$ to candidates having claims to promotion from the subordinate branch of the service. The claims which were recognized as having already accrued against Government were to be disposed of partly by the immediate bestowal of appointments, and partly by a relaxation in favour of the claimants of the conditions of appearance at the competitive examination.

The scheme for the lower branch of the service was based on the same principles. Its main features were that $\frac{1}{2}$ the vacancies occurring during the year 1889 should be filled up by nominees and $\frac{1}{2}$ by *kanungos* ; that in 1890 an examination should be held of those whose claims to nomination had been recognized ; and that thereafter appointments should be given, $\frac{1}{3}$ to the most successful competitors at an examination and $\frac{1}{2}$ to nominees obtaining at the same examination not less than $\frac{3}{4}$ths of the total marks.

District Boards.

In 1888-89 it was recorded that, on the whole, the working of District Boards during the past year, although by no means devoid of blemishes, had been satisfactory, and Government recognized the interest taken by the members, and a praiseworthy desire on their part to aim at successful administration. There had been in some cases signs of timidity ; in others of

inexperience; in others of the undue subordination of public to private purposes; and in some an unwise tendency to excessive interference with the executive in professional questions. These, however, it was considered, were more than counterbalanced by the advantage of entrusting the management of local affairs to the hands of those most permanently interested in its success, and the opinion of the Local Government was that what was chiefly required was more organization and wider opportunities for the receipt of advice, encouragement, and, where necessary, supervision and control, exercised by a higher authority with larger experience and observation of the working of Boards throughout the whole Province and in other parts of India than could be supplied by district Magistrates and Divisional Commissioners. If Local Self-Government in Bengal were to receive its proper expansion, it would, in the opinion of Government probably be necessary to supplement the efforts of local bodies with the assistance, support, and capacity for organization which a central authority with leisure and ability for such a task would alone be in a position to afford. Similarly, in reviewing the administration of municipalities in 1889 Sir Steuart Bayley recorded an opinion that the establishment of a Local Government Board, somewhat on the lines originally contemplated, would soon become an administrative necessity in Bengal.

Surveys and Settlements.

There was a considerable amount of survey and settlement work done during 1888-89. The operations extended to an area of 3,611,057 acres, of which 1,161,483 were surveyed. Of the area surveyed, 399,955 acres were comprised in Government estates, 717,123 in Wards' estates, and 44,405 acres in private estates. All the important areas were under survey by professional agency, and the whole of the proceedings were under the supervision of the Director of Land Records. The figures showing the cost of survey and settlement per acre varied considerably. For instance, in estates surveyed professionally, the cost per acre varied from 4 annas to 6 annas 7 pies per acre, and the cost of settlement from 10 pies to 3 annas 11 pies per acre. In non-professional surveys the cost ranged from 2 annas to one rupee and 3 pies per acre, and the cost of settlement from 2 annas 9 pies to 9 annas one pie per acre. The total cost of both survey and settlement together ranged in estates surveyed by professional agency from 5 annas

10 pies to 8 annas 10 pies, and in the case of non-professional agency from 2 annas to one rupee per acre. These variations depended upon the differences of the country dealt with, the *personnel* of the officers employed and other causes, but they rendered it very difficult to accept an all-round estimate for work on a large scale. The Government estates dealt with during the year were Angul, begun in 1886-7; Banki, begun in December 1887; the Jalpaiguri Western Duars; old *thana* Ramu in Chittagong; Bhetia and Kamina Chuk in Midnapore, some petty estates in Backergunge and Tippera, and the Port Canning estates in the 24-*Parganas*. Considerable increase of revenue was obtained from Angul and the Western Duars.

The Wards' estates in which survey and settlement operations were conducted were the Srinagar and Banaili Raj, Sankarpur, Churaman, Maldwar, the Burdwan Raj *khas mahals*, Kujong and Kanika in Cuttack. The private estates dealt with were those of the Raja of Dubalhati in Rajshahi, Kesiari, Bogri, Purusattampur, Parbatipur in Midnapore, some small estates in Muzaffarpur, mauza Jagadishpur in Chandauti in Burdwan, and Alakdia Durgapur in Tippera. These proceedings were undertaken on the application of the landlords in consequence of disputes between them and their tenants. The Dubalhati case threatened at one time to assume a serious aspect, but eventually an amicable compromise on the basis of terms suggested by the Settlement Officer and the Director was agreed to by the Raja and the great majority of the tenants. A programme of survey and settlement operations was submitted to the Government of India in 1888 for the last 4 years of the period of the Provincial contract viz., 1887-88 to 1891-92: and a revised programme was subsequently prepared for the 5 years 1889-90 to 1894-95, and approved by the Supreme Government.

Railways.

In 1888-89 the railways under the control of the Government of Bengal, and for which financial responsibility had been accepted, were :—

	Miles.
Eastern Bengal State railway, Broad gauge	234¾
Do. Do. Metre gauge	442
Tirhut State railway	259
Nalhati State railway...	27¼

Under the control, but not under the financial responsibility, of the Bengal Government :—

Bengal Central railway 125

The remaining portions of the Assam-Bihar railway, from Purnea North to near the Nepal boundary, and the remaining link between Katihar and Raiganj, were nearly completed, and were opened soon afterwards : the latter portion completed through railway communication between Northern and Eastern Bengal and Bihar and the North-Western Provinces, and was expected to exercise an important influence upon some of the richest and most populous districts of the Province. A railway to Budge-Budge petroleum depôt, 11 miles, was constructed to allow of the large and ever-increasing imports of petroleum being carried inland without danger to the town or shipping.

Honorary Magistrates.

In 1889 Sir Steuart Bayley extended the system of Honorary Magistrates which had been established in 1872-73 by Sir George Campbell with a view to the education of the people in the management of their own affairs, to the representation of different classes on the Bench and to the relief of the paid Magistracy. The classes of persons to be selected as members of the Benches of Honorary Magistrates were considered, and it was laid down that ordinarily Benches would be independent, unless in cases where the consent of Government had been obtained to the association of a Stipendiary Magistrate with the Bench. The powers with which Benches might be invested were also reviewed, and the classes of cases to be tried by them, as also the extra-judicial ways of employing the services of Honorary Magistrates. Those who failed to attend Bench sittings without reasonable excuse were to be reported with a view to their removal. At the same time it was ruled that on all occasions of official ceremonies Honorary Magistrates should take precedence of all untitled persons not in Government service.

Famine and flood relief.

At the close of the year 1888-89 the condition of the 3 districts of North Bihar,—Champaran, Muzaffarpur, and Darbhanga—was such as to cause grave anxiety. In the two critical months of September and October 1888 the average rainfall in those districts was only 5·44 inches, and this, although nearly 2 inches greater than the amount which fell in the

corresponding months of 1873, the last year of scarcity, was yet less than half the normal amount. This deficiency of rainfall extended to the whole of Bihar and affected the crops throughout the Division; but the only tract as to which real anxiety was felt was a strip of land over 1000 square miles in area extending about 90 miles along the Nepal frontier from Champaran through Muzaffarpur and Darbhanga into Bhagalpur, and in this tract (of which the population was estimated at 17,030,102 souls) even as early as January 1889 relief operations were commenced. The outturn of the harvest which followed did not fulfil expectations. The yield of opium and mangoes was deficient, while there was a marked deficiency in the *rabi* harvest of the Province generally, and prices, both wholesale and retail, rose everywhere. In Champaran and Muzaffarpur the subsidiary crop of *cheena* failed entirely. The first part of May was marked by intense heat and drought, and in the second part the distress deepened as the season advanced, and the number of labourers employed on relief works increased to 45,966. As it became obvious that it would be necessary to provide employment, though on a reduced scale, throughout the rains and until the autumn crop was reaped, Sir S. Bayley authorized the commencement of earth-work for the construction of a railway from Darbhanga to Sitamarhi, a survey of which had been completed, although the project had not been sanctioned.

In the latter half of June and the first week of July rain fell abundantly and was nowhere deficient, but already in Champaran some danger was caused by superabundance of rain; and, although a break occurred in the second half of the month, it became evident towards its close that the damage caused by the long drought would be succeeded by damage of an opposite nature, and that there was little probability of escaping severe injury from floods. The tract on the borders of Nepal described as chiefly affected by the drought, being high up, suffered little, and in Darbhanga the floods subsided rapidly; but Champaran and Muzaffarpur did not escape easily, although much of the land was replanted when the floods subsided. The subdivision of Bettia, comprising the upper portion of Champaran, was flooded by the Bor Gandak and its tributaries, while in the South-West the Gandak overflowed its banks: and in central Muzaffarpur the water of the Bor Gandak and the Bhagmati uniting

washed away the entire crops from a tract of land about 27 miles in length and varying from 1 to 3 miles in breadth. On its Northern bank also the Bhagmati cleared an area of 38 square miles, but the water drained off rapidly and much replanting was quickly effected, so that comparatively little damage was done. In Champaran the Collector estimated that the crops had been destroyed or extensively injured over a large tract, equivalent in the aggregate to their total destruction over an area of 117 square miles. So serious was the matter deemed that Sir S. Bayley twice visited the affected area —once in July-August and again in September; and it was not until the end of October that the last relief centres were closed, distress had disappeared everywhere, and prospects were good. The Secretary of State in referring to the measures taken commended the local officials, who, with the cordial assistance of the *zamindars* and planters, had enabled the people, by their promptitude and determination, to pass through an anxious time without loss of life or avoidable suffering.

There was scarcity also in the Tributary *mahals* of Orissa, including the Government estates of Angul and the Khondmals. These *mahals*, 19 in number, form a rough tract, chiefly composed of hills and jungle, between Orissa and Chota Nagpur, and have an area of about 16,066 square miles, or half that of Ireland, and a population of 1,630,004 souls. The land is for the most part owned and cultivated by Hindus; but in addition to these there were the Pariahs (*pahariah*, hillman), consisting of various aboriginal tribes and semi-Hinduized castes, such as the Khonds, Savars, Sonthals, &c., the descendants of the forest races by whom the uplands of Orissa were inhabited before the Aryan conquest, who comprise about $\frac{1}{4}$ of the population of Orissa and of the Tributary *mahals*. These, like the hill tribes on our frontier were largely dependent on forest produce and on liberty to clear and cultivate the jungle; but the regulations of the Forest Department, and regulations introduced in imitation of them by the Tributary chiefs, restricted the use of this resource. In the year 1888 the harvest was deficient, and the long drought, which affected some parts of the *mahals* from October in that year to the following June, not only largely enhanced the prices of food grains, but by preventing agriculturing operations deprived many of employment. Their condition was also aggravated by the fact that

cholera, perhaps connected in its progress with scarcity, and the use of bad food, interfered with trade and led to a rapid depletion of food-stocks, and that in some cases also the cultivators sold their grain, believing that they would subsequently be able to purchase more cheaply, which they were unable to do. At first the Superintendent of the Tributary *mahals* did not fully realise the gravity of the situation, but subsequently vigorous measures were taken—the forest rules were suspended, relief works were opened, gratuitous relief given, and advances were made to such of the Rajas as required them. There was a break in the rains in the last fortnight of September which gave rise to some apprehension ; but continuous rain fell during the first week of October and relief measures were then gradually stopped, and by the end of that month all cause for anxiety had ceased. As Sir S. Bayley was detained in Bihar himself and was unable to visit Orissa personally, he deputed for that purpose Sir John Edgar, who proceeded to Orissa and passed orders on the spot.

In Khurda, Balasore, Midnapore and Murshidabad also there was slight scarcity, and relief to a small extent had to be given.

Visit of His Royal Highness Prince Albert Victor.

In the course of his visit to India, His Royal Highness Prince Albert Victor arrived in Calcutta on the 3rd January 1890, accompanied by Colonel Sir E. R. C. Bradford, K. C. S. I. (then Political Secretary at the India Office and now Chief Commissioner of the Metropolitan Police in London). A deputation from His Excellency the Viceroy and His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor met the Prince on board the *Kistna*. On landing at Prinsep's *ghat*, His Royal Highness was received by the Viceroy, the Lieutenant-Governor, the Members of Council, the Judges of the High Court and other leading officials. The reception was most enthusiastic. The Municipal Corporation of Calcutta presented at the *ghat* an address, to which a reply was given in suitable terms. His Royal Highness drove along the Ellenborough course to Government House, where he was the guest of the Viceroy (Lord Lansdowne). At night, there were illuminations in the business part of the town. Messages of welcome were sent to the Prince by different communities, associations and municipalities of the country. On the 5th, the Prince, accompanied by Lady Lansdowne, attended Divine Service at St. Paul's

Cathedral. The principal ceremonies and festivities held in his honour were as follows :—A Reception at Government House, a Ball at Belvedere at which the Viceroy, Lady Lansdowne and the Duke and Duchess of Connaught were present, a grand fête on the *maidan* and illuminations, a Dinner at the Bengal Club, a State Ball, a dinner with the Maharaja of Kuch Bihar, a drive through the city accompanied by Sir S. Bayley, a game at Polo at Ballygunge, a visit to the Zoological Garden, and snipe-shooting at Kanchrapara with the Duke of Connaught. His Royal Highness left for Benares on the 13th, the departure being private. The Prince expressed himself highly pleased with the fête on the *maidan* and other entertainments provided for him. Sir S. Bayley received an autograph letter from His Excellency the Viceroy, expressing the great satisfaction of the Prince at the splendid reception given him.

Holidays.

For 30 years the Chamber of Commerce had been agitating for a reduction in the number of public holidays, more especially of those at the time of the Durga *Puja*, and in 1889-90 they urged, in addition to the reasons previously advanced, that, since the passing of the Negotiable Instruments Act, XXVI of 1881, the Banks no longer felt it safe to transact any business on holidays gazetted under the Act; and they requested, therefore, that only holidays actually required to be devoted to necessary religious ceremonies should be gazetted under the Act, and that the other holidays should be made such by executive order for all offices save the few which were indispensable to the foreign trade of the Port. After the fullest inquiry, this solution of the difficulty commended itself to the Local Government, and was accepted by the Government of India, and 2 notifications were issued accordingly : i. e., one under section 25 of the Act above mentioned, the other as an Executive order of Government.

Comprehensive scheme of local taxation proposed.

Early in 1890 Sir S. Bayley had a comprehensive scheme of local taxation drawn up and laid before the Government of India. Its chief feature was the imposition of a local general cess on land, to be assessed and collected like the Road Cess, the proceeds being devoted to general purposes and especially to the furtherance of sanitation and of primary education. The suggestions put forward for legislation were summed up as follows :—

I. (*a*) That a local general rate or cess be imposed on land in the same manner as is now done in the case of the Road Cess, the amount of the general cess not to exceed one pice in the rupee on the annual value of land, and not to be less than one-third of a pice, or one pie, in the rupee on such value: *provided* that the general cess shall not be levied within the area of those Unions in which a system of local rating has been imposed on Union Committees.

(*b*) That the proceeds of the local general rate or cess shall be devoted to general purposes, and especially to the furtherance of sanitation and primary education: *provided* that the Lieutenant-Governor shall have power to direct, in regard to any district, that the whole of the proceeds of the local general cess at its minimum rate of one pie in the rupee, or such proportion as may be determined of this minimum rate and not exceeding it, shall be devoted to the furtherance of primary education only.

(*c*) That, subject to the maximum and minimum as aforesaid, the rate of the local general cess be fixed by the District Boards.

(*d*) That the proceeds of the local general cess in regard to sanitation and primary education be, so far as possible, expended locally.

II. That it should be declared that the balance of the District Road Fund under the Cess Act, IX (B.C.) of 1880, shall be applied to the objects specified in section 109 of that Act, and to no other

III. That a permissive power, subject to the approval of Government in each case, should be granted to District Boards, on the establishment of Union Committees, to authorize these Committees to assess and collect a local rate upon the residents within the Union according to their circumstances and property, the amount to be recovered by this rate being fixed by District Boards with the sanction of Government; and that the whole of the proceeds of this rate, after deducting 5 per cent. for supervision and inspection, should be spent within the Union by the Union Committees under the control of the Local Boards, in the furtherance of sanitation and of primary education: *provided* that the Lieutenant-Governor shall have power to direct that, in regard to any Union, such proportion of the local rate as he may determine shall be devoted to the furtherance of primary education only.

IV. That District Boards should be allowed in their own right to establish toll-bars on bridges constructed by them until the cost of the bridge, including the capital and interest expended thereon, as well as the cost of maintenance and of renewal if necessary, has been recovered.

But no action was taken on the scheme, the Government of India agreeing with Sir S. Bayley that it was not then advisable to un-

dertake legislation for the purpose of imposing fresh taxation in Bengal.

The Port of Calcutta.

Act III (B. C.) of 1890 was passed not only to consolidate and amend the law relating to the Port of Calcutta and to the appointment of Commissioners for the Port, but also to make some important amendments in the existing law. The number of Port Commissioners was increased from 13 to 15; the manner in which the Port property should be valued for purposes of municipal assessment was prescribed; provision was made for the institution of civil suits by persons debarred the use of private wharves or other works, or whose wharves or other works were removed by the Commissioners; some sections were introduced relating to the mode of preparing the budget and defining the liability of the Commissioners in respect of goods in their custody; and provision was also made for the grant of pensions to the Port employés; the position and duties of the Port police being at the same time more clearly defined.

The Hon'ble Mr. Reynolds in introducing the Bill, (which became Act III) gave an interesting outline of the legislation connected with the Calcutta Port Trust, as follows :—

"The Calcutta Port Trust is a Corporation which has not yet attained to the age of legal majority. It was established, as the Council is probably aware, under Act V of 1870, and is consequently 19 years of age. But, if it is an infant, it is a thriving and vigorous one. No one who remembers the condition of the river foreshore 20 years ago can refuse to the Port Commissioners the right to indulge a feeling of pardonable pride in the improvements they have effected. The reclamation of the river banks, the jetties, the tramway, the tea warehouse, the petroleum depôt, the improved lightships, the admirable charts of the river which have been issued, are all monuments of the energy and success with which the Port Commissioners have discharged the duties entrusted to them. They are now engaged upon the greatest work they have yet taken in hand—the construction of the docks at Kidderpore. This work is making excellent progress, and it may be confidently anticipated that it will prove a great financial and commercial success. The operations of the Port Commissioners have not been confined to the Calcutta side of the river, for on the Howrah side they have reclaimed a large

tract of land, and have made an excellent road along the foreshore. And all these improvements have been effected not only without any addition to the charges upon trade, but with an actual lightening of them. Calcutta from its geographical position can never be a cheap Port, the fees for pilotage and towage must always handicap this Port when compared with Bombay, but the Port Commissioners have been able to reduce the pilotage charges, and to do away altogether with the Port duties which were formerly levied. As a Port-due produces about Rs. 80,000 for each anna of the rate, the abolition of a 4 annas Port-due implies a relief to the shipping to the extent of about $3\frac{1}{4}$ *lakhs* per annum.

"Honour should be given where honour is due; and I therefore think it right to say that the success which has attended the administration of the Commissioners has been largely due to 2 individuals: to their first Chairman, Mr. Schalch, who laid down the lines of policy which the Commissioners have steadily followed, and to Mr. Duff Bruce, who was for 17 years the Vice-Chairman and Engineer of the Port Trust. But in bringing out these 2 names for special mention, I ought to add that their efforts would have had little result if they and their successors had not enjoyed (as I am happy to say they have enjoyed) the confidence and the co-operation of the Chamber of Commerce and of the mercantile community in general. Mr. Schalch may have been the head, and Mr. Bruce the right hand, but the backbone of the Port Trust is, and always has been, the Chamber of Commerce.

"The legislative charter of the Port Trust is Act V of 1870, but this Act was necessarily of a somewhat tentative character, as the establishment of a Port Trust in Calcutta was at first of the nature of an experiment. The experiment had been tried in another form by Act X of 1866, which vested the management of the Port in a Committee of the Calcutta Justices. The experiment in this form proved a failure, and hence it was natural that the Act of 1870 should have been somewhat cautiously worded, and should have contained various restrictions. But as the duties and responsibilities of the Commissioners increased, and their administration was shown to be successful, the original Act of 1870 was supplemented by a number of amending Acts, all of which were in the direction of extending the powers conferred on the Commissioners. The most

important of these are Act IV of 1880, which deals with the borrowing powers of the Commissioners; Act II of 1885, which authorized the construction of the Kidderpore docks; and Act III of 1887, which introduced the elective principle into the constitution of the Trust.

"The result is that now we have altogether 9 Acts dealing with the Port Trust of Calcutta, and I believe the Council will agree that the time has come when it is advisable, and indeed necessary, that these Acts should be consolidated."

Police reforms.

In 1890 the statistics of crime in Bengal attracted attention and were carefully scrutinized. The general inferences drawn from them were that, although crime was not positively great in Bengal and was decreasing relatively to the increase of population, certain offences showed a tendency to increase; that an unduly large proportion of the crime actually occurring was not brought to the notice of the police or of the Magistrates, and was therefore never inquired into; that the police inquiry into a large number of the cases taken up was fruitless, and such cases never came before the Courts; and that a disproportionate number of the persons brought before the Courts were acquitted. The broad result was that upwards of 70 per cent. of serious crime went unpunished, that at least 90 per cent. of the most dangerous offences against property remained undetected, and that in a period of 11 years the percentage of convictions among the total number of persons tried by the Courts and charged with offences in certain classes never exceeded 56 and in one year fell to 52. It was considered necessary to enquire minutely into the causes of this highly unsatisfactory condition of affairs, and to ascertain by what means, whether legislative or executive, remedies capable of being made practically effective could be devised and applied. As the conditions under which the administration of different Provinces was carried on varied so much that practical results were likely to be attained only by concentrating attention on local circumstances and requirements, the Government of India refrained from appointing a general Commission, but left it to the Lieutenant-Governor, if he thought fit, to convene a Provincial Committee. Sir S. Bayley accordingly appointed a Committee with Mr. John Beames, C. S., Commissioner of Bhagalpur, as President, to thoroughly examine the

whole subject of police administration in Bengal. Their Report was submitted in February.

Miscellaneous.

Among the matters of lesser moment which engaged Sir S. Bayley's attention the following may be mentioned :—the extension of the Local Self-Government Act and its development in administrative details : water-works at Bhagalpur : the resurvey of Calcutta : an inquiry into the working of the Sone canal system of irrigation : revised rules for the grant of tea and arable land leases and of leases of mica mines : the curtailment of annual Reports : the Pilot Service : tours of sub-divisional officers : the reorganization of the Calcutta *madrasa* : the treatment of recovered criminal lunatics : the employment of Muhammadans in the public service : Custom-house regulations : floods in the Burdwan and Presidency Divisions : the outstill system in Hooghly and Howrah : the question of maintaining embankments : the regulation of appointments in the Secretariat clerical service of the Government of Bengal and attached offices : the amendment of the Revenue Sale Law and the Public Demands Recovery Act : the foundation and future management of a new Leper Asylum for Calcutta.

Observations.

In an important speech at Patna on his first tour, Sir S. Bayley stated that the only policy he set upon himself was (as Sir A. Eden had meant when he said he had no policy) to go on steadily, doing the day's work as it came, remedying defects whenever brought to light, looking for no striking results, giving way to no far-reaching ambitions, but reforming little by little to meet actual necessities in a practical way. Thus no startling changes were effected in his time, and his administration appeared to be colourless, to use his own word. But progress was quietly maintained : so far-sighted a political thinker as Sir S. Bayley could not fail to recognise the liberal movement, the iconoclastic spirit, of the age. The new measure of Local Self-Government was allowed to develop ; local bodies were to be influenced, not driven. Steps were taken in the direction of extending the elective system in municipalities, arrangements had to be made for the advancement of natives in the Government service—scientific training and technical education were assisted. The reform in the indigo industry of Bihar, in which Sir S. Bayley with his intimate knowledge of that Province had been

the adviser of Sir A. Eden, was successfully continued, and the latter's policy of upholding the old and aristocratic families and preventing litigation was again acted upon, to their great advantage. It was Sir S. Bayley's "special anxiety to contribute as far as lay in my power to the cooling down of any waves of race antagonism that might still linger as a residuum of the great disturbance of those waters that took place some years ago." Many speakers, Lord Elgin among them, have borne tribute to Sir S. Bayley's ability, unfailing personal kindness, sympathy, readiness to help, and accessibility ; his literary attainments had attracted the notice of so competent a judge as Lord Lytton : the thoroughness of his work was generally acknowledged. His wonderful good health enabled him to carry on the laborious duties of his office without feeling the effects thereof as others had felt them.

Statue in Calcutta : its unveiling.

On the eve of the departure of Sir S. Bayley after filling the office of Lieutenant-Governor for nearly 4 years, a largely attended meeting was held, on December 6th 1890, in the hall of the British Indian Association, with the object of expressing the high regard in which he was held by all classes of the people of Bengal. The meeting was under the Chairmanship of the Maharaja Bahadur of Darbhanga, and was attended by the leaders of the Hindus and Muhammadans of Bengal and Bihar, and by representatives of the European community. At the meeting numerous telegrams and letters were read from residents in the *mufassal* who, though unable to be present at the meeting, were anxious to give the movement their cordial sympathy and support. Resolutions were proposed by Maharaja Bahadur Sir Jotindra Mohan Tagore, (seconded by Sir Comer Petheram) and by Maharaja Bahadur Sir Narendra Krishna (seconded by Sir Alexander Wilson and supported by Prince Sir Jehan Kadr Mirza Bahadur) to record the meeting's appreciation of the eminent services which Sir Steuart Bayley had rendered to Bengal, and to present him with a farewell address.

The address adopted by the meeting dealt with the incidents of his long and distinguished career in India and specially with his term of office as Lieutenant-Governor, and the great services he had rendered not only to Bengal and Bihar, but to the country at large by his efforts to settle disputes and his unceasing care and watchful-

ness against the threatenings of scarcity. On the adoption of the address the Maharaja of Dumraon, speaking in the vernacular, proposed that steps should be taken to raise a permanent memorial in honour of the retiring Lieutenant-Governor.

The address was in due course presented at Belvedere by a deputation ; the reply given was a most feeling one, and was greatly appreciated. Mr. Hamo Thornycroft, the sculptor, was commissioned to execute a marble statue of Sir Steuart Bayley. The Government of India placed at the disposal of the memorial Committee a site for the statue, at the south of the Treasury buildings and to the west of the south-west gate of Government House. The ceremony of unveiling the statue was performed by the Viceroy (the Earl of Elgin) on the 17th December 1895, in the presence of a numerous assemblage. After the Maharaja of Darbhanga had read the Committee's Report, in which they expressed their belief that it would be an acceptable addition to the many fine statues which adorn Calcutta, and worthy to take its place among them as a work of art, and as a faithful memorial of one of the most earnest, high-minded and sincere friends of the people who ever held rule in Bengal, Sir Charles Elliott said—"It is a great pleasure to me to have this opportunity of associating myself with this ceremony which perpetuates the memory of my distinguished friend and predecessor, Sir Steuart Bayley. It is now some time since Sir Steuart Bayley left Calcutta, and the great majority of those who were intimate with him have passed away from among us, but there are still left a great many who personally remember him and were in touch with him, and we have here 3 members of his family to whom it must be a great pleasure to be present on this occasion. To those who know him this statue is not necessary to perpetuate his memory, but to future generations it will be a memorial of a man who was one of the most cultivated and philanthropic Lieutenant-Governors of Bengal, who ever came to this country. At the request of the Committee I have to ask Your Excellency to unveil the Statue."

His Excellency the Viceroy then rose and said :—

Your Honor, Maharaja, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I respond with pleasure to the request which has been made by His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor. When the Committee first approached me on this subject it was intended that this ceremony should take place

before I left Calcutta in the spring at the end of March ; but one of those delays to which works of art are peculiarly liable intervened, and, as my departure could not be postponed, and the statue declined to be hurried, the Committee very kindly determined rather to wait till now than to proceed in my absence. Naturally, therefore, we have chosen the first day that was available, the more so as it is unfortunately the very last occasion on which we can have the pleasure of associating with us Sir Steuart Bayley's friend and successor, the present Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal.

Ladies and gentlemen, my position to-day is a perfectly definite one. I come here at the bidding of the Committee to act on this occasion as their instrument. It was the subscribers to this fund who met some five years ago and resolved spontaneously to create it ; it is you who have carried out your purpose energetically and successfully ; it is you who have had the responsibility and can claim the credit. But when you told me that to complete the work in the manner on which you had set your heart, and to do full honour to a servant of Her Majesty so distinguished, my presence was necessary, I should have been a churl indeed if I had not joined you here to-day.

Ladies and gentlemen, the proceedings of the Committee and the meeting to-day testify, I think, to the fact that Sir Steuart Bayley's services to this Province are well known to you. You know also that when he left the shores of India he did not cease to work for India, but that he has long occupied, and still holds a high place, in the counsels of the Secretary of State. But looking at the proceedings of the Committee, I have been struck by the fact that there is much stress laid at every turn on one characteristic, and that is his unfailing personal kindness and sympathy, his accessibility and his evident desire to assist any one who required his assistance. I cannot doubt that it was this characteristic which earned for him the respect and esteem expressed by you in the address which you presented to him, and which determined you still further to manifest your regard in the monument which we are to-day to unveil. And if I might be allowed to say so, it is here that I can most readily associate myself with you, even though my acquaintance with him is but slight, because I think I can almost claim to be the person in this assemblage who has had the latest

experience of the characteristic to which I have referred. During the last few months of my residence in England, when I was endeavouring to prepare myself for the arduous task which lay before me, many men who have held a distinguished place here in India gave me valuable aid, for which I am, and shall ever be, most grateful; but from none did I receive more prompt and ready assistance than from Sir Steuart Bayley, and I well remember how I trespassed long on his valuable time while he explained the problems of which he was so great a master, and to which my attention was soon to be directed.

Ladies and gentlemen, I think it to be a good principle that, when a few simple words suffice, lengthy dissertations are out of place. I would, therefore, only ask permission to say one word more. I am glad that, at the gate of Government House, there should be erected a statue on which there might be inscribed these words:—"This is the statue of an Englishman whose life amongst them evinced to the inhabitants of this Province that he cared for and loved them;" and if you would wish one further sentence, it might be this—"This statue is erected to keep alive the memory of the man, and the memory that we are not ungrateful."

The inscription on the statue, after the enumeration of Sir S. Bayley's principal appointments, runs thus: "Erected by Public Subscription—As a Tribute of Respect—To a Just and Wise Administrator—Whose Generous Sympathies—Endeared Him—To the People of Bengal."

Subsequent career.

On retiring from the Lieutenant-Governorship of Bengal in December 1890, Sir Steuart Bayley was appointed to be Secretary in the Political and Secret Department of the India Office, and a Member of the Council of India in 1895.

CHAPTER X.

SIR CHARLES ALFRED ELLIOTT, K. C. S. I.

1890—95.

Previous Career.

THE 3 Lieutenant-Governors who succeeded Sir R. Temple had all belonged to the Lower Bengal branch of the Civil Service. Before Sir Charles Alfred Elliott received the appointment from Lord Lansdowne he had not served in the Province, though from his work on the Finance Commission and previous residence in Calcutta he had necessarily some knowledge of Bengal affairs, the officers and the leading inhabitants. His reputation in the N. W. Provinces, and as an expert in Settlements, Famine, Finance, and Public Works was great, his energy and ability were well-known, so that it was easy to prophesy that Bengal would experience another period of the active Government which had characterised Sir G. Campbell's rule: and the event fully justified the anticipation. Sir C. Elliott was educated at Harrow and Trinity College, Cambridge, and appointed to the Bengal Civil Service after the open competitive examination of 1856; arrived in India, 30th November 1856, and served in the N. W. Provinces as Assistant Magistrate and Collector, Joint-Magistrate and Deputy Collector, and Magistrate and Collector from April 1858 to May 1861; in Oudh as Assistant Commissioner and Deputy Commissioner, and from February 1863 to October 1866; in the Central Provinces as Settlement Officer, Hoshangabad; as Settlement Officer, Farakhabad, and as Secretary to Government, N. W. Provinces, 1870 to 1877; Commissioner of Meerut, March 1877; Famine Commissioner, Mysore, September 1877; C.S.I., 1878: Additional Secretary to the Government of India, famine branch, May 1878; Secretary to the Famine Commission, June 1878; Census Commissioner, October 1880; Chief Commissioner of Assam, March 1881; President of the Committee for the retrenchment of public expenditure, February 1886; K.C.S.I., February 1887; Member of the Governor-General's Council (in charge of the Public Works Department) December 1887. His most important writings had been the "Chronicles of Unao," the



Photogravure. Survey of India Offices, Calcutta, February 1901.

SIR CHARLES ALFRED ELLIOTT, K.C.S.I.

From a photograph by Messrs Johnston & Hoffmann.

Reports on the Mysore famine, 1878, and the Famine Commission, 1880, and the Finance Commission's Report, 1887. He succeeded to the Lieutenant-Governorship on 18th December 1890. His first Private Secretary was Mr. P. C. Lyon, I. C. S.: the appointment was held by Captain J. W. Currie, of the Madras Staff Corps, for most of the time. His Chief Secretaries were Sir John Edgar, K. C. I. E. and Mr. H. J. S. Cotton. When the first-named retired in 1892, an official notice of his services was issued, of which the last paragraph ran as follows:—"When Sir Charles Elliott became Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, his want of acquaintance with the *personnel* of the official staff, and with the past history of all current business, would have been a serious impediment to progress had he not found in Sir John Edgar a friend and a confidant whose judgment was never at fault, whose advice was always candid and far-seeing, and whose exertions to assist his Chief were unwearied. If the Administration of Bengal during the first year of Sir Charles Elliott's tenure of office maintained or advanced its old high reputation, it was chiefly due to the co-operation and council of Sir John Edgar."

Surveys and Settlements.

Surveys and Settlements (of rent and revenue) occupied a very large portion of Sir C. Elliott's time. The work was the most important of all that came before him and was continuous throughout his period of office: it will be desirable therefore to deal with the whole subject at once. In the year 1890-91 survey operations were in progress in Government, Wards', and private estates over an area exceeding 11,708 square miles, The survey of Orissa, the Western Duars and Chittagong was well advanced. The resurvey of Calcutta, commenced in 1886, was to be coucluded in 1892. The settlement officer of Orissa joined his appointment in February 1891: the settlement work in the Western Duars and Chittagong had been seriously commenced. The settlement of the Government estates of Angul and Banki was concluded during the year.

At the beginning of the year 1891-92 these 3 important survey-settlements involving the assessment of land revenue in temporarily-settled estates were still in hand; viz. the Western Duars in Jalpaiguri under Mr. D. Sunder, Deputy Magistrate-Collector; the Chittagong district under Mr. F. A. Slacke, C. S., and the Puri and Cuttack district of Orissa under Mr. H. M. Reily, Deputy Magistrate-

Collector. In all these cases the survey was a cadastral one, and was carried out under officers of the Survey Department. Similar work on a similar scale was continued and undertaken in Government, Wards', and private estates. The reviews of concluded work showed that the proceedings had been generally marked by either indifference or actual opposition at first on the part of the *raiyats*, but this feeling disappeared as soon as they began to realise the benefits which would accrue to them from the ascertainment of their true position. It was noticeable that, though this was not in any case the main object of the survey being undertaken, the uniform result was a considerable enhancement of rent, varying from 5 to 19 per cent. In short, the survey-settlement work in hand on the 1st April 1891 was more extended in area and more varied in description than at any previous period. Sir C. Elliott found it necessary to strengthen the staff of officers in superior and subordinate charge of settlement operations by the deputation thereto, especially in Orissa and Chittagong, of several Covenanted Civilians and members of the Statutory Civil Service, as well as a large number of Deputy and Sub-Deputy Collectors. Early in April 1891 he personally inspected the progress of the work in the Western Duars and elsewhere, and deemed it necessary to state at greater length, after these inspections, his views of the duties of a settlement officer, explaining that they were not limited to the judicial decision of a certain number of cases, but should include the investigation of agricultural and economic facts relating to the area under survey and settlement, and the accumulation of information by original and spontaneous inquiry, from which the *data* for reasonable assessment, whether of fair rents in the Wards' estates or of the land revenue in temporarily-settled estates, could properly be deduced. The principles thus laid down were duly circulated for the guidance of settlement officers.

Survey-settlement programme for 1892-93 to 1896-97.

A programme of the expenditure to be incurred on surveys and settlements in Bengal during the five years 1892-93 to 1896-97 inclusive was prepared in January 1892 and laid before the Government of India. The total area to be professionally surveyed, excluding Calcutta, amounted to 2,350 square miles in Orissa, to 650 square miles in Chittagong, and to 16,500 square miles in Bihar—in all 19,500 square miles,

estimated to give employment to 5 parties during each of the years 1892-93 and 1893-94, and to 4 during the 3 remaining years. The survey work in Orissa was expected to end in September 1894, and in Chittagong in 1892-93 : while by the end of 1895-96 the Bihar parties should have finished North Bihar, and should be free for employment elsewhere. The survey of the Western Duars was completed by the end of the cold weather of 1891-92. The total cost on account of surveys during the 5 years was estimated at Rs. 33,22,000, the rate for cadastral surveys being taken at Rs. 140 per square mile for Orissa, Rs. 130 for Chittagong, and Rs. 120 for Bihar ; the rate for traverse survey for those parts of the country respectively being calculated at Rs. 40, Rs. 60, and Rs. 40 per square mile. In previous survey-settlement operations it had seldom been found possible to keep the cost down to these rates, but the appointment of a Director of Surveys for Bengal (Colonel Sandeman) was expected and did not fail to help to diminish the rate of charge. The total cost on account of settlement and record of rights in Orissa, Chittagong, Bihar, the Western Duars, and petty operations under district officers during this quinquennial period, was estimated at Rs. 34,66,000, of which Rs. 20,00,000 would be incurred in Bihar only. The settlement operations in Orissa were calculated to end in 1895-96, in Chittagong in 1894-95, in the Western Duars in 1893-94, while the preparation of a record of rights in North Bihar would extend beyond the 5 years, and according to the programme should be completed in 1897-98. The estimate for the entire survey and settlement charges to be incurred during the 5 years 1892—97 amounted therefore to Rs. 67,88,000. The Government of India consented to the whole of this expenditure being excluded from the Provincial contract and debited to Imperial revenues. This was to take the place of the arrangement previously in force under which the only Imperial item was the cost of traverse surveys.

The cadastral survey in North Bihar.

The chief new survey-settlement work undertaken during the year 1891-92 was the resumption of the project of carrying out a survey and settlement of Bihar under the Bengal Tenancy Act. This project had long been before the Government. It had been approved by the Government of India and the Secretary of State, and it was only not commenced in 1889 because of the temporary scarcity from which the Divison

was then suffering. This obstacle being removed, the project was revived by Sir C. Elliott in July 1891, in a letter in which, while advocating the measure as in the highest degree beneficial to all parties interested in the land, he warned the Government of India that it would be unpopular with those who had to pay for it, and would excite a strong spirit of opposition. He trusted, however, that, as the advantages of the record of rights became known, this opposition would gradually disappear. With a view to confine the operations to manageable dimensions, it was proposed to deal at first with only the 4 districts of the Patna Division on the North of the Ganges, which contained an area of 12,500 square miles and would afford work for 5 years for 2 survey parties. The cost was calculated at 8 annas an acre, of which the Government of India were expected to pay the charges of the traverse survey. The total estimate was therefore, about 40 *lakhs*, of which about 5 *lakhs* would fall on Government and the remainder be divided equally between the *zamindars* and the *raiyats*. It was proposed that the traverse survey should commence in the winter of 1891-92, and the cadastral work in October 1892. The Government of India considered the measure indispensable for the effective administration of the province and for the protection of the agricultural classes of Bihar :—

"His Excellency in Council is also impressed with the belief that no opportunity for setting the project on foot more suitable than the present is likely to be found. The task is one which, from its magnitude and importance, is not likely to be successfully undertaken by a Lieutenant-Governor whose term of office is nearing its close. Sir Charles Elliott has only recently acceded to the Government of the Province; his special experience in other parts of India and his known mastery of the subject mark him out as exceptionally competent to direct the administration of an undertaking which involves the survey and record of rights in a large territory ; moreover, he has fully satisfied the Government of India that he clearly understands both the difficulties which have to be surmounted and the advantages which are to be gained in carrying out the measure. After full consideration the Government of India accept the view that the results of the project will be worth the trouble and the risk which it will entail, and Sir Charles Elliott may, subject to the Secretary of State's approval of the scheme, count on receiving their fullest support in his conduct of the undertaking."

The Government of India accepted the charge of $\frac{1}{8}$ of the total expenditure as representing the cost of traverse surveys, and gave

their general assent to the arrangements proposed by Sir C. Elliott, who took an early opportunity to publicly notify, from Arrah in November 1891, the objects and intentions of Government in carrying out this undertaking. The object of the cadastral survey and settlement were declared to be to provide all persons interested in the land with an accurate record of the area and situation of all villages and estates, of each tenure and of each *raiyat's* holding within an estate, and the status of every one who had rights in the land, and of the rent paid by each *raiyat* and tenure-holder. The advantages which would accrue to both *zamindars* and *raiyats*, and the charges to which they would be liable for the costs of the proceedings were at the same time explained. A published Resolution of Government, stating the results of the survey and settlement of 3 large Wards' estates showed how little litigation, comparatively speaking, had been caused, and how fully the expense had been recouped to the proprietors by the additions to their rent-roll which had been obtained by them on the discovery of the increased areas held by the *raiyats*. In November 1891 the Survey Department proceeded to Muzaffarpur to resume the traverse survey, where the experimental operations of 1886 had terminated. Work actually commenced on the 19th December 1891, but the survey party did not muster in full strength until January 1892. By the end of March 1892 the party had completed the traverse survey of 743 miles. As was anticipated, considerable opposition to the measure was experienced. Meetings were held and resolutions passed at several of the towns in Bihar, objecting to the survey; the Maharaja of Darbhanga presided at such a meeting in November 1891; and memorials were addressed to the Lieutenant-Governor and the Government of India. In answering these memorials, and also in his replies to addresses presented to him, Sir C. Elliott endeavoured to allay the agitation by explaining the advantages which would accrue to all parties concerned, and the efforts which Government was making to keep expenditure low, to prevent frauds and oppression by the underlings. It was partly with this object that in March 1892 a meeting was held at Muzaffarpur, under the presidency of the Commissioner of the Division, at which the Maharaja of Darbhanga and a number of the principal indigo-planters, *zamindars*, and leading gentlemen of Tirhut were present, to consider Colonel Sandeman's plan of carry-

ing out the survey operations by the agency of *patwaris* specially trained for the purpose. In accordance with the decision then arrived at, measures were taken to afford instruction to a selected number of *patwaris* during the recess of 1892. Soon after the traverse survey had been commenced, the consent of the Secretary of State to the plan of operations, which had been laid before him, was received, and was generally made known to the persons interested, in the replies given to memorials against the cadastral survey of North Bihar. The cadastral survey was not set in hand till the end of October 1892. In that month a joint memorial of various Associations was submitted, containing the fullest and most weighty protest advanced by the landowners: each of the objections was fully answered by Sir C. Elliott. "The measure which has been undertaken in Bihar is a necessary corollary of the Permanent Settlement and not a violation of it, and if the experience of all other Provinces of India, and of those parts of Bengal which have enjoyed the blessing of a regular settlement, goes for anything, there can be little doubt that in a few years the landowners of Bengal will come to see the advantages of the very system which they now desire to see summarily abrogated." The survey-settlement work then went on steadily in North Bihar. By the end of March 1893, 1800 square miles had been traversed in Muzaffarpur (including 803 sq. miles done in 1885-87), 1100 sq. miles in Champaran, and 213 in Saran. Similarly in Orissa, Chittagong, and the Maharaja of Hill Tipperah's estates the survey-settlement proceedings, in their several stages, were in active progress in 1891-92, and until the end of Sir C. Elliott's time: other operations were completed from time to time and the results published. The outturn of survey work by professional agency during 1892-93 amounted to 4712 sq. miles of traverse survey, 2290 sq. miles of cadastral survey, 327 sq. miles of forest survey, 556 sq. miles of topographical survey, besides 187 sq. miles of skeleton boundary survey. Settlements of revenue or rents were at the same time carried on over 6600 sq. miles temporarily settled tracts and Government estates, 1337 sq. miles of Wards' estates, and 121 sq. miles of private estates. Survey-settlement work cost over 20 *lakhs* up to the end of September 1892. During the year 1893-4 the area under survey and settlement was further increased, additional work being undertaken in Palamau and Gaya.

Cadastral Survey.

On the 1st September 1893 a memorial was received, signed by 5 bodies in combination—the British Indian Association, the Bihar Landholders' Association, the Indian Property Association, and the *Zamindari Panchayat*—in which the legality, necessity, and ultility of the settlement-survey and the record of rights were called in question. This memorial was forwarded to the Government of India on the 21st September with a long and comprehensive Minute by Sir A. P. MacDonnell, then Officiating Lieutenant-Governor, in which he traversed all the allegations made and traced the history of the question from the time of the Permanent Settlement. In the final paragraph he summarised his conclusions as follows :—

Sir A. P. MacDonnell's Minute on the Bihar Cadastral Survey.

(1) that in these Provinces *raiyats* were from the earliest times entitled to have a record of their rights in their holdings prepared at the landlords' expense ;

(2) that it was the duty and intention of the Government from the earliest times to establish a record of rights ;

(3) that the *raiyats* of Bihar had grievously suffered from the nonfulfilment of that duty and intention ;

(4) that the rentals of Bihar landlords had within 3 generations increased to an amazing extent (the figures showed eighty-fold), and out of all proportion to what was contemplated at the time of the Permanent Settlement, or to what was justifiable by any subsequent legislation ;

(5) that this increase in rent, and the destruction of *raiyats'* rights which it entailed, had reduced the *raiyats* of Bihar to an extreme state of poverty and depression ;

(6) that illegal enhancements of rent were still going on, and that the same abuses existed in Bihar, and the same necessity for a record of rights, as before the Tenancy Act was passed ;

(7) that, without a cadastral survey and record of rights maintained up to date, these abuses could not in Bihar be adequately and permanently checked ;

(8) that a cadastral survey and record of rights, wherever undertaken, had proved an immediate remedy for such abuses as existed in North Bihar, and that they had, far from stirring up litigation and strife, produced peace and goodwill between landlord and tenant ;

(9) that the proposals which he had made for the creation of a

Land Record agency were justified alike by law, expediency, and moderation; that the cess proposed, ¼th anna (or one farthing) per rupee of rent, was not only moderate in itself, but must be regarded, not as fresh taxation, but as a great alleviation of a legal obligation which rested upon *zamindars*; that the annual incidence of this cess on the land would not exceed one anna (one penny) per acre, payable half by the landlord and half by the tenant; and that for such an insignificant charge the landlord would be able to recover arrears of rent through the Civil Court more speedily than at present, while the *raiyat* would secure protection against illegal demands and arbitrary eviction;

(10) that it was not incumbent on the Government to make, at the expense of the general tax-payer, any large contribution to the expenses of operations rendered necessary by the *laches* of landlords, whose income from the land had, largely through extra-legal means, increased enormously in 3 generations, and who contributed far less to the public exchequer than landlords similarly circumstanced in any other part of these Provinces or perhaps of the Empire;

(11) that the memorial of the *zamindari* Associations submitted to him for transmission to the Secretary of State was inaccurate on all material points.

On the 21st October the Government of India conveyed to Sir A. P. MacDonnell their thanks for having "drawn up so able and masterly a review of the situation, and at the same time so convincing an exposition of the administrative necessity of maintaining, on behalf of the *raiyats* of Bihar, an accurate record of rights." On the 14th December 1893 the Secretary of State for India, in dealing with the memorial, referred to Sir A. P. MacDonnell's Minute as a "clear and comprehensive statement of the reasons for undertaking, prosecuting and maintaining a survey and record of rights in the districts of North Bihar"; and decided that he would not depart from his predecessor's decision that a survey should be made and a record of rights prepared for the 4 districts in question, as he was unable to see grounds for stopping the proceedings in the manner suggested by the joint memorial.

Employment of *patwaris*.

Sir C. Elliott suggested a system in June 1892, not for the regular maintenance of the settlement record as it was maintained by annual revision in other Provinces,

but for making the registration of successions and transfers of occupancy rights easy and compulsory, by the multiplication of registration offices, and by imposing certain penalties and disabilities on those who failed to register. This suggestion remained under discussion for nearly a year, and before he took leave in 1893 he was aware that the preponderating opinion of the Bihar officers was that complete and efficient registration of all transfers could not be hoped for under this scheme. At this stage Sir A. P. MacDonnell took up the question and decided to recommend more thorough and drastic provisions for keeping the record up to date by periodical corrections and record of all changes. A draft Bill was drawn up under his orders,, which provided for the creation of an establishment of Land Record keepers and Land Record Inspectors, and of Supervising Officers to superintend their work, and, as *patwaris* would be no longer required to submit village accounts to Government, it was proposed that the *patwari* Regulations should be repealed. All transfers of, and successions to, proprietary rights, tenures, *raiyati* holdings at fixed rates, and occupancy holdings, were to be reported to the Land Record-Keepers, holders of estates and tenures, and cultivating *raiyats* were to submit periodical returns showing the changes to be made in the records, and the Land Record agency was to verify such reports and returns by local inquiry. To meet the expenses involved, the Bill provided for the levy, from proprietors, tenure-holders, and *raiyats*, of a cess not exceeding $\frac{1}{4}$th of an anna in the rupee of the annual value of the lands. The Government of India, while provisionally approving the principles of the Bill, were of opinion that the importance of the subject rendered it desirable that it should be examined by the light of the best experience that could be brought to bear upon it. A general Conference was accordingly held in the beginning of January 1894, at which officers from the N. W. Provinces, the Central Provinces, Assam, and Bengal, as well as Mr. Gibbon, Manager of the Bettia Raj, and Mr. Macnaghten, Secretary, Bihar Indigo-planters' Association, were present. The draft Bill was approved with certain minor alterations, and then referred for opinion to the Bengal Government by the Government of India. Sir C. Elliott, who had then returned from leave, considered that, although the Bill was sound in principle and would be thoroughly acceptable in other

Provinces of India where an efficient body of *patwaris*, appointed and paid by Government, existed, and where people had become accustomed to filing village accounts and seeing them periodically revised, great weight must be attached to the special conditions in Bengal, which militated against the introduction of such a system. He dwelt on the irritation which would be caused in the minds of *zamindars* and tenants who had hitherto been unaccustomed to the periodical visits of Government officials for the purpose of inquiring into changes in the rent-roll: on the difficulty of organising a new body of officials appointed to carry out a new set of duties, and on the labour which the supervision of their work would entail on the district officers; and above all on the unpopularity of introducing a new cess, however light. He adhered to his original opinion that it was sufficient, at least in Bihar and for the present, to rely on the cadastral record once made, and to revise it in a similar manner after the lapse of 20 or 30 years—a measure much less expensive than the creation of the proposed establishment. As regards the interval between the surveys, he was for facilitating the registration of transfers and successions, and doing what could be done to make it compulsory, as proposed in one part of the Bill.

In a despatch dated the 5th July 1894, orders were received from the Secretary of State, approving the scheme advocated by Sir C. Elliott and *inter alia* agreeing to the latter's proposal that the Bill to provide for the scheme for the Maintenance of Records might also provide for the repeal of the *patwari* Regulations. The Government of India, in forwarding the Secretary of State's despatch to the Government of Bengal, expressed their unwillingness to abandon a valuable agency that cost nothing to Government, to deprive the *raiyats* of what was often a protection to them and to forfeit a valuable vantage ground in the future maintenance of the record of rights, unless something as good or better was provided to take the place of the Regulation *patwari*. The Board reported that it would be inexpedient to repeal the *patwari* Regulations unless and until provision was made by law for the creation of a better village or local peripatetic agency for the maintenance of the records.

Sir C. Elliott retained his opinion that the position of the *patwari* in Bihar was untenable and mischievous, and thought that his legal status under the Regulations ought to be abolished. He considered

it to be conclusively established that the unreformed *patwari* (in his present condition) was an instrument which could not be employed effectually for the purpose of keeping village accounts or maintaining the record, and he never had any intention of utilizing the *patwari* (as the Board proposed) in finding out and reporting mutations: as he also thought that nothing would be gained by retaining the *patwari* as a nucleus of further reforms, he was anxious to repeal the *patwari* Regulations. After consulting the Collectors of the Patna Division and the Commissioner, nearly all of whom were unfavourable to the retention of the *patwari* in his existing status, Sir C. Elliott on the 21st December 1894 urged the Government of India to allow the repeal of the *patwari* Regulation. But the Viceroy decided, for the above reasons, not to repeal it and directed the clause drafted to repeal it to be struck out of Sir C. Elliott's Bill for the Maintenance of the Record of Rights. The net result of the controversy was that Bihar was protected from the utilization of the *patwari* in the maintenance of the record of rights.

The maintenance of land records.

The Secretary of State, in approving in the despatch of the 5th July 1894 the scheme proposed by Sir C. Elliott, conveyed his consent to the introduction into the Legislature of a Bill for the Maintenance of the Record of Rights in Bengal, accompanied with the proviso that no fresh tax should be imposed, and with the permission that the Bill should provide for (1) the maintenance of the record, (2) the levy of registration fees, and (3) the recovery of the initial cost of survey and settlement by means of a temporary cess. A Bill was prepared in accordance with these instructions, the main principle of which was that facilities should be given for the compulsory registration of all changes by transfer or succession in the record of tenants' rights, and that failure to register should be visited by self-acting disabilities as well as by direct penalties. The procedure of the Indian Registration Act (III of 1877) was adopted as far as possible, and the machinery for carrying out the procedure was to be provided by a large multiplication of Rural Sub-Registrars, to carry on the duties of Registrars of Mutations under the Bill. In the part of the Bill which dealt with the recovery of the initial cost of survey-settlement by means of a temporary cess to be levied rateably per acre from the *zamindars* and tenants of various descriptions concerned, some simple amendments

of the existing law were made to remove difficulties which had been found by experience to exist. The Bill was introduced by myself into the Bengal Legislative Council on the 19th January 1895, and was referred to a Select Committee who reported on the 3rd April 1895. The Bill as revised by them was debated in Council on the 13th April 1895, was passed with small amendments, and became Act III (B. C.) of 1895. It provided for the maintenance of records of rights in land, in the surveyed areas to which it might be extended, by requiring all classes of privileged tenants to register all mutations of tenant-rights whether due to succession or transfer. The registration of mutations of the rights of non-occupancy *raiyats* and of under-*raiyats* was left optional. Measures were then adopted to bring the Act into effect, and steps were taken to open offices for the registration of mutations at Hajipur and Lalganj in Muzaffarpur and Bettia in Champaran, where records had been finally published under the Tenancy Act.

Chief tracts under survey and settlement.

During the survey year 1894-95 (from October 1894 to September 1895) the work of survey and settlement was in progress in 7 entire districts and 20 estates or portions of districts comprising nearly 19,000 sq. miles, or about $\frac{1}{8}$ of the entire province. The major settlements were the 4 temporarily-settled districts of Cuttack, Puri, Balasore, and Chittagong, in all of which the land revenue had to be re-assessed; also the 3 districts of Saran, Champaran, and Muzaffarpur in North Bihar, the Palamau Government estate, the Tikari Ward's estate, the Maharaja of Tippera's estate, the Darjeeling *tarai*, and the Government estate in Singhbhum, known as the Kolhan. All these survey-settlement operations proceeded throughout the year without friction or disturbance among the agricultural population. Sir C. Elliott inspected many of the settlement camps in the course of the year, and found that an intelligent interest was taken by the parties concerned in the proceedings, and that care was shown in explaining the meaning of the operations and what was required of each individual.

The cost of survey and settlement incurred by Government from the beginning of the operations up to the 30th September 1895 in Orissa, Chittagong and the Western Duars—the 3 principal areas under settlement of land revenue—increased from nearly 32 *lakhs* to 36 *lakhs* of rupees.

I desire to avoid figures and statistics as much as possible, but in some cases they are essential. The following statement shows the general outturn and cost of survey-settlement work during the 4 years 1891-92 to 1894-95, and gives some idea of the magnitude of the operations :—

Year.	Traverse survey.	Skeleton boundary survey.	Forest survey.	Topographical survey.	Cadastral survey.	Record-writing.	Hill sketching.	Cost of survey	Cost of settlement.	Total cost.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
	Sq. miles.	Sq. miles.	Sq. miles.	Sq. miles.	Sq. miles.	Sq. miles.	Sq. miles.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
1891-92	4,714	187	327	379	2,284	1,471	194	5,92,269	4,66,480	10,58,749
1822-93	5,324	1,247	...	...	3,078	2,930	...	7,88,309	5,00,961	12,89,270
1894-94	3,485	175	...	...	3,754	3,637	...	6,90,125	5,53,228	12,43,353
1894-95	3,091	23	...	1,026	2,786	3,120	...	6,04,304	6,97,135	13,01,439
Total ...	16,614	1,632	327	1,405	11,902	11,158	194	26,75,007	22,17,804	48,92,811

From 1890-91 to 1894-95, the whole area traversed by the theodolite was 18,822½ sq. miles, the figures being as follows:—Cadastral survey with records 12,159½ sq. miles; cadastral survey without records, 1,034 sq. miles; skeleton boundary survey, 1,752 sq. miles; city survey 15 sq. miles; topographical, 1,737 sq. miles; forest 501 sq. miles; aggregate outturn, 17,198½ sq. miles. In the outturn of cadastral survey are included the revision of previous cadastral surveys of 958 sq. miles and the revision of the previous records of 417 sq. miles.

