GREAT INDIAN PENINSULA RAILWAY COMPANY.

REPORT

OF THE PROCEEDINGS

AT THE

Fifty-sixth Annual Meeting of Proprietors,

HELD AT THE

CITY TERMINUS HOTEL, CANNON STREET, LONDON,

Friday, 7th December, 1877.

COL. JAMES HOLLAND, IN THE CHAIR.

[PRINTED FOR CIRCULATION AMONGST THE SHAREHOLDERS, IN ACCORDANCE WITH A WISH EXPRESSED AT THE MEETING.]

LONDON:
PRINTED FOR THE COMPANY.
1877.

GREAT INDIAN PENINSULA RAILWAY COMPANY.

At the Fifty-sixth Half-yearly General Meeting of Proprietors, held at the City Terminus Hotel, Cannon Street, London, on Friday, 7th December, 1877.

Colonel J. Holland, Chairman of the Company, in the Chair.

The Advertisement convening the Meeting was read.

The Company's Seal was affixed to the Register of Proprietors.

The Directors' Report having been taken as read,

It was moved by the Chairman, *seconded by* Lestock R. Reid, Esq., and

Resolved,—"That the Report of the Directors, together with the Accounts now submitted, be received and adopted."

It was moved by the Chairman, *seconded by* S. S. Dickinson, Esq., and

Resolved,—"That a Dividend of one per cent. upon the Capital Stock, and upon the amounts called up on Shares, be, and is hereby declared, out of surplus profit, to be paid to the holders of Capital Stock and Shares now registered in the books of the Company, in addition to the guaranteed interest of £2. 10s. per cent. for the current half-year."

It was moved by the Chairman, *seconded by* A. H. Campbell, Esq., and

Resolved,—

(1.) "That the Directors be, and they are hereby authorised to borrow (if they shall see fit) on mortgage Debentures or otherwise the sums of £268,800 and £300,000, making together

£568,800; such sums respectively to be borrowed upon such security, in such manner, at such prices, and upon such terms, as shall be agreed between the Directors and the Government."

(2.) "That the Directors are hereby authorised to provide (if they shall think fit so to do) for the payment off of the principal monies secured by any terminable Debentures or Debenture Bonds, when the same principal monies shall become due and payable, or (as the case may be) for the reimbursement to the Government of monies which the Government may have provided for such payment, by the further issue of Ordinary Shares or Stock of the Company to such amount, upon such terms, and in such manner, as shall be agreed or shall have been agreed between the Directors *and the Government; and for this purpose to enter into any* contract or contracts with the Government."

It was moved by WILLIAM MCKEWAN, Esq., *seconded by* SAMUEL J. WILDE, Esq., and

RESOLVED,—"That this Meeting having considered the letter addressed by Sir Andrew Clarke to Mr. Blake, in which the truthfulness and *bona fides* of Colonel Holland, the Chairman of this Company, are attacked in language unbecoming an officer of the Government, desire to express their unabated confidence in their Chairman, and their regret that the language referred to should have been used."

J. HOLLAND, *Chairman.*

It was moved by SHEPHERD WM. HALE, Esq., *seconded by* CHRISTIAN H. K. FORT, Esq., and

RESOLVED,—"That the best thanks of the Meeting are due, and are hereby tendered to the Chairman and Directors for their attention to the interests of the Company."

THOS. R. WATT, *Managing Director.*

GREAT INDIAN PENINSULA RAILWAY COMPANY.

Report of Proceedings.

THE FIFTY-SIXTH HALF-YEARLY GENERAL MEETING OF THE PROPRIETORS WAS HELD AT THE CITY TERMINUS HOTEL, CANNON STREET, LONDON, ON FRIDAY, DEC. 7TH, 1877.

COLONEL HOLLAND IN THE CHAIR.

The seal of the Company having been affixed to the register of Shareholders,

The Managing Director (Thos. R. Watt, Esq.) read the notice convening the Meeting, and the Report was taken as read.

The CHAIRMAN:—Gentlemen, in reviewing the work of the railway for the last six months, it has been a matter of very great satisfaction to your Directors, and I have no doubt will be to yourselves, that we have been able to do so much towards the mitigation of the awful famine that has afflicted the southern provinces of India, by the aid of our railway. (Hear, hear.) It will also, I am sure, be a matter of some satisfaction that we have been able to give this efficient aid without sacrificing your interests; and that, although we have carried vast quantities of food grain to the southern provinces at the lowest rates, and at rates much lower than they were only a few months ago, yet that we have made what I may call a fair and reasonable profit for the Shareholders. (Hear, hear.) Relief of famine.

Gentlemen, you will observe in examining the figures appended to the return, the vast quantities of produce we have carried, but you will see that it has been mainly in food grain for those provinces. You will also observe what is a very satisfactory item in our returns, that we have carried a very fair addition to our usual number of passengers. I am glad to say that, in every half-year for some time past, that has been going on steadily increasing; and we have every reason to believe that it will continue to increase. No doubt, the famine that has lately occurred will, to some extent, for a time check the prosperity of Increase of passenger traffic.

some portion of those who are in the habit of frequenting our railway; but that will be only a passing event. We hope that the evil effects of the famine will soon pass over, and our prosperity remain unchecked. (Hear, hear.)

ork done engines.

Gentlemen, as an instance of the work done by the railway during the half-year under review, we have stated in our report that the mileage has increased to nearly 4,500,000 miles. Those large figures of themselves do not convey, perhaps, any very definite idea of the work done, but I may state that on analysing them it would appear that every goods and passenger engine on our line has, during the half-year, traversed on an average 15,000 miles, or at the rate of 30,000 miles per annum, a rate far exceeding anything known in the history of railways, and about 50 per cent. beyond the average rate of mileage prevailing throughout Great Britain. That I think will give you an idea of the amount of work that has been done. This enormous

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amount of work could not have been done without very great strain upon our resources both of men and engines Our staff were for a long time, I may say night and day, upon our engines, and our engines have suffered because we had not sufficient to do the work as thoroughly as we could have wished. The strain upon our engine staff no doubt caused some slight breaches of discipline. Upon more than one occasion, I am sorry to say, a train has been known to run past a danger signal with guard, driver, and every one upon it fast asleep. It is marvellous that so little damage has been done. It has been our duty to note severely when any case of the kind has occurred, but we must admit that much commiseration at any rate is to be felt for men subject to such a frightful strain in an Indian climate. (Hear, hear.)

The only accidents to life or limb during the half-year have been among our own staff. Not a single member of the public has suffered. (Hear, hear.) We have also incurred some loss

'agon axles.

by the occasional breakage of weak axles, some under our own wagons, and some under the wagons of other Companies which we hired. I have before this mentioned on different occasions that our wagon stock was originally constructed at a time when cotton was the great staple commodity carried in bulk—that is, loose cotton; and consequently our wagons, which were constructed to carry a large quantity, did not require powerful axles. They were made merely for the purpose of light cargoes of loose cotton. We have been fast replacing these axles with more substantial ones. We should have replaced them much faster than we have done, if we had been in possession of our long expected workshops. But our

ocomotive orkshops.

locomotive department, like every department on the line, has been worked up to its extreme point during the past half-year.

These workshops, I am glad to say, are now all but finished. They are receiving the machinery which we are sending out to India for them; so that in another half-year we shall not have that excuse to plead for any shortcomings on our railway.

The price of grain in the south of India, at Poona and Sholapoor, two of the capital towns, in the month of January last, had risen to about 20 lbs. for a rupee, the normal rate being about three times that amount; that is, from 50 lbs. to 60 lbs. for the rupee. At the same time, the rate for grain in Cawnpore in the north-east and Nagpoor more to the east was from 60 lbs. to 70 lbs. for the rupee. This, as you may easily imagine, caused a great influx towards the famine districts of food grain, and, at the same time, large amounts of wheat, linseed, cotton, and other goods were coming down from the Punjaub from the north-west and the north-east for export to England. The accumulation of articles, both for the famine districts and for export, was so great that it was far beyond the resources of our railway, strained, as I have already pointed out, to the very utmost in carrying goods to the south. We are informed that on the 30th June last, the date up to which our report is made, there were some 400,000 tons of linseed, grain, cotton, and other goods waiting for transport, to the very great loss and detriment of the mercantile community, as can easily be understood. The mercantile community have naturally felt themselves much injured. They have remonstrated in very strong terms as to the arbitrary interference of Government in compelling the railway to send certain fixed quantities to the south, whilst their goods were altogether neglected. As I should be sorry either to overstate or to understate the case, as put by the Chamber of Commerce, I have here an extract from one of the Bombay newspapers, the *Bombay Gazette*, a very able paper, in which there is a summary of the complaints of the Chamber of Commerce, which I should like to read to you.

Grain traffic

Complaints by Bombay Chamber of Commerce

"The Chamber of Commerce admits that the Government "would have been justified in claiming a preference for famine "traffic, but this is a very different thing from decreeing that "so many hundred tons of grain a day, equal to the utmost "carrying capacity of the railway, should be conveyed into the "Deccan and Southern India, and that all other traffic in grain "should be entirely stopped. It is not as if there had been any "scarcity of grain in the country, or any fear that there might "not be enough forthcoming to feed both the famine traffic and "the export trade. There has never been any scarcity of grain "in India, and if the Government had only let the railway "authorities alone, who were naturally anxious to carry as much "traffic as they possibly could, the trade would have regulated "itself to a nicety. There was no fear that all the grain would

"leave the country, so long as the prices in the famine-districts
"were higher than those to be obtained in the English market,
"and if they fell below the English average, then it might be
"concluded that the famine had ceased to exist. The same
"argument affects supplies to different stations, which would
"have flowed and ebbed with perfect regularity in accordance
"with those natural laws of supply and demand which figure so
"prominently in all the State papers of the Government of India.
"But when the Government took upon itself to determine that so
"many tons a day should be sent to this station and so many to that,
"it at once threw out of gear the delicate machinery of mercantile
"operations. Not only the general goods, but the passenger
"traffic of the South Eastern Line of the Great Indian Peninsula
"Railway was completely disorganised by the strain put on the
"railway authorities to carry grain beyond Poonah; and if it
"be the case, as is alleged, that the line could have taken more
"down traffic, it certainly could not have done so without
"destroying altogether the up traffic to Bombay."

Gentlemen, I have read this in order to give you the views of the Chamber of Commerce. At the same time a certain amount of blame was thrown upon our officers by the Chamber for not taking upon themselves to disregard the orders of the Government, and to act upon their own judgment as to what was best. I should like to read to you in a very few lines, the explanation which our Agent, Mr. Barnett, gives upon that subject, which, I trust, will be as satisfactory to you, and as much in accordance with your views, as it is with those of your Directors. Mr. Barnett says: "I felt that in a matter of
"so serious a nature as famine, no question of authority should
"arise, and that it was my duty, and would be the desire of the
"Directors, that the railway should assist the Government in
"such a crisis to carry out its views with all the means at the
"Company's command, as far as might be done without any
"sacrifice of the interests of the Shareholders." (Hear, hear.) Gentlemen, I think you will agree that Mr. Barnett, irrespective altogether of what our legal powers may be, was bound to act in the way he did, for there was an awful calamity impending. (Hear, hear.) If there was any one man living to whom the eyes I may say, not perhaps of the world, but certainly of Great Britain, were turned in this calamity, it was Sir Richard Temple, who had had large experience in the relief of famines, and in whom, not only the Government of India but the Government of England, trusted that everything that could be done would be done, so that no human life should be sacrificed that could possibly be saved. (Hear, hear). Under these circumstances, I am sure our Agent was not only fully justified, but would have acted wrongly if he had in any way

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interfered with the entire discretion of the Government. Whether that discretion was sound may be questioned—the Chamber of Commerce and the Bombay press put it very strongly—but Sir Richard Temple did what he thought was the best for the occasion, and our railway authorities did their very utmost to second his views. (Hear, hear.)

Gentlemen, the Chamber of Commerce are a highly intelligent body, though they are rather fond of finding fault with us. Of course, we do not think they always have just reason. Notwithstanding the heavy sacrifices we have made of late in the reduction of rates, they still quarrel with the rates which we have fixed for the carriage of grain. Upon that point, I should like to refer to a few words which I made use of last June, when we had the pleasure of meeting you here; because they apply entirely to the case now. I stated then—"With regard to the "carriage rate, they found that in England the rate varied "according to distance, but a penny and a fraction was about "the average rate per ton per mile for the carriage of grain in "England. The Great Indian Peninsula Company carried grain "of all kinds for a very little over a halfpenny a ton, as nearly "as possible half the English rate. They would continue to do "this as long as they found it profitable to do so; but no longer. "The East Indian Railway—their great competitor in India—"carried grain at a trifle less than they,—almost exactly a "halfpenny,—whereas theirs was 1-20th over that sum; but "the East Indian, besides being favoured by nature in some "respects, was favoured greatly by being able to get coal at "an average price of a little over 4s. per ton, while the Great "Indian Peninsula had to pay 30s. If they could get theirs at "the East Indian price, they could carry grain, and make the "same profit as they now made, at lower rates than those of "the East Indian." Grain rates.

That is sufficient for me to read with regard to this particular item. But our Accountant, Mr. Berry, a gentleman of great intelligence and industry, has compiled a very useful paper which bears upon this subject. It has just been published in the *Railway Times*.* In it, he reduces the traffic receipts and working expenses to a common standard of £1, showing also the proportions due to coaching and goods traffic respectively. This comparison is carried on between the leading Indian and the English railways. It is a very instructive document. But the particular item to which I wish to refer, as bearing out what I have stated with regard to the cost of coal, is this. That of 6s. 10d. in the pound, which their working expenses for the year 1876 amounted to, their charge for coal was 3d. in that pound, whilst ours during the same half-year was 1s. 10¼d. Gentlemen, you can easily imagine, under Tables of comparison

* 1st Dec.

these circumstances, that it is a matter of utter impossibility, irrespective of other causes, that we can carry goods at a profit at as low a rate as the East Indian Railway Company, although we approach very nearly to it. (Hear, hear.)

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I am glad to be able to say with regard to cotton, which has fallen off considerably of late among our articles of export, the cultivation is increasing. The last report is that 17,000 acres of fresh ground in the districts which supply, I may say, the Great Indian Peninsula Railway with cotton, have been brought under cultivation, and the crops are reported to be exceedingly promising. (Hear, hear.) The price current also for cotton at Bombay was considerably higher a few weeks since, than it was a year ago.

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I have mentioned already the strain put upon our railway staff; and I think, speaking of accidents, I ought to mention (and it is highly to the credit of our able Chief Engineer, Mr. Wilson Bell, and his staff) that not one single accident of those which occurred could be attributed in any way to defects in the permanent way. (Hear, hear.) At the same time, our engineering staff have not only had to look after the permanent way, but they have removed about 100,000 cubic yards of rock and earth, overlooking the Ghât incline—"flattening the slope," as it is technically called. There was rock which every now and then fell from the cliffs above our railway. That work is still going on; and in the present half-year a good deal more will be done, so that I trust that your line will be made perfectly safe for the future.

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Amongst other circumstances that I have already mentioned, the workshops have been carried on very effectively. Numerous additional crossing stations, and telegraph and signalling stations, have been erected, in order to make the line safe. There have been great difficulties which our Engineers have had to meet, as you might expect in a time of famine, from want of water for the engines. Water was exceedingly scarce; and a great quantity of piping had to be put down, and a considerable expense incurred.

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Amongst the items of expenditure there is a very much larger sum than usual put down for compensation. That item for compensation partially arises from goods burnt in transit from sparks from the engines, the Indian coal of which we use now a large quantity giving out a much greater quantity of sparks than the English coal. But the chief cause for the compensation was the plundering of the grain trains whilst in slow movement, or when halting for the night, by the starving population. You will not be surprised at that. It was not only single individuals, but sometimes gangs of men would pounce down upon our grain wagons, and carry

off as much as they possibly could. It was not confined entirely to them, for in a rather amusing anonymous letter, which our Agent received, signed "A Poor Beggar," it is put very tersely—that it was a combination of station-masters, porters, hamals, signallers, police, and gatemen, to steal. There is a certain amount of truth in that, inasmuch as it was found at one station that there was such a combination. The individuals have been detected and severely punished. A little of that will go on, I am sorry to say, in every railway; and I fear also the police have not been quite as efficient as they might have been. I think the Government might have done more to have ensured the safety of the line; but, under all the circumstances, you will not be surprised that those thefts occurred to an amount which no exertions on our part could have prevented. Robberies.

Gentlemen, I have now to call your attention to a short† correspondence, some copies of which I have had printed to place at the disposal of such of the Shareholders as care to read it. It seems that on a report of my address to you of last June reaching India, Sir Andrew Clarke, the officer at the head of the Public Works Department of the Government, addressed to my colleague, Mr. Blake, with whom he had some acquaintance, a letter, which he also caused to be inserted in *Herapath's Journal*, commenting in very offensive terms upon some parts of my statement, which he declared to be malicious in intention, and false in fact. Sir Andrew Clarke's language so completely placed him beyond the limit of intercourse as understood among gentlemen that I should have treated his letter with silent contempt—(applause)—but for the fact of his official connection with the Indian railways, which made it incumbent upon me to place on record in his own office the proofs that I had in no way exceeded the truth in my comments. (Hear, hear.) In order that I might not allow any personal feeling to influence me, and to insure accuracy, I asked my friend Mr. Watt to be so good as to supply me with a *précis* of the facts bearing upon the case, as extracted from the records in his office. That document, compiled with that thoroughness which marks all our Managing Director's work—(applause)—I sent to Sir Andrew Clarke. Sir Andrew Clarke, however, has thought it not unbecoming, with those proofs before him, to reiterate his charge, and misunderstanding probably the moderation of my language, has apparently made the ludicrous mistake of supposing that my sending him the statement was to deprecate his anger, and he informs me that if I can yet offer him a satisfactory explanation, he is willing to recall what he has written. Gentlemen, I need not say that I hold myself responsible to you, and to you alone, for any remarks which I may make in this room. (Loud

† Copy annexed—*Appendix*.

Supply of engines. Action taken by Sir Andrew Clarke.

applause.) And having now, with Mr. Watt's valuable aid, placed all the facts on record for your information, I shall take no further notice of Sir Andrew Clarke, beyond stating that happily coarse words are not reasons, and that I value my self-respect too much to descend to imitate his language. (Applause.) The action of Government, however, in regard to our railway has, as you know, not unfrequently been productive of loss and injury, and the subject should not be allowed to be mixed up with any personal squabble, for the hope of reform lies in publicity. It is unfortunately the fact that some of the Government officers appointed to control the guaranteed railways, able, upright, and energetic men, as they generally are, believe too much in their own infallibility as organs of Government, and too often reject or set aside the opinions and experience of our practical and practiced agents—men who have been specially trained to their work from their youth, and who, in the nature of things, must understand the business better than Government officers who have but recently acquired a theoretical knowledge of it—while the delays and obstructions caused by the centralization of business in the Public Works Department are most injurious. One of the greatest living authorities on Indian matters—Sir Charles Trevelyan—in his evidence before the Committee of the House of Commons in 1873, denounces the Public Works Department as "a monster of centralization, and that its monstrosity is shown in inefficiency and in extravagance." Among the proofs frequently cropping up of the truth of this opinion, I would point out the fact referred to in this correspondence, that while the famine was daily becoming more intense and threatening, the assent to our application, dated 19th December, for 40 goods engines, was not received by us by telegraph before the 2nd April; while the Public Works Department sent on the 14th March, through the Viceroy, an urgent telegram for six engines to help us, making no reference to our indent, and evidently unconscious of the fact that 16 engines are required to organise one additional train per diem from the North-East extremity of our line to the nearest Madras station; while, later on, a demand on our part for a much larger addition to our engine power, as necessary to meet the expected traffic of the coming season, was, after considerable delay, met by an announcement that the Public Works Department had ordered out 100 engines, and would lend some of them to us on hire when required, unaware that any such arrangement, irrespective of its certain failure in practice in time of need, was contrary to the terms of our Contract with Government. This plan has happily been set aside by the Secretary of State, and 43 of the 100 engines so ordered, in addition to the 40 above referred to, have been made over to us as our own; and

Delays in Public Works Department.

should our early advices show that still more are required, we shall at once apply for the necessary authority to construct them. (Hear, hear.)

Gentlemen,—I have now to move "That the Report of the "Directors, together with the accounts now submitted, be "received and adopted." (Applause.)

Mr. REID (Director): I beg to second that resolution.

The CHAIRMAN: Gentlemen, before putting the resolution to the meeting, I will wait and see whether any gentleman has any questions to ask, which I will do my best to reply to.

Grain traffic

Mr. ORMISTON: Sir, I believe your Report has been received with very great satisfaction, and I believe although it is generally supposed that the famine has had a great deal to do with the large increase which those accounts show of £400,000 above the guaranteed income, in point of fact it is very likely that an approximation to this amount at any rate may be relied upon in future from the great grain traffic which has sprung up of late years in India, a large portion of which comes to Bombay.

Staff.

The figures in the Report, and the remarks which you have just made, show the high tension at which your staff have been working. They have indeed been working at high pressure and very long hours. When I left Bombay a few months ago, it was very well known that those gentlemen were nearly worked off their feet in all the departments of the executive. The subordinates employed, such as the guards and engine-drivers, were, no doubt, paid for their extra time; but if the Board have not already recognised the services of the superior officers who are salaried officers, I think it would only be right on the part of the Board, who always, I believe, have acted liberally by their officers, to make some acknowledgment of the very arduous services which those gentlemen have rendered. In the matter of water for the engines alone, I can assure those gentlemen who do not know India, that it has been an exceedingly arduous matter. The trains have been running through a district where rain had not fallen for two years; and the labour of getting water for the engines imposed an amount of labour, industry, and application which it is exceedingly difficult for those who do not know it to understand.

Service of late Agent

Sir, this Report, I think, concludes that portion of the Company's history during which their late able agent, Mr. Le Mesurier, acted. I must say that I should have been glad to have seen some acknowledgment of his eminent services in the Report. He left for a responsible appointment in Egypt, no doubt, at his own choice, but he was, I believe, to a very large extent influenced by the state of his health; and those who know the country well, and the people with whom he had to deal, must know that in the junction of this Company's line and the two lines—the Madras and

the East Indian—at Raichore and Jubbulpoor, and which were carried out under his *régime*, and in obtaining the settlement of difficult questions which had been pending for many years, such as the new workshops at Parel, and the administration offices at Boree Bunder, that this Company is, to a large extent, indebted to his tact and popularity with all with whom he came in contact, and I believe he left the line in a state of the most excellent organisation. (Hear, hear.)

Sir, there is one point which I see has been taken up by the Bombay newspapers, and which I think is a very good one. Those gentlemen who have resided there at all know the great want of a good hotel; and it has been suggested that among the offices now being erected by the Company at Boree Bunder, a good hotel—not so large or expensive as the one in which we are now, but approaching to it, and worthy of the great line over which you so ably preside—might be advantageously erected I am aware that under the terms of your contract, the Company have no power to do that; but I should think it is possible that in such a matter some means might be arrived at by which this desirable object might be attained.

Then again, with reference to the coal, which is a very large item in our expenditure. I do not know it personally, because I have not been there, but I believe the Nerbudda coal mines are now being pretty extensively worked. It seems to me that if this great Company, with its great resources, could by any means purchase those mines (I am not a shareholder, and I have no interest whatever in them) that they could work them cheaper than the Nerbudda Coal Company, and probably be able to supply the whole of the Deccan with the produce of those mines, the coal of which I am told is of very good quality and very large in extent.

Sir, I have referred to the case of the officers because many of the Shareholders, and even some of the Directors, do not come personally into contact with them; but nothing conduces so much to the prosperity of a Company, and the well-being of all connected with it, as a satisfied body of servants. I know that you have on previous occasions acted justly and liberally by them—I do not propose any resolution, but I throw out a hint that if some recognition has not been already made, it may be made when you think fit. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. JONES: Sir, I should be glad to know how it is we have paid 30s. per ton for our coal, whilst the East Indian Railway Company have got theirs at 6s. per ton, or even less than that. At the last meeting at which I was present you spoke of mines being adjacent within a short distance of Bombay, and that being so it gave great encouragement that we might have an equal opportunity with the East Indian of having cheap coal. You

have mentioned, and I had already gathered it from your report, that coal has cost us 30s. per ton. That seems a very high price when the coal which you spoke of was so unusually thick and so near to the surface.

Sir, the importance of having cheap traffic on this line is very material, not only to the Shareholders, but also to the English public. The chief railway traffic in grain of the East Indian Railway has established a grain trade or fleet between England and India. Your line might doubtless do the same, and in some measure it does. It would enable us to get rid of the pressure upon foreign trade which the American market places upon English exports. If our grain is drawn from your territory, instead of being drawn from the American territory, our goods in return will go in at a small, unimportant duty, instead of being taxed as they enter America with so heavy a duty as they are. (Hear, hear.) Now, you may assist that traffic by lowering your rates down to a minimum. It would be greatly to the advantage of the whole of the English manufacturers. Your cotton tariff seems to me far too dear. Judging from the list that is published (it is a very interesting and valuable list)—if I am right, perhaps you will correct me if I am wrong—you charge £3 per ton upon the cotton traffic. That is the average. That seems a very heavy burden, seeing that the freight all the way from Bombay to England is 30s. a ton. Of course, railways are much more expensive than steamships; but then out of the 30s. they pay 10s. to the Suez Canal, leaving £1. Now to charge £3 for bringing it down from the interior to the coast, and £1 for bringing it all the way from India to Liverpool, seems very disproportionate. I think it would greatly assist the cotton traffic, as well as the grain traffic, if you lowered your tariff. Reduction cotton rate

Sir, I should like to know upon what principle your engines are bought. Do you buy the cheapest, or is it by public tender, or is it by limited tender; and in limited tenders do you avail yourselves of any power of inspection for judging of the respective merits? No two manufacturers ever make an exactly equal article; and you require, therefore, judgment upon the part of your Inspector to determine whether a thing at £1. 5s. 0d. is not cheaper possibly than another thing that nominally is the same at £1. When limited tenders are sent in, do you accept the lowest amongst those which you have received? or is it a public tender? or have you a competent Inspector? or are you able to satisfy yourselves that you are giving the duty to a man who understands his work? (Hear, hear.) Engines.

Mr. Walford: Sir, I see that in the current half-year there is an increase of about £370,000 in the first fourteen weeks. Is there any probability of an extra dividend next July? We have not had any, I think, yet in July at any period. Current receipts.

Mr. Hale: Sir, I think we are in a position upon which the Shareholders might congratulate themselves. It is a matter of satisfaction, I think, that the Great India Peninsula Railway Company is carrying its passengers and its merchandise cheaper than we are carrying them in England, and yet is enabled to pay not only the 5 per cent. which is guaranteed by the Government without the Government making it up, but we are able to pay £1 bonus this half-year. I have been asked about that matter—whether it means £1 per cent. per annum for the half-year; but I take it to mean £1 bonus for this half-year. (Hear, hear.)

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Sir, I think what has been said about an hotel might perhaps be a very good suggestion; but I think railway companies, and I say it with all due deference to the gentleman who has just sat down, are rather better, as far as we know them generally, without having any business of that sort. (Hear, hear.) Hotels in a general way are built comparatively two or three times as expensively as they need be, and the accommodation that is afforded in them is no better than if they were built plainly. They eat up the capital, and in a few years the shareholders have lost all their money. (Hear, hear.) I do not know whether that state of things would be the case in India; but I think it is well to nip these things in the bud, before they make any progress towards being carried out; for I find in connection with companies that if preliminary steps on the part of the authorities be taken, although it is put down as a question which might be altered or reconsidered, it is generally proceeded with, and you find out too late that it is a mistake. (Hear, hear.)

Hotel.

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Now, as regards the coal, I think it is pretty generally known that we have not coal mines in India, as the East Indian Railway Company have. I do not know whether I am speaking accurately, but I think I am. That makes a very great difference. But for all that, I think this £1 bonus is a very good step towards the greatest prosperity, and whether we pay 30s. per ton more or not for coal, it is astonishing, I think, how the Shareholders, under such circumstances, have reaped such a dividend. For my own part, I cannot make out how it is that a railway in India can work for 30 per cent. working expense, at which the East Indian Railway Company are now working their line during the current half-year. Our Railway has been worked at something like 46 per cent. during the half-year, for which the accounts are now before us, which is certainly less than the average in England. I look at it in this way, that though the Government may perhaps hamper the Directors in many things, there is a sort of control over them which at times may be more or less useful. (Hear, hear.) I quite agree with the remarks

Working
penses.

of the Chairman that the knowledge, so to speak, of the Government officials in India may be of a very superficial kind. I do not know that I have many more remarks to make; but there is one thing I should like to say, and it is this: Mr. Elliott read a paper at a meeting of the Colonial Institute, that was held some two or three weeks ago, in which he blamed the Duke of Argyll most strongly for not having taken to those State Railways that he could have taken to when he was Secretary of State for India, more particularly upon the ground that if the State took to them they could work them more economically. Now, I met that part of his argument, by saying that, as far as I was aware, the average of railways as regards the working expenses and receipts was something like 50 per cent. in this country, and something like 30 or 40 per cent. in India; and I could in no way recollect that it had ever been shown that the working expenses of railways in this country were comparatively less than they were in India, or would be if they were worked by the Government. I wish to say this on the part of Mr. Elliott, that when he came to that part of the statement, he did not waive his statement that he thought the Duke of Argyll ought to have taken to the railways; but he waived the statement as to whether the Government could work them more cheaply, and that, I thought, was the main thing that I had to oppose. I do think it was very gracious on his part, after putting that as the principal ground of his argument, to waive it after the remarks I had made.

Payment of dividend.

Sir, there is one matter in connection with the dividend which I think is worth calling your attention to. The difficulty as to distance with regard to India is so much lessened that it is hardly understandable by business men why the Shareholders of this Company, and of the East Indian Railway Company, who have to wait longer, should wait so long before their dividend is received. It occurs to me, instead of paying the dividend some six months after it is earned—because you can always get a telegram as to what you have earned in the last half-year—that the meeting should be called, if leave can be got to allow of its being called, certainly within three months afterwards. There is something like £760,000 to be paid this half-year in dividend, and if the Shareholders had had it three months after it was earned, instead of five months, I think the interest at four per cent. would be equal to £7,500 in their pockets. I merely throw this out, and I beg to say that it would save us confusing one half-year with the other; and I believe the Shareholders, one and all, would be glad to receive their dividend three months after it is earned instead of six. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. McKewan: Sir, I do not propose to offer any criticism upon the report presented to us to-day. As regards the questions that have been asked, I have no doubt you will have little diffi-

Letters from Sir Andrew Clarke.

culty in answering them ; but as a Shareholder, and I think all the Shareholders present will agree with me, I think we should not separate without making some remarks with reference to this unpleasant personal question which has arisen in connection with the Company. (Hear, hear.) The correspondence has been in the hands of the Shareholders too short a time probably for them fully to weigh the contents, but I think even the most cursory examination of it will show that that letter from Sir Andrew Clarke, addressed though it be in a familiar form, but I take it intended to be a semi-official communication, and, if I rightly understood, was published, not by yourself nor probably by your colleague——

The CHAIRMAN ; No.

Mr. MCKEWAN : Although it was written in that familiar form, really and truly it was an official communication, although written in unofficial language. Now, if I rightly interpret the views of the Shareholders, who have met you in this room from time to time, I must say that we have the fullest confidence in you. (Loud applause.) We have the fullest confidence in the Board of Directors. (Loud applause.) I do not think any of the confidence which we have entertained for a long time in the Board of Directors, and in you, Sir, personally, as Chairman of this Company, will be in the least degree shaken by any of the remarks which have been made by Sir Andrew Clarke. (Loud applause.) Any person who is at all acquainted with the proprieties of semi-official correspondence—I will not call it official, but semi-official correspondence—I leave out private correspondence altogether—cannot, I think, but reprobate in the strongest terms possible the language used in this letter by Sir Andrew Clarke as applied to yourself personally. (Hear, hear.) If such a letter had been written to a private individual and addressed to him, it might have led to consequences of a different character, and might have been treated in a different manner from that in which you have treated it, and in which alone it deserved to be treated; that is, with contempt. (Hear, hear.) I do not, of course, propose to read the letter; but we find a gentleman, occupying the position which Sir Andrew Clarke does, as really the representative of the Government, between the railways and the Government, speaking of, "a fabrication acquiring a mere-"tricious importance by the mere fact that weeks must elapse "before it can be refuted, and thus the silliness becomes akin "to malice, and the impertinence borders on treachery." They are very nice sounding phrases, but not the sort of phrases which I take it should be applied to any gentleman occupying the position which you do, nor are they phrases which are usually used in correspondence between gentlemen. (Loud applause.) I would only refer to one other phrase. "I admit that I did

" send this telegram to help the Great Indian Peninsula the
" moment they became aware of what their possible needs were.
" But this is about the only grain of truth in all the bushel of
" mis-statement and calumny levelled against this Government
" by Colonel Holland."

Gentlemen, you will be able to read it, but I really thought that I could not leave the room without drawing attention to it, and I should be very sorry indeed, if the language had been passed without some expression of opinion upon it from the Shareholders. (Loud applause.)

Robberies.

Mr. JENNINGS: I should scarcely have risen upon the present occasion, but for some little alarm which one of your statements gave me—that we were liable for all the robberies which took place in the course of the transit of goods, although they were in no way connected with our own officers. If that is the case, it really is a very serious thing in India, which happily is not the case in England. Where we see an amount of £10,000 for compensation, we may equally see an amount of hundreds of thousands of pounds, if, at any time, there should be great robberies taking place in our trains. Probably, however, you will explain that.

Public Works Department.

I also wish to notice the subject of the Public Works Department, which you have referred to. I suppose many gentlemen here are very well aware that the Public Works Department is extremely unsatisfactory to those who are engaged in it in many cases. I think it would be very desirable that those who are interested in this Railway should also take some interest in looking into those very defects which do exist in the Public Department, which perhaps it would be useless for me to enter upon, upon the present occasion, but as to which the Directors have the means of knowing many of the defects, and which, I believe the heads of the Department are anxious to put a stop to; such as the constant changing of officers from one department to another; those who are doing their work well being removed to another place, instead of continuing in that which they are accustomed to; and various other points of that sort, which, no doubt, are great causes of the evils which arise, and which have been mentioned by the Chairman.

Receipts and expenditure.

Mr. KING: Sir, I hardly like to take exception to anything in the Report; I am very satisfied with it, but there is one point which did rather surprise, and perhaps disappoint me. It is the disproportion between the increase in the receipts and the increase in the expenditure. The increased receipts amount to upwards of £400,000, and the increased expenditure amounts to £200,000, or in round numbers about 50 per cent. of the increased receipts. Now, I am not going to compare this line with the East Indian line, where I

know there are great causes of difference which have been already alluded to; but I would compare it with another line, where I do not think the differences are so great. They may be: I am quite prepared for any explanation of that kind, but in the Oude and Rohilkund Railway, during the present half-year, I think their additional receipts amounted to something like £50,000. Of course it is a much smaller line, but out of that £50,000—I am speaking from memory—but I think about £45,000 out of that £50,000 will be profit; in other words, the increased expenditure only absorbs something like £5,000 or £6,000 out of that £50,000. I have not compared the exact figures, but it is some proportion approaching to that. I should be glad if the Chairman would throw some light upon that very considerable difference.

Passenger traffic.

I would also mention another point which is much more satisfactory; I allude to the large increase under the circumstances in the passenger traffic. We have an increase of £20,000 in the passenger traffic, which I think is highly satisfactory, considering that it has been during the strain of the famine, which must, of course, have interfered very much with the travelling desire and the travelling ability of a large portion of the inhabitants. (Hear, hear). It is the more satisfactory to me because I think it bears out the policy which I have frequently advocated—the policy of low fares rather than of high fares. I believe our fares are lower than they used to be considerably; and in the face of the strain of the famine, to obtain increased receipts is, I think, very satisfactory, and also good proof of the desirability of the policy of carrying the people at low fares.

Feeder roads.

There is one other question which I wish to ask you. You very often tell us something about the feeder roads, but you have not said anything about them in your speech to-day. I was in hopes, as there were famine works, that something might have been done with regard to the feeder roads. I am afraid, as you have said nothing about them, that nothing has been done.

Dhond and Manmar line.

Mr. WALFORD: Will not this new line joining the two branches act as a feeder?

The CHAIRMAN: Gentlemen, I will now proceed to reply, as far as I am able, to the several questions which have been put to me.

The first Shareholder who addressed you was Mr. Ormiston, a gentleman whose remarks must always be listened to with respect in this room. Mr. Ormiston is a gentleman of great ability and experience, and has special knowledge of India and the Indian railways. One of his remarks was a suggestion that we should erect a hotel. I think that has already been disposed of by the remarks made by another Shareholder, who denounced any

Hotel.

such intention. I confess, notwithstanding Mr. Ormiston's experience (and I have had some little experience myself in Bombay), that I quite agree with the last speaker. (Hear, hear.) In the first place, I doubt very much indeed—in fact, that doubt approaches almost to a certainty—whether, if we wished to raise capital for the construction of a hotel, the Secretary of State would feel himself authorised to give us any guarantee for the interest upon the money so expended. We should have to do it entirely without that. We know what hotels have been in England, as a rule. The original hotels have been built as palaces, and have gone into the Bankruptcy Court. They are bought up at a very reduced price, and then they flourish. But in this case, if we were to build a hotel, the bankrupts would be the Shareholders. Therefore, I do think, with all respect to Mr. Ormiston, that we really cannot entertain that project. (Hear, hear.)