From the results up to date of the record of the status and rents of tenants in 3 districts certain economic facts had come to light. The quantity of land held as proprietor's *sir*, and the area under non-occupancy tenants, were wonderfully small compared with an average district of the N. W. Provinces. The area under settled *raiyats* was very large and testified to the benefits conferred by the Tenancy Act. Thus the settled *raiyats* held in Muzaffarpur 75·36 per cent. of the holdings, in Champaran 77·42: in Saran 80·07. *Raiyats* of this class were paying an average rent, per acre, of Rs. 3-10-7 in Muzaffarpur and Re. 1-7-5 in Champaran: occupancy *raiyats* were paying Rs. 4-12-3 per acre in Muzaffarpur: non-occupancy *raiyats* were paying Rs. 4-6-7 per acre in Muzaffarpur and Rs. 1-11-0 in Champaran. Though the figures were incomplete they tended to dispel the impression that the North Bihar *raiyat* was a down-trodden and rack-rented creature.

In the Western Duars the result of the settlement, as reviewed by Government in July 1895, showed that the resident *jotedars* formed far the largest body of the tenants and paid an average revenue of 15 annas 7 pies per acre: their permanent under-tenants paying Rs. 1-5·1 per acre as rent. Of the increase of revenue obtained ⅘ths were due to increased area brought under assessment, ⅕th to increased rates.

Up to the present time the orders of Government have not been passed upon the Chittagong and Orissa settlement reports, and the work in North Bihar is not yet completed, so that it is impossible to give even the briefest summary of the economic facts emerging from these great settlement operations.

Apportionment and recovery of costs in North Bihar.

Originally the Government of India undertook to bear ⅛th of the total expenditure on the survey and record of rights in North Bihar as representing the cost of the topographical part of the survey, the remaining ⅞ths

being divided equally between the *raiyats* and their *zamindars*. In July 1894, the Secretary of State decided that the State share should not be less than $\frac{1}{4}$ of the total expenses, the additional $\frac{1}{8}$ being given in reduction of the *raiyats*' share of the expenditure. Under these orders the cost of the survey and record of rights in North Bihar were to fall, $\frac{1}{4}$ on the Government of India, $\frac{5}{16}$ on the *raiyats*, and $\frac{7}{16}$ on the *zamindars*. It was proposed to commence recoveries from the beginning of the field season, 1895-96, and instructions were issued accordingly. The term "*zamindars*" was held to include tenure-holders of a proprietary character, of whom permanent tenure-holders were to pay the whole of the proprietary share of the costs, while for temporary tenure-holders a sliding scale was laid down, distributing the share between them and the proprietor, according to the unexpired period of the lease. Rent-free tenants were to play both the landlords' and tenant's share of the costs. Under-*raiyats* and non-occupancy *raiyats* were altogether exempted from payment. For Champaran as well as Muzaffarpur a rate of 8 annas an acre was taken as the basis for apportionment. On this basis, the tenants' and landlords' shares were to be respectively 30 and 42 pies per acre. Recoveries were to be taken in hand only where the record had been finally published, and, up to the end of September 1895, the operations had been so completed in 768 villages with an area of 250 sq. miles in the district of Muzaffarpur, and in 247 villages, comprising 400 sq. miles, in Champaran. The share of costs of each proprietor was to be collected from him when his copy of the record was handed to him or else recovered from him afterwards under the provisions of the Public Demands Recovery Act. It was estimated that the recoveries in the financial year 1895-96 in the 2 districts would amount to about Rs. 75,000.

Question of extending survey and settlement to South Bihar.

In reviewing, on the eve of his retirement, the survey and settlement reports for the year ending 30th September 1895, Sir C. Elliott observed that the question would soon arise whether, when the survey and preparation of a record of rights were completed in the 4 districts of North Bihar, the operations should be extended to South Bihar or to the Bhagalpur Division, and he recorded his opinion that they should be so extended. He believed that the work already done had to a great extent dispelled the fears and suspicions with which

the undertaking had at first been viewed. The *raiyats* were learning to regard the record of rights as a valuable protection of their tenure, and the *zamindars* had begun to realise that it gave them a useful opportunity of securing a reasonable enhancement of rent, especially where cultivation had extended. The indigo planters had always perceived the advantage they reaped by obtaining accurate knowledge of the rights and position of the parties with whom they had to deal, and the vague alarms felt as to the irruption of a great flood of litigation and as to the imposition of a heavy burden of expenditure had been to a great extent dissipated. Sir C. Elliott trusted the blessings conferred on the districts of North Bihar might in course of time be extended to all Bengal. The Board of Revenue were asked for a Report as to the need of extending these operations to South Bihar, and the advisability of doing so generally.

Visit of the Cesarewitch.

On the 26th January 1891 His Imperial Highness the Grand Duke Cesarewitch of Russia, (who became Emperor Nicholas II in 1894) accompanied by His Royal Highness Prince George of Greece and His Imperial Highness the Duke George Alexandrovitch of Russia, arrived at Calcutta as the guests of the Viceroy. They were received at the Howrah Railway Station by His Excellency, and with all honours during their visit of a few days.

The Census of 1891.

The third decennial Census of Bengal was held on the night of the 26th February 1891. For some months before this date the local authorities had been at work preparing and revising village lists, counting the houses in each village, marking out Census blocks, appointing and training enumerators. The preliminary enumeration was completed in all cases by the 15th or 20th February. The actual Census was effected by the enumerator verifying the presence of the presons already entered in his schedule book, and making the necessary erasions and additions in the case of absentees and of new arrivals. The work was efficiently and carefully carried out. Only 154 of the total number of enumerators, who aggregated nearly 400,000, were paid. The enumeration was completed without any disturbance. The cost of enumeration was Rs. 79,354 or Rs. 1,075 per million of population as against Rs. 1,73,849 or Rs. 2,475 per million in 1881. The work of abstraction and tabulation was carried out at the head-quarters of each

district instead of at 3 centres only, as in the previous Census. The cost of compilation was estimated at Rs. 6,15,000, against Rs. 6,54,000 in 1881.

The main results of the Census of 1891 were thus summarised. In Eastern Bengal the population had increased by 13½ per cent., owing, for the most part, to the general prosperity of the country, comparative freedom from severe outbreaks of epidemic, and to immigration from Bihar and Central Bengal. In Northern Bengal the high-lying tracts showed an advance of more than 6 per cent., but over a large extent of country lying at the foot of the Himalayas and on both banks of the Ganges the population had declined. In Western Bengal there had been a great growth in manufacturing and mining centres, but a loss in tracts affected by malarious fever. On the whole, however, Western Bengal was more healthy than it had been 10 years before. North Bihar was overcrowded, while South Bihar showed a slower rate of increase than North Bihar owing to the greater relief afforded by emigration. The aboriginal races of Chota Nagpur and the Sonthal *Parganas* had increased by large numbers.

Considering the population according to administrative Divisions, it was found that the population of the Burdwan Division had increased from 7,393,954 to 7,668,818, or by 3·98 per cent.; of the Presidency Division from 8,211,986 to 8,512,630, or by 3·66 per cent.; of the Rajshahi Division from 7,726,701 to 8,019,187, or by 3·78 per cent.; of the Dacca Division from 8,705,916 to 9,844,127, or by 13·07 per cent.; and of the Chittagong Division from 3,569,071 to 4,190,081, or by 17·70 per cent. The Patna Division showed an advance from 15,060,993 to 15,790,737, or of 4·84 per cent., and the Bhagalpur Division from 8,066,111 to 8,582,490, or of 6·40 per cent. The population of Orissa had increased from 3,628,832 to 3,877,755, or by 6·85 per cent. and of Chota Nagpur from 4,225,989 to 4,638,238, or 9·75 per cent. The total population of Bengal, including the Tributary States of Orissa and Chota Nagpur, Hill Tippera and Kuch Bihar, had risen from 69,536,861 in 1881 to 74,643,366 in 1891—an increase of over 7 per cent.—of whom 37,236,485 were males and 37,406,881 females, giving an average density to the square mile of 398 persons. Between 1881 and 1891 the Hindus increased from 45,452,826 to 47,821,468, and the Muhammadans from 21,704,724 to 23,658,347.

By the incorporation with Calcutta of the greater part of the area of the Suburban Municipality, a considerable extension was made to the town. The area formerly included in Calcutta was termed the "old town," while that recently amalgamated with it was known as the "added area." The results of the Census of Calcutta showed that the population of the old town had risen from 401,671 to 436,393, while that of the added area amounted to 213,008. This latter total could not be compared as a whole with the figures for 1881, owing to the division of wards brought about by Act II (B.C.) of 1888, portions having been added to Calcutta and other portions having been joined to various municipalities. The population of the Fort had fallen from 28,200 to 26,589, and that of the Port and Canals had slightly increased from 28,200 to 28,691. The total population of the Town of Calcutta, together with the Fort, Port and Canals, thus stood at 681,560. In the Town there were 428,762 Hindus, 189,226 Muhammadans, and 26,406 Christians; in the Fort there were 1,441 Hindus, 597 Muhammadans and 1251 Christians; and in the Port and Canals the numbers were 13,934 Hindus, 13,350 Muhammadans, and 1,340 Christians. The proportion of Hindus to the total population of the town had increased, and that of Muhammadans had decreased since the last Census. The chief castes of Hindus were Brahmans and Kayasths, both over 55,000, Chamars and Kaibartas over 20,000, and Goalas and Subarnabaniks close on 20,000, while of the Christians 9,323 were returned as Europeans, 9,803 as Eurasians, and 6,620 as natives. Of the population of the town, 64 per cent. were males and 36 per cent. females. The education tables showed 33·5 per cent. of the males and 8·3 per cent. of the females a either under instruction or as literate. As regards birthplace, 207,165 persons were shown as born in Calcutta and 55,475 in the 24-*Parganas* district, the total of these amounting to 40 per cent. of the population of the town. Over 20,000 persons were returned as natives of each of the following districts:—Hooghly, Gaya, Burdwan, Midnapore, Patna, and Cuttack.

The Report on the *Moral and Material Progress and Condition of India* for the 10 years ending 1891-92 gave the principal statistics for Bengal as follows:—

Area, 151,543 square miles; population, 71,346,987; mean density,

471* to the sq. miles ; 146 towns ; 227,019 villages ; 13,592,154 occupied houses : and contained the following passage :—"The Bengal of the present day is the most populous charge in India, and the Lieutenant-Governor is responsible for the management of a population of 71,346,987, or considerably more than that of the United States of America at their last Census of 1890. Taken by the historic divisions, Bengal Proper contains a population in round numbers of 40,400,000 ; Bihar, of 21,265,000, and Orissa, as received from the Marathas, of 4,047,000. Chota Nagpur returns 4,628,790 within the British portion of its area. The physical divisions are shown in the margin. Speaking generally, the whole of the Province, except North-Western Bihar, and occasionally Orissa, lies within a highly favourable zone of rainfall, and famine is practically unknown in Bengal Proper. In Orissa it prevailed on the historic occasion of 1866, and North Bihar was visited, to a certain extent, in 1874. But, on the whole, Bengal is, as the distribution of the population shows, a very fertile tract, and in Chota Nagpur the light incidence of population is due less to climatic defects than to the want of arable land which is so prominent a feature in the hill tracts of Central India."

Bengal.	*Density.*	*Rainfall.*
Northern Bengal ...	459 ..	85·73
Western „	562 ...	58·11
Eastern „	531 ...	82·59
North Bihar	667 ...	51·82
South „	520 ...	45·14
Chota Nagpur	134 ...	46·84
Orissa	411 ...	58·86

Some interesting facts connected with the water-supply of Calcutta were recorded in 1890-91, which are worth quoting. "Convincing proof of the close relation that exists between the improvement of water-supply and the diminution of cholera was afforded by the fact that during the 5 years 1866-1870, before filtered water was brought into Calcutta, no less than 18,422 deaths from cholera occurred in the town, being 8·5 per 1,000 of the population as it then stood. With the introduction of the filtered water the mortality during the next 5 years dropped to 5,922, or 2·7 per 1,000. Between 1876 and 1880 a slight increase to 6,598 deaths, or 3·0 per 1,000 was observed, and in the 5 years 1881—1885, when population was beginning to outrun the water-supply, cholera mortality rose to 9,845 deaths, or 4·5 per 1,000. Finally, the effect of the water-supply extension of 1888 was to reduce the deaths from cholera during the 5 years 1886-1890 to

Calcutta water-supply.

*Excluding feudatory States &c.

6,773, or 2·8 per 1,000 on the existing population of the municipality. In the 21 years, therefore, during which the town was supplied with pure drinking water the death-rate from cholera was decreased to a little more than $\frac{1}{4}$ of its former standard. At the close of the year 1890-91, the length of mains and services on the filtered system amounted to 231 miles, of which 47 miles were laid during the year. The average daily supply per head of the population was 39·46 gallons in the town and 15 gallons in the added area. A new pumping station, designed to supply the Southern portion of the added area, was commenced at Bhawanipur."

Lushai affairs.

It will be convenient to group together here the frontier and political occurrences of Sir C. Elliott's time. The punitive measures which had been adopted from time to time against the hill tribes beyond the frontier having failed to be sufficiently deterrent, the policy of controlling them from within was determined upon; a portion of the Lushai country was annexed, and a new frontier district, with an area estimated at 24,000 sq. miles, was constituted from the 1st April 1891 under the name of the South Lushai Hills, under a Superintendent. The Chittagong Hill Tracts were converted from the 1st November 1891 into a subdivision in charge of an Assistant Commissioner under the direct supervision of the Commissioner of Chittagong. The troops were withdrawn, but a detachment of 200 Gurkhas was left at Fort Tregear about 45 miles distant from Lungleh. The exercise of control over the subjugated hill tribes from within, and the presence of troops at Fort Tregear produced a most salutary effect, so that perfect tranquillity prevailed in the Chittagong Hill Tracts. The future security of the tract was to a great extent dependent upon the check which the Burma authorities would be able to keep on the wild tribes on the frontier. There was again a scare in the Chengri Valley, due to a rumour that Lienpunga was organizing a raiding party; but confidence was soon restored by issuing a proclamation that Lienpunga and other Chiefs under him had been deported. Twenty-eight captives were recovered. Captain Shakespear's first efforts as Superintendent were directed to the dislodgment of the Chief Jakopa, at whose hands his predecessor had sustained a serious reverse a few months before. The expedition undertaken was completely successful; Jakopa's village was destroyed, he himself fled

far away, and never attempted to return. The result was the final subjugation of the Molienpui tribes. A *darbar* was held at Lungleh in January 1892, at which all the hill chiefs who attended swore friendship with one another; the Superintendent and his officers toured about, and a meeting with Mr. McCabe, Political officer, North Lushai Hills, took place at Kairuma; the boundary was settled between the North and South Lushai hills; the Shindu chief Dokola was captured and deported to Hazaribagh. The serious disturbances of March-April 1892 in the Howlong country, on the Northern frontier, were put down with the assistance of a column sent from Fort White by the Chief Commissioner of Burma. In the beginning of March Captain Shakespear heard of the attack on Mr. McCabe at Lalbura's, and marched Northwards to assist or relieve him. He was, however, able to get no further than Vansanga, when the whole country rose in arms, and after many skirmishes with the enemy he was compelled to entrench himself in Vansanga's village. There he kept all the hostile chiefs fully employed, and so prevented them from joining in the combination which was harassing the Aijal force; but he was not able to cross the frontier or to return without a loss of prestige which would have been fatal to the security of the British power in these hills. Meanwhile the enemy constantly attacked Vansanga's village, attempted Lungleh itself, and spread themselves over the lines of communication, threatening Demagri, attacking the forts at Tinchang and Lalthuma in force, cutting the telegraph wires, destroying ferries and bridges, and occasionally shooting or cutting up transport followers and sepoys on the roads. At this period co-operation was afforded from Burma and a column marched from Fort White and effected a junction with Captain Shakespear. The combined forces then did all in their power to inflict effective punishment. Owing to the want of provisions occasioned by difficulties of transport, they had only 5 days at their disposal, but in this time they punished several villages, and the country was reduced to quiet and temporary submission. The Lushais were cowed by the sudden and unexpected appearance of reinforcements from the Burma side. The column which had thus rendered such valuable service marched on to Lungleh, and then to Chittagong, where arrangements were made for their return to Rangoon.

With the departure of the Burma column the active opera-

tions of the season closed. The hardships of the campaign, due to the unfavourable weather, the sickness among the troops, the want of roads, the distances to be traversed, and the difficulties of transport, were excessive and in the face of all these adverse conditions, the services of both officers and men deserved high commendation.

In January 1892 a conference, of which Sir C. Elliott was a member, met at Calcutta to examine various questions relating to the country of the Lushai tribes. He strongly supported the proposal that the whole of this tract of country should be brought under one administration, and preferably that of Assam, and it was subsequently decided that the South Lushai hills should be transferred from Bengal to Assam as soon as possible. It was also decided that the Chittagong district should be transferred from Bengal to Assam as soon as the settlement operations then in progress had been brought to an end, and that, if it was found that there were difficulties in the way of an immediate transfer of the entire district, the subdivision of the Chittagong Hill-Tracts should be transferred in advance of the rest. The transfer of the whole of the Chittagong Division to Assam was, moreover, in contemplation. The South Lushai Hills were in September 1895 included in Lower Bengal under 28 and 29 Vic. c. 17. s. 4 and eventually transferred to Assam from the 1st April 1898.

After the departure of the Burma Column in May 1892 active operations ceased; but, though the hostile Lushais were cowed, and their power scattered and broken, they were not crushed. The chiefs who rose against the British power were still independent and prepared to take the earliest opportunity of revenging themselves, and rumours were rife of their intention to attack the friendly tribes, and even Lungleh itself. It was therefore decided, after full consideration in December 1892, to despatch a punitive expedition, consisting of 400 Gurkhas, 2 mountain-battery guns and 150 rifles of the 16th Bengal Infantry, for the protection of friendly villages, our convoys and communications, and to impress on the native tribes once for all a sense of British supremacy. This force, acting in concert with a column from Fort Aijal, completely effected its object, and, without meeting any resistance, established the authority of Government throughout the whole tract of country where it had been resisted, and returned to Bengal in February 1893. The general condition of the

country, and the success attained in the payment of revenue and fines, pointed to the fact that the Lushais had abandoned all idea of combined resistance. An outpost was established at Lalrhima in the heart of the Lushai country, on the boundary line between the north and south Lushai territory, and the small force stationed there, together with the disarmament of hostile chiefs, would, it was believed, render it almost impossible for any serious trouble to again arise.

The year 1893-4 was on the whole peaceful. The Lushai chieftainess, Ropui Lieni, and her son, Lalthuama, who had been planning an attack on Lungleh, were arrested by Captain Shakespear in August 1893, and detained in the Chittagong jail in accordance with warrants issued under Regulation III of 1818. Loncheva and Pavunga, who had murdered an interpreter, named Shotingkara, in March 1892, were tried by Captain Shakespear and convicted and sentenced to transportation for life Vasanga, another hostile chief, who was detained at Lungleh, was captured under very trying circumstances. A *darbar* was held at Lungleh at Christmas, at which the Commissioner of Chittagong was present. It was largely attended by the chiefs and their followers. The fines imposed on the chiefs were realized during the year, amounting in all to 130 guns, one *gyal* and Rs. 950/-in cash.

Sikhim.

The Raja of Sikhim was given permission to reside during the rains at either Tumlong, Guntok, or Robdenchi. He chose the latter place, and went there in February 1891. In October the Council requested him to return to Guntok but he refused. Sir C. Elliott then issued orders that it was expected of him that he would immediately return to Guntok, and also that his eldest son should be brought for education from Tibet. If the Raja failed to comply, all pecuniary allowances were to be stopped and in the last resort measures were to be taken to bring him to Guntok. The Raja ignored all the efforts of the Assistant Political Agent to induce him to go there. In March 1892 the Raja left Pemionchi ostensibly for his return to Guntok but in effect he endeavoured to find his way into Tibet *via* Nepal: he was arrested as soon as he crossed the border by the Nepalese authorities, who placed themselves in communication with the Government of India, and eventually escorted the Raja to Kurseong in the Darjeeling district, where he was detained under surveillance throughout 1892-93. The Raja took

no part in the administration of the affairs of the State, which were conducted by the Assistant Political Agent and the Council, acting together in complete agreement. The Raja's attitude for some time remained unchanged, and he continued unwilling to return to Sikhim under the conditions imposed by Government. He declined to write to his eldest son, Tchoda Namgyel, who was still in Tibet, and exercised his influence to keep the boy away. His younger son, Chotal, who was recognised as the *avatar*, or incarnation, of the founder of the Phodung monastery, was being educated with the family of Raja Tenduk in Darjeeling, and allowed to make occasional visits into Sikhim. In the meantime, affairs in Sikhim continued quiet, and no change was contemplated in existing arrangements until the elder son returned from Tibet or the Maharaja showed himself to be more amenable to the authority of the British Government.

No change took place until the Raja was removed to Darjeeling in April 1895, on expressing regret for his past conduct and subscribing to a document in which he complied unreservedly with the conditions of the restoration imposed by Government; he was subsequently allowed to return to Sikhim. He also wrote to ask his eldest son to return from Tibet. In the meantime suitable arrangements were made for the education of his second son and for the establishment of a school at Guntok.

In accordance with the convention of 1890 between Great Britain and China, a trade mart was opened at Yatung on the Tibetan side of the frontier. The place was unsuitable for a mart and offered no attraction for traders; but, though every attempt was made by the Chinese Amban to induce the Tibetans to substitute Phari for Yatung, it was found impossible to overcome their reluctance, and Yatung was eventually accepted by both the Chinese and British Governments as the only alternative to breaking off the negotiations altogether. As Yatung was the mart thus established by treaty, it was not possible that any change in the site could be sanctioned for the period of 5 years during which the treaty was to be in force. The spirit of the treaty was violated by the erection of a solid stone wall across the valley, the gate of which was closed to traders from the Indian side, so that no interchange of traffic such as was contemplated by the treaty could take place. Notwithstanding these difficulties, there was a large increase in some classes of the traffic, and the value of the

imports of raw wool from Tibet increased in one year from Rs. 3,02,498 to Rs. 4,98,593, and of musk from Rs. 3,343 to Rs. 81,204.

Towards the close of 1894-95, a Commission, consisting of British, Chinese and Tibetan representatives, was appointed for the delimitation of the boundary between Sikhim and Tibet as defined in the convention of 1890, but the Tibetans refused to supply transport for their party and the Chinese representative declared himself unable to move. Three pillars which were put up at 3 passes where there was no dispute about the boundary were knocked down. After waiting for some time in the expectation that orders from Pekin might overcome Tibetan recusancy, the Commission was broken up in August 1895, and further proceedings abandoned for the time; but it was in contemplation to renew the demarcation in the following year.

While this Commission was unable to proceed with its work, owing to the unwillingness of the Tibetans to send their delegates, a claim was made by the Tibetans to lands lying within the Sikhim boundary as laid down in the Convention with China, and on the settlement of that claim it was hoped that the demarcation of the boundary would be completed.

On the Raja's return to his capital, Guntok, in November 1895, he was associated with the Council in the administration of the State, which was conducted under the advice and general supervision of the Political Officer.

Keonjhur

In May 1891, there took place an insurrection of the Bhuiyas of Keonjhur against their Maharaja, resulting in his flight to Cuttack and final restoration, accompanied by Rai Nanda Kishore Das Bahadur as Government Agent. The oppressions and exactions of the Maharaja were the immediate cause of the disturbances, which were promptly suppressed by the local officers with the aid of the Government police. A detachment of troops from Calcutta was also ordered under arms, but it was only held in reserve and not called into action. Although all active resistance on the part of the insurgents appeared to have ceased, and the Maharaja was duly restored, the Bhuiyas, in spite of the efforts of the Government Agent towards reconciling them, held aloof, and would neither pay the revenue due from them, nor allow the payment of revenue by those under their influence. A proclamation was

issued warning them of the serious consequences of continued contumacy, and, if this warning was neglected, they were during the ensuing cold weather, to be reduced to submission by force, and their ringleaders, if necessary, deported. The country which was in an unsettled condition in the beginning of 1893-94, was gradually reduced to peace and order, and the Bhuiyas tendered complete submission to their chief. The settlement operations in connection with the Bhuiya and Jnang Pirs were concluded on terms agreeable to, and accepted by, both parties, and leases were granted. The difficult question of personal services claimed by the Raja under the head of porterage, roof-thatching and dragging the car of the family god, out of which the rebellion had mainly sprung, was decided in a manner which it was hoped would be satisfactory and lasting, the nature and extent of the services to be claimed being defined with precision, or else commuted into an enhancement of the ordinary rent.

Pauperism among Europeans and Eurasians.

At the request of the District Charitable Society and of the Eurasian and Anglo-Indian Association, Sir C. Elliott, in April 1891, without pledging Government to accept any new financial responsibilities, appointed a representative Committee to enquire into the poverty or pauperism prevalent among Europeans and Eurasians in Calcutta and Howrah, and the various means possible for relieving and checking it. The Committee were occupied in this work for upwards of a year, and the Report which they submitted, with its appendices, was a valuable and interesting record of information. It was shown that statistics pointed to the existence of an amount of pauperism among the domiciled European community of Calcutta and Howrah far larger than what was believed to be the amount of similar destitution in England, while the percentage of pauperism, that is, of all those who were in receipt of charitable relief of any kind, among Eurasians of all degrees of mixed blood was as high as 22·3. The causes of this excessive pauperism were shewn to be, partly, the increase of education among the natives of Bengal leading to sharper competition for employment; partly, inherent defects of character common among Indo-Europeans, which often impeded and weakened them in the struggle for existence; and partly, and most important of all, the injudicious administration of charitable relief, which, by demoralizing the recipients of such aid, had contributed in no small

measure to aggravate the evil. The relieving agencies of Calcutta, its charitable societies, its homes, and schools, and hospitals, controlled funds which in the aggregate were sufficient to meet even the existing congested demand for relief; and, if they were properly administered, not only would pauperism be diminished, but distress could be absolutely stamped out. The principles advocated by the Committee were that the condition of idle paupers should be made less eligible than that of the independent poor, that indoor relief should be the rule and outdoor relief the exception, and that relief in aid of wages should be, if possible, avoided.

In dealing with the remedies proposed by the Committee to counteract the prevailing tendencies in the direction of ever-increasing poverty, Sir C. Elliott confined himself mainly to a careful consideration of the means by which practical effect could be given to 3 schemes, of which 2 were intended to provide new sources of employment, and the third to promote the better organisation of charitable relief. Either of the 2 former would involve a not inconsiderable expenditure. One of them was the proposal to form an Indo-European regiment, and this Sir C. Elliott recommended to the favourable consideration of the Government of India, with the proviso that the new regiment should take the place of a native and not of a British regiment. The second proposal to establish a training ship in the river Hooghly for Indo-European boys could hardly be undertaken with an assurance of ultimate success. Even if Indo-European boys could be induced to adopt the sea as a profession and to inure themselves to the perils and hardships of a sailor's life, there remained much doubt as to the possibility of obtaining employment for them either as seamen or as ship apprentices. In view of this uncertainty, the cost of carrying out the scheme would be prohibitive, and in the shape presented the proposal had to be abandoned, but Sir C. Elliott was not without hope that some cheaper substitute might be found practicable.

The Committee's third remedy, namely, the better organisation of charitable relief, was a matter in which it was impossible for Government, as such, to take any action; but Sir C. Elliott expressed his general concurrence with the Committee, and approved their proposal that the District Charitable Society should undertake to deal with all cases which in England would come within the operation

of the poor law, leaving to the remaining charitable agencies those cases to which private charity was suitable. In order to carry out this division of work, some central authority would be necessary to investigate cases of destitution, to decide to which of the 2 classes they belonged, and otherwise to assist the various agencies in working harmoniously together. This work of a "Charity Organization Society" might, it was thought, be undertaken by the District Charitable Society, in addition to the duties assigned to it by the Committee. It seemed to have an organization suited for the purpose, though it would be necessary to place its constitution on a somewhat wider basis, and to form a Central Committee consisting of representatives of all sections of the Christian religion, together with delegates from existing charitable societies and institutions. Sir C. Elliott trusted that an earnest endeavour would be made to overcome the initial difficulties and to organize a practical scheme on these lines, which would secure the co-operation of the various agencies of Calcutta. Again, in February 1893, the Calcutta Diocesan Conference urged that something should be done to ameliorate the condition of poor Europeans and Eurasians: but the suggestions were too general for the Bengal Government to accept any responsibility in respect of them. Sir C. Elliott pointed to the Sibpur Engineering College as affording a centre of practical education; in respect of Government employment he expressed his willingness to treat this class of candidates equitably, but he regarded some of the proposals as being entirely beyond the legitimate sphere of State operations.

Enlistment of Eurasians in British regiments.

The proposal to form an Indo-European regiment, with a view to counteract the tendencies of that class towards pauperism, having been rejected, the Government of India was asked to permit the admission of selected Eurasians into British regiments. It was suggested that the scheme might be tried tentatively, either by enlisting a limited number of men each year, or by limiting the number of such recruits per battalion or per company, or by restricting its operation for a definite period. It was urged that in this way a supply of excellent soldiers might be obtained by the Army, who would enlist for long continued service, and that this would tend to effect a saving of considerable sums spent on reliefs. This proposal, however, did not commend itself to Her Majesty's Government. The authorities

at the War Office stated that the practical difficulties in the way of the proposed scheme were so great as to be almost insurmountable. The Military authorities at home declared themselves so strongly opposed to any departure from the existing principles which governed the enlistment of men for the Imperial forces that the Secretary of State for India felt it impossible to press the question further.

Ethnographic researches.

In 1885 the Government of India suggested that steps should be taken towards the collection of more precise information regarding the castes and occupations of the people of India, and Mr. H. H. Risley, C. S., was selected to prosecute ethnographic researches from which, apart from the scientific results, substantial administrative benefits were anticipated. As the result of Mr. Risley's inquiries during 6 years, the volumes were brought out in the year 1891-92, containing the Ethnographic Glossary of all the castes, tribes, sub-castes, and sections, of which a substantial number of representatives was found in Bengal, with an introductory essay on Caste in relation to Marriage. These volumes were welcomed by Sir C. Elliott as an important addition to the stock of official information available on the subject and as a valuable contribution to scientific research. It was true that a complete knowledge of the caste system of India would not be obtained from the study of the Ethnographic Glossary alone. The greatest and purest castes of India, the Brahmans and Rajputs, are (with the exception of the Maithila Brahmans of Bihar) exotics in Bengal, and it is only in Upper India, the country of their origin, that a full understanding of their main permanent subdivisions, and of the mutual relations of those subdivisions, can be obtained; but still much learned information was contained in the Glossary respecting those clans or individuals of those castes who have emigrated into Bengal, and whose descendants have established local sub-castes with local customs of their own. The work contained the most complete account that had hitherto been put on official record with regard to the numerous lower castes which had sprung up in Bengal, and to the representatives of the aboriginal races, who had more or less come under Hinduising influences. As a dictionary of the castes and their occupations, the Glossary was calculated to be useful to the Administration. The more Government officers knew about the religious and social customs of the people of their district, the

better able they would be to deal with either the possible social problems of the future, or with the practical questions arising in their ordinary work, such as the relations of the different castes to the land, their privileges in respect of rent, their relations to trade, their status in civil society, their internal organization, their rules as to marriage and divorce, and as to the giving and receiving of famine relief. It was believed that Bengal was the only Province in which any substantial attempt had been made to carry out the wishes of the Government of India with respect to the investigation of castes and occupations originating from the Census of 1881. This work afforded a substantial frame-work on which further inquiries could be instituted and their results incorporated.

The 2 volumes of the Ethnographic Glossary were circulated to all Commissioners, district and subdivisional officers, and other persons interested, and their criticisms invited with a view to supplement in a later edition the deficiencies incidental to such an undertaking. A scheme which Mr. Risley submitted in outline for the continuance of ethnographical researches in Bengal, and for their extension to other parts of India, was not accepted by the Supreme Government on the ground that such a work would swell to unwieldy proportions, but the republication of the Glossary with the addition of Statistical information collected in the last Census was subsequently authorised.

Mr. Risley also laid before Government 2 volumes containing his *Anthropometric Data* or series of tables of figures showing the results of measurements carried on under his orders, on the methods approved by European anthropologists, of the physical characteristics of certain selected castes and tribes. The conclusions to be deduced from these contributions were awaited. Another proposal made by Mr. Risley to continue Ethnographical researches in Bengal and extend them to other parts of India, by means of Honorary Directors in each Province, was approved by the Government of India, but no financial assistance could be given, the work was left to amateur effort, and a central office was created at Calcutta in the Ethnographic Branch of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

Prosecution of the *Bangobasi*.

Early in the year 1891 proceedings were instituted under Sir C. Elliott's orders (with the approval of the Government of India) which had for their object to bring home

to the conductors of the Native Press of Bengal that the disloyal and seditious utterances in which so many of their number permitted themselves to indulge could not be tolerated. The *Bangobasi* newspaper, which was selected for prosecution, (upon the opinion of the Government legal advisers, by whom the 3 articles upon which the prosecution was based were chosen), was one of those which, upon the passing into law of the Age of Consent Act, had shown themselves conspicuously violent in their attacks upon the Government.

The 3 articles were those of the 20th March, 16th May, and 6th June, which are too long to quote in extenso as they filled 4 columns of the *Englishman*. They dealt with such subjects as the following: 'Our condition'—'A Revealed Form of the English Ruler'—'An outspoken Policy is the Best for Uncivilised Persons'—'The Most Important and the First Idea of the Unclvilised Hindu'—'What is to be the End?' The first article was to this effect:—

"People will by this time say that we are fully a subject people. In regard to our property, wealth, dependents, family, religion, usages and observances &c., we are completely subject to the English Ruler. If the English Ruler wishes, he can deprive us of our property, insult our families, give them trouble, and can obstruct us in the exercise of our religion, usages and observances. People will say this but we shall no longer be able to put our hands in their mouths. The English Viceroy, Governor-General, Lansdowne Bahadur, the other day, in the Legislative Council, in outspoken voice loudly, with swelling bosom, proclaimed this very matter."

And the article went on to state that the Governor-General had said that the Hindu community must do what appears to be proper to the English and that the Hindus must forego all that may appear opposed to what the English think proper, and added further: "If in doing this, your religion is destroyed, let it be. If you are obstructed in observances which have descended to you from time immemorial, let it be. If you have to give a handful of water to your belief in the Shastras, you must give it—still the mighty Ruler, the Englishman, will never let you do that which may not appear to the English to be in conformity to good education, good morals, and civilization."

The article went on also to inquire: "If it is so. O Probhu! then declare it openly, and then destroy our all; destroy our caste,

religion, and society ; then we shall understand from what motives, for the accomplishment of what object, you are carrying out these measures." The article further said "that if the Governor-General has not envy of the Hindu religion in his mind ; and if he has entered on encompassing the ruin of the Hindus with the object of making his sway in India permanent, they clasp their hands and entreat him to say so plainly, when they will execute bonds, binding themselves to perpetual slavery. The Governor-General may by the deep laid designs of politics diminish the strength of the bonds of Indian unity but he will never be able to destroy them so long as the religion remains unshaken" and so forth.

Another article in the same issue was headed "The Revealed Form of the English Ruler" and was as follows :—

"In enacting the Consent Act, the English have been drawn into the vortex of circumstances and have been obliged to cast off both the mask and the slough. Now stands before us the severe, terrible, disgusting, naked form of the Englishman. Our heart trembles at the sight of this form. As Sita was stupefied on seeing the great ascetic, wearing the guise of a mendicant, transform himself suddenly into the ten-headed, twenty-eyed King of the Rakshasas, so have we been stupefied by fear, by wonder, by contempt, by insult. Oh ! Rama, Oh, Rama ! What a terrible form ! How fearful is its attitude ! And in that attitude how violent the dance and how deadly the subdued laugh which reverberates through half the Universe. The leering eyes perpetually revolve like the burning wheel in the potter's kiln, and with a thousand tongues in *Mlechcha* languages, with such words as pleases it, it is roaring incessantly. Oh, Madhu Sudana, King of Kings! Is this our Ruler ?" After much more in this strain as to the fearful form of the Ruler who "slanders the Hindus from the might of the gun," and so on, the article went on to say that the Hindu religion cannot be destroyed, though the chief fear is that it will be, and that "the attempt to destroy it has rendered clearer the policy of the English."

The law was clearly expounded in this case by the learned Chief Justice of Bengal, and it was shown beyond doubt that deliberate attempts to excite feelings of enmity and ill-will against the Government and to hold it up to the hatred and contempt of the people, and misrepresentation of the true state of affairs by

partial statements of facts, so as to cause disaffection, were offences under the law, and that writings of this nature in the public press rendered those who published them liable to punishment. In the trial which took place the jury disagreed in their verdict, and, under the orders of the Chief Justice, the case was postponed as a *remanet* to the next ensuing Sessions of the High Court. The proprietor, editor, manager, and publisher of the *Bangobasi* then presented a petition to the Lieutenant-Governor, in which they expressed contrition for having allowed the articles which formed the subject of the prosecution to appear in that paper, promised henceforth to conduct it in a spirit of loyalty to Her Majesty the Queen-Empress and the Government of India and threw themselves unreservedly on the mercy of the Lieutenant-Governor. Representations were also made by the British Indian Association and by the Native Press Association—a body which was formed after the proceedings against the *Bangobasi* had been instituted, with the object, among others, of improving the tone of the Native Press and preserving moderation in the discussion of all public questions—interceding on behalf of the *Bangobasi* and entreating the Lieutenant-Governor to direct, in consideration of the humble submission of those responsible for the paper, that further criminal proceedings should be stayed. These memorials were forwarded by Sir C. Elliott to the Government of India with His Honor's support, and, under the orders of His Excellency the Governor-General-in-Council, the matter was not pressed further against the defendants.

There was reason to believe that this act of lenity was appreciated by the community generally, and that it exercised a healthy influence on the tone of the Press at the time.

Village Police.

In accordance with the recommendations of the Police Committee which sat in 1890-1, a Bill was prepared to amend the village *Chaukidari* Act, 1870, and introduced into the Bengal Council on the 23rd April 1892. One object was to bring the village watch into closer relations with the District Magistrate. Another was to raise the social status of the *Chaukidars*, by substituting men of better caste and more respectable position. The main alterations proposed were briefly set out in the Statement of Objects and Reasons as follows :—

"The present Bill has been prepared to give effect to such of the

proposals of the Police Committee of 1890-91 as have been accepted by Government in regard to the reconstitution of the village police. The Bill provides for the introduction of the Act into all villages irrespective of the number of houses they contain. It is proposed that the Magistrate may, with the consent of the Local Government, arrange for the election of a *panchayat* by the rate-payers in any manner most convenient. It is left to the Magistrate, and not to the *panchayat*, to determine the number of *chaukidars* to be employed, and to fix the salary of the *chaukidars* within certain limits. The appointment of a *chaukidar* will rest with the Magistrate, on the nomination of the *panchayat*, and will no longer be made by the *panchayat*. The powers of arrest by a *chaukidar* have been extended so as to bring the law into accordance with the general practice. The appointment of a *tahsildar* is authorised not only, as now, on the application of the *panchayat*, but also at the discretion of the Magistrate, when he finds that collection is badly carried out and the *chaukidar* is not regularly paid. Fines and penalties will be credited no longer to the *Chaukidari* Village Fund, but to a district *Chaukidari* Reward Fund, the control over which will rest with the Magistrate. In other respects there are small modifications of the existing law. It is not considered expedient at present to undertake any legislation in regard to Part II of the Act relating to *chakran* lands."

In the progress though Council of the Bill which became Act I (B. C.) of 1892 certain further amendments were incorporated, of which the following only need be mentioned. The number of the *panchayat* was fixed at "not less than 3, nor more than 5," with a further proviso that in certain local areas the Local Government might reduce the number to 1. This provision was inserted with reference to the peculiar conditions of tea estates in the districts of Darjeeling and Jalpaiguri, and of localities in other districts where it might not be possible to appoint more than one member. The Magistrate of the district was also authorised to delegate, with the sanction of the Commissioner, his powers under the Act, either wholly or in part, to any subordinate Magistrate of the first class in charge of a subdivision, or to the District Superintendent of Police. A proposal was also made to insert a clause forbidding police officers to make use of *chaukidars* as menial servants, but this amendment was withdrawn on the understanding that strict orders would be issued by Government on the subject.

Next to low caste and disreputable antecedents one of the causes

which had done much to degrade the village *chaukidar* in his own esteem and that of the public, and to lessen his influence for good, had been the habit, too common among the provincial police, of treating him as a beast of burden and a menial servant. The Government was pledged to do all it could to stop this custom, and Sir C. Elliott took every opportunity of giving publicity to his desire that Magistrates and District Superintendents of Police should set their faces sternly against the practice.

The Regular Police.

The Police Committee made a number of recommendations for the improvement of the regular police, chiefly with a tendency to increasing the pay of the various grades. The most important suggestion was that no officers inferior in rank to Sub-Inspector should be employed in the investigation of criminal cases and that head-constables, whose number would be greatly reduced, should be confined to work of a less responsible nature. This was accepted so far as financial exigencies permitted. In accordance also with the Committee's advice the special reserves of police on military lines were further organized, under special legislation.

The Criminal Courts.

Sir C. Elliott devoted much time and attention to the working of the Criminal Courts, and accepted generally the recommendations of the Police Committee on this subject. He enjoined on Magistrates and sub-divisional officers that they should watch the proceedings of investigating police officers with greater care, and issue such instructions as they thought fit. The necessity of carefully watching over the work of their subordinates was impressed again and again on District Magistrates with special reference to delays, in trying cases and unnecessary remands. At the suggestion of Sir C. Elliott the High Court issued instructions to Sessions Judges that they were authorised and expected to inspect the Courts of Magistrates subordinate to them. Above all things Sir C. Elliott insisted that there should be no avoidable delay in the disposal of cases. It should, he laid down, be a point of honour with Magistrates not to plead want of time as an excuse for adjournment; and when witnesses were in attendance the Court should not rise at 5 P. M., as had hitherto been too often the practice, but should sit still dusk or even after dark rather than subject parties and witnesses to the inconvenience of another day's detention. Great

improvement soon manifested itself in this department of the Administration, and his efforts to improve the procedure in Criminal Courts were cordially responded to by all classes of Magistrates.

Excise.

The change of Excise policy in Bengal, from the outstill system of Sir A. Eden's time, through the Excise Commission of 1883-84, to the revival of *sadar* distilleries, has been shewn in the previous Chapter. Outstills were abolished on 1st April 1889 in Calcutta, the 24-*Parganas*, and Howrah, and from 1st. April 1890 in the 16 remaining districts of the Presidency, Burdwan, Dacca and Orissa Divisions, with a loss of revenue. This loss was nothing more than might have been expected under a new policy introducing so great a change. The Government wrote as follows: "The advantages of the distillery system are great, and there is no reason why it should not succeed in raising a moderate revenue in settled tracts where the people are fairly prosperous, and at the same time in reducing consumption. In Northern Bengal, the Chittagong Division, and in Chota Nagpur, with the exception of Hazaribagh, there are no distilleries. The dual system prevails in the Patna Division and in the districts of Monghyr, Bhagalpur and Hazaribagh. The central distillery supplies a certain area, and the rest of each district is served by outstills, which are placed under stringent restrictions as to the amount of liquor the lessees may manufacture. In Bihar the poverty of the people compels the supply of cheap and therefore weak liquor, and undue pressure put upon the *abkars* only results in the stimulation of illicit distillation. During the year 1890-91 there was a marked decline in revenue in every district in Bihar, and the figures indicate less success in managing excise there than elsewhere in the Province. The attempt to raise the retail prices of outstill liquor has failed, and the *abkars* have combined to refuse settlements. It appears probable that sufficient judgment has not been exercised, and that the upset prices have been fixed too high for the *abkars* to be able to recoup themselves by raising the price of liquor. The trade in duty-paying spirit has been injuriously affected, but there is nothing to show that this has been accompanied by reduced consumption, and not by an increase in illicit distillation."

Defects in the working of the Excise Department as regards country spirit attracted Sir C. Elliott's attention in respect of (1) the

restriction of still and vat capacity in outstills :—(2) the system of fixing the duty on liquor according to its exact strength as measured by the hydrometer, compared with the system of issuing it at fixed strengths :—(3) the system of fixing minimum prices of retail sale, (4) the rates of distillery fees : (5) the desirability of distilling weak liquor at the Government distilleries : (6) the failure of the attempt made in Bihar to raise the license fees of outstills.

He expressed himself to be a hearty supporter of the central distillery system,—the essence of which was that every gallon of liquor distilled should pay duty to the State,—as opposed to the outstill system under which the more the liquor distilled the less the duty paid. But he strongly condemned the idea that the introduction of the Government distillery system should be followed by the introduction of stronger liquor than the people had been in the habit of drinking. Worked in this way, a system which was advocated on principles of temperance as well as of sound finance would become an instrument making for the spread of drunkenness. He therefore insisted on the distilling (as a general rule) of no stronger liquor than was made at the outstills and generally consumed by the people, subject to the condition that it must be strong enough to carry to the shops where it was to be sold.

As it had been noticed that the restriction of the still and vat capacity, excellent though the scheme was in principle, had been carried out in an unintelligent way, and practically had no effect whatever, as in most cases the limit was placed far above the real wants of the shop, the question was further thoroughly examined by Sir C. Elliott, and it was amply demonstrated that the system had proved a failure. It had given infinite trouble to the officials and caused great annoyance to the *abkars*, who had frequently evaded the restriction altogether. He accordingly decided to withdraw, unconditionally, all existing restrictions on the capacity of vats from 1st April 1893. As regards the stills, Collectors were empowered to allow them to be used of any size that might be thought desirable, reporting their action in each case to the Commissioner of Excise, who was given power to revise the orders if necessary.

The idea that the extension of the Government distillery system should be followed by the introduction of stronger liquor than the people had been in the habit of drinking having been strongly con-

demned, the question was further discussed before final orders were passed. There was no doubt that at equal prices the drinking public preferred strong to weak liquor; but the question was—why Government should create a taste for strong drink by issuing strong liquor from its central distilleries when the practice of the outstillers (who unquestionably followed, and did not form the public taste) showed that weak liquor was preferred? The only possible defence of the practice, it was said, would be that the distillery liquor, though issued strong, was diluted and sold weak; and from this arose the subsidiary question whether the public preferred their liquor issued weak from the distillery ready for drinking, or issued strong and then diluted to weakness in the shops. It was ascertained that as a rule dilution was practised to a very small extent, and even then more as a fraud or as adulteration than with the intention of watering down liquor to any thing like the level of weak outstill liquor. There was no doubt that weak liquor, hot and fresh from the still, was preferred to strong liquor diluted with hot water; but it was not so clear that weak liquor, which had grown cold and stale, was better liked than diluted strong liquor. This however, was but a side issue: the main point was that, when strong distillery liquor was manufactured, it was not habitually diluted to any thing like the weakness of outstill liquor and therefore the issue of such liquor must have tended to encourage a taste for strong drink. The Board and the Excise Commissioner, far from forbidding the distillation of weak spirit, as was done in some places, were instructed to so far discourage the distillation of strong liquor as not to insist on it. It was held to be the wisest course to attempt to meet the popular taste and allow the distillers to turn out the spirit for which they found the readiest sale.

With regard to outstills, effect was given from the beginning of 1893-94 to the order of Government, directing the withdrawal of the restriction on the capacities of the stills and the fermenting vats, which were introduced on the recommendation of the Excise Commission, but were found after full trial to be vexatious and ineffectual in practice. The licensees of outstills were not, however, allowed to increase the size of the stills already sanctioned without the approval of the Collectors and the Excise Commissioner. Sir C. Elliott anticipated no evil results from the change.

Scarcity.

As the early cessation of the rains in September 1891 gave rise to apprehensions that the great winter rice crop of Bengal must be materially injured and that distress would probably ensue, Sir C. Elliott called for full and periodical reports as to the condition and prospects of the crops and of the people, revised and republished the Famine Code, caused lists of works available for purposes of relief to be prepared afresh, and thus maintained the Administration in readiness to meet famine, should it come. The first warning that scarcity was impending in some of the districts in the Patna, Bhagalpur, and Rajshahi Divisions was given in December 1891. The forecast then made was verified by the result. Although a good *bhadoi* harvest (or early rain crop) enabled the cultivators to bear without much suffering the loss of the greater part of the winter rice crop, the continuance of drought reduced the outturn of the *rabi* crop almost to nothing, and resulted in the presence of a more or less widespread distress, which in March 1892 necessitated the opening of relief works in several districts. As was anticipated, the effects of the scarcity were most acutely felt in the district of Darbhanga, and in parts of Muzaffarpur, Monghyr, Bhagalpur, Purnea, and Dinajpur. Prices, though high, nowhere rose to actual famine pitch, but the dearth of employment threw on the District Boards the responsibility of enabling all agricultural labourers who were out of work to earn subsistence wages, and it was for this purpose that relief works were opened. In the event of district funds failing, (and a ruling of Government required that they should first be exhausted before an appeal to Government for funds could be entertained) Government undertook to supplement them from provincial resources, and to grant loans liberally under the Land Improvements' and Agriculturists' Loans Acts. Monthly Reports were, after the close of the year 1891-92, regularly submitted, giving particulars as to the affected tracts and the relief operations undertaken. On the 1st April 1892 there were about 23,000 labourers on the relief works, and nearly 900 people were in receipt of gratuitous relief.

Physical training.

For some years past the physical training of schoolboys had been encouraged by the formation of clubs for athletics, by drill and gymnastic exercises, in Collegiate competitions and annual sports. In 1891-92 it was particularly

noticed on every hand that there was a great increase of the zeal with which the national English games, especially football, were played. On tour Sir C. Elliott constantly watched the performances of the boys with the greatest interest. He noticed how much more the Bengalis took to these exercises than the Biharis: even in the Bihar *zilla* schools he observed that the most proficient boys were Bengalis by birth. He looked forward to great improvement in the physique of Bengalis in the course of one or two generations from this source. In the interior of the country no difficulty was experienced in obtaining space for the boys' games, but in Calcutta the opposite was the case. In Calcutta, sites on the *maidan* were allotted for 3 European and 2 Native Colleges, but the distance of the *maidan* from most of the private schools and the want of playgrounds near the boys' homes proved an insurmountable obstacle. Sir C. Elliott expressed a hope that some generous and public-spirited individuals would come forward and provide means for the physical improvement of their race: and with the aid of Government and private subscriptions Marcus Square in the centre of the town was cleared and made available for recreation.

Welfare of students.

It was not only in the physical training of the youth of Bengal that Sir C. Elliott showed himself to be interested. He lost no opportunity of advancing their welfare in every way possible: it was a matter which he had much at heart. He laboured for the provision of boarding accommodation for the students in Colleges in Calcutta, arranged for the enlargement of the boarding-house of the Presidency College, assisted the construction of a boarding-house for the students of the Calcutta *madrasa*, and at this time a boarding-house was established by the Oxford Mission. He induced the authorities at the Presidency College to attach more importance to the prize-giving at the end of term and to improve the occasion with recitations, &c. &c.: he helped greatly towards the establishment of the "Society for the higher training of young men," —subsequently called the University Institute: he invited the students from the Calcutta Colleges and Schools to Belvedere several times during his tenure of office, and organised river parties for them. But, with all his kindness and efforts for their welfare, he insisted on a proper standard of discipline at all Educational Institutions and brooked no attempts at insubordination.

The Civil Engineering College, Sibpur.

The Civil Engineering College, formerly a department of the Presideney College, Calcutta, was transferred as above recorded, by Sir A. Eden to Sibpur, and closely connected with the workshops established at that place about the same time by the Public Works Department. Arrangements were made for the instruction of 4 classes of students, namely—(1) Civil Engineers, (2) Mechanical Engineers, (3) Civil Overseers, (4) Foreman Mechanics. The second and third classes were, however, either never opened or were quickly closed for want of students. The first class was composed of matriculated members of the University, and prepared, after a course of study extending over four years, for the License in Engineering (Civil or Mechanical) granted by the University. The last class was of a lower status, in point both of the initial qualifications demanded of the students and of the standard of instruction to be imparted to them. The students in it were apprenticed to the Executive Engineer in charge of the workshops, and hence were known as Mechanical Apprentices. Every student in each class was to work for some hours a day in the shops, both during the period of his class instruction and for a certain time after its close.

A Committee of Engineers and Educational Officers was appointed to revise the course of study and of practical training, and on their recommendation the following arrangements were introduced. The standard for admission to the Engineering Department of the College was raised, by requiring a candidate to have passed one or other of the following tests :—

(1) The Entrance examination of the Calcutta University, after obtaining not less than 40 and 50 per cent respectively of the marks assigned to English and Mathematics. With this qualification the candidate had to be under 19 years of age.

(2) The F. A. Examination of the Calcutta University ; the candidate's age being under 21 years.

(3) The B. A. examination in the B course ; the candidate's age being under 23 years.

In order to attract students of the highest attainments, it was determined to award the 10 special scholarships, reserved for students on admission to the College, to the following classes of students in order :—(1) Bachelors of Arts who had taken up the B course ;

(2) candidates who had passed the First Arts examination : (3) other candidates according to the number of marks gained in English and Mathematics jointly.

In order that those students who failed to obtain a degree might still obtain some acknowledgment of the extent to which they had prosecuted their studies, the Principal of the College was authorised to hold a final College examination of the students of the Engineer class, and to issue certificates of proficiency in the theoretical course, similar to those which were granted to students of the apprentice class. The holders of the certificates, whether they obtained a degree or not, were afterwards to be put through the full course of manual instruction and practical training prescribed for the Engineer class.

The advantage of securing to the Province a supply of young men trained to engineering pursuits was, in Sir C. Elliott's opinion, a sufficient justification for the expenditure incurred, as it would be strictly reproductive. He encouraged students to join the Engineering Department by every means in his power. Formerly 1 and 2 appointments in the grade of Assistant Engineers were reserved in alternate years for students of the Sibpur College who qualified at the University Examination, and who afterwards showed satisfactory progress when posted on probation to public works. Sir C. Elliott was prepared to direct that all appointments in the upper subordinate grade of the Public Works Department, made by the Government of Bengal, should be selected from students of the Sibpur Engineering College, who had graduated in Engineering at the Calcutta University and successfully passed the subsequent period of practical training. He also agreed that the students of the College who, without having passed the University examination in Engineering, passed the final College examination, and had also gone through the subsequent 2 years' course of practical instruction, should be declared qualified for employment as District Engineers, provided they had been employed in engineering works for not less than 5 years, exclusive of the time spent in their practical course, and held satisfactory certificates of good conduct and efficiency during such employment. He trusted that the Sibpur College would attain to its true position as the centre of genuine technical education in Bengal, and would be a powerful factor in promoting and developing the industries of the Province.

In 1895 a course of mining instruction was sanctioned for this College. The award of 2 mining scholarships of Rs. 50 *per mensem*, tenable for 2 years by holders of the B. E. degree who intended to take up mining as a profession, was sanctioned, and arrangements were made for their practical training under Dr. Saise, manager of the East Indian Railway Collieries. In the absence of passed B. E. candidates willing to undertake the training a commencement was made with a Licentiate of Engineering.

Primary Education generally—

The following notice of Primary Education in 1893 shows at a glance the figures for 20 years and the system in force. In the Chapter of the Bengal Administration Report for 1872-73, which deals with the general system of public instruction under this heading, occurs the following passage :—'A plan for systematically establishing Government primary schools in all districts and of localising their administration has been framed, and a total Government grant, amounting to Rs. 5,50,000 a year, is now allotted.' In this sentence was announced the now well-known system of primary education initiated by Sir G. Campbell in his Resolution of 30th September 1872. In August 1873 there were under the operation of the Government scheme 10,787 village schools with 255,728 scholars. In March 1883 there were 62,551 primary schools with 1,094,911 scholars. In March 1893 the numbers were 47,525 schools with 1,122,930 scholars. The system has gone through many modifications during this period and possibly still further modifications may be required. Its main features, however, are unlikely to be altered

The following quotation from the report of the Education Commission* places the policy that was adopted twenty years ago, with regard to the system of primary education in this Province, in a clear light :—

Bengal system : *General view* :—"The Bengal system of primary education is therefore based entirely upon the existing indigenous schools. Its declared policy towards them has been, first, to win their confidence, and then, secondly, to cautiously and gradually introduce necessary improvements. Any rapid improvement or elevation of their standard has been studiously avoided. The object of Government has been to give the masses of the people useful, however elementary,

* Sir W. W. Hunter's ; see Chapter VIII. page 766.

instruction in the schools which they themselves created and maintained and in the form in which they are said still to desire it. The schools are declared to be village schools established and maintained by the people for the people ; and the Government contribution, small as it is, is a subsidy paid to the school-masters as an inducement to them to teach and as a reward for teaching those subjects of elementary liberal instruction which find no place in the ordinary course of the village *pathsala*. It is believed that any attempt to raise the schools as a body above the lower primary standard would be to drive away those pupils whom, above all others, it desires to attract. At the same time the general improvement of the *pathsala* is not wholly neglected ; and it is effected partly by the substitution, as opportunity offers, of younger and better educated teachers, and as a consequence thereof by the introduction of new subjects of study, serving to connect the *pathsala* with the general education system of the Province, and by encouraging the rise of selected schools to the upper standard. The motive to improvement is supplied not only by the small rewards that are earned at the annual gatherings, but by inspection, by the stimulus of a competitive examination, by the award of scholarships, and perhaps in a still higher degree by the knowledge which the people in every village of Bengal have acquired, that the Government interests itself in their schools, desires them to prosper and is eager to co-operate with them in their improvement."

Though the administration of affairs connected with primary education has of late years been in the hands of District Boards in the districts scheduled under the Local Self-Government Act, the system above described is still very generally in force.

and in Municipalities.

In dealing with the Municipal Reports of the year 1890-91, Sir C. Elliott laid down that municipalities might fairly be required to provide primary education for boys of school-going age—a number which might be taken to be 15 per cent of the male population of the town. Commissioners of Divisions were authorised to give effect to this principle when passing the annual estimates under the Municipal Act, and to see that municipalities made ample provision for primary schools before allotting funds in support of secondary education. It was suggested that the best means of attaining this end would be to ask each municipality to prepare a definite scheme for providing the requisite number of primary schools, and to submit it for the Commissioner's approval. It was proposed that the grants given by Government to primary schools within municipal limits should

be made over to the municipalities concerned for expenditure on the same object, and these, together with the relief afforded by the transfer of the collection and registration of vital statistics to the town police, were expected to appreciably relieve their finances and help them to meet the new liability. When these orders were repeated, it was laid down that municipalities should be called upon to provide instruction for $\frac{1}{12}$ the number of boys of a schoolgoing age, as ascertained by taking them to be 15 per cent of the male population. A larger number were not provided for as for obvious reasons it could not be expected that all the boys should be at school. Taking the average cost of this class of education at 10 annas per head (exclusive of that portion of the charge which was ordinarily met from fees and subscriptions), the cost which the municipalities were called upon to defray under these orders in providing education for 1,80, 112 boys was taken in round numbers at Rs. 67,000, which bore to the total ordinary income (i. e., excluding the income derived for specific purposes, such as lighting, conservancy, water-supply, maintenance of hospitals, &c.) of the municipalities during 1891-92 the ratio of 3·2 per cent.,—a very moderate demand to make on municipal revenues for the primary education of the boys resident within their limits. Municipalities were at the same time informed that, in those cases in which the municipal revenues were already so deeply pledged to obligatory expenditure that this small contribution could not be made to primary education, some help would be afforded from provincial revenues for a year or 2 till the necessary equilibrium was established.

Spelling of vernacular names.

In 1892 the transliteration of the Indian names of well-known places, rivers &c. in Bengal, of vernacular technical terms in constant use, and names of religious festivals, was revised by the Bengal Government, with the approval of the Government of India, lists of words being published for general adoption. The spelling of the names of places and rivers which had been fixed by historical and literary usage was not altered, but it was laid down that all other names of places and all technical vernacular terms which it might be found necessary to employ in official letters should be transliterated on the scientific system accepted by Government. Sir C. Elliott considered the revision to be necessary, as the tendency of educated people was towards a system of spelling which was regarded as scientific, and as it

was, moreover, becoming more and more irksome to spell by the antiquated phonetic methods a number of names which could not be said to have received the stamp of universal acceptance.

Distinctive features of the provincial contracts of 1887 and 1892.

The quinquennial arrangement with the Government of India for financial administration, which had been revised in 1887, had to be renewed in 1892. The provincial contract, as it was called, of 1887 was based for the most part on the arrangements proposed by the Financial Committee. No material advance in the system of decentralisation was made, but by a redistribution of the shares of the Imperial and Provincial Governments in the 3 principal heads of Land Revenue, Stamps, and Excise, and by certain reductions in expenditure which were considered feasible, a general standard of normal revenue and expenditure was obtained, which was adopted as the "Ruling account." The surplus of this account, amounting to Rs. 6,90,000, was appropriated by the Government of India through the Land Revenue head, leaving Bengal with a revenue and expenditure exactly equal. The Government of Bengal was admitted to a quarter share in the Land Revenue collections, except those from Government estates, whilst under Stamps and Excise its share was changed from $\frac{1}{2}$ in the preceding contract to $\frac{3}{4}$ and $\frac{1}{4}$ respectively. The proportion of charges under Stamps and Excise followed the proportion of receipts. The cost of surveys and settlements and of the maintenance of agricultural works and embankments was made entirely Provincial. Refunds and Drawbacks followed the proportions assigned for the revenues concerned. The Patna-Gaya State Railway was made Imperial, and the Eastern Bengal State Railway system, Provincial, with this reservation, that any excess over 30 *lakhs* in the net revenue from the Eastern Bengal State Railway (Proper) was to be credited to Imperial revenues. The interest on funds provided for outlay on State Railways and Irrigation Major Works was borne by the Provincial revenues and was calculated on the entire capital outlay, including loss by exchange, from the commencement of operations, but excluding the amount advanced from Provincial revenues during the term of the contract. The only important change made after this contract was finally settled was the transfer of the management of the Tirhut State Railway to the Bengal and North-Western Railway Company from the 1st July 1890.

The quinquennial period, 1887-88 to 1891-92, covered by this contract, began with a balance of nearly Rs. 20,00,000 in favour of Bengal and closed with a balance of Rs. 23,85,000. The provincial resources, which were estimated at Rs. 4,64,47,000, averaged Rs. 5,15,29,000, being an increase of Rs. 50,82,000; the expenditure, which was estimated at Rs. 4,64,47,000, averaged Rs. 5,14,52,000, showing an increase of Rs. 50,05,000; and the surplus of revenue over expenditure (after payment of a special contribution of 10 *lakhs* to Imperial revenues in 1890-91) was Rs. 77,000 a year, or Rs. 3,85,000 in 5 years.

The contract made in 1892 was also for another period of 5 years commencing from the 1st April 1892. It was expressly declared to be a consolidated contract for all provincial revenues and expenditure, and not a collection of separate assignments for each head. Inter-provincial adjustments were abolished. The following changes were made in the provincial receipts and charges. The cost of surveys and settlements under Land Revenue, which under the last contract was entirely provincial, was made Imperial, with the reservation that, if the recoveries on account of the survey and settlement operations in Bihar fell short of the expenditure which was recoverable from the *zamindars* and *raiyats*, the difference would be charged to the provincial Revenues. The whole of the general establishment of the Accountant-General was made Imperial, but the charges of the Examiner of Local Accounts and his establishment continued to be provincial. All police charges, including Railway Police, were made provincial. The salaries and allowances of officers on the cadre of the Civil Veterinary Department were Imperial, but all other charges of that Department were made provincial. The Nalhati and the Tirhut State Railways were made Imperial, while the net receipts of the Eastern Bengal system were divided equally between the Imperial and the provincial revenues. It was also decided that the Government of Bengal should not exercise any administrative or financial powers in regard to railways. The capital expenditure on the Hijli tidal canal required to complete the work was to be advanced from the Imperial funds, the Provincial Government paying interest as before. After making allowance for all these alterations the Government of India adopted the following figures as the estimates

of the total provincial revenue and expenditure for the new contract:—Revenue from all sources 4,24,93,000; Total provincial expenditure 4,10,54,000; Surplus 14,39,000.

This surplus (Rs, 14,39,000) was appropriated to the Imperial Revenues through the Land Revenue head, and Bengal was thus left with a revenue and expenditure exactly equal.

First Financial Statement in the Legislative Council.

The year 1892-3 was the first year in which arrangements were made for an exposition of the system of Provincial Finance in Bengal before the Lieutenant-Governor's Legislative Council. Although the financial statement was actually made before the Council assembled on the 1st April 1893, the arrangements for the statement were all completed in the year 1892-3. In making the statement the Hon'ble Mr. H. H. Risley, Financial Secretary, explained briefly how the system of Provincial Finance came to be introduced, and the main differences which distinguished it from the system of centralized finance which it displaced. He then compared Provincial Finance as understood in India with the cognate systems of Federal Finance as practised in the German Empire and the American Commonwealth: and finally explained the prominent and characteristic features of the budget for the year 1893-94. A concise but complete history was separately given of the working of the system of Provincial Finance for 21 years, from 1871-72 to 1891-92, during which period the system had been in force. It was there shown how, from having control over a few of the spending departments of Government, which were made over to the Local Government under the first decentralization Resolution of the Government of Lord Mayo in 1871-72, the Provincial Government had come to be entrusted with the financial management of almost every branch of revenue and expenditure arising in Bengal. The extent to which, by the contract commencing from 1st April 1892, the Provincial Government was allowed to share in these receipts and expenditure was shown in a schedule. On the receipt side of the account the Provincial Government received 12 per cent. on the land revenue collected from Government estates; the rents of salt warehouses; fines and other minor receipts; provincial rates; minor Customs receipts; interest on local loans; receipts from Courts of law, jails, police, marine, education, medical, Botanic Gardens, cinchona, fairs, emigration, and receipts in aid of superan-

nuation ; also stationery and printing, except the value of supplies to railways and local bodies ; and all receipts from irrigation, navigation, and civil works. It received $\frac{1}{2}$ of the assessed taxes, forest receipts, and registration receipts and the traffic earnings on the Eastern Bengal Railway system ; $\frac{1}{4}$ of excise and minor land revenue heads; and $\frac{3}{4}$ of the important head of stamps. On the expenditure side the Government of Bengal was required to meet all charges under the head of land revenue, except survey and settlement, all expenditure for provincial rates, and the transferred heads of customs, salt and interest ; also all charges arising under the heads Courts of law, jails, police, marine, education, medical and, with certain exceptions, political ; the whole of the cost of scientific and minor departments except Census, ancient manuscripts, and certain veterinary charges ; the whole of the cost of stationery and printing ; the working expenses of irrigation and navigation, and civil works with the exception of Imperial buildings. It was also made responsible for $\frac{1}{2}$ of the expenditure under assessed taxes, forest and registration ; for $\frac{1}{2}$ of the working expenses of the Eastern Bengal Railway system : and for $\frac{3}{4}$ of the stamp expenditure and $\frac{1}{4}$ of excise.

Five years' Provincial Finance.

Towards the close of his Administration Sir C. Elliott recorded a brief retrospect of the Provincial Finance of the 5 years 1891-92 to 1895-96. The opening balance in 1891-92 was lessened by the special benevolence of 10 *lakhs* levied by the Government of India in the preceding year. The sudden fall of the revenue in 1892-93, the first year of the new contract, was due chiefly to an important change in railway administration, and to the raising of the fixed contribution from provincial to Imperial revenues. In consequence of these and other changes, the balance at the close of the year was reduced to $22\frac{1}{2}$ *lakhs*. The following year showed a revenue increased by nearly $8\frac{1}{2}$ *lakhs*, owing to receipts under stamps and excise, and from the Eastern Bengal State Railway ; and the closing balance rose to $26\frac{1}{4}$ *lakhs*. The revenue for 1894-95 exceeded that of the previous year by nearly 17 *lakhs*, this being inclusive of 3 *lakhs* levied as an extraordinary contribution by the Government of India, and the balance at the close of the year reached the high figure of about 43 *lakhs*. On the whole period, besides the extraordinary benevolence of 10 *lakhs* levied at its commencement, Bengal contributed no less than $67\frac{1}{2}$ *lakhs*

to meet the necessities of the Empire, over and above the heads of receipt ordinarily classed as Imperial, and those divided in stated proportions between the Local and Supreme Governments. Notwithstanding this drain upon the provincial resources, a substantial array of administrative improvements was carried out within the period. Three new districts were created; the judicial staff was strengthened in several ways, and the number of Sub-Registrars increased; the police was reorganised, and reinforced by reserves in every district; jails were extended, and their water-supply improved; the Medical College and Campbell Hospitals were enlarged and a new hospital for the south of Calcutta commenced; the Sanitary and Vaccination Department was reorganised; a supply of cheap quinine was brought within the reach of the poorest classes; and improvements were effected in the Salt Department. Under the head of Public Works, the period was one of considerable activity; a large number of Government offices, both in Calcutta and in the *mufassal*, were newly constructed or enlarged; new lines of communication were opened and existing lines improved; special attention was given to the development of railways by means of feeder roads; and the Orissa canals were extended and irrigation canals generally improved. The interests of education received careful attention: new schools were built and existing schools enlarged; instruction in Engineering was improved; veterinary and industrial schools were founded and primary female education promoted, and a great extension given to the boarding-house system in Calcutta. In allotting the available resources, an endeavour was made to distribute them as equitably as possible, with due regard to the relative urgency of the many demands put forward.

Railways.

One of the conditions of the new Provincial Contract which began on 1st April 1892 involved a change in the relation of the Provincial Government to the Railways which had hitherto been under its financial control. The Government of India held that administrative difficulties had been caused by making over the management of State Railways to Local Governments, that the measure was one of decentralization in name only, as it had been found that Local Governments were unable to relieve the Public Works Department of the Government of India of any considerable amount of work in connection with the railways made

provincial, while the double control sometimes caused delay and difficulties. Under these circumstances, it was suggested that the control of the railways should be centralized in the hands of the Government of India. It was proposed, however, that the Local Government should retain a financial interest in the working of the railways in the Province, and, in order to ensure this, the offer was made that the Local and Imperial Governments should share equally in the net profits of those railways. The Government of Bengal cordially supported this proposal and effect was given to it in the new contract. Among the important railway projects considered during the year (1891-2) were (1) a branch line of 20 miles from Krishnagar to Ranaghat, (2) an extension from Khulna to Madaripur, and (3) a branch line from Magra to Katwa. Land was acquired in the Puri and Cuttack districts for the construction of the East Coast Railway. The projects actually undertaken during the year were, (1) the Western Duars Railway, 30 miles in length, (2) the Kuch Bihar Railway, and (3) a feeder line, about 35 miles in length, from the Barsoi station of the Assam-Bihar section of the Eastern Bengal State Railway to Kishanganj in the Purnea district. The second was constructed at the cost of the Maharaja of Kuch Bihar with the help of a loan from Government. But the most interesting project was the Tarkeswar-Magra Steam Tramway, a light railway, 30¼ miles long, from Tarkeswar to Magra, both in the Hooghly district, to be undertaken by the Bengal Provincial Railway Company Limited. It was the first undertaking of its kind, to be solely conducted under native management ; it was constructed, but failed to pay as expected. The question of constructing a bridge over the Ganges at Sara was considered and thought practicable by a Committee appointed for the purpose, but had to be abandoned, as the Government of India was unable to provide the cost, which was estimated at a crore of rupees. Subsequently, steam tramways were also constructed from Howrah to Amta and from Howrah to Sheakhalla by a private Company. Progress was made with the 175 miles of the Bengal-Assam railway passing through Bengal districts. A steam tramway was substituted for the proposed branch railway from Ranaghat *via* Santipur to Krishnagar. A line from Sultanpur to Bogra, advocated in 1891 as a famine relief work, was considered but postponed. Railway lines were sanctioned from Mogulsarai to Gaya, and from Lakhisarai to

Gaya : from Sini-Midnapur to Calcutta, and from Cuttack-Midnapur to Calcutta.

Rural sanitation and water-supply.

Much attention was given in 1891-92 to the question of rural sanitation, which has always been one of extreme difficulty in Bengal, not merely because the financial resources of District Boards are wholly inadequate to the work to be done, but also because no village agency exists competent to carry out the simple measures which are necessary to guard against the pollution of the village site and the fouling of the water-supply. Under existing conditions, the District Board alone was in a position to take effective action in these matters, and the range within which its influence could be exercised was necessarily limited. The Boards could not execute all the sanitary works that were needed. But they were directed to set examples as opportunity offered by cleaning tanks, digging or cleaning out wells, especially along the chief roads, and by promoting general knowledge of the measures which tended to improve the healthiness of a locality. If these sanitary works were well and cheaply done, not of too elaborate a character, and if use were made of materials available on the spot, it was hoped that neighbouring land-holders would be led to undertake works of the same kind, and that the villagers might themselves combine to carry out petty local schemes, with or without the assistance of the Board. Such works were to be distributed impartially in different parts of the district, in order to diffuse as widely as possible the knowledge of what the District Board was doing and what its intentions were.

Drainage and water-supply Conference.

In considering the various schemes which had been brought forward from time to time for the purpose of providing Municipal towns, especially those on both banks of the river Hooghly near Calcutta, with a supply of filtered water and with improved drainage, Sir C. Elliott was led to the conclusion that the existing municipal law did not make adequate provision for inducing municipalities to undertake, or to combine their resources for the purpose of undertaking, such schemes. His attention was also drawn to the facts that, in the opinion of the general public, shared in by the Sanitary Commissioner, obstructed drainage was to a large extent the cause of the fever which had for a long time afflicted Bengal, and that the existing laws did not authorize the execution of comprehensive schemes of drainage, embracing both

municipal and rural areas. Tentative proposals were, therefore, drawn up with a view to secure this object, and were circulated to selected officers and non-official Chairmen of municipalities. On receipt of their opinions, a number of gentlemen, official and non-official, including the Chairmen of certain important *mufassal* municipalities who were qualified by their position and experience to advise the Lieutenant-Governor on these difficult questions, were asked to meet Sir C. Elliott at a Conference at Belvedere on the 18th July 1892. After a full and careful discussion of the subject, the Conference arrived at the following conclusions :—

(1) that the Local Government should be empowered of its own motion to require municipalities (*a*) to apply to Government for the extension of the provisions of the Municipal Act relating to water-supply and drainage, and (*b*) to combine with one another, and with District and Local Boards and Cantonment authorities, for the purpose of improving the water-supply and drainage of the area subject to their jurisdiction ; and

(2) that when an application was made to Government on the part of the inhabitants of any tract where malarial fever prevailed, or when it was notorious that there was a high rate of mortality due to the want of drainage, provision should be made by law for ascertaining the wishes of the majority of the inhabitants or owners of property concerned, as represented by the District Board, and, if the majority supported the scheme, the Government should be empowered to carry out comprehensive schemes of drainage, and to raise from the area affected such funds as might be necessary for meeting the cost of such schemes.

The Sanitary Drainage Act.

Steps were taken to give effect to these Resolutions, the first by including the necessary provisions in the Bill to amend the Bengal Municipal Act of 1884, then under consideration, while, in order to carry out the latter Resolution a separate draft Bill was framed, and introduced into Council in February 1894. This passed through the usual stages into the Act, VIII (B.C.) of 1895, to facilitate the construction of drainage works for improving the sanitary condition of local areas. The Act provided that, whenever an application was received from a District Board, reporting that they believed that the sanitary condition of any tract within their jurisdiction had been deteriorated by

the obstruction of drainage, the Local Government might by an order indicate the area of the tract affected, and prescribe the appointment of 9 or more persons as Drainage Commissioners, of whom not less than $\frac{1}{2}$ were to be elected from the District or Local Board, and the remainder appointed from among the holders of estates and tenures in the said tract, or their managers. The Commissioners were then, through an Engineer, to cause a survey to be made and prepare plans and estimates for the construction and maintenance of the necessary works, and forward them, together with a map of the affected area, to the Collector of the district. This survey, plans, estimates, &c. were to be called the survey and preliminary scheme. The Collector was then to publish in every village of the tract affected a notification, inviting objections, and to forward them, when received, to the Commissioners, who were to submit them along with the survey and preliminary scheme, and a Report, if necessary, to the District Board for consideration. If the District Board rejected the scheme, they would have to defray all costs incurred up to this point: if they accepted it, they were to submit it to the Collector, who was to forward it to the Local Government along with an estimate of the proportion to the road cess of the rate leviable in the tract required to pay off in 30 years the total cost of the undertaking and capitalized value of the expenses of maintenance. The Local Government might approve, modify or reject the scheme and decide what amount it would contribute, and the scheme, as modified, was then to be finally accepted or rejected by the District Board. The cost of construction and maintenance was to be spread over 30 years and recovered by means of a rate on land proportionate to, and payable along with, the road cess. The Act also made provision for the construction of works in 2 or more districts, for the payment of compensation, and for the punishment of persons obstructing public drainage.

Kidderpore docks.

The Kidderpore docks were completed during the year 1891-92. It had been originally proposed to construct 2 docks at a cost of Rs. 3,03,31,515, but in 1884 one dock only was sanctioned at a cost of Rs. 2,00,00,000. A revised estimate amounted to Rs. 2,64,01,605, but in October 1890 an accident of a serious nature happened to the dock walls, causing them to bulge in one or two places, which entailed extra ex-

penditure ; additional works also proved to be necessary. A revised estimate at Rs. 2,87,70,566, was sanctioned, and Rs. 2,80,98,066 were spent by the end of 1892-93. No further movement was observed in the dock walls which had previously caused trouble and alarm, by bulging in places, (an accident which necessitated the exclusion of water for some months,) and it was hoped that the measures taken by the Engineer for their security, which were in accordance with the recommendation of a Special Committee, would prove successful. With the exception, however, of the graving dock, into which the first vessel was admitted on the 10th of July 1891, the docks were not at once used, as the necessary arrangements for connecting them with the railway lines were not immediately completed. The scale of fees to be charged both for the wet and graving dock was approved by the Local Government : and a table of rates for the Port Commissioners' tramway, separating terminal from carrying charges, had to be settled, as well as a working arrangement with the Eastern Bengal State Railway. The docks were legally open on the 28th September 1892, but were hardly in a condition to receive heavy traffic for some months afterwards. The first vessel entered the docks on the 28th June 1892, but it soon became evident that shippers were not disposed to take advantage of the facilities afforded, and the Port Commissioners were called on by Government to take measures to arrange for the deficiency in the revenues of the Port arising from interest on the capital expenditure on the docks having to be provided for. Port dues at the rate of 4 annas per registered ton were imposed on all vessels entering the Port, with effect from the 1st of December 1892, and a special tax of 4 annas a ton levied, under the Calcutta Port Act, on all goods landed from or shipped into any vessel lying within Port limits from the 1st of January 1893. The special tax was continued during the year 1893-94, the estimated receipts from it being Rs. 8,50,000, and from Port dues Rs. 4,75,000. Sir C. Elliott caused the Port Commissioners to be addressed as to the measures which it might be thought advisable to take to attract traffic to the docks.

Tours of Officers.

In 1892 the standing orders in force with regard to the tours to be undertaken by administrative and executive officers were examined, and fresh instructions were issued in supersession of all previous rules on the subject of the

duration and object of tours. Sir C. Elliott called attention to the great importance which he attached to personal supervision and communication between the Heads of Departments and the Chief Executive Officers and their subordinates, and to close and minute inspection by them of all branches of the offices and of the work done by the subordinate officers. Specific orders on the subject were issued in the case of each Head of Department and class of officers, prescribing the minimum period during which each was required to be on tour and the reports to be furnished. Touring and inspection were two of the duties of officers on which Sir C. Elliott laid the greatest stress, and in which he himself set an example. It had long been a commonplace of administration that officers should "go to the spot," but it had never before been insisted upon that officers should spend so much time on touring as was now prescribed: and never before had so much inspection, (and such thoroughness in the operation), been required. Opinions were divided as to the necessity or desirability of such orders: the effect was no doubt to ensure that the work of the country was better and more thoroughly done. The orders on the subject of tours were considerably relaxed by Sir A. Mackenzie, soon after his assumption of office.

The Bengal Legislative Council enlarged.

Under the Indian Councils Act, 1892, *i. e.* 55 and 56 Vic. c. 14 the Governor-General-in-Council was empowered by proclamation to increase the number of Councillors whom the Lieutenant-Governor might nominate for his assistance in making laws and regulations up to a maximum of 20, and, with the approval of the Secretary of State in Council, from time to time to make regulations as to the conditions under which such nominations, or any of them, shall be made by the Lieutenant-Governor, and to prescribe the manner in which such regulations shall be carried into effect. Accordingly, on the 16th March 1893, the Governor-General increased the number of Councillors whom the Lieutenant-Governor might nominate from 12, at which it had stood since the proclamation of 17th January 1862, to 20, the maximum allowed by the Indian Councils Act, 1892. Under Rule II of the regulations which were framed by the Governor-General-in-Council, it was laid down that the nomination to 7 seats in the Council of the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal shall be made by the Lieutenant-Governor on the recommendation of the following

bodies and associations.—*a.*—The Corporation of Calcutta; *b.*—Such Municipal Corporations, or group or groups of Municipal Corporations other than the Corporation of Calcutta, as the Lieutenant-Governor might from time to time prescribe by Notification in the *Calcutta Gazette*; *c.*—Such District Boards, or group or groups of District Boards, as the Lieutenant-Governor might from time to time prescribe as aforesaid; *d.*—Such Association or Associations of merchants, manufacturers or tradesmen as the Lieutenant-Governor might from time to time prescribe as aforesaid; *e.*—The Senate of the University of Calcutta.

Of the above bodies, those described under *a*, *d*, and *e* were to recommend 1 nominee each, while those described under *b* and *c* would each be ordinarily represented by 2 members. The recommendations made by the bodies described under *a*, *d*, and *e* were to be made by a majority of the votes of the members of those bodies. With regard to the bodies described under *b* and *c*, the following procedure for nominations was laid down. As regards municipalities, those whose income was less than Rs. 5,000 were to be excluded, while those whose income exceeded that amount were to proceed each to elect a single electoral representative, who was to exercise a voting power proportionate to the income of the municipality which elected him. Thus the representative of a municipality with an income of Rs. 5,000 and less than Rs. 10,000 was to be entitled to exercise only 1 vote at the conference of municipal electoral representatives, whilst the nominee of a municipality with an income of Rs. 100,000 and less than Rs. 150,000 was to exercise a voting power of 5 votes. For the District Board elections all districts were considered to be of equal importance, and each District Board was to nominate one representative exercising one vote at the election. For the elections of 1893 the municipalities of the Presidency and Rajshahi Divisions, and the District Boards of the Patna and Chittagong Divisions were selected as the first bodies to exercise these new privileges.

Of the remaining 13 seats not more than 10 were ordinarily to be filled by officials nominated by the Lieutenant-Governor while the 3 remaining seats reserved for non-official members were to be filled by persons nominated by the Lieutenant-Governor, so as to secure, in his opinion, a fair representation of the different classes

of the community, provided that 1 seat shall ordinarily be held by a representative of the great landholders of the Province.

Under the powers conferred by section 2 of the Indian Councils Act, 1892, the Lieutenant-Governor, with the sanction of the Governor-General-in-Council, made rules authorizing members of the Council at any meeting for the purpose of making laws and regulations to ask questions as to matters of fact framed so as to be merely requests for information and neither argumentative, hypothetical nor defamatory, subject to disallowance by the Lieutenant-Governor on the ground that they could not be answered consistently with the public interests. No question may be asked as to any matters or branches of the Administration other than those under the control of the Lieutenant-Governor, or as to any matters which are or have been the subject of controversy between the Governor-General-in-Council or the Secretary of State and the Local Government, and no discussion shall be permitted in any case. The Lieutenant-Governor, under the further power conferred by the same section, and with the like sanction, made rules empowering Councillors to offer any observations they might wish on the Financial Statement of the Government of Bengal, which is to be annually explained in Council, the Councillor who explains the statement having the right of reply; the discussion, limited to the branches of revenue and expenditure which are under the control of the Local Government, being closed by the President. The enlarged Council met for the first time on the 22nd July 1893, under the Officiating Lieutenant-Governor, Sir A. P. MacDonnell, who reviewed the history of the Legislative Councils, and regarded the occasion as a landmark which would be memorable in the constitutional history of the country. Under the new rules, the position of a member of the Legislative Council has acquired a greater value in public estimation; the District Boards and municipalities throughout the Province have in turn elected their representatives, generally of the pleader class, each for 2 years; there has been considerable local competition among a limited number of candidates for each vacancy. The aristocracy, and the land-holders of the Province, as well as the Muhammadans, have been well represented by the members carefully selected by the Lieutenant-Governors. The special constituencies, such as the University, the Calcutta Corporation, and Mercantile Associations

have always furnished spokesmen who had their full confidence and distinguished themselves in debate. The discussions have generally been of a dignified, exhaustive, and business-like character, with a tendency perhaps (not unknown elsewhere) of the members to justify their election to their constituents by speaking constantly and at great length. The right of interpellation has been freely used, chiefly for the purposes of drawing attention to the conduct of officials and of eliciting information to be used later. It is difficult to see in what direction there can be a further liberalization of the principles on which the Legislative Council is established, so long as Government continues to preserve, as is at present essential, its official majority.

Previous to 1892 the Bengal Legislative Council could not alter any Act of the Governor-General's Council, but, since the passing of the Indian Councils Act, 1892, it may, with the previous sanction of the Governor-General, but not otherwise, repeal or amend as to Bengal any law or regulation made by any authority in India other than that Local Legislature.

Trial by Jury.

In May 1890 the Government of India called for a report from the Bengal Government on the working of the jury system in Bengal, with special reference to the opinion entertained as to its merits as a means for the repression of crime, and requested that any improvements in its application which appeared to be necessary might be brought to notice. The subject arose out of the inquiry which had been occupying the Government of India regarding the working of the police and the machinery for the repression of crime in British India, during which it had been alleged by several authorities consulted that the jury system had, in some degree, favoured the escape of criminals.

Reports were accordingly called for from the Commissioners and Judges of those districts in which the system was in force, as well as from the Inspector-General of Police. Sir C. Elliott was also favoured with a copy of the replies of the Hon'ble Judges of the High Court to a separate communication which had been addressed to them by the Government of India. From the Reports and Minutes received it became evident that the majority of the most experienced Judges and officers consulted emphatically condemned the system as then worked in Bengal, and were all of opinion that it

was capable of improvement. After a careful consideration of the opinions and statistics before him, Sir C. Elliott reported to the Government of India that there could be no doubt of the failure of the jury system in these Provinces in its existing shape. It was pointed out that it would be scarcely possible to obtain opinions from a large number of men more nearly approaching to unanimity than was the condemnation of the jury system in Bengal contained in the Reports and Minutes collected. Sir C. Elliott expressed his opinion that, if the result could have been foreseen, no advocate would have been found for the introduction of the western institution into India. But as it had been introduced, and was prized on political grounds as a means of identifying the people of the country with the administration of justice, he was averse from its total abolition, and thought that it would be sufficient to make such changes in its working as seemed best calculated to remove the objections which had been raised. To this end it was suggested that some extension should be made in the right of appeal; that section 307 of the Criminal Procedure Code should be amended so as make it incumbent on the Sessions Judge to refer to the High Court every case in which he differed in opinion from the jury; that section 303 of the Criminal Procedure Code should be altered so as to make it incumbent upon the Judge to ascertain and record fully the reasons of the jury for their verdict; that certain classes of cases, especially those relating to murder, offences against the human body (with certain exceptions), offences against the public tranquillity, and offences relating to documents and trade-marks, should be withdrawn from the cognizance of juries; that the remaining classes of offences to which the jury system applied should continue to be so tried; and that offences relating to marriage should also be made triable by jury: it was also recommended that, where qualified jurymen were not easily obtainable, the number of the jury should be reduced from 5 to 3 and that the limit of age qualifying for serving on a jury should be raised to 25.

In reply to these proposals, the Government of India remarked that from a review of the Reports received from other Provinces as well as from Bengal it appeared that the defects of the existing system of trial by jury were mainly attributable to 2 causes:—(1) to the extension of the jury system (*a*) to areas to which it was unsuit-

able, and (*b*) to classes of offences which, as experience showed, ought not to be cognizable by juries; (2) to the fact that the provisions of section 307 of the Criminal Procedure Code, which were intended to give Sessions Judges and the High Courts power to remedy and correct wrong verdicts, had failed to fulfil this intention.

His Excellency in Council expressed his approval of the suggestions made by Sir C. Elliott for modifying the classes of offences which should be made triable by jury. With regard to the proposals to amend sections 303 and 307 of the Criminal Procedure Code, the Governor-General-in-Council observed that, although there was a strong body of opinion among the Hon'ble Judges of the Calcutta and Madras High Courts in favour of the proposal to amend section 307, yet it did not seem desirable that the Judge should be bound to refer cases in which the failure of justice was not quite clear; while, with regard to the proposal to modify section 303, it was remarked that no room should be allowed for anything approaching to a cross-examination of the jury, not only because it would be difficult for untrained men, such as the jurors would be in most cases, to formulate their reasons in a satisfactory shape, but also because it was doubtful whether a mere statement of their reasons would help materially towards the disposal of the case. With reference to the question of allowing an appeal on the facts from the verdict of a jury, His Excellency was of opinion that this was not expedient, as it was not clear what advantage there would be in retaining the jury system at all if it was to be reduced so nearly to the level of a trial with assessors, and the necessity of any such change in the law would be obviated by removing from the cognizance of juries such classes of cases as experience showed to be unsuitable.

A notification was then published on the 20th October 1892, embodying the alterations which had met with the approval of the Government of India, in respect to the classes of cases to be tried by juries. At the same time the full correspondence on the subject was published in the *Gazette*. The publication of these orders was, however, received by an influential section of the public with much dissatisfaction, disapproval was expressed at the partial removal of what was looked upon as an important privilege. It was therefore suggested by Sir C. Elliott that it would be best to refer the whole

subject to a Commission, with instructions to consider the various points under discussion and to report to Government on the feasibility of any scheme which would be generally acceptable, and yet would safeguard the public from a recurrence of the failures of justice to which attention had been drawn in the published correspondence. This suggestion met with the approval of the Government of India and the Secretary of State, and a special Commission was accordingly appointed. The Commission came to the conclusion that it was desirable that the classes of offences which, before the 20th October 1892, were triable by jury in the 7 districts of Bengal to which the system had been originally extended, should continue to be triable by jury in those districts, and that the revised classification should be amended.

In compliance with the recommendation of the Commission, and with the previous authorization of the Governor-General-in-Council, the notification of the 20th October 1892 was then withdrawn. The further recommendations made by the Commission were taken into consideration. While the more general questions were under discussion, a careful revision of the jury lists was undertaken, under Sir C. Elliott's orders, in all the districts concerned, with the result that the number of persons liable to serve on a jury was reduced, while the qualifications of those selected were raised to a more efficient standard.

Inland Emigration.

A Bill to amend the Inland Emigration Act, I of 1882, was introduced into the Imperial Legislative Council and passed into law as Act VII of 1893. The following were among the most important changes effected by this measure :—

(1) The maximum term of labour-contracts was reduced from 5 to 4 years, the term of labour-contracts executed in the labour districts being restricted to one year when they were not executed before an Inspector or a Magistrate, and to 4 years when they were so executed. The reduction of the term of engagement had always been an object with the authorities.

(2) No labourer was to be bound by his labour-contract to undertake any work involving underground labour in mines, unless the contract contained a specific obligation to that effect.

(3) The Local Government was empowered to cancel the contracts of labourers who had been wrongfully recruited and, on the

application of any labourer whose contract had been so cancelled, to cancel also the contract of any labourer related to him in certain specified degrees. Labourers whose contracts had been cancelled under these provisions might be repatriated, and, if necessary, an escort might be provided for them, the expense being recovered in the manner laid down in the Act.

(4) Sub-contractors were debarred from working for more than one contractor.

(5) Employers of labour were empowered to require medical certificates as to fitness to labour in the case of labourers recruited by contractors, as in the case of those recruited by garden-*sardars* or local agents.

(6) The execution of labour-contracts at Dhubri was legalised: i.e., at the place where the immigrant embarked on the Brahmaputra on his voyage up that river: thus postponing the execution to the moment of entering the Province of Assam.

(7) The procedure for dealing with unhealthy gardens was revised in certain particulars. It was intended to bestow more complete power of inspection and subsequent action. Provision was made for the summoning of a Committee of Inquiry by the Magistrate on his own motion, or at the direction of the Local Government, and the power of the Local Government to declare an estate or a portion thereof unfit for the residence of labourers generally, or of any particular class of labourers, was restricted to cases in which the finding of the Committee was not unanimous.

(8) Provision was made for the cancellation and determination of labour contracts by the Inspector or Magistrate in certain cases, such cancellation giving the Inspector or Magistrate power, on the application of the labourers concerned, to cancel also the contract of any labourer employed on any estate belonging to the same employer, and related in certain specified degrees to the labourer whose contract had been cancelled under these provisions.

(9) Power was given to the Inspector or Magistrate to equalise the terms of contracts entered into by husband and wife.

(10) Provision was made for the repatriation of, and the grants of compensation to, labourers and their relatives in certain cases, when their contracts had been cancelled or determined by the Inspec-

tor or Magistrate, and also for the repatriation in certain cases of persons not under contract.

(11) Provision was made for the punishment of garden-*sardars* for improperly disposing of labourers recruited by them.

The Member in charge of the measure spoke as follows :—'The result of this protracted investigation has been not only to show that the continuance of the labour system established in 1882 is essential for the well-being of the industry, which has done so much towards colonising and opening out the rising Province of Assam, and in the prosperity of which the Government of India and all of us have a great and natural interest, but also to bear out the opinion, expressed again and again by successive Chief Commissioners and other impartial observers, that the condition of labourers on tea-gardens is far superior to that of the masses in the districts from which they emigrate. It has been also made clear that the time has not yet come when labourers can be left to emigrate of their own accord and at their own charges ; that without the security of the present system employers could not risk large expenditure in assisting them to emigrate ; and that, therefore, the continuance of the system established in 1882 is still required as a means towards drawing-off the surplus population of the recruiting areas and opening-out the sparsely peopled districts of Assam. The system has worked eminently to the advantage of the emigrants, and in a manner on the whole creditable to the body of planters ; and the Government of India, after prolonged and anxious consideration, have come to the conclusion that there are only two serious evils which have to be remedied. These are, first, abuses and malpractices in recruitment ; and, secondly, the high rate of sickness and mortality on the gardens, chiefly among newly-arrived emigrants.'

Sir A. P. MacDonnell, Officiating Lieutenant Governor.

When Sir C. Elliott took 6 months leave on medical certificate in June 1893, his place was temporarily filled by Sir Antony Patrick MacDonnell, of the Indian Civil Service, then Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces. The latter had arrived in India in 1865, and first distinguished himself in the Bengal famine of 1874, as Collector of Darbhanga, receiving special promotion from Sir R. Temple for his services. He wrote in 1875-76 a standard book of reference on 'Food supply and famine relief in Bihar and

Bengal.' As Revenue-General Secretary to the Bengal Government from 1882—86 he was Sir R. Thompson's chief adviser in the discussions connected with the Bengal Tenancy Act. He had also held the appointment of Home Secretary to the Government of India, 1886—90, and officiated as Chief Commissioner of Burma in 1889; he was made a C. S. I. in June 1888 and K. C. S. I. in January 1893. During his six months in Bengal, Sir A. P. MacDonnell was chiefly concerned with the survey-settlement work, especially that of North Bihar. His views were not in accord with those of Sir C. Elliott, and the differences of opinion were further manifested while Sir A. P. MacDonnell was Member of the Governor-General's Council from December 1893 to April 1895; after he became Lieutenant-Governor of the N. W. Provinces (in November 1895) he experienced another famine in 1896-97 and was made a G. C. S. I. on the 22nd June 1897.

Exchange Compensation.

In August 1893 the Government of India recognised the hardships which European officers in Government offices (in Bengal, as elsewhere) had undergone in consequence of the fall in the rate of exchange, as stated in their prayer for the adoption of measures of relief. The facts left no doubt that Government servants were suffering from wide-spread and severe distress. The Government of India lost no opportunity of expressing sympathy with those who had been affected and of urging upon the Secretary of State the necessity of applying an early and adequate remedy. But it had not been possible to deal with the matter while measures regarding the reform of the currency were still under consideration. When those measures were completed the following scheme was sanctioned. To every European and Eurasian officer of Government, Civil or Military, not domiciled in India (except those whose pay was fixed in sterling and converted into rupees annually at the official rate) an allowance was granted, to be designated Exchange Compensation Allowance, sufficient to enable each officer to remit to Europe $\frac{1}{2}$ his salary, subject to a maximum limit of £1000 a year, at a privileged rate. The privileged rate was fixed until further orders at 1*s.* 6*d.* the rupee. The allowance, which was to be admissible whether any remittance was actually made to Europe or not, was given in the form of a percentage on the officers' salary, varying with the rate of exchange assumed as the market-rate for the quarter, and

calculated to yield an amount equal to the difference between $\frac{1}{2}$ salary converted at 1*s.* 6*d.* and $\frac{1}{2}$ salary converted at the average market rate. The allowance was to be payable monthly along with the pay, and under the pay rules, and was to be subject in every case to an annual maximum equal to the difference between £1000 converted at 1*s.* 6*d.*, and the same sum converted at the average market-rate. Rules were issued prescribing the manner in which the percentage for each quarter should be calculated, and defining the conditions under which the allowance might be drawn. These orders took effect from the 1st of April 1893.

Anti-kine-killing agitation in Bihar.

During the early part of 1893-94 considerable activity was shown by the different associations formed for the protection of kine, known as *Gorakhshini Sabhas*, in collecting subscriptions and in promoting the anti-kine-killing movement. Later, however, their efforts in this direction were less marked, and many of the branches either ceased to exist or confined their attention to their legitimate object, viz., the care and feeding of diseased, aged, and otherwise useless cattle. During April and May 1893 there were several riots, occasioned by the forcible rescuing of cattle from Muhammadan butchers, and in no less than 7 places in the Gaya district was it found necessary to appoint additional police under section 15 of the Police Act. These measures were fortunately taken in time to act as a warning at the approaching *Bakr-Id*, and that festival passed off without scenes of violence in any part of Bihar except at the village of Hilsa in the Bihar subdivision of the Patna district, where serious disturbances occurred. It was held that mismanagement on the part of the Government subordinates on the spot was mainly responsible for what took place. The riots at Hilsa occurred on the 26th and 27th June, and the *Muharram* passed off quietly; but on the 27th August a very serious riot broke out at Koath in the Sasaram subdivision of Shahabad. A large concourse of Hindus assembled from the neighbouring villages and made a raid on the Muhammadan butchers of Koath, who were charged with having caught and slaughtered a Brahmini bull. The Muhammadans in revenge, on the afternoon of the same day, made an attack on the Hindu quarters, in the course of which several persons were severely injured, some with gunshot wounds. In the counter cases which were brought, several accused on both sides were sentenced to

2 years' rigorous imprisonment, and the sentences were upheld in appeal by the Sessions Judge and the High Court. Meanwhile in the Saran district a drove of cattle intended for the Dinapore Commissariat was stopped on the 31st August by a riotous mob of Hindus at a place called Bala on the high road between Champaran and Chapra. The officer in charge of the Basantpur police-station then took up the case and brought the cattle to the *thana*, where they were eventually placed for safety inside the police compound in charge of an Inspector and an armed guard of 10 men, who had been despatched thither from Chapra. The subdivisional officer and the District Superintendent of Police went to the spot and commenced inquiries; but, taking advantage of their temporary absence, and incited by the preaching of a wandering propagandist, a large mob of Hindus, who had collected from different villages for miles around, armed with *lathis*, on the evening of the 6th September at nightfall, after an unsuccessful parley with the police with a view to their purchase, made a determined assault on the *thana* in an attempt to forcibly rescue the cattle. The police, however, stood their ground well, and, after discharging blank cartridge with no effect, fired a round of buck-shot, which wounded several of the assailants, 2 of them unfortunately mortally, and caused the mob to immediately disperse. Several accused persons were prosecuted in each case—in the Bala case before the subdivisional officer of Gopalganj on a charge of rioting, and in the Basantapur case before the Chapra Sessions Court on charges of *dacoity* and rioting. In the former case the convictions were all set aside by the Judge in appeal, while in the latter only 2 out of 12 accused were convicted on the rioting charge, but even these sentences were reversed by the High Court. These trials illustrated the very great difficulty there often is in such cases in procuring satisfactory proof of identity. The 2 men who were convicted by the Sessions Court actually bore on their bodies the marks of the buck-shot, but, though convicted unanimously by both the Judge and the Assessors, they were given by the High Court the benefit of the doubt of their having been disinterested passers-by. Besides the prosecution of the actual offenders, steps were also taken to call others to account, and prosecutions were instituted against certain *maliks* and *chaukidars* for failure to give information, and a number of *sadhus* found in the district at the time were required

to give security to keep the peace. After the occurrences above narrated the tension of feeling much relaxed, and although subsequently cases occasionally occurred of Muhammadans being refused the use of wells, and otherwise boycotted, no further open breaches of the peace were reported. There was a good deal of mutual forbearance on both sides, especially among the leaders of each party. This was particularly marked by the absence in most places of any tendency on the part of the Muhammadans to increase the number of kine sacrifices, and their care to avoid doing anything ostentatiously to hurt the feelings of the Hindus.

The ploughmen's begging movement first appeared in the Gopalganj subdivision of the Saran district in the beginning of November, having apparently come across the border from Gorakhpur. All ploughmen, the story went, were commended to give their cattle 3 days' rest and go round the neighbouring villages begging. With the proceeds 3 wheaten cakes were prepared, 1 for the ploughman himself, 1 for his cattle, and the third to be buried under their stalls. The movement gradually spread throughout Bihar, and after affording a few days' wonder passed away, and nothing was afterwards heard of it.

The tree-daubing mystery also afforded the widest grounds for speculation. This movement consisted in marking trees with daubs of mud, in which were stuck hairs of different animals, buffaloes' hair and pigs' bristles, according to the reports predominating; and it slowly spread through the North Gangetic districts eastwards into Bhagalpur and Purnea, and westwards through many of the districts of the N. W. Provinces. It also appeared in a few places in the districts to the South of the Ganges, and was generally attributed to wandering gangs of *sadhus*, or religious mendicants. The movement died out in a few months and the result seemed to show that it had no real political significance.

The Court language in Bihar.

In Sir A. Eden's time orders had been issued that either Nagri or Kaithi should be exclusively used throughout the Patna Division, and that the use in the Courts of any document in the Persian character, except as exhibits, should be absolutely forbidden. The intention of Government was that Hindi should be the language and Kaithi the character used in the Courts. Subsequent experience, however, showed that the Nagri-

character was more easily written and more legible than Kaithi, and in accordance with the views expressed by the British Indian Association and others Sir C. Elliott decided that the Nagri character should in future be used in the Courts in Bihar, and that the Court registers should be maintained in English and Hindi. On further investigation it came to his knowledge that the difficulty of writing the Kaithi character in a legible hand, and the extent to which the Nagri character was known in Bihar had been somewhat exaggerated in the representations made to him. The Hon'ble Judges of the High Court pointed out that the law empowered the Local Government to declare what was to be deemed to be the language of the Courts, but provided no authority for the issue of orders regarding the character in which such language was to be written. Sir C. Elliott accordingly cancelled his previous orders which had prescribed the use of the Nagri character, and revived the orders formerly in force, under which the Kaithi character was introduced into the Courts and offices of the Patna, Bhagalpur, and Chota Nagpur Divisions. But it was ordered that the headings of all registers, other than those prescribed by the High Court, kept up in the Courts and offices, not in Bihar only, but throughout the Province, were in future to be printed in English only. Figures were invariably to be written in English (i. e., Arabic) numerals. All clerks in charge of registers were warned that they must learn the English character, and that, if they were not sufficiently well acquainted with the English language by a certain date to admit of their keeping the registers in the English character, their prospects of promotion would be endangered.

Hemp Drugs Commission.

The Secretary of State for India having, in answer to a question put in the House of Commons, signified his willingness to have a Commission appointed to inquire into the cultivation of the hemp plant in Bengal, a Commission was appointed in July 1893 by the Government of India to inquire into the production and consumption of hemp drugs in the whole of India. The Government of Bengal rendered to the Commission all the assistance in its power by procuring witnesses from all parts of the Province to give evidence before them and by carrying out in other ways the wishes of the Commission. Before any oral evidence was recorded, a series of questions framed by the Commission with

the object of eliciting information on the subject-matter of their inquiry were widely distributed among Commissioners, Collectors, District Boards, and officers of the Police and Medical Departments, private gentlemen and other public associations. The Commission held sittings in Calcutta and in other selected centres in Bengal. Their report was submitted in 1894, and the Government of India issued a Resolution in March 1895. The subject was one of considerable concern to Bengal, in which a large amount of excise revenue is derived from the taxation of *ganja*. The Commission found that very vague opinions or impressions had been formed on matters relating to *ganja* consumption. The evidence taken showed presumptively that the moderate use of hemp drugs does not cause injury, though exceptional cases might indicate differently. The Government of India found also that hemp drugs cause insanity in far fewer cases than had previously been popularly understood; that the insanity so caused was usually of a temporary character and of shorter duration than the insanity due to other causes: and that there were no such marked ill-effects, physical, mental or moral, attendant on the use of hemp drugs, as there were popularly believed to be before the inquiry of the Commission was made.

Employment of natives in the service.

In accordance with the orders of the Government of India certain statistics were compiled in 1893-4 showing the strength of the Indian Civil Service and the non-Regulation Commission, the Provincial Civil Service and the Subordinate Civil Service, and the number and percentage of natives of India employed therein on the 1st July in the years 1870, 1879, 1881, and 1893. While these statistics showed a very large diminution in the strength of officers holding posts in the cadre of the Indian Civil Service, the number in Bengal (excluding Assam) in 1870 being 265, and in 1893 only 207, they were principally remarkable for the illustration they afforded of the large reduction in the numbers of executive and judicial appointments in the Provincial Service held by Europeans and Eurasians. In 1870, out of a service of 231 members in the Executive Branch of the Provincial Service, there were 81 European, Eurasian, and American officers, of whom 33 were European British subjects. In 1893 the total strength of the service had been raised to 368 members, of

whom only 38 were Europeans, Eurasians and Armenians, and only 12 were European British subjects. In the Subordinate Judicial Service, out of a total staff of 257 officers in 1870, 12 were Europeans and Eurasians, and only 1 was a European British subject. In 1893 the strength of the service had been raised to 364, and there was not a single European or Eurasian in the service. Nothing could show more clearly than these figures how largely the magisterial and judicial appointments in Bengal had passed in recent years into the hands of pure natives of India.

In 1892 the Government of India issued the following rules under the Statute 33 Vic. c. 3, sec. 6, in supersession of the rules of August 1870 :—

1. The Local Government may appoint any member of the Provincial Civil Service subordinate to it, who is a Native of India and of proved merit and ability, to any of the offices, places and employments ordinarily held by members of the Civil Service of India, to fill which it has been declared by such Local Government (by notification in the official Gazette) that members of such Provincial Civil Service can properly be appointed, provided that no appointment shall be made to the office of District and Sessions Judge, or Chief Administrative officer of a district, or to any administrative office of higher rank, if the vacancy to be filled is permanent, or for a period of more than 3 months, without the sanction of the Governor-General of India in Council.

2. The Local Government may, with the previous sanction of the Governor-General-in-Council (but not otherwise), at any time appoint any Native of India of proved merit and ability to any of the offices, places, and employments specified by such Local Government in any such notification as in Rule 1 is mentioned ; provided that not more than one-fourth of the offices, places and employments so specified shall at any one time be held by Natives of India not members of the Provincial Civil Service subordinate to that Local Government : but this proviso shall not apply to or include any Native of India (not a member of a Provincial Service) who has, prior to the making of these rules, been appointed under Statute 33 Vic. c. 3. s. 6, to an office, place or employment in the Civil Service of India.

In 1891-92 a ruling of the High Court which had the effect of

declaring important provisions of the municipal law not to be in force in certain municipalities called for immediate remedy. Sir C. Elliott was thus led to enter upon the general question whether the time had not come to amend the Bengal Municipal Act, III of 1884, on a variety of points which had from time to time been brought to notice as calling for amendment. The matter principally requiring reform was the system under which the assessment of municipal rates was framed, in which many irregularities were found to exist. Larger powers were also needed to enable the municipalities to enforce sanitary regulations, and provisions were required to facilitate the control of the Government over municipalities which neglected their duties—a control which could then only be exercised by the drastic process of suspending or abolishing the powers of the Commissioners. A draft Bill embodying such changes as appeared to be most urgently called for was accordingly prepared, was approved by the Government of India, introduced into Council in July 1892, dealt with by a Select Committee and so much altered, even in important principles, as to require republication. Thereupon considerable opposition to certain provisions of the Bill was manifested, on the ground that they tended to interfere with the principles of Local Self-Government and to put the municipalities in a worse position than was contemplated in the Act of 1884. Sir C. Elliott took note of these objections, and, in his desire not to insist on reforms distasteful to the majority of those concerned in cases where the administration could be satisfactorily maintained by taking any other course, formally withdrew, in a speech made at a meeting of the Legislative Council held towards the beginning of January 1893, those provisions of the Bill against which hostile criticism had chiefly been directed, viz., those empowering the Local Government of its own motion to vary the boundaries of a municipality, or to deprive a municipality of its power to elect a Chairman in case of continued neglect of duty. The other points objected to by the public were left to the consideration of the Select Committee, to whom the opinions received were communicated, and finally to that of the Council. When proceedings had reached this stage, the question of remodelling the constitution of the Legislative Council on a mixed basis of election and nomination engaged the attention of Government, and it was decided not to proceed with the

The Bengal Municipal Act 1894.

Bill till the Council, and with it the Select Committee on the Bill, were revised and enlarged. The measure was subsequently reintroduced into Council, and passed into law.

The Bengal Municipal Act IV (B. C.) of 1894 was divisible into 3 categories; the first consisted of important changes in the law; the second of administrative changes of minor importance; and the third of changes merely corrective, which repaired omissions, gave effect to judicial decisions, recast the wording of sections with the object of removing possible doubts, and repealed those which were no longer necessary.

The important alterations in, and additions to, the law effected by the Act were the following :—

Power was given to the Commissioners of any municipality to unite with any other neighbouring local authority or local authorities in constituting a Joint-Committee for any purpose in which joint interests were concerned.

Effect was given to the Resolutions passed at the Belvedere Conference on the 18th of July 1892, on the subject of drainage and water-supply, local authorities being empowered to introduce schemes for carrying out a system of drainage or for supplying water for domestic purposes, provision being made for Government taking the initiative when a local authority was unwilling to do so, Government at the same time being precluded from carrying out a scheme to which $\frac{2}{3}$rds of the Commissioners or Joint-Committee, in certain cases, or $\frac{3}{4}$rds of the rate-payers of a municipality in other cases, were opposed.

The franchise was extended to persons holding an office on a salary of not less than Rs. 50 a month, provided that—

(*a*) they were paid by a registered Company which had paid Rs. 100 in rates during the year;

(*b*) they were under a joint undivided family, one of the members of which had paid not less than Rs. 3 as rates during the year;

(*c*) they occupied holdings in respect of which a similar minimum payment had been paid.

Power was given to Government to disestablish a municipality, or to alter its boundaries when it no longer fulfilled the conditions which originally justified its creation; to appoint Commissioners *ex-officio*; to delegate some of its less important powers to Commiss-

ioners of Divisions; to appoint a special auditor when the accounts of a municipality were in confusion; to appoint an assessor of municipal taxes when it had been found that the affairs of a municipality required it, and when the Commissioners would not move themselves.

Commissioners were empowered to order a survey; to organise a fire-brigade; to close after due formalities any source of water-supply which was suspected of being dangerous to health; to exercise greater control over buildings in a dangerous state; to frame wider bye-laws than before, and to make rules for the conduct of their business, and, in the case of municipalities in the hills, to make bye-laws for the prevention of landslips and other dangers to which such localities were especially liable. Commissioners of Divisions were precluded from finally passing orders on municipal budgets until the Municipal Commissioners had had an opportunity of replying to their criticisms.

The maximum rate leviable for the supply of water was increased from 6 to $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on the value of holdings. The tax on persons and the tax on holdings might be levied in the same municipality, and arable lands might be assessed where the personal tax was in force. Detailed building regulations were provided by the Act, which might be extended to any municipality at the request of the Commissioners thereof.

Maintenance of order at festivals.

Sir C. Elliott availed himself of the occasion of a disturbance in the town of Rampur Boalia in connection with the *Muharram* celebration to issue general instructions regarding the maintenance of order on the occasion of the *Muharram* and other festivals when large concourses of people assemble together. He directed that the carrying of sticks, which could be used for purpose of attack, should be prohibited whenever there might be reason to expect disturbance. But this prohibition was not made universal, for it had to be remembered that, as a rule, these processions were peaceful and popular, and also that fencing with sticks was by immemorial usage a conspicuous feature in the *Muharram* proceedings.