Both Mr. Ormiston and Mr. Jones have remarked upon the coal question. I would endeavour to point out to you that our great supply at present, and for some time to come, must be English coal. We get sea-borne coal through the Canal, and it is a very valuable coal. The very best coal got in India—that which is used by the East Indian Railway Company—is, I believe, fully equal to it. But the reason why this cheap coal to the East India Railway Company is dear to us, is that the cost of transit over some 600 miles makes that cheap coal a very costly coal when it gets to us; so that the coal which costs the East Indian Railway Company 5s. or 6s. per ton, costs us, by the time we get it, about 36s. or 38s. per ton. Therefore we are entirely limited in the use of this cheap Bengal coal (and excellent coal it is) by the distance at which we can economically use it. Then with regard to the coal mines within our own district, there are two. First of all, the Mopani, or Nerbudda, which one gentleman has recommended we should purchase. At the time of the formation of the Coal Company we proposed to work these mines, and I believe if we had been allowed to do so, we should have worked the coal and got the very best of it at about half the price at which we got it now. Unfortunately, that is now quite out of the question. The Nerbudda coal is by no means equal in quality to the Bengal or English coal; in point of fact, we find one ton of English coal equivalent to about 33 cwt. of Nerbudda coal. We have not used so much of it as we could have wished; but we have made an agreement with the Company now to give us a minimum supply of 1,000 tons per month. We hope, as far as that goes, that we shall be able to use it beneficially. The other coal is obtained from a very extensive mine, containing an enormous quantity, about 45 or 50 miles off our line, and is worked by the Govern-

Coal.

Nerbudda.

Warrora.

ment, called the Warrora coal. A branch railway has been for some time in course of construction by the Government to the Warrora pits; and we are informed that it was opened on the 7th November last, just before the mail came away. We get that coal at a comparatively moderate price; that is to say, about 10s. per ton at the pit's mouth; but a ton of this coal hitherto has been found not more than equal to half-a-ton of English coal. It is very wet coal, very flaky, makes a great quantity of ash, and, as I have already told you, one of the evils of it is that it throws out an abundance of sparks, which now and then burn up a waggon full of cotton. Of course, all these defects are capable of gradual improvement. The men will become better accustomed to the Warrora coal, as it is worked in larger quantities. We now take 2,000 tons per month and are about to take 3,000, and as the same men work it, and the engines have their furnace bars fitted for the use of the coal, we have very little doubt that we shall find it somewhat better; probably bringing it up to the standard of the Nerbudda coal; but I am afraid not beyond that. Under these circumstances, the English coal costing us so much, even with the very low freights we have had to Bombay, you can understand why it is that our coal cannot be got as cheaply as in Bengal. In fact, with all the exertions which our intelligent staff have made, they cannot reduce the cost below what they have done. We make it a point of using that coal, whether English or Indian, to the greatest extremity to which we can use it economically and no further. (Hear, hear.)

Exertions of Staff.

Mr. Ormiston spoke in a manner, which I think he was fully justified in doing, of the very great pressure on the whole of the staff during the past season. There has been an enormous strain upon them. One and all, from the Agent downwards, have worked their very best, and very well. Those who have felt the strain greatest—the engine drivers and the firemen—have had, I must say, a fair return for their labour; for it is a fact that will be found upon reference to the returns before you, that the extra wages paid for extra time during the half-year have actually exceeded the regular wages paid for the regular time. With regard to a bonus to the remainder of the staff, that is a matter which we feel to be one of very great delicacy. We have considered it, but it is a matter that is surrounded by so many difficulties—there is so much likelihood of its creating jealousies, and doing more evil than good—that we cannot clearly see our way out of it. (Hear, hear.) All the members of our staff, except perhaps the Agent himself, who I am sure is one of the first to join in our view of the matter, have before them the prospects of promotion. The time of difficulty is the time when men show what they are made of. When the time of ease

comes, then the men who have worked hard and well in times of emergency are the men whom we mark for promotion. (Hear, hear.)

Retirement late Agent

Mr. Ormiston also alluded to our having lately lost a valuable officer, Mr. Le Mesurier, who has taken service in Egypt. Mr. Le Mesurier did his work exceedingly well. I do not think Mr. Ormiston exceeded the truth in the high terms in which he spoke of him. We have always acknowledged his good services, and we regretted the loss of so valuable an officer. But, gentlemen, Mr. Le Mesurier left the service for his own advantage; whether it was that he thought that his health would be better in Egypt, or the pay better, or the prospects better, or whatever it might be, he did not leave us from ill-health contracted in our service, or from unavoidable causes. He simply left us to improve, as he thought, his position. We have made it a rule, and I hope you will confirm us in the propriety of it, that where any gentleman leaves our service for his own benefit, we do not, however much we may have valued his services, propose any special bonus or donation. That is simply the fact with regard to Mr. Le Mesurier, who, as I said before, was a valuable and useful officer, and having managed our property well, and created a good feeling, we were extremely sorry to lose him.

Mr. Ormiston: I did not propose anything of that kind, but I proposed an acknowledgment.

The Chairman: I am glad Mr. Ormiston has given me the opportunity of making the acknowledgment I have done. (Hear, hear.)

Supply of engines.

I think I have replied to Mr. Jones' remarks as to the coal. Mr. Jones also asked as to how we got our engines. I may tell you, gentlemen, that long experience has pretty well shown us who are the best makers—at least, for our purposes; because there are always specialities. We require different engines for India, and for our 5 ft. 6 in. gauge to what would be required in England. But our Consulting Engineer, Mr. Berkley, is a gentleman of great experience in India and England. When we require engines, he knows perfectly well what we want. We call for tenders from various builders of engines, and he advises us to take the best. I can assure Mr. Jones that we do not by any means go in, as a matter of course, for the cheapest tender. In a matter like engines, we go in for the best, and from all the reports that we get from our Agent, we believe we act on the right principle, and that the engines we generally order out are highly satisfactory. Our Locomotive Officer, Mr. Jackson, a very able and efficient man, would very soon tell us if there was any flaw in the engines. He

highly approves of the engines which we send out., (Hear, hear.) *I should add, as my friend Mr. Watt remarks to* me, that they are closely inspected by Mr. Berkley during the process of construction; so that we have a further guarantee, if possible, that every *minutiæ* of the engines is thoroughly worked out according to his own plans and specifications. (Hear, hear.)

Gentlemen, Mr. Jones also recommended us very strongly to reduce our rates upon cotton. Now this is rather a delicate point for the Shareholders to urge, because I presume all of you *like to have, now and then, a surplus dividend.* (Hear, hear.)

Cotton rates. All I can say is, that unless we proceed with a great deal of care and forethought in reducing our rates upon cotton, you will not get many surplus dividends. (Hear, hear.) Our actual charge upon cotton all over the line is about 2¼d. per ton per mile, which I do not think is excessive. The proof of that is shown by the fact, which I stated in my opening remarks, that the cultivation of cotton in those districts which supply *the Great Indian Peninsula Railway, is increasing* to the extent of about 17,000 acres. Now that would not be the case if our rates were so oppressive as to prevent the free exportation of cotton. I also mentioned that the prices current in Bombay for cotton were higher this year than last year. Now surely, if our rates for the conveyance of cotton down to Bombay were so excessive, as my friend Mr. Jones would imply, that would hardly be the case. I hope Mr. Jones *will suspend any further action in reducing the rates for cotton,* until the Directors, who, I can assure you, have your best interests at heart, think it judicious to do so. (Applause.)

Prospective dividend. Gentlemen, Mr. Walford asked a question about the dividend for the next half-year. That is a matter which, as I cannot look into the future, and as the half-year is not over, it is impossible for me to go into. All I can say is, I have got some figures here which will show what our actual state is up to the 3rd of *this* month. *Our actual receipts for the half-year* were £1,069,000 against £744,000 in the corresponding half of last year. (Hear, hear.) That is an increase of £325,000. What it will be at the end of the half-year, it is not for me to say. I ought to add, that you must not suppose that the same rate of increase is to go on, because we have not happily got the famine traffic to meet. Still, it is satisfactory that we can show that up to the present day we have received £320,000 more this half-year than we did in the corresponding half of last year. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. Hale asked me with regard to the £1 bonus. I think he will find when I put the resolution before you, which I hope you will concur in, for the distribution of the £1—(a laugh)—that we have clearly expressed that it is £1 corresponding to a

bonus for the half-year. It is not at the rate of £1 per cent. per annum; it is at the rate of £2 per cent. per annum. It is £1 or one sovereign in your pockets over and above what the guaranteed interest is. (Hear, hear.)

Gentlemen, I have already referred to the hotel question, and also as to the coal mines. Mr. Hale also stated that he believed the Government control was at times useful. I think he was right in that remark. It is occasionally useful; but occasionally, I am sorry to say, and I have had occasion to point it out, it is mischievous. With reference to your waiting for the dividend, in the first place we must get the accounts made up before we can produce them; and, until they are made up, we cannot get the money to pay the dividend. By straining all our departments in the east, and they have very elaborate accounts to make up, which have to go through the ordeal of the Government offices, I do not suppose we could advance the matter a fortnight with the greatest possible exertions, so that you must remain content to get your dividends pretty nearly at the time that you get them now. (Hear, hear.) Payment of dividends.

Mr. Jennings has commented upon our liability to robberies. These are exceptional times. We do not expect a famine will occur every day of the week. We have a police of our own and the Government have their police; but the police, both of the Government and of ourselves, was constituted to meet ordinary and not exceptional times. Robberies.

With regard to the question of feeder roads, I have, for the reason apprehended by the honourable gentleman who put the question, made no remark upon it, because we have had no special report that any more feeder roads have been constructed. The truth is that the policy of the Government (and I believe it was a necessary policy) during the famine, with regard to the construction of roads, has been not to make a road here and a road there, which would have been very satisfactory to us, but to make large works, where large bodies of the famishing people could be collected together under proper supervision. That, gentlemen, leads me to reply to the question whether we believe that the new railway from Munmar to Dhond, which cuts our line in two different portions, is likely to act as a feeder. I am afraid that a great deal will not be brought to our line by it when it is constructed. We shall probably have the working of it, and we may get a moderate profit from it. No doubt, any line that cuts in upon our line must be a feeder to a certain extent; but the general traffic of the country does not run north and south, but east and west; and, therefore, I do not apprehend that it will be a line carrying any very large amount of traffic. Roads. Dhond and Munmar line.

Gentlemen, the only other observation I have to make is to

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thank Mr. McKewan for the remarks he has been good enough to make with regard to the correspondence in which I am personally concerned, and also to thank you, gentlemen, for the kindly way in which you received those remarks. (Loud applause.)

respective tel cost.

Mr. JONES: Will you allow me to ask you, Sir, whether you look forward to a diminution in the cost of coal now this railway is being worked?

The CHAIRMAN: Very slightly; but there may possibly be some diminution.

Mr. JONES: Not a very material diminution?

The CHAIRMAN: Not a very material diminution.

[The resolution for the adoption of the report and accounts was put and carried unanimously.]

)ividend— tesolution.

The CHAIRMAN: Gentlemen, I have now to move that—"A "dividend of 1 per cent. upon the capital stock, and at that "rate upon the amounts called up on shares, be, and is "hereby declared, out of surplus profit, to be paid to the "holders of capital stock and shares now registered in the "books of the Company, in addition to the guaranteed in-"terest of £2. 10s. per cent. for the current half year.

Mr. DICKINSON (Director): I beg to second that resolution.

[The resolution was put and carried unanimously.]

Further loan apital— Resolution.

The Chairman then proposed a resolution to empower the Directors to borrow on debentures, or otherwise, the sums of £268,800 and £300,000, which was seconded by Mr. Campbell (Director), and carried unanimously.

The CHAIRMAN: Gentlemen, that concludes the business of the day.

Subject of ppendix— Resolution.

Mr. MCKEWAN: Sir, I hope I may be excused for rising again before the Meeting separates, but I have to propose a resolution, and I will do so without any further comment, having reference to the subject upon which I have already made a few remarks. I have no doubt this resolution will be passed by the Meeting:—"That this Meeting, having considered the letter addressed by "Sir Andrew Clarke to Mr. Blake, in which the truthfulness "and *bona fides* of Colonel Holland, the Chairman of this Com-"pany, are attacked in language unbecoming an officer of the "Government, desire to express their unabated confidence in "their Chairman, and their regret that the language referred to "should have been used."

Mr. WILDE: I shall not enter into the merits of the case, for it is a matter I think which a general meeting is not competent to go into, but we are perfectly competent to go into the language made use of. I have very great pleasure in seconding the resolution which is proposed, I think it is the kind of thing which the Shareholders ought to do, to express their opinion of the language made use of. (Hear, hear.)

[The resolution was put and carried unanimously.]

Mr. HALE: I beg to move "That the best thanks of the "Meeting are due and are hereby tendered to the Chairman and "Directors for their attention to the interests of the Company." I think we ought to be particularly obliged to our Chairman for the courtesy with which he has conducted the business of the day. (Hear, hear.) I would suggest that as a report of the Meeting would be particularly interesting to the Shareholders, the Directors should send to the Shareholders of the Great Indian Peninsula Railway a report of this Meeting, as the East Indian Railway Company have done. I think the Meeting will agree with me in that. (Hear, hear.)

Report of proceedings

Mr. FORT: I beg to second that resolution.

[The resolution was put and carried unanimously.]

The CHAIRMAN: Gentlemen, I have to thank you very warmly for the very kind way in which you have been good enough to receive both propositions which have been made to you. With regard to the resolution proposed by Mr. McKewan, I think in my position the less I say the better, beyond saying that I thank you. With regard to the suggestion made by the honourable gentleman on my right, I beg to say that we shall be happy to send a report of the proceedings of the present Meeting to the Shareholders. (Loud applause.)

APPENDIX.

Correspondence between Colonel Sir ANDREW CLARKE, K.C.M.G., C.B., R.E., Member of the Council of the Viceroy of India, and Colonel J. HOLLAND, Chairman of the Great Indian Peninsula Railway Company, with reference to remarks made by Colonel Holland at the Half-yearly Meeting of the Company, 8th June, 1877.

Extract from speech of Colonel HOLLAND, *vide* "Herapath's Railway Journal," 16th June, 1877.

* * * Now, gentlemen, I stated a short time ago that but for certain circumstances, which I would endeavour to explain, we could have carried a great deal more traffic than we have done, and those circumstances I wish to enter upon, because the merchants of Bombay and many freighters of commodities are rather sore upon the subject. They found, notwithstanding all our endeavours, large quantities of grain were lying at many of our stations on the railway without our having the means to carry it. They very naturally said: "What short-sighted management this is on the part of the railway, that they have only the necessary power to carry the ordinary quantity of goods, never looking forward to any increase for the future." Now, gentlemen, I am sorry to say the fact is, that the power is deficient, but I wish to explain to you that we are not in any way to blame for it, for so far back as the year 1873—four years ago—we were in correspondence with our officers in India regarding the increase of engine-power. We had got a large supply of waggons, but we had not included in our estimate engine-power. We had rather a superabundance of passenger engines, and a deficiency of goods engines, and it was wasteful to employ passenger engines of a lighter description to carry goods, because you could not have the same number of waggons in each train as if you had the more powerful engines, and to have to run three trains instead of two was a considerable waste. We persevered in pressing upon the Government the fact that it was very desirable that we should have an adequate number of goods engines. They replied, "You have so many engines in store, why don't you use them up?" To which we replied we were using them very fast and wearing them out; but still they refused. I have a few extracts

from our despatches, which I should like to read to you on this subject. Our Agent, in a letter dated January, 1873, states: "For our goods traffic we have barely sufficient engines, "as some of our goods engines are used to work our mixed "trains. *When the Nizam's State Railway is finished, and the* "Wurdah Coal Line is at work, and Holkar's Railway throwing "traffic on to our line, we need possibly twenty-five additional "goods engines to be ready during all 1874. If Government rule "we are to take five Scinde engines, so freeing five of our goods "engines, we should require twenty goods engines from home. "Requests Board's advice to enable him to submit the necessary "indents." Upon that we wrote to urge that they would apply to the Government for the necessary power to indent for those *twenty-five engines. We wrote rather strongly to our Agent,* and Mr. Le Mesurier wrote back to ask our advice, as he found there was considerable difficulty with the Government. Our reply is dated August 7, 1874—for a long correspondence had gone on in the meantime,—and this is an extract from our reply in August, 1874: "As it appears to the Board these particulars "cannot be received sufficiently soon to allow of any of the "surplus stock in question being worked up in engines, "it is your (his) duty to again represent the circumstances "*to Government in the most pressing terms, urging upon* "them the necessity for the indent for 25 goods "engines being sanctioned without delay." This, as you hear, was written in August, 1874, and the reply of the Government in September, 1874, was simply to the effect, that he (the Government officer) could not yet see any clear grounds why he should recommend the Government to sanction the indent for 25 more goods engines. When we had done all we could we were obliged to give it up. Then came the famine, and it was only *early in the famine that they sanctioned the indent for 40 more* goods engines. This followed the usual wearying round, until a despatch was received from the Governor-General, Lord Lytton, to this effect:—"For God's sake urge the G.I.P. to send out "more goods engines," while, at the same time, His Excellency had got the indent lying in his own pigeon-holes, and had not himself sanctioned it. As I have said, we got sanction for 40 more engines, and they are being manufactured as fast as possible. Some are already on their way to India, and hence*forth no grievance of this kind will arise. I have gone a little* in detail into this matter, because I wish you to see what is very clear—that we at this table are not to blame for this lamentable want of engine-power. If we had had these 40 goods engines, they would have repaid themselves over and over again by the increased quantity of traffic carried, while they would have relieved the famine and filled our pockets at the same time.

Copy Letter of Sir ANDREW CLARKE.

SIMLA, *6th August*, 1877.

MY DEAR BLAKE,

Not having the honour of Colonel Holland's aquaintance, but having seen from the report of the half-yearly general meeting of the Great Indian Peninsula Railway Company, as published in "Herapath's Railway Journal" of the 8th June, that you seconded the Chairman's motion, and thus practically adopted the statements made in his speech in its support, I write to point out to you the very great discrepancies that exist between those statements and the real facts,

Colonel Holland in defending himself against an attack which he had himself set up, made certain allegations in reference to a demand made in 1874 for twenty-five additional goods engines, which he says was not recommended for sanction by the Consulting Engineer in Bombay, but he omits to mention that the Government in answer asked the Railway Company to mature a scheme for utilising their engine gear lying idle in stock and estimated at £116,000, and to furnish a clear statement of what it was considered the full complement should be of engines and rolling stock for the whole line. Nor has Colonel Holland mentioned that (up to the 12th January of this year) no answer at all had been sent by the Company.

Compare this fact with Colonel Holland's history of the negotiations of 1874, and I think you will agree with me that comment is unnecessary,

I will, therefore, pass on at once to the application for the 40 engines which were "to be placed on the rails within two years." This application (the estimated time, by the way, in which these engines were to be provided, hardly evinces any very keen anxiety on behalf of the Company to relieve the famine) reached me on the 17th February last, having been received from Bombay by the Government of India on the 5th February; and on the same day that it came up to me, I authorised the addition at once of 30 engines, deferring assent to the remaining 10 until I had received some explanation of the reason that the Company had done nothing to increase their rolling stock for two years, and had not utilized their store of spare or surplus engine materials and gear.

On the 5th March I authorised arrangements for the completion of the indent up to the number of 40 engines in full, as demanded. Clearly there was no "red tape" or "pigeon-holing of papers" in this.

If there was, at the commencement of this year, "a lamentable "want of engine power" on the Great Indian Peninsula, that want was not due in any way to Government.

Last November, in visiting the Great Indian Peninsula system, in company for days with the Agent and a Traffic Manager, not *a word was ever said to me* by either one or the other as to the possibility of a want of engine power, although other measures of facilitating traffic were being freely discussed at the time and were being sanctioned by me.

The truth is, that it was not till the middle of December last that the Agent of the Great Indian Peninsula thought it necessary to provide more engines, and then the demand was not made for immediate use, but, in the language of the Company's Secretary, writing on *the 19th December for those engines* "to "cope with the maximum traffic that may be expected if it "should increase at the same rate as it has done during the last "five years."

Even in this demand, so little did the local officers consider the subject to be at all pressing, that it was viewed only as a tentative proposal, and the letter submitting it concludes by saying—"should the Government accord their sanction to the "proposed outlay, then, on receiving it, further particulars will "be prepared"—and, finally, two years is suggested in which the engines are to be supplied.

Surely this indicates neither great solicitude to relieve famine, nor anxiety lest the Company should fail to cope with the export traffic.

Again, Col. HOLLAND states that a despatch was received from Lord LYTTON in which he says—"For God's sake, urge the Great "Indian Peninsula to send out more goods engines," and this, Col. HOLLAND adds, was written at the very time when His Excellency had the indent lying in his own pigeon-hole forgotten and unsanctioned.

Had this statement been levelled against an administrator directing affairs in England, half-a-dozen refutations would have appeared in the next day's papers, and the attack would only have been characterised as a silly and, perhaps, rather an impertinent one, but when an attack of this sort is made behind the back of an absent statesman, one, too, who has as heavy and anxious a task to deal with as has ever fallen to the lot of an Indian Viceroy, any fabrication, no matter how unfounded, acquires a meretricious importance by the mere fact that weeks must elapse before it can be refuted, and thus the silliness becomes akin to malice, and the impertinence borders on treachery.

Now, *what are the facts?*

Early this year Government was made aware that the Great Indian Peninsula in order to meet what, in their own view, was a possible contingency, wanted more engine power, and, Government *agreeing, issued the necessary authority*, as has been already shown.

Later in the year, the famine and export traffic having risen far in excess of what the Great Indian Peninsula officials had anticipated in the previous December, the Company warned by us (for I personally by telegram, to show we were watching events, drew attention to the traffic passing the Ghâts, and asked how the Ghât engines were holding out), and alarmed by the possibility of the "increasing traffic overtaking "their engine power," asked me (on the very day that I had authorised the increase of their engine power) to lend them six out of twelve Dubs' engines * which we had lately received for our State lines, and which were then being erected in the Great Indian Peninsula shops.

I replied on the 19th February that "six engines were "promised to Madras; remaining six, which will not be ready "till April, must be allotted where most needed. Meantime "will enquire for spare engines elsewhere for you;" and negotiations with this object were opened with other lines, and with partial success But speculation in the export of grain had spread to Northern India, and the strain had become equally severe on the engine stock of the railways traversing the Punjab, Oudh, Bengal, and the Central Provinces. So on the 14th March I telegraphed in the name of the Viceroy to the Secretary of State, saying that heavy goods engines were urgently needed for the Madras and Great Indian Peninsula Railways, and asked that any engines that could be obtained in England should be at once shipped by canal steamer to Bombay.

I admit that I did send this telegram to help the Great Indian Peninsula the moment they became aware of what their possible needs were. But this is about the only grain of truth in all the bushel of mis-statement and calumny levelled against this Government by Col. Holland; with what object I confess I am unable to discern, since the present relations between this Government and the local railway authorities throughout India are those of mutual co-operation and support, a condition which I pray the unwise utterance of your Chairman will not disturb.

I conclude with the following extract from a note to me by Childers:—

"From what I hear from my old friends of the Great Indian "Peninsula there must be some very strange mismanagement "in some of the offices. I wish you would look yourself into "the question—what indents were proposed of late by the "Company to the Government? When proposed and when

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*I forgot in writing the above that these very engines you had just sold to us.

(Intd.) A. C.

Note by Managing Director.—These were Passenger Engines.

" approved? And what correspondence has meanwhile gone
" on between the Company and the Government as to similar
" articles, the fact of the former demands of the Company
" being entirely lost sight of, and they going through the
" common routine. I hear that this want of intelligent
" system is said to be the common practice." (Extract of letter from the Right Honourable H. Childers, M.P.)

This has led me to take more notice than I should otherwise have done of this matter. I have now only to say that Childers' old friends of the Great Indian Peninsula are as badly informed, or else as inaccurate, as the Chairman of the Company.

Yours truly,
(Signed) A. CLARKE.

To H. Wollaston Blake, Esq.

In a joint report received this afternoon from Bombay, signed by your General Traffic Manager and your Locomotive Superintendent, *dated 3rd July*, 1877, they write: *We think we probably "had a larger stock of engines in* 1874 *than was really necessary."*
How does this agree with Col. HOLLAND's statement?*

Copy of COLONEL HOLLAND's Reply.

THE GREAT INDIAN PENINSULA RAILWAY COMPANY,
OFFICES: No. 3, NEW BROAD STREET, E.C.,
LONDON, 28*th September*, 1877.

SIR,

I have lately been made aware that you have published in Horapath's Journal a copy of a letter addressed by you to my colleague, Mr. Blake, commenting in very offensive terms on certain remarks made by me as Chairman of this Company, at the General Meeting of Shareholders on the 8th June last.

Mr. Blake has subsequently handed me your original letter to him, which contains, I observe, a paragraph of a still more extraordinary character than appears in the published version.

The language in which these comments are conveyed would have precluded me from taking any notice of your letter, but for your official position in respect of Indian railways. That position, however, makes it incumbent on me to prove that I had good grounds for my remarks, and at my request the

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* Note by Managing Director.—It has no relation to Col. Holland's statement. The observation quoted by Sir Andrew Clarke has reference to the entire stock of engines, Passenger and Goods. The Chairman's remarks dealt alone with *Goods* engines.

Managing Director of the Company has compiled a précis of the actual facts from the records in his office; all of which records were, I may observe, in original or in duplicate in the Agent's office in Bombay, and were at your disposal had you desired to consult them.

This précis I now place in your hands.

Mr. Watt having, by his exhaustive analysis, shown that my statements were correct, I have only to add that it will be my duty to communicate the correspondence to the Shareholders at the next General Meeting in December ensuing, unless a sufficient retractation shall appear from you in the interim.

I am, Sir,

Your obedient Servant,

(Signed) J. HOLLAND, Colonel,

Chairman, G. I. P. R. Company.

Sir Andrew Clarke, K.C.M.G., C.B., R.E.

MEMORANDUM by the Managing Director on a letter addressed to Mr. BLAKE by Sir ANDREW CLARKE, dated Simla, 6th August, 1877.

In dealing with the subject matter of Sir Andrew Clarke's letter, I must first notice the extraordinary assumption upon which his remarks are founded, he stating, "Colonel Holland, "in defending himself against an attack which he had himself "set up, made certain allegations in reference to a demand made "in 1874 for twenty-five additional goods engines, &c., &c. I must point out clearly that the imputation that Colonel Holland "had himself set up" the attack is entirely unwarranted. The report of the meeting in Herapath's Journal of the 16th June shows that Colonel Holland "set up" no attack, and that his occasion to defend the Company originated in the complaints of Bombay merchants and other freighters of commodities. Not only were complaints, petitions, and remonstrances from the trading community numerous and frequent, but there were threatened actions at law for damage to property and profits, owing to inability on the part of the railway company to carry away goods, and one action was actually commenced and carried through. Colonel Holland's remarks, according to the report in Herapath, were as follows :—

"Now, gentlemen, I stated a short time ago that but for "certain circumstances, which I would endeavour to explain, we "could have carried a great deal more traffic than we have done, "and those circumstances I wish to enter upon, because the

"merchants of Bombay and many freighters of commodities
"are rather sore upon the subject. They found, notwithstand-
"ing all our endeavours, large quantities of grain were lying
"at many of our stations on the railway without our having
"the means to carry it. *They very naturally said*—'*What*
"short-sighted management this is on the part of the railway,
"*that* they have only the necessary power to carry the ordinary
"quantity of goods, never looking forward to any increase for
"the future!' Now, gentlemen, I am sorry to say the fact is
"that the power is deficient, but I wish to explain to you that
"we are not in any way to blame for it."

Colonel Holland then merely gave the true explanation why the Company were not at the time in as good a position for meeting the *requirements* of the traffic as they would have been had the views of the Board been allowed proper weight by the Government, when placed before that authority in the most urgent and definite manner, at dates long anterior to the crisis, and the facts to be disclosed in the following narrative entirely bear out, it will be seen, his remarks and conclusions.

2. The question of further adding to the Company's stock of *goods engines originated in a suggestion submitted by the Agent* to the Board under date 6th June, 1871, *with the sanction of Government*, that the Company should purchase five goods engines which were then to be had from the Scinde Railway Company. The Board, not being made aware to their satisfaction at the time of the necessity for such a purchase, called upon the Agent for further information, communicating to him the opinion of *the Company's Consulting Engineer*, "*that as a rule it is better*
"the Company should design its own engines, as they may then
"in a great degree be duplicates, and specially adapted for the
"traffic, and curves, and gradients, of the line."

3. By a letter dated 20th January, 1873, the Agent again called attention to the subject of engines. He wrote as follows:
"For our goods traffic we have barely sufficient engines, as some
"of our goods engines are used to work our mixed trains. When
"the Nizam's State Railway is finished, and Wurdha Coal Line
"is at work, and Holkar's Railway throwing traffic on to our
"line, we need possibly twenty-five additional goods engines to
"be ready during 1874. If Government rule we are to take
"five Scinde engines, so freeing five of our goods engines, we
"should require twenty goods engines from home."

4. In their reply, dated 28th February, 1873, the Board authorised the Agent to obtain the sanction of Government to an indent for twenty-five goods engines of the pattern already on the line, or if the East Indian Railway were willing to sell twenty-five new six-wheeled coupled engines at a fair price the Company should buy them. The Agent accordingly, on the 18th

June, 1873, addressed the Government Consulting Engineer, stating, "That having regard to the arguments adduced at a "meeting of officers held subsequently to the receipt of the "Board's letter, the Agent is satisfied that it is to the interest of "the Great Indian Peninsula Railway Company to act upon "Mr. Berkley's expressed opinion, viz. :—'That the best thing "'for this Company to do is to obtain twenty-five goods engines "'exactly similar to the one hundred which have been already "'sent to India;'" and the Agent therefore requested sanction to prefer the necessary indent upon the Board. In reply to the Agent's letter the Consulting Engineer made, under date 23rd June, 1873, certain enquiries of the Agent in relation to the arrangements for working the mixed trains, and the classes of engines used, adding that he was "unable himself to see, after "again reading through Mr. Hawkins' letters on the subject, "that so large an addition to the existing stock of goods engines "is necessary, and the Government of India will certainly not "sanction the indent unless they are satisfied on this point."

5. The further discussions on the subject which occurred in India were brought to the Board's attention by the Agent under date the 16th June, 1874. He then advised the Board that the East Indian engines could not be obtained, and "as the Govern-"ment Consulting Engineer had suggested that the ten lacs of "duplicate gear should be used up or disposed of," he requested the Board's views as to how he should proceed to get Government sanction to an indent for twenty-five goods engines, explaining as to the duplicate gear "that the Company were in no "position to make engines out of it, that it could not be sold "except as scrap, and that it was impossible to fix a time by "which even a tithe of it could be used up." In reply the Agent was informed on the 7th August, 1874, that, in order to deal with the suggestion as to duplicate gear, it was necessary that certain particulars described by Mr. Berkley should be forwarded to the Board, and that as it appeared such particulars could not be received sufficiently soon to allow any of the surplus stock in question being worked up in engines, it was his (the Agent's) duty, to again represent the circumstances to Government in the most pressing terms, urging the necessity for the indent for twenty-five goods engines being sanctioned.

6. The Agent upon receiving the above-mentioned letter of the 7th August, 1874, addressed a letter under date the 31st August, 1874, to the Bombay Government Acting Consulting Engineer for Railways, in which he said "with reference to your "office letter No. 1,914 of 20th May, 1874, on the subject of "our goods engine requirements, I would call your attention to "the fact that we do most urgently require these goods engines. "We have been put to the most serious inconvenience during

" the past busy season for want of goods engines, and have been " compelled on that account to work our traffic in a costly manner, " and at no little risk." He also again represented the position of the duplicate gear question, and concluded his letter as follows : " meanwhile I must urge the imperative necessity of our being " provided with sufficient engine power to work our traffic to " the best advantage, for which reason I again press for sanc- " tion for the twenty-five goods engines in the terms of my " No. 4,394 of 16th May, to the arguments in which letter " I again beg to refer you."

7. *On the 8th September, 1874,* the Acting Consulting Engineer replied, "I cannot yet see any clear grounds why I should re- " commend Government to sanction the indent for twenty-five " more goods engines; the facts as put before me are of too " meagre a description, and the explanations afforded are too " superficial to justify me, in the face of the fact of the average " daily mileage of your goods engines in the year 1873 having " been only forty-two miles, in advising a further capital outlay " of Rs. 8,00,000;" and the Acting Consulting Engineer asked for further information.

8. The subject appears next to have come under consideration *at an officers' meeting held in Bombay, on the 16th October,* 1874, the Acting Government Consulting Engineer being present, and when it was resolved to submit to Government a copy of a report of the 12th October, 1874, by the Locomotive Superintendent, fully explaining, in reply to the Acting Consulting Engineer's letter of the 8th September, the necessity for an additional stock of twenty-five goods engines, and to urge again the Board's views as to the necessity of speedy sanction being accorded to the indent. Accordingly, under date 21st October, 1874, the Agent communicated officially to the Government Consulting Engineer the resolution above referred to, and he stated with reference to the question of duplicate gear "that " the Home Board have called for a list with full particulars of " *the duplicate engine gear in stock, in order that it may be seen* " how it may be possible to utilize this surplus stock hereafter, " but as these particulars cannot be received sufficiently soon to " allow of any of the surplus stock being worked up in engines " which could be got ready to meet the present emergency, they " desire that the circumstances be represented to Government, " and immediate sanction solicited for the indent for twenty-five " engines."

9. As far as the Board are aware, no answer was ever given by the Government to this last letter. It will be observed from the preceding *résumé* that the Board and Agent brought their views as to the Company's necessities in the matter of engines in the most pressing way to the attention of Government, and

that they finally failed to obtain, in October, 1874, any answer to their representations as to the twenty-five engines. Further, it will be noticed that the question of duplicate gear was clearly dealt with, and the reasons stated to Government why it could not be utilised to furnish a supply of engines.

10. In his letter Sir Andrew Clarke says that he writes "to "point out the very great discrepancies that exist between those "(Colonel Holland's) statements and the real facts," and he states—"but he (Colonel Holland) omits to mention that Govern- "ment, in answer, asked the Railway Company to mature a "scheme for utilising their engine gear lying idle in stock, "and estimated at £116,000, and to furnish a clear statement of "what it was considered the full complement should be of engines "and rolling stock for the whole line. Nor has Colonel Holland "mentioned that (up to the 12th January of this year) no answer "at all had been sent by the Company." The foregoing narrative of the facts disposes of Sir Andrew Clarke's statement, and as regards the alleged request of the Company "to furnish "a clear statement of what it was considered the full com- "plement should be of engines and rolling stock for the whole "line," I can only say that I do not know of such a request and can find no trace of any record that the Government at any time so called upon the Company.

11. The portion of Sir Andrew Clarke's letter which deals with the application for the forty engines, consists chiefly of a reference to his own personal proceedings, none of which were, or could be, within the cognizance of the Company.

12. The official proceedings in relation to the forty engines were as follows. In a report dated 11th December, 1876, Mr. Jackson, the Locomotive Superintendent, urged "that the time had ar- "rived that the Company should provide themselves with an "additional supply of goods engines;" he gave in this report his reasons and proposed "that of the forty engines, twenty engines and "ten of the tenders should be sent out minus wheels and axles, "with the exception of crank axles for ten out of the twenty "engines." Mr. Jackson added, "in my opinion there is "nothing in the duplicate gear besides the wheels which is "capable of being used up to advantage with new engines "ordered from home." The Agent under date 19th December, 1876, sent that report up to Government, and requested, for the reasons therein stated, sanction to indent for forty additional goods engines.

13. The Agent brought Mr. Jackson's report to the attention of the Board by his letter of the 8th January, 1877, but it is right to mention here that the Board, in consequence of representations in the half-yearly report of Mr. Conder, the General Traffic Manager, dated 16th October, received in November,

1876, as to the insufficiency of goods engines, had, in a letter of the 5th January, 1877, to the Agent, expressed their satisfaction to find that he had informed them in his report of the 30th October, 1876, in sending forward Mr. Conder's report, that no time would be lost in considering "this important matter fur-" ther in all its bearings."

14. By the Agent's letter of the 12th February, received on the 3rd March, 1877, the Board were advised that the Bombay Government had, under date 29th January, resolved to forward the indent to the Government of India for sanction. The next step was the receipt by the Board on the 14th March, from the Secretary of State, of a telegram from the Viceroy dated Calcutta the same day, as follows :—

" Heavy goods engines urgently wanted for Madras Line " and for G. I. P. At least six for each. Shipped direct by " Canal steamer to Bombay. If none ready on Indian account " try if Agent Victoria has any waiting despatch, or from any " other system of 5 ft. 6 in gauge."

15. The Board took action the same day, and on the 19th March entered into a contract with Messrs. Kitson and Company for six engines, which were delivered and shipped for India at the following dates, viz. :—

2 on the 29th May, 1877.
and 4 on the 20th June, 1877.

16. By a telegram of the 2nd April, 1877, the Agent advised the Board that the Government of India had sanctioned an indent for forty goods engines, and measures were forthwith taken by the Board to provide and send out thirty-four engines in addition to the six above referred to, and the whole of these engines are to be completed, and to be delivered in India between October and February next.

17. The point in connection with the question of the forty engines which Colonel Holland made in his remarks at the half-yearly meeting, was, that though an application for authority to indent for forty engines was known by the Board on the 3rd March to have been passed on to the Government of Calcutta by the Bombay Government on the 29th January, the Viceroy telegraphed to the Secretary of State on the 14th March, making no allusion whatever to the circumstance, but stated merely that six goods engines were urgently wanted. It will be seen by this narrative that Colonel Holland only dealt with facts. Sir Andrew Clarke explains that he was the author of the telegram in question, and that he sent it "to help the Great Indian Peninsula " the moment they became aware of what their possible needs " were."

18. I am at a loss to understand upon what grounds Sir Andrew Clarke has arrived at the conclusion that the Company

at that moment only became aware of "what their possible "needs were."

19. The circumstances, it will have been seen, lead altogether to a different conclusion. I must also point out that the circumstances do not warrant Sir Andrew Clarke in stating "the truth "is that it was not till the middle of December last "that the Agent of the Great Indian Peninsula thought it "necessary to provide more engines, and then the demand was "not made for immediate use, but in the language of the Com-"pany's Secretary in writing for these engines 'to cope with the "'maximum traffic that may be expected, if it should increase "'at the same rate as it has done during the last five years.'"

20. As a fact there is not in the letter of the Agent's secretary of the 19th December, 1876, any expression of the kind, as is shown from the copy of it attached hereto, and what Sir Andrew Clarke probably refers to, is, that Mr. Jackson, the Locomotive Superintendent (whose report was fowarded by the Agent to the Government at the same time) wrote as follows in his report:—"During the busy season we have very little mar-"gin of power available, and should the traffic go on increasing "at the rate shown in the past five years it will be quite impos-"sible for us to continue to work it with the present stock of "locomotives."

21. Sir Andrew Clarke also says, "Even in this demand, so "little did the local officers consider the subject to be at all "pressing that it was viewed only as a tentative proposal, and "the letter submitting it concludes by saying—'Should the "'Government accord their sanction to the proposed outlay, "'then on receiving it further particulars will be prepared'— "and finally, two years is suggested as the time in which the "engines are to be supplied." Sir Andrew Clarke in a previous paragraph of his letter says—"I will therefore pass on at once "to the application for the forty engines, which were 'to be "'placed on the rails within two years.'"

22. As far as the Company are concerned there is no ground whatever that I can find for this statement. Neither Mr. Jackson nor the Agent referred to the time within which the engines might be obtained, and the proposal was certainly not put before Government as being in any proper sense of the word *tentative*.

23. It was distinctly represented that forty additional engines were a necessity, and what Mr. Jackson said in the final paragraph of his report was—"Should the Government accord "their sanction to the proposed outlay, I will, on hearing to "that effect, prepare drawings of certain standard patterns "which I would like, if possible, to be used in these engines; "generally I would ask for goods engines of somewhat similar "power to those last sent out from England."

24. The only remaining point in Sir Andrew Clarke's letter that I feel called upon to notice, is his allusion to the note he had received from Mr. Childers, whose remarks may have had reference to the delays in respect of the general annual indents for the current year. The indents are prepared in personal communication between the Agent, the Storekeeper, and Heads of Departments, and the Bombay Government Consulting Engineer's department. The formal date of the indents of the current year is the 30th November, 1876; they were sent up to Government by the Agent on the 28th March, 1877, and were sanctioned by Bombay Government resolution No. 1872, of 4th June, which was sent forward by the Agent to the Board on the 22nd June, and received by the Board on the 16th July. It appears by the Government of India's letter, dated the 18th May, 1877, to the Bombay Government, sanctioning the indents, that the Bombay Government had become sensible of the great disadvantage to the Company in the delays involved by the prescribed routine, as they had requested to be permitted to authorise in future the transmission to England, for compliance, of all stores indents, as soon as approved, and the Government of India have consented to the Bombay Government giving "provisional" sanction to such indents in future.

THOS. R. WATT,
Managing Director.

3, NEW BROAD STREET, E.C.,
18th September, 1877.

BOMBAY, *19th December*, 1876.

No. 11,389.

Lieut.-Col. H. F. HANCOCK, R.E.,
Consulting Engineer for Railways.

SIR,

I am directed to forward herewith copy of a Report by the Locomotive Superintendent in regard to our stock of goods engines, and for the reasons therein stated to request sanction to indent on the Home Board for forty additional goods engines at an estimated cost of Rs. 13,80,000.

I have, &c.,
(Signed) H. I. P. THOMSON,
Secretary.

(Copy of Sir Andrew Clarke's Rejoinder).

Simla,
27th October, 1877.

Sir,

I have to acknowledge the receipt by last mail of your letter of the 28th ultimo.

As I had anticipated that I should receive some explanation from you, it was unnecessary for you to offer any excuse to me for furnishing one, as I assume you intend by sending me a précis prepared by the Managing Director of the Company.

With this précis I have little fault to find. It only repeats the dates, and confirms the facts as given by me in reply to your attack of the 8th June on the Government of India.

The author has, however, fallen into an error in his attempt to justify that attack by referring to circumstances

Notes by Mr. Watt.

Colonel Holland offered no excuse. What he did was to say to Sir Andrew Clarke that the offensive nature of his comments as conveyed to Mr. Blake would have precluded him taking any notice of his letter but for his official position in respect of Indian railways, but that position, he felt, made it incumbent on him to prove that he had good grounds for his remarks, and as the simplest means of placing the correct circumstances of the case on record, he forwarded him the précis prepared by the Managing Director.

With the exception of the date of the application for sanction to the indent for 40 engines, 19th December, 1876, and of the telegram the 14th March, 1877, none of the dates given in the précis correspond with those in Sir Andrew Clarke's letter. How then can it be said, "it only repeats the dates and confirms the facts." The précis was intended to refute, and it has been generally regarded as completely refuting, the alleged facts of Sir Andrew Clarke.

Surely it was all important in such a narrative that the whole of the circumstances should be faithfully set out.

which, in great part, if not altogether, occurred subsequently to the 5th March, the date on which the indent for engines was approved.

Nor does the précis offer any explanation why, from 1874 till the end of last year, the enquiry of the Government of India, as to the alternative measures for increasing the engine power of the Company, remained neglected,

and why no further representation as to such a want was made.

No explanation is offered why, during the same period, the Company sold several powerful and effective engines.

They were certainly not stated in error. The agent's application to Government for sanction to the indent for the 40 engines is dated 19th December, 1876, and the intimation of the Government sanction 31st March, 1877. Of Sir Andrew Clarke's intermediate proceedings the Company could have no knowledge whatever.

The explanation is given in paragraphs 9 and 10 of the précis, where it is stated "further, it will be noticed that the "question of duplicate gear "was clearly dealt with, and "the reasons stated to Govern-"ment why it could not be "utilized to furnish a supply of "engines; * * * and as "regards the alleged request "to the Company 'to furnish "'a clear statement of what it "'was considered the full com-"'plement should be of engines "'and rolling stock for the "'whole line,' I can only say "that I do not know of such a "request, and can find no trace "of any record that the Go-"vernment at any time so called "upon the Company."

A futile enquiry having regard to all that had previously occurred.

The engines here referred to were 12 passenger engines sold to the Government for State lines purposes. Being such the transaction does not affect the point in question. Moreover, the Chairman, in the speech referred to by Sir Andrew Clarke, stated, "we had rather "a superabundance of passen-"ger engines, and a deficiency

" of goods engines, and it was " wasteful to employ passenger " engines of a lighter descrip- " tion to carry goods." The statement that, " during the " same period the Company " sold several powerful and " effective engines," is therefore simply calculated to mislead.

The fact, again, that during the end of the last, and the commencement of the present year, whilst I was in direct and cordial relations with your local agent conferring on many matters of interest to the G. I. P. Railway Company, no want of engines was manifested to me, has been passed by unnoticed.

Whether Mr. Le Mesurier, the gentleman referred to as the "local agent," did or did not discuss the question with Sir Andrew Clarke, in November, 1876, has nothing whatever to do with Colonel Holland's allegation that the Government did, in 1874, refuse to accede to the repeated urgent representations for 25 *goods* engines; but it will also be seen from the précis, paragraph 13, that Sir Andrew Clarke was made aware thereby that the necessity for more goods engines was under the consideration of the Company's officers in October, 1876, and at the time of Sir Andrew's visit to Bombay, in November.

You are silent as to the reasons that prompted you, at a business meeting, for business purposes, to distort the language of a telegram which was not sent in your interests alone but included those of another Company, and which was intended to meet a passing and pressing want, with which also your all but contemporaneous application for engines, to be delivered within two years, for the possible development of a traffic within five years, had nothing to do.

The exact terms of the telegram are set out in the précis. The humorous expression was used by Colonel Holland as describing it, and not as giving the language of the telegram. The facts, however, remain that the application for sanction to the indent for 40 engines, dated 19th December, 1876, was before the Government of India at the date of the telegram, 14th March, 1877, that no allusion was made in the telegram to that circumstance, and that the intimation of the Government sanction to the Agent is dated

31st March, 1877. Then as to the reiteration by Sir Andrew that the application was "for engines to be delivered within two years," I would merely point out that the truth appears in paragraphs 10 to 22 of the précis, and that it is also shown therein (paragraph 22) that as far as the Company are concerned there is no ground whatever for Sir Andrew's statement.

You are further silent as to the cause for your attributing to the Viceroy the language of *sensation and panic*, whilst at the same time you insinuate that he had neglected or suppressed, *in the midst of a great* calamity the means offered him to alleviate and mitigate it.

If on one and all of those points I have been deceived, and you can offer me any satisfactory explanation of them, frankly and readily will I recall what I have written.

But if this cannot be, and you adhere to your intimation of again addressing the Shareholders on those matters, I rely upon your communicating this letter to them in full.

I am, Sir,
Your obedient Servant,
(Signed) ANDREW CLARKE.

To
Colonel HOLLAND,
Chairman G. I. P. Ry. Company.

A

DEBATE ON INDIA

IN THE

English Parliament.

BY M. LE COMTE DE

MONTALEMBERT.

Translated by permission of M. de Montalembert from the "Correspondant" of October 20, 1858.

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NOTICE.

The article by M. de Montalembert, a translation of which is given in the following pages, appeared, on the 29th of October, 1858, in the *Correspondant*, a monthly organ of the Liberal Catholic party in France.

Since its appearance it has been made the ground of a prosecution by the Government against M. de Montalembert and the manager of the *Correspondant*.

The offences imputed to the author, and to the manager of the periodical, in the publication of this article, are, according to the laws relating to the Press in France, arranged under four heads. In order that the reader may understand what are the points on which the prosecution is rested, we proceed to state what these heads are, and to place under them references to the passages which are set down in the *assignation* (indictment), as falling within the scope of these several heads of accusation.

I. Exciting to the hatred and contempt of the Emperor's Government.

1. Page 1.—"I honestly confess . . . . free England."
2. Page 5.—"In Canada . . . . American federation."
3. Page 11.—"We possess not only the habits . . . . of the mob."
4. Page 52.—"Whilst these reflections . . . . . generous minds."

II.—Attack on the respect due to the laws.

1. Page 11.—"We possess not only the habits . . . . of the mob."
2. Page 45.—"I for my part . . . . awaits them."
3. Page 53.—"This is but the application . . . . results of 1789."

III.—Attack on the rights which the Emperor derives from the Constitution, and on the principle of Universal Suffrage.

1. Page 2.—"Besides, I readily grant . . . . madmen, perhaps, like myself."
2. Page 52.—"In a word, moral force . . . . intelligent energy."
3. Page 57.—"I have in these pages . . . . spontaneous sacrifice."

IV.—Exciting to the hatred and contempt of the citizens one against another.

1. Page 2.—"Besides, I readily grant . . . . madmen, perhaps, like myself."
2. Page 12.—"But if by chance . . . . reflections and facts."
3. Page 52.—"Whilst these reflections . . . . . generous minds."

A condemnation renders the periodical liable to be entirely suppressed, and subjects the author to a penalty of fine and imprisonment. He may also be at any time afterwards forced to remain (*interné*) in the provinces of France or in the colonies, or may be expelled from the French territory altogether.

A DEBATE ON INDIA

IN THE

ENGLISH PARLIAMENT.

I.

THERE are some unhappily constituted minds for which repose and silence are not the supreme good. There are persons who feel, from time to time, a longing to depart from the tranquil *uniformity of their ordinary life*. There are soldiers who, conquered, wounded, in chains, condemned to deadly inaction, gain consolation and a new life from seeing the struggles and dangers of others. That which attracts them is not the sad and paltry feeling of secure selfishness which Lucretius has depicted in his famous lines—

"Suave, mari magno, turbantibus æquora ventis,
E terrâ magnum alterius spectare laborem
Suave etiam belli certamina magna tueri
Per campos instructa, tuâ sine parte pericli."

No, it is a purer and a higher motive. It is the effort of the disarmed gladiator, who, looking with emotion on the arena whither he will no more descend, claps his hands at the exploits of his more fortunate rivals, and sends forth to the combatants a cry of sympathy, which is drowned, though not wholly extinguished, in the midst of the generous shouts of the attentive crowd.

I honestly confess that I am one of those persons; and I add that for this evil—from which it is so little the fashion to suffer now-a-days—I have found a remedy. When I feel that the stifling malady is gaining on me, when my ears ring, now with the buzz of the gossips of the antechamber, now with the din of the fanatics who think themselves our masters, and of the hypocrites who think us their dupes; when I choke with the weight of an atmosphere charged with the pestilential vapours of servility and corruption, I hurry to breathe a purer air, and take a bath of life in free England.

The last time that I gave myself this relief chance served me well. I came exactly in the midst of one of those great and glorious struggles where play is given to all the resources of the intelligence, and all the movements of the conscience, of a great people; where there are started, to find solution in the open day and by the intervention of noble minds, the greatest problems that can agitate a nation whose days of tutelage are past; where men and things, parties and individuals, orators and writers, the depositaries of power and the organs of opinion, are called to reproduce in the heart of a new Rome the picture painted long ago by a Roman fresh from the emotions of the forum :—

> "Certare ingenio, contendere nobilitate,
> Noctes atque dies niti præstante labore,
> Ad summas emergere opes, rerumque potiri."

At these words I see some brows grow dark, and express the repugnance inspired in the followers of the fashions of the day by all that seems a remembrance of, or a regret for, political life. If among those who have opened these pages there are any who are governed by these fashions, I say to them plainly,—"Pause, and go no further. There is nothing in what I am going to write which can possibly please or interest you. Go and ruminate peacefully in the fat pasturages of your happy tranquillity, and do not grudge to those, who do not grudge you anything, the right to remain faithful to their past, to the disquiets of mental life, and to the aspirations of liberty." Every one takes his pleasure where he finds it; and we are in a fair way, not, indeed, to understand one another, but to come to an end of dispute, when we have no ambition or affection in common, and when our notions of happiness and honour are perfectly different.

Besides, I readily grant that nothing, absolutely nothing, in the institutions or the political personages of France in the present day has any resemblance to the things of which, and the men of whom, I wish here to give a rapid sketch. Certainly I make no pretension to convert those disciples of progress, who regard Parliamentary Government as advantageously replaced by Universal Suffrage, or those political optimists who maintain that the final triumph of democracy consists in abdicating into the hands of a Sovereign the exclusive direction of the external and internal affairs of a country. I write for my own satisfaction, and that of a small number of invalids, of triflers, of madmen, perhaps, like myself. I study contemporary institutions which are no longer ours, but which have been ours, and which seem still to a person so behindhand as I am, to be worthy of admiration and envy. The eager sympathy which men of high ability have awakened for the fair ladies of the Fronde, for the equivocal personages of the great English Rebellion, or for the obscure and barren struggles

of our old. Communes,—may we not ask that it shall once in a way be bestowed on the acts and deeds of a nation which is living and moving in its strength and its greatness at seven leagues' distance from our northern shores? I think we may; and moreover, I fancy that this study of foreign statistics, or rather, of contemporary archæology, may beguile our idle hours as well as a commentary on the Comedies of Plautus, or a narrative of an exploring expedition to the sources of the Nile.

II.

At the end of last spring the state of Hindostan and the issue of the revolt, which during a whole year had been raging in the northern provinces of that immense region, were still the topics that most preoccupied the attention of England. How could it be otherwise? I, myself, was astonished and alarmed at seeing the English people, after the consternation and anger of the first few months, so soon abandon itself, not, certainly, to a criminal indifference, but to a premature security as to the issue of the struggle. I wished to learn from really competent judges what were the true causes of the insurrection, and at the same time what were the means, on the employment of which reliance was placed, in order to triumph definitively over a danger so formidable, so little foreseen, and so aggravated by the threatening complication which from day to day might rise from the politics of Europe. I carried with me into this inquiry a deep sympathy for the great nation, at once Christian and free, on which God had imposed this terrible trial; and I felt this sympathy redoubled in presence of the inhuman animosity of so many organs of the continental press, and, alas! of the press that calls itself conservative and religious, against the victims of the Bengal massacres. I should have liked to tell every Englishman I met that I did not belong in any way to the parties whose organs had applauded and justified the cut-throats, and who daily pour forth solemn vows for the triumph of Mussulman and Pagan hordes over the heroic soldiers of a Christian people, and a people allied to France.*

I felt, also, what every intelligent liberal feels and knows, that from the attitude of the continental press there results one more proof of a great fact, which is the immortal honour of England in the present day. All the apologists of absolutism, ancient or modern, monarchical or democratic, are against England; for her, on the other

* I am aware that praise has little worth or dignity when free criticism is not permitted. But I feel protected from every suspicion of servility when I pay a just homage to the courageous perseverance with which the Government of the Emperor maintains an alliance, the rupture of which would certainly increase his popularity, but would carry with it a fatal blow to the independence of Europe, and the true interests of France.

hand, are all those who still remain faithful to that tempered liberty of which she has been the cradle, and of which she remains to this day the invincible bulwark. That is natural and just. It is sufficient to make us forget certain sympathies shown in the present policy of England, sympathies more easy to explain than justify, and to make us pardon her for wrongs which, in a different state of the world, would deserve the severest reprobation.

I venture to say that no one knows better, and no one has pointed out more plainly than I, the many instances in which, in the course of the last few years, the policy of England has been thoroughly wrong and mistaken. I think I was the first to denounce, even before 1848, the policy of Lord Palmerston, too often overbearing to the weak and truckling to the strong, and signally imprudent, inconsistent, and faithless to all the great traditions of his country. But, in truth, when one reads the pitiable invectives of the Anglophobes of our days, when one compares with their complaints against England the ideas they trumpet forth, and the systems which they praise, one feels involuntarily led to an indulgence for all against which they fight—even for Lord Palmerston. It would be, besides, the height of unreasonableness and of unfairness to look on England as alone guilty, or as the most guilty, among the nations of the earth. Her policy is neither more selfish nor more immoral than that of the other great States of ancient or modern history. I even think that it would be quite possible to prove that a judgment exactly opposite to this was the true one. It is not charity, but strict justice that begins at home, and in speaking of national shortcomings, no French writer has a right to denounce the policy of England before he has passed judgment on the crimes of the policy of France during the Revolution and the Empire, looking at this policy, not as it is represented by its adversaries, but as it is revealed by its apologists, for example, by M. Thiers. It is in vain to search the darkest corners of English diplomacy to find even a distant parallel to the destruction of the Venetian Republic, or the treacherous plot of Bayonne.

Besides, we are not now speaking of the general policy of England, but of her Colonial policy. And it is precisely here that all the brightness of the English genius shines forth. Not certainly that the English have been always and everywhere irreproachable; but everywhere and always they have equalled, if not surpassed, in wisdom, justice, and humanity, the other European races who have engaged in similar undertakings. It is not, we must own, a very noble page of history that records the relations of Christian Europe with the rest of the world since the crusades. It is not, unfortunately, Christian virtue or Christian truth that has presided over the successive conquests of the powerful nations of the West in Asia and in America. After the first burst, so full of nobleness and piety, in the fifteenth century — which gave

birth to the great, the saintly Christopher Columbus, and all the heroes of the maritime and colonial history of Portugal, who were worthy to rank in the ungrateful memory of mankind with the heroes of ancient Greece—we see all the vices of modern civilization take the place of the spirit of faith and self-sacrifice, here exterminating the native races, there yielding to the enervating influence of the corrupting civilization of the East, instead of regenerating and replacing it. It is impossible not to own that England, especially since she has gloriously expiated her participation in the negro slave-trade and in colonial slavery, may pride herself on having for the most part escaped those lamentable errors. To the historian, who asks her to give account of all her commercial and maritime efforts for the last two centuries, she may justly answer, "*Si queris monumentum, circumspice.*" Are there in history many spectacles greater, more wonderful, more honourable to modern civilization than that of this company of English merchants, which has lasted two centuries and a half, and which but yesterday governed, at a distance of 2000 leagues from home, nearly 200,000,000 souls by means of 800 civil officers and of 15,000 to 20,000 soldiers? But England has done something better even than this. She has formed not only colonies but peoples. She has created the United States. She has made them one of the great Powers of the world, by endowing them with those provincial and personal liberties which have enabled them to free themselves triumphantly from the yoke itself, always so light and easy, of the mother country. "Our free institutions," it was said, in 1852, in the annual Message of the President of this great Republic, "are not the fruit of the Revolution; they existed before; they had their roots in the free charters under which the English colonies had grown up."

In the present day England is in process of creating in Australia new United States, which will soon detach themselves from the parent stem to become a great nation, imbued from the cradle with the manly virtues and the glorious liberties which are everywhere the heritage of the Anglo-Celtic race, and which, let me once more assert, are more favourable to the propagation of Catholic truth, and to the dignity of the priesthood than any other political system under the sun.*

In Canada a noble race of French Catholics, torn unhappily from our own country, but still French in feelings and manners, owes to England the preservation or acquisition, not only of religious liberty, but of all the political and municipal liberties which France has rejected. Canada has seen her population increased ten-

* See in No. 179 of the "*Annales de la Propagation de la Foi*," (July, 1858) the interesting letter of the Rev. Father Poupinel to Cardinal de Bonald on the progress of the Church and the freedom it enjoys in these vast countries.

fold* in less than a century, and will serve as the basis of the new federation which from the mouths of the Oregon to those of the St. Lawrence, will be one day the rival or the companion of the great American federation.

All this is forgotten, misunderstood, or evil spoken of by certain royalist and Catholic writers, who pour daily the flood of their venom on the greatness and freedom of England. They must be strange royalists, and very ungrateful, who forget that England is the only country in Europe where the *prestige* of royalty has remained unimpaired for nearly two centuries, that it is also the only country that has given an inviolable shelter to the august exiles of France, and has lavished with unheard-of munificence its succour on the French nobility of the Emigration, and on the French clergy prosecuted for not having been willing to make a bargain with schism.† Still more strange are the Catholics who do not fear to compromise not only all the rights of justice and truth, but even the interests of the Church, by obstinately insisting on establishing a radical hostility between Catholicism and the free prosperity of the vastest empire now existing in the world, whose every victory over barbarism opens an immense field for the preaching of the gospel and the extension of the Roman hierarchy. One of the darkest pages of the history, already so little edifying, of our religious press, will be the cruel joy with which the disasters, true or false, of the English in India have been hailed, those strange sympathies for the butchers of Delhi and Cawnpore, those daily invectives against a handful of brave men battling against innumerable enemies and a murderous climate, in order to avenge their brothers, their wives, and their infants, and to re-establish the legitimate and necessary ascendency of the Christian West over the Indian peninsula. One is revolted by such sanguinary declamations, accompanied by constant attempts to provoke to war two nations bound together by a happy and glorious alliance, while the pious promoters of this war know that they would be the last to undergo its dangers and sustain its sacrifices. And when these declamations inundate the columns of certain journals specially devoted to the clergy and encouraged by it; when they show themselves between the narrative of an apparition of the Holy Virgin, and the picture of the consecration of a church to the God of pity and love, the result is that every Christian soul, untainted by the passions and hatreds

* It was less than 65,000 at the date of the treaty of Paris in 1761; it was 695,945 in 1851. CHARLES DUPIN. *Force Productive des Nations.*

† Eight thousand priests, two thousand laymen, and six hundred French nuns sought in 1793 a refuge in England. In 1806, they had received from the English by private subscriptions, and Parliamentary grants, the sum of *forty-six million* francs. A Catholic Journal of London, the *Rambler* of August, 1858, borrows these figures from the book of the Abbé Margotti, called *Rome and London*, of which it publishes in the same number an amusing and complete refutation.

of a retrograde fanaticism, feels a painful repugnance which may be reckoned among the rudest trials of the life of an honest man. It is as if one heard in an Eastern night the cry of the jackal between the cooing of doves and the freshening murmurs of running water.

Besides, this evil breath is familiar to me. I have breathed and detested it in the days of my childhood, when a considerable portion of those who styled themselves the defenders of the altar and the throne were loud in their disapproval of the generous sons of Greece in arms against the Ottoman rule, and triumphed over the disasters of Ipsara and Missolonghi as at so many blows inflicted on schismatics and revolutionists. Happily, nobler inspirations carried the day in the counsels of the Restoration, as in the naturally generous hearts of the Royalists. The genius of M. de Chateaubriand ground to dust the unfortunate preferences of his old party for the butchers of the Peloponnese. And now there is no Legitimist who does not consider it as a title to glory for Charles X. to have taken a principal part in the enfranchisement of Greece, and who does not repudiate with horror the opinions professed five-and-thirty years ago by the chief members of the Royalist party. Let us hope that a day will come when there will be no Catholic who does not repudiate with equal horror the hateful tokens of encouragement lavished at the present time by the religious press on the cut-throats of India. Happily no voice that is authorized to speak in the company of the faithful, no pontiff, no prince of the Church, has joined in this cry. On the contrary, it is pleasant to see that throughout the numerous pastoral letters published on the subject by the Catholic bishops of the British Islands there is shown a patriotic sympathy for the affliction of their countrymen. The letter of M. Gillies, vicar apostolic at Edinburgh, deserves to be quoted as the most eloquent lamentation inspired by this national catastrophe. And it is especially delightful here to recall the liberal and paternal subscription of Pius IX. on behalf of the English sufferers in India. It was at once a touching gage of the unconquerable gentleness of his pontifical soul, and the most conclusive refutation of those prophets of hate, who preach an irreconcileable enmity between the Church and the greatness of Britain.

For my part, I say plainly, I feel a horror for the orthodoxy which takes no count of justice and truth, of humanity and honour, and I never weary of repeating the forcible words lately uttered by the Bishop of Rochello; "Would it not be well to give "instruction to many Catholics on the virtues of natural law, on the "respect due to a neighbour, on loyalty due even towards adversaries, "on the spirit of equity and charity? The virtues of natural law "are essential, and the Church herself does not dispense with them."*

* Letter to the Editor of the *Univers*, 10th August, 1858.

How, again, can any one fail to understand that by these blind denunciations against a nation which is reproached at once with the crime of its fathers and the virtue of its children, with the protestantism of the sixteenth century, and the liberty of the nineteenth, we expose ourselves to a most cruel and dangerous retort? Ah! if it had been given to France to accomplish the great colonial destinies which were opening before her in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, we should have doubtless a great and consolatory example for all Catholic nations to be proud of. If we had remained with our missionaries and our bold but humane adventurers on the banks of the Mississippi and the St. Lawrence, where he genius of France would have found such a vast career to unfold itself in at ease; if we had but been able to keep the empire of the East Indies, which seemed at one time assured to us, and had caused to reign there the social and Christian virtues which are the heritage of our race, we could brave all criticism and all comparison. But we have lost all these noble possessions, and lost them in the good time to which people wish to bring us back, when the monarchy was subject to no parliamentary control, and when error had not the same privilege as truth. This being so, ought we not, when brought face to face with history, to own that all the Catholic nations except France have miserably failed in the great task imposed on them by Providence on behalf of the races they have conquered? Does not history with appealing voice cry out to Spain, "Cain, what hast thou done to thy brother?" What has Spain done with the millions of Indians that peopled the isles and the continent of the New World? How many years did it take the unworthy successors of Columbus and Cortes to annihilate them, in spite of the official protection of the Spanish crown, and in spite of the heroic efforts, the fervent and indefatigable charity of the religious orders.* Have the Spaniards shown themselves less pitiless than the Anglo-Americans of the North? Can it be that the lamentable pages, written by Bartholomew de Las Casas, are effaced from the memory of men? The English clergy are reproached with not having protested against the exactions of Clive and of Warren Hastings. We admit it is not given to Protestantism to give birth to such men as Las Casas and Peter Claver; that is the exclusive and immortal privilege of the Catholic Church. But what are we to think, when those orthodox nations, with the advantages of such apostles and of such teaching, have depopulated

* It is said of a Governor of Mexico, that he caused the destruction of two million Indians during the seventeen years of his administration. If there yet remain some relics of the aborigines of Mexico, and if a sort of fusion has been effected between them and their conquerors, this is due to the Dominicans and Franciscans, whose marvellous exploits should be read in the new *History of the Spanish Conquest in America*, by Mr. ARTHUR HELPS, (London, 1856-7,) a book in which an impartial Protestant renders the most striking justice to the devotion and the intelligence of the Catholic clergy.

half the globe? And what was the society which the Spanish conquest substituted for the races which had been exterminated instead of having been civilized? *Must we not turn away our eyes in sadness*, so entirely are the first elements of order, energy, discipline, and legality wanting everywhere, except, perhaps, in Chili, to Spanish enterprise; so wholly has it been stript of the strong virtues of the ancient Castilian society, without having been able to acquire any of the qualities which characterize modern progress? In Hindostan itself what remains of Portuguese conquest? What remains of the numberless conversions achieved by St. Francis Xavier? What remains of the vast organization of that Church which was placed under the protection of the Crown of Portugal? Go, ask that question at Goa; measure there the depths of the moral and material decrepitude into which has fallen an empire immortalized by Albuquerque, by John de Castro, and by so many others worthy to be reckoned among the most valiant Christians who have ever existed. You will there see to what the mortal influence of absolute power can bring Catholic colonies as well as their mother countries.

What must be concluded from this? That Catholicism renders a people incapable of colonizing? God forbid! Canada, the example which we have quoted above, is there to give the lie to any such blasphemous assertion. But we are bound to conclude this much—that it is well, when people constitute themselves the champions of Catholic interests, to look behind and around before heaping up invective on invective, calumny on calumny, in order to throw discredit on those nations which are unfortunately foreign or hostile to the Church. When people have for ever in their mouths the dictum of M. de Maistre, "History has been for three centuries a great conspiracy against truth," they should not begin afresh, when history is written for the use of Catholics, a great conspiracy against truth as well as against justice and liberty. On the contrary, there is another dictum of M. de Maistre which should be called to mind, "The Church is in need of truth, and is in need but of that." Falsehood, under either of the two forms which law and theology recognise—namely, the *suggestio falsi* and the *suppressio veri*, is the saddest homage which can be rendered to the Church. She cannot be served well by borrowing the method and adopting the proceedings of her worst enemies. No, to renew for her profit the tricks and the violences of error is not to defend the truth. The spirit of modern times has begun to perceive that a great deal of falsehood has been in circulation during three centuries against God and His Church; it has begun to shake off the yoke of that falsehood. Do people, then, wish to plunge it back again into the hatred of good? Do they wish to repel it towards the intellectual excesses of the eighteenth century? For that end one infallible means is at hand—to practise or

pardon falsehood, even involuntary falsehood, for the greater glory of God.

III.

But has England herself been irreproachable in the foundation and administration of the immense empire which she possesses in the East Indies? Certainly not; and, if we were tempted to attribute to her a degree of innocence or of virtue to which she has never pretended, we might be easily undeceived by looking through the numberless works which have appeared on the Government of British India, not only since the breaking out of the insurrection, but previously to that event. In all this mountain of publications, panegyric and apology are exceedingly rare; the most vehement philippics and accusations abound; but what is of far more consequence than systematic praise or blame, is the profound and supremely sincere investigation of the faults, dangers, difficulties, and infirmities of British rule in India.

I shall not cease to repeat that it is in this extensive, and, indeed, unlimited publicity, that the principal strength of English society consists—that this is the essential condition of its vitality and the sovereign guarantee of its liberty. The English press, at first sight, seems to be nothing but a universal and permanent indictment against every person and every thing; but, upon a closer inspection, we perceive that discussion, rectification, or reparation, follow closely on denunciation and abuse.

Mistakes and injustice are, no doubt, frequent and flagrant; but they are almost always amended immediately, or excused in consideration of the salutary truths or indispensable lights which reach the public mind by the same road. Not a general, an admiral, a diplomatist, a statesman is spared. They are all treated in the same manner as the Duke of Wellington, when, at the outset of his victories in the Peninsula, he was preparing the emancipation of Europe and the preponderance of his country, in the midst of the clamours of the Opposition, both in the press and in Parliament. And all, like him, resign themselves to this, confiding in the final justice of the country and of opinion, which has hardly ever disappointed them. The public, accustomed to the din and to the apparent confusion which arises from this permanent conflict of contradictory opinions and testimonies, ends, after the lapse of a certain time, by coming to recognise the truth. It possesses, above all, a wonderful tact for unravelling the true nature of certain purely individual manifestations, however noisy they may be, and for attributing to them that degree of importance which they really merit, while respecting and maintaining the right which every Englishman asserts for himself to judge and criticise everything, and even to deceive himself at his own proper risk,

Those who feel themselves offended—not without reason—by *the coarse form, or by the evident falsity of certain opinions* expressed by some English orators or writers with respect to foreign affairs, should never forget two things—first, that this species of cutting and unbridled criticism is poured forth more coarsely, more freely, and more habitually on English men and things ; secondly, that it is always the act, as well as the opinion, of an individual member of a society, in which the progress of civilization has consisted up to the present hour in the unrestrained development of *individual power and liberty. This is what is continually forgotten ;* and the result is that so many opinions, either absurdly false or exaggerated, appear in the continental press respecting the true bearing of certain speeches or writings, which are quoted and commented on as possessing a *quasi*-official value. Notwithstanding our numerous and long-continued relations with that country—notwithstanding the slight distance which separates France from England, and the brief interval that separates us from our own past, we have lost the art of understanding the position of a great free nation, where each individual is free, and gives free scope to all his fancies. We possess not only the habits but even the instincts of those sober and orderly peoples, doomed to an eternal minority, who sometimes indulge in frightful outbreaks, but who speedily fall back into that state of civil impotence, where no one dares to speak except by order, or by permission, with the salutary terror of a warning from authority hanging over his head, if he should be so rash as to oppose ever so little the ideas of Government or the ideas of the mob.

In England, and throughout its vast colonial Empire,* it is quite the reverse ; every one in the world of politics says what he thinks, and does what may please him, without permission from any one, and without subjecting himself to any other repression than that imposed by general opinion and by the public conscience, when these may have been braved with too great a degree of boldness. Under the impulse of the moment, in a fit of spite, ill-humour, or vanity, any English subject, any isolated individual, without a mission from others, without authority, influence, or responsibility to any one, but seldom without sympathy, expresses, by word of mouth or in writing, whatever may pass through his mind. Sometimes it is the triumphant accent of justice and truth which thus makes itself heard, universally understood, speedily accepted, and everywhere repeated by the thousand echoes of an unrestrained

* *The press is absolutely free in all the English colonies, even in Hindostan ; and* this liberty is perhaps one of the most serious embarrassments of the English Government in India. Nevertheless, the measure adopted in the first moments of the insurrection, by which a partial censure was established for *one year*, has not been renewed after the expiration of this first year ; and it is in the journals which appear in Calcutta and Bombay that are found the most hostile criticisms on the conduct of the civil and military affairs of the English.

publicity; and it is in order not to destroy this chance, which may be the only one in favour of right and of national interest, that the English are unanimous in resigning themselves to the serious inconveniences attaching to liberty of speech.

At other times we encounter ridiculous or offensive exaggerations, gratuitous insults to foreigners, or, again, in a contrary direction, a direct appeal to their interference in the internal affairs of the United Kingdom.* Oftener still, there is a pleasantry, a sally, a puerile boast, a platitude; and on the morrow it is contradicted, refuted, abused, and forgotten. But if by chance it has been taken hold of by one of those translators, authorized by the censorship, who feed in so strange a manner the continental press, instantly all the privileged detractors of liberty transcribe it, take note of it, get furious over it, and cry aloud, "See how England thinks, and what she says;" and they proceed to deduce consequences of an absurdly alarming cast, now for the peace of the world, now for the security of British institutions, although they are sure to be promptly and shamefully exposed in their falsehood by reflection and facts.

Let us hazard the passing remark that the great evil of absolute Governments is, that their faults are kept secret. Like a sore that is never opened, never dressed, never reduced, these faults spread, and little by little corrupt the entire body of society. On the contrary, as has been observed with reason, an evil is never irreparable in a country where people know how to preach themselves a stern lesson without fearing to wound national pride or to humiliate the Government. Publicity in England, rash, imprudent, coarse, often apparently compromising the dignity of the country, and sometimes capable of endangering international relations, constitutes at once the daily bread of the majority, the last refuge of the minority, the pivot of universal existence.

Publicity is the remedy for all the evils inseparable from a civilization so far advanced, a remedy hard to bear, but salutary and infallible, and which, above all, proves better than any other argument the strong constitution of the patient. This remedy has never yet failed; witness what came to pass during the Russian war, and the comparative state of the two allied armies in the course of their second winter in the Crimea. Happy the nations who can so undergo the fire and the sword. They may be truly called manly, for they find nothing to envy in any one, and have to fear only an excess of confidence in their own strength.