If assemblages of the public were not permitted to carry weapons of offence, the ordinary police with their batons would be sufficiently equipped to be able to maintain and enforce order even against

large crowds. It was therefore laid down that the armed police should always be kept in reserve and only called out when it was necessary to take some specific action such as to disperse a mob, and that they should never be entrusted with the routine duty of marshalling the processions. When armed police were necessary they should go out only by special order of the District Superintendent of police, who should consult the District Magistrate if there was time to do so. The District Superintendent should himself be in charge of the party; but, if he should be temporarily engaged elsewhere, the command must devolve on his Assistant or on an Inspector. If it was necessary to call out the armed police at subdivisional head-quarters, the responsibility was to rest on the Inspector in charge, subject to the orders of the subdivisional officer. In all cases when armed police were sent out, they should keep together in compact bodies under competent officers fully instructed. The officer in charge of the party would be responsible for the order to fire if the emergency should arise; but in no case should such an extreme measure be resorted to unless it was absolutely necessary for the protection of life and property.

Archæology.

The Indian Museum derived great benefits from Sir C. Elliott's regard for Archæology, and it may be mentioned that in recognition thereof the Trustees of the Museum presented him with an address on his departure, and erected a tablet in his honour. Early in May 1894, the Trustees of the Museum drew the attention of Government to the historical and philological importance of the Asoka* inscriptions scattered all over India, and to the fact that no permanent memorial of them existed, while the originals were exposed to decay and injury. As the Museum contained no copy of these inscriptions, and it seemed to Sir C. Elliott desirable that a collection of them should be made and exhibited for the information of the public, he arranged to have casts taken of those which existed in Bengal, and addressed the Governments of the N. W. Provinces and Bombay for the Khalsi and Girnar inscriptions respectively. As an application to the Government of India for the appointment of a special Archæological officer for Bengal proved unsuccessful, Mr. A. E. Caddy, then employed as teacher of drawing at the Sibpur Civil Engineering College, was

* Asoka : King of Magadha B.C. 264, died B.C. 223.

deputed to take plaster casts of the inscriptions at all the sites in Bengal, viz., the Radia and Mathia pillars in Champaran; Sahasaram (or Sasaram) in Shahabad; Barabar and Nagarjuni in Gaya; Dhauli and Khandagiri in Cuttack; and, with the assistance of the Madras Government, Jogoda in Ganjam. The undertaking proved more laborious than had been anticipated. Eventually the Indian Museum was presented by Government with a *facsimile* set in plaster of the Asoka inscriptions at these places. The Government of the N. W. Provinces furnished a copy of the Khalsi inscriptions in Dehra Doon. Dr. Hultzsch, Epigraphist to the Madras Government, provided copies of 3 inscriptions found at Siddapur in the Mysore territory, and Dr. Fuhrer, Archæological Surveyor, N. W. Provinces and Oudh, obtained a copy of the Asoka inscription at Nigliva in Nepal, and of that on the pillar at Allahabad, so that the collection of such inscriptions at the Indian Museum was made as complete as possible, in a separate Asoka Court.

Also, Surgeon Major L. A. Waddell, of the Bengal Sanitary Department, a well-known authority on Buddhistic antiquities, was deputed to make investigations of the Buddhistic remains in the Swat Valley and in the direction of Chitral, and to procure specimens and relics for the Indian Museum. Major Waddell received much assistance from the civil, political, and military officers. A number of sculptures, figures, and carvings were discovered in the Swat Valley and at Dargai, and the Government of India sanctioned their presentation to the Trustees of the Indian Museum, Calcutta, after the authorities of the Lahore Museum had made a selection of such of the articles found at Dargai as they required. Mr. Caddy was also deputed to the Swat Valley and obtained a number of interesting Grecian and Buddhistic remains for the Indian Museum. He also took moulds of the rock inscriptions at Girnar in Kattiawar and Siddapur for the same purpose.

It was arranged that at the close of the rains of 1894 excavations should be made, under the supervision of the Collector of Patna, and with the advice of Dr. Fuhrer, in some of the more important mounds to the South of the city of Patna which were supposed to cover the site of Asoka's capital of Pataliputra, a relic *stupa* and the *vihara* of Buddha's footprint. Some excavations were made and a circular wall, probably the remains of a watch-tower, brought to light;

but the primary object in view, viz., the discovery of the site of the Maurya Palace, was not effected, and it was decided to continue the explorations subsequently in consultation with Major Waddell. He *visited Patna under Sir A. Mackenzie's orders in February 1896, and* indicated certain sites on which, in his opinion, excavations were likely to be more successful. The local authorities were entrusted with the arrangements for these excavations.

Orissa Canals.

The construction estimate of the Orissa Canals project was closed on the 31st March 1895, and up to that date the outlay amounted to Rs. 2,61,84,061. The further expenditure required to complete works already sanctioned, but which had either not been commenced or had not been completed on the 31st March 1895, was Rs. 1,86,621. The total cost of the project was therefore Rs. 2,63,70,682. As the result of this outlay, the Province of Orissa was provided with the following works, which were for the most part situated in the Cuttack district :—7 weirs across river channels, with an aggregate length of $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles, and constituting, with the canal head sluices and entrance locks the most extensive system of head works of any canal system in India :—there were $204\frac{3}{4}$ miles of canals, which were navigable in addition to carrying water for irrigation ; these canals communicated with tidal water at 5 points, of which the more important were the locks at Alba and Jumboo : the former gave the most direct route to Chandbali, and thence by sea-going steamers to Calcutta, while the latter opened into tidal creeks leading to False Point harbour : there were also 75 miles of canal for irrigation only : the distributaries aggregated $1,091\frac{3}{4}$ miles in length. First-class embankments for a total length of $172\frac{1}{2}$ miles had been constructed and charged to the project, which gave protection to an area of over 850 square miles. More than 200 miles of drainage cuts had been made to prevent the soil being water-logged from the use of canal irrigation, and a considerable number of natural drainage channels had been opened up and made more efficient. The aggregate supply of water available at the heads of the main canals was 6,058 cubic feet per second, out of which 5,340 might be usefully employed in irrigation. With this supply it was probable that, in a year of drought, the area on which a full crop could be guaranteed would be about 272,000 acres. The largest area previously irrigated was 186,627 acres.

The Orissa Canals have proved an expensive undertaking, and there is little hope of their becoming remunerative, but on the other hand the works have been and are of great value to Orissa. The large expenditure has greatly improved the position of the labouring classes. Trade has been developed, and a large area has been put practically beyond the fear of famine.

Labour Inquiry Commission.

In October 1895 the Bengal Chamber of Commerce suggested to Government the appointment of a Commission to consider the question of the supply of labour, not only to the tea industry in Assam, but also to the local mines of Bengal. Attention was drawn to the inadequacy of the supply of labour to local mines, and to the enormous and steadily increasing cost of the labour imported from Bengal into Assam. Sir C. Elliott was impressed with the opinion that evils attending recruitment for emigration were largely due to the competition among employers and might be avoided if an agreement could be come to by which a sort of central clearing-house could be established, to which all intending emigrants could be brought and from which they could be distributed to the different places from which demands for labour were sent in. Accordingly a Commission was appointed during the cold weather months. The Commission, consisting of 6 gentlemen under the presidency of Mr. H. C. Williams, C. S., were instructed—(1) to ascertain the extent and conditions of the labour requirements in the local mining industry, and the condition of the districts in which the coal mines of Bengal were situated; (2) to inquire into the best means of encouraging emigration from the congested districts of the N. W. Provinces and Bihar to the mining districts, where labourers were scarce; (3) to consider the possibility of establishing one central agency for recruitment.

The Commission submitted their Report in June 1896.

District and Local Boards.

Towards the close of his tenure of office Sir C. Elliott recorded his views (which Sir A. Mackenzie shared) of the work of the District and Local Boards in Bengal: he had watched it with interest during his 5 years and formed a distinct opinion as to their respective merits as departments of the public service. "In District Boards the Government possesses a valuable agency, for assisting the executive of the districts with information as to local wants and conditions, and advice in the

manifold details of internal executive administration. The strength of these Boards resides in the fact that they represent more or less adequately the chief interests of the district, and that the questions which come before them are important enough to arouse their interest, while at the same time they are relieved by the executive of the duty of controlling and supervising details. The chief defect of the District Boards consists in the large area of their jurisdiction and in the difficulty of appointing a body of men who will effectually represent all parts of the district and all interests in it. The division of functions between the Boards and their Chairmen is one well adapted to the work that has to be done. The representative body supplies the information and experience on which to base the decision as to what should be done; the officer who wields the executive power in the district gives effect to those decisions. With Local Boards it is different. It has hitherto been found impossible to extend their functions so as to give them work of sufficient importance to enlist their interest keenly. Nor, at any rate in most cases, have they at their head an officer of experience in business with a sufficient staff at his disposal. Thus their energies flag, and the work that is given them to do is too often indifferently looked after. The policy by which these defects can be cured seems to be one involving larger decentralisation, the devolution of some of the work now retained by the District Boards, the appointment of an official Chairman, and the abolition of the *Sadar* Local Board, which is an evident superfluity. It is possible also that the extension of Union Committees and the promotion of village sanitation may stimulate the energies of Local Boards and provide for them congenial work in supervising and guiding the action of the Committees; or again the latter, being more closely in touch with local interests, may in time absorb the functions of Local Boards and render these bodies superfluous. Either result, however, must be the work of time, and it would be premature to venture on any forecast of what will happen within the next few years."

Legislation.

Besides the Acts of the Legislature of which special mention has been made, other Acts passed by Sir C. Elliott to deal with pressing requirements of the Administration may be briefly noticed. In 1891 the law relating to Hackney carriages and palanquins in Calcutta was amended and consolidated;

in 1893 provision was made for the licensing of warehouses and the maintenance of a fire-brigade: both these projects of law were minutely debated. The main object of Act I (B. C.) of 1895 (relating to the Recovery of Public Demands) was to amend and consolidate the law dealing with certificate procedure, and to separate the process by which the land revenue due from proprietors of estates was recoverable from that by which a great number of minor demands, such as fees, fines, duties, taxes, costs, and the like were recovered from the public in general. The 2 processes were to be independent of each other, each having its own Act and its own procedure. It was also found desirable to provide, by Act V (B. C.) of 1895, for the segregation of pauper lepers, and the control of lepers exercising certain trades. Altogether the Legislative Council was amply employed from 1890-95, although no measure of first-rate importance came before it.

Miscellaneous.

It is impossible to describe at equal length all the matters which come before a Lieutenant-Governor, especially when his term of office was conspicuous for such vigorous activity as distinguished the quinquennium 1890-95. A bare enumeration of the following matters dealt with by Sir C. Elliott must suffice. Three new districts were created; the subdivisions of Lalbagh and Barrackpur were abolished: the Chuadanga subdivision was amalgamated with Meherpur: a City Magistrate was appointed for Patna: an additional Commissioner of Patna was appointed for 6 months yearly: the Deputy Commissioners of the Non-Regulation districts were converted into Magistrate-Collectorships: the number of Subordinate Judges and Munsifs was increased: an additional Judge was appointed for the eastern districts: the Subordinate Judge of Gaya was dismissed for taking a bribe: the ministerial establishments of judicial officers were strengthened: the number of Rural Sub-Registrars was increased: the Excise Commissionership was made permanent. The police was reorganised mainly on the lines suggested by the Police Commission of 1890 at a total cost of more than 5 *lakhs per annum*: a school for the training of police officers was opened at Bhagalpur: barracks were built and improved: special reserves of armed police were created in every district to meet local emergencies: and the French system of identifying criminals by measurement was introduced. The jails at Buxar and Bhagalpur

were enlarged: the Hazáribagh jail was converted into a central jail: special Committees were formed for the purpose of conducting systematic inquiries into the condition of the less healthy jails: the water-supply of all the jails was examined and improved: an inquiry was instituted into the working of the Small Cause Court, Calcutta: the practice of throwing dead bodies into the rivers of Bengal was prohibited: the system of payment of land revenue and cesses and the *zamindari dak* cess was inquired into and reorganised: the Famine Code was revised: the amendment of the revenue sale law was much considered, but given up: revised rules were issued for leases of waste lands for tea cultivation: rules under the Emigrants' Health Act were considered: the revenue administration of the Orissa Canals was reformed. A large block of buildings to be devoted to the study of anatomy was added to the Medical College, and numerous minor improvements were made in the buildings of that institution; surgical and midwifery wards and a dispensary were constructed at the Campbell Hospital; a new hospital was commenced at Bhawanipur: the medical relief available in Calcutta was fully examined: the sanitation of Puri was improved: the Vaccination and Sanitary Departments were completely reorganised: the Albert Victor asylum for lepers was established as a permanent memorial of His Royal Highness's visit to Calcutta: quinine was brought by the sale of one-pice packets of 5 grains through the Post office within the reach of the poorest classes, and the supply was increased by the purchase of a fresh plantation at Nimbong near Darjeeling. The system of weighing salt was improved. Under the head of Public Works the period was one of considerable activity. In Calcutta, a new Police Court, an office for the Presidency Commissioner, the Collector of Calcutta, and the Collector of Income Tax, and 2 new buildings for the Stamps and Stationery Department, were built, a fresh wing was added to the Indian Museum, and the Small Cause Court was greatly enlarged. In the *mufassal* a large number of Government offices were built and extended, and quarters provided for officials in several places where houses were not to be had. Feeder roads were opened in connection with several railways, and a definite scheme was worked out for future operations in this direction. Material help was afforded to the backward districts of Palamau and the Sonthal *Parganas* towards

new and improved roads; the communications of the tea districts of the Duars and of Darjeeling were improved and a great number of bridges constructed on provincial roads. A large project, the canalisation of the Bhangor Khal, was undertaken, to improve the best route to Backergunge and extend the facilities for traffic with Eastern Bengal generally. The Orissa system of canals was extended; and the Hijli tidal canal remodelled. Particular attention was given to the construction of distributaries, and the collection of irrigation rates was improved. In the Education Department, money was spent on improving the teaching at the Sibpur Engineering College, and a new set of workshops was constructed for the practical training of the students; a Veterinary School and Hospital were created at Belgachia, near Calcutta; primary and female education were extended; the Bihar industrial school was reopened in November 1892, amalgamated with the Patna Survey School and named the "Bihar School of Engineering"; a new school for European boys was commenced at Kurseong; the Sanskrit *tols* were inspected and a grant was made for stipends and rewards to teachers and pupils: drawing was introduced into schools where possible: a chemical laboratory was added to the Presidency College: a new building was provided for the School of Art in Chowringi: large additions were made to the Eden Hindu Hostel, and the Calcutta *Madrasa* boarding house was begun with the object of providing suitable accommodation for all, or a large proportion, of both Hindu and Muhammadan students: the Lady Elliott hostel for female students was erected at Sealdah: the Volunteer movement was encouraged: the Dacca, Bhagalpur, and Burdwan water-works were extended, and schemes for supplying Arrah, Howrah, Maniktola, Cossipore-Chitpur, Midnapore, and Berhampore, sanctioned or advanced: various local drainage works, e. g. for Patna, Muzaffarpur, Comilla and Jalpaiguri, and for the Rajapur, Howrah and Amta swamps were carried out or matured: the work of Executive Engineers of the P. W. D. was transferred to District Engineers: and even this list cannot claim to be exhaustive. Sir C. Elliott personally gave Rs. 5,000 in 1892 to create an endowment for the encouragement of original research in Physical Science in Bengal. He gave also £1000 to the children's ward of the Calcutta Dufferin Hospital, and a large sum to the University Institute.

Remarks.

The preceding pages will have given some idea of the principal incidents of Sir C. Elliott's Administration: it is difficult to give an adequate impression of the strenuous energy, the mental and physical activity, which were its chief characteristics. Never sparing himself, he was always at high pressure and expected everybody to be the same. He worked laboriously to acquire the fullest knowledge of Bengal and its people, and to advance the Province. A great critic said of him that 'he was always too ferociously in earnest.' There were some who thought that better results might have been obtained by more persuasive methods. The policy was to make everybody work to the utmost and by rigorous inspection to ascertain that the work was done. Such a policy could not be popular and it engendered some friction. But like some other Lieutenant-Governors he cared nothing for popularity, and aimed at nothing but the performance of his duty, as it presented itself to him. His moral courage, self-reliance, independence and single-mindedness were conspicuous in all his actions. There was not another man in India at the time who could have done the Settlement work he did in Bihar and Bengal, so much of it or so well. In this department he left an imperishable mark on the country. His knowledge of the whole subject, gained elsewhere, enabled him to form anticipations which have been fulfilled. The success of the Bihar Survey-Settlement has been proved by the satisfaction which it has given to all concerned and by the easy recovery of the costs. He knew no fear in grappling with difficult or dangerous questions. The prosecution of a native newspaper effected its purpose in checking the license of the press. In dealing with the jury question he was substantially in the right, though he had to yield to public opinion. He declined to sacrifice a subordinate officer to the vindictiveness of the Native Press, who never forgave him. His labours for the improvement of the Province in all matters of sanitation, education, and public works were indefatigable and only limited by financial considerations. For the schoolboys of Bengal especially he had a kind heart and a thoughtfulness for their best interests. His philanthropic munificence was unprecedented. There can be no question that great progress was achieved and the work better done in Bengal during the years 1890—95, and that Sir C. Elliott deserved the whole credit for these improvements.

No account of his time would be complete that omitted to make mention of Lady Elliott. I would rather avoid alluding to ladies in this work, but an exception must be made in her case: and even so I prefer quotation to any words of my own. A leading journal said —"The salon of some notable dame is no longer the rallying point of a party, the centre and focus of its activities. It has been reserved for Lady Elliott to revive in India an interesting tradition of English public life and to show us what power for good can be exercised by an English lady who joins to sincerity and kindness a remarkable social talent.....It is the peculiar credit of Lady Elliott that she has with singular success maintained and popularized in this Presidency a neutral ground whereon men of the most divergent opinions could meet and sink their differences. That is no slight public service. Upon the kindly tact and just discrimination which have enabled her to render everyone his due, after such sort that none felt the shade of neglect or the chill of despite, we will not dwell. They are familiar to everyone who has been privileged to meet the gracious hostess of Belvedere in her own home or elsewhere. Kind and true she has done her duty, and much besides, in the arduous position which she has held for 5 years. Lady Elliott may take with her, to sweeten the leisure she has so hardly earned, the sense of high responsibilities fulfilled and the knowledge that she lives in hearts she leaves behind." And much more might have been said. The pictures of two ladies permanently adorn the walls of Belvedere; one is of the late Queen-Empress,—the other is of Lady Elliott: could there be better testimony to the esteem felt for the latter in Calcutta and Bengal?

Retirement.

Sir C. Elliott married, 1st, in 1866, Louisa (who died 1877) daughter of G. W. Dumbell, Esqre. of Belmont, Isle of Man, and had 3 sons and a daughter; and 2nd, in 1887, Alice, daughter of the late Thomas Gaussen Esqre. of Hauteville, Guernsey, and widow of T. J. Murray, Esqre., I. C. S. and had one son. After his retirement, he was elected a member of the London School Board and soon became its Finance Minister.



Photogravure. Survey of India Offices, Calcutta, February 1901.

SIR ALEXANDER MACKENZIE, K.C.S.I.

From a photograph by Messrs Bourne & Shepherd.

CHAPTER XI.

SIR ALEXANDER MACKENZIE, K. C. S. I.,

1895—98.

Previous Career.

WHEN Sir C. Elliott's time was drawing to a close, there were two officers, Sir A. Mackenzie and Sir A. P. MacDonnell, both of whom were in the public estimation qualified to succeed. Both belonged to Lower Bengal; both had held important posts in other parts of India: the former was the senior, the latter had officiated as Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal for 6 months But Sir A. P. MacDonnell had been offered and had accepted the Lieutenant-Governorship of the North-Western Provinces nine months before the expiration of Sir C. Elliott's term of office and was not a claimant to the Lieutenant-Governorship of Bengal when it fell vacant. Sir A. Mackenzie was accordingly appointed to Bengal by Lord Elgin. Alexander Mackenzie, B. A., was a son (born 28th June 1842) of the Revd. Dr. Mackenzie of Birmingham and Inverness: was educated at King Edward VI's Grammar School, Birmingham, and Trinity College, Cambridge; appointed to the Bengal Civil Service after the open competitive examination of 1861; arrived in India, December 1862; was Assistant Magistrate and Collector, Shahabad, September 1863, and at Kushtia; from February 1866 to December 1873, served as Under-Secretary, Junior Secretary, and Offg. Secretary to the Government of Bengal; on famine duty, December 1873; on furlough 1874-75; Officiating Secretary, Board of Revenue, November 1875, and again in 1877; Magistrate and Collector, Murshidabad, July 1876; also in charge of the office of Agent to the Governor-General, Murshidabad; Junior Secretary, Board of Revenue, May 1877; Officiating Secretary, Government of Bengal, General and Revenue Departments, July 1877; Secretary, Government of Bengal, Financial Department, October 1877; Member of the Lieutenant-Governor's Legislative Council, January 1879; Secretary to the Government of India in the Home Department, April 1882; C. S. I., May 1886; Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces, March

1887; Chief Commissioner of Burma, December 1890; K. C. S. I., January 1891; Member of the Council of the Governor-General, April 1895. Early in his service he had compiled a "History of the relations of the Government with the Tribes of the N. E. Frontier of Bengal." On becoming Lieutenant-Governor on the 17th December 1895, he retained the services of Captn. J. W. Currie as Private Secretary for a few months and then appointed Mr. A. H. Gayer of the Burma Commission. He married, 1st, in 1863, Georgina Louisa Huntly, youngest daughter of Colonel W. Bremner of the Madras Army (she died in July 1892): and 2nd, in 1893, Mabel Elizabeth, youngest daughter of the late Ralph Elliot Esq., eldest son of Sir George Elliot, *Bart*, M. P.; by his 2nd wife he has a son and a daughter.

Tours of Officers.

Early in 1896 Sir Alexander Mackenzie, having received communications from various experienced officers indicating the advisability of modifying to some extent the hard-and-fast rules in force on the subject of the inspection tours of revenue officers and Heads of Departments, so far relaxed the orders prescribing certain minimum periods for the tours of Commissioners, district and subdivisional officers, that Commissioners of Divisions were allowed discretion to arrange the length and character of their own tours, and those of their district and sub-divisional officers, with due regard to the importance of making themselves personally acquainted with all parts of their respective jurisdictions, of inspecting with reasonable frequency all public institutions therein situated, and of making from time to time, in person, such local inquiries as might be necessary to enable them to conduct their duties with satisfaction to themselves and Government, and to supply any information specially required by Government. Stress was laid upon the necessity of having the disposal of case-work by district and sub-divisional officers interfered with as little as possible by their tours; and periodical (in the case of sub-divisional officers, weekly) visits to head-quarters were prescribed.

Settlement operations in Orissa and Bihar.

Shortly after his assumption of the Lieutenant-Governorship Sir Alexander Mackenzie's attention was attracted to the slow progress of the resettlement operations in Orissa where the current settlement was to expire in September 1897. The traverse and cadastral survey had been

completed according to the programme by September 1894, but the settlement portion of the work had not proceeded beyond the stage of attestation. The settlement of rents and revenue had practically not been begun, except for a few unsuccessful experiments made within limited areas. For the season which commenced in October 1895, the programme fixed was the completion of attestation and the commencement on a large scale of the assessment of rents. The whole temporarily settled area in Orissa, including the Khurda Government estate, was about 5,218 square miles, and it was estimated that the revenue officers would have to settle rents for no less than $13\frac{1}{2}$ *lakhs* of tenants. Apart from its magnitude, the work was rendered especially difficult by the fact that in the temporarily settled area a large body of tenants had to be dealt with, whose rents had been stationary for 60 years and many of whom were assessed at the last settlement in 1837 at privileged rents far below the ordinary rates. He therefore thought that, at the rate of progress then being made, the resettlement of Orissa would not be completed till long after the expiry of the current settlement and a considerable amount of revenue would thus be lost to Government. It was clearly necessary to expedite settlement work in that Province by the deputation of more revenue officers; but, as there were already about 120 gazetted officers employed on settlement work in Bengal, it was not possible to withdraw more officers from the general work of administration without seriously hampering it. The only way to meet the difficulty was to reduce the pace of work in North Bihar, where the survey portion of the work was already too far in advance of the settlement portion, so as to make more officers available for Orissa, and in March 1896 proposals were submitted to the Government of India for prolonging the survey work in North Bihar to September 1900 and the settlement work to September 1902. These proposals were approved by the Supreme Government and arrangements were made to withdraw 1 of the 2 survey parties employed in Bengal.

Sir Alexander Mackenzie also approved provisionally of a scheme for the settlement of rents in Orissa, differentiating between (1) the rents paid by the *raiyats* whose rents had been liable to enhancement and had been enhanced by the *zamindars* during the 60 years' settlement expiring in 1897, and (2) the rents of the *raiyats* which had not been enhanced during that period.

The survey-settlements of the large tracts of country *viz.*, Orissa, Chittagong and North Bihar, &c. under the Tenancy Act, which had been previously undertaken, were necessarily continued under Sir A. Mackenzie, with small changes of detail in the procedure from time to time. The amount of such work may be gathered from the figures :—

(in (*a*) Government, (*b*) temporarily settled, and (*c*) private estates),

	area cadastrally surveyed.	cost of survey.	cost of settlement.	Total. (thus stated)
	sq. miles.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
1895-96	2,318	4,50,915	7,91,258	12,56,056
1896-97	1,651	3,32,882	10,17,643	13,67,065
1897-98	1,305	2,06,317	11, 34,821	13,64,971

The work everywhere proceeded without friction or disturbance. In 1897-98 also important principles of the new Orissa settlement, which came into force from the autumn of 1897, were determined. The incidence and enhancement of rents, the duration of the new settlement, the proportion of the rental to be taken as revenue, and the future maintenance of the records were among the principal questions considered and finally settled. The term of the settlement was fixed at 30 years. The normal percentage of the assets to be taken as revenue was decided to be from 50 to 55, as against 60 to 70 per cent taken at the previous settlement, but it was determined to reserve the decision of the question of what percentage it might be equitable and justifiable to take at the expiry of the new term of resettlement until the necessity for its settlement should arise. Orders were also passed that the records should be maintained through the agency of *patwaris*, to be paid from the proceeds of a special cess. Good progress was at the same time made with the settlement operations.

Recovery of costs of survey and settlement in North Bihar.

During the year 1895-96 only Rs. 32,500 of the costs were recovered in Champaran and Muzaffarpur, instead of Rs. 1,50,000 as expected. It was at first anticipated that the distress caused by the famine would

seriously check the recovery of the costs of the survey and settlement, and that it would not be possible to realise more than 1½ *lakhs* in 1896-97 and 3 *lakhs* in 1897-98. That the estimate was much underrated was shown by the fact that the actual recoveries in 1896-97 aggregated Rs. 2,05,389, while in 1897-98 the recoveries in Muzaffarpur alone amounted to Rs. 3,15,360, the total amount collected in that district up to 31st March 1898 being Rs. 3,83,460, or 94·8 per cent. of the total demand in the villages actually under collection. In Champaran Rs. 2,42,698 were collected during the year, making a total of Rs. 3,52,460 since the beginning, and in Saran the collections during the year amounted to Rs. 74,441, Rs. 50,000 having been collected during the previous year. The recoveries made in the 3 districts during the year aggregated Rs. 6,32,499. The assessees, both landlords and tenants, were eager to obtain their copies of the records, and had nothing to urge against the petty sums demanded of them in return. The success met with in these recoveries was the measure of the efficiency and popularity of the survey-settlement operations.

South Lushai Hills.

In the South Lushai Hills, an expedition was despatched during the cold season of 1895-96 against Kairuma and his dependent chiefs, Jaduna and Kapleheya, who had never been completely brought under control. The arrangements were made by the Assam Administration, columns of Military Police from Burma and Bengal being sent as supports. The objects of the expedition were fully attained, and the chiefs accepted the obligation to pay tribute and furnish labour. The Chief Jacopa, who attacked a party of the South Lushai Military Police in 1891, was captured by the Superintendent of the South Lushai Hills. This tract was formally annexed to British India during the year, and a Regulation was passed to enable the Bengal Government to declare what laws were to be in force in the district. Rules were also to be framed for the administration of the Hills, so as to assimilate the system to that proposed for the North Lushai Hills by the Assam Administration.

Sikhim.

The settlement of the dispute between Sikhim and Tibet regarding the boundary in the direction of Giagong remained in abeyance in consequence of the absence of a Chinese Resident at Lhassa: he arrived there towards the close of 1897-98. The frontier was quiet, and no disturbance of any kind

was anticipated. The Gnatong garrison of Military Police was withdrawn in November 1896. The retention of a post at that elevation was expensive and inconvenient, and the men were exposed to extreme cold during the winter months.

The second son of the Raja of Sikhim, Chotal Namgyel, was in October 1896 removed from Darjeeling to Guntok, where it was thought more desirable to complete his education. The Raja's eldest son, Tchoda Namgyel, remained in Tibet.

The Bengal Municipal Act of 1896.

The question of amending the Bengal Municipal Act came up for consideration towards the close of 1895-96, in connection with a proposal to empower Municipal Commissioners to devote a portion of the funds at their disposal to the provision of a veterinary staff and of veterinary hospitals for the treatment of horses and cattle. The opportunity was taken to remove certain defects in the existing law, to extend the franchise to certain classes of persons who did not before enjoy it, and to increase the powers and responsibilities of the Commissioners in several directions. By this Act, II (B.C.) of 1896, Commissioners of municipalities were enabled to apply municipal funds to the creation of open spaces, to the training and employment of female medical practitioners and of veterinary practitioners, to the establishment and maintenance of free libraries and veterinary hospitals, and to the improvement of the breed of horses and cattle. Municipal expenditure on hospitals, dispensaries, education, and vaccination, which before rested with the Municipal Commissioners, was brought under the control of the Commissioner of the Division, so that municipalities could be required to incur a reasonable expenditure on these items. By the amended Act also the levy was permitted of a differential water-rate according to the distance of houses and lands from the nearest hydrant or other source of water-supply, and of a higher rate on premises which had communication with the municipal pipes than on those which had not.

Local Self-Government Bill.

A Bill for the amendment of the Local Self-Government Act of 1885 was prepared by the desire of the Government of India. Its immediate object was to enable District Boards to devote some portion of their funds to the improvement of the breed of horses, cattle and asses, the breeding of mules and the prevention and cure of diseases among horses, cattle and other animals : it also empowered District Boards to spend money on the

training and employment of medical and veterinary practitioners, and the promotion of free vaccination, and contained some amendments of a formal character. It was subsequently proposed to make extensive additions to the Bill, with the object of legalising the levy of tolls by District Boards on certain conditions, and to empower Union Committees to raise a small local tax mainly for the purposes of village water-supply and sanitation. Legislation was accordingly postponed, and after further consideration was abandoned.

Disarmament of Backergunge.

For some time past the district of Backergunge had been notorious for its lawlessness, and serious measures had been in contemplation. Crimes of violence had always been very common in the district, but had lately increased in number, and murders by gunshot were being frequently committed. The motive for the majority of the murders was found in land disputes and quarrels about women. At last it appeared necessary to Government for the suppression of such crime that the possession and use of firearms should not be permitted any longer. In August 1896 therefore a notification was issued to disarm the district under the Arms Act, by cancelling all licenses for the manufacture, sale, possession &c., of arms and ammunition. The number of murders and violent crimes was at once greatly reduced.

The Presidency General Hospital.

In February 1896 the Surgeon-Superintendent of the Presidency General Hospital drew attention to the defects in the structural arrangements of the hospital and submitted certain proposals for improving and adding to the existing buildings. He maintained at the same time that it was doubtful whether the present buildings would bear any alteration, and whether the results would justify the large expenditure involved. It was decided, therefore, to appoint a special Committee to consider and report on the subject. The Committee, which submitted its Report at the beginning of September, after fully discussing the questions involved, drew up a scheme which comprised the demolition of most of the existing buildings and the complete reconstruction of the hospital at a cost of 22 *lakhs*. This scheme was accepted by Government, and was to be carried out gradually as soon as funds permitted. Meanwhile the land necessary for the purpose was acquired, and 3 *lakhs* were provided in the budget for 1898-99. The Supreme Government promised a handsome contribution to be spread over several years.

Under the direction of the Medical Board a sanitary survey of the town and suburbs of Calcutta was made in October 1896 by 5 sanitary officers, specially deputed for the purpose, assisted by the Civil Surgeon of the 24-*Parganas*. The Report submitted by these officers was considered by Sir A. Mackenzie to disclose a state of things which constituted a standing menace to the health of the city, and indicated a lamentable failure on the part of those responsible for the conservancy of the town. As the establishment previously employed for the purpose of removing accumulations of filth was found to be quite inadequate, a special temporary staff, presided over by a medical officer of the Government establishment, specially appointed as Chief Superintendent of conservancy, was employed by the Corporation for the purpose of thoroughly cleansing the town.

Sanitation of Calcutta.

On the 26th November 1896 Sir A. Mackenzie laid the foundation stone of a series of new works for the extension of the drainage of Calcutta (to cost over 45 *lakhs*) at a site a little beyond the Palmer's Bridge Pumping Station, Entally, and in reply to the address of the Calcutta Corporation made a speech, which created a considerable sensation in the town and led to the amendment of the Calcutta Municipal Act. He spoke as follows :—

Speech to the Calcutta Corporation.

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen,—I had pleasure in complying with your request to lay this stone not only because of the importance of the work of which it is the commencement, but in recognition of the position which the Commissioners occupy as the local representatives of the Provincial and Imperial Capital. You have in the address that has been presented given a brief history of the inception, objects and development of this project, and of its connection with the general scheme of Calcutta drainage. That subject was at one time very familiar to me, and there are in the Bengal Office, if I mistake not, lengthy notes of mine, written years ago, dealing, as Secretary to Government, with not a few phases of the question. It has always been surrounded with difficulties, and the complexity of the problems involved has certainly not diminished with time. I hope, however, you are now fairly on the way to a solution of the most pressing of these. I have elsewhere sought to vindicate the Commissioners from the charge of having dealt inadequately and perfunctorily with this drainage question. There has been delay, no doubt, in prosecuting these extensions of the system, but the delays have not, as was thought, been inordinate, and the wisdom of

caution in undertaking such costly and gigantic operations is vindicated by a comparison between the original estimates and those of the scheme as now sanctioned. The municipality has, I am afraid, many shortcomings to answer for. But I must say this, that I have never been able to agree that it has shewn niggardliness or been backward in sanctioning money for either water-supply or drainage.

You have, gentlemen, no doubt, been hampered in the task of improving Calcutta by many things, and perhaps by nothing so much as by your own constitution. The marvel is that with such an impracticable organization so much good work should have been done. You have a constitution borrowed *en bloc* from the most advanced models in England, and without any reference to the utterly different circumstances of an Oriental city, and a very mixed community. It seems to have been supposed that, because Birmingham for instance (which I know well) is admirably managed by an elected Council of 72, Calcutta could be equally well managed by a Council of 75, of whom 50 are elected. But in Birmingham, to begin with, the population is homogeneous, and accustomed for generations to manage its own affairs on lines as to which all parties are agreed. The Council there is composed entirely of shrewd, capable men of business—manufacturers, merchants, tradesmen and the like—whose one object is to treat every question before them, not as an opportunity for speech-making, but as a matter to be settled as promptly as may be in the most practical way. They work, no doubt, as you do, through Committees, but the endeavour is to place on each Committee only the men who knew most of the particular subject entrusted to it, and to have in the Chair of each Committee a man who has for years been administering that special branch. This done, the Town Council does not waste its time in doing over again the work of its Committees. It criticises when necessary, and can on occasions condemn, but its general object is to strengthen and support the executive and to have the work of the town done, and not merely talked about. There is (according to the November number of the *Century* Magazine) only one lawyer and one newspaper man on the whole Council. Now I think everybody in Calcutta outside the Corporation, and a good many people inside it, will admit that there is here far too much speaking for the sake of speech, that your executive is not nearly strong enough for action and is far too readily upset and interfered with; that work is often done twice or thrice over, and is often spoilt by the multitude of counsellors or cooks, and that far too much deference is paid at times to the wishes and objections of special interests. This is inevitable, I fear, in a Corporation constituted as yours is, having many members whose individual stake in the town is small, who are not all practical men of

business, and who represent themselves in the first place and a variety of heterogeneous interests in the second. But if you are wise you will seriously set yourself to reduce the evil of desultory discussion to a minimum. I know that much of this is due to the laudable feeling that each Commissioner is individually responsible for the good working of the whole, but this interest can often be as well shown by a silent sensible vote, as by a long speech or an acrimonious debate. You cannot *all* be experts even in such simple subjects as bacteriology and quantitative analysis. It is to be regretted that Calcutta was too proud to borrow its constitution from Bombay, which to my mind has an admirable system, combining all that is required of popular representation with a strong executive. But do try to make the best of the system you have, and trust the actual work of the town more fully to your executive officers and to those members of your body who have most experience of its needs.

You must indeed understand, gentlemen, that the municipality stands at present, or will certainly very shortly stand, at the bar of public opinion in the matter of its general conservancy. Many of you have, I see, made up your minds that, however Bombay may suffer, no plague shall come nigh your dwellings. You want now to crucify those who originally startled you, and, as for your Health Officer, crucifixion itself is not good enough for him. He is to be immolated by a Special Committee. Now gentlemen, it is an old saying that it is best not to shout till you are out of the wood and safe from all the dangers of the jungle. I hope with you that the plague may not invade us, and the town is certainly at present as regards its human population quite remarkably healthy, even though dead rats have been found in some of the drains ; but I must tell you frankly that the marvel is that we are ever without plague and every other disease that comes from neglected filth. I hold in my hand the Report of the 5 Sanitary Commissioners deputed by the Special Medical Board to examine and report upon the state of Calcutta conservancy, and a more appalling document it was never my misfortune to peruse. I positively dare not read out to this assembly its revelations of the abominations in which this city abounds. It will be for the Medical Board to say, in the first instance, where the responsibility lies for this, and to indicate what form, in their opinion, the remedies should take. But it is clear to me that the excessive tenderness which the Commissioners have hitherto shown in dealing with the so-called rights of private ownership will have to be given up. Private owners cannot be permitted to maintain death-traps, cholera and plague nurseries, for the destruction of their fellow citizens. The city must have Building Regulations of the most stringent description for

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preventing the creation of such dreadful places as the Sanitary Officers have discovered. I believe, as a matter of fact, you could do nearly all that is wanted for the future under your existing law but that law is not put into operation. Private interests, as I have hinted, are too strongly defended to the detriment of the public weal. The operation of the law must henceforth be practically automatic and beyond the influence of party or personal votes. But the chief problem is how to clear out the pestilential quarters that already exist. Something may be done, as I have said, by insisting on private improvements, but many of these places are too bad for any improvements. They cannot be mended and must be ended. The only remedy is to drive broad roads through these quarters, and to replace these horrid pigsties (where, indeed, no normally constituted pig could live) by respectable, well-sanitated dwellings. This operation properly conducted ought not to involve the town in much permanent expense ; but whatever it costs it must be done if Calcutta is to cease to be a disgrace to the Empire and the nineteenth century. The Government must, for its own credit and for the sake of the commerce of Bengal, see that these reforms are carried out. I have already invited the Commissioners to concur in the appointment of a Commission to consider this question of Building Regulations. I trust shortly to hear that they are prepared to work with me in the matter. I shall not then have to consider the disagreeable alternative of proceeding without them and in supersession of their authority. You must also, to raise the necessary funds, make the most of your existing sources of income. Your Warrant Department, in spite of all special pleading, is a standing scandal. I believe that your Loan Department would be all the better of a thorough overhauling. And when all this is done, if more money is required, you must consider the question of special cesses on specially bad areas and specially neglectful owners, and such other measures of raising revenue as may suggest themselves to you. You will receive all the support and assistance that I and the Bengal Council can afford you.

Gentlemen, I am well aware that you have spent much on the conservancy of Calcutta, and I believe that the state of those streets and lanes which can be easily reached by your sweepers and carts is by no means bad. But these sanitary reports show that there is behind these streets and lanes a festering area that it is at present almost impossible for your agency to scavenge effectually, and *that* must be opened up. I believe the description given of this area will take many of you by surprise. Whether it ought not to have been discovered and attacked before is a question for discussion. That it must be effectively dealt with now is what I am trying to impress upon you. Then the *basti* question must

in future be disposed of and not played with. The condition of the cow-sheds and *ticca-ghari* stables is another grave blot on the town and a standing peril to the population. I believe you could not do better than remove all the cow-sheds outside the urban area, as the Sanitary Commissioners suggest. With most of the evils depicted by the Sanitary Commissioners your existing Act gives ample power to deal. I trust that, when once the requirements of the case are laid before you, you will, with a minimum of discussion and controversy, set yourselves to remedy those evils and earn for yourselves a reputation for businesslike courage and capacity in dealing with what is undoubtedly a very difficult situation. That the Commissioners can rise to the height of great enterprise has been shown by their treatment of the water-supply and drainage questions. I am not without hope that, when they find what is before them in this matter of conservancy, they will sink all differences of opinion and unite to initiate and carry through a scheme of general reform worthy of the first city in India and of their own responsibilities.

Some one has said that Councils are on ordinary occasions more courageous than most individuals because they can bear odium better. I trust that the Calcutta Corporation will show its courage in accepting any burden of unmerited odium that may come from doing its duty, and defeat the odium that some seek to attach to it as a sample of the failure of Local Self-Government in India. You would (I repeat again as a friend what I have already suggested as Lieutenant-Governor) do well to improve your methods of working. "There be," says Bacon, "three parts of business—the preparation ; the debate or examination ; and the perfection ; whereof if you look for despatch, let the middle only be the work of many, and the first and last the work of few." Give your executive full powers in "preparation" and "perfection," i. e., in the preparation of projects and the carrying of them out. And "the surest way to make agents do their duty" (says Phelps) "is to show them that their efforts are appreciated with nicety. In your daily dealings with them, you should beware of making slight or haphazard criticisms on any of their proceedings. Your inclination should be to treat them with hearty confidence." In that way only will you get satisfactory work done : and the state of Calcutta is such that, unless the Government, the Corporation and the Executive of the town all work together heartily and with a single mind, there must come a general cataclysm in your municipal affairs, and radical changes such as I, last of all men, desire to bring about."

Calcutta Municipal Bill.

It was proposed by the Calcutta Municipal Bill to repeal the Calcutta Municipal Act of 1888 and re-enact it with considerable modifications. The Act had been

in force for over 9 years, and actual experience and decisions of the Courts had shown it to be in many instances imperfectly drafted and to stand in need of material alteration. The necessity of legislation was originally urged upon the Government in order to enable the Commissioners to recover license tax from certain companies which had escaped payment, and in order to supply an omission in section 237 of the Act, which rendered it impossible for the Commissioners to exercise effective control over re-building and alterations in buildings. After the amendment of the law in these points was decided on, facts were brought to light in connection with the alarm of plague in Calcutta, which showed that the town was in a terribly insanitary condition and that the existing constitution of the Municipality was ill-adapted to stand the strain of a grave and sudden emergency, and failed to secure the prompt and continuous executive action which was necessary in view of the fact that the sanitation and conservancy of the great Indian maritime cities had become a matter of international concern. About the same time it came to notice that the collection of the rates had for a long time been defective ; that important branches of the accounts had fallen into confusion ; and that considerable uncertainty prevailed as to the respective functions of the Chairman and the Corporation. Further, it had for long been recognised as a defect in the existing law that the European community was inadequately represented, and did not exercise the influence to which it was entitled.

The Bill was intended not only to remedy these defects, but also to provide for a responsible municipal executive, and to furnish this executive with a law adequate to the sanitary requirements of the city and to modern standards of municipal administration. It was sought to attain these ends by re-constructing the Act more or less on the lines of the City of Bombay Municipal Act, with certain material changes which appeared to be called for in view of the special conditions of Calcutta and the course of previous legislation on the subject. The constitution of the Corporation itself, so far as concerned the electoral franchise, the arrangement of wards, the number of Commissioners, and the methods in which they were elected or appointed, were left unchanged. But in order to enable the heavy and complicated business of the city to be

carried on smoothly, the Bill interposed a small working Committee between the Chairman and the main body of Commissioners; and the functions of these authorities—the Corporation, the General Committee, and the Chairman—were precisely defined and carefully distinguished.

The Bill abandoned the system, followed in the previous Acts, of vesting the entire municipal government in the Commissioners, with permission to the Chairman to exercise such powers of the Commissioners, not being expressly reserved to the Commissioners in meeting, as they might not withdraw from him by Resolution, and subject to such conditions as they might lay down. It provided for 3 co-ordinate municipal authorities—the Corporation, the General Committee, and the Chairman, assisted by a Deputy Chairman who was to act only under the Chairman's orders. All powers conferred by the Bill were distributed among these authorities, with reference to their assumed fitness to exercise them and to general administrative convenience. To the Corporation was reserved the right of fixing the rates of taxation and all those general functions which could be efficiently performed by a large body, provision being at the same time made against the contingency of their deliberations impeding the transaction of necessary business. Following the Bombay Act, the Bill vested the entire executive power in the Chairman, to be exercised either independently or subject to the approval or sanction of the Corporation wherever this was expressly so directed. The General Committee was to stand between the deliberative and executive authorities, and deal with those matters which by their nature were ill-adapted for discussion by the Corporation, and yet were too important to be left to be disposed of by the Chairman alone. Power was also taken for the General Committee to appoint Sub-Committees, either from their own body or from the general body of the Commissioners, on which all the working talent among the Commissioners, would find a place.

The Bill reduced the number of the General Committee from 18 to 12 members, and provided for the appointment of these from among the general body of Commissioners in equal proportions by (*a*) the elected Commissioners voting in four electoral divisions, (*b*) the Chamber of Commerce, the Trades' Association, and the

Port Commissioners, and (*c*) the Government. It was based on the principle of giving adequate representation on the governing body of the municipality to the 3 chief interests in Calcutta—to the European commercial community which had made the city a centre of trade; to the Government which had made it the capital of the Indian Empire, and was responsible to the world at large for its sufficient and progressive municipal administration; and, lastly, to the residents, house-holders, and ground-landlords who had been attracted to Calcutta by its creation and maintenance as a commercial capital.

For the purpose of electing the 4 general members of the General Committee who were to represent the elected Commissioners, it was proposed to divide the 25 wards into groups or electoral divisions, each of which was to elect 1 member from among the entire body of Municipal Commissioners. The 4 seats reserved to the Government were to enable it to provide for the representation of minorities and also to nominate at least 1 Commissioner as the special representative of the humbler working men of all ranks and trades who earn their livelihood in Calcutta, and who were wholly unrepresented under the existing system.

The section of the existing Act which conferred certain powers of control upon the Government was framed in very general terms, and would be difficult to put in force effectively. It was also unfair to the Commissioners, in that it gave them no distinct right to show cause against an order, and forced the Government to take the extreme course of at once appointing some person to perform the duty alleged to be neglected, instead of calling upon the Commissioners to perform it themselves within a given time. Section 22 of the Bill, which was based upon section 64 of the City of Madras Municipal Act, reserved to the Government ample powers of intervention, while at the same time providing for a fair inquiry into the facts and giving the Corporation sufficient opportunity for stating their view of the matters in dispute.

The building regulations in the Bill were based partly upon the report of the Calcutta Building Commission and partly on the London Building Act, 1894, and other English and Continental building laws. The subject was a peculiarly difficult one, owing to the irregular manner in which buildings had been constructed in

Calcutta in past years. The general principle on which the draft proceeded was to lay down regulations for new buildings and to provide that existing buildings were to come under those regulations when they were re-erected or, at the discretion of the General Committee, when they were materially altered. A special power of dispensation was also given to the Local Government, to be exercised on the recommendation of any 2 of the municipal authorities. Following modern legislation on the continent of Europe, the Bill provided for the reservation of particular streets and quarters of the city for particular kinds of buildings. Government buildings were exempted from all the building regulations.

Various other amendments of more or less importance were proposed by the Bill in the existing law.

The Bill contained an important section giving power to extend to Howrah by notification any specified portion of the Bill, subject to such restrictions and modifications as might be thought fit. A special procedure was laid down for this purpose which provided for notice being given of the intention to extend any portion of the Bill and for the hearing of objections. The Bill was referred to a Select Committee on the 4th April 1898. In winding up the debate on the motion for this purpose Sir A. Mackenzie re-stated some of the reasons for undertaking this legislation, *inter alia*, that the Corporation had been constituted on a system 'which it is almost impossible for any one were he an angel from heaven to work satisfactorily'—and that the cardinal principle of the Bill was that the ordinary every day work of the city must be left in one man's hands.

Precautions against Plague.

The outbreak of plague in Bombay towards the close of the year 1896 rendered it necessary to adopt precautionary measures against its possible importation into Bengal, and especially into Calcutta. It was decided accordingly to open 3 inspecting stations, where travellers from the Bombay Presidency could be intercepted and examined. The places selected were Khana Junction on the East Indian Railway for passengers coming direct from Bombay, Katihar on the Eastern Bengal State Railway for passengers coming *via* the North-Western Provinces, or by the alternative route from Mokameh Ghat, and Damukdia on the railway ferry of the Eastern Bengal State Railway for persons journeying by boat down the Ganges. At each place suitable

arrangements were made and a medical staff specially appointed. No case of plague was detected at any of these stations, though it was found necessary to detain for several days in the camps a large number of persons who showed suspicious symptoms. In Calcutta itself every precaution was taken to guard against the introduction of the plague, and vessels arriving from Bombay were placed in quarantine till thoroughly disinfected and declared by the Health officer of the Port to be free from infection. In order to assist and advise the Government in dealing with questions connected with plague, a special Medical Board was formed. The Board met frequently and drew up and circulated careful rules for the guidance of Medical Officers, District and Local Boards, and Municipalities. No case of plague occurred in Bengal throughout the year 1896-97.

Precautionary measures against the introduction of the bubonic plague into the Province were vigorously continued throughout the year 1897-98. The inspecting stations, for the examination of railway passengers coming from infected areas, at Khana Junction, at Katihar, and at Damukdia, were kept in working order, but towards the end of the year were replaced by new camps at Chausa on the East Indian Railway, at Mairwa on the Bengal and North-Western Railway, and at Chakradharpur on the Bengal-Nagpur Railway. In April 1897 another observation camp was established at Khurda Road station on the East Coast Railway. The total number of passengers examined was 1,354,361, of whom 21,468 were detained for observation. The Special Medical Board, which had been constituted in the previous year for the purpose of dealing with questions relating to plague, was reformed under the name of the Plague Commission, a number of Medical officers and further representatives of the non-official public being appointed members. Under the authority conferred by the Epidemic Diseases Act, III of 1897, a series of Regulations was published, providing, among other matters, for the inspection of persons travelling by rail or steamer, and for the inspection of ships leaving the Port, so as to give effect to the requirements of the Venice Convention, to prevent the advent of plague (1) in Calcutta, (2) in towns and cantonments in the interior, and (3) in *mufassal* areas, and to stamp it out if it should make an appearance. These were modified and amended from time to time, and in November 1897 one Regulation was published which brought together all the rules of dealing

with plague in municipal towns, including Calcutta, and in *mufassal* villages. Provision was made for the appointment everywhere of local plague authorities with plenary powers, and for the definition of their duties; and rules were laid down to provide for the prompt detection of cases of plague as they occurred, their removal to hospital, for the segregation of persons who had been in contact with the sick, for the provision of family and caste hospitals, for the evacuation and disinfection of infected dwellings, and for the disposal of the dead. No case of plague was detected in the Province during the year, but, shortly after the year 1897-98 closed, there was a sporadic outbreak in Calcutta.

The famine of 1896-97.

Like all previous famines in Bengal, the famine of 1896-97 was caused by the failure of the monsoon rains of 1896, and was the result of 2 successive bad seasons. The season of 1895, although on the whole favourable to the *bhadoi* or autumn crops, was bad for the winter rice, inasmuch as the rains were unevenly distributed at the time of sowing, and ceased earlier than was necessary to ensure a full outturn. Then followed a prolonged drought, which lasted throughout the cold weather, and materially injured the *rabi* or spring crops. For the Province as a whole the outturn of the *bhadoi* crops was estimated at 14 annas, of winter rice at 13 annas, and of the *rabi* crops at 11 to 12 annas. The good crops reaped in 1893-94 and 1894-95 enabled the people to tide over the partial failure of 1895-96, but a greater disaster followed and caused distress more or less acute throughout the Province. The rainfall of 1896 was very nearly as short as in 1873, and was worse distributed. The *bhadoi* crops suffered from short rainfall in all parts of the Province except in Orissa, where, on the other hand, there was excessive rain in July and August, resulting in floods which destroyed the standing crops over a large area. The average outturn of these crops for the whole Province was estimated at $10\frac{1}{2}$ annas, but the outturn of *bhadoi* food-crops alone was believed to have been not more than $9\frac{1}{2}$ annas. The injury done to the great winter rice crop by deficient rainfall during the sowing and transplanting season was aggravated by the entire cessation of the rains at the most critical period; no rain fell after the 19th September. The effect of these abnormal meteorological conditions was that the

total area cultivated with winter rice was about a million acres less than in the preceding year, and that the outturn of the crop was as bad in Bihar and in parts of Bengal as in 1873, the estimate for the whole Province being only $7\frac{1}{2}$ annas, or less than half the average crop. The *rabi* crops of 1896-97 suffered considerably from the want of moisture in the soil, but showers of rain fell at intervals during the cold weather, which did much good in the Patna and Chota Nagpur Divisions. The outturn of these crops throughout the Province was estimated at $10\frac{1}{2}$ annas. The *mahua* and mango crops, which in an ordinary year form a useful supplement to the food-grains, were also poor. Not only was the failure of the crops in the Province of Bengal as great as in 1873-74, but it extended throughout India, and caused an unprecedented rise in prices.

Prices in Bengal generally rose instead of failing, as in ordinary years, as soon as the *bhadoi* crops had been harvested, and there was a further sharp rise when the failure of the winter rice became certain.

Importance of the winter rice in Bengal.

Winter rice is by far the most important crop in these Provinces, covering as it does an area nearly equal to that of all other crops put together, and about $1\frac{1}{2}$ times the area covered by other food-crops; while the normal area covered by *bhadoi* or autumn rice is 7,600,000 acres, or 11·3 per cent of the total cropped area. All known famines in Bengal and Orissa have been rice famines. In Bihar and Northern Bengal the *bhadoi* and *rabi* crops may affect the turning point between famine and no famine, but even there the immediate cause of scarcities and famines has always been the failure of the great winter rice crop. The early cessation of the usual rains in September and total want of rain in October has therefore, *cæteris paribus*, a more serious and lasting effect in areaswwhere rice is the sole or predominating crop than it can have in districts or parts of districts in which 3 harvests of nearly equal relative importance are annually reaped. In such districts it may take 2 or 3 years of short rain to make a famine. If in such areas one harvest fails, the loss is partially made good by another harvest in the same year, but it is manifest that, where rice is the only, or almost the only, crop and the cultivators are poor, and therefore have no stocks of grain or money to fall back upon, a total or very serious failure of the rice crop even in one year must cause acute distress.

The effect of the early cessation of the monsoon rains was more disastrous in Bihar than elsewhere, partly because the comparatively high lands of Bihar require more moisture for the growth of rice and other crops than the low-lying lands of Lower Bengal. In Bihar, too, the population is extremely dense and much poorer than in most other parts of the Province. The ordinary wages of agricultural labour are extremely low, and they have, owing partly to the growth of population and partly to the influence of custom, remained practically unaltered for the past 20 years or more, while the prices of food-grains have largely increased during the same period. Sir A. Mackenzie's attention was therefore directed to this part of the country as soon as the rains had ceased; and relief measures were commenced where necessary at the first indications of distress.

Test-works were first opened in the Bhabhua subdivision of Shahabad on the 21st October 1896, and by the latter end of December relief operations were in progress in this as well as in the 4 districts of the Patna Division North of the Ganges, the total number on relief on the 26th December being 61,865 on relief works and 7,800 on gratuitous relief. The largest number on Government relief at any time during the famine was 845,485 on the 5th June. On that date, so far as was known, 48,986 persons were in receipt of relief from the Darbhanga and Hatwa Raj estates and from other private individuals elsewhere. This total number included 859 persons in receipt of relief in the districts of Patna, Rajshahi, and Pabna on the 5th June. These districts, as well as Jessore and Dinajpur, were only slightly affected by the scarcity, and no operations were found necessary on the part of Government beyond the opening of test works and the distribution of gratuitous relief on a small scale: in Lohardaga relief works were open in July and August, and gratuitous relief was given in those months and in September. The pinch of unusually high prices was felt, and isolated cases of distress occurred in every other district, but sufficient relief was given by Local Committees from funds subscribed in the district or contributed by the Indian Famine Charitable Relief Fund.

As soon as the rains of 1897 had fairly set in and agricultural operations demanded the services of cultivators and labourers, the numbers on relief works began to diminish; and by the end of

August, when the harvesting of the *bhadoi* crops had commenced, the total number on Government relief throughout the Province had dwindled to 335,776. The monsoon of 1897 very nearly approached the cultivator's ideal as regards both the *bhadoi* and winter rice crops, and relief works were closed at the end of August in tracts where the *bhadoi* crops are largely grown, and elsewhere by the 25th of September, except in Manbhum, where the yield of the *bhadoi* crops was not good and it was found necessary to keep the works open until the 23rd October. Gratuitous relief was generally continued a little longer than relief on works, and was finally closed on 30th October.