The preceding observations serve to explain the fact that there exists no kind of reproach or of abuse which the English and the Anglo-Indians have not addressed to their Government, to their generals, above all, to the East India Company, that great corporation, which, after a hundred years of success and of increasing

* See concluding note, p. 68.

prosperity, beholds itself attacked at the close of its glorious career by that cowardly complicity of human nature all the world over with fortune, when she abandons those whom she has long loaded with her favours. But if we duly weigh the worth of all these accusations, if we hear the evidence on the other side, if we consult the past state of things as compared with existing facts, we cannot feel inclined to ratify in every point the sentence pronounced against the Company. The future will tell whether it was right to profit by the present crisis to suppress the "Double Government," and to displace the multitude of wheels which ever since Pitt's famous Bill of 1784 have never ceased to render more complicated the action in India of the home Government, by restraining more and more the independence of the Company. Meanwhile, it would be the height of injustice to pass a condemnation on its whole history.

Certainly, it has committed more than one fault, perhaps more than one crime. It has not done all the good it might have done. But I assert, without hesitation, that the East India Company, now defunct by virtue of the Act of the 2nd of August, 1858, is, of all powers known in the colonial history of the ancient or modern world, that which has done the greatest things with the humblest means, and that which, in any equal space of time, has conferred the greatest amount of good, and inflicted the least of evil on the peoples subject to its rule. I assert that it delivered the different populations of India from a yoke, which, in general, was atrocious, in order to subject them to a regime incomparably milder and more equitable, although still imperfect. It employed for the improvement of the conquered race, not certainly all the efforts which it ought and might have made, and which the English themselves unceasingly called for, but a hundredfold more solicitude and devotion than any of the native Powers whose place it took upon itself to fill, or than any of the European nations invested by conquest with a similar mission.

Admitting, even, that the immoral selfishness of a corporation of merchants has but too often signalized its *débuts* in the Peninsula of Hindostan, still, for more than fifty years its generals and principal agents, the Wellesleys, the Malcolms, the Munros, the Bentincks, fully displayed all the zeal and all the activity becoming their high functions, to expiate the evil deeds of their predecessors, and to lead every impartial observer to avow that, in the present state of things, British domination is at once a benefit and a necessity for the inhabitants of India.

The Company has not known how to correct or repress everywhere the *hauteur*, the reserve, the insolence which is natural to Englishmen, but it has constantly fought against the lamentable results of that mixture of selfishness and energy which, in the Anglo-Saxon race, degenerates too often into ferocity,

and of which one sees in the United States too numerous examples.

In the countries where it has been invested with territorial sovereignty, it has everywhere done away with slavery and forced labour: in most cases it has respected all vested rights, and even too often the abuses established before its advent. It is thus that the European agents, incessantly deceived by the native *employés* who necessarily act for them as subordinate agents with the people, have been regarded as accomplices in the cruelties and tortures made use of by the collectors of taxes; but this is to ignore the fact that it is the Indians who were the torturers, whilst it is the English who have discovered, denounced, and punished the native oppressors.

With regard to the question so much discussed, and yet understood so imperfectly, of the territorial constitution of Hindostan, the Company has always prevented the dispossession of the landed proprietors by English colonists or speculators—either confirming, according to the policy of Lord Cornwallis, the feudal tenure of the great Mussulman and Hindoo proprietors in Bengal, or recognising and regulating the vested rights of the peasantry, as in the presidencies of Bombay and Madras, or those of the rural communities, as in the provinces of the North-West.

Especial fault has been found with the Company for the haste with which it annexed to its immediate sway States, the suzerainty of which it had accepted or conquered, according as these States were its allies or vassals.† But we do not sufficiently inquire whether it was not led necessarily and against its will, in most cases, to absorb these independent States. Judging from what we ourselves have experienced in Algeria, and from what has occurred in China up to the present time, it is clear that nothing is more difficult than to hold relations with Eastern races, either as allies or auxiliaries; and that their good faith, and even their understanding, apprehends no other condition than either war or complete subjection. Every one seems to agree to regard the recent annexation of Oude, under the government of Lord Dalhousie, as an unjustifiable act, which has furnished a legitimate pretext for the revolt of the Sepoys. One might still more justly blame the English Government for having too long thrown the shadow of its protection over the crimes and excesses of the court of Lucknow, and of the great feudal aristocracy which crushed the country to pieces with its civil wars and its exactions. One ought to read in the work entitled *Private Life of an Eastern King*, published in 1855, the picture of

* See the Parliamentary Inquiry in 1855 and 1856 on the Employment of Torture in India. One plainly sees from it that not one Englishman has been shown to have had any share whatever in these atrocities.

† This grievance was set forth with great clearness and power in a speech made in Parliament, on the 18th of April, 1856, by Sir Erskine Perry, one year previous to the outbreak which has verified his predictions.

the conduct of one of these monsters who reigned at Lucknow before the annexation, and one ought to read in Colonel Sleeman's book, who was himself a resident at this Court, the account of the outrages and daily spoliations which the population of the open country had to submit to in consequence of the feuds carried on between one stronghold and another. The English have not sufficiently taken to heart the responsibility which their protectoral authority has imposed on them, the nature of the suzerainty which they have exercised since 1801, the date of their military occupation of this state, but likewise the date of their committing the mistake of re-establishing the native dynasty under the patronage of an English resident. They ought either not to have meddled at all with the affairs of these too-near neighbours, or else not to have allowed the excesses and abuses of former times to be continued under the English rule. What appears certain is, that the population is really less ill-treated in the countries completely united to the English empire than in those where there still exists the nominal authority of rajahs and nabobs tributary to England. Nevertheless, the efforts of the Company to introduce the regularity and completeness of European systems, so little in accordance with the habits of the East, as regards the administration of justice and the assessment and levying of taxes, have led to the breaking up of a multitude of private interests, and have created a feeling of hostility amongst the masses. Although far less burdened than under the native princes, the people are none the less led to fear lest the interest of proprietorship, as they understand and practise it, may be sacrificed and made subordinate to the interest of the revenue. Furthermore, the Governor-Generals, sometimes in spite of the Company itself, appear to have deeply wounded the national feeling of the Indian races, by disowning, in the order of succession to the thrones of the rajahs and nabobs, the titles of adopted heirs to whom the laws and immemorial customs assign the same rights as to heirs by blood.

It is especially on the head of religion that the accusations made against the Company seem unjust and contradictory. One party bitterly reproaches it with having done nothing to propagate Christianity in India; others attribute, on the contrary, the recent outburst to the system of proselytism which it had encouraged or tolerated amongst the missionaries and certain officers of too evangelical a zeal. These accusations fall equally to the ground. Originated for a purpose exclusively commercial, the East India Company has never pretended, as the Spanish and Portuguese conquerors did, to labour for the increase of the glory of God; but, on the other hand, it has never attempted to force the truth upon nations fanatically attached to their errors, and it has not seen any of the races in subjection to its laws disappear or become extinct. It has made war slowly and prudently against certain social crimes which are identified with the Hindoo religion,

such as the sacrifice of widows, infanticide, and thuggism; but, in the main, it has scrupulously respected the religion of its subjects. By its example, still more than by its direct measures, it has repressed the spirit of blind and rash proselytism, which would only have served to increase the natural antipathy between the two races, and which might have led to the horrors too justly imputed to the Spaniards of Mexico and Peru. But, far from presenting any obstacle to the preaching of the Gospel, it has, from the very first, organized the national system of religion for the English *employés;* and, moreover, in opening the gates of the immense regions of India on both sides of the Ganges to Christians of all creeds, it has guaranteed to all efforts of individual zeal that liberty, which is the first and only need of true missionaries. Those who, amongst ourselves, make a periodical apology for the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, and who praise Charlemagne for having condemned to death the Saxons who were audacious enough to steal away in flight in order to avoid baptism, would find, without doubt, that it would be the better plan to slaughter people whilst baptizing them, as the Spaniards did in America. But the immense majority of the Christians of our day will be of another opinion, and no man of sense will attribute it as a crime to the East India Company, that it has followed in Hindostan the same system which we ourselves pursue in Algeria, and the introduction of which into the Ottoman Empire and into China we claim as our own work.

Those who reproach England with not having been able to make Protestants in Hindostan, had perhaps better get some information as to the number of Catholics that we make in Algeria. I go too far in instancing Algeria, for, if I am well informed, the preaching of the Catholic religion to the natives and the efforts made to convert them meet there with very serious impediments on the part of the civil and military authorities. We have never yet heard, as far as I know, of Catholic missions being encouraged, or even tolerated, by the French Government, amongst the Arabian, Moorish, and Kabylic subjects of France. People have imputed it as a crime to the English magistrates, that they have preserved the properties which were set apart to maintain the absurd and often obscene rites of Brahminical idolatry, and that they have sent guards of police to preserve order during the celebration of these ceremonies. This has not taken place in India since the Act of 1840; but it is precisely what the French Administration believes itself bound to do in Africa; and, in truth, one would not find in the works of any English functionary so complete a declaration of sympathy and protection on behalf of Mahommodan worship, as the speech of M. Lautour Mézeray, Prefect of Algiers, in 1857, to the Muftis and Ulemas, where he quotes the Koran profusely, in order to exalt the imperial munificence towards

Islamism. I do not remember having read a single word of criticism on this speech in the French papers, which are most profuse in invectives against the pretended complicity of the English in India with the worship of Juggernaut.*

The new Secretary of State for India, Lord Stanley, son of the Prime Minister, has solemnly declared that the Home Government, just now invested, under the control of Parliament, with all the powers of the old Company, would persist in the errors of the Company upon the question of religion. In the official interview which he had with the delegates of the Protestant missions on the 7th August, 1858, he declared that, whilst allowing every liberty to missionaries, the authorities would maintain the most faithful and complete neutrality in religious matters, by preserving equality in the eyes of the law between persons of every faith.

What could there be more favourable to the progress of Catholicism in India than this system? What competition has it to fear, *since it appears an unvarying fact that the distribution of Bibles*, to which the missionary efforts of Protestantism are confined, has as yet produced only illusory results? Is it not evident that, if the Government were to interfere in a more direct manner, it could not do so except for the benefit of Anglicanism? All that is to be demanded is, that it carry into effect this programme with sincerity, and that it put an end to the flagrant injustice which has for a long time prevailed with regard to the respective allowance to Catholic and Protestant attached to the different regiments, and with respect to the facilities accorded to the religious services of the prisons and regimental schools. But here, again, when you compare the pecuniary favours conferred upon the schools and churches of the English Church, with the manner in which Catholic undertakings are entirely left to themselves, you forget that the English establishments in India were founded at a time when, in the mother country, all Catholics were groaning

* A very curious proclamation, published at Bareilly on the 17th of February, 1858, by one of the principal insurgent chiefs, gives, in order to encourage the natives to resistance, a detailed enumeration of all that the English should have done, had they wished to prevent any possibility of revolt. They should, according to this document, have annihilated the races of the ancient kings and nobles, burnt all religious books, robbed the ancient princes of the last *biswa* of land, not have allowed arms to the Indians, not have taught them the use of cannon, *should have thrown down all the mosques and Hindoo temples, have forbidden the Brahmins, the Mussulmans, and the Hindoo fakirs to preach, should have compelled the natives to be married by English clergymen, to be treated by English doctors, and, lastly, allowed no midwives but Englishwomen.* If the English had taken these steps, said the proclamation, the natives would have remained subject for ten thousand years. But it goes on to say this is what they reckon on doing for the future, and this is why we must extirpate them for ever from our land.

In the *Times*, of the 17th of May, may be seen this code of persecution—a unique manifesto of its kind, which only enumerates against foreign tyrants the grievances they have never committed.

under odious penal laws just as all Protestants were in France. Both of them owe their emancipation to the entirely modern principle of liberty of conscience.

The East India Company has had the honour of recognising this principle in Hindostan, even before it had triumphed in England. Although composed of Protestants exclusively, it has never opposed *Catholic preaching. Now-a-days one demands of it, and with* reason, not only liberty, but also equality for the different modes of worship, and the point is being gradually attained. The English Government has already entered into the same equitable policy; since 1857, the Company has doubled the salary of the Catholic army chaplains, and, by an order of the 24th June, 1858, emanating from the Duke of Cambridge, Commander-in-Chief of the English army, nineteen new posts of Catholic chaplains to the army were created, with precisely the same pay as that which Protestant chaplains receive. A general order from General Peel, Secretary of State for the War Department, dated 23rd June, 1858, introduces into the system of military schools some admirable reforms, and such as would serve for a model in Prussia and in other countries of mixed faith. But, besides these favours, which are only acts of justice, the progress of the Catholic religion in India has been for a long time back identified with the maintenance and existence of the British rule, solely by reason of the liberty which it guarantees to the preaching of the Gospel, and of the ascendancy which it exercises for the benefit of Europeans and their ideas, even in the countries which are not in subjection to it. Just suppose that the English were driven out of India, and the country again placed under the yoke of restored Mussulman and Hindoo princes, is it not evident that it would be necessary to go there soon to support our missionaries by force of arms, as has been the case in China and in Cochin China? "Our hope of success lies in the prestige which the power of the English maintains throughout the countries which we are about to cross," writes a French missionary just starting for Thibet, on the 16th July, 1857.* The numerous Catholic bishopries established in the peninsula of Hindostan since the English conquest testify more strongly than all other arguments to the importance of the services rendered by this conquest to the true faith.† Were you to consult the Congregation of the Propaganda at Rome, you would learn from it how delighted the priests and missionaries were with the absolute liberty which they enjoyed in the dominions of the Company, whilst at the same time they did not meet with those difficulties which resulted from the former patronage of the Portuguese Crown, and from the too

* *Annales de la Propagation de la Foi*, November, 1857.

† The last report gives, in the English possessions in India, a total of 19 *bishops, 780 priests, and 704,349 Catholics.—Tablet, 25th of September, 1858.*

generous concessions made not long ago by the Holy See to a State, whose spirit of chicanery and usurpation dates from neither to-day nor yesterday, but goes back to the time of their first settlements, and forms a sad contrast to the title of *Most Faithful* accorded by the Popes to the Portuguese Kings. The sworn calumniators of modern liberty, the retrospective admirers of orthodox and absolute monarchies, will find nothing in the annals of the Anglo-Indian Government which calls to mind, even in the remotest degree, the ten years of imprisonment inflicted at Goa upon the *apostolic vicars* sent by Urban VIII. to Japan, nor the *penalty of death*, which was still in force in 1687, against all those who should attempt to penetrate into China without being previously authorized by the Governor of Macao.*

And, furthermore, the Indian rebels, less enlightened, no doubt, than their advocates in Paris and Turin, made no distinction between Catholics and Protestants at Delhi, at Agra, at Cawnpore; they sacked our convents and slaughtered our missionaries just as if they were Anglicans;† and these Martyrs had earned their glorious fate by the indefatigable devotion and the generous charity which they had lavished on the sick and wounded of both creeds.‡

One thing is certain, namely, that in all this flood of accusations brought against the British administration by the home and foreign press, and especially by that of India, which spares nobody, and holds its tongue on no subject whatever, no one has yet brought to light, with regard to the time immediately preceding the outburst of the revolt, one single act of cruelty, corruption, or perfidy, which can be imputed individually to an English functionary, either civil or military. This is the explanation of a fact of great importance, and one which of itself acquits the English rule of the charges brought against it. During the period of nearly eighteen months which the revolt has lasted, it has been a pure military rebellion; *the civil population has taken no serious part in it.* Except in

* See F. DE CHAMPAGNY, in the *Correspondant*, vol. 19, July, 1847. LE P. BERTRAND, *Mission du Madure*, p. 321. MGR. LUQUET, *Letters on the State of the Missions*, in the *Université Catholique*, vol. 31, p. 240. LÉON PAGÈS, *A Catholic Question in India and China*, in the *Ami de la Religion*, July, 1858.

† Mgr. Persico, apostolic vicar of Agra, related to the Assembly General of the Conferences of St. Vincent de Paul, held at Paris on the 19th of July, 1858, that, in his vicariat alone, the insurgents had destroyed a magnificent cathedral, twenty-five churches, two colleges, two asylums for orphans, five nunneries, besides schools, day-schools, houses of refuge, &c. One can see by this list alone, whether English rule has been prejudicial to the propagation of Catholicism or not; for not one of these establishments dates from before the British conquest.

‡ See the touching testimony rendered by the chaplains of the Protestant garrison at Delhi to Father Bertrand: "The services and sacrifices of Father Bertrand will live in the memory of the English army till the last day of the last survivor of this army."—*The Chaplain's Narrative of the Siege of Delhi*, by JOHN ROTTON, M.A. Numbers of correspondents from Cawnpore and other places, in the *Times*, pay the same homage to the Catholic chaplains attached to the English troops.

some few localities, it has refused all co-operation with the insurgents,* in spite of the opportunities, and the numerous temptations which the partial defeats of the English, and the very limited number of their troops, offered it. Far from that, we know that it is owing to the assistance of the Indian princes and mercenaries from races different from those composing the Bengal army, that England has been able to contend successfully against the rebels. The revolt has been exclusively the work of the Sepoys enrolled by the Company; and again, in this case, one cannot instance the smallest act of severity or violence on the part of the English officers in authority, which could have provoked the revolt. In order to induce them to revolt, it was necessary to have recourse to fictions, none of which attributed severity or injustice to the English officers, but which turned wholly upon the pretended dangers which the religious faith and traditional customs of the Sepoys were incurring. Their credulity on this point is all the more inexplicable, as the most competent observers are agreed in acknowledging that the English had extended to the utmost limit their consideration for the prejudices of caste, and for the haughty assumption of the Brahmins, who formed the majority in the Bengal regiments. Indulgence and partiality for the Indians have been carried so far as to cause the suppression, in all the native army, of the corporal punishments which are still in force for the English troops, and of which so revolting a use was made in Europe, at the time of the insurrection in the Ionian Isles, in 1849, at the very time when the workmen of London were pursuing with their insults the Austrian General Haynau, whom they reproached with having caused some women in Hungary to be flogged.†

Having devoted this large space to the defence of a people unjustly decried, because it has the honour to be almost the sole representative of liberty in modern Europe, it is necessary to bear witness to the just indignation which ought to be excited by the excessive severity of the punishments inflicted by the English upon

* This is what the *Tablet*, an Irish paper, very hostile to England, frankly acknowledges; and while reproaching the Company with frauds, with excesses and immemorable abuses, it adds, "Posterity will not believe that a revolt of soldiers in the pay of the Company, who had sworn fidelity to it, and who commenced by cutting the throats of their officers, and by slaughtering the women and children, and who had for their avowed end the extirpation of Christianity in India, could have been spoken of by certain newspapers in terms of sympathy and admiration."—31st July, 1858.

† As to the motives that led to the revolt of the Mussulmans embodied at the same time as the Brahmins in the English army, it is difficult to find any, except in the universal revival of Mahometan fanaticism that has everywhere shaken the Ottoman empire, and which has produced the massacres of Djeddah, of Candia, and of Gaza, and that breaks forth even at the very gates of the most civilized countries of Christendom, in Bosnia, and in Herzégovina, only two steps off Venice and Vienna.

the vanquished rebels and the prisoners. I know all that can be said in excuse of reprisals only too legitimate against savages guilty of the most monstrous excesses against so many officers taken by surprise and unarmed, and, above all, against so many noble women, pure young girls, and poor little infants slaughtered by hundreds, without there being any provocation to such horrors. I can understand the rallying cry of the Scotch Highlanders, at the storming of Delhi, "*Remember the ladies—remember the babies.*" Again, I admit that severities exercised in the case of soldiers taken with arms in their hands, whose enlistment was voluntary, and who were bound by a spontaneous oath to respect the chiefs whom they had massacred, cannot be compared with the cruelties inflicted on innocent and hospitable races by the conquerors of the New World, nor even with the severities decreed by our French generals of the Empire against the natives of Spain and the Tyrol,* who were engaged in the most legitimate of all revolts; and much less still with the atrocities practised in La Vendée by the butchers of the Convention. But I am not, for all that, the less convinced that the just measure of suppression has been overstepped, and that these executions of conquered Sepoys *en masse*, continued systematically after the first outburst of grief and indignation caused by unheard-of atrocities, will imprint an indelible stain upon the history of the English Empire in India.* This is no longer justice—it is vengeance. A people truly free ought to leave the sad privilege of cruelty to revolted slaves. A Christian people ought to know that it is at once forbidden and impossible to contend by means of retribution with unbelieving races. It behoves the English *gentlemen* who direct the military and political operations between the Indus and the Ganges to resist the hateful promptings of the Anglo-Indian press. They have before them the example of the noble Havelock, who, in the proclamation which he addressed to the soldiers whom he was leading against the murderers of Cawnpore, declares, that it becomes not Christian soldiers to take heathen butchers for their pattern.

This name of Havelock recalls and sums up all the virtues which the English have exercised in this gigantic strife, and on which there would be cast a stigma for ever by an obstinate perseverance in too cruel a measure of chastisement.* Havelock, a personage of an antique grandeur, resembling in their most beautiful and irreproachable aspects the great Puritans of the seventeenth

* Take, for example, the order of the day, dated 15th May, 1800, published by Marshal the Duke of Dantzic against the insurgents in Tyrol. This decrees in the name of the Emperor Napoleon, *Protector of Religion*, that every Tyrolese taken with arms in his hand should be shot or hanged; and that in every public place or canton where they should find a soldier dead, all the houses should be burned, and the principal inhabitants hung on a neighbouring tree.

This passage is to be found in *Mayer*, *Der Mann von Rinn*. Innspruck, 1851, p. 84.

century, who had arrived at the portals of old age before he shone out to view, and was thrown suddenly into a struggle with a great peril before him and insignificant means wherewith to overcome it, surmounted everything by his religious courage, and attained by a single stroke to glory and that immense popularity which resounds everywhere where the English tongue is spoken; then died before he had enjoyed it, occupied, especially in his last moments, as he had been all his life, with the interests of his soul and the propagation of Christianity in India, and saying to his son, who ran to receive his last sigh, "I have been forty years preparing for this day. Death is to me a gain." He figures worthily at the head of a group of heroes who have shown themselves equal to all difficulties, all dangers, and all sacrifices. Amongst them, grateful England loves especially to mention the names of Nicholson, Barnard, and Neil, likewise taken away in the midst of their victories of vengeance; of Sir Henry Lawrence, the first of the heroes of Lucknow, and the man whose energy has preserved the recent conquests of the North-West; finally, to confine myself to speaking of the dead, of Captain Peel, that young and noble son of the great Sir Robert, equally valiant on land as on sea, whose premature loss has been a sort of national calamity. Victims of a strife waged between civilization and barbarism, they are not foreigners to any Christian people: all can admire them without restriction and without reserve. They do honour to the human race.

And it is not only these extraordinary names which we must admire; it is the whole conduct of this handful of Englishmen, surprised in the midst of peace and prosperity by the most frightful and unforeseen of catastrophes. Not one was prostrated or trembled before the butchers; all, civilians as well as military, young and old, chiefs and soldiers, resisted, fought, and perished, with a coolness and intrepidity which never failed. It is there that the immense value of a public education shines forth, such as we have represented it in the pages of our Review, which calls the young Englishman from his youth to make use of his strength and his liberty, to form associations, to make resistance, to fear nothing, to be astonished at nothing, and to extricate himself by his own efforts from all the misadventures of life. But above all, the English women, condemned to share the sufferings, the anguish, and, so many of them, the cruel death of their fathers and their husbands, have shown the same Christian heroism. The massacre of Cawnpore, where, before being slaughtered, men and women bound with cords, obtained as a solitary favour permission to hear on their knees the prayers of their Liturgy read by the chaplain who was about to perish with them, seems like a page torn from the acts of the first martyrs. One loves to place this scene beside the day of *fast and national humiliation* appointed by the Queen, and everywhere observed on the 7th October, 1857, when was presented

the noble spectacle of a whole people prostrate before God, to ask of Him pardon and mercy. It is from such examples and from such memories, and not from the revolting and puerile excesses of a bloody system of repression, that England ought to derive the strength to resist its enemies, and the certainty of conquering them.

IV.

In what I have already said, I have not pretended to explain everything, or to justify everything in the recent events in India; I have not wished to pass judgment on the past, still less to inspire in regard to the future of that empire a sense of security which I am far from sharing. I have wished solely to express my own impressions upon a class of events and ideas to which it is impossible not to pay attention when one feels some interest in the future of liberty and justice here below. All this will serve, besides, to explain the spirit with which I took part in the principal parliamentary debate on the subject of India during the last session.

It was in the first days of May. Two months had scarcely rolled by since the accession of the new Ministry presided over by Lord Derby, and the unforeseen fall of Lord Palmerston. The causes of the change are well known. To the universal horror excited in England, as elsewhere, by the execrable attempt at assassination of the 14th of January, had succeeded a lively irritation produced by the steps of the French Government, and by sundry documents inserted in the *Moniteur*, which seemed to regard English society, where there is no State police, as responsible for the preparations for a crime, which all the power and vigilance of the French police had not been able to prevent. The Government of King Louis Philippe might just as well have held England responsible, in 1840, for the Boulogne expedition. We believe we can speak on this incident so much the more freely, as our Government, with a wisdom that does it credit, has since spontaneously given up all idea of insisting upon the points which were then occupying it.* The right of asylum is regarded by the English people as one of their national glories; and this people is the one of all others which is the least inclined to sacrifice a right to the abuse which can be made of it. Besides, this right has been of service to Frenchmen of all opinions and all parties throughout the numerous revolutions which have torn modern France; it has been of especial use to the different dynasties which have ruled France, and the present Sovereign has used it with more freedom than anybody. There existed, therefore, a feeling of resentment against Lord Palmerston and his colleagues on account of the kind of subservience

* See for information on this delicate subject, M. de Persigny's speech to the General Council of the Loire, inserted in the *Moniteur* of the 29th of August, 1858.

with which they had replied to the Imperial demands. There resounded throughout the country the old rallying cry of the wars of the English crown against the Papacy of the Middle Age: "*Nolumus leges Anglia mutari.*" The House of Commons had read for the first time a Bill, otherwise perfectly reasonable and legitimate, designed to facilitate the application of legal penalties against the authors and accomplices of crimes committed against a foreigner. But this assembly could not resist the current of public opinion; and on the 19th of February, it adopted a vote of censure directed against the conduct of diplomatic relations between the two countries. Under the weight of this solemn censure Lord Palmerston retired with all his colleagues.

But it would be strangely to deceive oneself if one were to seek in this ephemeral difference between France and England the true causes of the fall of a Minister who had enjoyed till then so long-continued and powerful a popularity. These causes go deeper, and are at once more honourable and more natural. With an old and established popularity, after a great war speedily and happily terminated under his auspices, after a quite recent dissolution of the House of Commons, which had supported him on the Chinese question against the formidable league of his adversaries, and had placed him at the head of a larger majority than ever, one would have believed him quite certain of power for many years to come. But the high position in which he found himself seems to have made him giddy. For a long time a shrewd courtier of public opinion and its caprices, one would have said that he believed himself thenceforth free to despise it and even to brave it. Although he had always succeeded in obtaining the support of the majority in the Commons on the question of his foreign policy, he had not the less excited amongst a multitude of liberal and sensible minds a lively and increasing antipathy to this quarrelsome and blustering policy, without dignity and without logical consistency—now affecting a zeal for liberty which did not recoil before any revolutionary sympathy, now adoring and flattering absolute monarchy; a policy which certainly has done more harm to the good name of England than all the abuse of her calumniators. To these discontents so justly provoked by his foreign policy were added those produced by his disdainful indifference to the majority of the reforms at home which were occupying the attention of the new parties. As too often happens, with statesmen grown old in the exercise of power, he had accustomed himself to overlook all superiority but his own, to surround himself with mere honest tractable mediocrities, and to imagine that the quantity of his adherents would always sufficiently compensate for their quality. He only summoned to public office the members of a family coterie, and of a party of which the public had long shown itself weary, and one which the Prime Minister seemed to take pleasure in narrowing

day by day. In short, that constant good-humour, that cordial joviality, that gaiety of high and refined society, by which he shines and fascinates in his private life, and which have rendered him so much service in the most thorny public debates, appeared now to forsake him. One would have said that he took pleasure in enraging his adversaries and in annoying his friends, by the arrogant and sarcastic tone of his answers to questions in the House. It is stated that nothing contributed more to increase the majority that was formed suddenly against him than the contemptuous irony with which he met, some days before the vote of censure, the question of Mr. Stirling* respecting the famous bequest of the Emperor Napoleon I. to the soldier Cantillon, who is accused of having attempted to assassinate the Duke of Wellington. All these causes, great and small, when put together, resulted in the lessening and overthrow of the ascendency which Lord Palmerston had acquired by his rare capacity, his indefatigable ardour, his eternal youthfulness, his incontestible patriotism. All seemed solid and intact outside in this great position; it was nevertheless really regarded by many minds as undermined, and an unforeseen and momentary shock sufficed to crumble it. The facts which I am about to recount have made this ruin much more complete and lasting than it at first appeared to be.

In fact, neither Lord Palmerston nor the public believed the defeat was final. Lord Derby had received commands to form a new Ministry in his capacity of chief of that ancient Conservative party which has never recovered from the blow which it inflicted on itself by refusing to follow Sir Robert Peel in his course of legitimate progress, and which has never regained a majority either in the country or in the House. Lord Derby had a staff, which had already been in office, with more or less success, for some months in 1852, and it was necessary to recruit it with younger, more active, and more intelligent elements, so as to present a much more interesting and imposing front of battle than the somewhat used-up colleagues of Lord Palmerston. By the side of powerful orators, such as Mr. Disraeli and Lord Ellenborough, and hard-working and popular administrators, such as Sir John Pakington and Mr. Walpole, one saw shine out above all the young son of Lord Derby, Lord Stanley, whom all parties seemed agreed to salute as the future popular chief of a great new party, and of a great ministry of conciliation and action. Nevertheless, in spite even of the happy *début* of the new Ministry, its existence could not be looked upon as secure. Only two-thirds of the majority which had overthrown Lord Palmerston consisted of the partisans of Lord Derby; the other third contained, besides the brilliant but numerically insignificant personages who bear the name of Peelites,

* Mr. William Stirling, M.P., is honourably known in the literary world by his work on the *Cloister Life of Charles V.*, which was published before M. Mignet's, M. Gachard's, and M. Pichot's works on this interesting subject.

all the *Independent Liberals*, and especially the Radicals, much more advanced in politics than the ordinary Whigs of Lord Palmerston's army, and of course still more so than the Tories ranged behind Lord Derby. This majority might well support for some time a Government which owed its birth to the vote which it had given; but it had not promised it any permanent support. Lord Palmerston and his friends were reckoning on the speedy disagreements and weariness which such a situation could not fail to engender. They only waited for a favourable opportunity to put themselves in battle array, and regain a position temporarily compromised by faults which it was easy to mend, and one which they knew how to make strong in profiting by the lesson they had received. This occasion was not long in presenting itself, under as important and as favourable circumstances as possible.

Lucknow, the capital of the kingdom of Oude, had at length yielded to the British arms. The attention of England had been for a long time fixed on this great town, where six hundred Englishmen, and two hundred Englishwomen, besieged in a palace, scarcely fortified at all, by sixty thousand murderers and a hostile population of a hundred and fifty thousand souls, had shown during four months an example of courage as heroic as, and more triumphant than, that of the defenders of Saragossa. Delivered by Havelock, they had not been able to keep the fortress immortalized by their valour, and it had been necessary for a new army, under Sir Colin Campbell, to march to wrest from the rebels this city, which was at once the citadel and the capital of the revolt.* The taking of Lucknow seemed as if it would ensure the entire submission of the kingdom of Oude, the annexation of which to the States under the immediate government of the country, has been regarded as the principal cause of the revolt, owing to the discontent which this measure had inspired in a great number of Sepoys, who had originally come from this country, and enlisted voluntarily in the Bengal army. In order to ensure this submission, Viscount Canning, Governor-General of India, thought fit to publish a proclamation, dated 14th March, 1858, which declared, under the title of annexation to the British territory, the penalty of absolute confiscation of all right of property belonging to the Talookdars,† to the chiefs and to the landed proprietors of the kingdom of Oude, with the exception of six of them, mentioned by name, who had aided the English authorities during the rebellion. He reserved to himself the power of restoring the whole or part of the property

* We refer the reader for details of the siege of Lucknow to the excellent description that M. Forgues has given in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, 1st and 15th of July, 1858.

† These are the great feudatories of the country; they appear to have been originally the keepers of the public treasury, who made themselves hereditary, and owners of the soil, as the *judices* and the *comites* of the Lower Empire, and the times previous to Western feudalism.

thus confiscated to those who should show a prompt submission, or an anxious desire to aid the efforts of the Government for the restoration of order and peace.

Such an act was of a nature to wound deeply, not only the dearest interests of an indigenous population of five millions of souls, but also the public conscience of England, tardily, but profoundly convinced that respect for the right of property is the base of every social right. Above all, astonishment was felt at seeing this proclamation come from Lord Canning—Lord Canning, who, surprised in the second year of his administration by the explosion of a revolt the most unforeseen and the most formidable which had ever broken out against a foreign domination, had shown himself until then superior to the terrible difficulties of his situation, and had resisted with a constancy the most noble and the most Christian, the sanguinary incitements of the English in Calcutta against the rebels and against Hindoos in general. The Anglo-Indian press, exasperated by the inflexible moderation of the Governor-General, had fixed upon him, by way of injurious soubriquet, the surname of "Clemency," and called him nothing else but "Clemency Canning." And it was this man who now decreed, against a people *en masse*, a chastisement as impolitic as it was excessive, as iniquitous by its universal application as by its falling so cruelly on the posterity alike of the guilty and the innocent.

Thus, scarcely had the proclamation become known in London ere it excited a general emotion, which found vent on the very day of the publication—the 6th of May—in an interrogatory put by Mr. Bright to the Chancellor of the Exchequer. Mr. Disraeli replied that the Government had already expressed to Lord Canning a formal and complete disapprobation of the measure in question. But two days later the attention of the public was again absorbed by the appearance, in a London journal, of a document still more strange and surprising. This was a dispatch, in which the Earl of Ellenborough, President of the Board of Control—that is to say, the Minister of the Department of India—had, on the 19th of April, signified to the Governor-General the solemn censure of the Home Government.*

Lord Ellenborough, himself an ex-Governor-General of India, who had been distinguished by the conquest of the vast provinces of Scindo and Gwalior, had been removed by the Directors of the Company, whom the ardour of his ambition and the imprudence of his official language had disquieted. It was the sole instance, I believe, in which the East India Company had actually used the

* This dispatch emanated nominally from the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors of the East India Company; but the Committee acted only under *the orders and on the responsibility of the Minister. All these complications* of authority have disappeared, as a consequence of the recent suppression of the East India Company in its governmental capacity.

supreme veto reserved to it with regard to the Viceroy of India, the nomination of whom had belonged, since 1784, to the Crown. A rival of Lord Derby in his oratorical talent, and one of the most considerable personages of that statesman's Ministry, Lord Ellenborough had always preserved an independence of manner and a *brusquerie* of speech which had made him distrusted by his allies as much as by his adversaries. Those who have had the good fortune to meet him in society at the same time with Lord Canning, can judge whether a more complete contrast was ever offered than that between the character and attitude of these two viceroys. They belong both to history, which has rarely registered a document more significant than the letter of the one to the other:—

"5. We cannot but express to you our apprehension that this decree, pronouncing the disinheirison of a people, will throw difficulties almost insurmountable in the way of the re-establishment of peace.

"7. The landholders of India are as much attached to the soil occupied by their ancestors, and are as sensitive with respect to the rights in the soil they deem themselves to possess, as the occupiers of land in any country of which we have a knowledge.

"8. Whatever may be your ultimate and undisclosed intentions, your proclamation will appear to deprive the great body of the people of all hope upon the subject most dear to them as individuals, while the substitution of our rule for that of their native sovereign has naturally excited against us whatever they may have of national feeling."

Then, in a series of paragraphs which do not appear to have been *intended for immediate publicity*, the Minister, without any circumlocution, censures the annexation of Oude effected by the English Government under Lord Dalhousie, as well as the fiscal measures which followed that annexation. He draws the conclusion that the war made in Oude had rather the character of a legitimate and regular war than of a rebellion, and that consequently the inhabitants of that country should rather be treated with indulgence than subjected to the most rigorous penalty which can be inflicted on a conquered people.

The dispatch ends thus:—

"15. Other conquerors, when they have succeeded in overcoming resistance, have excepted a few persons as still deserving of punishment, but have, with a generous policy, extended their clemency to the great body of the people.

"16. You have acted upon a different principle. You have reserved a few as deserving of special favour, and you have struck with what they will feel as the severest of punishment the mass of the inhabitants of the country.

"17. We cannot but think that the precedents from which you have departed will appear to have been conceived in a spirit of wisdom superior to that which appears in the precedent you have made.

"18. We desire that you will mitigate in practice the stringent severity of the decree of confiscation you have issued against the landholders of Oude.

"19. We desire to see British authority in India rest upon the willing obedience of a contented people; there cannot be contentment where there is a general confiscation.

"20. Government cannot long be maintained by any force in a country where the whole people is rendered hostile by a sense of wrong; and if it were possible so to maintain it, it would not be a consummation to be desired."