When it became certain that relief measures on a considerable scale would have to be undertaken, all preliminary arrangements were at once taken in hand. These were partly settled at a conference which Sir A. Mackenzie held at Sonpur with the Commissioner and other official and non-official gentlemen of the Patna Division on the 20th November 1896. The Revenue Secretary afterwards visited the worst tracts in the Districts of Muzaffarpur, Champaran and Darbhanga, and attended an official conference at Muzaffarpur, at which the details of famine relief organization were worked out on the lines laid down by Sir A. Mackenzie. On the 28th February 1897, when the relief operations had been in progress for some time, Sir A. Mackenzie went on a brief tour of inspection of the Bihar districts. He examined relief works and the administration of gratuitous relief, and consulted the principal officials and non-officials of Bihar. The relief operations in North Bihar were once more inspected at the end of June and beginning of July by the Officiating Lieutenant-Governor, Mr. (Sir C. C.) Stevens, who left Calcutta on the 28th June, and visited the Districts of Darbhanga, Saran, and Muzaffarpur. He was compelled to return to Calcutta on the 4th July, but left the Revenue Secretary to visit the Champaran District with the Commissioner. During the course of his tour Sir C. Stevens had an interview at Darbhanga with Mr. Higham, C.I.E., who had been deputed by the Government of India, and discussed with him the system of relief in Bihar. This interview and Sir C. Stevens' personal inquiries and observations, and those made by all responsible observers, official and non-official, left no room for doubt that gratuitous relief was not being too freely given, and

that relief works had been conducted in an efficient and economical manner and had not competed or interfered with private works. The Districts of Nadia, Khulna, and Murshidabad in the Presidency Division were visited by the Revenue Secretary in April 1897, and in June Sir C. Stevens visited Nadia and Khulna before proceeding to Bihar.

Besides relief given on relief works, and gratuitous relief to children and adults unfit for work, loans were given free of interest to landholders and others who undertook to excavate tanks or execute other works of improvement in their own villages. Many such works were carried out in the Patna Division and elsewhere, and afforded employment to labourers who would otherwise have come on to the Government works. Loans were also given to cultivators under the Agriculturists Loans Act, at the commencement of the monsoon, since many had consumed their stock of seed-grain, and without such aid would have been unable to purchase seed; and in the *rabi* cultivating season of 1896, in order to encourage irrigation, bounties were given at the rate of Re. 1 for each *kutcha* well sunk.

A sure proof of the adequacy of the relief measures undertaken by Government was that there was, as far as Government was aware, no mortality from starvation, and that the people were kept in such good case that they were able to return, and did return, to their normal pursuits of their own accord as soon as the *bhadoi* harvest had been reaped and the prospects of the coming winter rice were assured. Special care was taken by the Medical Department and by the local civil officers to collect statistics of death-rates in the affected areas. These statistics showed that the death-rate in Bihar, which was by far the worst part of the Province, was even lower than in the preceding year. Some few cases of death by starvation were reported from time to time from Chota Nagpur and elsewhere, but the special inquiries made showed that in no case did death result from actual starvation. Although it could not be said that in no case was death accelerated by want of proper nourishment, all that was possible was done to prevent mortality from starvation, and the efforts of Government in this direction were attended with as complete success as it was possible to attain. On the other hand, that due care was taken to prevent wasteful expenditure of State

funds was shown by the fact that the task of work demanded and enforced in practice from those who were able to work, as a test of distress, was declared by Mr. Higham, C. I. E., to be adequate though not excessive.

Before the famine had developed to any great extent, forecasts were made of the areas likely to be affected, the probable extent and intensity of distress, and of the expenditure likely to be incurred, and subsequent events showed that these forecasts were prepared with a very near approach to correctness. Excluding loans given for village works, the actual expenditure incurred in the financial year 1896-97 was, in round numbers, Rs. 23,00,000, and the actual expenditure in 1897-98 was expected to be Rs. 88,00,000, giving a total expenditure of 111 *lakhs* (or very nearly one sixth part of the amount spent in 1873-74) from the beginning to the close of the operations, including expenditure from the funds of the District Boards and District Road Committees. The estimate for 1897-98, excluding loans for village works, had been Rs. 89,55,000, so that about one and a half *lakhs* were saved. The estimates of expenditure were based on estimates of the numbers likely to require Government relief in each month of the period of distress, the cost of each person being calculated at $1\frac{1}{3}$ annas a day. The actual number relieved month by month closely approximated to the estimates, but the actual expenditure per head was less than $1\frac{1}{3}$ annas.

The greatly reduced cost of famine relief operations of 1896-97, compared with that of the operations of 1873-74, although due in great measure to the improved methods and knowledge of famine relief administration, both in the exaction of adequate tasks on relief works and in the careful selection of fit objects of gratuitous relief, was ascribed largely to the fact that the Government of Bengal, in accord with the Government of India, set its face from the beginning against any general importation of grain by Government to the famine districts. The only action taken by Government in connection with food-supply was to stimulate private trade by (1) the grant of bounties on grain imported to Palamau and Lohardaga, which are far away from railway lines, and (2) by giving loans to traders in these districts and in certain inaccessible tracts in the districts of Nadia and Puri. Government also despatched 15,000 maunds of Burma rice to Palamau in the beginning of June for the payment of

wages in kind on the Government relief works and for the distribution of doles of gratuitous relief, owing to the fear that, communications being bad, private trade might fail during the rains. The experience of this famine showed beyond question that private trade was quite capable of meeting any emergency that was ever likely to arise, and thus set at rest for ever the question of Government interference with it in times of famine.

Another fact which the famine of 1896-97 clearly brought out was that, in consequence of the extension of railways and the general advance in material prosperity during the past quarter of a century, the power of the people, even in Bihar, to resist calamities of season had greatly increased since 1873-74. Not only was the failure of crops in Bihar as great as any on record, but the general distress throughout India was unprecedentedly extensive, and prices were higher than had ever previously been known, but yet the cost of famine relief in these Provinces was only about one-sixth of that incurred in 1873-74. The power of resistance shown by the people in these unfavourable conditions was surprising to those who knew them best.

Comparison of the Famines of 1873-74 and 1896-97.

Sir A. Mackenzie, in his final Resolution of the 11th March 1898, thus compared the famines of 1873-74 and of 1896-97. "The famine of 1896-97 in its main features, in its causes, extent, extensity, development, and in the rise and fall of numbers in receipt of State relief—resembles to a great extent the famine of 1873-74, but here the analogy ceases: the methods adopted for relieving distress, the cost, and in a large degree the moral effects on the people of the operations of 1896-97 have been largely different from those of the famine of 1873-74. In both famines alike the paramount object of all famine relief administration, namely, the saving of human beings from death by starvation, has been fully attained, but on the present occasion at a greatly reduced cost, aggregating only a sixth part of that incurred by the State in 1873-74.

If in this narrative comparisons are instituted between the methods and results of the administration of famine relief in 1873-74 and those of 1896-97, and conclusions are drawn that may appear favourable to the methods and results of the recent operations, it is not because it is claimed that the administrators of to-day are superior to their predecessors, to whom belongs the credit of show-

ing for the first time how a widespread Indian famine could be successfully grappled with; but because the inferences are suggested that, as the results of the experience of 1873-74 and subsequent famines, of the labours of the famine Commission, and of the more minute knowledge of the agricultural economy of the country since attained, greatly improved methods of famine administration have been devised, and that, owing to the extension of railways, spread of communications, and the general advance of these Provinces in material prosperity, the powers of the people to resist the effects of calamity of seasons have largely increased. It is with a view to call attention to and emphasise these inferences that comparisons will be made on suitable occasions in the following narrative between the famines of 1897 and 1874. Though the administrators of famine relief in 1874, in a great undertaking of unprecedented character, with no previous experience to guide them, may have committed mistakes and erred on the side of excessive liberality, they were at all events conspicuously successful in saving life, and left behind them traditions among the people of confidence in the will and power of Government to rescue them from the horrors of starvation. The administrators of to-day had the advantage of the experience of 1874 and of subsequent famines; and if it be true that equal success has been attained in saving life at a smaller cost, it should be always remembered, as Sir Richard Temple remarked at the time, that many things had then to be accomplished, the like of which had never been attempted before. Nothing can be more pleasing to those who were responsible for the administration of relief in 1874, than to find that a failure of crops equal to that of 1874, resulting from an equal deficiency and more unfavourable distribution of rainfall, and attended by higher prices of food grains, was met in 1897 by an outlay of little more than one crore of rupees, against one of six crores in 1874, as nothing would be more agreeable to Sir Alexander Mackenzie and those who have shared with him in the labours of the famine of 1897, than to learn 20 years hence, in the event of the occurrence of a similar calamity of season, that in the interval between the present and that time the material prosperity of the people had so advanced that the calamity had been met by an outlay of one-sixth of that incurred in the recent famine. Indeed the Lieutenant-Governor sees in the events of the past year

reason to hope that Bengal, Bihar, and Orissa may have now seen the last of the great famines. If with a failure of crops, which, according to all authorities possessing personal knowledge of these Provinces (and who alone are in a position to form a judgment in the matter) was as great as any of this century, and with unprecedentedly high prices, human life has been saved throughout the vast territories subject to the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, at an outlay of one crore of rupees to the State, the Lieutenant-Governor thinks it is not too much to expect, as time goes on, and the condition of the people of these Provinces continues to improve, as it undoubtedly has improved in the past quarter of a century, that they will be able to meet any calamity that is ever likely to occur in the future with an increasingly diminished expenditure from State funds."

Famine statistics.

The more important statistics of the famine were subsequently ascertained with greater accuracy than was possible before final Reports were received. Reducing the persons relieved to terms of one day, the net result of the operations from first to last showed that in the 15 affected districts 61,018,611 individuals were relieved for one day on works, and 70,783,120 gratuitously, or a total of 131,801,731, while in districts in which distress was apprehended and test works opened, although famine was never officially declared to exist, relief on works was given to 277,289 souls and gratuitously to 284,963. For the Province, therefore, as a whole, 61,295,850 persons attended the relief works and 71,068,083 the gratuitous relief distribution, or a total of 132,363,933 in terms of one day. The total expenditure on relief works, exclusive of expenditure in the nature of bounties and advances, amounted to Rs. 1,08,03,758, which was distributed under the following main heads as shown below :—

	Rs.
Wages of workers and contingencies ...	62,99,245
Gratuitous relief	32,00,287
Establishment	8,85,446
Tools and plant	4,09,785
Compensation for land, trees, crops ...	8,995
Total ...	1,08,03,758

Excluding contingencies, the average daily cost per head of

expenditure on the wages of workers amounted to 1 anna 4·9 pie per diem, and the average daily gratuitous dole to 8·6 pies per head. Inclusive of the bounties paid on grain and the cost of grain imported, bounties paid to encourage the excavation of *kutcha* wells and advances to grain-importers, and under the modified rules of the Land Improvement Loans Act, most of which would be recoverable, the grand total of expenditure amounted to Rs. 1,12,52,005, or, in other words, to one crore and twelve *lakhs*. Considerable sums were also distributed as relief by private *zamindars* and others, notably by the Maharaja Bahadur of Darbhanga and by the Court of Wards on behalf of the Hatwa Raj, and a total expenditure of Rs. 19,34,396 was also incurred by the Indian Famine Charitable Relief Fund.

Canal projects in North Bihar.

A scheme for the Tribeni Canal from the river Gandak in the North of Champaran was discussed as long ago as 1874, but, on account of the great expense involved, the proposal was rejected. During the year of scarcity 1896-97, when it was found necessary to provide work for famine labour in Champaran, the project was revived. The Irrigation Department carried out the necessary surveys and levels, the line for the canal was marked out, and some of the earthwork was done by famine labour. The scheme provided for a canal starting from Tribeni Ghat, on the Gandak, and running eastward across the North of Champaran, for about 58 miles, to the Oriah Nadi. It was to be a high level canal, commanding the tract lying between itself and the Sikrana river. The area commanded was to be about 400 square miles, mainly suitable for rice, but previously on account of successive droughts mostly uncultivated; the canal, as projected, was to suffice to irrigate between 80,000 and 90,000 acres of rice, and to render the tract in question secure against famine. The line of the canal crossed, unavoidably, a large number of hill streams and the masonry works required for the passage of these streams were to add considerably to the cost of the project. Detailed estimates were prepared, but a rough approximation put the cost of "works" alone, including 200 miles of distributaries, at about 20 *lakhs* of rupees; the total cost was estimated at $30\frac{1}{2}$ *lakhs*: nearly 2 *lakhs* were spent in the famine. As a famine protective work, the value of the Tribeni canal was unquestionable, but it could not be classed as a productive work.

Other schemes were also started as famine relief works—viz: that of a canal for the irrigation of Dhaka in the Champaran district, taking off from the Lal Buckeya *nala* near the Nepal frontier, and bifurcating into 2 branches of 15 and 16 miles in length. It was to command about 70 square miles and irrigate about 15,000 acres of rice and 5,000 acres of *rabi* crops, and cost about 4 *lakhs*, but was not expected to be remunerative for 13 years. Another canal was proposed from the Bhagmati river on the Nepal border to the Saran *nala* in the Muzaffarpur district. This was commenced as a relief work, and to irrigate about 42,000 acres of *kharif*, 62,000 acres of *rabi* and 7,600 acres of hot-weather crops, and cost about 9 *lakhs*. Excavation was commenced in February 1897.

Reorganisation of the Education Department.

The scheme for the reorganisation of the Educational Department, which had been under consideration for some time, was finally settled towards the end of 1896-97 and was introduced with retrospect effect from the 1st August 1896. Under the new scheme, the educational services were divided into two classes—superior and subordinate. The superior service was to consist of 2 branches—one including all posts filled by persons appointed in England, to be called "The Indian Educational Service," and the other including all posts filled by recruitment in India, to be known as "The Provincial Educational Service." In the former service there were to be 27 posts (including the Superintendentship of the School of Art), and in the Provincial Service there were to be for the present 113 appointments, including 9 officers admitted on personal grounds. The post of Director of Public Instruction, Bengal, was excluded from the list of appointments in the superior service, Government thus retaining a free hand in the selection of an officer to fill it. The first 5 years' service of an officer appointed to the Indian Educational Service was to be regarded as probationary, and, exceptional cases and special appointments apart, the general scale of pay for officers of that service was fixed, as follows :—

(*a*) during the probationary period of 5 years, Rs. 500-50-700 a month ;

(*b*) on expiry of probation, Rs. 750-50-1,000, the maximum being attained at the end of 10 years from first appointment. A special allowance of Rs. 100 a month was to be given after 15 years'

service to officers whose total salary did not exceed Rs. 1,000, and who were considered to merit this increase of pay, and 2 personal allowances of Rs. 250—50—500 and 3 of Rs. 200—10—250 a month were to be open to the 2 senior Professors of the Presidency College, Calcutta, and to Principals of Colleges and Inspectors of Schools generally, the rule being that they were to be given to the senior or most deserving men, and were not to be attached to particular offices.

The following principles were to govern the classification in the Provincial or Subordinate Service of appointments recruited for in India—

(1) the line between the two services was drawn rather according to the nature of the office held than according to pay ;

(2) generally speaking Professors, Inspectors, and Joint and Assistant Inspectors were to be included in the Provincial Service ; and Deputy Inspectors, Head Masters of District Schools, and officers of lower rank in the Subordinate Service ;

(3) as regards other offices, those carrying less pay than Rs. 200 a month were not, except for very special reasons, to be placed in the Provincial Service ; while offices carrying higher pay than Rs. 200 (such as the senior Deputy Inspectorships) might at the discretion of Government be classed in the Subordinate Service.

The minimum salary of the Provincial Service was fixed at Rs. 150 a month, and the maximum salary at Rs. 700.

Sir A. Croft, Director of Public Instruction.

In February 1897 Sir Alfred Croft, K. C. I. E., who had been connected with the Education Department of Bengal for more than 31 years, and had been Director of Public Instruction for nearly 20 years, left India. In a farewell notice, Sir A. Mackenzie acknowledged his services to Bengal thus :—"The advance of education in Bengal during his tenure of office has been great, and has been largely due to his fostering care. His powers of organization have been continuously brought to bear upon every branch of this great Department, which will long bear the impress of his mind and will. By his retirement the Government of Bengal loses a most accomplished, able and devoted public servant, and the natives of Bengal a true and judicious friend". He had also been Vice-Chancellor of the University and Member of the Bengal Legislative Council, and been connected, as

member or President, with numerous Committees on Educational subjects. For years he held a distinguished and influential position in Bengal.

The Kidderpore docks.

During the year 1896-7 an important decision was arrived at in regard to the accommodation of the Port of Calcutta. The Kidderpore docks had been opened for traffic some years before, but failed to attract the traffic that was anticipated. The Commissioners were then compelled to consider carefully the best way of utilizing this large work and several proposals put forward from time to time were opposed by the mercantile community. The trade of the Port, meanwhile, increased rapidly, and caused a serious block at the jetties, with the result that great delays occurred in allotting berths to vessels. The following scheme was then proposed, and placed before the mercantile community. Its dominant feature was that the jetties should be used only for the discharge of general import cargo, the vessels, after discharging, either proceeding to the Kidderpore docks for their export cargo or loading in the stream. Provision was made for the salt traffic, by erecting *golas* with boat wharves, and also for the coal-exporting trade, which was growing in importance. Another item of the scheme was the doubling of the railway line for the purpose of railing the exports to the docks. At the jetties it was proposed to reduce the number of berths from 7 to 6, the size of the jetties being increased. This measure was necessary owing to the great increase in the size of the vessels visiting the Port. These alterations and additions were estimated to cost Rs. 17,70,000, and a debenture loan of 15 *lakhs* was asked for to meet the expenditure.

The opinions of the mercantile community were divided, but as no alternative scheme was put forward by the opponents, and as it was not possible to meet the wishes of both parties, the scheme, as prepared by the Commissioners, was strongly recommended by the Bengal Government and received the sanction of the Government of India in February 1897. It was introduced as soon as the works necessary to ensure its success were ready.

Provincial Contract of 1897.

During the year 1896-97 the quinquennial provincial contract with the Government of India, which commenced in 1892, expired, and the terms of a fresh contract commencing from April 1897 were concluded. The chief alteration

made was the imperialisation of the receipts and charges of the Eastern Bengal State Railway, $\frac{1}{2}$ of the net revenue of which had previously been assigned to Bengal; by way of compensation for this loss of growing revenue the provincial share of the receipts from excise was raised from $\frac{1}{4}$ to $\frac{1}{2}$. The only additional charges provincialised were the survey and settlement expenditure other than that in Bihar, and the pensionary charges for the servants of the Imperial Marine Department, and for Branch Pilots and other officers of the Provincial Marine Department, together with the allowances for their widows and orphans. The inter-provincial adjustments previously allowed with Upper Burma were discontinued. On the other hand, as important administrative changes in the Salt Department were under consideration, the receipts and expenditure of that Department were reserved for the time being as Imperial. The contract provided for an annual contribution of Rs. 14,19,000 to the Imperial Treasury from the assigned revenues of Bengal, against Rs. 14,39,000 paid during the currency of the previous contract.

The earthquake of 12th June 1897 in Bengal.

At 5 o'clock P.M., of the 12th June 1897 an earthquake shock, varying in severity, was felt throughout the Province of Bengal, from the South Lushai Hills on the East to Shahabad on the West, and from Puri on the South to Sikhim on the North. The shock was far more severe over a larger area than that of any previous earthquake in Bengal of which any authentic record exists. It was fortunate that it occurred in the daytime, when people were able to rush out of their dwellings. It was strongest in the districts of the Rajshahi Division, the Kuch Bihar State, and the districts of Dacca and Mymensingh. In Calcutta and in the towns of the Murshidabad district much damage was done to buildings; but on the whole the public buildings in the Presidency Circle escaped better than was to be expected, considering the severity of the shock and the fact that so many of them were of several stories in height. The districts of Chittagong, Noakhali, Tippera, Backergunge, and Faridpur in Eastern Bengal, and those of Central Bengal suffered less, while Western Bengal and Bihar escaped with comparatively slight damage to buildings and little or no loss of life. The damage done to buildings, roads, and bridges was greatest in Rangpur, which lies on the western side of the Brahmaputra, opposite the Garo Hills, in Kuch Bihar, in

Mymensingh, South of the Garo Hills, in Bogra, in Dacca, and in Dinajpur. Many houses were damaged, and some destroyed, in Darjeeling. No storm-wave occurred on the coast or in the Hooghly. A remarkable feature of the earthquake was the opening of fissures in the ground through which water and sand were ejected. Assuming the focus of the disturbance to have been near Cherrapunji in Assam, the shock appeared to have travelled thence to the western extremity of Bengal and Bihar in 6 minutes or less. Its duration varied greatly, according to the Reports of the local officers, the lowest being 6 seconds and the highest 5 minutes. In the large towns of the eastern districts, most of the masonry buildings were severely damaged and many totally wrecked. In the towns of Rangpur, Bogra, Pabna, Dinajpur, Murshidabad, Berhampore, Dacca, Mymensingh, and Kuch Bihar nearly all the masonry houses suffered; while in Hooghly, Krishnagar, Rampur Boalia, and Malda a considerable proportion of the larger buildings were damaged. In Calcutta half of the steeple of the Cathedral fell in; the High Court, the Board of Revenue, and many other public offices were greatly shaken; over 1300 houses were injured in the town and suburbs; only 4 deaths were reported. Heavy damage was done to the permanent-way, bridges and buildings on the Eastern Bengal State Railway, the Assam-Bengal Railway and the Kuch Bihar State Railway. The head-quarters of Government, which at the time were at Darjeeling, were for 3 days cut off from postal communication, and regular passenger traffic was suspended on the Northern section of the Eastern Bengal State Railway for a fortnight. The total number of deaths returned from all parts of the Province was 135. The total cost of repairs to, and reconstruction of, Government buildings in the districts and Calcutta was estimated at nearly 13 *lakhs* of rupees, while the losses to private individuals may have amounted to over a crore of rupees.

The earthquake destroyed the Raja of Sikhim's palace, and a new building had to be constructed. Several of the monasteries were also destroyed or badly injured. In Kuch Bihar the earthquake was very severely felt, and caused most serious damage to the Maharaja's palace, the State buildings generally, the State Railway and roads and bridges, the total loss being estimated at over 15 *lakhs*.

Celebration of the Jubilee, 22nd June 1897.

The completion of the sixtieth year of the reign of Her Most Gracious Majesty the Queen, Empress of India, was celebrated with much public rejoicing and many exhibitions of loyalty. Displays of fireworks, public distributions of alms, the release of prisoners, the grant of concessions to the people, and the construction of permanent works of public utility marked the celebration in the Native States. In Kuch Bihar, Hill Tippera, and Sikhim the ceremonies unfortunately could not be carried out with the completeness originally intended, owing to the earthquake of the 12th June. In the districts of the Province, notwithstanding the depression caused by the prevalence of distress over large areas and the earthquake, which did so much damage in the Northern and Eastern parts of the Province, the desire to celebrate the occasion in a fitting manner was general. Besides local rejoicings, in which the poor were made to participate by the distribution of alms in the shape of cloth, money, or food, funds were collected in many places for the establishment of permanent institutions of a charitable or educational nature, and numerous addresses of congratulations were adopted for submission to Her Majesty. As an act of clemency and grace on Her Majesty's behalf, 3,796 prisoners were released from Bengal jails, out of the 20,074 released in the whole of India.

Sir C. C. Stevens, K. C. S. I., Officiating Lieutenant-Governor.

When Sir A. Mackenzie took 6 months' leave on medical certificate in June 1897, Sir C. C. Stevens, then Senior Member of the Board of Revenue, was obviously the officer to fill the temporary vacancy. He had already exceeded 35 years' service, having arrived in India in February 1862. He had held the appointments of every grade in the Executive line, and acted in 1890 as Chief Secretary for 6 months; he was Chairman of the Port Commissioners and the Bengal Member of the Governor-General's Legislative Council. During his tenure of office as Lieutenant-Governor he made no changes in the staff of Secretaries or in the Private Secretaryship: he was much occupied with the famine relief operations in the Patna and Presidency Divisions, which he personally inspected, and with the Calcutta riots: he also visited Chittagong after the cyclone of October 1897. When he left India in April 1898, his services were handsomely acknowledged in a Government

Notification, and he was made a K. C. S. I. soon after his retirement.

Calcutta riots.

Serious riots occurred at Chitpur and in the Northern parts of Calcutta on the 30th June and 1st July 1897 in connection with the delivery of possession, in execution of a decree, of a piece of land at Talla belonging to Maharaja Sir Jotindra Mohun Tagore, K. C. S. I., containing a hut which was alleged by the Muhammadan tenant to be a mosque. The lower class Muhammadans collected in great numbers to resist the demolition of the hut. They were dispersed by the police on the morning of the 30th June, a detachment of the Gloucester Regiment from the Fort being present, but later on they reassembled in parties, one of which attacked the Calcutta Water-Works pumping station at Talla and did not disperse until the arrival of a body of police. During the night there was some disorder in Harrison Road, and the rioters had to be fired upon. On the morning of the 1st July the Deputy Commissioner of Police found it necessary to disperse a body of rioters by the use of buck-shot, and several men were killed and wounded. The riots then ceased, the casualties throughout the disturbances having been 11 killed and about 20 wounded among the rioters, according to the information obtained by the police. Thirty-four police officers and men received injuries, necessitating their admission into hospital. The Calcutta Volunteer Light Horse patrolled some of the streets of the disturbed quarter on the night of the 30th June, but neither they nor the military detachment, which was also called out during the night, had occasion during the disturbances to use their arms. Much excitement and alarm prevailed in the town in consequence of the riots. After the suppression of the disturbances, leaflets were circulated by leading and influential Muhammadans, pointing out to their co-religionists that the demolished hut having stood on rented land, and not on land dedicated for a religious purpose, could never have become a mosque. There was no excuse or justification whatever for those who combined to disturb the public peace on the unwarrantable plea that the proceedings under which the land at Talla was transferred to the possession of the Receiver of the Tagore Estate constituted an interference with their religion. Eighty-seven of the rioters were arrested, of whom 81 were convicted.

In view of these riots it was thought advisable to pass an Act, I (B. C.) of 1898, extending to Calcutta the provisions of the Police Act, V of 1861, which provide for the quartering of additional police in disturbed areas at the cost of the inhabitants, the recovery of the cost from the inhabitants, and the levying and award of compensation for injury done to person and property in such areas in the course of disturbances.

Suppression of rain-gambling.

An Act was passed in 1897 to suppress "rain-gambling in common gaming-houses," on the ground that it was an evil which had attained considerable magnitude, had already done much harm among certain classes of the community in Calcutta and tended to affect larger and larger numbers. The *modus operandi* of the gambling was thus described. Rain-gambling was introduced into Calcutta many years since by the Marwaris, who are much addicted to play and wagering of one kind or another, and is practised in the Burra Bazar quarter, where they chiefly reside. For some years it was confined to one house, containing a large courtyard where the gamblers can assemble. Two more houses were subsequently opened, and facilities for gambling were offered at 3 establishments. The system of play followed at these places was thus described. Attached to the houses were a number of men who registered bets for the proprietors, charging them or the successful wagerers a commission of one pice or one anna, respectively, on each rupee won. The bets were made on the occurrence of rain within a certain time, and they were registered 3 or 4 times daily. The proprietors of the premises offered odds against rain, and these depended chiefly on the state of the weather, ranging from level money to 2 to 1, 3 to 1, and so on, sometimes up to 50 to 1. Those who backed the rain did not win unless the fall sufficed to cause an overflow from a small raised tank through a spout, which was visible from the courtyard. A clock was kept on the premises to regulate the time.

Sir A. Mackenzie expressed his personal views in regard to this measure as follows : "I am afraid I do not rise to a very great height of moral elevation in connection with this Bill. Personally I have no sympathy whatever with gambling in any shape or form. I never made a bet in my life ; I do not play cards for money ; and the only gambling I ever indulged in, if it can be so called, was when I took

some tickets in Lady Mackenzie's lucky bag at the Fancy Fair at Belvedere a few days ago. I am no believer in enforcing morality by legislation. I look upon this Bill simply as a measure of police. I have been convinced by the Reports of the Commissioner of Police that the practice of rain-gambling has grown to the dimensions of a large and growing public nuisance. It is solely in that light that I approach the question. At home and in most civilised countries common gambling houses are looked upon with disfavour, and are suppressed by legislation. The mode in which this form of gambling is conducted in Burra Bazar has become so intolerable as to call for the intervention of the police. They are common gambling-houses of a most notorious description, and ought, as a matter of police pure and simple, to be suppressed. This is simply the light in which I view the question."

The Chota Nagpur Commutation Act.

For some years past disputes had existed between landlords and tenants in Chota Nagpur, especially in the Lohardaga district, regarding the rights and conditions of tenancies. One of the chief causes of these disputes was the peculiar system of *bethbegari*, by which the tenant was bound to perform a certain amount of unpaid labour for his landlord, such as tilling his lands, building his houses, and carrying his luggage on a journey; another cause was the levy of numerous *rakumats* or cesses, uncertain in their incidence, in addition to the rent, sometimes in money and sometimes in kind. The last serious agitation took place during the period from 1887-89, when the *raiyats* complained that the *zamindars* exacted more than the customary amount of labour *rakumats*; they began also to put forward unreasonable claims to hold their lands independently of the *zamindar*, paying only a quit rent to Government. After that agitation had been suppressed, the grievances which had given rise to it were discussed between the Commissioner of Chota Nagpur, the Government of Bengal, and the Government of India, and as a result of this discussion a Bill was introduced into the Bengal Legislative Council on the 10th January 1897, providing for the commutation of predial conditions or services in parts of Chota Nagpur, into an equivalent money rent. Provisions as to enhancement of rent and the registration and resumption of intermediate tenures were also included in the Bill. These provisions, however, depended to a

large extent on the Bengal Tenancy Act, and, as proposals were under discussion for the amendment of that Act, it was decided to postpone the enactment of those provisions until the Tenancy Act Amendment Bill should have become law. The sections relating to the commutation of predial services or conditions were, however, passed by the Bengal Legislative Council on 28th August 1897, and became Act IV (B. C.) of 1897. In this Act, while the provisions of Act I (B. C.) of 1879 regarding voluntary commutation were retained, power was taken by Government, whenever such a course seemed expedient, to direct, on or without application from the landlords and tenants concerned, that a record of the predial conditions or services attached to the tenancy was to be prepared by a revenue officer, and that they were to be commuted into money rents.

Partition Act.

In Sir Charles Elliott's time a Bill had been prepared to amend the law relating to the partition of estates, Act VIII (B. C.) of 1876. This Bill aimed at re-enacting the existing law with several important modifications and was much altered by the Government of India and Sir A. Mackenzie's Government. Its primary and chief object, as finally framed, was to simplify, cheapen, and shorten the procedure for effecting partitions of estates. The Bill aimed at applying a remedy to defects found in the existing procedure (1) by defining and limiting the stages of the proceedings at which objections and appeals might be made, without taking away or curtailing the right itself to raise objections or make appeals at the proper time; and (2) by providing for the making of a survey and the preparation and publication of a record of existing rents and other assets (unless a previous survey or record of rights had been officially made or the proprietors themselves filed measurement papers which were admitted to be correct,) so that there might be an authoritative ascertainment of the assets on which partition was to be based, and that all parties concerned (including the tenants, to whom extracts from the record relating to their holdings were to be furnished) might have an opportunity of knowing what was being recorded relating to them, and of urging objections, if they had any. A secondary, but very important, object of the Bill was to impose a limit on the practically endless divisibility of responsibility for land revenue due to the State which

was allowed by the Act of 1876. The restriction embodied in the Bill was that no partition should be made if the annual amount of land revenue for which the separate estate of the applicant would, after partition, be liable would not exceed 10 rupees, or if, after separation of the applicant's interest, the annual amount of land revenue for which the separate estate of the remaining proprietors would be liable would not exceed 5 rupees. In other words, no estate with a present revenue of 15 rupees or less could be subjected to partition.

Various amendments of a minor character were made by the Bill, which was passed by the Council in August 1897.

Amendment of the Bengal Tenancy Act.

With the sanction of the Government of India and the Secretary of State, a Bill to amend certain sections and Chapter X (relating to Records-of-rights and Settlements of rents) of the Bengal Tenancy Act, VIII of 1885, was introduced in the Bengal Legislative Council on 3rd April 1897, the object of the changes proposed being to clear up doubts and difficulties of procedure which had arisen in the course of experience in the working of Chapter X; to facilitate the settlement of rents when undertaken on a large scale, either for the purpose of settling land revenue or on the application of private individuals; to amend the substantive law relating to the enhancement and reduction of rents, so as to make certain provisions of the law more workable, and to give effect to the intention of its authors regarding certain points, on which, owing to want of sufficient clearness in the wording of the law or to the interpretations put on it by the Civil Courts, it had been found in practice to be inoperative. The Bill was published and circulated for opinion among officers and the different public bodies interested. In view, chiefly, of the opposition of the landlord class to the proposed provision for the settlement of rents by revenue officers without judicial procedure or an appeal to the Civil Courts, it was decided to make no change in the procedure for settling rents in the case of permanently-settled estates, but to restrict the amendment proposed in this respect to all Government estates and to temporarily-settled areas under settlement. The Bill as introduced was accordingly revised, and finally passed, as Act III (B. C.) of 1898.

On the night of the 24th October 1897 the Chittagong district

The Chittagong cyclone of 24th October 1897.

was visited by a cyclone of extraordinary violence, accompanied by a series of storm waves more disastrous than the hurricane itself. The main force of the disturbance was felt across the whole breadth of the district, from about 14 miles North of Chittagong Town to about 4 miles South of Cox's Bazar, a distance of some 70 miles. In the Southern portion of this tract lies the delta of the Mahamuri river. The low-lying lands of this delta which lie off it were completely swept by the storm-waves. In many villages half the inhabitants were drowned. The survivors found their houses levelled to the ground, their crops entirely destroyed, a great part of their cattle drowned, and themselves without any stores of food or clothing. The loss of human lives was reported to be about 14,000, and the number of cattle drowned about 15,000. A further large mortality, the extent of which could not be ascertained, resulted from a severe outbreak of cholera that followed in the train of the storm-wave. At Kutubdia the lighthouse was somewhat damaged, while the flashing light was irreparably destroyed. At Chittagong itself the shipping and the Port buildings suffered severely from the cyclone, and heavy damage was done to public buildings both there and throughout the district. Vigorous steps were at once taken by the local officers to prevent suffering or death from starvation in the devastated villages. Funds were placed at their disposal by the Famine Relief Committee, and arrangements were made for the immediate distribution of food, clothing, and building material, or the means of buying these necessaries to those who had suffered most severely. Sir C. C. Stevens, the Officiating Lieutenant-Governor, visited the district, and considered, in consultation with the local officers, the further steps which should be taken for the relief of the sufferers and the repair of the damage caused. The Chittagong Hill Tracts and the South Lushai Hills beyond also suffered, though in a somewhat less degree. In the former the tract most severely affected was that lying between and along the banks of the Mahamuri and Karnafuli rivers. At Rangamati the native-quarters and bazar were swept clean away. The loss of human life was reported to have been 55, and that of cattle 1,500. The number of boats lost was 1,760, excluding those carried away during the storm in the Chakma circle. Considerable damage was done to crops in the Bohmong and Chakma circles,

while in Rangamati the Government buildings suffered greatly. In the South Lushai Hills buildings and roads were damaged, as also the standing crops. No lives were, however, lost.

Miscellaneous.

Among the many matters which came before Sir A. Mackenzie were the following :—The additional Commissioner for the Patna Division was sanctioned for 3 years: some Subordinate Judges were made also Assistant Judges: the Chuadanga Subdivision, abolished in 1892, was reconstituted: the system of Trial by Jury was extended to 4 more districts: a system of identification by finger impressions was adopted, as possessing distinct advantages of rapidity and effectiveness over anthropometry; the prevention of the pollution of rivers by throwing dead bodies into them was attempted both in urban and rural areas: the administration of the salt revenue in Orissa was retransferred from Madras to Bengal: the Opium Department was reorganised in some minor respects, as also the Certificate Departments in Collectors' offices and the Rural Police in Orissa: the rules for the grant of waste lands for tea cultivation were revised, as also the rules under the Emigrants' Health Act of 1889 for the supervision of free emigration to Assam: the scheme for the reorganisation of the subordinate educational service was advanced: agricultural classes were opened at the Sibpur Engineering College: the completion at Government cost of the hostel for the students at the Calcutta *Madrasa* was sanctioned: the insanitary condition of the *Tarai* was dealt with; a stimulus was given to the improvement of existing sources of water-supply and the provision of new sources: the Howrah water-works were completed: a scheme was sanctioned for the extension of the Bhagalpur water-supply: the Berhampore water-works were sanctioned, to be paid for by the Maharani Svarnamayi, C. I. of Kasimbazar: a license was granted to a company for the supply of Electricity for lighting and other purposes in Calcutta: a Commission was appointed to inquire into the building regulations in force in Calcutta: the Lakhisarai-Gaya and the Mogulsarai-Gaya railways were under construction, as also the Sini-Midnapore-Cuttack extensions of the Bengal-Nagpur line, and the Mymensingh-Jamalpur, Rajbari-Faridpur, Sultanpur-Bogra extensions in Eastern Bengal, and others: a number of surveys were undertaken for the extension of existing lines and for new projects and for tramways: certain drainage schemes

were advanced: a scheme for substituting a permanent bridge for the floating bridge over the Hooghly and for providing a central station for Calcutta was put forward by a London Syndicate. Sir A. Mackenzie obtained an increase in the Lieutenant-Governor's 'household allowance' from Rs. 500 to Rs. 1000 a month.

Review.

Sir A. Mackenzie held the reins of office for a shorter period than any of his predecessors. From beginning to end his tenure only extended over 28 months, and he was on leave for 6 of them. During much of the remainder his movements were impeded by the ill-health which led to his early retirement. The famine of 1896-97 was the principal event of the time, and was well managed, by the light of experience, and with the co-operation of all engaged. Sir A. Mackenzie deserves all credit for the successful direction of the policy and the economical results obtained. He did less personal supervision in the field than other administrators of a famine campaign have done. The invasion of plague was a greater difficulty to deal with, as there was no experience to afford a guide either to the Government of India or to the Local Governments. The changes of policy in the last 3 or 4 years, ranging from a maximum to a minimum of active interference in plague administration, are a proof of this difficulty. The arrangements to keep plague out of Bengal were effective until cases occurred in April 1898. Those arrangements necessarily included an attempt to improve the insanitary condition of Calcutta, which appeared to invite an outbreak of the disease: and this led in due course to the Calcutta Municipal Act of 1899. For his share in initiating this legislation and his strictures on the municipal administration of Calcutta Sir A. Mackenzie incurred the animosity of a portion of the native community: but his strength and honesty of purpose in these matters were duly recognised in other quarters. The ordinary routine work of the administration he performed with ease: his prolonged office training stood him in good stead. Everything he put his hand to he did thoroughly and well. A leading journal described him as a strong and able and honest ruler, adding, "and we believe that this is felt in their inmost hearts by all classes, even by that small section of the native press which are loudest in their denunciation of him, simply because he has had the courage to speak some unpalatable truths."

APPENDIX I.

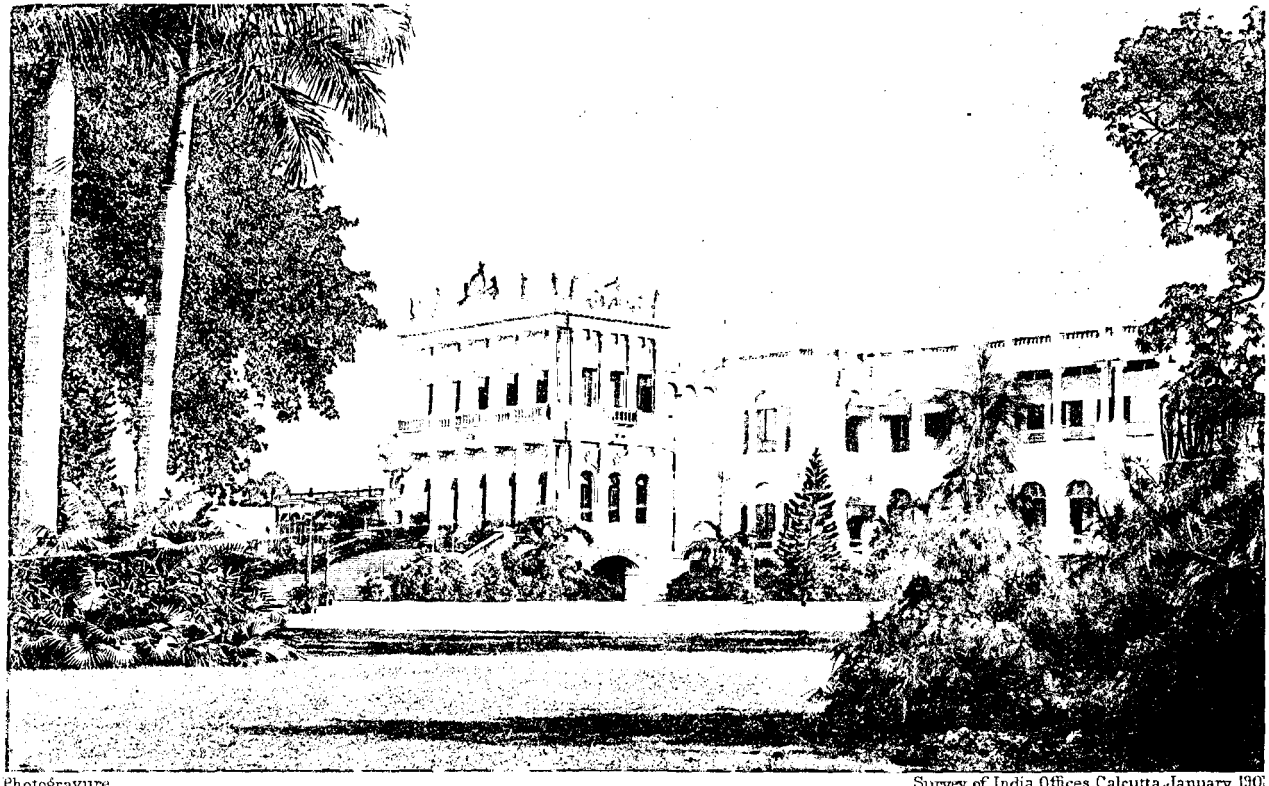
BELVEDERE.

I have found nothing to show exactly when, or for what special purpose, Belvedere was built, but there are allusions to it, as a residence, in writings of the eighteenth century, which have been collected by the Revd. J. Long in his Article [1] on "Calcutta in the Olden Time" and in Volume I of his Selections from the unpublished records of Government (1869). Writing of the year 1762, when Warren Hastings was Member of Council (1761-4), Mr. Long alludes to his Garden-house "in the then jungles of Alipur", and again, "his house at Belvedere was then in the rural solitude of Alipur." In the Proceedings of Council of June 20, 1763, there is an entry that "Mr. Hastings requests permission of the Board to build a bridge over the Collighaut Nulla on the road to his Garden house. Agreed, his request be complied with." To this entry Mr. Long appended a note—"This was to the west of Belvedere House, the residence of the Governor-General of Bengal." This note appears to indicate that Belvedere House did not belong to Hastings, but no authority for the note is given. It was recorded in the *Calcutta Gazette* for the 3rd September 1795 that "last week the Alipur bridge which had been in a ruinous condition gave way and fell into the Nullah: fortunately it happened in the night when no passengers were going over." In March 1764, Hastings sold a house for Rs. 16,000/- "for the entertainment of the Nabob", who was about to visit Calcutta. *Query*, was this house Belvedere? If so, to whom was it sold?

Stavorinus, a Dutch Admiral; visited India in 1768. In 1769, September 27, he writes that Mr. F.—a newly arriving Director of the Dutch E. I. Co. at Hooghly was invited, on his way up the river, to dine by Mr. Verelst (Governor of Bengal, January 1767 to December 1769) at his country seat about 2 hours walk from Calcutta," Mr. Verelst had gone on purpose to meet him there. Was this the present Belvedere? Mr. Beveridge wrote[2] that the influence

[1] *Calcutta Review*, December 1852.

[2] *Calc. Rev.* Vol. 82, page 128. Trial of Maharaja Nanda Kumar.



Photogravure. Survey of India Offices, Calcutta, January 190.

NORTH VIEW OF BELVEDERE, CALCUTTA.

From a negative by A.W Turner F.R.P.S.

of Nanda Kumar (the Maharaja, who had been Dewan of the Nawab Nazim Mir Jafar, was afterwards an employé of the E. I. Co., and was executed for forgery on August 5th 1775), "seems to have continued throughout Verelst's Government, for he often went to Belvedere", and mentioned[1] certain persons going to Belvedere, probably in December 1769, to get certain "Company's bonds."

Again, 1770, February 26th, Stavorinus went with the Dutch Council to congratulate Mr. Cartier on his accession to the Governorship (of Bengal, December 1769 to April 1772). "At 6 o'clock in the evening Mr. Cartier came to fetch the Director V,—and his company to take a ride to his country seat Belvedere, about 2 Dutch miles from Calcutta where we were entertained with an excellent concert performed by amateurs, and an elegant supper."

Mr. Long surmises that it may then have probably served, as Barrackpore does now, as the country residence of the Governors for the time being.

Writing on the 29th April 1775 Warren Hastings, then Governor-General of Bengal, intimates[2] that he was at Belvedere on the 23rd idem, where he saw Kamaluddin, who was afterwards one of the principal witnesses in the forgery case against Maharaja Nanda Kumar. Mr. Beveridge thinks[3] that W. Hastings in writing "Belvedere" meant "Hastings House", and not the present residence of the Lieutenant-Governor, but he gives no reason for this opinion.

Relations were much strained between Mr. Hastings and the Chief Justice, Sir Elijah Impey, in 1779. But in November of that year, when Impey had fallen ill, Hastings invited[4] him to stay at "his country house", which indicates the temporary re-establishment of friendly relations. Hastings wrote, "I have examined the house, and I have provided such accommodations as will be acceptable to you, and I venture to make it my request—a request in which Mrs. Hastings joins me—that you will come and make trial of them."

In 1780 Mrs. Fay, the authoress of *Original letters from India*,

[1] *Calc. Rev.* Vol. 82, pages 137 and 139;

[2] Gleig's Memoirs, Vol. I, page 523, edn. 1841.

[3] *Calc. Rev.* Vol. 82, page 354.

[4] Sir J. W. Kaye's Article on Sir E. Impey.

arrived in Calcutta. She was one of the first who tried the Overland route: she was made prisoner at Calicut by Hyder Ali, and was imprisoned there; she mentions visiting Mrs. Hastings in May 1780, at Belvedere House "about, I believe, 5 miles from Calcutta, which is a great distance at this season," and describes it thus:—"the house is a perfect *bijou*; most superbly fitted up with all that unbounded affluence can display; but still deficient in that simple elegance which the wealthy so seldom attain, from the circumstance of not being obliged to search for effect without much cost, which those but moderately rich find to be indispensable. The grounds are said to be very tastefully laid out." A writer[1] in 1844 refers to this time:—'A few years afterwards' *i. e.* after Governor Cartier, 'when the elegant Marian' (Mrs. W. Hastings) 'held her Court at Belvedere, Calcutta seems to have rejoiced in a sprinkling of the fair sex.' Mr. Long describes Belvedere "facing Alipur bridge" as "once the favourite residence of Warren Hastings, but latterly he erected another house further south" (presumably the Hastings House, south of the Horticultural Gardens and of Belvedere Road), and he is said to have hunted tigers in its neighbourhood. The source of Mr. Long's information is not mentioned (and Sir W. W. Hunter has not been able to verify[2] it); his statements taken literally indicate that Hastings' Garden-house at Alipore was not Belvedere. Belvedere is shown in the map of Calcutta and its environs, made from the survey taken in 1792-3 by A. Upjohn, "an ingenious artist," as standing about 500 yards South of the Alipore-Belvedere bridge, over Tolly's *nala*, which is now called the Zeerut Bridge (constructed 1856). The shape of the house, as given in the map, corresponds to its shape at the present day.

Belvedere is prominently mentioned in the account of the famous duel in the early morning of Thursday the 17th August 1780 between Warren Hastings and Philip Francis, recorded by Colonel Pearse, Commandant of Artillery, who was Hastings' second in the affair. The place of appointment was "the road leading to Alipur, at the crossing of it through a double row of trees that formerly had been a walk of Belvedere Garden, on the Western side of the house." After some discussion as to the suitability of the place, it

[1] *Calc. Rev.* Vol. I. page 327.

[2] See the Statistical Account of Bengal, Vol. I, p. 100.

was agreed to walk towards Mr. Barwell's house (now Kidderpore house, the Military orphan school) on an old road that separated his ground from Belvedere, and in a short distance a retired dry spot was chosen as a proper place. When Francis was hit, his second brought a cot or palanquin from Belvedere to carry him to town. But as the cot could not be carried over a deep broad ditch he was conveyed to Belvedere, induced to accept a room there, and there attended to by the surgeons. Dr H. E. Busteed quotes[1] an entry in Francis' journal that "I was at last conveyed to Major Foley's house on a bed." Major "Foley" is an obvious error for Major "Tolly," the maker of Tolly's *nala* (1775), who had bought Belvedere from W. Hastings in February 1780, as existing documents show. Dr. Busteed conjectures[2] that Tolly "must have been occupying it (Belvedere) possibly as the tenant of Hastings, though it became later part of Tolly's estate." He was apparently not aware of the sale of Belvedere in February 1780, by Hastings to Tolly. As the duel was in August 1780, Francis was apparently correct in writing of Belvedere as Foley's (*i. e.* Tolly's) house. Hastings writing[3] to his wife on the day of the duel says of Francis that "he is at Belvedere," but does not happen to mention to whom the house then belonged. Dr. Busteed also gives his opinion that the place originally fixed for the meeting probably corresponds to the second gate (from the Western side) leading into Belvedere compound and that a spot near the Northern boundary of No. 5 Alipore Road was the site of the duel. The Revd. Mr. Long, on the other hand, stated (1852) that Hastings and Francis exchanged shots where "nearly opposite Alipur stood *two trees*, called 'the trees of destruction,' notorious for the duels fought under their shade." In the autograph manuscript room at the British Museum may be seen one of the two letters written on the day of the duel by Hastings to his wife, in his clear steady hand-writing.

Mrs. Warren Hastings sailed for England in January 1784. In some of the letters which Hastings wrote to his wife, (published by Dr. Busteed in his book above mentioned) there are allusions to the Alipore property, which must be referred to here. For instance, on the 15th January Hastings wrote, "I have ordered an advertisement

[1] *Echoes from old Calcutta*, 3rd. Edn. 1897, p. 103.

[2] Note, p. 103, 3rd. Edn. [3] Idem, p. 104.

to be made for the sale of Allipoor and Rishera" (South of Serampore), "and shall clear myself as speedily as I can of other incumbrances": and again on the 21st idem, he alludes to the selling of his property, thus, "I have actually advised the sale of it (Alipoor) in three lots, the old house and garden forming one, the new house and out-houses the second, and the paddock the third. I have parted with all my mares, except 4 which have colts." Dr. Busteed's note on this passage shows the difficulty which so diligent and critical a writer experienced in determining exactly what property Hastings possessed at Alipore. He noted, (page 294), "The same property as part of the estate of W. Hastings was again advertised for sale in April 1785. The "old house" was presumably Belvedere, though not named in the advertisement. The "new house"—that still known as "Hastings' house"—was built about 1776. Macrabie (brother-in-law and private Secretary to Francis) writes in February of that year, "Colonel Monson dined with us in the country: after dinner we walked over to the Governor's new-built house. 'Tis a pretty toy but very small tho' airy and lofty. Those milk-white buildings with smooth shiny surface utterly blind one." This description inclines me now to think that the "bijou" house where Mrs. Fay visited Mrs. Hastings in May 1780, and which she calls Belvedere, was really the smaller and newer house further south. Mrs. Fay made her visit when only just arrived in Calcutta and could easily have confused the names. Hastings gave a concert party "at Belvedere his Garden" in February, 1776, to which Macrabie was invited. Possibly after his marriage he may have retained Belvedere for his large social receptions only, and lived in the smaller building as his country house, or he may have sublet Belvedere. This question is one of local interest only, being to this day often discussed in Calcutta." Warren Hastings was married to his wife Marian in August 1777.

In the *Calcutta Gazette* (Gladwin's) of Thursday October 28th 1784, there is to be found an advertisement—"To be let or sold, Belvedere house, inquire at the Bengal Bank." It was evidently not sold, as Hastings wrote to his wife on 20th November 1784: "I am now writing at Alipur: for it has been put up to sale and bought in again. I have sold Rishera for double the sum that was paid for it." But it is not clear what Hastings was selling at Alipore in 1784, as Belvedere was sold to Colonel Tolly in 1780. In the record-

room of the 24-Parganas' cutcherry there is a letter, dated Belvedere the 19th June 1794, from the Calcutta Court of Circuit, Eastern Division, signed by W. A. Brooke and Henry Buller. There are several other such letters the latest found being the date July 20th 1801. Subsequent letters from the Court of Circuit bear such addresses as 'Calcutta', '24-Parganas.' Belvedere was advertised by Col. Tolly's widow for sale in 1802, or an advertisement advertised by the latter's widow for sale in 1802, as an advertisement in the *Calcutta Gazette*[1] of the 25th February 1802 shows :— "*To be sold by public auction, by Dring & Co., at their auction-room*: "On Wednesday the 24th March next, by order of Richard Johnson Esq., Attorney to the Administratrix of the late Colonel William Tolly, the undermentioned house, premises and lands, belonging to his Estate.

Lot I.—"That large, commodious and well-known house, called Belvedere house with 72 *bighas*, 8 *cottahs*, 4 *chittacks* of land, more or less, thereto belonging, at present occupied by, and subject to, a lease granted to William Augustus Brooke Esq., at the yearly rent of £350, payable at the house of Messrs. William Paxton & Co. of London (the houses and premises to be kept in good repair at Mr. Brooke's expense) determinable on the 1st of August 1802.

Lot II.—"A piece of ground, about 81 *bighas* and 14 *chittacks*, more or less, situated to the westward of the road leading from Belvedere bridge to Belvedere house.

Lot III.—"A piece of ground, about 39 *bighas*, 4 *cottahs*, 10 *chittacks*, more or less, to the eastward of the said road."

N. B. The premises are subject to a small yearly rent to Government; in the 2 last lots, there are a number of native tenants who pay to the estate an annual rent of upwards of Rs. 600. The first lot was sold to a Mr. Nicholas Nugent, of Calcutta, apparently on behalf of a Mr. Thomas Scott. Belvedere subsequently passed through the hands of John Brereton Birch, (1810); Sambhu Chander Mukerji, (1827); and James Mackillop, (1841).

Belvedere was occupied[2] by General the Hon'ble Sir Edward Paget, K. C. B., Commander-in-Chief in India from December

[1] Selections, Vol. III, page 558.

[2] Letters and Memorials of General the Hon'ble Sir Edward Paget, K. C. B. printed for private circulation, 1898.

1822 to 6th October 1825. On the 6th February 1823 he sent home his wife Lady Harriet Paget and their children, as the climate had materially affected their health. He accompanied them as far as Saugor, and on his return landed at Diamond Harbour and drove up to Belvedere. He wrote thence on the 8th February to his wife as follows:—"We reached Belvedere about two o'clock, and I pronounce it to be a delightful residence. I know but *one want* it has.....You know the house so well that I shall say no more about it at present, than that it is most cheerful, clean, and gentlemanlike, and I would not change it for the Government House." Again on the 18th February—"I reviewed the Artillery (at Dum Dum) which engaged me till 8 A. M....after which I returned to Belvedere, and for the first time made up my mosquito-room.....My mosquito room answers admirably, and *my housemaids* understand their business so well that I have only been disturbed by one villain of a mosquito since I have slept at Belvedere...I had my first *grand* dinner at Belvedere yesterday, and extremely good and well-served it was."

Mr. Charles Robert Prinsep (Advocate-General, Bengal 1846-49, 1852-55) repaired the house in September 1838; in June 1841 the Prinsep family bought it and sold it to the East India Company in 1854. When the Lieutenant-Governorship was created, Lord Dalhousie recorded the following Minute on the 17th February 1854:—

"Among the various arrangements which are required in connection with the appointment of a Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, is the provision of a fitting residence for him. At Agra a house is set apart for the Government House, but it is not the property of Government. I consider this to be a costly and an inexpedient plan, and that the purchase of a house would be in every respect preferable. The house at Alipore which faces the bridge, and which is now the property of the Advocate-General, J. S. Prinsep,[1] is in every way eligible both as a private residence and as an official building, to be set apart for the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal. It may be obtained for Rs. 80,000 with immediate possession. To make it a complete residence it will probably cost Rs. 20,000 more, making the whole price a *lakh* of rupees. Allowing 3½ per cent, for interest, and 2½ per cent for repairs, the fair rent to be paid by the Lieutenant-Governor would be Rs. 500 a month. I think this bargain should be closed with, and that instructions should be given to the Company's Solicitor to complete the purchase and titles forthwith."