History, I am convinced, will corroborate these noble words but history will also say that he to whom they were addressed was worthy to comprehend and to apply them. Policy, however is not always of accord with history, and justice itself demanded that this solemn act and memorable reprimand should not be sent to its destination, nor given to publicity, before the high functionary who was incriminated had the opportunity of justifying or explaining his conduct. Consequently there was a sudden explosion of surprise and of discontent. All the world at once perceived that, at the least, an excessive imprudence had been committed, in thus disavowing, while the war was still going on in Oude, all the antecedent policy relative to that country; and in paralysing by a public reprobation the authority of the man who represented the supreme British power in India. The public was, moreover, ruffled by the haughty and somewhat emphatic form in which Lord Ellenborough conveyed his censure; a kind of writing which is the very antipodes of the simple and dry style which the English affect in their official documents. It contributed much to rouse the minds of men against the author of the dispatch.

Lord Palmerston and his friends perceived that the opportune moment had arrived for taking the offensive and commencing against the new Ministry a pitched battle, of which the only issue must be to place in less imprudent and firmer hands, a power so strangely compromised. The natural resentment at their defeat, and the natural ambition of old statesmen supported by a great party, suffice, if need were, to explain their ardour. But we have no right to doubt that they were also guided by a sentiment more exalted and more disinterested, and that the desire of preserving British India from a twofold degree of dangers and of mischiefs, inspired the greater number of the chiefs, and, above all, of the private soldiers in the army of the opposition. However that may be, the signal of a decisive campaign in the two Houses was given. On Sunday, the 19th of May, Lord Palmerston convoked all his supporters to a private meeting at his residence at Cambridge House. His predecessor and rival, the ever-respected chief of the old Reform party, Lord John Russell, who had broken with him since the negotiations of Vienna, in 1855, and who shielded Lord Derby's Ministry by his neutrality, now promised his concurrence. The day of attack was fixed, and officially announced in Parliament; the parts of the principal assailants were carefully distributed and studied; the chances of victory and its probable consequences, were turned to good account. All announced a certain defeat for the Government, when a new episode changed the whole face of affairs.

Lord Ellenborough, apprised by the growing storm of public opinion as to the mistake which he had committed in publishing his

dispatch, conceived the generous idea of taking upon himself alone the responsibility and the punishment of that mistake. Without apprising his colleagues, he sent to the Queen his resignation; and, on the 11th of May, he announced in the House of Lords the part which he had taken, in language too noble not to be quoted:—

"I wished, he said, that my dispatch should be published at the same time as Lord Canning's proclamation, because I thought it was the only fit answer to be made to the act of the Indian Government, and to the commentaries sure to be passed on it in England and in India, the only means of proving that the Home Government was determined to follow a policy of mercy. My dispatch is a message of peace to the people of India; it will be a source of consolation to all who are now trembling; it will force all officials to act in the spirit of the Government. It is from a love of public peace that I have written this letter, and that I have published it. I ought, perhaps, to have taken the advice of my colleagues on the question of publication. I have not done so, and I alone am responsible. I felt bound to think of my duty not only to the Ministry, of which I form a part, but to the people of India. I have devoted thirty years of my life to promote the real interests of this people, and I did not wish to close my career by sacrificing them. This question will be looked at in a different manner in India from that in which it is regarded here; here it is a party question between Lord Derby and Lord Palmerston, there it is a question of principle between confiscation and mercy. The choice which Parliament shall make between these two principles will sow in India the seeds of an endless war or the hope of a necessary peace. But as I know that even in the most important cases it is impossible to hinder personal questions from playing an excessive part, I have determined, so far as I am concerned, to get rid of every private consideration, that the real point at issue may alone form the subject of discussion. I have tendered my resignation to her Majesty, and it has been accepted."

A sacrifice made so spontaneously and so nobly, should naturally have disarmed opinion; but the Whigs—thus we designate for brevity the different elements which group themselves around Lord Palmerston and Lord John Russell—had too well contrived their plan of attack to renounce it so easily. The opportunity seemed to them too good, too unlikely to recur, not to make the most of it in an attempt to take the direction of public affairs from a Cabinet already discredited, and only able to exist by the tolerance of a majority, of which it was not the natural representative. Two hundred members of the House of Commons reassembled anew at Lord Palmerston's and pledged themselves to support the motion of a vote of censure against the Minister. The combat which had been announced, therefore took place in the two Houses on the 14th of May.

V.

In the House of Lords the vote of censure was moved by the Earl of Shaftesbury, son-in-law of Lord Palmerston, so long known for his zeal for the religious interests and the charitable associations of the Anglican Church. Never had that illustrious assembly been more full or animated; never had a greater concourse of strangers crowded that imposing and magnificent interior; never had a more brilliant galaxy of peeresses occupied the upper gallery which

surrounds the hall, and from which rise the statues of the barons who signed the Great Charter. The terms of the censure proposed by Lord Shaftesbury had been composed with prudent reserve. It in no degree implied approval of the confiscation decreed by Lord Canning, and it reserved the judgment of the House until it should be informed on the motives of that act; but it formally reproved the premature publication of Lord Ellenborough's dispatch, as tending to enfeeble the authority of the Governor-General and to encourage the rebels. The author of the proposition developed it with moderation; he was supported, among other orators, by the Dukes of Somerset, Argyle, and Newcastle. One loves to see these great names, which fill the feudal, political, and military history of England, recover and maintain their place at the head of a people completely free, and of a community so profoundly changed. After them, and according to the English usage, which reserves to the heads of the great parties or of the administration the last word in debate, the case of the Opposition was summed up by Lord Granville, President of the Privy Council, and leader* of the Upper House under Lord Palmerston's Ministry, so well adapted to fill that part by the graces of his language and the conciliatory cordiality of his character. All these speakers, inwardly aware of the injury done to their case by the resignation of Lord Ellenborough, invidiously insisted on the collective and absolute solidarity of a Cabinet, and pretended to deny a Ministry the power of freeing itself, by the sacrifice of one or more of its members, from the responsibility of a fault committed and acknowledged.

The Government, said they, must be one, homogeneous and indivisible, and it cannot be allowed the power of appointing within itself a scape-goat. I was struck, in attending the House, with the danger of these abstract theories, so absolute and extravagant, which are, through the interests of party or through circumstances, imported into the discussions of free Governments, and which, by little and little, become erected into inviolable dogmas. Nothing, in my view, could more seriously contribute to enfeeble and discredit the representative system, already sufficiently complicated and difficult to maintain in equilibrium; as are, indeed, all systems adapted to communities which are determined to sustain the rights of intelligence. It is to the adversaries, and not to the partisans and workers of free institutions, that the task belongs of deducing from a false

* This name of "leader" is given either to the conductor of the debates, or to the Minister who is more specially charged with representing the Government in either of the two Houses. The first Minister is naturally the leader of the House to which he belongs; in the other, the function is delegated to the best speaker amongst the Ministers who sit there. Under Lord Palmerston, who is not a peer of England, Earl Granville was the leader of the Upper House; under Lord Derby, it is Mr. Disraeli who is the leader of the House of Commons.

logic those chimerical embarrassments. I comprehended and liked far better those testimonies of lively and affectionate solicitude which all lavishly expressed for the honour and good name of Lord Canning. There was something touching and peculiarly equitable in this devotion to the absent, especially as he was charged, at a distance of 3000 leagues from his country, with the care of governing millions of souls; a man whose courage, wisdom, and humanity had done honour to the office which he fills, and which is assuredly the most imposing that in our days a free people can confide to mortal hands. Son of the great orator who was the first Minister of George IV.,—the contemporary and rival of our Chateaubriand,—Lord Canning has shown himself worthy to bear the name of his father; and every one instinctively shared the feeling which animated his friends, when they said to the Government: "You have the right, it is your duty, to recal him if he has done ill; but you have no right to strike him through his honour and his dignity before he has been able to explain himself, in presence of a country still moved by gratitude for his services."

None amongst the ministerial speakers made any show of contesting the services rendered by Lord Canning; but Lord Ellenborough, disengaged from all fear of compromising his colleagues, replaced the question, with all his energy and his habitual eloquence, on its true basis. If the publication of the dispatch *was wrong, he said, he alone must be responsible for it, since his* colleagues knew nothing of it, and as he was no longer Minister, there was nothing more to say or to do on that point; but the dispatch in itself was useful and necessary:—

"The confiscation pronounced against the proprietors of Oude is not a simple menace; it is a retro-active act, striking at a whole people. Nothing like it has been seen in England for 800 years, nothing since the time of William the Conqueror. But, it is said, we have had confiscation in Ireland. Certainly there are portions of that island that have been three times confiscated. And what has been the result? Is it peace? Is it prosperity? Is it not precisely to confiscation that all the disasters of Ireland have been attributed by all reflecting minds? In Hindostan, which has been the scene of so many conquests and so many changes of dynasty, private property has always been respected. I have been reproached with having myself confiscated the territory of the Ameers of Scinde. My Lords, I struck a blow at the princes of that country because they were guilty of treason to the English Crown, because they had attacked the British Resident immediately after the conclusion of a treaty. Not an arm was raised against us after the battle, when the last of the Ameers succumbed to us. Two months sufficed to bring the country into subjection; and at the present moment there is no country in Hindostan which acknowledges our Empire more peaceably, or which furnishes us with more faithful allies. Why? Because property has been respected. . . . . I have acted in accordance with the example and the advice of my great and noble friend the late Duke of Wellington. His son has lately communicated to me an unpublished letter of the late Duke's written by him when he commanded in India, in which I find the following words:—'I am for an amnesty as regards all inferior agents. We shall never succeed in this country if we persevere in a perpetual hostility towards all the small agents compromised in the struggle carried on against us

'and our allies.' It is said that we ought to wait for the explanation of Lord Canning. I answer that Lord Canning, who was perfectly aware that Lucknow would be taken, ought to have given his explanation before taking this step. But, my Lords, there are things that admit of no explanation; and confiscation is one of them. You have confiscation before you in its naked hideousness, which nothing can cover over or excuse. It is the most cruel punishment that can be inflicted on a country. I am told that my dispatch tends to weaken the authority of the Governor-General. Certainly it takes from it a great power for evil, but it gives it a greater still for good. When Lord Canning receives my dispatch, I hope he will change his advisers. I do not believe that this proclamation is the work of Lord Canning; it is too contrary to all that I know of him. He must have been led away by those who have learned nothing and forgotten nothing, and who think that after this terrible convulsion no change is to be made in the abuses of the civil power in India. I have wished once for all to teach those persons that justice and a respect for popular rights are the chief principles which our Government will insist on all its agents in India observing. It is said that I shall encourage the rebels in their resistance. It is exactly the opposite of this that I have intended, and that will really happen. The one-and-twenty regiments of Sepoys recruited in Oude, who are at present scattered over the country, and all the other rebels, will fight desperately to the last man, and like persons who have a rope on their neck, when they hear this proclamation, robbing them of their homes. I have wished to take the rope from off their neck. I have wished to make them once more hope. I have wished to offer them the chance of returning into their villages and finding there their homes untouched. It is a message of peace and mercy that I have thrown into this sea of fire. . . . . It remains to be seen whether you wish that the war in India should never have an end. If Parliament, by the vote proposed to it, allows the people of India to suppose that you approve the principles of the proclamation, and that you disavow the principles of my dispatch, you will have in India a social war. You have succeeded in all your wars that have been merely political, but I do not hesitate to declare, that in a social war we shall end by being conquered."

The Earl of Derby, the Prime Minister, while paying his homage to the character and to the services of Lord Canning, and while insisting on the fact that the Government had been no party to the publicity prematurely given to Lord Ellenborough's dispatch, was not the less explicit in his adhesion to the doctrines laid down by Lord Ellenborough on the subject of the confiscation, and on the system which ought to be pursued with regard to the native populations. "The question is raised," he said, "between pardon and confiscation, with regard to a country where every landed proprietor is a soldier, and every soldier is a proprietor. We are for pardon. If you condemn us, England will not have enough troops to assure the safety of English rule in India." In the discourse of the noble lord, who loves, as all know, to employ against his antagonists personal argument and sarcasm, one remarks a trait of manners thoroughly English. He thought to make it a reproach against the *religious* Lord Shaftesbury, that he became the organ of a Parliamentary meeting held at the house of his father-in-law on the preceding Sunday,—a day which had not been, according to Lord Derby, exclusively consecrated to religious occupations. Lord Shaftesbury felt so compromised by this reproach, that he thought himself obliged to insert in the journals an exact *compte rendu* of the manner in which he

had employed the whole day of Sunday, during which the frequency of his liturgical occupations left him not the least place for a recreation so profane as that of which he had been believed guilty.

At two o'clock in the morning the House divided. Until the last moment the result of the debate appeared doubtful; but after the votes had been taken of those Peers who were present, and of those who were absent and voted by proxy,* it was ascertained that the censure moved against the Ministry had been rejected by a majority of 167 against 158. This feeble majority of nine votes, in an assembly where the Conservative party, of which Lord Derby is the acknowledged leader, has always been in the ascendant, sufficiently indicated the extreme danger to which his administration was exposed. A victory obtained with such difficulty in a House where he believed himself sure of a majority, promised an almost certain defeat in the one where two-fifths at the most acknowledged him for their leader. Far from being discouraged by the issue of their first encounter, the followers of Lord Palmerston only saw in it the forerunner of the success, on the results of which they already counted. The most carefully prepared calculations as to the issue of the debate, showed the number of the probable majority to vary from fifty to eighty; and this, according to the antecedents or known predilections of various members of the House of Commons, ought at once to restore the compromised authority of Lord Canning, and to avenge the recent defeat of Lord Palmerston, by renewing against his successors the vote of censure under which he had succumbed three months previously. Within a week, whispered the newspapers of the late Ministry—energetically seconded by the passionate attacks of the *Times*—within a week, the Ministry of Lord Derby will have ceased to exist. Nevertheless, in these hypothetical calculations they lost sight of the eventual disposition of the new party, which, under the name of the Independent Liberal party, was gradually separating itself from the old party of Whig and Reformers, too easily bound in vassalage to the ascendancy of Lord Palmerston. A tendency to join this party had been displayed more and more every day, not only by those uncertain and fastidious spirits who are to be found in the bosom of every assembly, but also by a leading portion of the followers and colleagues of the late Sir Robert Peel, and by more than half of the Irish Catholic members, who were justly irritated by the indifference and enmity of the great Whig leaders to the interests of their country and their religion. These outsiders moved and combined, on their side, in expectation of the decisive conflict; and the journals signified pretty clearly that their support had not been promised without reserve to the plans of the Opposition.

However, in these preliminary agitations, as in the official

* This proxy can only be entrusted to a Peer present at the discussion, who employs it at his pleasure.

deliberations, everything is done with an openness and freedom that nothing alters, and it is obviously not a question of plots and intrigues, but of loyal and legitimate struggles, in which the whole public is bound to aid and to participate. It is not alone a knot of politicians, it is the nation whom these struggles divide and arouse. Parliament and the press, the aristocracy and the public—the spectators and the actors, are equally interested and led away. Political vitality circulates in every part; in every part glows the feeling of a great community of free and enlightened men, who deliberate directly or indirectly upon interests the most worthy to occupy them, who do not imagine that any one can regulate their affairs better than they can themselves, and who do not in any way understand how any one could charge himself to govern for them, amidst them, and without them. But if these questions passionately animate everybody, they embitter no one. In this case, as in others, I found it proved even to satiety, how the reciprocal courtesy of parties and individuals overcomes and outlives the asperity of politics. In the first place, intentions and plans of attack are frankly communicated, down to the documents which are to form the basis or the pretext of the discussion. All tactics which turn upon a stealthy *coup-de-main*, or upon masked batteries, would be defeated by the universal rising of public opinion. Moreover, the most openly-declared adversaries, the most exasperated rivals, make it a point of honour not to prolong and to carry into private and social life the hostilities of public life. Things the most disagreeable and the most personal are exchanged across the floor of the House of Lords or Commons—exaggerated accusations, banterings *à outrance*—but in the evening the combatants dine with each other and meet in the same drawing-room. Above all things, they hold to being gentlemen and men of the world, and of the same world, and to the principle of not envenoming the whole of existence with the animosity of an unpleasant conflict. It was not so in France, as we may remember, when a public life existed and agitated our minds. From what does this difference arise? Without doubt from this, that the whole world of England is of one mind, not only upon fundamental questions of the constitution and social organization, but also upon the condition and the result of the contest of the day. People combat with ardour and passion; but the prize and the issue of the combat never change the ground on which they combat, nor affect the conquests happily and definitively achieved for all. Politicians dispute the temporary possession of power, and they hotly pursue the triumph of a debate or of an opinion; but no one thinks of imposing his opinion upon his opponents, or even on his neighbours, whether they will or not, on pain of exiling them from public life, and driving them back into nothingness if they have the temerity to be neither convinced nor cowed.

The motion of censure presented in the House of Commons was drawn up with the same prudence as that in the House of Peers. It was not an express approval of the proclamation of Lord Canning, but a direct and formal disapproval of the judgment pronounced by the Government on that act. Its author was Mr. Cardwell, one of the most distinguished members of the Peelite party; a faithful and devoted friend of Lord Canning, and a man so universally esteemed that no one could suspect him of being unduly influenced by Lord Palmerston, or capable of sacrificing moral and national interests to the spirit of party.

The first day of the discussion—the 14th of May—offered nothing remarkable save the brilliant *début* of a Government speaker—Sir Hugh Cairns, the Solicitor-General, one of those rising men of liberal stamp with whom Lord Derby had the tact to reinforce his Government. He occupied himself in showing that the discussion having once been opened, it was impossible to abstain, as the Opposition wished, from passing judgment on the measure taken by Lord Canning. If that measure was wise and just, how was it that the Opposition refused to approve of it? If it was not so, how make it a crime in the Government to have blamed it? But those who have not the courage to approve of the confiscation should at least abstain from blaming those who condemn it. The Government, at least, has a firm conviction, and expresses itself openly; its adversaries have not any conviction, and they dare not put their opinion in a clear shape. Becoming the aggressor in his turn, Sir Hugh Cairns keenly reproached Mr. Vernon Smith, the Indian minister under Lord Palmerston, and the predecessor of Lord Ellenborough, for not having communicated the private letter which Lord Canning had addressed to the statesman whom he believed to be still Minister, announcing his intention of publishing the famous proclamation. A standing and a natural usage demands that the outgoing ministers shall, without reserve, communicate to their successors all documents relative to their functions which may come into their hands after their resignation. Lord Clarendon had quite recently done this with regard to Lord Malmesbury. In violating this custom Mr. Vernon Smith had severely wounded public feeling, and had provoked many recriminations within the House and out of doors; and although the letter itself contained nothing really important, the somewhat malignant and derisive receptions given to the explanations which Mr. Vernon Smith repeated, must have presented to attentive observers the first symptom of the confusion amongst the majority, the first sign of the uncertainty of the result so confidently announced. It was, however, in this first sitting that Lord John Russell stood forward to reinforce the Opposition with his important suffrage in supporting the motion of censure. He insisted that the Ministers could not separate themselves from the conduct of Lord Ellen-

borough, he dwelt on the danger to which this conduct would expose the security of the British possessions in India, and, finally, on the moral strength which our adversaries must derive from the blame poured upon the annexation of the kingdom of Oude. Fortified by an adhesion so desirable within the House, and assured of a still more efficacious support out of doors through the immense circulation of the *Times*, the double cause of Lord Canning and of Lord Palmerston still had every chance of a speedy and complete success.

Nevertheless, at the next sitting—the 17th of May—a member *who sits on the same side with Lord John Russell rose to resist* him. In his person the fraction of independent Liberals made its appearance in the debate. This was Mr. Roebuck, one of the most daring, the most listened to, and the most popularly eloquent of *English speakers*. It was he who had inflicted the rudest blows on the foreign policy of Lord Palmerston in the hour of his triumph, and he now stood forward in the attempt to defeat his tactics and to thwart his plans. Mr. Roebuck too often makes the mistake of compromising the success of his ideas, and the authority of his voice, by enunciating opinions in themselves excessive, and what is more, expressed with a stiffness and exaggeration that add to the repulsion which they inspire. He took no pains to avoid this unlucky habit in this memorable discussion. In making allusion to a Bill already before the House, which had for its object to remove from the East India Company the Government of Hindostan and transfer it to the Crown, he thought fit to say that "the Crown" was no more than a chimera, and in reality meant the House of Commons, since the power attributed to the Crown was virtually exercised by the House.

This doctrine was at once imprudent and inexact; for it is dangerous thus to condense under the form of abstract maxims the gradual and qualified consequences of the development of liberty; and if the preponderance for centuries past of the House of Commons is incontestible, it is not the less untrue to say that the power of resistance in the Peers has been annihilated, and that the Crown does not preserve an immense *prestige* and an authority the stronger since it is reserved for great occasions and solemn decisions. In this discourse, however, Mr. Roebuck lifted himself far above the vulgar pre-occupations of personal or national politics. No one had as yet entered upon the question with so much frankness; no one had as yet marked so clearly the importance of this question, the sacred character of the principles which it involved, and the danger of subordinating those principles to the interests of party.

"We remember," he said, "that magnificent sketch, in the History of Gibbon, where he traces the picture of Roman greatness, and where he shows that the hundred and twenty millions of Italians and provincials conquered by Rome, formed the vastest union of men who have ever obeyed one and the same rule. Our Indian Empire is still more vast, it counts nearly two hundred millions of subjects; and it is for us now to decide whether this immense empire shall be

governed according to the principles of honour and virtue, or with the sole end of increasing the power of England. *I am an Englishman, but there are things which to me are more sacred and greater than the greatness of England, and among these things I reckon the progress of mankind in instruction and in the practice of virtue and honour.* . . . . . We are asked to make the happiness of two hundred millions of men subordinate to a party manœuvre. I will not lend myself to this. I wish to look at the interests of all these millions of my fellow-men without regard to the ministerial question. We entered India as simple merchants; little by little we have conquered all this vast region; but we have not been able to do this without sacrificing too often the principles of justice. We have been rapacious, we have been cruel, we have been unjust. . . . . *Those are truths disagreeable to say, but they are truths.* We have a great interest in ruling over India, we have a still greater interest in the rule of justice and of truth; there is a way of making our Empire lawful, and there is only one: it is to labour for the happiness of the people whom we govern, and the first condition of this happiness is to be indulgent and merciful."

Let us say to the honour of the assembly which listened to these words, pronounced with emotion and effort by a speaker visibly suffering from illness, that each phrase which we have just quoted was interrupted by energetic cheers, and that not a murmur rose to betray the susceptibilities of an unquiet or wounded patriotism. After having established and confirmed the distinction already enunciated by Lord Ellenborough, between the rebellion of the Sepoys and the war made upon the inhabitants of Oude, Mr. Roebuck enlarged upon the folly and crime of the confiscation, and thus summed up his opinion:—

"Lord Ellenborough has been reproached, first, for having made an answer at all to Lord Canning's proclamation; then, for having made an answer which ought not to have been made; and lastly, for having published this answer. I maintain that he was bound to send an answer, that his answer was a good one, and that it is on us and not on him that falls the responsibility of publication. It was in this House that the question regarding this proclamation was put to the Government, and when once the question was asked, it was right that the answer should be known; and it was very proper to wish to know it. It is a duty of our Government to let the public know all that happens, and as yet this is not sufficiently done. It would be better that the public knew day by day what the Government is doing; for want of that we are led blindfold into all sorts of mistakes. War takes us by surprise, and we are told that we must not compromise the country by our curiosity. Then comes peace, and we are told that we take up the point too late; when it is really important that we should know everything, we are stopped short in the name of the public interest; and we are not told all until it is useless to know it. You wish to pacify India. You will not succeed, excepting by the system indicated in Lord Ellenborough's dispatch. This dispatch ought to be printed in letters of gold, *for it is the act, and expresses the thought, of an honest man. I know England* very little, if one day or other she does not think so. As to the party question, why should we call to power a minister whom we have very lately ejected from office because the honour of England had been in danger in his hands? The people of England has nothing good to expect from that quarter. The progress and the liberal reforms which we desire for the welfare of the masses, will be much *more easily obtained from the weak and dependent Government which now sits* on the ministerial benches, than from powerful and arrogant men who sit *here*."

And with his finger he pointed out, in the midst of cheers,

the bench on which sat, impassible and serene, Lord Palmerston, surrounded by his old colleagues in office.

Many of these, and especially the late Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir Cornewall Lewis, and the late First Lord of the Admiralty, Sir Charles Wood, exerted themselves, not without talent, to replace the question on the more restricted ground from which the rough frankness of Mr. Roebuck had removed it. But with the best desire to be impartial, I find nothing to cite in their speeches. Like all the advocates of the vote of censure, they dwell on the position in which Lord Canning had been placed, and on the ingratitude displayed towards a man who had saved and done honour to the English rule in India. Less reserved than the terms of the motion itself, they allowed themselves to defend the proclamation, inasmuch as, according to them, the confiscation which it pronounced did not apply to the mass of the rural population, but to those rebel lords whose violence and usurpation alone had put them in possession of their estates.* The Ministerial speakers, on the contrary, maintained that, besides the great talookdars and zemindars, who represented a territorial aristocracy, there were in Oude a host of small landed proprietors handling alternately the plough and the sword, who would evidently be injured at the same time with the great feudatories by the absorption of all right of property in the State.

It must be admitted that these observations, so contradictory, but so important, were less attended to than the eccentricities of the young Sir Robert Peel, who, since he has entered into public life, has used the great name which he bears to arrogate to himself the privilege of saying disagreeable truths to everybody, with an unceremonious liveliness, against which defence is difficult. This time, nevertheless, the violent invective which he addressed to Lord Palmerston, to whom he had been so long a subordinate in diplomacy and in the Government, injured his illustrious adversary less than himself. But he had more success when without circumlocution he pointed out to the opponents of the Ministry the danger that began to show itself in the horizon. This danger was the dissolution of the House of Commons; an extreme measure, no doubt, after a dissolution still so recent, but one which the Earl of Derby had the right of proposing to the

* A return, cited in the course of the discussion, shows that in the kingdom of Oude there existed two hundred and forty-six feudal fortresses, armed with four hundred and seventy-six pieces of cannon, and belonging to the talookdars threatened with confiscation. It will be perceived that feudality as an institution, proper and natural to the Indo-Germanic races, exists in the nineteenth century on the borders of the Ganges under the same form which it still assumed in the sixteenth century on the borders of the Rhine. Nothing indeed surprised me more, during the whole of this debate, than to find among all the speakers a total absence of notions precise and universally accepted on the nature of real property in Hindostan.

Queen, in order to make the country itself judge between his policy and the hostile majority in Parliament.* In this Sir Robert Peel gave expression to an apprehension which gained ground more and more; and he pronounced distinctly, in the name of the advanced liberalism which he professes, the hope and the certainty of seeing the Liberal electors sustain the great principles of justice and humanity proclaimed in the dispatch of Lord Ellenborough, rather than the manœuvres of a party which sacrificed those principles to the feverish impatience for a new tenure of office.

VI.

Nevertheless, in the midst of these debates, which in so great a degree absorbed the attention of all England, which called for the intervention of all the eminent statesmen of the day, and which revealed a situation becoming more and more uncertain for the parties, old and new, that divide the Government of the country, there occurred an interlude, which too well paints the British character not to find a place in this narrative.

At the opening of the sitting, on the 18th of May, a partisan of Lord Palmerston, Captain Vivian, makes a proposal that the House shall not meet on the following day. He counts upon the whole Ministerial and Conservative party for the support of his motion, and he presumes that Mr. Disraeli, Chancellor of the Exchequer, and leader of the House of Commons, who had so often drawn from his quiver the barbed shafts of his eloquence against his political adversaries, will readily assist in the exploits of another *archer* on another arena.

What can be the meaning of this strange interruption? It is, that the following day Epsom races take place; that these races have for their principal object the grand annual prize called (it is not very well known why) the *Derby;* that Lord Derby, who is at once the Prime Minister, the first orator, and the first *sportsman* in England, is one of the competitors for this prize; and that the horse upon which he relies to win is called *Toxophilite* (signifying in Anglo-Greek, *archer*), and that, lastly, this race is the object of popular, and it may be said national, interest, in which all classes, high and low, political and industrial, take part with that universal and passionate anxiety, which the ancient Greeks, the Romans, and the Spaniards at the present day, have shown for spectacles of a similar nature but less innocent. "These are the Olympic games of England," Lord Palmerston once said; and no more exact definition can be given.

The House adopts unanimously the motion of Captain Vivian,

* It will be remembered that the House had been dissolved by Lord Palmerston, in 1857, after the vote of a majority adverse to the China war. The new elections had produced a large majority altogether favourable to the foreign policy of Lord Palmerston.

and it adjourns for the sake of repairing *en masse* to Epsom Downs. Members put their well-conned speeches in their pockets, and hang up their eloquence on a peg by the side of party spirit. Everybody is agreed for one day to forget India and England. It is no longer a question if India shall be governed by confiscation or by conciliation, if England shall or shall not retain Lord Derby as Prime Minister, but only if the horse of Lord Derby is to win the race which bears his name, and in which the whole country is interested.

Since the Sovereign House bids adieu for one day to serious affairs, let us do the same; let us follow it to Epsom, and attach ourselves to a group of members of Parliament quite resolved to vote one against another to-morrow, but still more resolved to amuse themselves together on this joyous eve of a decisive battle.

It is well said that he who has not witnessed a *Derby day* has not seen England; and it is the *Derby day* that leaves little reason for incessantly repeating that the English know not how to amuse themselves, and amuse themselves with spirit, and at the same time with order and decency. Whoever has seen the two or three hundred thousand inhabitants of London and its environs assembled on a sunshiny day of spring upon the green slopes of Epsom Downs, whoever has wandered among those equipages of every possible description, among those booths, those open-air orchestras and theatres, those tents bedecked with flags, in that ocean of bipeds and quadrupeds, will return fully convinced of two things not generally admitted; first of the honest and expansive gaiety of the great majority of that immense crowd; then of the great equality which draws together, on that day at least, the most different conditions of society. Princes of the Blood, Peers of the oldest lineage, are cheek by jowl with donkey-drivers and gipsies, and mix even in the popular games which fill the weary intervals between the races. Nowhere, not even amongst us, is there seen a confusion of ranks so decided. Nowhere, again, is there a gaiety, a good humour, a decency more like that which so honourably distinguishes our working classes, when engaged in their periodical and official entertainments. In the midst of this joyous and animated crowd we might imagine ourselves in France. But this illusion disappears the moment one recollects the absence of any official programme and of all intervention of the authorities. It is private enterprise which has done all, announced all, foreseen and arranged all; it is private subscription that has provided for all expenses. Barely a handful of policemen, unarmed, and, as it were, lost in the midst of the crowd, remind us of the slight precautions taken against possible disorder. By these characteristics we instantly recognise England.

On the journey to Epsom, as during the few previous days, all

conversation turned on the strange coincidence between the political destiny of Lord Derby and his chances on the turf. As on the evening before in Parliament, his name is in every mouth; and in the issue of the race about to come off, people take pleasure in seeking a presage of his victory or defeat in the vote of the succeeding day. An opinion, rather generally credited, ascribed to the noble Earl a more anxious solicitude for the success of his horse than for that of his party. He is not supposed to have much taste for the cares and fatigues of the premiership, an office he had already held, and which seemed to inspire him with little regret. It could scarcely add a new charm or additional brilliancy to his lofty and unassailable position as a great Peer and a great orator. Chief of one of the very few families among the English aristocracy that date from the time of the Plantagenets, fourteenth Earl and Peer of his name, Chancellor of the University of Oxford, placed by the happy union of rank and talent amongst that handful of men who are beyond rivalry, of whose names no one is ignorant, and whose merit no one contests, there remains to him no social distinction to acquire—not even the blue ribbon of the Garter. But the blue ribbon of the turf (for so the prize at Epsom which bears his name is called), this is what appears to all, and to him particularly, the legitimate and natural object of ambition. Will he win—yes or no? Such is the question the solution of which occupies every mind, and draws into the thick of the crowd all the political and diplomatic notabilities—amongst others, Marshal Pélissier, who so nobly represents our country and army, and enjoys with our neighbours so great and so just a popularity.

Let us follow them into the paddock; that is to say, the reserved enclosure, where, before the start, they exhibit the horses that are entered. Attention is allowed for a moment to wander on this or that horse; but it is above all on Lord Derby and the horse which carries his fortune that all eyes are bent. There he is! Which? the man or the horse? They are both there; but scarcely has the horse appeared when the man is forgotten. The famous animal is paraded at a slow pace, as if to expose in detail all the advantages which must assure the victory to him and his master, and to the innumerable army of betters, who have risked their money on his head. A numerous group of political men, mingled with connoisseurs of another description, follow with a gravity quite comical, and an attention almost religious, every movement of the animal. I had the satisfaction of recognising there one of the most ardent defenders of Church and State, an Anglican of the old school, the same who was some time afterwards to do me the honour of pointing me out to the House of Commons, as pleading the cause of civil and religious liberty, with no other object than that of reducing England and France under the dominion of the Jesuits.*

* Speech of Mr. Newdegate, in the House of Commons, 21st July, 1858.

He seemed completely to have forgotten the dangers of the Established Church, and the formidable progress of popery, so absorbed was he in the contemplation of the points of *Toxophilite*.

After some insignificant preliminaries, the decisive race is to be run—twenty-four horses start at once. How is it possible to describe the devouring anxiety, the swaying to and fro of this mass of people, the poising on tip-toe, the rustle and murmuring of a crowd of a hundred thousand individuals with eyes and heart concentrated on one single object. The comparatively indifferent foreigner is reminded involuntarily of his Virgil, and the immortal lines of the fifth book of the *Æneid*, which have familiarized every well-educated person and every cultivated mind with so many insignificant details for ever ennobled by the epic Muse. The race, which is run over three-quarters of a league, lasts less than three minutes. At one moment, owing to a slope in the ground, all the horses disappear from the eyes of the spectators; when they reappear, the various chances of the competitors begin to discover themselves. Still an instant of devouring anxiety; one hundred thousand heads are turned towards the winning-post. The lot is decided. It is not Lord Derby who has won. The blue ribbon has escaped him; the prize falls to the horse of an unknown baronet, who clears by this single chance something like 40,000*l*.

In this unforeseen check experienced by the Premier, all the world sees a prognostic of the political fall which awaited him at Westminster. But friends and adversaries seemed to forget this sad presage in the feverish excitement which prevailed on the return of the crowd towards London. Every one wants to come and go at the same moment. Every horseman, every vehicle, great or small, public or private, starts off at full gallop along two or three lanes which lead to the one high road; every one makes a rush towards the metropolis. It is impossible to conceive how frightful disorder and numberless accidents do not entail some catastrophe on this motley and unbridled mob, and so much the more that there are seen only at a distance a few policemen, always unarmed, who, by a motion of the hand, re-establish order in the line, until again and again it is thrown into confusion. I smiled when contrasting these modest, but sufficient precautions, with the furious charges of our municipal guards, helmet on head and sword in hand, upon the three or four hackney-coaches adventurous enough to break the line at a ministerial reception, in those fabulous times when parliamentary people went on foot to see the ministers whom we approved or opposed. However, no catastrophe occurs; no one knows how, but all arrive safe and sound. The three hundred thousand spectators disperse, and return to their homes without any one hearing of a scuffle or an accident. Hardly are we out of the varied and picturesque country around Epsom, than

we traverse an interminable series of suburban villages, all verdant and smiling, that form the faubourgs of the metropolis, and where is more evident than anywhere else the material prosperity of the country, where houses, less sombre-looking and monotonous than those in town, rise out festooned with flowers from gardens and shrubberies, where the windows, the balconies, the parapets, are filled with an innumerable and joyous crowd, remarkable for the very general beauty of the women and children, and for the air of sympathy and contentment visible in every face. It is a spectacle unique in the world, this living river, of which we cleave at full gallop the hurrying and roaring waves. It changes its nature a little as we approach London, and a population more dense, but also of an aspect more sad and more wan, reveals the presence of the labouring classes; but it leaves in the mind the ineffaceable remembrance of a true popular *fête*, springing from the spontaneous impulse of its actors, and ennobled by the masculine intelligence of a people who know not only how to govern themselves, but also how to amuse themselves unaided. Every one knows the bad pun Louis XIV. indulged in to one of his courtiers—"*Duc de Lauraguais, qu'avez vous donc été faire en Angleterre! Apprendre à penser, sire! Quoi? panser les chevaux? L'un et l'autre, sire.*" Lord Derby might have made the same reply; if indeed one could imagine a Lord Derby in France, and at the court of an absolute monarch.

VII.

On the day after the races all the world returned to the question of the previous evening, and again plunged into the great contest, the issue of which was to exercise so vital an influence on the destinies of England and of India, and on the future of those two hundred million souls of whom Mr. Roebuck had so nobly spoken. It was not only in Parliament, or in the upper circles, or in the circles exclusively political, that an ardent curiosity existed to guess the results of the discussion. The whole country, represented by all it contained of intelligence and knowledge, followed with a feverish anxiety the different phases of the conflict, and identified itself with the slightest incident, thanks to the powerful and useful aid of the press, which caused to penetrate into the lowliest cottage the detailed and perfectly faithful report of the debates, and added arguments often more conclusive and more original than those of the orators themselves. It is thus that the press awakens the conscience of the country; that it provokes and exercises the intervention of all in the affairs of all, and establishes, whilst it regulates, the direct action of the country on its leaders and representatives. What wit and science, what irony and passion, what life and talent, have been expended during the last fifteen

days in the immense columns of the English journals! I, for my part was altogether amazed, so much had I lost familiarity with this rolling and alternate fire of daily discussion, to which we ourselves were once accustomed, and which we carried on, perhaps in excess, but which is become impossible between organs, a few of which only have the *right to say everything, and are always led, more or less* involuntarily, to lure their adversaries upon the ground where the official gag awaits them. Whilst the *Daily News*, the *Star*, and other Independent or Radical journals manifested a sympathy more and more lively for the maintenance of the new policy, the formidable artillery of the *Times* continued to thunder against the Ministry, and against the famous dispatch. At its flanks the little journals especially devoted to the cause of Lord Palmerston strove with redoubled zeal and vigour to sustain the ardour of his adherents in and out of Parliament. They always announced, with the same confidence, the certain defeat of the Government, and predicted a majority so considerable, and so significant, that it would render useless and insensate any project of dissolution. Nevertheless, some symptoms of disruption manifested themselves already in the bosom of this majority upon which they so confidently counted. Its chief, in running over the ranks of his phalanx, could already remark the expressive silence of some, the increasing hesitation of several. The debate had evidently shaken, if it had not changed, many preconceived opinions. All its brilliancy, all its force, had been on the side of the adversaries of the motion of censure. The supporters of the motion had risen little above the combinations and recriminations of party spirit. The result was still more apparent in the sitting of the 20th of May. Mr. Bright, who disputes with Mr. Gladstone the palm of eloquence and the attention of the House, brought to the good cause upon that day the powerful aid of his voice, and of his increasing authority. Mr. Bright is a dissenter of the sect of Quakers; he is the brother-in-law of Frederick Lucas, who, born a member of the same sect, became a Catholic, and was a most energetic defender of his new faith. Immediately after his entrance into the House of Commons, Lucas acquired there a marked position; everything announced in him an orator and a party chief who would have equalled and perhaps surpassed O'Connell; a premature death has left of him nothing but the remembrance, still most fresh, of his melodious voice and of the ardent uprightness of his convictions. Mr. Bright, placing himself, as did his brother-in-law, without the ranks of the old parties, and at the side of the road leading to power, has not ceased to grow in public estimation, in spite of the temporary unpopularity he suffered on account of his opposition to the Crimean war. All the world blames and regrets his exaggerated attacks against British manners and institutions, *attacks of which he himself is a living and brilliant con-*

futation; but each Session has seen his ascendancy increase, and this Quaker is become now one of the three or four personages the most interesting and the most listened to in England. It was he who had put the question which had provoked the publication of the famous dispatch. It was right that he should appear to-day in its defence. He did so with an energy, a clearness, a simplicity of argument and of proof sufficient to carry rapid and triumphant conviction to impartial minds. He also knew very cleverly how to find the weak point that the Whig resolution presented by abstaining from all comments on the proclamation of Lord Canning.

> The native Princes and peoples of India do not understand your Parliamentary *tactics and political cabals. When they shall hear that the English Parliament* has deliberated on the act of the Governor-General, they will want to know whether Parliament approves it or not; and if you adopt Mr. Cardwell's resolution, they will naturally conclude that you approve confiscation. This is the whole question. . . . . *People recoil before this* necessary conclusion; they urge that the confiscation is not applicable to the masses of the population, but only to certain unpleasant individuals called Talookdars, who are mere feudal barons, robber chiefs, and oppressors of the people. It is not the first time that after the consummation of a great iniquity the authors of the wrong have tried to calumniate the victims. Lord Shaftesbury, one of the authors of this great Parliamentary attack, has said that the confiscation would only apply to 600 persons in the kingdom of Oude. Well, that country is less peopled by four-fifths than the United Kingdom; let us apply the same calculation to our own country; let us suppose that it were intended to confiscate the property of 3600 principal proprietors of the three kingdoms, and amongst them of the 700 great proprietors who sit in the two Houses; would you not call that a revolution, and not only a political but a social revolution? Let us take care; for we live in a country filled with great Talookdars, a country where there is a whole county in Scotland belonging to a member of the House of Lords;* a *country where there are other persons possessing territories of sixty to eighty* miles square; where there are Dukes of Bedford and Dukes of Devonshire.† We must take care what measures we propose against the Talookdars and the great proprietors of India. But, besides, the figures quoted are wrong; the *best authorities prove that there are at least 40,000 landed proprietors in Oude.* Now there is a detestable system which Lord Canning has permitted himself to encourage, and which already triumphs in the Presidency of Madras. It consists in suppressing all intermediate persons between the Supreme Government and the poor labourer that cultivates the soil. And what is the object of this system? It is to merge all classes of the population in one, and to admit to a share of all the fruits of the earth only two parties—the State and the peasant,—the State, directly and perpetually occupied in extorting the greatest possible revenue; and the peasant, having thrown to him, day by day, a handful of rice to make him able to draw from the soil what the State is to swallow up. After replacing the Royal Government of Oude by your own, you are not content with seizing on the public land and on the revenue of all the taxes, but you proceed to say to all the lords and proprietors of the soil, to all except the humble and obscure cultivators of this soil, "Come down from the independence and dignity that you have hitherto enjoyed; submit to the lot of all whom we conquer; two-fifths of you have taken no part in the revolt, but in a general confiscation the innocent must suffer with the guilty—it is the fortune of war, and

* The Duke of Sutherland.

† *Both traditionally identified with the Whig party.*

that fortune shall be yours." There are journals in India which applaud the proclamation because they say it will do with a single blow that which it would have taken twenty years to do otherwise. It will at once overthrow all the sources of individual strength that might create centres of resistance to the British rule. There are others, more honest and better advised, who declare that this proclamation will require a new army to enforce its application. . . . . I call the House to witness, when I and my friends, members of the Opposition, learnt that the Government disapproved of this proclamation, we applauded the Minister who expressed himself to that effect. Had we not applauded him, we should be unworthy to be men, unworthy to be Englishmen, unworthy to be legislators of England. We should be strangers and indifferent to the distinction between good and bad, between justice and injustice. Such was the first feeling of all the world before Lord Ellenborough's dispatch was known, but afterwards rose up the fatal influence of party-spirit, which has worked this dispatch to its own purposes, with all the art which party-spirit teaches.

Here, turning against the most redoubtable adversary of the dispatch, against Lord John Russell, he justly and happily invoked against him the remembrance of his own misdoings and the imprudence that he committed in criticising any one in bitter and severe language. He reminded him how, on the occasion of the re-establishment of the Roman hierarchy, and the appearance of Cardinal Wiseman in England, he, Lord John Russell, had written to the Anglican Bishop of Durham a public letter which had given the signal of a serious agitation, and sown the seeds of a division that still exists. "The noble Lord," says our intrepid Quaker (in whom the Dissenter at this point appeared under the political orator), "has found fault with Lord Ellenborough's despatch for its tone of invective and sarcasm, but the noble Lord ought to be very reserved on this head, for he lives in a house of glass, more fragile than any of ours. When he takes his pen in hand, no one can foresee what he is going to give to the public. I recall a very extraordinary letter of his, which he doubtless intended to clothe in an irreproachable phraseology, as he addressed it to a Bishop. I do not wish to be too severe on the noble Lord, but when so grave a statesman writes to a reverend Bishop, one may hope that he will at least avoid sarcasm and invective. And yet in this very letter he did not fear to pour forth floods of sarcasm and invective on six millions of his fellow-countrymen, and thus to seriously disturb the peace of the United Kingdom."

The House received with a marked sympathy and prolonged applause these passages, and many others besides, which we must omit* in order to come to the conclusion of the speech, where this honest and eloquent man, to whom we listened with so much emotion, raised his voice at the same time against the tactics employed by the former Ministry to regain power by aid of this

* We must at the same time be permitted to deplore in this admirable speech the presence of a tirade in bad taste against the private receptions where Lord Palmerston was in the habit of welcoming and entertaining his friends and adversaries with a courtesy in striking contrast to the recent arrogance of his manner in the House.

complication in Foreign Affairs, and against the inhumanity with which the Anglo-Indian press urged fresh measures of punishment.

All India trembles with the movement of volcanic fires. We should be guilty of an extreme rashness, of an unpardonable crime against the English monarchy, were we to give even the most indirect approval to the proclamation of Lord Canning. I am asked to help in upsetting the present Ministers of the Queen. When I take part in a struggle having as its object to replace this Ministry by another, it will only be for an object which I shall understand and approve myself, and which shall be understood and approved by the country. It shall only be for a cause which shall bring a benefit to some portion of the great British Empire. It shall only be with the chance of advancing the great principles which the Liberal party—so far as we are a party—has undertaken to defend. But in the present question the policy of the Government is a policy of mercy and conciliation, and that policy is mine. Certain faithless, or at least ill-advised, leaders of the Liberal party would wish to engage us in a different policy—a policy contrary to all our antecedents and to all our doctrines. For my part, I remain faithful to the policy of justice and conciliation. Justice and mercy are the supreme attributes of Divine perfection, but all men have everywhere the right to invoke them and the faculty to understand them. Their voice makes itself heard in every climate and in every language. And, amongst the millions of docile and intelligent souls that people India, there is not one that remains deaf to them. You have chosen another course, you have preferred to conquer and reign by the sword. The sword is broken; the shattered stump alone remains in your hands; you are humiliated and confounded.

Here, contrary to the ordinary custom of the House, murmurs were heard, and cries of "No! No!" were raised from the benches of the Opposition.

"Yes!" the speaker immediately replied, "you are humiliated and confounded in the eyes of civilized Europe. (Marks of dissent, and, at the same time, cheers.) But you can regain what you have lost; there are other chances for you to try; you have still the means to govern India, and to save it. I conjure you to make use of those means, and not to suffer yourselves to be led astray by a policy which would, perhaps, lead that great country to its ruin, and which, even if you succeeded in it, would cover our name with eternal disgrace."

After a speech so forcible, and so prodigiously applauded, one naturally expected to see appear at last on the opposite side an orator capable of vindicating the motion of censure from the attacks by which it had been shivered. But the expectation was vain. There presented themselves only second and third rate combatants, whose inferiority became more and more evident when Sir James Graham rose to defend the same thesis as Mr. Bright. For a long time exercising the highest functions in Ministries presided over by Lord Grey, Sir Robert Peel, Lord Aberdeen, and lastly by Lord Palmerston, he occupies with Mr. Gladstone the first rank in the Peelite party. He commenced by declaring in the name of the venerable Lord Aberdeen, the particular and bosom friend of Lord Canning, that Lord Canning—whose good reputation might appear compromised by the premature publication of Lord Ellenborough's dispatch—had received in the voluntary resignation of this

Minister a reparation amply sufficient, and that the Government had acted towards him with great moderation in not recalling him. He then dwelt upon a fact, the news of which had arrived that very day, that a strong disapproval by Sir James Outram had been passed on the decree of confiscation; that is, by the very English general who had effected under Lord Dalhousie the annexation of Oude; who was in command there still; and who in the last campaign had attracted universal admiration by consenting, like our own Boufflers at Malplaquet, and Lord Hardinge in Affghanistan, to remain as a volunteer under the orders of his subordinate, because this subordinate was Havelock, and he was unwilling to rob him of the glory of a victory half accomplished. To such imposing testimony Sir James Graham added all the weight of his own authority in protesting against the theory and practice of political confiscation. He recalled the warnings of the great teacher in matters of national crimes, Machiavelli, who had taught that nations and individuals pardon more willingly the murder of their ancestors than the despoiling them of their patrimony; and he also quoted the Duke of Wellington, who, in addressing himself to one of his successors in India, had especially recommended a respect for private rights and the property of individuals. Then contrasting the example of Napoleon I. with that of his conqueror, he recalled to mind, on the authority of a recent publication by M. Villemain, the energetic resistance that the Emperor had encountered among his most faithful adherents, when, during the hundred days, he desired to date from Lyons a decree of confiscation against thirteen of his principal adversaries. "The most honest, the most faithful of his friends, the companion of his latest perils, and of his latest misfortunes, Grand Marshal Bertrand, refused, in spite of the orders and solicitations of his master, to countersign the fatal decree, and said to him, 'Those who counsel you to recommence a system of proscription and confiscation are your most cruel enemies, and I will not be their accomplice!' And Labédoyère added: 'If the system of proscription and confiscation recommences, all this will not continue long.'" Sir James recapitulated his opinions and, it may be said, the whole discussion in these terms:—"The dispatch of Lord Ellenborough may be found fault with as to its form; the proclamation of Lord Canning deserved, and deserves to be found fault with in its substance. The substance of the dispatch is good, but the substance of the proclamation is bad. Those who ask us to censure the present Government in order to put them in its place, ought to state openly and at once whether they are for the proclamation or the dispatch; whether for confiscation or an amnesty. I am removed by every memory and every party tie from the present Government, but arrived as I am at the term of my career, and no longer aspiring to power, I am in a position to express an impartial opinion. And I reject every proposal to pass a censure

on a Government which has only said the truth when it has said that the principle of confiscation is incompatible with the maintenance of the British Empire in India."

After these two speeches, the cause of justice and of truth was morally gained. The issue, however, of the deliberation was still uncertain; there yet remained some powerful voices to be heard; on the one side Mr. Disraeli, the leader of the House, and Mr. Gladstone, the most eloquent of its orators; on the other Lord Palmerston, with the inexhaustible resources of his brilliant ease. Public anxiety was at its height, and next day (May 21st), the last day of this great contest, the concourse of members and spectators crowded into the limited space of the House surpassed anything that had hitherto been seen. From the gallery reserved for peers and foreigners of distinction, Lord Derby and Lord Granville, side by side, seemed to pass in review their two armies, awaiting the final engagement which was to decide their common fate, and cause them to change places in the other House. An electric agitation reigned in the ranks of the assembly. But behold, at the commencement of the proceedings an unlooked-for spectacle presented itself. A member rises from the benches of the Opposition majority itself to request the author of the vote of censure against the Government to withdraw his motion. Mr. Cardwell, astounded at this *brusque* interpellation, refuses point-blank. Immediately, five or six other members on the same side renew successively the same invitation. This was the signal of the internal division that had been in operation from the commencement of the discussion, and of a defection that was about to become more and more perilous. The army that imagined itself so sure of victory began to waver. Mr. Cardwell still hesitates. Then General De Lacy Evans, one of the oldest partisans of Lord Palmerston, announces that he will propose on his side a motion tending to blame directly the proclamation of Lord Canning, and to denounce a policy of confiscation. Another member of the Opposition declares that, if a division is persisted in he will take no other part than that of wishing the author of the motion good night, and will go away. Another member, with simpler frankness, refers to the possibility of a dissolution, which will probably cost many partisans of the vote of censure their seats. An hour passes in this strange and increasing confusion, and every minute the certainty of humiliating defeat to the Opposition becomes more apparent. To avoid this disaster, Lord Palmerston takes his measures and decides on a retreat; to cover which, he gives as a pretext the effect produced by the protest of General Outram, quoted in the discussion of the previous night, and officially published that very day, and then in his turn requests Mr. Cardwell to withdraw his vote of censure. Mr. Cardwell at last consents, amidst the derisive cheers of the Conservative party. The day was decided and the campaign terminated without bring-

ing up the reserves. The Ministers were victorious without one of them having risen to speak.

Nothing remained to the Cabinet but to register their victory and determine beforehand its moral effect. This is what was done by Mr. Disraeli with infinite address and a triumphant modesty. He first showed that it was not the Ministry that had either declined the combat or had any fears of the result; but also it was not the Ministry that had defeated its adversaries. He was pleased to acknowledge that the battle had been gained by men who neither belonged to the Government nor were among its adherents, but by Mr. Roebuck, by Mr. Bright, by Sir James Graham, whose independence, talent, and authority had carried into the debate an invincible light, and modified the preconceived opinions of a part of the House. Resolved, moreover, not to abuse his success or to press too hard his adversaries, he declared that so far as Lord Canning would conform to the policy of prudence and conciliation that had been recommended to him, and of which he had so long been the generous representative, the Government would continue to him their confidence and support; that moreover, without waiting for the result of the discussion, a telegraphic dispatch had already carried to him this assurance.

Mr. Gladstone, Lord John Russell, and Mr. Bright rose in turn to congratulate the House, according to their different points of view, on this unexpected conclusion, and to place on record both the justice rendered to Lord Canning, and the universal recognition of the principle of clemency and moderation in India. After which the House adjourned until after the Whitsuntide recess.

It is very rare in established political assemblies thus to see, with regard to any important measure, the previously fixed opinions of the majority changed by the sole and immediate influence of a debate. I would even add that it ought seldom to be so; and yet this should not be taken as any proof against the sincerity or morality of representative Government. In questions relatively insignificant or suddenly arisen, public and improvised discussion will naturally determine the decision. But it is otherwise in party contests, in questions of a higher importance already abundantly debated by a free press and by common opinion. Parliamentary discussion is thus more a result than a preamble. All legislative deliberation is a judgment; the discussion which precedes, establishes and produces the victorious argument; it gives to the case of the adverse parties the most complete and incontestible publicity; but it serves, above all, to declare, for the benefit of contemporaries and of posterity, the grounds of the decree. I have seen often a majority increase or diminish under the instantaneous effects of the words of certain orators; but I have never seen it yield in such a degree to the gradually prevailing ascendancy of eloquent truth.

It was not wrongly, then, that so many different orators con-

gratulated the House on the issue of the debate; for what had come to pass was the triumph of *reason and justice*—*a triumph consolidated* by the moderation and prudence of all parties—a triumph obtained by the weapons only of discussion and eloquence. Party spirit had been beaten down and defeated. All legitimate interests had been nobly acknowledged and defended; the honour of a great functionary, absent and accused, had found faithful and zealous champions; his character had been sheltered from all reproach with *an honourable solicitude by those even who had most severely condemned* his conduct. The authority of Government had been maintained by men as completely strangers to its responsibilities as independent of its influence. The eloquent but imprudent Minister who had inflicted on himself his own punishment for the exaggeration of his language, must have felt more than consoled in hearing his doctrines victoriously sustained by the most powerful voices, and *implicitly approved by the legislative majority*. Humanity, justice, the rights of the conquered and the feeble, found for their champions the most reputed and intrepid orators of an assembly whose echoes resound throughout the whole world; and their voices would penetrate even to the Ganges, to establish there the laws of fair warfare and the conditions of a civilizing conquest.

> Ille super Gangem, super exauditus et Indos,
> Implebit tonans voce; et furialia bella
> Fulmine composcet linguæ.

In a word, moral force had been openly and nobly preferred to material force by the organs of a great nation, which is able and desirous of conducting its own affairs—a nation that nothing dejects or alarms; that is mistaken at times, but which urges to extremes neither men nor things; that, lastly, knows how to arrange *everything, to repair everything without need of tutelage, or of seeking* safety in anything but her own masculine and intelligent energy.

Whilst these reflections were made around me, I left this grand spectacle with feelings of emotion and satisfaction, such as any man would experience who sees in a Government something besides an antechamber, and in a civilized people something else than an indolent and docile flock to be clipped and pastured under the silent shades of *an enervating security. I felt myself more than ever attached* to the liberal hopes and convictions which have always animated, during the most painful periods of our history, that chosen band of honest men whom errors and defeats have never dejected, and who even in exile, even on the scaffold, have preserved sufficient patriotism to believe that France, even as England, could bear a rule of justice, light, and liberty—a noble faith, worthy of inspiring the most painful sacrifices, and which betrayed as it has been by fortune, deserted by the crowd, and insulted by cowards, does not the less hold its unconquerable empire over proud souls and generous minds.

VIII.

Since my return to France, I have read in the principal organ of the clergy and of the new alliance between the throne and the altar, that all I had just seen and heard was "*une farce jouée à grand appareil*,* such as is frequently seen in the history of deliberative assemblies." Happy country, thought I, and above all, happy clergy, to whom is presented such excellent teaching, and in language so admirable.

In the meantime the debates of the month of May last have exercised a benign influence on the conduct of affairs in India. Lord Canning has returned without trouble into his former ways, from which for a moment he had been lured by evil counsels. Whilst making an apology for confiscation in that dispatch of the 7th of June which the journals have recently published, he has not the less returned to an indulgent and moderate policy. If the latest accounts are to be believed, the submission of Oude is gradually being effected. The *talookdars*, gained over by the conciliatory conduct of Commissioner Montgomery, submit, one after the other, and return to their properties at the same time that they return to their duty. In the other provinces of India the insurrection, though still formidable, and more formidable than it is thought in England, appears nevertheless to be narrowing and expiring. None of the sanguinary hopes which at the same epoch last year were heard in the ranks of England's enemies have yet been answered; none of their sinister predictions have been as yet fulfilled.

The law which has put an end to the political existence of the East India Company confides the government of the immense peninsula to a Secretary of State, assisted by a permanent Council, of which half the members are nominated by the Crown and half are elected. An article of this law establishes that when a private person has any complaint to make against the Indian Administration, he must proceed against the Secretary of State. This is but the application of that grand principle of common law in England by which every citizen can have recourse to a court of justice against a public officer—an immense, but insufficiently known, guarantee of British freedom, presenting a striking contrast to the inviolability of the smallest of our functionaries ordained by the constitution of the year VIII., which people have had the simplicity, even under the constitutional system, to number among the happy results of 1789.

This Secretary of State is Lord Stanley, whose vigorous youth and solidity of understanding promise to the affairs of India a prudent and energetic guide, and inspire universal confidence. He has nobly stated the programme of the new organization of the Government of India, in his speech of 20th September to one of the municipal corporations of London:—"We have to

* *Univers*, 23rd May, 1858.

preserve India from the fluctuations of Parliamentary politics, and to defend England against a danger more distant, but not less real, the contact of our Executive with the administration of a country that cannot be governed except by means of absolute power." The Ministry of his father owes to the debate on the motion of Mr. Cardwell the consolidation of its existence, previously uncertain and wavering. Liberals of opinions the most advanced are easily resigned to the temporary duration of a Cabinet which gives to the great reforming and independent party time to seek leaders younger and safer than Lord Palmerston; whilst, in the meantime, it enters itself into the path of useful reforms and legitimate progress. The leaders of the Conservative Administration suffer in this moment the chastisement inflicted by Providence on statesmen whom political passions—I say passions, not a servile and factious lust of power—have led into injustice and exaggeration. The power they have so coveted is granted to them, but on the condition of following precisely the same conduct as their predecessors. Since their second advent to power, Lord Derby and Mr. Disraeli are engaged in doing all they stigmatized as criminal in Sir Robert Peel: they accept, or they propose themselves, liberal reforms which they have, or certainly would have, combated, had they remained in opposition; reforms which occasioned the rupture with their illustrious chief, from whom they separated themselves when he recognised the necessity of abandoning the old Tory dogmas and of advancing with the age. The admission of Jews into Parliament, the abolition of a property qualification for members, the promise of a parliamentary reform more thorough than any that has recently been proposed, indicate the steps they have taken in this new path, and have naturally gained for them the support of liberal sympathies; whilst by measures sincerely favourable to religious liberty in schools, in prisons, and in the army they have secured a certain degree of adhesion from the most militant section of the Catholic episcopacy and press of Ireland.

But if for a time it has consolidated this Conservative Ministry, the great debate on India has rendered a still more considerable service to England and to Europe in confirming the defeat of Lord Palmerston. In spite of the tardy skill he exhibited in retreat at the close of the combat, this defeat was not less evident and complete, and during the rest of the session the House seemed to take pleasure in showing him that it had finally thrown off the yoke. He may again, perhaps, arrive at power, so abundant are the resources of his mind on the one hand, while on the other the returns of popularity in a free country are so unforeseen and natural; but he will return warned if not chastened, and convinced of the necessity of being more careful in his treatment both of his friends and of his adversaries.

Another power still more formidable than that of Lord Pal-

merston came out vanquished from the contest, the power of the *Times*. For two years the vassal of the noble Lord, this journal had devoted all its resources to the success of the plan of attack devised by the ex-Minister. It is impossible not to see in the fact of its defeat a conclusive *proof of the national good sense of England*. The incontestable utility of this immense machine of publicity as the potent organ of individual griefs and the bold stimulator of public sentiment would be more than counterbalanced by its omnipotence, were this omnipotence unchecked or did it not now and then receive a lesson. The balance of constitutional powers would be seriously compromised by the exclusive preponderance of a single journal, whose writers, without mission or responsibility, speak every day as preceptors to a public the most numerous on earth; but, as I think I have elsewhere proved, freedom of parliamentary discussion and its universal publicity are the necessary and efficacious counterpoise to the dangerous omnipotence of the press. Of this the debate on India has furnished a new and conclusive proof.

Let it be well remarked that, in all these vicissitudes of English politics in the present day, there is nothing of that pretended contest between aristocracy and democracy, in which superficial observers fancy they have the key to the movements of opinion amongst our neighbours. It is the middle class which in reality governs England, but a middle class far wider in its basis, and containing in itself more gradations of rank than that which has governed in France at certain epochs of our ancient monarchy, and during the continuance of the parliamentary rule. This middle class *never displays either the puerile infatuations, or the peevish and* envious pretensions, or the cowardly abdications, the inexcusable panics, which disfigure the history of our *bourgeoisie*. Intelligence it esteems highly, but still more does it value moral strength. It seeks and respects wealth, but only as the test of force and social activity. *It has a horror of indolence and weakness*, and, consequently of arbitrary authority imposed or acquiesced in. It desires to exist for itself, and by itself; hence its instinctive and traditional repugnance to centralization and bureaucracy. On the other hand, it does not aspire to invade all political functions, and to close at once from on high and from below every access to power against all not of its own class. It opens its ranks to every aspirant, without disputing any superiority anterior to or independent of itself. It willingly consents also that an aristocracy of birth, which has been recruited for ages from its own bosom, should represent at home and abroad the public authority and national grandeur—as a great sovereign enthroned in the tranquil and simple majesty of his power leaves willingly to his great lords the care of being the showmen of the State in distant embassies, and of intriguing for the honour of burdensome offices.

But it takes good care that its will is done, and that with its interest none other enters into competition, that no conviction over-

rules its own. And it is not from to-day that is dated this hidden but real sovereignty. Those who know English history well, are aware that for two centuries it has always existed and always increased. Throughout all superficial party divisions it is the mind of the middle classes which has always directed those great currents of opinion, of which dynastic and ministerial revolutions are but the official interpretation. Never has the patrician body in England been aught else than the active and devoted agent, the mouthpiece and instrument, of that intelligent and resolute class in which is compressed the national will and power. It is this class that Cromwell and Milton personified when by the sword of the one and the pen of the other the Republic was seated for a season on the shattered throne of Charles I. It was for it and with it that Monk recalled the Stuarts, and that, thirty years later, Parliament replaced them by a fresh dynasty. It was it that with the two Pitts raised in the eighteenth century the edifice of British preponderance, and that with Burke prevented England from being infected and ruined by the contagion of revolutionary ideas. It is it, finally, that with Peel has in our day inaugurated the policy of a new era, that of the amelioration of the condition and the extension of the rights of the labouring classes.

Hence the imperious necessity of this transformation of ancient parties which discovers itself in every incident of contemporary politics, and which hovered over the great debate I have attempted to describe. I hear great minds that I venerate groan over this inevitable transformation; I see them endeavouring to retard it. Vain efforts and unfounded fears! This dispersion of old Parliamentary parties is legitimate, natural, and desirable. Ancient parties are extinct, and the necessity for them is gone. The Whig party is buried in its own triumph: to it be the immortal honour of having installed by its initiative and perseverance those noble and salutary reforms which have cost not one drop of blood, and have caused liberal ideas to triumph by the only means that liberty will assert—Catholic Emancipation, Parliamentary Reform, the Suppression of Slavery, Abolition of the Corn Laws. Its former adversaries have now become its rivals, and they may outrun it in the path of substantial and popular reforms destined to replace the ancient routine by the blessings of rational and moral progress. At the present time every one in England is desirous of progress, and every one also desires it without betraying the memory of past glories, and without disturbing the foundations of society. Of all the questions which at present interest the safety and honour of the country, there is not a single one which is connected with the old divisions of Whigs and Tories. What is there in common with them in the French alliance, the Indian revolt, the Russian or Chinese war, the political and industrial emancipation of the Colonies? Nothing, absolutely nothing. To govern the country well, to draw from its colossal resources all that is possible for its honour

and prosperity, that is the only problem which remains to be solved. There is enough here to give a lawful field to all honest ambition, and to call into play all men of established or rising reputation. There is enough also to introduce from time to time into the regions of power those periodical modifications, those salutary crises indispensable in a free government, because they preserve majorities from rusting, and statesmen from monopolizing the sweets of power.

The true wants, the real dangers of the country, are no longer where we have been accustomed to seek them. Fifteen years ago it was predicted that the abolition of the Corn Laws and Free Trade would create an irreconcilable antagonism between the agricultural and manufacturing interests. Quite the contrary of this has happened.* The gains of the agriculturists have exactly followed those of manufactures, and have often surpassed them. It was feared that the population of the country districts would be sacrificed to that of the towns. On the contrary, it is always the latter, which, by constantly increasing, inspires a solicitude as serious as legitimate, and constitutes the real social infirmity of *England.*† To provide a remedy is not the aim of the Government only; it is the whole country which strives to discover the remedy. Its generous efforts will be recompensed by success if, as there is every prospect, while avoiding the scourge of pauperism, it knows how to check those of bureaucracy and centralization which have everywhere on the Continent destroyed or enchained liberty without either destroying or enchaining pauperism.

I have in these pages already indicated, and I again refer to it with pleasure, the most significant and the most consoling symptom in the actual state of England; it is the persevering ardour which induces the *élite* of the English nation to prosecute social and administrative reforms, to improve the state of prisons, of unhealthy abodes, to propagate popular, professional, agricultural, and domestic instruction, to increase the resources of religious ministry, to simplify criminal and civil procedure, to labour in everything for the moral and material welfare of the lower classes, not by the humiliating tutelage of a power without control, but by the generous coalition of every independent force and every spontaneous sacrifice.

The danger of England is not, then, from within. People would wish, indeed, to believe her to be the prey, like ourselves, of the

* *The Workmen of the Two Worlds.* A publication of the Society of Social Economy, 1858, vol. I. p. 396.

† I recommend to all who wish to probe this sore, a work entitled, *Dives and Lazarus*, London, 1858. Amongst a number of facts, interesting as they are painful, there will be found in this book three things peculiarly significant: 1st, The *relative* morality and charity that exists in the relations of the poor one with another. 2ndly, The moral superiority recognised by an English Protestant in the Irish Catholic poor. 3rdly, The noble and salutary boldness of a publicity which descends torch in hand into the abyss of misery to reveal the evil and invoke the remedy.

menaces of Socialism, and obliged to take refuge in autocracy. Ingenious panegyrists of absolute power have lately expended their discernment in seeking, in unknown pamphlets and obscure meetings, the proofs of the progress of revolutionary ideas on the other side of the Channel. These learned people have forgotten, or probably they have never known, all that was said and published of this kind from 1790 to 1810, not by any means in a few obscure dens, but in open day, with the tacit consent of a great parliamentary party, and under the patronage of several of the most celebrated men in the country, at a time when the nation was suffering from the severest financial embarrassments, from frequent mutinies in her navy, and from a dread of the formidable enterprises of the greatest Captain of modern times. Every man who has the slightest acquaintance with England must smile at these interested apprehensions. One might refer these authors to that honest shopkeeper of London, who appeared the other day at the police courts to demand of the magistrate how he was to repay himself the postage of a Socialist pamphlet which had been sent to his address. Not only does the nation itself ask for no organic change, but no real political party, old or new, thinks of it. Never was the Constitution more universally respected, more faithfully practised, more affectionately invoked. After seventy years have passed it is still true what Mirabeau replied in 1790 to the ill-omened birds who prophesied the imminent ruin of the liberal nation *par excellence* —"England lost! In what latitude, I pray you, has she been shipwrecked? I see her, on the contrary, active, powerful, coming forth strong from out of a periodical agitation, and about to fill a gap in her Constitution with all the energy of a great people."

No, the danger of England is not there; it exists, but elsewhere. *It is from without that the true perils of England* threaten her—perils to which she may succumb, and respecting which she indulges in terrible illusions. I speak not only of the Indian revolt, though I am far from being so satisfied as to its ultimate issue as people appear to be in England; but, to my mind, it is Europe she has to fear more than Asia. At the end of the first Empire, Europe, with the exception of France, was intimately allied with England, and, moreover, filled with respect for the recent exploits of her army in Spain and Belgium. It is no longer so at the present day. The English armies have unjustly but incontestably, lost their prestige. And besides, the gradual progress of liberal ideas in England, and the retrograde march of the great Continental States for some years past towards absolute power, have placed the two policies on two roads altogether different, but parallel and sufficiently near to each other to make it possible that a conflict may any day burst forth.

There is also in many minds a moral repulsion against England, which is of itself a serious danger. The English consider as an honour and as a compliment the invectives of a press that

preaches fanaticism and despotism; but they would do very wrong to believe that there are not entertained against them in Europe other hostile feelings than those of which they have reason to be proud. The Comte de Maistre, one whom they ought to reproach themselves for not knowing more of, who had never seen England, but who had divined what it was by the instinct of genius, and admired it with the frankness of a great soul, has written thus:—"Believe not that I fail to render full justice to the English. I admire their Government (without thinking I do not say that it ought, but even that it could be, transplanted elsewhere); I bow down before their criminal laws, their arts, their science, their public spirit, &c.; but all this is marred in their external political life by intolerable national prejudices, and a pride without measure, without prudence, which is revolting to other nations, and hinders them from uniting for the good cause. Do you know the grand difficulty of the extraordinary epoch in which we are now living (1803)? *It is that the cause we love is defended by the nation we do not love.*"

As to myself, loving the nation almost as much as the cause she defends, I regret that M. le Maistre is no more there to castigate, with that *anger of love* which rendered him so eloquent, the awkward effrontery which British selfishness displayed in the affair of the Isthmus of Suez, the gate of which England would close to all, though she possesses beforehand the key at Perim. He would have been equally well worth hearing on the ridiculous susceptibility of a part of the English press on the subject of the Russian coal depôt at Villafranca; as if a nation that is every day extending her maritime dominion in all quarters of the world, and occupies in the Mediterranean positions such as Malta, Gibraltar, and Corfu, could complain with a good grace that other nations should strive to extend their commerce and navigation.

On one hand, then, the legitimate resentment excited by the imprudent and inconsistent policy of England in her relations with foreign States; on the other, the horror and spite inspired in servile minds by the spectacle of her durable and prosperous liberty, have *created against her in Europe a common fund of animosity.* It would be easy for any one who was willing to take advantage of this animosity to profit by it to engage England in some conflict from which she would run a great risk of coming out vanquished, or at least with diminished power. It would be then that the popular masses, wounded in their national self-love by unforeseen checks, might raise a tempest of which nothing in her history hitherto has given an idea. To prevent this catastrophe, it behoves her no longer to be blind as to the nature and extent of her resources. Her military forces, and particularly the military knowledge of her officers and generals, are evidently unworthy of her mission. Her naval forces may be, if not surpassed, at least equalled, as they have already been by our own under Louis XIV,

and under Louis XVI.; as they will be again when our honour and our interest demand it. She trusts too much to her past glories, and to the national bravery of her sons. Because she is essentially warlike, she wrongly believes herself to be keeping pace with modern progress in the art of war, and to be in a condition to resist the superiority of numbers, of discipline, and the experience of camps. Because in 1848 the bravest and best disciplined armies failed to preserve the great Continental monarchies from a sudden and disgraceful fall before an internal enemy, she continues to doubt if an efficient and numerous army be the first condition of safety against a foreign enemy. Because she is free, she wrongly thinks she has nothing to fear from freedom's enemies. No! her institutions are not an impregnable bulwark, as was rashly said by Mr. Roebuck, on his return from Cherbourg. Alas! the experience of ancient and modern times has proved that free nations can succumb like the rest, and even more quickly than others. Liberty is the most precious of treasures; but, like all treasures, it excites the envy, the covetousness, the hatred of those above all who do not like that others should possess what they themselves have neither known nor have wished to possess. Like all treasures, like beauty, truth, like virtue itself, it must be watched and protected with a tender solicitude and indefatigible vigilance. All the inventions of which modern science is so proud, profit despotism as much, or more than liberty. Steam and electricity will lend always more *force to heavy battalions than to sound reasoning.* By more frequently substituting mechanism for the moral spring of man's individual energy, they induce and second the empire of force over right. This is what the friends of England and of liberty should never lose sight of.

This is the only point upon which we do not feel reassured by the prodigies of that individual enterprise, and of those spontaneous associations whose intrepid and inexhaustible energy creates the force and supreme glory of England. In all other matters it is evident that the whole power and fortune of autocracy must confess itself vanquished and eclipsed by this incomparable fertility of private industry which, in our own day, without either the initiation or aid of the State, has constructed in the port of Liverpool floating basins six times more vast than those of Cherbourg, raised on the ground of the Crystal Palace the marvel of contemporary architecture, sounded the depths of the ocean to deposit there the electric cable, and thus united the two great free nations of the globe by this voice of lightning the first words of which have carried in an instant across the abyss, and from one world to another, the song of joy of the angels at the birth of the Saviour: *Glory to God in the highest, peace on earth, and good will towards men.*

But it is not only in the regions of vast industry, where they arrest every eye, and extract testimonies of admiration from the most adverse, that are produced these marvels of free and personal enterprise; for my part, I feel much more emotion and still more

reassured when I contemplate this spirit at work in the very bowels of society, in the obscure depths of daily life; and it is there we must see it spreading far its roots and developing its vigorous growth, to estimate all the value to the body and soul of a nation that lies in the noble habit of providing for itself against its wants and its perils.

I will adduce, and with them I must conclude this already overlengthy article, two characteristic instances worthy of awakening, in my opinion, the envy of honest men in all countries, but which have passed almost unperceived in England itself, so much do they resemble what is seen there every day, and what will be sought for in vain elsewhere.