[1] *Sic*: really Mr. C. R. P.

From a further Minute of 24th September 1854 it appears that Lord Dalhousie had observed that "the very large society of Calcutta must impose expenses upon the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal greatly beyond anything that can fall upon the Lieutenant-Governor of the N. W. Provinces; and that thus the Governor (*sic*) of Bengal must be at once the most onerous and the worst paid."

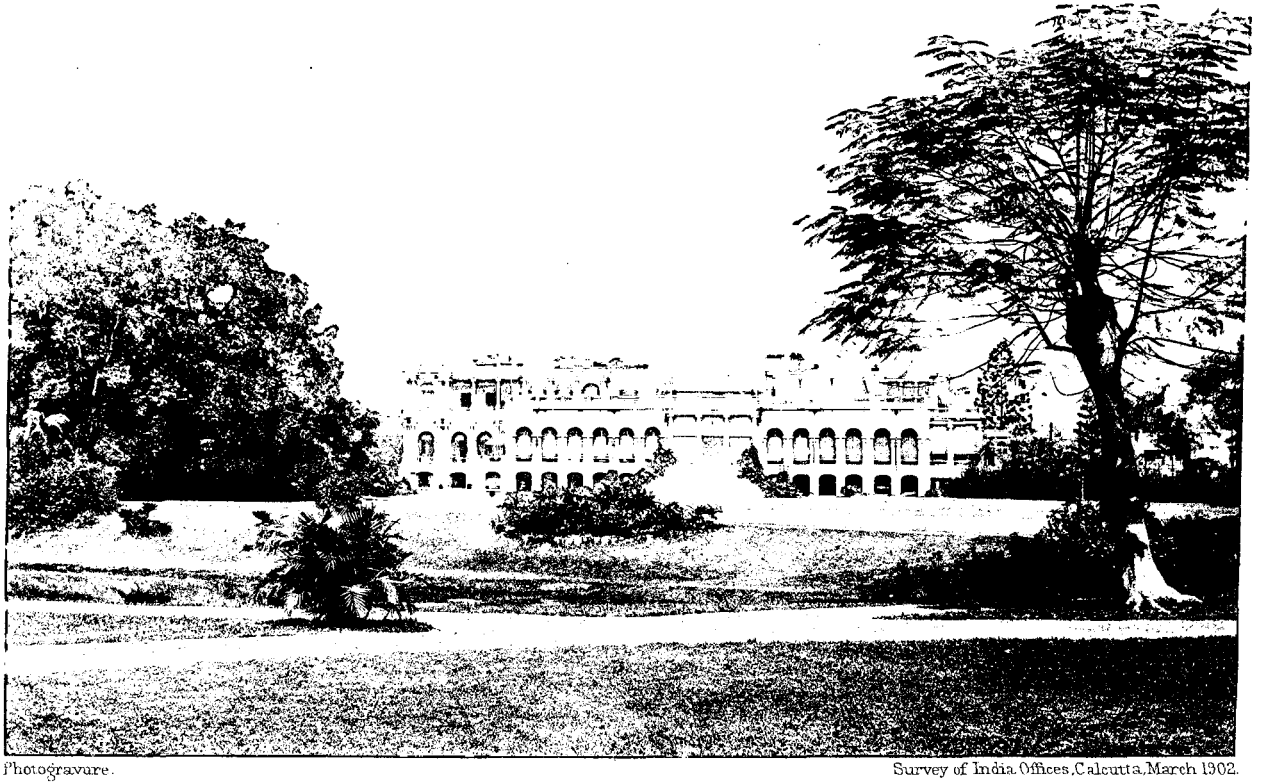
He thereupon proposed to ask the Court of Directors to exempt the Lieutenant-Governor "from any demand for house-rent, and further to rule that a *furnished* house should be found for the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal as is done for the Governor-General and for the Governors of Presidencies. The effect of this rule would be to relieve the present Lieutenant-Governor from the heavy charge which the furnishing of the bare walls provided by Government must have imposed upon his private purse. I feel myself bound in justice to bring these details under the notice of the Hon'ble Court. For I wish it to be clearly understood that I do so wholly without the knowledge of the Lieutenant-Governor."

Sir G. Campbell, in his Memoirs, wrote of Belvedere as "a charming house in charming grounds," and Sir R. Temple thus described it:—"The official mansion is named Belvedere, and well it deserves the name, being situated in a richly-wooded suburb where the bamboos in fine profusion throw up their tall stems tapering to the most delicate sprigs, and bending so as to overarch the roads and lanes. There too the plantain puts forth its great leaves several feet long, in form like a scimitar, and with a sheen on the surface resembling green satin." And again "In the middle of the park, studded with groups of trees, stood Belvedere House. Its terrace overlooked a rich expanse of verdure—its flights of steps were environed by flowering creepers—its ponds were covered with lotus and waterlilies—its gardens were encircled with various trees, the banyan, the almond, the bamboo, the cotton-tree, and even by some specimens of the peerless Amherstia." Government House at Calcutta has been described by another writer as "not to be compared for comfort and beauty of situation with the Lieutenant-Governor's house at Belvedere."

The house has been enlarged and improved from time to time by successive Lieutenant-Governors. Its architecture is of a free Italian renaissance style, developed on an ordinary Anglo-Indian building. The construction of a veranda on the east side, and the re-construction of a more commodious west wing, were carried out in

1868-70 by Sir W. Grey. Alterations and additions to other parts of the building were effected, and boundary fences to the new grounds and a guard-room were constructed. Sir A. Eden added the whole of the centre main facade, with the steps, on the north side, Mr. E. J. Martin being the Government architect: he also had the wooden floor put to the centre ball-room. In Sir S. Bayley's time the wooden glazed dining-room was made, on the north-east side of the house. Sir C. Elliott had the rooms on the upper story of the west wing constructed, and the arch-way leading into the drawing room from the main staircase substituted for a door. Sir A. Mackenzie introduced the electric lighting. Sir W. Grey had the honour of receiving H. R. H. the Duke of Edinburgh at a Ball and Reception at Belvedere, in December 1869—January 1870. Sir R. Temple had the honor of entertaining the King—Emperor, then H. R. H. the Prince of Wales, at dinner and at a garden party in December 1875, and Sir S. Bayley of giving a Ball to H. R. H. the late Duke of Clarence: Sir C. Elliott entertained the Czarewitch of Russia at a dinner and evening party in January 1891. (It was on this occasion that the sudden explosion of a soda-water bottle created some momentary alarm, which was promptly met by the ready wit of the hostess. The Russian staff were much more concerned at the incident than the Czarewitch himself.)

The history of some of the land attached to Belvedere can also be traced, and shown to be connected with names well-known in Bengal. In April 1841 Sir Charles Imhoff (descended from the second Mrs. Hastings by her first marriage) sold to the Nawab Nazim of Murshidabad an upper-roomed house &c., "situate behind that house and mansion commonly known by the name of the Belvedere House, including the garden and tank and all that piece or parcel of land or ground thereunto belonging, containing by estimate 132 bighas at Alipore in the 24-*Parganas*, formerly occupied by Sir Charles Theophilus Metcalfe *Baronet*, and paying an annual rent to Government of Rs. 311 4*a*. 2*g*. 2*c*., and bounded" &c—the boundaries here given indicate the lands south of Belvedere now partly occupied by the Agri-Horticultural Society and partly by the houses north of the road leading from Alipore Road to Kalighat Bridge. This allusion to Sir C. T. Metcalfe fixes approximately his residence at Alipore which was not identified in Sir John W. Kaye's life of him,



Photogravure. Survey of India Offices, Calcutta, March 1902.

SOUTH VIEW OF BELVEDERE, CALCUTTA.

in writing[1] thus—"During the first years of his residence at the Presidency, he occupied a house on the banks of the river at Garden Reach. He subsequently removed to Alipore, a more inland suburb." ....."Throughout all this period he enlivened Calcutta with magnificent hospitality,..." His house at Alipore was surrounded by spacious park-like grounds, and at early morning he might sometimes be seen riding in topboots, an article of equipment in which he always rejoiced, on a plump white horse, with a groom upon either side of him," &c.

It was within the memory of one lately deceased in India that this house (in an extensive compound south of Belvedere) was called the "Nabob Sahib ka kothi". In January 1864 the Nawab Nazim sold these lands to Sir Cecil Beadon, who had the house dismantled, and in 1867 and 1868 sold certain areas to the Secretary of State. The Bengal Administration Report for 1867-8 refers to this transaction. "At Belvedere House, Alipore, improvements have been made in repairing the damages caused by the last cyclone (of 1st—2nd November 1867); and an adjoining piece of land has been purchased and added in part to the property. The remainder of this land has been set aside for an extension to the Alipore Cantonment". It is apparently this "remainder" that has passed into the possession of the Agri-Horticultural Society. The portion of Belvedere Road south of the Agri-Horticultural Gardens was at one time called "Love Lane," at the special request (I was informed by the same authority) of a Collector who had wooed and won his wife there.

[1] Vol 2, Chapter III, The *Seat in Council*, 1827-34.

APPENDIX II.

LIVES OF SOME OF THE LEADING MAHARAJAS, NAWABS, &c., IN BENGAL, IN THE PERIOD 1854—98.

RAJA SIR RADHAKANTA DEB BAHADUR, K. C. S. I.

WHEN Raja Sir Radhakanta Deb Bahadur, K. C. S. I., died at Brindaban on the 19th April 1867 a link with the last century was broken. He was born in Calcutta, 11th March 1784, the son of Raja Gopi Mohun Deb and the great grandson of Munshi, afterwards Maharaja Nobo Krishna Deb, the Persian Secretary to Lord Clive. He received his English education at Mr. Cumming's Calcutta Academy and learnt Sanskrit and Persian under Pandits and Maulvis. To benefit his fellow beings he devoted his time and energies to the cultivation of literature and to the work of disseminating knowledge. To revive Sanskrit learning and to help to spread English education among his countrymen were the great objects of his life.

He was the first modern Hindu who advocated female education. He was, however, of opinion that women should be taught at home in accordance with the Sastras, and not sent to school. He zealously seconded the efforts of David Hare in establishing *Pathsalas* and schools. But Raja Radhakanta Deb is best known for his excellent and comprehensive Sanskrit Dictionary *Sabdakalpadrum*, which will ever remain a monument of his profound scholarship. The work elicited the applause of learned Societies of Europe, which conferred on him honorary titles and diplomas, and Her Majesty the Queen presented to him a gold medal.

Though possessed of no strong political views, he was a zealous advocate of the political as well as the mental elevation of his countrymen and took an active part in the protest against the Resumption of *Lakhraj* (revenue-free) lands.

In religion Radhakanta was a Hindu of Hindus. His rigid conservatism assumed the form of aggressive superstition. His attachment to the antiquated customs and usages of his country was as devoted as his advocacy of educational measures was zealous. Thus it was that he could not sympathise with the measures for the abolition of Suttee, the suppression of polygamy, or with the law in

favour of native Christian converts, giving them the right of inheritance when their fathers died intestate. In all these movements he sided with the orthodox classes of which he was the leader, and protested actively, but in vain, against the measures in question.

He was a Director of the Hindu College—Secretary of the School Society established in 1818—an Honorary Magistrate and a Justice of the Peace for Calcutta in 1855—and President of the British Indian Association in 1851 until his death.

"In consideration of the dignity of his ancestors, the high character for probity and learning he bore among his countrymen, and the laudable anxiety he had ever displayed to render his services useful to the public," the Governor-General-in-Council was pleased to confer on him the title of Raja, and Bahadur, and invest him with a *khilat* on 10th July 1837. On the extension of the order of the Star of India, he was the only Bengali gentleman who was invested with the title and decoration of the K. C. S. I.

His life may be summed up in these words—he went on cultivating and disseminating knowledge. It was a life of unselfish devotion to literature and to what he considered to be the best interests of his country. As a pioneer in the cause of native education, as an active supporter of all public movements which he considered to be for the general well-being of the people and as a zealous worker for the promotion of Sanskrit literature, his name will always be remembered by his countrymen, as well as for his staunch orthodoxy throughout a long life in an age of progress.

BABU RAM GOPAL GHOSE.

In January 1868 Babu Ram Gopal Ghose died, a leading member of the Native community, who had long been conspicuous in many ways, especially in all movements calculated to promote the moral and material welfare of his countrymen. He was one of the first to take up the line of political agitation. A brief notice of his life will give some idea of the forces that had begun to operate in Bengal. He was born in Calcutta in October 1815, the son of Gobind Chunder Ghose of Baguti near Tribeni in the district of Hooghly, a dealer in cloth in China Bazar. He received his English education

at the Hindu College. He was among the earliest to benefit by Mr. Derozio's teaching, and to renounce openly the religion of his fathers, manifesting his independence by separating from Hindu society, denouncing idolatry both by profession and practice, and adopting English food and mode of living.

About 1830 he was recommended by David Hare, who had watched his college career, for an Assistantship in a mercantile firm. While continuing his studies, in his spare time he specially directed his attention to the study of the markets and the natural produce of the country. Before he was 20 he wrote a series of articles on the Inland Transit Duties. After gaining experience, first as banian and later as partner in a European firm, he started business on his own account, under the style of R. G. Ghose and Co., established a branch firm at Akyab and another at Rangoon, and became a rich and successful merchant.

While thus engaged in mercantile pursuits he found time to conceive and carry out schemes for the improvement of his countrymen. He undertook for some time the joint editorship of the *Gyananeshan* and, in 1839, established a Society for the Acquisition of General Knowledge. He also founded an epistolary club, and placed under the editorial charge of his friend, Babu Piari Chand Mitra, a weekly publication called *the Bengal Spectator*. His deep interest in the cause of education was evidenced by the support he rendered to David Hare in various ways. Students of different schools received aid and encouragement from him in the shape of prizes and money. When the question of sending 4 students of the Medical College to England to complete their education was raised by Dr. Goodeve, Babu Ram Gopal warmly supported him and encouraged the students to adhere to their enterprise. The prejudice against crossing the sea was very strong at the time; and Babu Ram Gopal was afraid that the courage of the students might fail at the last moment. To prevent such a mishap, he stayed with them on board the steamer the whole night before their departure, to cheer and encourage them, and did not leave them until they had actually started. The liberality of his views was also illustrated by his setting the example of sending his daughter to the Female School established by Mr. Drinkwater Bethune. In public matters he showed his zeal for all progress. Thus, when the East Indian Railway was projected

he was one of the first to recognize its feasibility and to support it strongly.

In politics, Babu Ram Gopal Ghose was a zealous and indefatigable reformer. He was a leading member of the British Indian Association, which was established in 1851, and took the most prominent part in every political movement of the day: such subjects as the admission of Natives into the Legislative Council of India and the Civil Service, the extension of reproductive public works, were agitated, largely at his instigation. It was he who first matured a plan and established a Society for political agitation in England, with the assistance of Mr. Adams, for the purpose of drawing the attention of the British public to Indian questions.

But, above all, Babu Ram Gopal was distinguished for his great oratorical powers. When the Government of Bengal, on 26th February 1864, desired to remove the burning *ghat* from Nimtolla, though he felt personally no religious scruples against the proposal, he identified himself with his orthodox countrymen and made an eloquent speech setting forth their grievances. His speeches on the renewal of the Charter Act of 1853, on the memorial of Sir Henry Hardinge, and on the administration of Lord Canning are also famous, the former being praised by the *Times* as "a master-piece of oratory."

The success which Ram Gopal achieved in his commercial career soon brought him prominently to the notice of Government. The Government of Bengal offered him the 2nd Judgeship of the Small Cause Court, but he respectfully declined the offer.

He was a member of the Calcutta Police Committee of 1845, of the Smallpox Committee of 1850, of the Central Committees for the collection of works of Industry and Arts for the London Exhibition of 1851, and the Paris Exhibitions of 1855 and 1867, and of the Bengal Agricultural Exhibitions of 1855 and 1864,—a member of the Council of Education from September 1848 to its dissolution in January 1855,—a very active member of the Bengal Chamber of Commerce,—a Fellow of the Calcutta University, the Agri-Horticultural Society, and the District Charitable Society,—an Honorary Magistrate and a Justice of the Peace for Calcutta,—and a Member of the Bengal Legislative Council from 1862 to 1864.

As a promoter of education, a patriot, a politician, a speaker, a

social reformer, as a successful merchant, and in force of character, Babu Ram Gopal Ghose was one of the foremost men of his time: and did much for the advancement and enlightenment of Hindu society.

BABU RAMTANU LAHIRI.

THE name of Babu Ramtanu Lahiri will always occupy a prominent and honourable place in any history of social reform in Bengal. Born in 1813 at Krishnagar, he was, at the age of 12, admitted as a free student into the Society's School established by Mr. Hare, now known as the Hare School. When, five years later, he entered the Hindu College, the School Society undertook, at the request of Mr. Hare, to pay his College fees. He was one of the first to receive instruction from, and to feel the influence of, the eminent Eurasian teacher Derozio. Of his schoolfellows, who subsequently distinguished themselves in different paths of life, the names of Babu Ram Gopal Ghose, the Rev. K. M. Banerji, Babu Rasik Krishna Mullick, Raja Dakshinaranjan Mukerji, and Raja Digambar Mitra are well known in Bengal; all of them were his very intimate friends. In 1834 Babu Ramtanu, after passing the final examination of the Hindu College, began life as a teacher of that institution and subsequently continued his professional work in different institutions at Burdwan, Barasat, Uttarpara, Barisal, Krishnagar and elsewhere, earning always for himself a reputation for kindliness, piety, sincerity, and goodness. He retired from work in 1865, and lived for some years at Krishnagar; in 1880 he removed to Calcutta, where he passed away in August 1898. His decease was felt as a national loss in Bengal and mourned by many of his European friends out of India. Babu Ramtanu was famous for the courage of his opinions, his truthfulness, and the sincerity of his feelings. "He was a reformer in days," wrote Sir C: C. Stevens when he received the news of Babu Ramtanu's decease, "when reform was novel and unfashionable and to preach it and still more to practise it involved serious sacrifices." His renouncement of the Brahminical thread was followed by a series of persecutions by his Hindu relatives, but he bore them all cheerfully. His calmness of mind never failed him during his many family bereavements. When his grown up son died at Krishnagar, and before the removal of the dead body some friends came, by a previous engagement, to see him, he received

them warmly and said, "The dead body of my son is in that room, so let us walk to the shade of the tree there and talk." On the death of another child he consoled his wife, with the words, "Mourn not, our child is in heaven." "He led a blameless life," a high authority has written, "and his exemplary character remains as a guide and beacon to his countrymen at the present time."

BABU PRASANNA KUMAR TAGORE., C. S. I.

IN the early part of the latter half of the nineteenth century Babu Prasanna Kumar Tagore, C. S. I. was one of the leaders of the Native community. He was born in 1803, and educated partly by private teachers under direct home influences, and partly in Mr. Sherbourne's school, where he acquired the rudiments of English. He was for some time at the old Hindu College, during the first days of its establishment. He had at one time aspirations after reformed social conditions; which, however, at a later period, after the conversion of his only son Gayendra Mohan Tagore (the first Native Indian Barrister) to Christianity, gave place to ordinary Hinduism.

Though his annual income as a *zamindar* exceeded a *lakh* of rupees, he was anxious to improve it by adopting a profession and accordingly joined the bar of the *Sadar Diwani Adalat* in Calcutta as a pleader. He had incurred some heavy losses in conducting business as an indigo-planter and oil-mill proprietor; but his success at the bar was so rapid as to enable him not only to meet all liabilities, but also to lay by very large sums of money, his annual professional income for a series of years ranging between a *lakh* and a *lakh* and a half of rupees.

As one of the hereditary Governors of the Hindu College, (to which his father Gopi Mohan had made a large contribution), as a member of the Council of Education, and as a Fellow of the newly created University of Calcutta, he won considerable reputation. The present Mayo Hospital had in him a Governor and Patron, and several charitable dispensaries in his large estates owed their existence to his liberality and public spirit. His library was one of the best and contained many rare works.

Lord Dalhousie appointed him Clerk Assistant to the Legislative Council of the Governor-General—a post in which he showed conspicuous ability. Subsequently he was made a Member of the

same Council. Among his best acts was the creation of the Tagore Law Professorship in the Calcutta University as a cost of 3 *lakhs* of rupees. He was made a C. S. I. and died in 1868. His marble statue adorns the vestibule of the Senate House, at Calcutta.

As a founder of the British Indian Association, and as a representative man, he was constantly taking a part in Indian politics. In 1832, he was one of those who voted an address to the King of England for the dismissal by His Majesty in Council of the appeal of certain Hindus against the abolition of *Suttee*.

NAWAB SIR KHWAJA ABDUL GHANI MIA, K.C.S.I.
and
NAWAB SIR KHWAJA AHSANULLA BAHADUR, K.C.I.E.

THE "Dacca Nawabs" have long held the leading position in Eastern Bengal. In wealth, in liberality, in founding works of public utility, and in loyalty to the British Government, the family has stood and stands pre-eminent. Khwaja Abdul Hakim, its founder, some generations ago, came to India from the Bonda family in Kashmir and held a lucrative appointment at the Mogul Court of Delhi. On the overthrow of the Moguls, he had to seek his fortune elsewhere, and somehow found his way to Sylhet; there he embarked on business, built houses on the present site of the Collector's office, took up his residence, sent for his father and brothers from Kashmir, and died. The family has since remained in Bengal and dissolved all connection with Kashmir. Its next head removed to Dacca and settled in Begam's Bazar. One of his successors, Maulvi Hafizulla, abandoned trade, acquired landed property in the districts of Dacca, Barisal, Tippera and Mymensingh, and thus established the family as wealthy *zamindars*. Another head of the house made the arrangements which have united all the members in a joint estate inseparable and indivisible.

But it was on the accession of Nawab Abdul Ghani to the management that the prosperity of the house reached its zenith. With no previous experience of landed property, he quickly, with characteristic energy, mastered all the details and proved an ideal *zamindar*. He possessed also great influence over his co-religionists, and was, in 1869, the means of preventing a serious disturbance between the *Shias* and *Sunnis* at Dacca. A Sunni himself, he was desired by

the authorities to use his influence to compose the feud, and was successful in restoring peace between the sects, at no small expense to himself. Many family and other disputes were referred to his arbitration, which he decided to the satisfaction of all parties, thus affording proof of his good sense, probity, wisdom, and the regard in which he was held by the people.

His loyalty to the Crown was promptly shown, whenever opportunity offered. During the mutiny of 1857, Dacca was left almost unprotected and the detachment of the 73rd Native Infantry, stationed there, was known to be disaffected. In spite of threats of plunder and personal violence, and in the face of advice to leave Dacca, the Nawab remained firm. "My presence," he said, "in the station at this critical moment inspires my countrymen with hope and confidence in the British Government and prevents the evil-doers from carrying out their wicked designs. My absence, on the other hand, will cause a general panic and precipitate matters which we are so anxious to prevent." He fortified his house, and armed his family and retainers; at the same time, to show his confidence in the British power, he subscribed largely to the Government loan then opened, gave much valuable information to the authorities of the actual state of the country, and placed all his elephants, boats, horses, carriages, &c., at their disposal. He similarly made his steamers, elephants, &c., available for the Lushai and Naga expeditions, for famine relief, cyclones, and other Government work.

His acts of public and private charity were very numerous and magnificent. In aid of schools and Colleges, hospitals and dispensaries, clubs and societies, mosques and tombs, the sick and the poor, he spent very large sums. His charity was not confined to his country or nationality. Thus he would subscribe as largely to the relief of the sick and wounded in European wars as to some public movements in India. His donations fill a large catalogue and amount to *lakhs* of rupees.

His most conspicuous public act was the bestowal of a supply of pure water to Dacca, which, with subsequent extensions and an endowment, cost him and his son, Nawab Sir Khwaja Ahsanulla, $2\frac{1}{2}$ *lakhs*. The first instalment was intended to be a thanksgiving for the recovery of H. R. H. the (then) Prince of Wales from his dangerous illness in December, 1871. The foundation-stone of the water-works

was laid by Lord Northbrook on 6th August 1874 and the opening ceremony was performed by the Commissioner of the Division in 1878.

The services of Nawab Sir Khwaja Abdul Ghani Mia were duly appreciated by Government. He was appointed an Honorary Magistrate,—a Member of the Bengal Legislative Council in 1866—an Additional Member of the Governor-General's Legislative Council in 1867, was created a C.S.I. in 1871 and a K.C.S.I. in 1886 ; and was vested with the personal title of Nawab in 1875, which was made hereditary on 1st January 1877. He was specially introduced by Lord Northbrook to the Prince of Wales in Calcutta and was presented with a medal by His Royal Highness. He died in 1896, full of years and highly esteemed by all classes, as the wealthiest and most influential native gentleman in Eastern Bengal. But he had retired from the practical management of his estates in 1868 and was succeeded therein by his eldest son the Nawab Sir Khwaja Ahsanulla (born in 1846), who worthily upheld all the best traditions of his house, as a *zamindar*, a dispenser of charity and hospitality, and a staunch supporter of the authorities. Sir Khwaja Ahsanulla died on the 16th December 1901. He was for many years a Municipal Commissioner and an Honorary Magistrate of Dacca, he was made a Khan Bahadur in 1871, a Nawab in 1875, C.I.E. in 1891, a Nawab Bahadur in 1892, K.C.I.E. in 1897, and a Member of the Governor-General's Legislative Council in 1890 and again in 1899. Loyalty to the British Government and their officers has long been the traditional motto of this Muhammadan family. On the death of the late Nawab, the Bengal Government issued a special notification, as follows :

"The Lieutenant-Governor has heard with profound regret of the death of Nawab Bahadur Sir Khwaja Ahsanulla K.C.I.E., of Dacca, which took place very suddenly on the afternoon of the 16th instant.

For more than 30 years he has been in effect the most prominent man of Eastern Bengal. To great natural abilities he added spotless integrity of character, broad sympathies and an unstinted liberality. His ripe judgment and wise counsel were ever at the service of the Government, while his striking personality won for him universal affection, and a unique influence among his countrymen. His great wealth was continuously used for the good of others.

In him the State has lost a valued counsellor, and the Lieutenant-Governor a personal friend, while his death will be deplored throughout the Province."

MAHARAJA ADHIRAJ BAHADUR MAHTAB CHAND RAI OF BURDWAN.

THE Kapur Kshatriya family of Kotli in Lahore came to Burdwan about the middle of the 17th century. Mahtab Chand was born on the 17th November 1810 and adopted as the son of Maharaja Tez Chand Rai, who in 1771 had received a *Sanad* from the Emperor Shah Alam, conferring on him the title of Maharaja Adhiraj, and making him commander of 5000 infantry and 3000 cavalry, with authority for guns, bands, *nakara*, &c. Maharaja Mahtab Chand succeeded to the Raj on 16th August 1832 and received on the 30th August 1833 a *farman* from the Governor-General, Lord William Bentinck, confirming him in the title of Maharaja Adhiraj Bahadur. In 1868 he obtained for himself and his descendants the license of Her Majesty the Queen to bear the present family arms and supporters; and, at the Imperial Assemblage at Delhi on the 1st January 1877, he was granted, as a personal distinction, the right to receive a salute of 13 guns. He managed his great estates with so much success that they became some of the most prosperous in Bengal. At the time of the Sonthal Rebellion in 1855, and again in the mutiny, the Maharaja did everything in his power to help the Government by placing elephants and bullock carts at the disposal of the authorities, and by keeping open the communications throughout his property. As further evidence of his loyalty to the Queen it may be mentioned that he presented a marble statue of Her Majesty to the Indian Museum at Calcutta.

The Maharaja Mahtab Chand was not in touch with the British Indian Association, and at times joined antipopular movements, so that he came to be nicknamed in one of the national songs "the Burdwan bear without tail." It was understood that, in his position as the leading landed proprietor of Bengal, he felt the necessity of exercising great caution in respect of taking a part in political movements. His ambition to obtain the title of "His Highness"

was not realised, but the personal salute of 13 guns granted to him for life soothed him in a large measure for his disappointment. Though not always strict in all the observances of Hinduism, he maintained in their entirety the religious endowments of his ancestors at Kalna and temples at other places. He established at Burdwan an Anglo-Vernacular School, open to boys of all classes. This institution, which has since been raised to the status of a College, gives free education in English, Bengali, Sanskrit, and Persian, and has a separate department for girls. He also set up hospitals and dispensaries for the sick poor of Burdwan and Kalna. Besides his customary charities, lavishly bestowed upon his tenantry and dependants, he gave munificent contributions for the relief of sufferers from the Burdwan epidemic fever and the famines that desolated Orissa and affected parts of Bihar : to the Madras famine fund he gave 1,50,000 rupees. He possessed a Zoological Institution at Burdwan for many years and was one of the earliest and most liberal supporters of the Zoological Garden at Alipore. Moreover, an educated man himself, he encouraged literature and scholarship at considerable cost, by publishing the original Sanskrit Mahabharat, Ramayan, and other religious books, with their translations in Bengali, made by renowned Pandits engaged for the purpose for over 30 years.

The Governor-General of India, in recognition of his high position and public services, selected him in 1864 to be an Additional Member of his Legislative Council. He was one of the first Natives of India who sat in that Council, and his speeches were characterised by strong common sense, though he made no attempt at oratorical display. For the proper management of his vast estates, he had a Council of responsible advisers, each in charge of a department, in imitation of the Viceroy's Executive Council. In this Council, of which he was the head, some of the ablest men of Bengal rendered him good service. He died on the 26th October 1879 at Bhagalpur. Retiring and unobtrusive in disposition, he did not seek popularity, but was free and genial in intercourse with those whom he knew intimately : and he possessed much discernment of character. For many years he was held in high respect by both Europeans and his countrymen as one of the foremost and wealthiest members of the community. The Burdwan Raj pays over 40 *lakhs* annually of Government revenue, much of the property having been more highly

assessed, at the time of the Permanent Settlement in 1793, owing to the development of cultivation, than other less advanced parts of Bengal.

PUNDIT ISVAR CHANDRA VIDYASAGAR, C. I. E.

THE name of Pandit Isvar Chandra Vidyasagar, C. I. E. will never be forgotten in Bengal. Few men have left such a mark as he did on his generation. Born in 1820 of a poor Brahmin family at Birsingha, on the confines of the Hooghly and Midnapore districts, and educated in the Calcutta Sanskrit College from 1829 to 1841, at the age of 21 he entered Government service, being appointed Head Pandit of the College of Fort William. In 1846 he published a Bengali version of the *Betal Panchabinsati* (*i. e.* the 25 stories related by the demon Betal to Raja Vikramaditya), a work which is still regarded as a model of excellence of style —the book, indeed, which first gave an impetus towards an improved style of prose writing in Bengali literature. In the same year he was appointed Assistant Secretary of the Sanskrit College, but he resigned his post in a year, as some of his proposals were not accepted by the Council of Education. In 1849 he was appointed Head Assistant to the Fort William College, and in December 1850 he was made a Professor in the Sanskrit College. In January 1851 he was appointed Principal of that College and introduced various reforms in the educational course and management of that Institution. In 1855 he was appointed special Inspector of Schools for the Districts of Hooghly, Burdwan, Midnapore and Nadia in addition to his duties as Principal, on a consolidated salary of Rs. 500 a month, and helped in establishing a number of model vernacular schools at a cost of Rs. 50 a month each, and also a number of girls' schools. It was in connexion with these latter that he came into conflict with the Director of Public Instruction and threw up his appointments under Government in 1858. But for some years after he continued to be an unofficial adviser of Government, being consulted by successive Lieutenant-Governors.

In the Act of Incorporation of the Calcutta University, established in 1857, he was named one of its first Fellows. He received a certificate of Honor at the Imperial Assemblage in January 1877, and in

January 1880 was made a C.I.E. He was a member of the Board of Examiners in Calcutta. While driving the late Miss Mary Carpenter from the Bali Station to the Uttarpara Girls' school he had in 1866 a bad fall from his carriage, from the effects of which he suffered, up to the day of his death on 29th July 1891.

The life of this eminent Bengali was remarkable on several grounds, and may be studied from different aspects; (1) as an educational officer, (2) as author and editor of various publications in Bengali, Sanskrit and English, chiefly of an educational character, (3) as a social reformer, and lastly (4) as a philanthropist.

He combined a fearless independence of character with great gentleness and the simplicity of a child in his dealings with people of all classes. A stern disciplinarian, he could yet forgive the shortcomings of others less gifted and less exact than himself. He was a model of patience and perseverance in literary work.

As a Government officer he toiled with remarkable zeal and intelligence, and the Sanskrit College was, under his guidance, made an Anglo-Sanskrit institution, English studies being introduced with a view to modernize the ideas of the students and render them fit for the public service. His Sanskrit Grammar in Bengali and his easy Sanskrit Readers, as well as the various Bengali works of a higher type that he published, were of immense educational value, and after the lapse of 40 years some of them still hold their position in literature as the best works of the kind. He supported his advocacy of female education by quotations from the ancient Sastras, while he co-operated bravely with Mr. Drinkwater Bethune in the establishment of a girls' school and secured pupils for it from influential families.

Bengali school literature was deeply indebted to his scholarship, as he published a series of books for the young, from the first primer to the highest standard. His discourse on Sanskrit Literature was the earliest critical work in Bengali. He also invited competent scholars to complete the series of text books on such subjects as Physics, Arithmetic, Algebra, Geography and History. He also edited English readers, both prose and poetry. His labours in the field of Sanskrit literature were of a colossal character. In Bengali his "History of Bengal," *Bodhodaya*, *Sakuntala*, *Vidhava-Vivaha* (widow remarriage) may be mentioned as specimens of his work which are still remembered.

Vidyasagar was a Hindu of the orthodox type, but he felt the position of inferiority assigned to the women of India, and on their behalf he started the widow-marriage movement and the antipolygamy movement. When the Indian Legislature passed an Act in 1856 legalising the marriage of Hindu widows, the first widow-marriage under the Act took place in Calcutta in December 1856. It was followed by others, both in the Presidency town and in the districts of Hooghly and Midnapore. The other movement was destined to end in failure. The several pamphlets issued in justification of his views show unrivalled powers of reasoning as well as deep knowledge of the Hindu scriptures and legal books. To help the movement he ran heavily into debt, which he lived long enough to clear. The establishment of the Metropolitan Institution in Calcutta in 1864, and its successful working under his management as a first grade College, are well known to the educational history of Bengal: it was the prototype and pattern of many similar Institutions. The Metropolitan Institution had an attached schools of 800 boys, besides 4 or 5 branches in different quarters of the town of Calcutta. The Birsingha Higher English school in his native village was supported by him as a free school with a free boarding house and is still in existence, though it is no longer a free school. Vidyasagar's monthly benefactions amounted to about Rs. 1,500 and his income from his publications for several years ranged from Rs. 3,000 to Rs. 4,500 a month. The magnificent building of the Metropolitan Institution was erected by him at a cost of a *lakh* and a half of rupees; the expenditure was primarily incurred at his own cost, though it was afterwards recouped in a large measure from the surplus income of the College and its branch schools. He always fed a large number of poor people, especially in times of distress. His death was largely mourned throughout Bengal and various memorials of a more or less imposing character have been inaugurated in many important educational centres, including the metropolis. His fame has established itself throughout the country. Though persecuted for his reform movements he never lost heart but maintained his faith in the ultimate triumph of Truth and Justice.

MAHARSHI DEBENDRA NATH TAGORE.

MAHARSHI Debendra Nath Tagore has long outlived the generation in which his influence and example were most conspicuous. He was born in 1818 and educated at the Hindu College. In his early life, as the eldest son of Dwarka Nath Tagore, he had unbounded wealth at his disposal and no special regard for spiritual interests : it was not till the close of his early manhood that he became suddenly conscious of the value of religion. Thenceforth, the world lost its attractions and God became his only comfort.

In 1839, he founded the *Tattva Bodhini Sabha*, or Society for the knowledge of Truth. Its journal (the *Tattva Bodhini Patrika*) still exists, though it is no longer the chief medium for the diffusion of scientific as well as antiquarian and religious knowledge. In its days it worked a great revolution in the advanced thought of Bengal ; some of the articles were collected in book form and are still read by students.

The Brahmo Somaj, which had been founded by Raja Ram Mohun Rai, Dwarka Nath Tagore and others, had in the absence of proper guidance lapsed into a purely Hinduised Society. Debendra Nath formally joined it in 1842, and in 1843 introduced the *Brahmic Covenant*, an instrument of catholic principles as applied to theism. The number of members gradually rose from 83 in 1843 to 573 in 1847. In so large a body differences of opinion were unavoidable. In 1845 four young Brahmins were sent to Benares, each of whom was to copy out and study one of the *Vedas*. After two years they returned to Calcutta, when, after much discussion, the majority of the body decided that neither the *Vedas* nor the *Upanishads* were to be accepted as infallible guides. This departure from orthodoxy marked a crisis in the career of the Brahmo Somaj. In 1850 appeared the now wellknown treatise called *Brahmo Dharma*, a book which mainly accepted the highest ideals reached by the Hindu Rishis, with inspirations from western philosophy and religion.

As the teacher and spiritual father of Keshab Chandra Sen, Babu Debendra Nath's influence has had enduring effects. As an orator, he is said to have been quite unrivalled. His stirring appeals to the human heart served to reclaim many a wanderer

from the path of duty. His impassioned eloquence conduced greatly to the success of his high mission as a reviver of religion. When calamity befell the family, after the failure of the Union Bank, Debendra Nath showed a conspicuous example of pecuniary integrity by taking on his own shoulders debts which he could have repudiated as not personal: The consequence was that he was obliged to part with much valuable property, including Lord Auckland's favourite villa at Belgachia, as well as the splendid equipages, plate and jewellery to which he had been accustomed all his life. Such a sacrifice, unparaleled in the annals of Calcutta society, at once raised Debendra Nath's reputation for honesty and upright conduct.

By a gradual process of good management and economy he managed to redeem the principal landed estates of the family, which now yield more than two *lakhs* of rupees per annum. The Samaj calls him *Maharshi* (grand *rishi*) Debendra Nath, and no one has ever better deserved the title from his countrymen. He has returned to the family house at Jorasanko, and, though his health at his advanced age is impaired, he maintains his interest in the subjects which have occupied his life, while he affords an example and encouragement to younger men. Some of his sons have made names and reputations for themselves : Dvijendra Nath as a philosopher and thinker : Satyendra Nath as the first Indian member of the Covenanted Civil Service : Robindra Nath as one of the most popular Bengali poets and essayists.

THE HON'BLE JUSTICE DWARKA NATH MITRA.

THE Hon'ble Justice Dwarka Nath Mitra owed his success in life to no extraneous advantages of wealth or family connections : by ability and perseverance he made his way through all obstacles. Born in 1833 in an obscure village in the Hooghly district, he received the highest kind of education offered by Government in the Hooghly College, and enjoyed Government junior and senior scholarships for eight years. He made good use of his time : not only standing always at the head of his College contemporaries in Bengal, but also in acquiring those vast stores of knowledge which in a wider arena aston-

ished all who came in contact with him. Equally well versed as he was in mathematics and English literature, he left a lasting reputation behind him as a student. The *Englishman* newspaper of 3rd March 1874, in its obituary notice of the deceased Judge, wrote of him: "Amongst his more brilliant qualities was his surprising command of the English language; the readiness, precision and force with which he used that language are not common even among those who speak it as their mother tongue, and were the theme of constant admiration." For a time his religious convictions were by no means strong; but, having come across Comte's system of positive philosophy, he rapidly taught himself French with a view to read the works of the Master in the original, and thus acquired a breadth of culture which influenced his whole life. Shortly before his death he had reconciled the doctrines of Comte with the Hindu social and religious systems, and his death was widely mourned by the Positivists of England. As a proof of his taste for mathematics and knowledge of French may be named his translation of Comte's Analytical Geometry into English, a work which received due praise from competent critics.

After the usual course in the Hooghly and Presidency Colleges, he passed in 1856 the necessary legal examination and joined the bar of the *Sadar Dewani Adalat*. His reputation was so good, and his promise so brilliant, that in a short time he attracted the notice of two leaders of the bar, Babus Rama Prasad Rai and Sambhu Nath Pandit. The former of these gentlemen was the first Native Judge, designate, of the High Court, but did not live to take his seat on the Bench. Sambhu Nath was a Judge of the High Court from 1863 to 1868. It was fortunate that, as junior to Rama Prasad, Dwarka Nath pleaded his first important case before the Judges in the absence of his leader and at once acquired a position among native lawyers. He was a friend to the poor and on many occasions took up their cases without any fee or reward.

In the great Rent case under Act X of 1859, tried in 1865 by the Full Bench of 15 Judges of the High Court, he was engaged as pleader on behalf of the tenant, and addressed the Court for seven days, which gave him the opportunity of showing his knowledge of law, history and political economy. His speech was hailed by his countrymen as well as many competent Europeans as a

grand display of forensic eloquence. His fame at once reached its zenith.

In 1867 Dwarka Nath, then in his 34th year, was raised to a Judgeship of the High Court. His merits were highly appreciated by Sir Barnes Peacock, Chief Justice, as well as the other Judges and both branches of the Bar. He was deeply read in both Hindu and Muhammadan law, and was several times complimented by the Chief Justice for his accuracy; in one instance he anticipated the judgment of the Privy Council in regard to certain important points of law. (*Giridhari Lal Rai* vs. *the Government of Bengal.*) Sir Barnes Peacock is reported to have said, "the judgment of Mr. Justice Dwarka Nath Mitra, which he had just read, and in which he has displayed great learning, ability and research, was written before the decision of the Privy Council &c. was published here." The Hindu widow's unchastity case, in which it was contended that property once vested in a widow can never be divested on the ground of subsequent immorality, had a very strong opponent in Mr. Justice Dwarka Nath, with whom Mr. Justice Phear concurred. But the opinion of the majority prevailed and the widows were left undisturbed in their course of life.

As a Comtist, Dwarka Nath had strong family affections. His large earnings were always at his mother's disposal, but were eventually squandered by an unworthy relative. He died in his 41st year on the 25th February 1874. The Chief Justice and Judges of the High Court expressed to the Government of India their unanimous opinion that by the death of their colleague the country had been deprived of a most learned, upright, able and independent Judge, and the Governor-General-in-Council officially notified his great regret at the occurrence.

BABU KESHAB CHANDRA SEN.

THE name and life-work of Babu Keshab Chandra Sen, the religious reformer, are known beyond the limits of India. He has undoubtedly left his mark on his time. He was born in 1838 and joined the Hindu College in 1845. A diligent learner and winner of school prizes, he amused himself, while still young, with jugglery and the organization of *jatras*, the popular semi-theatrical perform-

ances of Bengal. Though fond of play and amusements, he was reserved in his conduct towards his fellows. In 1852 he joined the newly opened Metropolitan College, and, when that College failed, returned two years later to his old *alma mater*. In 1856, while engaged in the senior scholarship examination, he was detected communicating with another candidate, which practically terminated his ambition as a student, though he was permitted to continue his attendance at the College.

This was the turning point of his life. He betook himself to religion and prayers and attended the teaching of certain Christian missionaries, notably the late Revd. James Long. At the same time *jatras* and theatres still largely occupied his thoughts. He would sit up the whole night with his companions to witness these performances.

In 1857, Keshab became a member of the Adi Brahma Samaj under Babu Debendra Nath Tagore, and continued to be a prominent member of that society till 1865 when he retired from it, owing to differences of opinion on points of ceremony. Debendra Nath was a conservative and adhered to the Hindu form of marriage and disliked widow-marriage and intermarriage among persons of different castes, whereas Keshab and his party were for breaking away from the past, if need be, in these and other matters. During his close connection with the Adi Samaj, Keshab acquired a knowledge of the philosophy of Sir Wm. Hamilton, Victor Cousin, J. D. Morell, Mc. Cosh, Theodore Parker, Miss Cobb, R. W. Emerson and F. W. Newman. Debendra Nath gave him the title of *Brahmanand* (rejoicer in God) and, although he was of the *Baidya* caste, made him Acharya or priest, an office hitherto always in the Adi Samaj filled by a Brahmin.

He contrived somehow to gain possession of the *Indian Mirror* press and newspaper which had been established by the venerable Debendra Nath Tagore. He also conducted a Bengali religious paper. In 1866, Keshab started the Brahmo Samaj of India and became its Secretary. Seven or eight missionaries were appointed to preach the novel doctrines compiled from the Bible, the Koran, the Zend Avesta and the Hindu Sastras. The Sanskrit motto of the new Society may thus be expressed :—"The wide universe is the Temple of God; Wisdom is the pure land of pilgrimage; Truth is the everlasting Scripture; Faith is the root of all Religion; Love is

the true spiritual Culture; the destruction of selfishness is the true asceticism."

In 1868, the foundation stone of the *Brahma Mandir* or church was laid. Keshab's family having been of the Vaishnab sect, his predilections were always of that type, including his abstinence from animal food and his love of *Hari Sankirtan*. The *Brahma Mandir* was formally opened in August 1869 and in February 1870 he went to England to study "Christian life as displayed and illustrated in England." He had an audience of the Queen, who presented him with copies of her two books, with the following autograph:—"To Keshab Chander Sen from Victoria R., September 1870."

On his return home, he started a pice newspaper, which was a great success. The *Indian Mirror* was made a daily paper, and the *Sunday Mirror* was begun. A training School for Indian women, and an Industrial School for young men, were established. Attention was also paid to the Temperance movement. These projects were worked with great energy for a time, but, as Keshab became more and more of a mystic, they waned in efficiency; from time to time there was a kind of spasmodic revival.

It was chiefly through the exertions of Keshab Chandra Sen that the Civil Marriage Act became law in 1872. It legalised intermarriage, prohibited bigamy and permitted remarriage of widows, the parties having made a declaration before the Registrar that they were not Hindus, Muhammadans, Christians, Buddhists, Jains, or Parsis. The early Vaishnab influence of the family gradually absorbed his being, and in 1876 he initiated the fourfold classification of devotees into the followers of *Yoga*, *Bhakti*, *Jnan*, and *Seba*; *Yoga* being union with God by intense meditation; *Bhakti* being union by intense love; *Jnan*, union by deep knowledge; and *Seba*, union by services rendered to fellowmen. Asceticism was his leading principle at this point of his career.

Keshab had separated from the Adi Samaj because it had a visible head or pope; but he assumed a similar status himself in managing the affairs of his own church. The marriage of his daughter with the Maharaja of Kuch Bihar according to Hindu rites completed the rupture with a section of his followers, who seceded on May 15th 1878, and formed the *Sadharan* or common Brahmo Samaj.

It has been said of him that at this time "he was still in the zenith of his usefulness, with hardly any symptom of decline, though some of his views were regarded a extravagant and rhapsodical. He was much esteemed by all classes; his English oratory was listened to with rapt attention by Bengalis and thought excellent even by English audiences. He and his immediate followers maintained a gentle and conciliatory manner, carefully avoiding the display of anything like aggressiveness towards their Hindu fellowcountrymen."

In 1881, Keshab proclamed his new Dispensation, combining Hinduism and Christianity, of *Yoga* and *Bhakti*. Referring to this time, Professor Max Muller said, "he sometimes seems to me on the verge of the very madness of faith." Pouring *ghi* over a blazing fire, Keshab thus addressed *Agni*; "Thou art not God; we do not adore thee. But in thee dwells the Lord, the eternal inextinguishable flame.....O thou brilliant *Agni*, in thee we behold our resplendent Lord."

Keshab's addresses, whether delivered in Bengali or English, were remarkably impressive; and the appreciation of Christianity which they occasionally displayed attracted the attentions of earnest Christians. His neo-Hinduism was never fully developed; but, had he lived a few years longer, it is more than probable that he would have fearlessly discarded his earlier conceptions and risen to the rank of a powerful Hindu reformer like Chaitanya. But, as it has happened, Chaitanya's followers count by millions; those of Keshab Chandra by scarcely as many hundreds. His impressiveness and the affection in which he was held magnetically swayed his audience; but the effect of his oratory was temporary. The secessionists from his church were among his earnest worshippers; but a spirit of rationalism gradually undermined their faith in the Master, whom they began to judge according to human standards, and in whom they necessarily discovered some humun imperfections. Once disillusionised, they broke away from his control.

After a lingering illness, he passed away on 8th January 1884. His remains were cremated and the ashes deposited in an urn in front of the Sanctuary which he had built in the courtyard of his own residence.

RAJA DIGAMBAR MITRA, C. S. I.

RAJA Digambar Mitra, C. S. I. was born at Konnagar in the Hooghly district in 1817, educated at the Hare School and Hindu College, and began life as a teacher in the Murshidabad Nizamat school. He was subsequently Head clerk to the Collector of Rajshahi, *Khas mahal tahsildar* in Murshidabad, a clerk in the Native Infantry lines at Berhampore, and in 1838 became manager to the Kasimbazar Raj under Kumar Krishna Nath Rai, husband of the late Maharani Svarnamayi, C. I., acquiring in this capacity a vast store of knowledge of *zamindari* affairs, which was of considerable use to him in later years as a landlord and prominent member of the British Indian Association. The Kumar was so pleased with his work as to make him a present of a *lakh* of rupees as a reward, and, with this sum in hand, Digambar Mitra embarked in indigo and silk manufacture; he was doing well when the failure of the Union Bank in 1847 completely crushed him. In 1851, however, he sold off his garden house at Bagmari and purchased the Sunderbans Lot Dabipur in the 24-*Parganas* and became a *zamindar*, and Assistant Secretary to the newly established British Indian Association, with Raja Radha Kanta Deb as its first President. From 1851 Digambar Mitra continued to take an active and intelligent interest in political questions as well as legislative and administrative measures of paramount importance; and from 1861 to the year of his death was in the front rank of public men. In January 1864, he was nominated by the British Indian Association to a seat on the Epidemic Fever Commission appointed by Government, and later in the same year joined with Mr. H. Fraser to conduct the investigation of claims to waste lands in the 24-*Parganas*. The Epidemic Fever Commission visited many of the afflicted localities and submitted their report on 31st March 1864 in which they recommended, among other things, the improvement of the drainage of the country obstructed by the silting up of rivers and khals and the general disturbance of levels, owing to extended cultivation and other causes. Babu Digambar Mitra added two separate notes of his own to the report, in which he worked out in greater detail his favourite theory of obstructed drainage as the chief cause of fever. Appointed at the end of 1864 to the Bengal Legislative Council, he distinguished himself by his abilities and

intimate knowledge of the requirements of the country. After a short visit to his newly-acquired Orissa *zamindari* in 1866, he pressed upon Government the need of organising measures of Relief in the Famine in that year. As a member of the Executive relief Committee he rendered valuable service. In 1869, he became Vice-President of the British Indian Association and, in 1870, a Member for the second time of the Bengal Legislative Council, where he pressed his theory that the obstruction to drainage caused by railways and the roads connected with them was chiefly responsible for the causation of malarial fever in different parts of central Bengal. He took an active part in the discussions on the Road Cess Bill which he looked upon as an infringement of the Permanent Settlement of the land revenue in Bengal. In November 1872 he was reappointed to the Bengal Council for the third time and gave the benefit of his wide knowledge and experience in the discussions on the Embankment and Abkari Bills and other matters of importance. About the same time he was temporarily made acting President of the B. I. Association. In 1874 he laboured to supply Government with accurate information as to the magnitude of the famine, and his own health suffered. In December 1874, he was appointed Sheriff of Calcutta. On 4th January 1876, he was made a Companion of the Order of the Star of India. After considerable opposition, he succeeded Maharaja Rama Nath Tagore in the office of President of the B. I. Association. He had been made a Raja on the 1st January 1877 on the occasion of the assumption of the Imperial title by the Queen. In the beginning of 1879, he became seriously ill and passed away on the 20th April 1879.

He was thus connected with the B. I. Association from its foundation and for 27 years rendered valuable services to it, successively as Honorary Assistant Secretary, Member of Committee, Vice-President and President.

He was truly the architect of his own fortune and gave proofs of his capacity to manage his self-acquired *zamindaris* and to discuss public questions; his memory will continue to be cherished by those who knew him. Self-reliant to a degree, and expressing his views fearlessly, he was prudent and deferential in his relations with the Local Government and its high officers. As a speaker and writer there were few among his countrymen to surpass

him. Among other private charities he fed 80 poor students every day. He suffered a great bereavement in the death of his only son by a fall from a horse, a calamity which unsettled his wife's reason.

BABU BHUDEB MUKERJI, C. I. E.

BABU Bhudeb Mukerji, C. I. E. was eminent in his generation by his literary ability, his position in the Education Department, and his character. He was born on 25th March 1825 at Naptipara, Thana Khanakul, of the Hooghly District, in a family which for generations had been distinguished for its Sanskrit culture and strict regard for pure Brahminical life. His father, Pandit Bisva Nath Tarkabhusan, was not only a scholar but a man of great strength of mind. At the age of eight he entered the Sanskrit College and 3 years later joined the Hindu College, where he soon distinguished himself by carrying off all the prizes and scholarships open to him. The acquisition of western lore had no disturbing effect on his Hindu faith, as his father was at hand to counteract its influence and to teach him to think for himself. After leaving College in February 1846 he spent about three years in opening schools with the aid of some personal friends, without any prospect of pecuniary profit. On 1st January 1849, he entered Government service as second master of the Calcutta *Madrasa*, and later in the same year became Head Master of the Howrah Zilla School. Mr. Hodgson Pratt, C. S. who was Magistrate of Howrah about 1850, said on hearing of his death, "I see as clearly as if it were yesterday that tall and dignified figure, in his pure white robe, and those handsome features of fair complexion. He spoke with that thoughtfulness and gravity which mark the Hindu of high caste."

In 1856, Babu Bhudeb was appointed Head Master of the Hooghly Normal school, and in July 1862 Assistant Inspector of schools, to carry out Sir J. P. Grant's scheme of primary education in some of the metropolitan districts. In January 1863, he was placed in independent charge as additional Inspector. The scheme succeeded and in 1867 he was promoted to the higher educational service in recognition of the value of his work. In 1869 he was deputed by Government to report on the working of the Halkabandi system of primary education in the N. W. Provinces and the Punjab, and his Report

was accepted by the Government of Bengal, the Government of India and the Secretary of State. He became a Circle Inspector and rose to the highest grade on Rs. 1500 a month. He received the distinction of the C. I. E. in 1877, while holding educational charge of the Patna, Bhagalpur, Burdwan and Orissa Divisions. The substitution of the Nagri for the Persian character in the Courts of Bihar was undertaken by Government at his instance, and national songs attest the popularity of the measure to this day. In 1882 he was appointed to the Bengal Legislative Council, and as a member of the Education Commission of that year he was charged with the preparation of the provincial Report for Bengal, which left nothing to be desired.

On retiring from service in July 1883, he studied the Vedanta philosophy for some years at Benares. Returning to Chinsura, which had been his home since 1863, he established there, on 17th April 1889, a *Chatuspathi* for Sanskrit learning and with the object of reviving the study of Vedanta philosophy. On 6th January 1894, he made an endowment (called the Bisva Nath Trust, after his father) of Rs. 1,60,000 for the promotion of Sanskrit learning, which included two Charitable Dispensaries—one Kabiraji and one Homœopathic. He died on the 16th May 1894, in his 70th year. His influence on his countrymen was largely exercised by his writings. The variety of his literary works shows the manysidedness of his mind. Among them the following may be mentioned :—

(1) *Shiksha Bishayak Prastab*, or Art of Teaching, the first work of the kind in Bengali.

(2) *Aitihasik Upanyas*, the first Bengali novel, in which Sivaji figures as the hero of the story.

(3) *Prakrita Bigyan* (Physics, Statics and Dynamics).

(4) Ancient History in Bengali.

(5) Histories of Greece and Rome in Bengali.

(6) The first three Books of Euclid in Bengali.

(7) *Puspanjali*, or floral offerings dedicated to his father, in old ornate style.

(8) *Paribarik Prabandha*, or essays on domestic life.

(9) *Samajik Prabandha*, or essays on social life.

(10) *Achar Prabandha*, or rules of life based on the Hindu Sastras.

(11) Miscellaneous and critical essays.

(12) History of India—a dream of the 3rd battle of Panipat.

(13) History of England—a text-book.

After he had for some time edited an educational magazine named *Shiksha Darpan*, or Mirror of Teaching, the Government of Bengal in 1868 transferred to him the proprietorship of the *Education Gazette*, with a grant-in-aid of Rs. 300 a month. In his hands the *Gazette* became popular and was after his death made over to the Bisva Nath Trust.

Sir Alfred Croft, as Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University, said of him—"A man of wide culture, familiar with all the main developments of European thought and holding liberal views on many social subjects, he was a Hindu of Hindus in all that concerned the regulation of his own life and the doctrines of his religion. In the efficacy of the doctrines of the Vedantic philosophy he had a profound belief—both as a system of philosophy and as a rule of faith. In it he claimed to find full satisfaction for all his spiritual needs."