I open by chance an obscure provincial journal, the *Manchester Examiner*, of the month of July last, and I find the history of four or five young people of the middle class, who, in 1833, undertook to found at their own expense a free school in Angel Meadow, one of the wildest quarters of the immense manufacturing city of Manchester. They wished, according to their own expression, to get at the paganism of the working classes. But, like all paganisms, that of the Angel Meadow showed itself to be little accessible and little grateful. Our young apostles were installed in a small unoccupied house, and they attracted there a few children out of the streets. By way of recompence, the people indulged them with a noise and clatter every evening, broke their windows every day, and flung dead cats and dogs through the apertures into the school-room. They took care not to be angry, not to complain, and to persevere in visiting, one by one, all the fathers of families in the neighbourhood, to enlighten and reassure them. At the end of five years they had conquered. They now receive the sympathy of the population, as also the support of the clergy, and they possess four hundred pupils, of whom they are the voluntary teachers; and this does not prevent them from giving a course of lessons to adults, in conformity with the programme of the great Working Class Associations of the town. They have also become the emulators of that admirable institution called the "Ragged School Union," because it has for its exclusive object to instruct children of the meanest condition, and which counts already in London alone 166 schools, 41,802 pupils, 350 paid masters, and, what is still more praiseworthy, 2139 gratuitous members, who impose on themselves the duty of going several times a week to teach the children of the poor.* I shall be told that this is what is done in France by all our clergy and all our sisters devoted to the instruction of the people, as well as by many of the pious amongst the laity. Without doubt; and I will add that this is what they do in England wherever they are found. But there are not enough of them, even in France, much less in England. Let us honour a sincere devotion to doing good in whatever

* Davésiès de Pontès. Les Reformes Sociales en Angleterre. *Revue des Deux Mondes*, 1st September, 1858.

form it is manifested ; if it can ever prove formidable to any person or any thing, it will certainly not be to the Catholic clergy, or to Truth. Moreover, until it be affirmed and also demonstrated by the new oracles of the Church that the state of the Indians of Paraguay is the only ideal suited to European nations of the nineteenth century, it must be admitted that the civil and civic virtues have their importance, and that religion, which is everywhere so shorn of its strength in presence of poverty and materialism, has at least the same interest as society in the spontaneous development of the moral and intellectual force with which it has pleased the Almighty to endow his favoured creatures.

My other example of this fortunate and consoling activity of individual effort is drawn from a different sphere ; and it strikingly displays the faculty of self-government, and the happy relations of the upper and lower classes of the English population. Not far from Birmingham, another manufacturing metropolis of England, there rises an old feudal manor-house, surrounded by a fine park, and called Aston Hall. Charles I. had lodged there in 1642, and the people of Birmingham, who took part with the Parliament, came there to besiege it. In course of time the great town as it grew had finally reached it, and had enclosed in its successive ramifications the old domain, with its noble trees and verdant slopes. The ancient and impoverished family who were the proprietors found themselves obliged to sell it, and it seemed that soon this fresh and healthy verdure would have to be converted into new streets full of factories and forges. Then the idea occurred to some persons of purchasing it, and transforming it into a *People's Park*, in conformity with the example already given in other towns. We are all of us acquainted with very enlightened countries where such an enterprise has been regarded as impossible, except at least after knocking at the doors of the public treasury, or getting at the privy purse of the Sovereign by cleverly alternating the importunities of entreaty with the sweets of adulation. At Birmingham, things are managed differently. A committee is formed ; it is principally composed of workmen, with a certain number of patrons and master manufacturers. The whole town joins in the undertaking. A company is established, in which the workmen are shareholders ; and it is supported by a subscription to which every one contributes. The little charity-girl deposits her halfpenny besides the bank notes of the wealthy manufacturer. The sum required is soon found ; the estate is bought in the name of the association ; the old manor-house, carefully restored, is destined to receive a permanent exhibition of the arts and manufactures of the district ; and the large park, with its aged trees, is transformed into a promenade and place of recreation for the families of the working-classes. Then, and then only, when nothing has to be done but to inaugurate this happy conquest of intelligent and courageous enterprise, they send to seek the Queen ; for all these little municipal

republics are anxious to show that royalty is their keystone. This great segment of society, so proud and secure in itself, knows well that it has nothing to fear from the sovereign power, at once its graceful ornament and its faithful agent, which has also on its part nothing to fear from the active spontaneity of its subjects; which does not pretend to thwart any emancipation, any development of individual independence; which imposes neither submission on any source of activity, nor silence on any contradiction; which is, in truth, nothing but liberty crowned. On the 15th of June, 1858, the Queen obeyed this touching invitation: she came, and six hundred thousand artisans thronged to meet her, issuing by myriads from all the industrial hives of the districts of the *black land*, that is to say, the counties of Stafford and Warwick, the collieries of which supply the vast iron-works with fuel. They brought to her the affectionate homage of their happy countenances, of their free souls, and their manly efforts to prosper and be free. The Queen passed through this throng of enthusiastic people, and inaugurated the new Museum; she knighted the Mayor of Birmingham, by touching his shoulder, according to the ancient ceremonial, with a sword handed to her for this purpose by the Lord-Lieutenant of the county; then she caused to approach the eight artisans whom their comrades had marked out as the most usefully zealous in the common work. She said to them, "I thank you personally for what you have done to preserve this old manor, and I trust that the *People's Park* will for ever be a benefit to the working classes of your town." As she went away, forty thousand children of the free and national schools of different sects, ranged in rows along the passage reserved for the Queen, under the huge trees which had perhaps seen Charles I. pass under them, sing in chorus, with an accent at once innocent and full of feeling, that drew tears from more than one present, a hymn in somewhat doggrel verse, but the refrain of which is—

Now pray we for our country,
That England long may be
The holy and the happy,
And the gloriously free.

Note to Page 12.

Readers may refer to the speech of the Rev. Mr. Fitzgerald, a Catholic Archdeacon in Ireland, in the *Univers* of the 25th of August. He there proposes to his countrymen to have recourse to the Emperor of the French, in order to obtain from the English Government the reform of the laws relative to the reciprocal rights of farmers and landlords. "Let us fancy what would happen in France, in Austria, or in Naples if a Catholic priest were to speak publicly in this fashion, and were to suggest to the faithful to address themselves to a foreign prince in order to force the Government of their nation to do them justice.

Some days later, at a meeting of ten thousand persons, held in the open air on the 28th August, at *Nenagh*, for the purpose of addressing a petition to Parliament, praying for the revision of the trial of two peasants, condemned to death for having assassinated a proprietor, the Rev. John Kenyon, a Catholic priest, addressing the people assembled, spoke as follows:—"I am indignant with myself when *I think that I lower myself to such a point as to propose to you a petition to a* Saxon Parliament, to those English who have their foot upon our necks, and their hand in our pockets. People speak of our progress—of our new prosperity. No, we are not prosperous, we cannot be; and even if we could, we would not; for what is prosperity without liberty? Let us retain our grievances as a treasure, and let no one deprive us of them until God has granted us the power, and pointed out to us the means, of avenging them. If we should once more lower ourselves so far as to petition, the only proper petition is to ask Parliament to hang Judge Keogh, that vile and iniquitous judge (who had presided at the assizes at which the sentence in question was pronounced). *If the justice of the country was anything but a farce,* Judge Keogh would before now have been hung on a gibbet fifty feet high." The hearers loudly applauded this language, which was published in all the journals, and which no one thought of repressing. It must be added that it alarmed no one, and it is that fact which at the same time shows the strength of the English Government, and the liberty enjoyed by Ireland. Let it be recollected what happened some time ago to an advocate of Toulouse, who published a pamphlet on the condemnation of Brother Léotade, and it will be understood what weight ought to be attached to the pretended oppression which at the present day presses upon the Catholics of Ireland, according to the ignorant declaimers who, at their pleasure, confound the past and the present.

Besides this, it would be very false and very unjust to attribute to the whole of *the Irish or English clergy the ideas or the language of Father Kenyon.* The most illustrious and most elevated member of the Catholic hierarchy in the United Kingdom, Cardinal Wiseman, expressed himself as follows at a public dinner given at Waterford, on the 14th September, 1858:—"Everything seems to announce a *future more prosperous than the past of Ireland has been for several centuries. All* the material conditions of the people are improved. They have habituated themselves to find in an industrious activity and in the cultivation of the national soil the resources which they sought in other countries and from mere chance. Everything about them shows a more developed degree of intelligence, and a more ardent desire for progress, without the slightest diminution of their moral or religious sentiments. 'On the contrary, all that they have done for their religion in the midst of difficulties and famine has filled me with admiration. . . . The past will soon belong to history; and even in the present generation there are few men who can figure to themselves what they were for so long a time when under the empire of a policy which I shall call erroneous, in order not to style it in the terms I have the right to use."

From all this we are permitted to conclude, without by any means wishing to pardon the persecutions and spoliations of which England has rendered herself guilty towards the Irish, that nowhere in the world does the Catholic Church at the present day enjoy, in fact, such complete and such absolute liberty as in England and Ireland. Let us add that, *cum hoc, si non propter hoc,* no nation in the world is more insulted at the present day than Great Britain by the greater number of the Catholic journals of France, Belgium, and Italy, and especially by those which in former times affirmed that the liberty of the Church was inseparable in their programme from general liberty. It will be objected to me, perhaps, *that liberty is not sufficient to obtain justice. So be it. But it is sufficient at* all events for the purpose of demanding it and of meriting it. Success is sometimes long waited for, but it almost always comes sometime or other, and it lasts. None of the conquests gained since 1780 in favour of the liberty of the Catholics of England and Ireland have yet been disturbed or even threatened.

REMARKS

ON

THE PRESENT STATE

OF

THE PUNJAUB.

BY

MONTAGUE GORE, ESQ.

THIRD EDITION, WITH A POSTSCRIPT.

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JAMES RIDGWAY, PICCADILLY.
1849.


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PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION.

Although in the following pages I have spoken of the present state of affairs in the Punjaub, as calculated to awaken anxiety; I am very far from seeing in it any reasonable cause for apprehension. Much stress has been laid on the discipline of the Sikhs, and on the admirable manner in which they served their guns. But any one conversant with Indian history must remember many instances; where the artillery of the native Chiefs, who were opposed to us; was numerous and formidable. At the battle fought at Deeg with Holkar's forces, the enemy had 160 pieces of ordnance. "I have every "reason to believe," said Lord Lake, "that the "action of the 13th inst." alluding to that of Deeg, "was a very near business." "It was a contest," says Professor Wilson, "less with men than with "guns; the batteries of the enemy were crowded "with guns, and strongly posted."* The Duke of Wellington spoke of the cannon of Scindiah, at the battle of Assaye, as being very fine, and described the execution done by their fire as terrible. At

* Mill's British India, by Wilson, vol. 6. p. 594.

Laswaaree we sustained a severe loss from the Mahratta artillery: "Their battalions," said Lord Lake, "are most uncommonly well appointed; "have a most numerous artillery, as well served as "they can possibly be; the gunners standing to their "guns until killed by the bayonet: all the sepoys "of the enemy behaved exceedingly well; and if "they had been commanded by French officers, the "event would have been, I fear, extremely doubtful. "Their army is better appointed than ours; no "expense is spared whatever." Our conflicts with the Mahrattas bore, too, a striking resemblance to those in which we have been lately engaged with the Sikhs; in the improvement in military knowledge which was made by the natives, in consequence of their having been drilled and disciplined by European officers. And at Laswaaree, as on some recent occasions, the effects of this discipline were perceptible after their instructors had left them. There is nothing, therefore, in the character of our present foes which should dishearten us; nothing which should prevent our cherishing the hope and the belief; that the results of our contest with them will be as brilliant and successful, as have been those of the wars in which we have hitherto been engaged.

It does seem, however, desirable; when we consider the extent of territory which the British army is called on to protect; that it should be placed in a state of the greatest efficiency. And there are two points, especially connected with this subject, which

well merit the greatest consideration,—the deficiency of European officers; and the mischief occasioned by the quantity of useless baggage which now seriously impedes the operation of the troops.* These are, however, matters, which have been so ably treated of in two recent publications,† that it would be superfluous to offer any further remarks. I will only, therefore, express a hope; that no mistaken notions of economy may be allowed to impair the strength of that army which must ever be the main-stay of our Empire in the East. I trust, too, that whilst every attention is paid to the comforts of both officers and men, all unnecessary expenses and luxuries will be retrenched with unsparing hand. The fortitude displayed in enduring the hardships of a campaign is as honourable to the soldier; and often as serviceable to his country; as the courage evinced in the day of battle.

A bold, decided, vigorous policy is essential to

* As a proof, too, of the loss incurred by the want of discipline in the camel corps; I may mention the fact, that, *from the commencement of the campaign in Affghanistan, in* 1838, *to the month of October,* 1840, *the number of camels killed, stolen, and strayed was somewhat beyond fifty-five thousand. The average value of each being taken at eighty rupees, would make the expense of this item of war expenditure above forty-five lacs of rupees, or four hundred and fifty thousand pounds.*

† On the Deficiency of European Officers in the Army of India, by one of Themselves. A Letter to the Right Hon. Sir John C. Hobhouse, on the Baggage of the Indian Army, by Sir Charles Napier.

the maintenance of our power. The strict principle of non-interference, so often laid down by the authorities at home, has always been found impracticable on the spot. Wars of aggression and conquest cannot indeed be too severely condemned; but our wars in India have been forced upon us by circumstances; and it is a curious fact, that Mr. Mill, who, in his history, found such fault with Lord Wellesley for entering into hostilities with Tippoo and the Mahrattas; said in his examination before the Committee of the House of Commons, in 1832; "all "our wars cannot perhaps be with propriety con- "sidered wars of necessity; but most of those by "which the territories we possess have been "obtained; and out of which our subsidiary alli- "ances have grown; have been wars, I think, of "necessity and not of choice. For example, the "wars with Tippoo and the Mahrattas." And I would ask those; if there be any; who can be found to advocate our retiring to the Jumna; to reflect on the disastrous consequences which ensued from our pursuing such a course after the peace of 1806. We abstained, then, from exercising the authority to which we had succeeded on the downfall of Scindiah, as Lord Paramount of the States between that river and the Sutlej. What was the consequence? Dissensions broke out; and as we refused to settle them, Runjeet Singh was applied to. He availed himself of the opportunity to extend his power over the whole country; and it became, said Lord

Metcalfe, the principal business of our negotiation with him in 1808 and 1809 to remedy this mischief, by throwing his power back beyond the Sutlej; which was accomplished with considerable difficulty; great reluctance on his part, and a near approach to war.* It would be nothing less, then, than suicidal folly; to recur now to a line of policy condemned alike by reason and experience. To retire to the Jumna would be to repeat the errors committed after the peace of 1806; to forget the lesson which those errors should have taught us; to relinquish the advantages which have arisen from pursuing a wiser policy; and ultimately to entail on us the necessity of a second time retracing our steps, and resorting to more energetic measures.

There is a curious passage in Dr. Robertson's Historical Disquisition on India; in which he seems to have foreseen that if the English retained their influence in that country, it would be impossible for them eventually to avoid coming into collision with the Sikhs; and that the Punjaub would become the field of battle between those powers. "We are "not to consider," he says, speaking of Major Rennell's Researches, "that these investigations "were merely objects of curiosity; the geography "of that fertile and extensive region of India, dis-"tinguished by the name of Punjaub, with which

* Vide—The able paper drawn up by Lord Metcalfe, with reference to the affair of Bhurtpoor in 1825.

"we are at present little acquainted, may soon
"become very interesting. If, on the one hand,
"that firm foundation on which the British Empire
"in India seems to be established by the successful
"termination of the late war, remains unshaken;
"if, on the other hand, the Sikhs, a confederacy of
"several independent States, shall continue to
"extend their dominions with the same rapidity
"that they have advanced since the beginning of the
"current century; it is highly probable that the en-
"terprising commercial spirit of the one people, and
"the martial ardour of the other; who still retain the
"activity and ardour natural to men in the earliest
"ages of social union; may give rise to events of
"the greatest moment. The frontiers of the two
"States are approaching gradually nearer and
"nearer to each other; the territories of the Sikhs
"having reached to the western bank of the river
"Jumna, while those of the Nabob of Oude stretch
"along its eastern bank. This Nabob, the ally
"or tributary of the East India Company, is sup-
"ported by a brigade of the Bengal army, con-
"stantly stationed on his western frontier. *In a*
"*position so contiguous; rivalry for power, inter-*
"*ference of interest; and innumerable other causes*
"*of jealousy and discord; can hardly fail of ter-*
"*minating, sooner or later, in open hostility.*"*

* Robertson's India, p. 293, &c.

Dr. Robertson foresaw the probability of a contest for dominion arising out of the commercial spirit of Great Britain and the martial ardour of the Sikhs; but he did not foresee that whilst the commerce of Great Britain was about to spread far beyond any expectation he could at that time have entertained; her renown for military prowess would also become so great and eminent. Dr. Robertson could not have foreseen the height of martial glory to which she would attain, under the guidance of that unrivalled warrior; the star of whose fame, first rising in the East, was destined to illumine Europe with the blaze of its meridian splendour; and for whom was reserved the proud and enviable distinction; after having in his youth, by his courage and science, contributed in no small degree to the consolidation of our Indian Empire; of living to give his advice and assistance to that General; who, trained in his school; instructed in his principles; animated by his example; now leaves the shores of England to uphold that empire; to maintain the honour of his country's arms; and to increase still further his own already great renown.

If we make the Indus our boundary, we have opposed to us only the tribes on the right bank of that river, in themselves contemptible and disunited; and we shall have easy means of commanding the approaches through the mountain-passes. But if we retire again to the Sutlej, we facilitate the ad-

vance of any enemy, and leave open to them that tract of country through which Hindostan has always been attacked, and the inhabitants of which have generally sided with the invaders. Alexander the Great and Humaioon were invited by them; and they favoured the progress of Tamerlane.* I would suggest, then, that by occupying this country, we convert it from being a passage for invaders into an outpost of defence; and that by good government, and the equitable administration of our sway, we render friendly to us the natives who would otherwise swell the ranks of our foes. And it must be borne in mind, that the question of the Punjaub cannot be considered apart from that of Scinde. As long as the former continues hostile to us; and in its present disturbed state; it will be necessary to keep up a considerable force in the latter; but with the Punjaub friendly and tranquil, we may make very great reductions in the expenditure of Scinde.

Act then, I would say, to those in whose hands the Government of that country is vested; act in a manner worthy of men to whom such high destinies are entrusted. To retire to the Jumna would be at once dishonourable to our arms, and the severest blow which has been inflicted for centuries on the interests of England. The system of subsidiary alliances—a system which gave power without re-

* Vide Rennell's Memoir of Hindostan, p. 110.

sponsibility; and deadened all the incentives to useful activity; seems now to be generally condemned. Nothing remains, but to adopt the Sutlej or the Indus as the limit of our dominions; and on all considerations, whether of finance, policy, or security, the latter appears to be the preferable boundary.

THE PUNJAUB.

THE recent intelligence from the seat of war in the Punjaub, cannot fail to have filled with deep anxiety the breast of every man who takes an interest in the prosperity of our Indian empire. Our authority over that princely appanage of the British Crown, rests so entirely on opinion, and on the prestige of our military supremacy; that it is impossible to contemplate without solicitude whatever may weaken that opinion, or may tend to break the spell by which we have hitherto retained our power. It is true that we claim the victory in the battle of Chillianwallah; but when we consider by what a loss of life it was attained; and how little effect it seems to have produced on the spirit of the enemy, it is impossible to avoid exclaiming with Pyrrhus at Asculum, "another such victory will ruin us!" Very different from this were the earlier triumphs of our arms in that country; witness Plassey, where Clive with but 3000 foot, of which only 1000 were British soldiers, and eight field-pieces, defeated Suraj-u-Doulah, at the head of 40,000 foot, 16,000 horse, and fifty pieces of heavy cannon;—*our loss being only twenty-two killed, and fifty wounded!* Witness Mallvelly, where General Harris signally defeated

Tippoo; whose loss was estimated at nearly 2000, including many of his bravest men and best officers; *whilst ours was no greater than 66 men killed, wounded, and prisoners!*

Yet whilst not blind to the arduous nature of the conflict in which we are engaged; and feeling that instead of shutting our eyes to danger, "it is necessary," to use Lord Wellesley's language at the time of Monson's disaster, "on all great occasions "to look the utmost possible, or rather imaginable "degree of misfortune distinctly in front;" still I can see nothing that should lead to any thing like feelings of despondency. Although in general so successful, we have sustained occasionally severe reverses in India; but those reverses have been but transient clouds overshadowing for a moment the splendour of our career; and quickly dispersed by the energy and courage of the illustrious men to whom the destinies of that country have been fortunately entrusted, and who have left behind them their policy to guide; their example to encourage; their words to animate us. "I hope it will be "satisfactory to you, my dear Sir," said Lord Wellesley in a letter to Lord Lake, on the occasion to which I have referred, "to perceive that the only "effect produced in my mind by this misfortune, is "an anxious solicitude to afford you every aid in "remedying its consequences, with every degree "of dispatch; that I neither vent myself in idle "complaint, nor feel vain regret; nor harbour

" useless resentment; our joint efforts must be em-
" ployed to avail ourselves of our real strength,
" and established reputation, to suppress the growth
" of this upstart power; and to efface the degree
" of disgrace which has been cast on our arms by
" a temporary and limited failure."*

May similar noble sentiments now animate those to whom the government of our magnificent Indian empire is entrusted!

The first occasion when the attention of the authorities in India was directed to the Punjaub, seems to have been in 1802, when the French General Perron entertained intentions of entering that country, thinking that he might thus obtain the means of extending the conquests of France down the Indus, and of securing a communication with the sea, by which supplies of men and stores could be received from Europe. So distracted was the state of the Sikh country at that time, that Mr. Lewis, one of General Perron's officers, obtained possession without resistance of a considerable tract of country. In a dispatch to Lord Lake, dated August 2, 1803, Lord Wellesley alluded to these attempts of General Perron, whilst pointing out the expediency of ensuring the co-operation of the principal chiefs of the Sikhs in the then approaching contest with the Mahrattas. And it was in reply to communications at that time made to him by Lord Lake, that Runjeet Singh first made proposals

* Wellesley's Despatches, Vol. 4. p. 208.

for the transfer to us of the Sikh territories south of the Sutlej.*

It was not, however, till 1809 that any active steps were taken by the Indian Government to occupy these territories. Runjeet Singh had availed himself of some dissensions in that district to cross the Sutlej in October, 1806, with the real intention of extending his sway to the Jumna. The Sikh chiefs in that quarter were alarmed for themselves, and sent an envoy to Delhi for the purpose of requesting the protection of the British Government, whose subjects they represented themselves to be. After much fruitless negotiation with Runjeet, Colonel Ochterlony advanced to the Sutlej; and a treaty was concluded with the Raja, by which he relinquished all claims on the left bank of that river, with the exception of a certain extent of territory which was guaranteed to him. And it is well deserving of attention that this advance of Colonel Ochterlony was made at the express request of the inhabitants, and that "all the sirdars rejoiced that their prayer had been acceded to by the British Government."*

The treaty concluded on this occasion was strictly observed during the life of Runjeet Singh; but scarcely was he dead, when the hostile feeling of the Sikh chiefs towards the British nation was

* Wellesley's Despatches, Vol. 3. pp. 264—369.

† History of the Punjaub, Vol. 1. p. 293.

displayed. There is strong reason to believe that they were at the bottom of the Cabul insurrection. This much is certain, that Goolaub Sing foretold such an outbreak two months before it occurred; and although some of his troops were *publicly* ordered to assist our army in the passage through the Khyber-Pass, private instructions were sent *them to a contrary effect. As soon as our forces* had reached the Pass, the Sikh brigade marched back to Attock; and their retreat was the cause of the disasters that befel Brigadier Wild, and delayed his arrival at Jellalabad at that critical time.*

In spite of various symptoms of ill-will on the part of the Sikhs, the Indian Government continued to observe the strictest forbearance.

In his letters to the Secret Committee of the 6th of September and 1st of October, 1845, Lord Hardinge declared his determination to maintain "a pacific course of policy." Forbearance was carried as far as was possible, up to the 13th of December, when his Lordship first received precise information that the Sikh army had crossed the Sutlej. On that day he issued a proclamation, in which he said, that "notwithstanding the disorganized state of the Lahore Government during "the last two years, and many most unfriendly "proceedings on the part of the Durbar, the Go

* *Vide Major Carmichel Smyth's History of the reigning* Family of Lahore, p. 63.

" vernor-General, in Council, has continued to
" evince his desire to maintain the relations of
" amity and concord which had so long existed
" between the two States, for the mutual interest
" and happiness of both. He has shewn, on every
" occasion, the utmost forbearance, from conside-
" ration to the helpless state of the infant Maha-
" rajah Dhulup Sing, whom the British Govern-
" ment had recognized as the successor to the late
" Maharajah Shere Singh. The Governor-General
" in Council sincerely desired to see a strong Sikh
" Government re-established in the Punjaub, able
" to control its army, and to protect its subjects.
" He had not, up to the present moment, abandoned
" the hope of seeing that important object effected
" by the patriotic efforts of the Sikhs and people of
" that country. . . . . *The Sikh army has now,*
" *without the shadow of provocation, invaded the*
" *British territory.*" This proclamation was fol-
lowed by vigorous hostilities against the invaders,
who were so signally defeated at the glorious battles of
Moodkee, Ferozoshuhur, Aliwal, and Sobraon, and
driven back with great loss to their own country.

What was now the conduct of the Government of India; after such unprovoked aggression and flagrant perfidy on the part of the Sikhs? It still, now in the hour of victory, showed the greatest forbearance. In his proclamation of February 14th, 1846, the Governor-General declared " that
" no extension of Territory was desired by the

" Government of India;—and although the con-
" duct of the Durbar has been such as to justify
" the most severe and extreme measures of retribu-
" tion, nevertheless the Governor-General is still
" willing that an opportunity should be given to the
" Durbar and to the Chiefs to submit themselves to
" the authority of the British Government; and by a
" return to good faith and the observance of prudent
" councils enable the Governor-General to organize
" a Sikh Government in the person of a descen-
" dant of its founder, the late Maharajah Runjeet
" Singh, the faithful ally of the British power.
" The Governor-General, at this moment of a most
" complete and decisive victory, cannot give a
" stronger proof of the moderation and forbearance
" of the British Government than by making this
" declaration of his intentions." Such was our language after the insult that had been offered to us; after the gross infraction of the treaty of 1809, and the unprincipled invasion of our territories. We contented ourselves, at a time when we would have been justified and had the means to subjugate the whole of the Punjaub, with requiring full indemnity for all expenses incurred; and with annexing to the British provinces the districts, hill and plain, situated between the rivers Sutlej and Beas, the revenues thereof being appropriated as a part of the indemnity required from the Lahore State.

I have given this brief recital of our relations at

various times with the Sikhs, for the purpose of shewing that our treatment of that people has been uniformly characterized by extreme moderation, and by an earnest desire to be on terms of amity with them. We passed the Jumna, in the first instance, at the request of the Sikh chiefs themselves, that we should protect them against Runjeet Singh; during his life we scrupulously observed the treaty we had concluded with him; after his death we forbore to take any hostile steps against the Sikhs, in spite of many indications of an unfriendly disposition on their part, till they had actually invaded our territory; and then, in the hour of their discomfiture and our triumph, we exacted nothing more than was justified by the expenses to which we had been put by their perfidy, or than was requisite for our future security. Their recent outbreak and aggression on us has been equally unjustifiable and unprovoked; and it is plain that no trust can any longer be reposed in the honour of this treacherous and unprincipled race.

In considering what should be our future conduct towards these people, there can be, I apprehend, but one opinion as to the necessity, in the first instance, of effectually subduing them, and of asserting and maintaining the supremacy of our arms. India has been won by the sword; we have overthrown the power of Tippoo, of the Mahrattas, of the Nepaulese; and it is the recol-

lection of our triumphs, and the charm attached to our military prowess, that now keeps millions in submission to us.

If, as has been remarked by an historian of India, in the East more than elsewhere, "power begets "power, and success conciliates followers," the converse is equally true, that failure would beget failure, and reverse, rouse up against us enemies. The whole history of our career in India exemplifies this. When Monson retreated before Holkar, a spirit of hostility against us was kindled far and wide: and how little use it is to trust to the faith of Asiatic chiefs; how absurd it is to regulate our relations with them by the same rules which we observe towards civilized states; was shown in the result of the endeavours which Lord Cornwallis made to establish the balance of power by the treaty of Seringapatam; in the consequences of the pacific policy pursued by Lord Teignmouth, and, at a later period, by Sir George Barlow. In all these instances, the adoption of a confiding and conciliatory course only entailed on us in the end, —what in the East it ever must do,—increased expenditure and more severe warfare. The attempt was made, on these occasions, to narrow our boundaries, and to limit our empire; its failure was complete; a temporary respite was indeed obtained, —a momentary lull,—but the storm of war soon burst upon us with redoubled fury. The vigorous administration of Lords Wellesley and Hastings

saved our dominions from the perils with which they were threatened by the mistaken measures of their respective predecessors. War will, indeed, ever be the last resource of every humane and generous statesman; but there are occasions in which it is a necessity; not a choice; when it promotes, instead of impeding, the progress of civilization; and when it becomes a virtue, because hallowed by justice.

To subdue the Sikhs; to uphold the superiority of our arms; to teach the nations of the East that no people can with impunity break faith with us; and that none are so strong, nor so remote, as to be sheltered from our resentment when justly awakened,—this must be our first care. But then will arise the question,—Shall we, after having chastised the Sikhs, retire behind the Sutlej; shall we annex the Punjaub, making the Indus our boundary; or is any third course open to us?

The line of defence which the Sutlej presents is a very extensive one, and would require the constant presence of a large force.* The line of the Indus, though more advanced, is shorter,† and in a financial

* From Scinde to Simla is a distance of 600 miles; and although the Sutlej is not easily fordable for us, as Sir Charles Napier has observed; it is so for guerilla parties of the Sikhs, who would harass the country by constant inroads.

† We have, too, nothing to fear from the tribes on the right bank; whilst no invading army could approach the Indus except through the mountain passes; of which there are ten or twelve between Peshawur and Kurrachee, which we could easily command.

point of view it merits consideration ; that whereas, whichever river were preferred, we must keep up a considerable body of troops ; if the Indus were the boundary we should be the masters of the wealth of the Punjaub, which might be made to contribute to their maintenance. Captain Murray, who for more than fifteen years conducted our relations with the Sikh chiefs on the British side of the Sutlej, estimated the entire resources of the country under Runjeet Singh at 25,809,500 rupees. "This total," says the author of the 'History of the Punjaub,' "is not very wide of the revenue set down in the "books of the Mogul government as the produce of "the Lahore Soobar ; and considering that Cash-"mere and some territory south of the Sutlej is in-"cluded, the correspondence of amount is in favour "of the correctness of the estimate ; for the province "cannot be so productive under the Sikhs as it was "*in the peaceable times of the Mogul dominion.*"* The military force of Runjeet Singh amounted to 82,014 ; his artillery to 376 guns and 370 swivels, mounted on camels or light carriages ; and yet, notwithstanding the expense of supporting this force, the value of his accumulated property was not less, in cash, jewels, horses, and elephants, than ten crores of rupees, or the same number of millions of pounds sterling !

The fertility of the Punjaub has probably been too much extolled by some travellers, but yet it must be

* History of the Punjaub, vol. 2. p. 294-5.

very considerable, and if the country were under a settled government might be greatly increased. No country possesses greater means of irrigation; and its inland navigation extends to 1960 miles. Its mineral wealth is great; iron and rock-salt are found in large quantities; and its commerce is extensive, being the main line of transit of the goods of Hindoostan to the countries west of the Indus—to Affganhistan, Khorason, and Central Asia.*

It would of course be necessary to occupy the country with strong bodies of troops; and a police force, similar to that which Sir Charles Napier organized in Scinde, might render essential service. No further trust must be placed in Sikh faith and Sikh honour. But the Sikhs are a very small portion of the population of the Punjaub. "It is astonishing," says Major Lawrence, "how seldom "a Sikh is met with in what is called Sikh territory;" and their number, according to Burnes, does not exceed 500,000, out of a population of 3,000,000. The Mussulman part of this population, who have suffered severely from the persecution of the Sikhs, would gladly see a change of masters; and it is to be hoped in time that the

* "The best means," says Thornton, "of advancing this important branch of trade seems to be the establishment of great "periodical fairs, at suitable points on the banks of the Indus, "and the affording facilities of communication and protection to "the commercial classes. Burnes and Wood regard Dera-Ghazee-"Khan in the Derajat as the best site for this purpose."

blessings of English rule, as contrasted with the tyranny and rapacity of their former masters, would reconcile the natives to our sway. This has been the case in other parts of India. Even the Mahrattas now rejoice in the establishment of our influence, and regard us with gratitude as their deliverers from troubles; and in Scinde the people hail our soldiers as friends and protectors.

Of the two boundaries, then,—that of the Sutlej and that of the Indus, I submit the preference is decidedly due to the latter; because, while both would require the presence of a large force, the line of the Indus is less extensive, and the resources of the Punjaub would furnish the means of defraying the expense. That expense, too, might be expected to diminish as the natives became sensible of the advantages which they enjoyed under our dominion.

Is there any third plan?—We may, indeed, withdraw to the Jumna; but idle indeed must be the hope that we should be allowed to remain there unmolested. In the first place we could not take this step with any justice to the Sikh tribes on the left bank of the Sutlej, who are now under our protection. If we withdraw, they would certainly be justified in swelling the ranks of any invader. But if we once retire to Delhi, the spell of our power is for ever broken—such a measure would be the death-knell of our Indian empire.

And when I consider the benefits which that Empire has conferred on a large portion of the

human race—how it has spread through extensive regions; but a short time ago the prey to rapine, lust, and tyranny; the healing influences of tranquillity, peace, and order—but still more when I reflect on the higher blessings it seems destined to confer—how it may be the means of diffusing to millions, now shrouded in the mists of ignorance and superstition, the light of civilization, literature and science—and above all the sanctifying beams of pure religion; not only for the sake of England; but for that of mankind in general; I should deplore its overthrow.

I entertain, however, brighter hopes. We have in that country an army than which a finer never trod on battle-field, and which is now about to be commanded by a General, whose name throughout the East is a terror to the foes;—a source of confidence to the friends of England. The news of his appointment will be hailed with acclamation by our gallant troops.

> "When once they hear that voice, their liveliest pledge
> Of hope, in fears and dangers, heard so oft
> In worst extremes, and on the perilous edge
> Of battle when it raged, in all assaults
> Their surest signal."

They will be inspired with fresh ardour and increased energy. Nor can his character be better displayed than in the following eloquent account given by his brother, General William Napier, of the personal exertions which he made during his

campaign in Scinde, and which shews that he is no carpet-warrior, but shares with his soldiers their hardships and their perils. "His victories were "not gained lightly; nor was his the generalship "that required hundreds of camels from the public "service to carry his personal baggage; he did not "direct the marches from a luxurious palanquin, "appearing only when the battle was commenced. "Five camels, purchased at his own cost, carried "all the baggage and records of his head-quarters; "and all day the soldiers saw him on horseback, "engaged with field objects, while his staff knew "that far in the night he was engaged in the ad-"ministrative duties. Seldom did he sleep more "than five hours. But none could know the ex-"tent of deep and painful meditation, which "amidst all this activity and labour, enabled him "to judge clearly of affairs, and organize with so "much simplicity, the means of winning those glo-"rious battles and conquering so great a kingdom."*

* Conquest of Scinde by Major-General W. Napier, p 399. I may also be excused for quoting from the same work, the following interesting anecdote, as illustrative of the character of this true patriot and heroic warrior. *Owing to a failure in the* combination of one of his campaigns, caused by neglect of his instructions; the different columns were not in proper communication; and Sir Charles was apprehensive that Jacob, who commanded one of them, was overwhelmed by the Ameers. Under this impression, oppressed with care, fatigue, fever, want of sleep, as he went out of his tent, he was suddenly sun-stricken. Thirty-three European soldiers fell near him beneath the malig-

Such is the man—so powerful by his name—by his science—by his personal example; to whom the destinies of British India are now intrusted. Who can doubt that he will triumphantly fulfil his glorious mission!

In conclusion, I will only add, that it is impossible to consider the interests of India apart from those of the united Empire. There are in that country sources of yet undeveloped wealth, which, under a wise administration, will tend to augment the power and greatness of the parent state. Cotton of an admirable quality, and to a great amount, might be supplied thence to our Lancashire manufacturers. Sugar grows luxuriously in the valley of the Ganges and the plains of Southern India; and might with the help of European skill be raised to any extent. Indigo abounds in many parts, and it requires nothing, but improved means of conveyance to the coast, to render more generally available these and the other products of the country.* Here

nant rays; most died in a few minutes, all in three hours. "All was anxiety for me," said the General, "when just as they "had bled me, there came a horseman to tell me, Jacob was "victorious, and the Ameers' force utterly dispersed. I think "it saved me. I felt life come back." Noble and touching words! I know not in the whole range of history a passage of deeper interest and pathos.