His *Samajik Prabandha* was noticed in the address delivered in 1893 by Sir Charles Elliott as President of the Asiatic Society. He said that "no single volume in India contains so much wisdom, and none shows such extensive reading. It is the result of the life-long study of a Brahmin of the old class in the formation of whose mind eastern and western philosophy has had an equal share."

A combination of firmness with gentleness was the main feature of his character and was largely displayed in his relations with Government officers in educational matters. His conversation was grave but cheerful, instructive and suggestive, never frivolous : his personal influence was magnetic and elevating. Sir Roper Lethbridge wrote of him :—"Vidyasagar was the very ideal of a high-minded, benevolent and intellectual Brahmin of the old school—Kristo Das was the model of the kindly, clever, versatile man of the world—but Babu Bhubeb in his later years seemed to me to combine some of the best qualities of both these great men."

BABU HARIS CHANDRA MUKERJI.

HARIS Chandra Mukerji in his short life (1824-1861) made a name for himself as a journalist which will endure. He was born at Bhowanipur near Calcutta, the son of a poor Kulin Brahmin by the youngest of his 7 wives. He was a free student at the Union School for some years and at an early age was compelled by poverty to take employment in Messrs. Tulloh & Co.'s auction room on a salary of Rs. 10. By competitive examination he gained admission as a clerk on Rs. 25 a month to the office of the Military Auditor-General in Calcutta, under Colonel Champneys, where he gradually rose to higher pay and was drawing a salary of Rs. 400 a month before his death.

His clerical duties left him ample leisure to pursue the historical, legal, philosophical and political studies in which he delighted, and then he took to literature. It is said that he could recite from memory many passages from Gibbon's Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire and from Kant's Philosophical works.

His first literary contributions were to the *Hindu Intelligencer*; when the *Bengal Recorder* was brought out in 1849, he contributed several articles to it. It was in 1855 that the *Hindu Patriot* was issued under his sole editorial charge. The number of its subscribers in those days never exceeded 150 : it was in fact a losing concern during the editorship of Haris Chandra, and cost him more than Rs. 100 a month out of his official income. The proprietorship was eventually vested in his elder brother, Haran Chandra. His journal was conducted with so much ability and learning that it attracted the notice of the highest members of the Civil Service and the Government of India. He joined in 1852 the British Indian Association, which was established the year before, and at once took a hearty interest in its organisation and advancement. It is said that, when his family dwelling house in Bhowanipur was attached by indigo planters under the decree of the Civil Court for defamation, the Association paid off the amount of the decree and saved the property.

Haris Chandra Mukerji was pre-eminently a self-taught and self-made man. There were few stirring incidents in his life. In the Mutiny his paper displayed an amount of accurate knowledge and statesmanship that was valued by Lord Canning ; his policy was to

vindicate the Bengali character from any imputation of disloyalty: when the quarrel between the *raiyats* of the indigo districts and the planters was running high, he espoused the cause of the former, depicting in vivid colours their grievances and sufferings. He thus braved the wrath of the whole planting interest, who had their advocates in the Press and in the non-official European community of Calcutta. He helped all who came to him for help, by writing out petitions to the authorities, and by obtaining legal advice for them. When many of the poor indigo *raiyats* who came down to Calcutta had nothing to eat, Babu Haris Chandra gave them food. His sympathies were always with the poor, and before his death the indigo question was in the way to be placed on a sounder basis. In addition to his journalistic work it may be mentioned that the petition to Parliament, on the occasion of the renewal of the East India Company's Charter in 1853, was from his pen. His interest in spiritual matters was shown by the active help he gave in establishing the Bhowanipur Brahmo Samaj. He moved in the most intellectual circles of Calcutta. Among those who prized his company were Ram Gopal Ghose, Rama Prasad Roy and Justice Sambhu Nath Pandit. He died on the 14th June 1861, broken down by over-work, a victim to consumption. Much loved in life, his loss was deeply mourned. A subscription of Rs. 10,500 for a memorial to him was raised, which was expended in building the Haris Chandra Library in the premises of the British Indian Association. The Association paid an annuity to his widow till her death.

MAHARAJA RAMA NATH TAGORE, C. S. I.

RAMA Nath Tagore was six years junior to his brother Dwarka Nath Tagore—the rich, advanced and enterprising gentleman who made a name not only in India but also in England and France, which he visited in 1842 and 1845-6, dying in London on 1st August 1846. Rama Nath, after acquiring the elements of English at Mr. Sherbourne's school in the company of his cousin, Prasanna Kumar Tagore, learnt Sanskrit, Persian and Bengali at home. After leaving school, he worked in the firm of Alexander & Co., and, when the Union Bank was started in 1829, he was appointed its Treasurer

through the influence of his brother. When it failed he acted as one of its liquidators.

He joined Prasanna Kumar in founding an English weekly newspaper called *The Reformer*. At the great Free Press Dinner of 1835, he responded to the toast of the "People of India." He worked hard as a member of the Landholders' Society, and on its abolition took a leading part in the foundation of the British Indian Association, of which he was first a Vice President and subsequently President for about 10 years. He was often invited to address or preside over public meetings.

In 1866, he became a Member of the Bengal Legislative Council, and by his advocacy of the cause of the *raiyats* gained the title of the *raiyats'* friend. In 1873, he was appointed a Member of the Legislative Council of the Governor-General and made a Raja. In recognition of his services in connection with the famine of 1874 he was made a C.S.I. on Lord Northbrook's recommendation.

His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales gave him as a souvenir a handsome ring, on the occasion of the Prince's reception by the native community at the Belgachia villa, as he was President of the reception Committee. At the Imperial Assemblage at Delhi on the 1st January 1877 he was given the title of Maharaja.

As a Municipal Commissioner for Calcutta, his services to the cause of reform and economy were recognised by his countrymen, and, when the question of providing decent burning-*ghats* for Hindus was under discussion, he fought the people's battle and helped in raising funds to improve the *ghats* and save them from abolition. He was a Governor of the Hindu College, a Governor of the native Hospital, an active member of the General Committee of Public Instruction and a Fellow of the Calcutta University. Though not so rich as the elder branch of the Tagore family, he contributed according to his ability to every good cause. He died on 1st June 1877, at the age of 77, after a protracted illness. Lord Lytton, on hearing of his death, wrote regarding him :—By the Maharaja's death both the Government and the whole Native community have lost a wise, an honest, and a trusted adviser, and by none who knew him is his loss deplored on public grounds more truly than by" Lord Lytton himself.

BABU JOY KISHEN MUKERJI.
RAJA PIARI MOHAN MUKERJI, C. S. I.

THE founder of the Mukerji family of Uttarpara, Hooghly, was Babu Joy Kishen, who was born in 1808. His father was banian (an office of considerable profit) to Her Majesty's 14th Regiment of Foot. It was in the Regimental school that Babu Joy Kishen received his English education, and his precocious ability soon attracted attention. When only 16 years old, he was found qualified for the appointment of Chief Clerk in the Brigade-Major's office. Both father and son accompanied the Regiment to the siege of Bhartpur at the end of 1824, witnessed the capture of the fortress, and obtained their share in the prize-money from the East India Company. When the Regiment left for England Babu Joy Kishen entered the Collector's office at Hooghly in 1830, as Record-keeper. The Bhartpur prize-money being successfully invested in land, it became unnecessary for him to remain in Government service. He and his father gradually acquired large and valuable properties, and thus ranked among the greatest landowners in the district of Hooghly. After his father's death Babu Joy Kishen greatly improved his estates by his personal management, and raised the rental generally. He introduced a large number of immigrants to clear jungle and to cultivate lands which had before been neglected or inundated. The Brahmins were angry with him for compelling them to pay proper rent for the lands which they had usurped and held rentfree without a proper title : but, being a Kulin Brahmin himself, he disregarded their displeasure. He converted his native village of Uttarpara into a flourishing town, established in it a High Class English College, a Charitable Dispensary, and a Public Library, and founded several English and Vernacular schools throughout his estates. The peasantry prospered and paid their rents punctually. He encouraged them to grow sugarcane and potatoes instead of trusting solely to the rice crop. New tanks were dug to supply pure drinking water ; facilities were afforded for irrigation : roads were constructed and embankments raised. In times of scarcity, he rendered signal service and received the thanks of Government repeatedly for his charity and liberality.

Babu Joy Kishen's labours were not confined to the management

of his estates. He took a leading part in the early political movements of his countrymen. It was mainly under his guidance that the British Indian Association was founded and managed : though titled personages appeared as the office-bearers, he was one of its main supporters and directors.

In the course of his career Babu Joy Kishen was a great litigant. Unlike many *zamindars*, he never took the law into his own hands, but always endeavoured to enforce his rights through the Civil and Criminal Courts. He himself nearly fell a victim to the law. In consequence of certain family dissensions, a charge of forgery was brought against him and, though the Sessions Judge was for acquitting him, he was convicted and sentenced by the *Sadar Nizamat* Court on 31st March 1862 to 5 years' imprisonment with a fine of Rs. 10,000 in lieu of hard labour. He appealed to the Privy Council in England, and, although that tribunal cannot interfere with a sentence passed in a Criminal Court in India, the Judges expressed such a strong opinion of his innocence that he was at once released by order of Government. His social status was not affected by this incident, and he did not relax his patriotic exertions. At the age of 70, he lost his sight from cataract. Even this natural calamity did not prevent him from attending to his duties; according to custom he had the principal local newspapers and leading articles of the London Press read out to him ; and he kept himself acquainted with the most important Parliamentary debates. He died at the age of 80 : to the last his intellect and memory were wonderful : and he has left a name which will not easily be forgotten as one of the leading *zamindars* of Bengal.

His son, Piary Mohan Mukerji was born on 17th September 1840, and educated in the Calcutta University, where he took his degree of M. A., and B. L. in 1864 and 1865. He was appointed a Member of the Bengal Legislative Council in 1879, a Member of the Viceroy's Legislative Council in 1884 and 1886, and took a prominent part in the discussions of the Bengal Tenancy Bill in which he showed such ability that the Member in charge of the Bill, Sir Steuart Bayley, remarked, "Though the death of our lamented colleague, Rai Kristo Dass Pal Bahadur, in the middle of our discussions was a grievous loss to them (the *zamindars* of Bengal), and indeed to all of us, yet their interests could hardly have found a better representative

than in his successor, who, with inflexible constancy and even a more perfect knowledge of detail than his predecessor, contested every inch of ground and displayed a temper and ability which showed how wisely the British Indian Association had made their selection": he had for some time been Secretary of that Society. He was created a Companion of the Order of the Star of India on 16th February 1887, and at the same time the title of Raja was conferred on him in recognition of his own, and his father's, distinguished public services.

MAHARAJA SIR JOTINDRA MOHAN TAGORE, BAHADUR, K. C. S. I.

THE Maharaja Sir Jotindra Mohan Tagore Bahadur, K. C. S. I., has long held a position of great influence in Bengal and Calcutta. As a distinguished member of Native society, a gentleman of high culture, and a wealthy landowner, he has had the confidence of Government and the respect of all classes. Born in 1831, he was educated at the Hindu College, Calcutta, and also at home under the guidance of the celebrated Capt. D. L. Richardson and others. He gave early proof of his literary culture and taste by composing several Bengali dramas and farces, and by associating with men of learning and ability. He was a member and, for several years, Honorary Secretary of the British Indian Association, its President in 1879, and again in 1891. He began early to attend public meetings and take a share in public affairs. Thus in the Orissa famine of 1866 he co-operated with Government in devising measures of relief in the Midnapore District. In 1870 he was nominated to be a Member of the Bengal Legislative Council and reappointed in 1872. In February 1877 he was appointed an Additional Member of the Legislative Council of the Governor-General, and, in recognition of the valuable assistance rendered by him in the discussion of the provisions of the Civil Procedure Code, was reappointed in 1879 and again in 1881. In 1871 he received the title of Raja Bahadur and in January 1877 was made a Maharaja, on the occasion of the Imperial Assemblage. He was created a C. S. I. in 1879, and K. C. S. I. in May 1882; received the title of Maharaja Bahadur in January 1890, and in January 1891 the title of Maharaja was made hereditary

in the family. His donations of money and land to charitable institutions and in aid of every national and public movement have been munificent: for instance an endowment of a *lakh* of rupees in his mother's name for the benefit of Hindu widows: a settlement of estates worth Rs. 80,000 to endow the Moolajori temple, at Shamnagar, the feeding of paupers at the Prasad, donations to the District Charitable Society, the Mayo Hospital &c. He founded some scholarships in the name of his father Babu Hara Kumar Tagore, who died in 1858, and his uncle, Babu Prosanna Kumar Tagore, C. S. I, on whose death in 1866 he became the head of the family. He has annually given a gold armlet for proficiency in Sanskrit literature, and a gold medal for the best examination in the Tagore Law Lectures, and another gold medal for proficiency in Physical Science. He has filled the following offices usefully and honourably: viz., those of a Justice of the Peace for the town of Calcutta, Presidency Magistrate, Fellow of the University of Calcutta, President of the Faculty of Arts and Member of the Syndicate, 1881-82, Trustee of the Indian Museum (President in 1882), Governor of the Mayo Hospital, and a member of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. He presented to the Calcutta University the marble statue of his uncle, which has been placed in the portico of the Senate House. Jointly with his brother, the Raja Sir Sourindra Mohan Tagore, C. I. E., he presented to the Municipality of Calcutta a piece of land for a square (to be named after his father) in which he placed a marble bust of his father; they gave another piece of land for the Mayo Hospital. His adopted son (Raja Sourindra Mohan's son), Maharaj Kumar Prodyot Kumar Tagore, is his heir. His large estates are situated in several districts of Bengal, chiefly in Rangpur, Faridpur, Purnea, Murshidabad, the 24-*Parganas*: in Calcutta he has two fine houses "The Prasad" and "Tagore Castle", adorned with costly specimens of art, where he has entertained with princely hospitality. He has received for life the income of the vast estates left by his uncle, Prosanna Kumar Tagore, and has been able to make large additions to his share of his paternal property. The Tagores of Calcutta have always held a leading position in Bengal but the Maharaja Sir Jotindra has, more than any other member of the family, combined public offices with his personal status. Strictly orthodox and devoted to religious observances, he has never disregarded the claims of

society, civilization, and culture, and has gained the good will and esteem of Europeans and his own countrymen alike. It has been well said of him that he combines the polished politeness of the old school with the educational accomplishments of the new, more completely than any other man of his time. By selecting him as a member of various special Committees, such as the Education Commission of 1882, the Jury Commission of 1893, &c., besides the other appointments above mentioned, Government has shown its appreciation of his ability and character. Costly litigation took place in connection with the interpretation of the will of his uncle Babu Prosanna Kumar Tagore. The Privy Council finally decided that the Maharaja had only a life-estate under the will, and that after his demise the estate would go to his cousin, Babu Gayendra Mohan Tagore, or his representative.

NAWAB SIR SAIYAD HASSAN ALI KHAN BAHADUR OF MURSHIDABAD, G. C. I. E.

THE history of the Nawab Nazims of Bengal is bound up with the early history of the English in Bengal. Their descendant is the present Nawab Sir Saiyad Hassan Ali Khan Bahadur, the eldest son of the late Muntazim-ul-mulk, Mohsin-ud-daula, Faridun Jah, Nawab Saiyad Mansur Ali Khan Bahadur, the last titular Nawab Nazim, Subadar of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. He was born on the 25th August 1846 and succeeded to the *masnad* on 27th March 1883: he traces his descent from the Prophet, and also from Ali, the Prophet's son-in-law.

In 1865, he was sent to England under Col. Herbert, remaining there for some years for his education, and was introduced to the Queen by the Secretary of State. He has given two of his sons an English education.

The last Nawab Nazim having resigned his position and titles on 1st November 1880, the hereditary title of Nawab Bahadur was conferred on the eldest son Saiyad Hassan Ali Khan by a *Sanad* dated 17th February 1882. He was made a Knight Commander of the Order of the Indian Empire on 16th February 1887, Intisham-ul-mulk, Rais-ud-daula, Amir-ul-umra, Mahabat Jung, on 20th May

1887 and a Knight Grand Commander of the above Order on 20th May 1890.

By an agreement entered into with the Secretary of State on 12th March 1891, which was subsequently incorporated in Act XV of 1891, he confirmed the act of his father of 1st November 1880. In return for this the Nawab Bahadur received a fixed hereditary position with a settled income, certain landed estates in several districts of Bengal: and the rank and dignity of Premier Noble in Bengal with the hereditary title of Amir-ul-umra.

The Nawab Bahadur maintains the dignity of his position and family to the best of his power. His estates are well administered: his charities have always been extensive, his sympathies are not limited by religion or nationality, his liberality has been displayed in every public cause, and he is given to hospitality. Before his health broke down some years ago, he was as active in body as in mind, and never spared himself, on the occasion of floods or any general calamity, in his exertions to relieve the sufferings of the people. On the occasion of the earthquake of June 12th 1897, he very nearly lost his life and was extricated only just in time from the falling palace in which he was living. The Nizamat buildings were severely injured, the repairs entailing considerable expenditure on the Nawab Bahadur. The main palace building, constructed in 1837 at a cost of sixteen *lakhs* of rupees, is one of the largest buildings in Bengal, and contains many pictures and objects of interest and value, among them a picture of William IV, presented by the King himself to the Nawab Nazim of the day. The Nawab Bahadur has always exhibited the greatest loyalty to Government.

RAI KRISTO DAS PAL BAHADUR, C. I. E.

THE death of Rai Kristo Das Pal Bahadur, C. I. E. on the 24th July 1884 was a loss to his country, to journalism and politics. Born in April 1838, he joined the Oriental Seminary at the age of six, and subsequently became the pupil of Captain D. L. Richardson in the new Metropolitan College (1854): in 1857, he began to attend the Calcutta Public Library as a reader, and to contribute about this time to some of the local periodicals. He was also a

leading member of a Debating Club. When translator to the Judge of the *24-Parganas*, he was appointed Assistant Secretary to the British Indian Association in December 1858. The work of his life, for which he was best known, was performed in connection with (1) the *Hindu Patriot*, (2) The British Indian Association, (3) the Calcutta Municipality and (4) the Bengal Legislative Council. When Haris Chandra Mukerji, the founder of the *Hindu Patriot*, died on the 14th June 1861, its new proprietor Babu Kali Prosanna Sinha, after managing it at a loss for sometime, made it over to Pandit Isvar Chandra Vidyasagar, who invited Kristo Das Pal to take the editorial charge in November 1861, and subsequently transferred the proprietorship in July 1862 to a body of Trustees. They made over the management to Kristo Das, so that, from 1861 to the time of his death, he was in charge, and raised the paper to a position of influence and pecuniary prosperity. He was a man of moderate views and knew how to avoid personal attacks on character and motives, while exercising a keen but fair criticism of official acts. The innovations of Sir George Campbell as Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal afforded many matters for comment, and Kristo Das was so trenchant in his views that their relations were greatly strained. The deposition of Mulhar Rao, the Gaekwar of Baroda, in 1874 gave his pen an opportunity of exposing the vulnerable points of the Government prosecution. His general attitude as a writer was as an advocate of the admission of Natives of India to a greater share of political power and of Government appointments, and his success was largely due to the moderation of his views. He was above all a supporter of the *zamindari* interest and the landlords of Bengal ought to be grateful to his memory. In 1877 Kristo Das Pal received the title of Rai Bahadur and in 1878 the decoration of a C. I. E. In him the Indian Association for the Cultivation of Science found a steady journalistic adherent, and the Vernacular Press Act of 1878 a strenuous opponent. When the Act was repealed in 1882, he wrote a humorous article on the vicissitudes through which the measure had passed. Appointed Assistant Secretary to the B. I. Association in 1858, he worked so well under the guidance of Maharaja Romanath Tagore that his pay was gradually raised from Rs. 100 to Rs. 350 a month. In June 1879 he was appointed paid Secretary. His ability, industry and patience were conspicuously

shown in the various memorials drawn up by him and submitted by the Association to Government.

In 1863, Kristo Das Pal was appointed a Justice of the Peace for the town of Calcutta and soon took a prominent position at the Municipal board. His services to the Municipal Corporation were of great value, and, though he was seldom found voting with the non-official minority, he never lost his position as a representative of the rate-payers. He opposed the scheme of self-government embodied in the Calcutta Municipal Bill of 1876,—but in detail, not in principle. His opposition was directed against specific points, such as the appointment of an official Chairman, the union of the offices of Chairman and Commissioner of Police, the multiplication of expenditure on objects of secondary importance, the restriction of the hours of water-supply at high pressure from 17 to 3 hours during the day, coupled with a higher water-rate. Thus, while he eulogized Sir Richard Temple for the gift of self-government to Calcutta and joined the Corporation as an elected member, he complained of the checks and limitations attached to the measure. He was appointed a Member of the Bengal Legislative Council in 1872 and every Lieutenant-Governor acknowledged the value of his services in that capacity. On the 9th February 1883 he took his seat in the Governor-General's Legislative Council, as an Additional Member, as the representative of the Bengal *zamindars* in the discussions on the Rent Bill, which became the Bengal Tenancy Act. When the Ilbert Bill took its final shape, he said, "I love peace, but honour more and justice above all...I say—let bygones be bygones."

Kristo Das Pal was a man of the people and his aspirations were centred on obtaining increased influence as a public man. His natural gift of eloquence was highly developed by practice and cultivation : as an orator he had few rivals : his delivery was clear and dignified, his language well-chosen : he held his audience at once and was quick in debate. His statue at the corner of Cornwallis Street and Harrison Road gives a very inadequate impression of his appearance as a speaker. He was always ready to imbibe ideas from persons for whom he had respect, and his profession as a journalist necessitated his keeping in touch with every movement and phase of public opinion. Industry and independence were ruling principles of his life and conduct. Sir Richard Temple has described him as

on the whole, next after Sir Madhava Rao, the best informed Indian he had ever known : "his assistance in legislation was really valuable ; and in public affairs he had more force of character than any Native of Bengal. He belonged to a caste below that of Brahmin, and was the editor of the *Hindu Patriot* newspaper, published in English. This paper was the organ of the Bengal *zamindars* and was in the main sustained by them, but it had a large circulation otherwise, both among Europeans and Natives, being conducted with independence, loyalty, and learning."

RAJA RAJENDRA LALA MITRA, C. I. E.

LITERATURE has had no more distinguished representative in Bengal in recent times than Raja Rajendra Lala Mitra, C. I. E., Doctor of Laws. He was born on 15th February 1824, at Sura in the suburbs of Calcutta, the 3rd son of Janamejaya Mitra, a good Sanskrit and Persian scholar, who was the grandson of Raja Pitambar Mitra. The latter so pleased the Mogul Emperor at Delhi that he was made a commander of 300 horse and offered the rich *jagir* of Kora in the Doab, with the hereditary title of Raja. After attending English schools in Calcutta, Rajendra Lala in 1840 entered the Calcutta Medical College. In 1841 the late Babu Dwarka Nath Tagore offered to take him to England to complete his medical education, but his father disapproved of the idea and withdrew him from the Medical College. He next prepared himself for the profession of law : but the examination papers of his year having been stolen the examination was null and void. In disgust he gave up the pursuit of law. This knowledge of law and medicine afterwards enabled him to elucidate many doubtful points in the course of his subsequent literary and antiquarian researches.

At the age of 22 he was appointed Assistant Secretary to the Asiatic Society of Bengal and held the appointment for 10 years, during which he diligently studied Sanskrit and the allied languages. As the *Hindu Patriot* wrote, " nobody was better equipped than he was to enter into the arena of literary labour," . . . . His "Buddha Gaya," "History of the Antiquities of Orissa," and "Indo-Aryans" are monuments of extensive and patient research, deep and varied erudition, and sound reasoning from accidental or

obvious analogies. The list of his works includes the names of 50 learned treatises, divided into 128 volumes and comprising no less than 33,089 pages." Sir Richard Temple described him as the most effectively learned Hindu of his day, both as regards English and Oriental classics.

In 1851 he started the *Vividhartha Sangraha* Bengali Magazine, and followed it up with the *Rahasya Sundarbha*, which existed for 5 years. In 1855-56 he was appointed Director of the Wards' Institute in Calcutta; and some of the *zamindars* who were his pupils acknowledge with gratitude the debt they owed to his careful training. When the Calcutta Corporation was established he was appointed to be a Municipal Commissioner by the Government, and rendered valuable services to the Corporation as well as the rate-payers by his industry, ability and sense of justice. In February 1885 the Asiatic Society of Bengal elected him to be its President. He was connected with the British Indian Association from its foundation in 1851 to his death, and, besides holding office as Vice-President and President, rendered conspicuous service in important discussions and correspondence.

His literary achievements were recognised by many learned Societies in Europe: his correspondence with eminent European servants showed the high estimation in which he was held. In 1875, the Senate of the Calcutta University conferred on him the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws in recognition of his scholarship. In 1877, he was made a Rai Bahadur and in 1878 Companion of the Indian Empire, and was subsequently granted the title of Raja. He was identified with the *Hindu Patriot*, which often received its best inspiration from his pen. As a linguist, he was acquainted with Greek, Latin, French and German, while his knowledge of Sanskrit, Bengali, Persian, Hindi, Urdu, and Ooriya was more profound. There is no other known instance of a Bengali gentleman having possessed such varied acquirements. A special pension of Rs. 500 a month was granted to him in recognition of his services to Literature and Archæology. A native journal concluded its obituary notice of Rajendra Lala in the following words:—

"What constituted his special distinction was his power of observation and research. His genius was not linguistic but logical and scientific. His work was not literary like that of Addison or

Lamb, but historical like that of Niebuhr or Schliemann...His distinctive faculty was that of reasoning and, what is important for purposes of discovery, of analysis. To this were joined powers of accurate observation and of the imagination so essential to the scientific inquirer."

As President of the Central Text-Book Committee for several years, he rendered services of no mean order to the cause of education for which the cordial acknowledgments of Government were conveyed to him. His death on the 26th July 1891 was widely mourned by the Press of India, and some of the highest scholars of Europe wrote letters of condolence to his family.

NAWAB ABDUL LATIF, BAHADUR, C. I. E.

NAWAB Abdul Latif Bahadur, C. I. E., belonged to a family which had long been settled in Faridpur in Bengal. His father was a leading pleader in the *Sadur Dewani Adalat* at Calcutta, respected for his high attainments as a Persian scholar. He was born in March 1828 and educated at the Calcutta *Madrasa*, where he gained a Government Senior Scholarship for his proficiency in English as well as in Oriental subjects. He entered Government service in 1846 as a teacher and was appointed to be a Deputy Magistrate in 1849. He rose in due course to the highest grade of Deputy Magistrates and acted as a Presidency Magistrate on different occasions. His tact, judgment, freedom from prejudices, courteous manners and general desire to act as peace-maker in various capacities earned for him the sincere respect of all classes of people. He was a useful Member of the Bengal Legislative Council for several years, a Justice of the Peace for Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, a Member of the Central Board of Examiners, a Fellow of the Calcutta University, and Member of the Income Tax Commission for Calcutta from 1861 to 1865.

In 1867, he received from Government a gold medal and a set of the Encyclopædia Britannica, with an autograph inscription by the Viceroy, "in recognition of his services in promoting native education, especially the education of those, who like himself, belong to the Muhammadan religion." In 1869 he was nominated to be a member of the Commission to inquire into the state of the

Calcutta and Hooghly *Madrasas*, and received the thanks of Government for his work. He was a Municipal Commissioner for Calcutta and the suburbs; a member of the Board of management of the Alipore Reformatory, and of the District Education Committee, 24-*Parganas*; founder, and Secretary since 1863, of the Muhammadan Literary and Scientific Society, and promoter of its annual conversazione in the Town Hall: Member of the Philosophical Committee of the Asiatic Society, Bengal; a Member and Trustee of the Indian Association for the Cultivation of Science, and of the District Charitable Society. He was made a C.I.E. on 1st January 1883, a Nawab in May 1880, and Nawab Bahadur on the occasion of the Jubilee of Her Majesty the Queen in 1887. He was altogether a very remarkable man in many ways. Since his death, in 1893, his place in his community can hardly be said to have been exactly filled. He has been described as "the most progressive and enlightened among the Muhammadans of Bengal. He believed that, unless the rising generation among his co-religionists exerted themselves intellectually with more effect, they would be utterly outstripped by their Hindu fellow-subjects in the race of life."

THE REVD. DR. K. M. BANERJEE.

THE Revd. Krishna Mohan Banerjee, D. L., C. I. E., was a conspicuous man, as a convert and Christian minister, and for his literary acquirements. He was born in Calcutta in 1813. His father, Jiban Krishna Banerjee, sent him at the age of 11 to the Hindu College, where he gained a scholarship and distinction as a student. Under the influence of Mr. Derozio, the 4th master, Krishna Mohan and others adopted heterodox ideas and habits, deriding the usages of Hindu society. In 1829 he became a master in the Hare School and aimed at the overthrow of idolatry and caste, but his services were dispensed with on the representations of the Hindu guardians of the pupils. He became acquainted with the Revd. Dr. Duff and accepted Christianity, announcing the fact in the newspaper, *The Inquirer*, which he had started. In 1837 he was ordained Deacon, and became pastor of Christ Church in Cornwallis Square: he continued to preach from 1837 to 1852. His literary work at this

time and afterwards was considerable. He published 13 volumes of the *Encyclopædia Bengalensis* in English and Bengali, with the assistance of Government. He wrote an Essay on Female Education and contributed to the Calcutta Review and other journals. From 1852 to 1868 he was a professor in Bishop's College, but resigned, on some difference with the authorities, and became a pensioner of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. He was subsequently an Honorary Chaplain to the Lord Bishop of Calcutta. About 1861 he published his work on the six *Darsans*, or philosophical systems of the Hindus, which gave him a place among the learned scholars of the day. In 1875, his work, The Aryan Witness, appeared. From time to time he published with annotations several Sanskrit text-books and pamphlets, and his English writings and lectures were numerous and of a high class. He was a member of the British Indian Association from 1851, a Vice-President of the Bethune Society: and a leading member of the Hare memorial Committee. A Fellow of the Calcutta University in 1858, he was in 1867 and 1868 President of the Faculty of Arts: and received in 1876 the Honorary degree of Doctor in Law, in recognition of his varied acquirements and services to the cause of Indian literature. He resigned his position as an elected member of the Calcutta Municipal Corporation in 1885, when the Local Government interfered with regard to the sanitation of the town. As a linguist he had few equals, knowing eleven languages well: in Bengali and Ooriya he was considered an authority: was a member of the Asiatic Society of Bengal and of the Board of Examiners: and was made a C. I. E. He also managed the Sundarban property of his son-in-law Ganendra Mohan Tagore. By careful and economical management of his various sources of income from his literary and landed properties he gained a position of comparative affluence, which enabled him to indulge his love of charity to the poor, whether Hindus or Christians. As an indefatigable reader and writer he will be best remembered by his literary work, in which he was engaged up to the time of his death on the 11th May 1885, at the age of 72.

THE MAHARANI SVARNAMAYI, C. I.

THE name of the Maharani Svarnamayi has long been widely known for her munificent generosity, continued through a number of years. She was born in 1827 at the village of Bhattakol in the Burdwan District, and at the age of eleven married to Kumar Krishna Nath of Kasimbazar. She received some education in Bengali and arithmetic under the supervision of her husband, and was thus able to understand *zamindari* and other business in her later years. She also read much Bengali periodical literature, including newspapers.

Her husband Kumar Krishna Nath received the title of Raja Bahadur in 1841 from Lord Auckland. He supported education and every good movement, and bore a large share of the expense of erecting David Hare's marble statue, now in the Hare School compound. He was so alarmed at the news of a murder in which some of his people were involved, that, to avoid the shame of publicity, he died by his own hand in 1845 at his house in Chitpur Road, Calcutta. Svarnamayi's two daughters both died at an early age.

The East India Company, under a will of Raja Krishna Nath, took possession of the whole estate with the exception of Svarnamayi's *stridhan* property, which she managed well. It was then that she engaged, as her adviser, the late Rajib Lochan Rai, Rai Bahadur, who for many years managed the vast estates of the Kasimbazar Raj with great efficiency.

Svarnamayi brought a suit in the late Supreme Court against the East India Company to contest the validity of her husband's will. After nearly 3 years the suit was decided on 15th November 1847 in her favour; the will was declared null and void, as the testator was proved to have been of unsound mind at the time of its execution.

Under the management of Rajib Lochan Rai, not only were the debts that had accumulated during the years of litigation paid off, but order was restored in the *zamindaris* which had deteriorated from want of proper attention.

As a Hindu widow Svarnamayi considered it a part of her religion to spend little on herself and to use her large means in benefiting others. Government at first gave her the title of Rani in recognition

of her liberality and public spirit. She was promoted to the rank of Maharani in 1871 and in 1878 was made a C. I., i. e. a Member of the Imperial Order of the Crown of India, by the Queen Empress. Her Dewan Rajib Lochan had been made a Rai Bahadur in 1875 and Government further gratified the Maharani by promising the title of Maharaja to her heir. Manindra Chandra Nandi was duly invested soon after his succession to the estates: the net income of which was, at the time of the Maharani's death, in August 1897, between 6 and 8 *lakhs*.

It would be impossible to recount all the Maharani's benefactions for public purposes. Her purse was always open to applicants in any good cause. She continued her husband's policy of assisting literary efforts and Education. The principal objects of her munificence were—The Berhampore water-works, Rs. 1,50,000; the North Bengal Famine, Rs. 1,25,000; the Hostel for female medical students, Rs. 1,00,000; the Campbell Medical school Hostel for female students, Rs. 10,000; a number of other institutions and charities received handsome donations from her hands. She supported the Berhampore College at a cost of Rs. 16,000 to Rs. 20,000 a year, and set apart Rs. 11,000 for giving winter clothes to the poor. Her smaller gifts were innumerable.

On the occasion of the *Pous Sankranti*, which falls in January, the Maharani used to prepare rice and other food materials amounting to several thousand *maunds* and distribute the same freely to all comers. At the same time, she used to give away shawls and broadcloth to Pandits and Brahmins assembled and blankets to Nagas and fakirs. At the *Chait Sankranti*, she distributed brass *gharas*, clothes, and money to Brahmins, and fed a large number of paupers. During the Durga *puja* she used to give large annual gifts to Pandits and feed several thousand people. Her presents to her servants also were large. She also helped with money poor Brahmins and others to give their daughters in marriage or to celebrate the *sradh* ceremony of their deceased parents or to invest Brahmin lads with the sacred thread. She at times paid the debts of many persons. She excavated numerous tanks and wells and helped in the construction of dispensaries. Several Sanskrit Tols and high and middle schools owed their existence to her liberality, chiefly, in her own *zamindaris*.

Her estates lay in the districts of Murshidabad, Rajshahi, Pabna, Dinajpur, Malda, Rangpur, Bogra, Faridpur, Jessore, Nadia, Burdwan, Howrah, and the 24-*Parganas* in Bengal, and in Ghazipur and Azimgarh in the N. W. Provinces.

Dr. MAHENDRA LAL SIRCAR, C. I. E., M.D., D. L.

No one in Bengal has held a higher position in Science than Dr. Mahendra Lal Sircar, a position which he has fairly won for himself by ability and labour. He was born on the 2nd of November 1833 at the obscure village of Paikpara in the district of Howrah, and has often referred to his descent from the actual tillers of the soil; his immediate ancestors were of the *bhadro lok* class. Having in his early youth lost both his parents, he was brought up by his maternal uncles: was taught for a time in the school of the celebrated lame teacher, Thakur Das De, and placed in the Hare School at the age of seven. In 1849 he joined the Hindu College with a Junior scholarship, and soon distinguished himself at the Presidency College, which succeeded the Hindu College. Even at school he gave evidence of his love of Science. After 5 years at the Presidency College, he joined the Calcutta Medical College in 1854; while yet in the second year of his medical studies, he attracted the notice of Dr. Archer, at whose request he delivered a series of lectures on Optics to his fellow students; the other professors also greatly esteemed his merits. He passed the final examination in 1860 with the highest honours in Medicine, Surgery, and Midwifery, and won several scholarships. In 1863 he took the degree of M. D. with special success. In the same year he joined the Bengal Branch of the British Medical Association, instituted by the late Dr. S. G. Chakrabarti, and at the opening meeting delivered a long and fervent speech, denouncing Homœopathy as a system of quackery. He was for 3 years Secretary of the Association and was then elected one of its Vice-Presidents. It was at this time that his views regarding Homœopathy underwent a remarkable change. From being a persecutor he became a warm advocate. When reviewing a work on Homœopathy, he found in its pages facts that induced him to put the new system to practical test. By watching some of the test cases of a Homœopathic practitioner, he began to believe

that the so-called infinitesimal doses do act and act beneficially in removing disease. He accordingly read an address at an annual meeting of the Medical Association in February 1867 "on the supposed uncertainty in Medical Science and on the relation between diseases and their remedial agents." This declaration of faith in Homœopathy was a great turning point in his career. In January 1868 he started the *Calcutta Journal of Medicine* for the public dissemination of his advanced views.

In August 1869, he advocated in his journal the establishment of a National Institution for the Cultivation of Science. His hopes were fulfilled in 1876, when, with the support of Sir R. Temple, he was enabled to found "the Indian Association for the Cultivation of Science," which has since acquired a recognised position. At the Convocation of the Calcutta University held in February 1900, Lord Curzon thus referred to the Association,—"You have, I believe, in your midst a Society which, on a humble scale, because it is possessed of humble means, attempts to diffuse scientific knowledge among the educated population of Bengal. I allude to the Indian Association for the Cultivation of Science, to which Dr. Sircar has, I believe, devoted nearly a quarter of a century of unremitting and only partially recognised labour." On the same occasion the Vice-Chancellor, Sir F. Maclean, spoke of him as follows :—"An Indian votary of Science, (Dr. Sircar), upon whom we conferred the honorary degree of Doctor of Law the year before last, has been devoting a lifelong service in preparing the ground for the cultivation of Science by his countrymen."

Dr. Mahendra Lal Sircar was appointed a Fellow of the Calcutta University in 1870, and in 1898 received the degree of Doctor in Law. The Vice-Chancellor, Mr. Justice Trevelyan, then said, "in conferring this degree upon him we are not merely honouring his labours in the cause of Science. For many years, in spite of the many calls of his professional work, he devoted much of his time to our service. For 10 successive years he was a member of our Syndicate and frequently acted as its President during the absence of the Vice-Chancellor. He was also for 4 successive years President of the Faculty of Arts."

He was appointed Sheriff of Calcutta in 1887, and was a Member of the Bengal Legislative Council from 1887 to 1893. In 1883, he

was made a C. I. E. in recognition of his services to the cause of Science. He is one of the oldest members of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, has been frequently elected a member of its Council and is its representative in the Board of Trustees of the Indian Museum. He was an elected Commissioner of the Calcutta Corporation for several years and made his mark on the Municipal Board, especially in the department of sanitation. His eloquence has often been conspicuous in his public speeches.

As a patriot, Dr. Sircar has always been on the liberal side. Though yielding to none in enthusiasm, he has never virulently attacked Government measures. On the contrary, whenever opportunity presents itself, he never fails to remind his countrymen that they enjoy more freedom under the British Government than they ever did under their own. His views in regard to the emancipation of women are of an advanced type. Though he abstains from obtruding his religious sentiments, he has a firm belief in the Divine Government of the world. Hahnemann has been his guide in the region of medicine. His life has been one of consistent toil for Science and his fellow countrymen.

RAJA KALÍ KRISHNA DEB BAHADUR.

KALI Krishna was the second son (born in 1808) of Raja Raj Krishna of Savabazar, and grandson of Raja Naba Krishna, the well-known *Dewan* of Lord Clive. In 1833 he received from Lord William Bentinck the title of Raja Bahadur as a personal distinction, together with a gold medal. He enjoyed the esteem of all the subsequent Governors-General and was favourably known to all high officials in Calcutta. After the death of Raja Sir Radha Kanta Deb Bahadur, Kali Krishna assumed the position of leader of Hindu Society and became President of the *Sanatan Dharmarakshini Sabha*, the object of which was the preservation of the ancient Hindu religion.

He knew four languages,—English, Persian, Sanskrit and Bengali,—and his translation of Johnson's Rasselas from English, and of the *Mahanatak* from Sanskrit into Bengali, furnished proof of his varied scholarship. The *Mahanatak* was dedicated to Her Majesty the Queen and was so favourably received that the

Governments of Germany, Austria, France and Belgium sent him gold medals. He was a member of the Royal Asiatic Society of England, a Fellow of the Calcutta University, Justice of the Peace for the town of Calcutta, member of the Bethune School Committee, and for many years Vice-President of the British Indian Association.

He took a leading part in all movements on behalf of the native community and was a friend of education and educated natives. He gave the best evidence of his sincere advocacy of female education by putting his granddaughters into the Bethune School. He was honoured with gracious communications from the Queen, the Prince Consort, the (then) Prince of Wales, and successive Secretaries of State for India. "Thus," wrote the Hindu Patriot, "Raja Kali Krishna lived in a world of his own, enjoying the sympathy and good will of the highest in rank. He was a most amiable man." On 11th April 1874, at the age of 66, Kali Krishna died at Benares. His eldest son Harendra Krishna was a Deputy Magistrate and received the title of Raja on his father's death.

MAHARAJA SIR LACHMESVAR SINGH BAHADUR, OF DARBHANGA, K. C. I. E.

THE Maharaja Sir Lachmesvar Singh Bahadur, of Darbhanga, K. C. I. E., as the representative of a noble Bihar house, and the possessor of large estates and wealth, had great opportunities of distinguishing himself in his generation, of which he took full advantage during his comparatively short life. The Maharaja Rudra Singh died in 1850 and was succeeded by his son Mahesvar Singh. The latter died in October 1860 leaving two minor sons, Lachmesvar (born in 1856) and Ramesvar. The Maharaja's estates were thus, during a long minority, carefully managed under the Court of Wards by Government officers, and the two brothers were well educated by their English tutor, Mr. C. Macnaghten. In the Bengal famine of 1874 large sums were spent on relief works for keeping their peasantry alive. As head of the Maithili Brahmins, and a Hindu of Hindus, the Maharaja occupied a very high position in Behar and Bengal, and was sincerely devoted to the exercises of his religion. On attaining his majority, though he always retained the services of European officers, he largely directed the management of his property. It is

said that, during his life, upwards of two crores of rupees were expended on various public objects, such as famine relief, the construction of roads, contributions for the support of schools and dispensaries. He constructed iron bridges over all the navigable rivers of his *zamindari* and completed an elaborate system of irrigation works for the prevention of famine. He devoted special attention to agricultural improvements and to the breeding of cattle and horses. As a sportsman he had a considerable reputation. The new palace at Darbhanga, with its immense stables, its botanical and zoological gardens and library, testified to the wealth and good taste of the owner.

As a Member of both the Bengal Legislative Council, and the Legislative Council of the Governor-General, Maharaja Sir Lachmesvar rendered valuable service to Government. During the lengthened discussions on the Bengal Tenancy Bill he acted as one of the representatives of the land-holders of Bengal and Bihar; the ability and moderation he displayed in this and other important questions were fully recognised by successive Viceroys and Lieutenant-Governors.

Although the Maharaja's Brahminical training made him prefer objects of charity such as famine relief, medical aid and educational endowments, he contributed also very largely to objects of general public utility, such as the gift of Rs. 50,000 to the funds of the Imperial Institute in England. He was a wide reader and could afford to indulge his taste for new and handsome books. Besides the political questions of the day in which he took a marked interest, either on his own initiative or at the request of his countrymen, he was constantly concerned with matters affecting the welfare of the people and the citizens of Calcutta, who cordially supported him as their chairman and spokesman on important occasions. Though his vast estates were situated in Bihar in the districts of Muzaffarpur, Darbhanga, Monghyr, Bhagalpur and Purnea, his influence was felt throughout Bengal, at Calcutta, in all landowners' Associations, and in official circles. On his death on the 17th December 1898 he was succeeded as Maharaja of Darbhanga (by a new appointment) by his brother Ramesvar Singh, who had at one time been a member of the Statutory Civil Service and had been created Raja Bahadur in May 1886.

MICHAEL MADHU SUDAN DUTT.

THE memory of Michael Madhu Sudan Dutt, whose genius not only created the Bengali blank verse, but also gave the first impetus to the creation of a national drama and a national theatre, is fondly treasured in literary circles in Bengal. That genius fortunately found munificent patrons in the Maharaja Sir Jotindra Mohan Tagore and the Paikpara Rajas, Pratap Chandra and Isvar Chandra Singh. But the history of the poet's life shows that he was not free from the characteristics which often accompany a poetical temperament. Born in the lap of luxury, with the example of his father's love of pleasure before his eyes, he betrayed at an early age a desire for personal comfort and his own inclinations, to the disregard of the wishes of his parents and of family ties and associations.

Madhu Sudan Dutt was born at Sagardari in the Jessore District on 25th January 1824 and was brought, when in his 12th year, by his father Babu Raj Narayan Dutt, Vakil of the *Sadar Dewani Adalat* to Calcutta and placed for education in the Hindu College. That has been described as the day of Young Bengal, when Hindu students thought it glorious to eat beef and drink brandy in the most public and ostentatious way. The most esteemed professors were Derozio and Captain Richardson. As a student Madhu Sudan soon made himself famous as a writer of English prose and verse. He despised Mathematics. After passing the Junior Scholarship examination he left the Hindu College in 1842, in consequence of having become a Christian.

He was at Bishop's College from 1843 to 1847, and published a short hymn in English on the occasion of his baptism on 9th February 1843. He then acquired a knowledge of Greek, and the influence of Homer and other Greek poets is said to be traceable in his Bengali poems. Latin, French, German and Italian he acquired later and could use with fluency.

From 1846 to 1856 he lived in Madras in very straitened circumstances. Both his parents died during his voluntary exile, and he returned to Calcutta to claim his share of the paternal property, including a *zamindari* and a house in Kidderpore, and succeeded in proving his claim. "The Captive Ladie" was produced during his sojourn in Madras and attracted much attention. In Calcutta he secured a

clerkship in the Court of the Presidency Magistrate, soon rose to the post of Interpreter, and earned something by his pen.

When the Belgachia theatre was started by Rajas Pratap Chandra and Isvar Chandra Singh, the drama of *Ratnabali* was rendered into English by Madhu Sudan and was acted with success on 31st July 1858, the Lieutenant-Governor and the Judges being present. It was an amateur performance but elicited high praise. At this time, Madhu Sudan produced his dramas *Sarmishta* and *Padmavati* in Bengali. His next literary experiment was a poem in blank verse—*Tilottama Sambhava*. Its high merits were at once acknowledged and led to the production of the longer and fuller poem—the *Meghnadabadh*. He next wrote two farces for the stage (*Akeyi Ke bale Sabhyata, and Buro Saliker Gharer Rona*) which afforded infinite amusement to the auditors, as exposing the vices of "Young Bengal."

Brajangana Kavya and *Krishna Kumari* were his later productions. *Birangana* was also the production of this period.

He arrived in England in July 1862 and became a member of Grey's Inn: owing to the irregularity of his Calcutta agents he became involved in debts and went to Paris, which he regarded as the most splendid place in the world. That was the most trying period of his life, and he had to rely on help to finish his law studies; he returned to Calcutta as a Barrister in 1867.

Improvidence and neglect of his professional work soon rendered his position as a barrister insecure. His debts accumulated and his old friends were alienated. After a period of untold misery, he died on the 29th June 1873 in a Charitable Hospital, his friends providing for his grave and taking care of his family. Some of his literary remains are still unpublished. Though improvident, he was ever kind and charitable.

RAI HARA CHANDRA GHOSE BAHADUR.

HARA Chandra Ghose (1808-1868) belonged to a respectable family, the Ghoses of Behala near Calcutta. As the youngest son of his father, he had to rely on his own efforts for future advancement. At the Hindu College he was soon a favourite of David Hare and H. H. Wilson, and of his teacher Mr. Derozio, who imparted a new

life to the students of that day. The famous Academy of Derozio claimed Hara Chandra among its leading spirits. The reforming zeal of some of its members gave a shock to orthodoxy; but Hara Chandra maintained his Hinduism.

Soon after leaving College, he was offered the post of *Dewan* to the Governor-General, Lord William Bentinck—a post which is now designated Superintendent of the Toshakhana of the Foreign office—but he was dissuaded from accepting it. Lord William next offered him the newly created post of Munsif on Rs. 100 a month, and this he accepted as it offered prospects of promotion. Accordingly he was appointed Munsif at Bankura on 25th April 1832 and won such golden opinions by his ability, industry and uprightness that within a year he was promoted to the post of *Sadar Amin*; and after nearly 6 years at Bankura he was transferred in 1838 to Hooghly. In November 1841, he was appointed Additional Principal *Sadar Amin* of the 24-*Parganas*, in 1844 was confirmed in that rank, and in 1847 was promoted to the 1st grade. At the same time he was vested with magisterial powers. His capacity for work was such that he conducted the duties of both Magistrate and Civil Judge without arrears. Lord W. Bentinck and Lord Auckland, as Governors of Bengal, gave him their support. The District Judges as well as the Judges of the *Sadar Dewani Adalat* recorded highly flattering opinions on his work as a Judge. Hara Chandra helped the *Sadar* Court on several occasions in revising its circular orders and bringing them more into accord with the advancing times. When Lord Dalhousie proposed the appointment of a Native to the Police Bench of Calcutta, the Judges of the *Sadar* Court unanimously recommended Hara Chandra Ghose for the post. When Lord Dalhousie asked him at a private interview what his own feelings were in respect of the Police Magistracy, he, referring to attacks in the Press, expressed some hesitation as to accepting it. Lord Dalhousie is said to have remarked: "Don't mind newspapers. They abuse me every day; am I therefore to be deterred from doing my duty? The cause of native progress is on trial. You should show by your own example that your countrymen were fit to hold high posts under Government side by side with Europeans."

On the 23rd February 1852, Hara Chandra Ghose was gazetted Junior Magistrate of Calcutta, and in 1854 was appointed a Judge of

the Calcutta Small Cause Court. For 16 years he held these important posts, with credit to himself and benefit to the public, so as to justify fully the choice of Lord Dalhousie. He was a man of high principles. While at College, he avoided the follies of his companions who came under the influence of the new civilisation. "In after years," it is said of him, "his character was distinguished by the same austere virtues, the same simplicity and innate modesty. Utterly guileless and truthful, honest and conscientious to a degree, he was indeed a model man." He established a school at Bankura, and another at his native village of Behala. He was a member of the Bethune School Committee, and took an active part in the movement to commemorate the services of David Hare to the cause of English education in Bengal. After the death of Hara Chandra Ghose, a memorial meeting was held in the Town Hall on the 4th January 1869, at which several of the High Court Judges and members of the Services were present as well as the leaders of Native Society. Mr. Justice Norman, as Chairman, in the course of his address, said of Hara Chandra: "He always appeared to me the very model of what a native gentleman should be, courteous and gentle in manner, simple, modest and unassuming, without a particle of conceit or affectation about him." Again, "there may be more brilliant men, but it would be difficult to find a better man."

A marble bust of him was placed in the main entrance of the Calcutta Small Cause Court, where he had worked for 14 years. When it was unveiled by Mr. Justice A. G. Macpherson on 6th March 1876, it was hailed as an excellent likeness of one who for 36 years was an ornament of the Native Judicial Service.

BABU PIARI CHAND MITRA.

WHEN Piari Chand Mitra died in November 1883 at the age of 69, the *Hindu Patriot* wrote :—"In him the country loses a literary veteran, a devoted worker, a distinguished author, a clever wit, an earnest patriot, and an enthusiastic spiritual enquirer." He belonged to the band of zealous social reformers who derived their inspiration from Derozio, of the old Hindu College. He preferred commerce to Government service, but he was for a long time Secretary to the Public Library, which gave him ample opportunities for

the cultivation of literature. From his early youth he had a taste for Bengali and for letters, and was connected with the Press, contributing to the *Gnananesan*, the *Bengal Spectator*, the *Bengal Harkaru*, the *Englishman*, the *Indian Field*, the *Patriot* and the *Calcutta Review*.

He was the first Secretary to the British Indian Society, the first Secretary to the Bethune Society, and the founder of the Hare Anniversary, which was held every year on the 1st June for the space of forty years. He was one of the foundation members of the British Indian Association and used to take an active part in its affairs. He was also a member of the Agri-Horticultural Society, worked hard in its interests and issued some useful publications. He was a Member of the School Book Society and Vernacular Literature Committee, a Fellow of the Calcutta University, a Justice of the Peace, and Honorary Magistrate for Calcutta. In 1868, he was appointed a Member of the Bengal Legislative Council and helped in passing the Act for the prevention of cruelty to animals. On the establishment of the Society for this purpose he was its first Secretary and then one of its Vice-Presidents. He was a Member of the Calcutta Corporation under the Act of 1863, and also for many years an active Member of the District Charitable Society. Though not a registered Brahmo, he fraternised with the leaders of the Brahmo Samaj. In advanced years he became first a spiritualist and later a Theosophist. He wrote both in English and in Bengali on the subject of spiritualism. He was one of the founders of the Theosophic Society of Calcutta. These facts testify to the wide range of his powers.

When Miss Mary Carpenter visited Calcutta in the sixties, Piari Chand had a prominent place in her Committee for the improvement of Female Education. He had already made a name by publishing, for the benefit of Bengali ladies, the *Ramaranjika*, which gives examples drawn from the lives of eminent English women as well as biographical sketches of distinguished Hindu women, derived from history and tradition. Another work, the *Abhedi*, is a spiritual novel in which the hero and the heroine seek after the knowledge of the soul and obtain "spiritual light by the education of pain." The *Adhyattika*, another Bengali work, deals with the conversation of different classes of the people; he pointed out in a humorous way

the evils of drinking. His life of David Hare in English and Bengali was much praised at the time, but his "*Alaler Gharer Dulal*" or "the spoiled child," surpassed all his other works in literary power and sense of humour. A good judge called it "the best novel in the language." A *Calcutta Reviewer* said that he wrote the work "in a spirit at which the Sanskritists stood aghast and shook their heads. Going to the opposite extreme in point of style, he vigorously excluded from his works, except on very rare occasions, every word and phrase that had a learned appearance." The result is that the book is now rarely read, except by the curious. It has been translated into English and also dramatised. His life was one of continued literary activity and public usefulness. In manners a gentleman, in spirit truly cosmopolitan, his death in 1883 was mourned by a large circle of friends and admirers. He contributed to spiritualist journals in England and America and his "Spiritual Stray Leaves" shows large research and profundity of thought.

BABU KISORI CHAND MITRA.

KISORI Chand Mitra was born in May 1822, and attended his brother Piari Chand Mitra's English School, the Hare School and the Hindu College: in the last he was a favourite of Captain D. L. Richardson for his literary aptitude. He was for a time an honorary teacher in Dr. Duff's School and studied English classics under his direction. Subsequently he served in the office of the Legal Remembrancer and in 1844 was appointed Assistant Secretary to the Asiatic Society. He contributed largely to the *Bengal Spectator*, the *Bengal Harkaru* and the *Calcutta Review*, and gained thereby considerable reputation. His article on Raja Ram Mohan Ray in the *Calcutta Review* attracted the favourable notice of Sir F. Halliday, then Secretary to the Government of Bengal, who called upon Kisori Chand and conferred upon him in 1846 a Deputy Magistracy at Rajshahi. There he acquired a reputation by inducing the *zamindars* and other wealthy people to found schools and dispensaries and to construct roads and dig tanks.

When Babu Hara Chandra Ghose was promoted from the Calcutta Police Bench to the Court of Small Causes, his patron, Sir F. Halliday, then Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, conferred upon Kisori

Chand the post of Junior Magistrate. For some years he occupied the Bench with credit to himself; but he lost his appointment in consequence of circumstances brought to light by Mr. S. Wauchope, B. C. S. then head of the Calcutta Police. Many men would have succumbed to the blow but Kisori Chand was not a man to sit idle and do nothing. He soon devoted his versatile talents to literature and politics. He assumed charge of the *Indian Field* newspaper (which had been founded by Mr. James Hume, Senior Police Magistrate of Calcutta), and conducted it for several years with considerable ability, when his failing health led him to give it up and incorporate it with the *Hindu Patriot*. In 1859 he joined the British Indian Association and soon became one of its leading members. After his death the Association recorded a Resolution in recognition of his services to that body and the country.

Possessed of rich stores of knowledge of western literature and master of a good English style, he was reckoned as one of the best English writers among his countrymen. He tried different classes of subjects,—Biography, Theology, Law, Politics, Sociology, Agriculture. The pages of the *Calcutta Review* contained his essays on Hindu women, phases of Hinduism, Orissa, past and present, Agriculture and agricultural exhibitions in Bengal, Ram Mohan Ray, Radha Kanta Deb, the Burdwan Raj, the Nadia Raj, Rajas of Rajshahi, the Kasimbazar Raj. He lectured on Mati Lal Seal, on Dwarka Nath Tagore, on the Hindu College and its founder, on Chaitanya, on the lessons of the famine of 1866, on the progress of education in Bengal and other subjects of interest. His addresses at various public meetings were noted for their ability and fearless independence of spirit.

Though not a registered Brahmo he supported the teachings of Raja Ram Mohan Ray in his reviews and lectures. While he was a Police Magistrate he initiated a Social Reform Association, through which he advocated the remarriage of Hindu widows, the education of females and the abolition of Kulin polygamy among the Brahmins and Kayasthas of Bengal. In his youth he had established at his own home a society called the theo-philanthropic society which was attended by those among his contemporaries who were advocates of reform. He took a lively interest in agriculture and horticulture and delighted in flowers. He was an agreeable companion, but in the matter of living

he failed to follow in the footsteps of his elder brother or Babu Hara Chandra Ghose. The *Hindu Patriot* of the 11th August 1873, said "one thing, however, must be said of him—that whatever his faults he injured only himself and nobody else. As an accomplished writer, a fearless advocate of his country's interests, and a zealous worker, he has left a void, which, we fear, cannot be easily filled up."

He died on the 6th August 1873. A biographer thus contrasts the two brothers :—"Both were reformers. But while the elder brother inculcated enlightened precepts by gentle means, the younger shocked the feelings of the majority of the people by doing violence to their time-honoured customs. While the one reads and respects our *Sastras* and takes pleasure in making allusions to them in his writings and his conversation, the other did not think it worth his while to go through them, simply from a feeling of supreme contempt..... The one is a thorough spiritualist, the other was to all intents and purposes a sturdy materialist, probably an honest Epicurean."

RAI BANKIM CHANDRA CHATTERJI BAHADUR, B.A., B.L. C. I. E.

AMONG Bengali authors no one held a higher place in his own line than the late Bankim Chandra Chatterji. He was born on 27th June 1838 at Kantalpara in the 24-*Parganas*. His father, Jadab Chandra, was a Deputy Magistrate who enjoyed his pension for 33 years. His abilities were noticed at his first village school, and at the Midnapore English school which he attended from 1846 to 1851. He then studied at the Hooghly College till 1856, when he joined the Presidency College with a senior scholarship and became a member of the most intellectual coterie. In 1858, he was the first Indian to take the degree of B. A. and the Government of Sir F. Halliday at once appointed him to be a Deputy Magistrate in recognition of his talents. By 1885 he had risen to the first grade in the Subordinate Executive (now the Provincial) Service, and for some time acted as an Assistant Secretary to the Government of Bengal. He rendered good service in a number of districts and also acted as Personal Assistant to the Commissioners of the Rajshahi and Burdwan Divisions. In June 1867, he was Secretary to a Commission appointed by Government

for the revision of the salaries of ministerial officers. While in charge of the Khulna sub-division (now a district) he helped very largely in suppressing river *dacoities* and establishing peace and order in the eastern canals.

But it was not for his services as a prominent member of the Provincial Service that Bankim Chandra is to be remembered. The titles conferred upon him were gained rather by his reputation in the world of letters than in the public service. While still at College he competed for a prize poem and though unsuccessful was honourably mentioned: at the same time he took a prominent part in the Students' Debating Club. When about 15 years of age he began to study Sanskrit Literature and rapidly learnt enough to be able to criticise the works of Sanskrit authors.

While at Khulna, Bankim Chandra began a serial story named "Rajmohan's wife" in the *Indian Field* newspaper, then edited by Kisori Chand Mitra. This was his first public literary effort. *Durgesnandini* was his first attempt at Bengali novel-writing; its heroine was modelled upon one of Sir Walter Scott's, and the work was highly appreciated by the Hindu community. *Kapalkundala*, *Mrinalini*, *Bishabriksha* and other novels followed in rapid succession. About 1873 he started the *Bangadarsan*, a monthly periodical devoted to criticism and original stories or essays. The journal gave a fresh start to higher criticism, but he discontinued it in 1878, owing to pressure of official duties.

A list of his other principal works is as follows—1. *Krishna Kanta's* will: 2. *Krishna Charita:* 3. *Chandrasekhar:* 4. *Debi Chaudhurani:* 5. *Ananda Math:* 6. *Sita Ram:* 7. *Raj Sinha:* 8. *Rajani.*

The vividness and reality of his characters has been specially noticed. A critic writes that "the realism of his *Raj Sinha* stands quite unrivalled." Several of the novels have been dramatised and placed upon the stage: their popularity is said to continue undiminished.

Bankim Chandra retired from Government service in 1891 and died on 8th April 1894.

RAJA SATYA CHARAN GHOSAL BAHADUR, OF BHUKAILAS.

SATYA Charan Ghosal was the fifth in descent from Kandarpa Ghosal, who removed to Kidderpore when the village of Gar Govindapur, in which he had resided, was taken up as a site for the construction of Fort William. Kandarpa had two sons, Krishna Chandra and Gokul Chandra. The latter was Dewan to Mr. Verelst, Governor of Bengal, and made a large fortune. On the death of Gokul his nephew Jay Narayan, the only son of Krishna Chandra, inherited his property.

Jay Narayan was a *Kanungo* in Sandip. He settled in Bhukailas near Kidderpore and founded temples there. He received the title of Maharaja Bahadur from the Emperor of Delhi, with the privilege to maintain 3,500 *sawars*. He founded the Jay Narayan College at Benares at a heavy cost and handed it over to the missionaries with an endowment for its support. He was a Bengali poet of no mean calibre. Jay Narayan's only son, Kali Sankar, received the title of Raja Bahadur from the Government of India, in recognition of his valuable services, public charities, and general benevolence. Kali Sankar established the Benares Asylum for the blind, where they receive food and raiment free.

Satya Charan was the fourth among the seven sons of Kali Sankar. He received from the Governor-General the title of Raja Bahadur after the death of his elder brothers, and maintained the dignity of the family by contributing liberal donations towards the construction of public works and to public and private charities. He was a foundation member and Secretary of the British Indian Association. He died in 1856. His eldest son, Kumar Satya Nanda Ghosal, was made a Raja Bahadur on the 30th September 1869 and became a Member of the Bengal Legislative Council. The Bhukailas family own large *zamindaris* in Tippera, Noakhali, Backergunge, Dacca and the 24-*Parganas*, and pay about 1½ *lakhs* of rupees to Government as land revenue.

RAJA PRATAP CHANDRA SINGH BAHADUR.

THE brothers, Raja Pratap Chandra Singh and Raja Isvar Chandra Singh, of Paikpara near Calcutta, occupied a conspicuous position in Calcutta in the fifties and sixties : there was no public movement in which they did not actively participate. The original seat of the family was at Kandi in the Murshidabad District. Its founder was Hara Krishna Singh, who acquired considerable wealth under the Muhammadan rule. His great grandson was Ganga Gobind Singh, who was Dewan to the East India Company in the time of Warren Hastings. His celebration of his mother's *sradh* at an unprecedented cost of several *lakhs* of rupees is remembered to this day. His descendants, down to Dewan Sri Narayan Singh, were all men noted for their liberality and piety. Sri Narayan, not having any male issue, adopted the brothers Pratap Chandra and Isvar Chandra. Of these, the former was a foundation member and a Vice-President of the British Indian Association. They both received the title of Raja Bahadur from the Governor-General for their handsome donations to the Medical College Hospital and other charitable institutions, and for taking an active part in the improvement of their countrymen. Pratap Chandra was also made a C. S. I. They contributed about Rs. 25,000 to the fund for promoting the re-marriage of Hindu widows under the permissive Act of 1856, and established the High English School at Kandi on a liberal scale. This institution still exists and has proved most beneficial to the neighbourhood.

Raja Isvar Chandra Singh had a marked taste for music. The brothers, with the co-operation of Maharaja Sir Jotindra Mohan Tagore and other men of culture, established the Belgachia theatre for native theatrical performances : and there were performed the dramas of Michæl Madhu Sudan Dutt, as is narrated in the notice of his life. The two Rajas also performed many acts of public beneficence, of which no list is forthcoming.

Raja Pratap Chandra Singh Bahadur died in 1868 ; his eldest son Giris Chandra died in 1877, and left by his will the sum of Rs. 1,15,000 for the endowment of a hospital at Kandi. Raja Isvar Chandra Singh Bahadur died six years before his elder brother. His only son was the late Kumar Indra Chandra Singh. The later generations have not made the same good use of their wealth as the brother Rajas.

THE REVD. LAL BEHARI DE.

LAL Behari De was born at the village of Patasi near Burdwan in 1826. He received his education at the General Assembly's Institution in Calcutta, under the guidance of the Revd. Dr. Alexander Duff and for three years stood at the head of his class, winning a gold medal each year. In 1843 he was converted to Christianity and for six years studied theological subjects. In 1851 he was authorised to preach, and in 1855 took holy orders. He worked at Kalna in the Burdwan District until, in 1860, he received the charge of a Church in Calcutta. At this time he carried on a discussion against the preaching of Keshab Chandra Sen under the name of "Antidote to Brahmoism." Before this he had written a Bengali Pamphlet against Vedantism. For two years he conducted a Bengali journal named *Arunoday*, with the view of diffusing Christianity. In 1860 he started the *Indian Reformer* and later the *Friday Review*, which he conducted with much ability. His English style was praised as almost faultless.

In 1867, he gave up preaching and entered the Bengal Education Department; his salary at the time of his retirement had risen to Rs. 1,000 a month. He retired from the service of Government in his 63rd year and died in the course of three or four years.

His novel *Gobinda Samanta* furnishes pictures of peasant life in Bengal, which have been favourably noticed by critics both in India and in England for their accuracy and power. His book on Primary Education strongly advocated its extension and improvement, and his "Literary beauties of the Bible" was considered very creditable to the author.

RAJA SIR SOURINDRO MOHAN TAGORE, KT., C. I. E. (MUS. DOC. OXON).

SOURINDRO Mohan is the younger and only brother of Maharaja Sir Jotindra Mohan Tagore and inherited half the property of his father Hara Kumar Tagore. He has acquired a world-wide reputation as the reviver, interpreter and improver of ancient Indian Music, and has received from numerous Governments and learned Societies in civilised countries various marks of appreciation. Born in 1840,

he entered the Hindu College at the age of 9 years and left it when 18 on the score of ill-health. When 14 years old he wrote a small work on history and geography and published it in 1857, and a year later he brought out a small drama called *Muktabali.* As a student he was fond of Bengali composition. From 13 to 19 he studied Sanskrit. With the permission of his elder brother he began the study of music at the age of 16 when his father died. Professors Kshetra Mohan Goswami and Lakshmi Prosad Misra were his masters. At the age of 18 he acquired a knowledge of English Music with the help of a German Tutor, and the Revd. Father Lafont, S. J. instructed him in the principles of the science.

He established in 1871 the Bengal Music School in the Chitpore Road in Calcutta and maintains it to this day. A Branch Institution opened at Colutola was maintained by him for some years. He also founded in 1881 the Bengal Academy of Music. He has published a number of important works connected with music, and helped other students in bringing out books on the subject. While devoting his attention to music, he translated into Bengali "the *Malabik-agnimitra*" of Kalidas.

He collected a large number of books on music, ancient and modern, Asiatic and European, and published his *Sangitsar*, a work on the theory of Music, and a long series of treatises on music. His "*Jantra Kosha*" contains a full account in Bengali of the construction of the musical instruments of various countries in ancient and modern times. The Raja contributed for some time a liberal monthly stipend for the maintenance of a teacher of music at the Calcutta Normal School. He supplies music masters and musical books to numerous public and private schools at his own cost, and encourages Professors of Music by pecuniary and other help. The degree of Doctor of Music was conferred on him in April 1875 by the University of Philadelphia, which was recognised by Government on the recommendation of the late Mr. H. Woodrow, then Director of Public Instruction. In November 1896, the University of Oxford conferred on him also the degree of Doctor of Music *in absentiâ*,—a rare honour. He was granted a similar degree by the University of Utrecht; also the title of "Master of Music" by his Majesty, the King of Portugal.

On 1st January 1880, Sourindro Mohan Tagore was made a C. I. E. and on the 3rd February following the title of Raja was conferred on him for his researches and accomplishments by Lord Lytton, whose cordial congratulations he received on both these occasions.

The Raja published an English Translation of the Sanskrit drama *Veni Samhara*, and *Rome Kavya*, a metrical history of the immortal city from its foundation to the present day, in Sanskrit, and the *Manimala*, a learned work on gems, compiled from Asiatic as well as European sources, and full of curious practical information. The list of the Raja's works includes more than 60 names. The Raja is an Honorary Magistrate and Justice of the Peace for the town of Calcutta and a Fellow of the University of Calcutta. He has been granted titles of honour by most of the Sovereigns of the continent of Europe, including membership of different Orders of Knighthood. He is also a "Knight" of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland. He received from the Hindu ruler of Nepal the title of "*Sangit Nayaka*,"—the highest accorded to a Hindu musician by the Hindu Sastras. The Shah of Persia conferred on him the hereditary title of Nawab Shahzada, so that he is the first and only Native of India who holds simultaneously the titles of Raja and Nawab Shahzada. Thus, in respect of Indian music, Raja Sourindro Mohan Tagore holds admittedly the first place, while his literary compositions would otherwise have entitled him to distinction.

RAJA PRAMATHA NATH RAI BAHADUR OF DIGHAPATIA.

THE founder of the Dighapatia family, Dyaram, rose by his merits from the position of a subordinate to eminence as Dewan of the Nator Raj, then in its highest position under Muhammadan rule. Dyaram was of the Teli caste. He amassed great wealth. As Commanding Officer of the Nator forces he defeated and brought in as a prisoner the notorious rebel, Raja Sitaram Rai of Mahmudpur in Jessore, around whose name a halo of romance has been cast by the genius of the Bengali novelist, Bunkim Chandra Chatterji. In recognition of this service, he received the title

of "Rai Rayan". Dyaram expended a portion of his ample revenues in founding Professorships of Sanskrit and endowing the temples of the national gods and goddesses. He was succeeded by his son, Jagannath, who did not survive him long. The latter's son, Pran Nath, had no male issue and adopted, as his son, Prasanna Nath, who again adopted the subject of the present notice as his son and successor.

Prasanna Nath was invested by Lord Dalhousie as a Raja Bahadur on 20th April 1854 at Government House; and appointed Assistant Magistrate in Rajshahi in September 1857. He freely mixed with Europeans and was very English in his tastes and habits. He exercised great hospitality at the Rajbari of Dighapatia. He died, greatly regretted, in 1861. His father's spirit, liberality and enlightened conduct gave him a conspicuous position in his day.

Pramatha Nath was admitted in 1863 into the Calcutta Wards' Institution, and, after passing the Entrance Examination, joined the Presidency College. He was, however, called away in 1867 to the management of his Estate on attaining majority and soon made a name for himself as a model *zamindar*. He had regular hours of business as well as study and was fond of news from all parts of the World.

Having gained a name for himself as one of the most intelligent and well-behaved *zamindars* of Bengal, and managed his *zamindaris* admirably, he received in 1871 the title of Raja Bahadur; he systematically extended his *zamindaris* in different districts, the net result being a large increase of income. Some of his acts of public spirit and munificence were as follows. He largely assisted the Boalia Charitable Hospital founded by his father. He maintained the Boalia-Dighapatia Road. As an ardent lover of education he spent much money on it. He endowed the Boalia Girls' School. He procured the establishment of 3rd. and 4th. year classes in the Rajshahi College entirely at his own expense and supported various schools in his estates. His charity was lavish and broadcast, without distinction of race or caste. He founded the Rajshahi Association for the amelioration of the people of North Bengal. He always took the lead in local movements, and was a model *zamindar*, and of exemplary character.

He was appointed a member of the Bengal Legislative Council

in 1877, but, after working as a member for sometime, he resigned his office. He died in December 1883 at the age of only 35, after a protracted illness. He was economical in his expenditure but was ready with his purse in every good cause. For sixteen years he was in charge of his property, which, under his judicious management, was doubled in value.

By the will of Raja Pramatha Nath, his eldest son, Promoda Nath Rai, succeeded to the property on attaining majority in January 1894. He has received the title of Raja Bahadur as a personal distinction and ably maintains the name and position of the family.

SIR ROMESH CHANDRA MITTER, Kt.; K. C. I. E.

SIR Romesh Chandra belonged to a well connected Kyastha family in the *24-Parganas*. His father, Ram Chandra Mitter, was Sarishtadar of the *Sadar Dewani Adalat* (now merged in the High Court). Romesh Chandra (born 1840) was the youngest of six brothers and desplayed from his childhood a remarkable love of reading; before attaining his fifteenth year he could understand the writings of the best English authors without the aid of tutors.

He was a student of the Hare School and proceeded to the Presidency College with a scholarship. He passed all the College and University Examinations easily and attained the degree of Bachelor of Arts in 1860. Subsequently, as a regular law-student, he passed the B. L. Examination in 1861 at the age of 21 years, only in the 2nd. class. In after years, he acquired those vast stores of legal knowledge which astonished his contemporaries at the Bar and on the Bench.

Quietly pursuing his career as a pleader in the *Sadar Dewani Adalat* for a year and a half and as a vakil of the newly-created High Court for about 12 years, he acquired the reputation of being one of the soundest lawyers; and his high character and intelligence induced the Government to offer him a seat on the Bench of the High Court on the death of the Hon'ble Dwarka Nath Mitter in March 1874.

His career as a judge was marked by conspicuous legal ability, and on some important occasions he wrote independent judgments

which differed in essential points from those of his colleagues. As senior puisne Judge, he was appointed by Lord Ripon to act as Chief Justice during the absence of Sir Richard Garth. In 1890, he had, on account of his ill-health, to retire from the Bench at the comparatively early age of fifty.

He was given a seat in the Viceroy's Legislative Council, which also he had to give up on the score of ill-health. He had previously at the request of the Government of India worked on Sir Charles Aitchison's Public Service Commission. He was a Fellow of the Calcutta University and a supporter of educational institutions in his native village of Bishnupur and also in Bhowanipur South of Calcutta, where he resided. He took an active part in remodelling the Metropolitan Institution after the death of the late Pandit Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar C. I. E. and also in the National Congress and several local movements. He was a Vice-President of the Indian Association for the Cultivation of Science.

During the latter part of his life, he tried with the aid of the ancient Hindu philosophy to solve the great mystery of a Hereafter; his amiable character endeared him to all, who overlooked his scepticism and heterodoxy in some of the principal tenets of the Hindu religion.

He was knighted after his retirement, and the honour was universally regarded as having been well deserved.

He died in July 1899 and his death was very widely mourned as a national loss.

MANMOHAN GHOSE, Esq.,

BARRISTER-AT-LAW.

As the first Barrister-at-law enrolled in the Calcutta High Court and as a very successful legal practitioner, Mr. Manmohan Ghose was a prominent figure among his countrymen. He was born in March 1844 at Bayragadi, Pargana Vikrampur, Dacca district. His father, Ram Lochan Ghose, after a distinguished career in the old native Judicial Service, retired as Principal Sadar Amin of Nadia and settled permanently at Krishnagar, where his sons received their education at the Government College. Manmohan passed the Entrance Examination of the Calcutta University in 1859, and in

the same year began with some friends the series of letters in the *Hindu Patriot* newspaper on the subject of Indigo Cultivation and its attendant evils, which led to the appointment of the Indigo Commission by Government with Mr. W. S. Seton-Karr, C. S., as President. Manmohan attended the sittings of that Commission held at Krishnagar, and took notes of the evidence for the Hindu Patriot, then edited by Harish Chandra Mukerji.

In 1861, he joined the Presidency College in Calcutta but left it in 1862, with the Permission of his old father, to proceed to England in the company of Mr. Satyendra Nath Tagore, son of Babu Debendra Nath Tagore of Calcutta, in order to compete for the Indian Civil Service. In November 1866 he returned from England as a Barrister, having failed twice in the Civil Service Examination. After his second failure, he published a pamphlet, questioning the justice of the verdict of the Civil Service Commissioners; but, when his practice as a Barrister became extensive, he used to say that he had providentially escaped the trammels of Government service. Before leaving for England, he had started the *Indian Mirror* (then issued fortnightly) in August 1861, with funds supplied by Babu Debendra Nath Tagore, and continued to edit it with ability up to March 1862. He was the first to invite public attention to the system of domestic slavery then prevalent in Eastern Bengal.....a system which has almost ceased to exist.

In January 1867, he was enrolled as an Advocate of the Calcutta High Court. He was a staunch supporter of advanced female education, and was one of the promoters of Miss Akroyd's female school, of which Lady Phear was Secretary and the moving spirit. When that school was amalgamated with the Government Bethune School, he became its Secretary in 1873, and held that office with occasional breaks up to the time of his death on 17th October 1896. He was a Fellow of the Calcutta University and took an active part in some of the important discussions in the Senate.

His career as a Barrister brought him opulence as well as fame. He championed gratis the cause of school boys as well as other people of small means, but his powerful advocacy was also in constant request in important and lucrative cases. He was generally engaged in the cases in which the conduct of Government officers was called in question, and in his speeches he never spared them or

their feelings. This naturally endangered the friendliness of his relations with the officials in some instances. On the other hand, after heated arguments in Court during the day, he could, in his social intercourse with the presiding officer, show, by his manner and conversation, that he bore no personal animosity to the object of his forensic attack.

Mr. Manmohan Ghose was a great admirer of England and English Society. He revisited England in 1885, 1887, 1890 and 1895, sometimes with his family; his son Mr. M. Ghose is a member of the Indian Civil Service. He purchased and improved the premises No. 227/3 Lower Circular Road in Calcutta, as his ordinary residence, and enlarged and suitably furnished his father's old house at Krishnagar, where he received Judges of the High Court and Members of the Civil Service as his guests. As a Member of the National Congress, he contributed funds for its expenses, and it was claimed for him that his utterances were generally marked with good sense as well as loyalty to the Government. He never ceased to write and agitate for the separation of the Judicial and Executive functions of District Officers. It was as a successful criminal lawyer that he will be remembered not only in many districts of Bengal, but also in such distant stations as Karachi in Sindh.

MAHARAJA DURGA CHARAN LAHA, C. I. E.
AND THE HON'BLE JAY GOBIND LAHA, C. I. E.

THE Lahas, commonly spelt Laws, had their home at Chinsura and are of the Subarnabanik (literally gold-merchant) caste, which contains some of the wealthiest men of the Metropolis as well as the Dacca district. Like the Marwaris, their chief pursuit has been trade, though of late some of the richest of them have acquired large *zamindaris*.

Babu Pran Kissen Laha, the father of Durga Charan, Shyam Charan and Jay Gobind, was a self-made man, who from small beginnings rose to affluence. He was much liked by Babu Moti Lal Seal, and his business aptitude led to his becoming banian to several European firms, and after his demise his successors established the firm of Pran Kissen Laha & Co.

Durga Charan was a student of the old Hindu College, which he left when in the Second class, as his father wished to have him thoroughly trained in mercantile work. On the death of his father in 1853, when he was thirty years of age, he became practically the head of the firm and managed it with industry, honesty and perseverance. The result was a large increase of business and profits and he opened agencies in London and Manchester. As a *zamindar* and banian to several firms, he gave evidence of his versatile talents. He was the first native Port Commissioner of Calcutta, a Justice of the Peace, a Fellow of the Calcutta University, a Governor of the Mayo Hospital, and a Member of the Bengal Legislative Council in 1874 and of the Governor-General's Legislative Council in 1882. He was a Commissioner for the reduction of public debt in 1882, Sheriff in 1882, C. I. E. 1884, President of the British Indian Association in 1885, 1888 and 1895, Raja in 1887, re-appointed to the Governor-General's Legislative Council in 1888; Maharaja 1891, and exempted from personal attendance in Civil Courts in January 1892.

All the three brothers made their mark both as merchants and *zamindars* as well as public benefactors. Shyam Charan died, shortly after making a princely donation of Rs. 60,000 to Government for the new Eye Infirmary attached to the Medical College. He had held office as Honorary Magistrate and was a member of the District Board, 24-*Parganas*. He took a great interest in the Annual College Reunion, which he continued for years in his garden.

Babu Jay Gobind helped Durga Charan in managing their firm, and was made a Port Commissioner two or three times and a C. I. E. in 1899. He gave a large sum for the Scientific Laboratory attached to the Zoological Gardens at Alipur, over and above the general donations of the family.

Jay Gobind was a Member of the Viceregal Council in 1897 and 1898, Sheriff of Calcutta in 1895 and Municipal Commissioner for the last 25 years. He is an Honorary Magistrate and a visitor of the Presidency Jail, a Governor of the Mayo Hospital, a Member of the East India Railway Consultative Committee and of the British Indian Association, of which body he was one of the Vice-Presidents in 1900. Since August 1901 he has represented the Calcutta Corporation in the Bengal Legislative Council.

The three brothers have been famous for their liberality and public spirit. The Laha Scholarships were founded by them at a cost of half a lakh of rupees.

Advancing years having rendered Maharaja Durga Charan less able to attend to details of business, he has since been ably assisted by Babu Jay Gobind as well as Kumars Kristo Dass Laha and Rishikesh Laha and Chandi Charan Laha. The Maharaja is now 79 years of age, and Babu Jay Gobind Laha some 12 years less.

APPENDIX III.

JUDGES OF THE SUPREME COURT OF JUDICATURE, SINCE 1854.

Chief Justices.

The Hon'ble—

Sir Lawrence Peel, 1854-55.
Sir James W. Colvile, 1855—59.
Sir Arthur W. Buller, (offg.) 1855.
Sir Charles R. M. Jackson, (offg.) 1859.
Sir Barnes Peacock, 1859—62.

Puisne Judges.

The Hon'ble—

Sir J. W. Colvile, 1854-55.
Sir A. W. Buller, 1854—59.
Sir C. R. M. Jackson, 1855—62.
Sir Mordaunt L. Wells, 1859—62.

JUDGES OF THE SADAR DEWANI AND NIZAMAT ADALAT, SINCE 1854.

The Hon'ble—

A. Dick, 1854—56.
Sir R. Barlow, *Bart*, 1854—56.
A. J. M. Mills, 1854.
H. T. Raikes, 1854—62.
G. Plowden, 1854.
J. H. Patton, 1854—60.
J. Dunbar, 1854.
B. J. Colvin, 1854—59.
A. Sconce, 1856—59.
H. C. Metcalfe, 1856.
J. S. Torrens, 1856—60.
C. B. Trevor, 1856, 1859—62.
E. A. Samuells, 1856, 1859—61.
D. J. Money, 1856.
G. Loch, 1856, 1859—62.
H. V. Bayley, 1856, 1860—62.
C. Steer, 1860—62.
F. B. Kemp, 1861—62.
W. S. Seton-Karr, 1862.
Sir L. S. Jackson, C. I. E. 1862.

CHIEF JUSTICES AND PUISNE JUDGES OF THE HIGH COURT, FROM 1ST. JULY 1862.

CHIEF JUSTICES.

Barristers-at-law.

The Hon'ble—

Sir B. Peacock, 1862—70.
J. B. Norman, (offg.) 1864—65, 1870—71.
Sir R. Couch, 1870—75.
Sir A. G. Macpherson, (offg.) K. C. I. E., 1875.
Sir R. Garth, Q. C. 1875—86.
Sir W. C. Petheram, Q. C. 1886—96.
Sir F. H. Maclean, Q. C. K. C. I. E., 1896—

Members of the Covenanted Civil Service.

The Hon'ble—

C. B. Trevor, (offg.) 1865.
F. B. Kemp, (offg.) 1871.
Sir L. S. Jackson, C. I. E., (offg.) 1878

Pleader of the High Court.

The Hon'ble—

Sir Romesh Chandra Mitter, (offg.) 1882.

PUISNE JUDGES.

Barrister-at-law.

The Hon'ble—
Sir C. R. M. Jackson, 1862-63.
Sir M. L. Wells, 1862-63.
J. P. Norman, 1862—71.
Sir W. Morgan, 1862—66.
H. Mills Q. C. 1864.
A. T. T. Peterson, (offg.) 1864-65.
Sir J. B. Phear, 1864—76.
Sir A. G. Macpherson, K. C. I. E., 1864—77.
Sir W. Markby, K. C. I. E., 1866—78
Sir G. C. Paul, K. C. I. E., (offg.) 1870-71.
Sir C. Pontifex, K.C.I.E., 1872—82.
Sir H. S. Cunningham, K.C.I.E., 1877—88.
S. White, 1876—82.
Pitt-Kennedy (offg.) 1877.
Sir A. Wilson, K.C.I.E., 1878—92.
L. P. D. Broughton, (offg.) 1878—82.
J. Q. Pigot, 1882—96.
J. F. Norris, Q. C. 1882—95.
C. J. Wilkinson (offg.) 1883-84.
E. J. Trevelyan, 1885—98.
Sir W. F. Agnew (offg.) 1885-86.
C. H. Hill, 1889, 91, 92—.
Ameer Ali, C.I.E. 1890—
S. G. Sale, 1893—
Sir L H. Jenkins, 1896—99.
P. O'Kinealy, (offg.) 1898.
G. S. Henderson, (offg.) 1898.

Members of the Covenanted Civil Service.

The Hon'ble—
H. T. Raikes, 1862—64.
C. B. Trevor, 1862—67.
G. Loch, 1862—73.
H. V. Bayley, 1862—73.
C. Steer, 1862—65.
F. B. Kemp, 1862—78.
W. S. Seton-Karr, 1862-68.
Sir L. S. Jackson, C.I.E., 1862—80.
E. de Lautour, 1862.
Sir G. Campbell K.C.S.I., 1862—67.
E. P. Levinge, 1863—65.
A. A. Roberts (offg.) 1863.
E. Jackson, 1863—73.
R. J. Scott, 1864.
F. A. B. Glover, 1864—76.
Sir C. P. Hobhouse, *Bart*, 1864; 1867—71.
W. Ainslie, 1870—80.
E. G. Birch, 1873—79.
G. G. Morris, 1873—82.
W. F. McDonell V. C. 1874—86.
Sir H. T. Prinsep Kt., 1877—
H. B. Lawford (offg.) 1875, 1877.
L. R. Tottenham, 1878—93.
A. T. Maclean, 1878—85.
C. D. Field, 1880—86.
J. O'Kinealy, 1882—99.
Sir W. Macpherson, Kt., 1882—1900.
H. Beverley, 1884—97.
J. P. Grant (offg.) 1885-86.
G. E. Porter, (offg.) 1886.
R. F. Rampini, 1888—
H. W. Gordon, (offg.) 1888—1897.
J. F. Stevens, 1895—
C. A. Wilkins, 1897—1900.

Pleaders of the High Court.

The Hon'ble—
Shambhu Nath Pandit, 1863—67.
Dwarka Nath Mitter, 1867—74.
Anocool Chandra Mukerji, (offg.) 1870-71.
Sir Romesh Chandra Mitter, K.C.I.E. 1874—90.
Chandra Madhub Ghose, 1885—
Dr. Gooroo Das Banerji, 1888—

Subordinate Judge.

Mohendra Nath Bose, (offg.) 1882.

BOARD OF REVENUE, LOWER PROVINCES.

Members.

G. Plowden, 1854.
E. Currie 1854—55.
J. Dunbar, 1854—56.
Sir H. Ricketts, K.C.S.I., 1854—58
W. Dampier, 1855—60.
W. J. Allen, 1856, 58—65.
H. Stainforth, 1856, 57—62.
A. Grote, 1859, 60, 61—68.
H. D. H. Fergusson, 1862.
E. T. Trevor, 1862, 63—68.
G. F. Cockburn, 1865—66.
R. N. Shore, 1865.
V. H. Schalch, C.S.I., 1866, 67, 68, 69—77.
C. H. Campbell, 1868, 69.
Sir A. Money, K.C.M.G., C.B., 1868, 69-77.
C. T. Buckland, 1870, 77, 78—81.
H. L. Dampier, C. I. E., 1873, 74, 75, 77—84.
T. E. Ravenshaw, 1877.
Lord H. U. Browne, 1878.
R. L. Mangles, V. C. 1879, 81-82.
H. J. Reynolds, C. S. I., 1880, 81, 82, 83, 84—89.
H. A. Cockerell, C.S. I., 1882, 83—87.
F. M. Halliday, 1884, 86, 87, 88—91.

Secretaries.

C. H. Lushington, 1854.
A. Grote, 1854—57.
A. R. Young, 1854—57.
H. V. Bayley, 1855—56.
S. Wauchope, C. B., 1856.
C. S. Belli, 1856—57.
E. T. Trevor, 1856, 57—61.
Sir W. Grey, K. C. S. I., 1857—58.
E. H. Lushington, 1857—61
The Hon'ble Sir A. Eden, K. C. S. I., 1859, 60, 61-62.
Sir A. R. Thompson, K. C. S. I., C. I. E., 1859, 61.
H. L. Dampier, C. I. E., 1860, 61—63.
Sir W. J. Herschel, *Bart*, 1862.
J. P. Grant, 1863.
R. B. Chapman, C. S. I., 1863—67.
T. B. Lane, 1863—77.
Sir H. T. Prinsep, Kt. 1864.
R. L. Mangles, V. C., 1866, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71.
J. Monro, C. B., 1868, 69.
Sir H. L. Harrison, Kt., 1868, 71, 72, 78—80.
F. B. Peacock, C. S. I., 1870, 71, 72.
H. Beverley, 1870.
D. J. McNeile, 1870, 71, 72, 73, 74.

Members.

F. B. Peacock, C. S. I., 1884, 85, 88—90.
John Beames, 1887, 89.
Sir H. L. Harrison Kt., 1890, 91-92.
A. Smith, 1891.
Sir C. C. Stevens, K. C. S. I., 1892, 93—98.
W. Kemble, 1892.
D. R. Lyall, C. S. I., 1892, 93—96.
E. V. Westmacott, 1894.
W. H. Grimley, 1896—98.
G. Toynbee, 1896, 97—98.
W. B. Oldham, C. I. E., 1898.

Secretaries.

T. Walton, 1872.
H. S. Beadon, 1873.
J. Geoghegan, 1873, 74, 75.
H. J. Reynolds, C. S. I., 1874.
T. J. C. Grant, 1874.
J. F. K. Hewitt, 1874.
G. Toynbee, 1874-75.
W. H. Grimley, 1874, 75, 76, 77—79, 1883, 84.
Sir A. Mackenzie, K.C.S.I., 1875,76,77.
R. H. Wilson, 1877, 78, 79, 80.
J. F. Bradbury, 1878.
C. P. L. Macaulay, C. I. E., 1879-80.
E .E. Lowis, 1879.
P. Nolan, 1879, 1885.
W. D. Blyth, 1879.
A. Forbes, C. S. I., 1880, 81, 82—83.
H. J. S. Cotton, C .S. I., 1880, 81—88.
Sir C. C. Stevens, K. C. S. I., 1882.
C. E. Buckland, C. I. E., 1882, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87—91.
C. A. Samuells, 1885-86.
Krishna Gobind Gupta 1887, 88,89, 90-91.
L. P. Shirres, 1889, 93.
C. W. Bolton, C. S. I., 1889—90, 1891—94.
E. R. Henry, C. S. I., 1890, 91.
T. Inglis, 1891, 92—94.
J. A. Bourdillon, C .S .I., 1892.
M. Finucane, C.S.I., 1893, 94, 95, 96.
F. A. Slacke, 1893, 96-97.
Nanda Krishna Bose, 1894, 95.
E. H. C. Walsh, 1895, 96, 97.
C. R. Marriott, 1897-98.
E. W. Collin, 1895, 97, 98.
H. Luson, 1897.
E V. Levinge, 1898.

THE GOVERNMENT OF BENGAL.

Secretaries.

Sir W. Grey, K.C.S.I., 1854—57.
A. R. Young, 1857—60.
E. H. Lushington, 1859, 60, 61—63.
Sir A. Money K.C.M.G. C. B., 1860.
W. S. Seton-Karr, 1860-61.
The Hon'ble Sir A. Eden, K.C.S.I., 1862, 63—71.
F. R. Cockerell, 1863,64.
H. L. Dampier, C.I.E., 1867, 68—77.
Sir S. C. Bayley, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., 1865, 67, 68, 71, 77.
Sir A. R. Thompson, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., 1869. 70, 71, 72, 73—75.
Sir C. E. Bernard, K.C.S.I., 1871, 72, 73, 74, 75.
Sir A. Mackenzie, K.C.S.I., 1872, 73, 77, —82.
H. J. Reynolds, C.S.I., 1874, 75, 76, 77—84.
R. L. Mangles, V.C., 1875, 76, 77.
H. A. Cockerell, C.S.I., 1877, 78—82.
Sir D. M. Barbour, K.C.S.I., K.C.M.G., 1878, 79, 82.
Sir H. L. Harrison, Kt., 1879, 80.

Junior Secretaries.

C. T. Buckland, 1856—59.
Sir A. R. Thompson, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., 1859—61.
J. D. Gordon, C.S.I., 1861-62.
H. Bell, 1862, 63.
Sir S. C. Bayley, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., 1862, 63—66, 67.
J. Geoghegan, 1865, 66.
Sir H. L. Harrison, Kt., 1867—71.
Sir A. Mackenzie, K.C.S.I., 1868, 69, 70, 71—73.
Sir J. Westland, K.C.S.I., 1869.
T. Walton, 1872.
Sir J. W. Edgar, K.C.I.E., C. S. I., 1872, 73.
J. F. K. Hewitt, 1874.
H. J. S. Cotton, C.S.I., 1874, 75, 76-77.
C. E. Buckland C.I.E., 1875.
C. P. L. Macaulay, C.I.E., 1877.

Assistant Secretaries.

Thomas Jones, 1867—72.
W. H. Ryland, 1869, 70, 71.
R. Knight, 1873, 75.
H. J. S. Cotton, C.S.I., 1873, 75.

Under Secretaries.

W. G. Young, 1854.
W. S. Seton-Karr, 1854.
A. W. Russell, 1854—56.
H. Pratt, 1854-55.
G. G. Morris, 1855-56.
Lord, H. U. Browne, 1859-60.
H. Bell, 1860—62.
J. Monro, C. B 1861.
J. P. H. Ward, 1862.
J. Geoghegan, 1862-66.
H. Beverley, 1865, 67.
Sir A. Mackenzie, K.C.S.I., 1866—68.
P. D. Dickens, 1868, 69.
H. S. Beadon, 1869, 70, 71.
W. M. Souttar, 1870.
J. G. Charles, 1870.
R. H. Wilson, 1871, 72.
Sir T. J. C. Plowden, K.C.S.I., 1872, 73.
H. J. S. Cotton, C.S.I., 1873.
L. C. Abbott, 1873, 74.
J. Crawford, 1873, 74, 75, 76-77.
H. Luttman Johnson, 1873.
C. E. Buckland, C.I.E., 1874.
C. P. L. Macaulay, C.I.E., 1876, 77, 78, 79.
H. H. Risley, C.I.E., 1877-80.

Secretaries.

C. P. L. Macaulay, C.I.E., 1879, 80, 81, 82—90.
H. M. Kisch, 1881.
Sir A. P. MacDonnell, G.C.S.I., 1881, 82, 83, 84—86.
F. B. Peacock, C.S.I., 1882, 83—88.
Sir J. W. Edgar, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., 1884, 85, 86, 87, 88—92.
E. N. Baker, C.S.I., 1884.
H. H. Risley, C. I. E., 1885, 91, 92—98.
W. D. Blyth, 1886.
P. Nolan, 1886, 87—91.
R. H. Wilson, 1886-87.
W. C. Macpherson, 1887.
H. J. S. Cotton, C.S.I., 1888, 89, 90—96.
C. E. Buckland, C.I.E., 1889, 90, 91—96.
Sir C. C. Stevens, K.C.S.I., 1890.
W. Maude, 1892.
J. A. Bourdillon, C.S.I., 1892, 93, 94, 95.
M. Finucane, C.S.I., 1893, 96—98.
C. W. Bolton, C.S.I., 1894, 96—98.
C. E. A. W. Oldham, 1897.
D. J. Macpherson, C.I.E., 1898.

Assistant Secretaries.

G. Easton, 1875.
C. E. Buckland, C.I.E., 1876-77.
J. A. Bourdillon, C.S.I., 1876.
H. H. Risley, C.I.E., 1876, 77.
H. Lee, 1876.
C. P. L. Macaulay, C.I.E., 1877.
Rai Rajendra Nath Mitra, Bahadur, 1877—82.
Rai Hem Chunder Ker, Bahadur, 1880.
Rai Bankim Chunder Chatterji, Bahadur, C.I.E., 1881.
W. D. Blyth, 1882.

Under Secretaries.

H. M. Kisch, 1878, 79, 80—83.
C. W. Bolton, C.S.I., 1879—84.
C. S. Bayley, 1881, 82, 83.
W. D. Blyth, 1881, 82—86.
M. Finucane, C.S.I., 1882.
E. N. Baker, C. S. I., 1882, 83, 84, 85—87.
A. E. Staley, 1884, 85.
G. K. Lyon, 1885, 86, 87.
F. E. Pargiter, 1885.
W. C. Macpherson, 1885—88.
H. A. D. Phillips, 1886, 87.
H. W. C. Carnduff, 1887, 88—90.
L. P. Shirres, 1887, 88-89.
C. Cuthbertson, 1888, 89, 90.
R. W. Carlyle, 1888, 89, 90.
A. Earle, 1889.
W. Maude, 1888, 89, 90—92.
F. J. Monahan, 1889.
P. C. Lyon, 1890.
T. W. Richardson, 1890, 92, 93—95.
H. C. Streatfeild, 1890—93.
H. Luson, 1890, '91-92.
J. Windsor, 1891.
H. J. McIntosh, 1892-93.

Secretaries.

Under Secretaries.

N. Bonham-Carter, 1893, 94—96.
E. V. Levinge, 1893—96.
C. H. Bompas, 1893.
J. G. Cumming, 1894.
J. Lang. 1894, 95.
J. H. Temple, 1894, 95.
W. Egerton, 1895—97.
C. E. A. W. Oldham, 1895—98.
B. Foley, 1896—98.
E. M. Konstam, 1896—98.

APPENDIX IV.

THE COUNCIL OF THE LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR OF BENGAL FOR THE PURPOSE OF MAKING LAWS AND REGULATIONS.

(Styled "Hon'ble" from 1872.)

T. H. Cowie, Advocate-General, 1862, 64, 65, 68, 70.
A. R. Young, C.S., 1862.
H. D. H. Fergusson, C.S., 1862.
E. H. Lushington, C.S., 1862.
Babu Rama Persad Ray, 1862.
Maulvi Abdul Latif, Khan Bahadur, 1862, 70, 73.
J. N. Bullen, 1862.
W. Maitland, 1862.
A. T. T. Peterson, 1862, 64, 65.
Raja Pertab Chand Sing, 1862.
Babu Prosonno Kumar Tagore, C.S.I., 1862, 66.
W. Moran, 1862.
W. S. Seton-Karr, C.S., 1862.
W. J. Allen, C.S., 1862.

The Hon'ble (Sir) A. Eden, C. S., K.C.S.I., 1862, 64, 66, 68, and 71.
Babu Ram Gopal Ghose, 1862.
C. H. Brown, 1863.
F. Jennings, 1863, 77.
J. Graham, Acting Advocate-General, 1863, 65, 70, 71.
(Sir) C. P. Hobhouse, *Bart*, C.S., 1863.
F. R. Cockerell, C.S., 1863, 65, 67.
J. B. Barry, 1863.
Syed Azumuddin Hossein, Khan Bahadur, 1864.
Munshi (Nawab) Amir Ali, Khan Bahadur, 1864.
Raja Sutyo Shurn Ghosal, Bahadur, 1864.
E. T. Trevor, C.S., 1864, 67.
Babu (Raja) Digambar Mitter, 1864, 70, 73.
E. D. Kilburn, 1864.
F. A. Goodenough, 1865.
J. B. Knight, C.I.E., 1865, 78.
V. H. Schalch, C.S., C.S.I., 1865, 67, 70, 72, 74, 76.
J. Skinner, 1866.
(Sir) H. T. Prinsep, C.S., Kt., 1866, 77.
Kumar (Raja) Harendra Krishna, Rai Bahadur, 1866.
(Nawab Sir) Khaja Abdul Ghani, K.C.S.I., 1866.
Babu (Raja) Rama Nath Tagore, C.S.I., 1866.
(Sir) S. S. Hogg, C.S., Kt., 1867, 74, 76.
(Sir) S. C. Bayley, C.S., K.C.S.I., 1867, 71, 77.
J. R. Bullen Smith, 1867.
H. L. Dampier, C.S., C.I.E., 1867, 71, 73, 75, 79, 81, 83.
H. Knowles, 1867.
Babu Piari Chand Mittra, 1867.
T. Alcock, 1867.
(Sir) A. R. Thompson, C.S., K.C.S.I., C.I.E., 1867, 70, 74.
H. H. Sutherland, 1867.
Kumar Satyanund Ghosal, 1867.
Babu Issur Chandra Ghosal, 1868.
Babu Chandra Mohan Chatterji, 1868.
(Sir) A. Money, C.S., K.C.M.G., C.B., 1869.
T. M. Robinson, 1870, 72.
F. F. Wyman, 1870, 72.
(Maharaja Sir) Jotendra Mohun Tagore, Bahadur, K.C.S.I., 1870, 72.
Babu Unocool Chunder Mookerjee, 1870.
T. H. Wordie, 1870.
(Sir) C. E. Bernard, C.S., K.C.S.I., 1871, 73.
B. D. Colvin, 1871, 73.

F. L. Beaufort, C.S., 1872.
(Sir) G. C. Paul, Advocate-General, 1872, 75, 76, 79, 82, 83, 85, 87, 89, 93, 95, & 97.
Lord Ulick Browne, C.S., 1872.
T. W. Brookes, 1874, 76, 81.
Babu (Maharaja) Durga Churn Law, C.I.E., 1874.
Babu Jagadanund Mookerjee, 1874.
F. G. Eldridge, 1874.
Rai Bahadur Kristo Das Pal, C.I.E., 1875, 76, 78, 81.
Nawab Syed Ashgar Ali Diler Jung, C.S.I., 1875.
H. J. Reynolds, C.S., C.S.I., 1875 77, 81, 83, 85, 87, 89.
H. Bell, C.S., 1875.
Rai Ram Sunker Sen Bahadur, 1876.
Maulvi (Nawab) Mir Mahomed Ali, 1876.
Rai Issur Chunder Mitter Bahadur, 1876.
W. Spink, 1876.
H. F. Brown, 1876.
T. E. Ravenshaw, C.S., 1877.
Raja Pramatha Nath Roy Bahadur of Dighapatia, 1877.
(Sir) A. Mackenzie, C.S., K.C.S.I., 1877, 79.
Babu Mohini Mohan Ray, 1878.
Ameer Ali, C.I.E., 1878, 81.
J. O'Kinealy, C.S., 1878, 80.
C. T. Buckland, C.S., 1878.
A. B. Inglis, 1878.
H. A. Cockerell, C.S., C.S.I., 1878, 80, 82.
Maulvi (Nawab) Syed Amir Hossein, 1878, 95, 97.
J. D. Bell, Acting Advocate-General, 1879.
C. D. Field, C.S., L.L.D., 1879.
Babu (Raja) Peari Mohun Mookerjee, C.S.I., 1879.
Maharaja Sir Lachmesvar Sing Bahadur K.C.I.E., of Durbhunga, 1880, 93, 95, 97.
F. Prestage, 1880.
T. T. Allen, C.S., 1881, 83, 86, 88, 90, 92.
(Sir) D. M. Barbour, C.S., K.C.S.I., K.C.M.G., 1882.
Babu Bhudeb Mookerjee, C.I.E., 1882.
J. E. Caithness, 1882.
Maulvi Mohamed Yusuf, Khan Bahadur, 1882, 95.
A. Phillips, Acting Advocate-General, 1882, 84.
Col. S. T. Trevor, R.E. 1882, 84.
C. P. L. Macaulay, C.S., C.I.E., 1882, 84, 86, 88.
Harbuns Sahai, 1882.

Babu Chunder Madhub Ghose, 1885.
W. L. Alexander, 1883.
Kumar Boikuntonath De, 1883.
H. Beverley, C.S., 1884.
A. B. Miller, 1884.
Maulvi Abdul Jubbur, Khan Bahadur, 1884, 86, 93.
Sir A. P. Mac Donnell, C S., G. C. S. I., 1884.
Rai Joy Prokash Lall, Bahadur, 1884.
C. B. Garrett, C.S., 1884.
G. Irving, 1884, 86, 96.
Lalla (Raja) Ban Behari Kapur, 1885.
D. Cruickshank, 1885.
Anundo Mohun Bose, 1885, 95.
Sir H. L. Harrison, C. S. Kt., 1886, 88, 90.
Babu Kali Nath Mitter, C.I.E., 1886.
Sir A. W. Croft, K. C. I. E., 1887, 89, 91.
Dr. Mahendra Lal Sarcar, C. I. E., 1887, 89, 91, 93.
C. H. Moore, 1887, 89.
Dr. Gooroo Dass Banerji, 1887.
H. Pratt, 1888.
Shahzada Mahomed Furrokh Shah, 1888, 90.
Dr. Rash Behary Ghose, 1888, 90.
Raja Rameshwar Sing Bahadur, 1888.
P. Nolan, C.S., 1889.
F. B. Peacock, C. S., C. S. I., 1889.
H. J. S. Cotton, C. S., C. S. I., 1890, 92, 94.
A. H. Wallis, 1890, 92, 96.
Maharaja Sir Harendra Kishore Sing Bahadur, K. C. I. E., 1891.
J. T. Woodroffe, Acting Advocate-General, 1892.
Babu Gonesh Chunder Chunder, 1892.
H. H. Risley, C. S., C. I. E., 1892, 95, 97.
(Sir) J. Lambert, K. C. I. E., 1892, 94.
(Sir) P. Playfair, Kt., C. I. E., 1892, 93.
H. Lee, C. S., 1892.
Maulvi Syed Fazl Imam Khan Bahadur, 1892.
Maharaja (Sir) Ravaneshur Prosad Sing Bahadur of Gidhour, 1893, 95.
D. R. Lyall, C. S., C. S. I., 1893, 95.
J. A. Bourdillon, C. S., C. S. I., 1893, 95.
Babu Surendra Nath Banerjee, 1893, 95, 97.
Lal Mohan Ghose, 1893.
Maulvi Serajul Islam, Khan Bahadur, 1893.
W. C. Bonnerjee, 1893.

J. G. Womack, 1893, 95.
F. R. S. Collier, C. S., 1893.
C. E. Buckland, C. S., C. I. E., 1893, 95.
Maharaja Jagadindra Nath Roy of Natore, 1894, 97.
J. N. Stuart, 1894.
C. A. Wilkins, C. S., 1894, 95, 96.
R. C. Dutt, C. S., C. I. E., 1895.
T. D. Beighton, C. S., 1895.
C. E. Smyth, 1895.
Sir Griffith Evans, K. C. I. E., Acting Advocate-General, 1895.
Rai Durga Gati Banerjea Bahadur, C. I. E., 1895, 97.
Rai Eshan Chandra Mittra, Bahadur, 1895.
Babu Guru Prasad Sen, 1895.
W. B. Gladstone, 1896.
M. Finucane, C. S., C. S. I., 1896, 98.
W. B. Gladstone, 1896.
Babu Madhu Suduan Das, 1896.
C. W. Bolton, C. S., C. S I., 1896.
W. H. Grimley, C. S., 1896, 98.
J. Pratt, C. S., 1896, 97.
J. G. H. Glass, C. I. E., 1896.
Sahibzada Mahomed Bakhtyar Shah, C. I. E., 1897.
M. C. Turner, 1897.
Babu Norendra Nath Sen, 1897.
Babu Saligram Singh, 1897.
Babu Kali Charan Banerjee, 1897.
G. Toynbee, C. S., 1897.
Babu Jatra Mohan Sen, 1898.
W. B. Oldham, C. S., C. I. E., 1898.
R. B. Buckley, 1898.
T. W. Spink, 1898.

APPENDIX V.

GLOSSARY.

Abkar	...	A manufacturer of spirituous liquors.
Amin	...	A revenue surveyor ; a land measurer.
Amla	...	Ministerial officers.
Atta	...	A coarse kind of flour.
Bahadur	...	A title of honour.
Barkandaz	...	*Lit.* lightning thrower, a matchlock man : a guard.
Basti	...	An aggregate of huts : a locality inhabited by the lower order of people.
Biali	...	A rice crop in Orissa, sown about May or June, and reaped in October.
Bigha	...	A measure of land, 1600 sq. yds. (in Bengal).
Bil	...	A swamp.
Chakaran	...	Service lands, *i. e.* land given to *Chaukidars* in lieu of wages.
Chaklidar	...	Governor of a division of a country.
Char	...	Alluviated land.
Charak Puja	...	The Hindu swinging festival, which takes place in April.
Chaukidar	...	A village watchman.
Cheena	...	An inferior sort of millet.
Chittack	...	One-sixteenth of a *seer* : two ounces.
Chowdri	...	Headman.
Dacoit	...	A robber.
Dafadar	...	A commandant, or head, of a number of persons.
Dak	...	Post.
Dandpat	...	A fiscal division ; prostration, making obeisance.
Darbar	...	A court : a ceremonial assembly for State purposes.
Daroga	...	The head officer of a Police, customs, or excise station.
Dasturi	...	A customary allowance ; a commission.
Firman	...	A mandate : an order.
Ghara	...	An earthen water-vessel.
Ghat	...	A landing place ; a ferry ; a mountain pass.
Ghi	...	Clarified butter.
Gola	...	A store-house.
Gumashta	...	An agent.
Guru	...	A teacher ; a spiritual guide.

Handia	...	Fermented liquor produced from rice.
Havildar	...	One holding any office of trust: a subordinate officer.
Ilakadar	...	Holder of a village, estate, or other landed property.
Inamdar	...	Holder of a rent-free grant of land.
Jagir	...	An assignment of land.
Jagirdar	...	The holder of a jagir.
Jama	...	Rent.
Jamadar	...	A petty officer ; a head of the messengers &c.
Jot	...	A tenure or holding.
Kabulyat	...	A written agreement.
Kanungo	...	A subordinate revenue officer.
Karkach	...	Salt made by solar evaporation.
Karpardaz	...	An agent or Manager.
Khal	...	A creek.
Kharif	...	The autumn harvest.
Khas	...	*Lit.* private. *Khas mahals*, lands retained in the lands of Government.
Khidmatgar	..	A table attendant.
Kila	...	A fort.
Lathi	...	A club.
Lathial	...	A professional clubman.
Madrasa	...	A College, a place of teaching.
Mahajan	...	*Lit.*, great man : a merchant or banker.
Mahal	...	Estate.
Maidan	...	A field, or plain.
Malik	...	An owner.
Mamlatdari	...	The jurisdiction of a subordinate revenue officer.
Mandal	...	Village headman.
Manji	...	Headman (among the Sonthals).
Masjid	...	A mosque.
Malikdar	...	Owner or holder of rent-free land.
Mufassal	...	The interior of a district, as distinct from the *Sadar* or Headquarters.
Muharrir	...	A vernacular clerk.
Mukhtar	...	An agent, attorney.
Mulla	...	A Muhammadan priest.
Munjeet	...	A root used for colouring ; madder.
Munsif	...	A native Civil Judge of the lowest rank.
Nala	...	An aqueduct.
Nijabad	...	Cultivated by the owner himself.

Nij jote	...	A holding cultivated by the tenant himself.
Pachwai	...	An intoxicating drink prepared from the fermentation of rice or other grain steeped in water.
Paik	...	A messenger, footman, armed servant.
Panchayat	...	A body of arbitrators.
Pandit	...	A Sanskrit scholar ; a learned man ; a teacher.
Pargana	...	A tract of country comprising a number of villages.
Parganait	...	Superintendent of a Pargana.
Parwana	...	An official order in writing.
Pathsala	...	A native village school.
Patni	...	A permanent farm of the management and rent collection of a part of a zamindari.
Patta	...	A written lease.
Patwari	...	A village registrar or accountant between zamindar and raiyat.
Rabi	...	The spring harvest.
Raiyat	...	A tenant.
Sadar	...	Chief ; head quarters.
Sadhu	...	A pious man ; a Hindu ascetic.
Sarai	...	A rest-house.
Sarbarahkar	...	Manager.
Sardar	...	A chief ; a leader.
Sawar	...	A horseman.
Seer	...	2 lbs. Avoirdupois, nearly.
Sir	...	Land in the immediate cultivation of the proprietor.
Stupa	...	A heap.
Subadar	...	Ruler of a province ; a military title of rank.
Sundri	...	A kind of tree, growing in the Sundarbans, from which the latter derive their name.
Tahsildar	...	A native collector of revenue.
Taluk	...	A kind of estate or subordinate tenure.
Tasildar	...	Proprietor of a taluk.
Tarai	...	Low moist land : the strip along the foot of the Himalayas.
Thakur	...	An idol ; a subordinate chief under a Raja.
Thana	...	A Police station.
Zamindar	...	A landed proprietor.
Zanana	...	The female apartments, or the females of a family.
Zilla	...	A district.
Ziraat	...	Cultivation, agriculture.

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