* Mr. Mill indeed maintains that India is beneficial to England, only in proportion as it affords a surplus revenue which can be sent here. This error has been successfully exposed by Professor Wilson. "In every year of our intercourse with India,"

too we have a market for our domestic manufactures—a market which will increase with the increasing prosperity of India—a market where millions may, at no distant day, become consumers

says the Professor, "even in those in which the public revenue "has fallen far short of the expenditure; there has been a large "accession to English capital brought home from India. What "are the profits of the Indian trade; what is the maintenance "of 30,000 Englishmen, military included; what is the amount "of money annually remitted to England; for the support of "relations, the education of children, the pensions of officers; "and, finally, what can we call the fortunes accumulated by "individuals in trade; or in the service of the Company; which "they survive to spend in England, or bequeath to their descen-"dants? What is all this but additional capital remitted from "India to England; additional, largely additional means, of "recompensing British industry?" So far indeed is a surplus revenue from being the only financial advantage we derive from India; that I much question whether the transfer of any such revenue to England is not most objectionable; because it deprives India of that capital which might give a stimulus to its national industry; and most cordially do I agree with Professor Wilson, "that the notion of deriving a large tribute, or any tribute from "India, except by indirect means, is calculated to do infinite "mischief; and to annihilate in the end the numerous and great "benefits which both England and India reap from their mutual "intercourse. This is with reference to the connection even in "its most unworthy aspect. The gain of a higher character; "the moral and political power derived from India by England; "is a much more real and important and honorable benefit; than "all the pounds, shillings, and pence, that have ever been, or "ever will be, conveyed from the pockets of the people of India, "to those of the people of Great Britain."†

† Mill's British India by Wilson, Vol. 6, p. 671-2.

of our goods—and with which no foreign enmity or rivalry can ever interfere.* And of this we may be well assured, that if we lose our dominion in India, we shall with it lose our influence in Europe—that we shall descend into the rank of a second-rate power; and forfeit the proud position which Great Britain has hitherto maintained in the scale of nations.

* The extent to which cotton can be cultivated; may be judged of from the fact, mentioned by Dr. Royle, in his Essay on the productive resources of that country; that there would appear to be favourable sites in India for its production over an extent of 22 degrees of latitude. Let us hope that by the construction of railways, the great drawback to the development of the internal resources of that country may soon be removed. Those who have preceded us in Hindostan, have left behind them monuments of the great works which they constructed for the benefit of its inhabitants. Mr. Burke computed that the reservoirs made in the Carnatic could not have been fewer than 10,000. And the canals formed by Ferose between the Sutlej and the Jumna—part only of his original grand design; but which so increased the fertility of the lands in their vicinity, that soils which before had produced but one scanty harvest, yielded two abundant ones;† must ever rank amongst the greatest works of the kind. May we leave to future ages similar monuments of our dominion; equal proofs of our regard for the welfare of the millions subject to our sway!

† Vide Captain Kirkpatrick's MSS. quoted by Major Rennell.

THE END.

NORMAN AND SKELN, PRINTERS, MAIDEN LANE, COVENT GARDEN.

POSTSCRIPT.

SELDOM has the news of any victory been received in this country with such satisfaction as that with which all classes hailed the intelligence of the recent triumph of Gujerat. It dispelled the cloud which hung over the Punjaub; it gave fresh proof to the natives of the East of the might with which British soldiers fight; it added another wreath to the laurels which our troops have won in India; and crowned with a glorious termination the career of the heroic General who commanded. Let us hope that the expectations raised by this victory will not be disappointed; that its fruits will be lasting; and that by establishing our dominion on a firm and durable basis, it will give the opportunity of cultivating the arts of peace through the extensive territories now subject to our sway, and of developing their internal resources. Half a century ago it was foreseen, as I have already had occasion to remark,* by Dr. Robertson, that the ultimate struggle for our supremacy in India must take place on the very scene of the late brilliant achievements; sooner or later, as this philosophic historian observed with prescient sagacity, the antagonistic

* Second Edition of this Pamphlet, p. vii.

forces of the Sikhs and of Great Britain were destined to come into collision. It was a mere question of time; the contest, in all probability, could not have been ultimately averted. No professions on our part, however strong; no line of policy, however moderate, could have removed mistrust from the minds of the Sikhs, or could have placed our intercourse with them on a secure footing. We shall err much if we suppose that Asiatic countries are influenced by the same rules of conduct that prevail in Europe. "It is always "to be borne in mind," says Capt. Cunningham, "that India is far behind Europe in civilization; "and that political morality or moderation is as "little appreciated in the East in these days as it "was in Christendom in the Middle Ages."* The inevitable battle has at length been fought and won; the standard of England waves triumphant throughout the length and breadth of Hindostan. A situation, indeed, of glory; but of how awful responsibility!

It becomes, then, a question of the highest consideration; what course this country ought under these circumstances to pursue. I have previously stated the general reasons which induced me to think that we should annex the Punjaub, making the Indus the boundary of our Empire. But as an opinion seems to be entertained in some quarters that this would be a breach of the treaties concluded

* History of the Sikhs, by Capt. Cunningham.

between the Indian Government and the Maharaja Dhuleep Singh; I will briefly consider how far we are affected by the engagements into which we entered with that prince.

The treaties with the Maharaja were made with him not in his personal capacity, but as the sovereign of a powerful state. "We are not to "conclude," says Vattel, "that a treaty is a "personal one from the bare circumstance of its "naming the contracting sovereigns; for the name "of the reigning sovereign is often inserted with "the sole view of shewing with whom the treaty "has been concluded, without meaning thereby to "intimate that it has been made with himself "personally. * * * * * Every public "treaty, concluded by a king, or by any other "monarch, is a treaty of the state; it is obligatory "on the whole state, on the entire nation which "the king represents, and whose powers and rights "he exercises."* And Grotius says, "If a con-"tract is made with a king, it is not therefore "presently to be reputed personal; for as it is well "observed by Pedius and Ulpian; the person is "often inserted in the contract, not that the con-"tract is personal, but to shew by whom that "contract was made. If it be added to the treaty "that it shall *stand for ever*, or that it is made for "the good of the kingdom, or *with him and his* "*successors*, or if it be for such a limited time, it

* Vattel's Law of Nations, book 2. ch. 12. sections 184, 186.

" will from hence fully appear that the treaty is " real. There are also other words which may " prove a treaty to be real, and sometimes *the* " *matter itself* will afford a conjecture not altogether " improbable."* Puffendorf, expressing his assent to this opinion of Grotius, observes : " The words of " the league sometimes, and sometimes *the matter* " of it, and sometimes *the motives of entering into it,* " may make a conjecture easy."† The first article of the treaty concluded with the Maharaja on the 9th March, 1846, declares that the peace and friendship between the British Government and the Maharaja shall be *perpetual*, and that it shall subsist not only with him, but his *heirs and successors ;* the very words which Grotius considers render a treaty real. But let us reflect on the *motives for entering into these treaties*, as they are expressed in the Proclamations of the Governor-General. "It " becomes necessary," said Lord Hardinge,‡ " for " the British Government to take measures for " punishing this unprovoked aggression, and *for* " *preventing in future similar acts of treachery by* " *the government and army of the Punjaub.*" Again, his Lordship said,§ " The British army " has crossed the Sutlej, and entered the Punjaub. " The Governor-General announces that this mea-

* Grotius on War and Peace, book 2. ch. 16. sect. 6.

† Puffendorf's Law of Nations, book 8. ch. 9. sect. 7.

‡ Proclamation, December 31st, 1845.

§ Proclamation, February 14th, 1846.

" sure has been adopted *for the purpose of effectually*
" *protecting the British provinces*; for vindicating
" the authority of the British Government; and for
" punishing the violators of treaties, and the dis-
" turbers of the public peace." * * * * " Although the
" conduct of the Durbar has been such as to justify
" the most severe and extrême measures of retri-
" bution, *the infliction of which may yet be required*
" *by sound policy*, if the recent acts of violence be not
" amply atoned for and immediate submission ten-
" dered, nevertheless the Governor-General is still
" willing that an opportunity should be given to
" the Durbar and to the chiefs to submit them-
" selves to the authority of the British Govern-
" ment, and by return to good faith, and the
" observance of prudent counsels, enable him to
" organize a Sikh Government, which shall be," as
he afterwards proceeds to declare, " *capable of con-*
" *trolling its army*, and protecting its subjects;
" and based upon principles that shall provide for
" the future tranquillity of the Sikh States; *shall*
" *secure the British frontier against a repetition of*
" *acts of aggression*, and shall prove to the whole
" world the moderation and justice of the para-
" mount power of India."

Such were the motives avowed by the Governor-General in his proclamations; which evinced great forbearance towards the infant Maharaja; expressed a strong desire to see a Sikh Government established in his person; but one capable of con-

trolling its army, and giving security to the British frontier; and he expressly declared that in case hostilities were renewed, the Government of India "*would make such other arrangements for the future* "*Government of the Punjaub as the interest and* "*security of the British power might render just* "*and expedient.*"*

It is true, indeed, that articles of agreement were concluded on the 16th December, 1846, by which the Governor-General engaged to maintain a British force at Lahore for the protection of the Maharaja during his minority. But at whose request, and with whom were these articles made? At the request, and in concert with those Sirdars and Chiefs, including Shere Singh, who have since so flagrantly violated the treaties to which they had affixed their names, and pledged their faith. The first article of this agreement declares, that all, and every part of the Treaty of Peace between the British Government and the State of Lahore, bearing date the 9th day of March, 1846, shall remain binding on the two Governments. Need I say that in spite of this last-named Treaty, *which professed perpetual peace and friendship*—(a Treaty I would remark, in passing, which was signed by Chutter Sing)—these very men have since employed the forces of the Maharaja in open hostility against us? If after this perfidious conduct, these treaties are still to be considered

* Proclamation, February 14th, 1846.

binding, on the presumption that they were concluded with the Maharaja in his personal capacity, let us observe them to the very letter. But I submit, that according to every writer on the Law of Nations; and interpreting them by the expressions contained in them; and by the motives in which they originated, as declared in the Proclamations of the Governor-General; these treaties are no longer valid or obligatory upon us; and that the period has arrived when we are called upon to make "such "other arrangements for the future Government of "the Punjaub as the interests and security of the "British power may render just and expedient."*

If we regard the treaties under consideration as obligatory, because the Maharaja has committed no act of personal hostility against us; it is not easy to see what right the Governor-General had to confiscate his territories on the left bank of the Sutlej; to annex the districts situate between that river and the Beas; *or to call on him for the payment* of the expenses of the former war. We had previously recognized him as the rightful ruler of the Punjaub; we were aware of his helpless state; yet when the treaty which had been concluded with Runjeet Singh in 1809 was broken by the Sikh chiefs and the army, we visited their sins on the infant Prince; and considered him responsible for the conduct of his subjects.

* Vide Proclamation of the Governor-General of February 14th, 1846, already referred to.

It is argued by some, who are opposed to annexation; that, as in the case of Cabul; we should make a grand demonstration of our power; punish the Sikhs for their treachery; and having done so, retire behind the Sutlej. But it must be remembered, that if these treaties are still in force, we are precluded from adopting this course by the agreement before adverted to, of the 16th December, 1846; which binds us to protect the person of the Maharaja, and to preserve the peace of his country, until he attain the full age of sixteen years; which would not be before the 4th of September, 1854.

If we regard the matter in a financial point of view, the arguments in favour of annexation certainly preponderate. We must, indeed, in the first instance, keep up a considerable force in the country; but if we withdraw behind the Sutlej, we should still have to maintain a large army, and to defend a frontier of about six hundred miles. And with this material difference, as has been justly observed by Sir Charles Napier;* that whilst in the latter case, we should be put to vast unmitigated expense; in the former, the revenues of the Punjaub would far more than cover the charges attendant on its occupation.

The resources of this country are very considerable, and have always been celebrated. "The "Ravee," says Major Rennell, "is a noble river,

* Letter of Sir Charles Napier in the "Times" of February 26th, 1849.

" and by its navigable course has a communication
" with the Indus and all its branches. The province
" of the Punjaub is very extensive, and remarkably
" fertile, affording, in addition to all the necessaries
" of life, wine, sugars and cotton-wool, the last of
" which supplied the manufactures of the province.
" There are also, in the tract between the Indus
" and Jelum, salt-mines wonderfully productive,
" and affording fragments of rock-salt, hard enough
" to be formed into vessels, &c."*

Captain Cunningham gives the following estimate of its revenues in 1844 :—

LAND REVENUE.	RUPEES.
Tributary States . . .	5,65,000
Farms	1,79,85,000
Eleemosynary	20,00,000
Jagheers	95,25,000
Customs, &c.	24,00,000
Total . .	3,24,75,000

Our career in India has been hitherto, with slight intervals, one of war. A new era seems about to commence ; the history of the past has been one of victorious deeds, and heroic acts ; the future presents a prospect of no less glory, although to be attained by different means.

" By deeds of peace, by wisdom eminent."

It remains for us to ensure by mild and equitable administration, the empire which we have won by

* Memoir of Hindostan by Major Rennell, p. 82.

arms,—to develope its mighty resources,—to disseminate the arts which adorn, the knowledge which humanizes mankind,—to breathe peace over the still heaving waves of hostile jealousies and rivalries,—to rivet our dominion by bonds of love,—and to rest our power on the strongest and justest of all titles, the affections of our subjects. The field is a noble and inspiring one; we possess the prize which the greatest warrior of antiquity, Alexander, thirsted for in vain; we tread on ground where mighty conquerors have preceded us, some of whom have proved themselves, in Mr. Burke's eloquent language, "fathers of their people, testa-
" tors to a posterity which they embraced as their
" own." May we endeavour like them "to extend
" the dominion of our bounty beyond the limits of
" nature, and to perpetuate ourselves through
" generations of generations, the guardians,—the
" protectors,—the nourishers of mankind!"

THE END.

NORMAN AND SKEEN, PRINTERS, MAIDEN LANE, COVENT GARDEN.

THE SAFETY OF A CHRISTIAN POLICY IN INDIA.

THE SPEECH

OF

LT.-COL. SIR H. B. EDWARDES, K.C.B.,

AT THE

SIXTY-FIRST ANNIVERSARY MEETING

OF THE

Church Missionary Society,

MAY 1st, 1860.

Revised by Himself.

London:
CHURCH MISSIONARY HOUSE, SALISBURY SQUARE.
SEELEY, JACKSON, AND HALLIDAY, FLEET STREET;
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MDCCCLX.

Arthur Somerset

from

Henry Somerset

30th June 1860
Eastbourne

LONDON
T. C. JOHNS AND SON, PRINTERS,
ST. BRIDE'S, FLEET STREET.

SPEECH

OF

LT.-COL. SIR H. B. EDWARDES, K.C.B.

MAY 1, 1860.

AFTER the Report had been read and adopted,

Lieutenant-Colonel EDWARDES rose, and said:—

MY LORDS AND FRIENDS,

The Resolution with which I have been entrusted runs as follows:—"That this Meeting desires humbly to acknowledge the duty of this nation to use increased efforts for imparting to India the blessings of Christianity. They rejoice in the labours of all Protestant Societies engaged in the benevolent design of

propagating the Gospel of Jesus Christ, and they trust that the Indian Government will fulfil the obligations solemnly recognised by the Imperial Parliament, of promoting 'the interest and happiness of the native inhabitants of the British dominions in India,' by the adoption of 'such measures as may tend to the introduction among them of religious and moral improvement.'"

There are words in this Resolution which I have to propose, which, as you may have gathered from the Report read this morning, have been borrowed from a Resolution of the Imperial Parliament which was passed so far back as the year 1813. I have thought it well to extract the conclusion of that Resolution of the Imperial Parliament. In the Resolution "for the adoption of such measures as might tend to the religious and moral improvement of the natives," there was this proviso:—"Provided always that the principles of the British Government, on which the natives of India have hitherto relied"—what for? Mark this,—"*for the free exercise of their religion,*

be inviolably maintained." Now, my friends, there are few persons in this great assembly who have not read subsequent Despatches of the home branch of the English Government sent to India on this subject. I find this sentence in a Despatch dated April 7th, 1859,* written nearly half-a-century after the extract which I have just read:—"From the earliest period at which the British Government in India directed its attention to the subject of education, all its measures have been based upon the principle,"—of what do you think? Was it the principle of giving to the natives of India that "free exercise of their religion" which the Parliament of England, in 1813, desired to secure to that great empire? No; it is affirmed in 1859 that the British Government—the Government of the British Empire in India—has been founded from its commencement on "the principle of *perfect religious neutrality*;" "in other words," says this Despatch, "on an abstinence from all interference with the religious feelings and practices

* From Lord Stanley, then Secretary of State for India.

of the natives, and on *the exclusion of religious teaching from the Government schools.*"

Now, my friends, there is in this contrast —in the contrast, I mean, between these two extracts proceeding not quite from the same source, but, at all events, from the home Government of India—a most melancholy proof that in half-a-century we have greatly retrograded in our principles. I find on reading the debate, which took place in 1813, that William Wilberforce, that great, that extraordinary champion and pioneer of Christian truth in the Legislature, made use of these expressions in the face of the House of Commons,—I say, in the face of the House of Commons, because we are come to days when it is no easy thing in that House to name the name of God, and uplift the standard of our Saviour,—half-a-century ago, I say, William Wilberforce, in moving his Resolution, used this language, "It is time to speak out, and to avow that I go much further than I have yet stated, and maintain, not only that it is safe to attempt by reasonable and prudent methods to introduce

into India the blessings of Christian truth and moral improvement, but that *true—ay, and imperious and urgent—policy* prescribes to us the same course." There spoke both the earnest Christian and the wise and far-seeing legislator. Now, when we find that, in the half-century which has since elapsed, we have gone back from those principles, it becomes us to examine into the real merits of the Christian policy as a safe policy for the Government to adopt.

During the few months that I have spent at home, since my return from India, it has been my lot to converse with men high in influence and high in power, and not seldom have I been asked, with great earnestness and great attention, my opinion as to what ought to be done with regard to India. I have, in reply, unhesitatingly expressed it as my opinion, that we ought to stand forth in India as a Christian Government. If asked why, I have said, in the first place, because I considered it our duty to do so. But, after uttering that sentiment, I have often been met with such language as

this:—"Colonel Edwardes, you say that such and such a line of conduct is that which it is our duty to pursue, but can you show me that that course is *safe?*" There is a party to whom it is not sufficient to demonstrate that such and such a line of legislation is in consonance with our Christian duty, and that such and such legislation is a true deduction from the Bible. These persons turn round upon you, with a smile, and say, "Sir, this is the language of fanaticism, this is the language of bigotry; show me, if you can, that the course which you advocate would be *a safe and expedient course*, and then I will go along with you." My friends, it is no use blinking the real state of things. When you find a party like this, you must meet them on their own ground; and the Christian party has this advantage,—an advantage which it will retain to the end of time,—that it will always be found to have the right basis of action. I propose, therefore, with your permission, to address the few remarks with which I shall have to trouble you this morning to the con-

sideration of this question,—*Whether a Christian Government of India is a course that is likely to be safe for England?*

My friends, the answer which I should give to that question is that it is the *only* safe policy. I say that there is no other policy on which you can base your Indian empire with any chance of its ultimately standing and prospering. But it is of little use for me to say that that is my opinion. It is of no use for individuals to express their individual convictions. But there is an old phrase about "history teaching by example;" and, taking this as our guide, let me direct your attention, my Christian friends, this morning to the lesson which we may learn from facts and experience connected with the late Indian Mutiny. I am fresh from that scene; I have the facts fresh in my memory (God grant that I may never forget them); and, therefore, I am qualified to tell you what those facts are, and to mention while they are fresh in my mind the lessons which they seem to teach.

Now, my friends, *what caused the Indian*

Mutiny? This is a most important inquiry. The enemies of Christianity are very fond of *enunciating that religion caused it.* That is true, and it is false. It is true in a certain sense, but not in the sense which they mean it to bear. The Indian Mutiny was not caused, as they wish the country to understand, by attempts to disseminate Christianity; it was caused—I tell you this on the word of a spectator, on the word of a participator in those events—it was caused *by our keeping back Christianity from the people;* it was caused, not by a knowledge of Christianity, but by an utter ignorance of what it is. Our Government in India had systematically kept the knowledge of Christianity from its native army. To such an extent had this gone, that when by chance one solitary native soldier in the Bengal provinces was converted to Christianity, that instant he became, in the estimation of the Government, unfit to stand in the ranks of the army; that instant, by virtue, or rather it would appear by vice, of his being a Christian, he was expelled. What,

then, was the result of this policy, pursued through a hundred years? The sepoy, ignorant of what Christianity was, judged it by the light that he had within, which was darkness. He judged it from his own ideas of religion; he supposed that it was a thing which he could catch like a disease; that by touching some Christian, whom he considered to be defiled, by contact with some Christian, or with some Christian substance, he might, contrary to his own will and against his own wish, be seduced and entrapped into Christianity. The Enfield cartridge, made up, as the natives supposed—I don't know whether or not the supposition was false,—with beeves' fat and pigs' fat, was to their ideas the very embodiment of a converting scheme. This was, in their estimation, the happiest device that any Government could have hit upon. They did not blame the Government in their hearts for wishing to convert them to Christianity; they thought it was a most natural thing for a Government to attempt. Religion is to the native a reality. It is the thread of his life.

All his daily acts are beads strung upon this string. His festivals, his feasts, his fasts, his ceremonies, his domestic events, all enter into his religion, and his religion enters into them. The native is nothing without his religion, it is the backbone of his existence. He cannot, therefore, understand a Government ignoring religion; he cannot understand a vast body like that without a soul. He supposes that the body of Government is animated by a religious conviction, and that the Government of India must be desirous of making as many natives as possible converts to its own creed. To the natives, therefore, the cartridge was a most wise and clever device. "Now," said the sepoy, "here is this little cartridge, with its beef fat; I put it to my lips as a Hindoo, and I at once become a Christian. I taste beef; beef is my god; I have insulted and defiled my god; I have tried to eat him, and I am no longer a Hindoo, but I am a Christian." So also was it with the Mohammedan. "This little cartridge," said he, "is mixed with pigs' fat, the very abomination of us Mohammedans;

if I put this to my lips, and taste it, I renounce Mahomet and his law, and am no longer a Mohammedan, but I am a Christian." Both Hindoo and Mohammedan, with this conviction in their minds, made a stand, and said, "We rebel against this cartridge."* This,

* In proof of this point, it may be well to adduce the intercepted correspondence of the sepoys themselves, evidence which it is impossible to controvert. The following is an extract from the published "Mutiny Report" of the Punjaub Government, paragraph 145:—

"Another important letter which had been despatched by the 51st Native Infantry at Peshawur to the 64th Native Infantry and the Khelat-i-Ghilzie Regiment, at the outposts, had a few days before come to light. It ran as follows:—'This letter is sent from the Peshawur cantonment to the whole Heriot Regiment,' (name of the 64th Native Infantry), 'may it reach the Soobahdar Bahadoor.' After some Hindoo *apostrophies, it proceeds,*—'*For the rest, this letter is written* to convey from the whole camp at Peshawur obeisance and benediction' (from Brahmins to Brahmins), 'and salutation and service' (from Mussulmans to Mussulmans) 'to the whole Regiments of Heriot and Khelat-i-Ghilzie. Further, the state of affairs is thus, *that on the 22nd day of the month, the cartridges will be given to the Doobarun Regiment*; so do whatever seems to you proper. Again,' (*i.e.*, it is repeated,) '*the cartridges will have to be bitten on the 22nd instant.* Of this you are hereby informed. On reading this letter, whatever your opinion is, so reply. For considering you as our own, we have let you know beforehand. Therefore do as you think right. This is addressed to you by the whole regi-

then, was the foundation of the Indian mutiny of 1857.

Now, I do beg you, my friends, not to pass over this explanation lightly. It is a very difficult thing for people in England to understand the natives of India. Our idiosyncrasies are utterly different from theirs; our feelings and modes of thought are as far removed from theirs as the east is from the west; and therefore it is very difficult for you, at all events, to understand them. Even we who live in India

ment. *O brothers! the religion of Hindoos and Mahommedans is all one.* Therefore, all you soldiers should know this. Here all the sepoys are at the bidding of the Jamadar, Soobahdar Major, and Havildar Major; *all are discontented with this business, whether small or great.* What more need be written? Do as you think best. High and low send their obeisance, benediction, salutation, and service.' (Postcript, by another hand.) 'The above is the state of affairs here. In whatever way you can manage it, *come into Peshawur on the 21st instant.* Thoroughly understand that point. In fact, eat *there*, and drink *here*' (a proverb for letting no delay intervene)."

The above is only a specimen. Throughout the intercepted letters of the mutineers the same cry was raised, "The cartridge has to be bitten!" "The anti-religious cartridge!" "The infidel cartridge!"

H. B. E.

for years, who pass our lives there, obtain at last only a very imperfect and grey twilight knowledge of the natives. If I say that humbly of myself, after a seventeen years' residence among them, you cannot expect that I shall do otherwise than say that it must be difficult for you to attain to any real knowledge of the natives of India except through the testimony of those who have spent their lives among them. Do not, therefore, be carried away by the shallow sophism that "revolutions are not made with grease." That remark was very epigrammatic, but having been in India during the Mutiny, and knowing the circumstances of it, I tell you it is as false as it is clever, that it is utterly delusive as an axiom applied to this case. *That revolution was made by an Enfield cartridge, and nothing else.*

Let me point, in confirmation of what I have said, to the further proof afforded of the three armies which form the army of India. You all know that there are three

presidencies, and that there is a native army in each. In the Madras presidency are to be found five-sixths of the native Christians of India. It was to that presidency that both the first Roman Catholic and first Protestant Missionaries were sent. The result of this and other causes is, that at the present day five-sixths of the native Christians in India are inhabitants of the Madras presidency. Of course that has operated upon the native army in Madras, and in its ranks there are, happily for us, a comparatively large proportion of native Christians. You find there no attention paid to caste, that is ignored, and you find, I repeat, a large proportion of native Christians. In the Bombay army, I believe, there are very few native Christians, but that army has also attained to the ignoring of caste; hence the high caste and the low caste soldier stand side by side; and not only that, but you may see the low caste Captain—I use the English word—or the low caste Soobahdar, as we should say in India, commanding the Brahmin soldier. This is a

great stride in civilization, and you will find the Bombay army reaping the benefit of it. In the Bengal native army there was no Christian.* I have already told you of one native

* A retired officer of the Bengal army wrote next day as follows :—"I could have corrected you in one of your statements, *but the correction would only have strengthened your case.* I allude to that part of your speech in which you stated that there were no Christians in the ranks of the Bengal army. I am not surprised at your saying so, for I believe the contrary was known to very few, but in my own regiment, the 2nd (* * * * *) Light Infantry, I had two Christian sepoys, and one of them, I believe, a converted character. But this was not all that was known in the regiment of the Christian religion. *Our first convert was the son of a deceased Native officer, and we had a Bible class, if I may so call it, amongst the children of the men; and to these tracts were given, and portions of Scripture translated into their own language,* the (* * * * * * * * *). I quitted India in 1855, but my successor was a Christian man, &c., &c.

"Now, when the Mutiny broke out, what was the conduct of the 2nd Regiment? *While the 1st Regiment mutinied, the 2nd remained true to their colours;* and so highly did the Government approve of their conduct that it conferred the rank of Soobahdar Major upon one of the Native officers, and made several other promotions amongst the junior grades. The first was an especial mark of favour, because that honorary rank was previously confined to corps of the Line.

"I think you will agree with me, that if the knowledge of the Bible, or the efforts used to convey it to the parents through the children, or the existence of two Christians in

soldier who became a Christian, and was expelled on account of it. But there was to be found caste in all its pride and glory. The Bengal army was the very palladium of caste; our Government protected it in every way; the laws were framed with the view of preventing the slightest infringement of it, and our officers had constantly been instructed not to offend the prejudices of their men. Now this army, which had its caste, but had not Christianity, is the army which has given us this awful, this hellish Mutiny of 1857. The army of Bombay, which has no caste and few the ranks of the Regiment, *did not preserve the Regiment from disloyalty, it certainly did not induce it.* Moreover, on one occasion, I know a Missionary went into the lines, and preached to the men. He asked my permission, and I gave it him."

On reference to the Official Blue Book of the Commissioners for the Organization of the Indian Army, I find the actual numbers stated thus, in September, 1858.

	Native Christians.	Other Natives
In Bombay, Native Army . . .	359	31,655
In Madras, ditto . . .	2,011	45,404

The Bengal returns were incomplete in consequence of the Mutiny; but they show *no* Native Christians.

H. B. E.

Christians, has, with few exceptions, preserved its loyalty. There was a little leaven of rebellion, but the mass of the army remained loyal. *But in the Madras army, where there* was no caste, and much Christianity, there was great loyalty, and never one breath of suspicion. Now, my friends, these are facts. These are not merely opinions, and no sophistry can argue them away.

I will tell you one or two more facts, for, after all, it is facts that tell. I told you that in the Bombay Presidency there was a little attempt at mutiny. Well, there was one plot* which very nearly came to an unfortunate and tragic conclusion. It was ripe, it was matured, and was about to be plucked and enjoyed by its authors. By an error in their arrangements, however, a native Christian sentinel was put on duty. He heard the plot, and instantly revealed it to his superiors. Measures were instantly taken, the ringleaders were seized, the plot was prevented, and the danger passed away.

† At the station of Ahmedabad.

I hold in my hand an extract from a letter written by a Missionary in Bengal, in which he says :—"The native Christians, chiefly from the Kishnagur districts, were invited some months since to enter the Government service, as a sort of military police at Chinsurah. A few weeks ago the prisoners broke out into mutiny, and attempted to overpower the guard and make their escape, but the Christian guard stood firm, resisted, and crushed the attempt most completely. It is said that the non-Christians of the force did nothing. The Christians have since been rewarded for their courage and fidelity by an increase of their pay; and the magistrate" — observe, my friends, how quick these men are to read these lessons for themselves when they are in danger —"the magistrate has sent to Kishnagur to obtain seventy-five more Christians"—you see he rather liked the Christians—"in addition to the hundred who are already employed. The 'Friend of India,' the leading journal that we have in India, and a most able journal it is —the 'Friend of India' says, 'This is the

only known instance of an *emeute* in a gaol, which is common enough here, having been quelled by a native guard only.' It occurred on a Sunday afternoon, when Mr. Sandys was at Chinsurah for the purpose of performing Divine service for the men in their own language," a duty which I daresay did not tend to enervate them. "I think you will be very glad," the writer says, "to be informed of these facts." Yes, my Lord, and I daresay this meeting is very glad to be informed of these facts.

Well now, I will tell you, my friends, about the noble conduct of some more native Christians—the native Christians at the seige of Agra. I daresay you have all heard that in 1837 the districts of the north-west provinces were visited by a most awful famine. Hundreds and thousands of the poor natives died actually for want of food. They used to crawl as well as they could, having used up all their own provisions, towards the English settlements; but too many of them—including poor mothers with babies in their arms—died upon

the very threshold of the English cantonments, having been unable to proceed further. The Christian community nobly did its duty. It formed Committees and collected funds, and organized a system of relief. It picked up these little babes, these poor foundlings, and gathered them together; it confided them to Missionaries, and gathered funds for their support; it reared them, it educated them, it Christianized them, it baptized them, until at last, in the year 1857, twenty years after the famine, a colony of native Christians had arisen in the village of Secundra. There was to be seen a beautiful sight—a little native village, with its neat streets of houses, with a little church in the middle, with a thriving community of happy labourers, industriously performing useful work, earning their own livelihood, doing good to society, and honouring the faith they professed. When the Mutiny broke out in 1857, it burst on Agra with great fury. These poor Christians for a long while stood firmly in their own village, refusing to come in; but at last it became necessary for

them to do so. They rushed to the fort. Five-and-twenty of them were murdered in the streets before they could reach it—they were cut down and butchered by the rebels. But about 200 of them at last reached the fortress of Agra. And what was the reception which they met with? I blush to say that they were met at the door with the announcement that they could not be allowed to enter. There was a distrust of native Christians. It was not, I believe, an impulse of inhumanity, but an impulse of self-preservation, that led to the refusal. Our countrymen did not know, or, at least, they did not acknowledge at that time, that Christianity is a vital impulse, permeating the whole man, changing the black into a white, the native into a European, turning what is treacherous into what is faithful, what is cruel into what is gentle. These things were ignored, and the gate of the fort of Agra was shut in the face of the 200 native Christians. But there was within the fort a noble Missionary sent forth by this Society. I will not mention his name, because I believe

he would rather that I did not. That noble man had said, "Unless you permit these native Christians to share the refuge of the British Christians in this fort, I, a Missionary, must go forth from this protection, and share their dangers with them." Therein he performed, I think, a noble and elevated Christian *duty*. *At the last moment* he prevailed, as he deserved to do. The Commandant was melted by his appeal; he ordered the doors to be thrown open, and these poor creatures were saved from the fate that apparently awaited them.* Well, the residents within that fort reaped the full benefit

* It has since come to my knowledge that the order for *excluding* the Native Christians from the Fort did not proceed from the Brigadier commanding the troops, but from higher authority; and that after the battle had taken place outside (on June 5th, 1857,) in which the rebels had the advantage, and might be expected to pursue it up to the gates of the Fort, the Missionary alluded to, at the suggestion of a young officer, Captain N., went to the Brigadier, and *immediately* obtained an order for the *admission* of the Native Christians into the Fort. It was not to the Brigadier, but to other authorities, in previous conversations, that the Missionary had said, "He did not see how he could very well go into the Fort himself, and leave the Native Christians outside." H. B. E.

of the act. You can easily imagine how our countrymen who had taken refuge in the fort of Agra were deserted by their heathen servants. You can readily understand that there were no Mohammedan servants to wait upon the Christian soldiers—no Mohammedan cooks, no bakers, no heathen servants, to perform for our countrymen and countrywomen those offices which, in a climate like that of India, they cannot perform for themselves. And then these native Christians took the place of those who were no longer at hand. They even performed the functions of soldiers, little as they had been accustomed to such duties; they stood as sentries over the guns—the artillery on the ramparts of Agra—and so relieved many Europeans from that duty. They were also (and this is a most interesting fact) called upon to bake the bread for the European soldiers. What does that little incident involve? It involves the fear of poison from the heathen. These were times when even if they could have found heathen and Mohammedan bakers, they would have been afraid to trust

them. The native Christian was then found to be a faithful ally; and those native Christians performed hundreds of menial humble services for the Christian residents—the soldiers, the officers, the ladies, and the children. We found the benefit of having these native Christians in garrison; and when the siege was raised, and the danger was passed away, the English residents retained at the Agra Fort as many as possible of these native Christians in their domestic service. It then became difficult for the Missionaries to keep one of these native Christians for themselves. Then these men whom the Missionaries had raised, to whom they looked for help in their own work—whom they hoped to see becoming native catechists or schoolmasters, or, perhaps, in time ministers—were all taken off into the service of the Government, which shrinks from opening the Bible to the people of India.

But I have not done with my facts. Let me remind you of the conduct of a native chief, of whom no doubt you have heard—the

Rajah of Kuppoorthullah. I see in this room the great man who successfully conducted the government of the Punjaub—Sir John Lawrence. Amongst the chiefs who had been raised under his system, and the system of his noble and lamented brother, Sir Henry Lawrence—amongst the chiefs who had been thus raised was the Rajah of Kuppoorthullah. He had long associated with a native Christian minister. I knew him well, and always supposed that he was almost a Christian. The day of danger came in British India. The Rajah stood forth from among the ranks of the native chiefs. He volunteered with 4,000 or 5,000 men, and took them all the way from the Punjaub to Lucknow. He marched with these men from the province which was safe to the province where rebellion was raging, and he was instrumental, by his noble loyalty and by his gallant conduct in the field, in aiding our own soldiers to win that great victory in which we have all rejoiced. But not only that. Since the conclusion of that war I have heard with deep pleasure and satisfaction that he has

married a Christian wife. I have heard, that when, after entertaining a large party of Christian gentlemen, one of them held out his hand, saying, "Rajah, I must bid you good-bye; it is time for me to go; I have many miles to ride," the Rajah said, "Stop a minute, if you please;" and then turning to a clergyman who was present, said, "Be so good as to offer up a prayer before we part." The Bible was opened. A chapter bearing allusion to the dreadful events which had just passed in India was read before that company—not only in the presence of the English gentlemen, but of the native ministers and chiefs of the Rajah's court who were standing around the room. There was no shrinking from his conviction. He had the Bible read before them all, and then prayer was offered up in the name of the God of the Bible, and the party then separated in a Christian manner.*

* By later accounts I find that the Rajah of Kuppoorthullah is now maintaining two Christian Missionaries at his own expense. It is interesting, though not surprising, that the two first and only (as far as I know) Native Princes who have openly embraced the Christian religion, have been of

I have mentioned the names of Sir Henry Lawrence and Sir John Lawrence. Let me add the names of Donald M'Leod and Robert Montgomery. Let me remind you that these were the four chiefs under which the Punjaub system had grown up; and let me appeal to you whether it is not a fact, that in that great crisis the province stood firm and the ally of England, that it poured forth the flower of its manhood and chivalry to save us from that rebellion, and was, in God's hands, the means of saving us from the danger?

Let me next point to Benares. Benares was the citadel of Brahminism.* Who there

the most manly and formidable race in India—the Sikhs of the Punjaub. A great rebuke, truly! H. B. E.

* At Benares there is a College founded by a Hindu Rajah, Jai Narayun, who appointed our Government the Trustee of the institution; *and enjoined that the Bible should be taught in it.* In obedience to his bequest, the Bible *is* taught in this school; notwithstanding which, it is well known to be the most popular school in that great Hindu city. So that only in one school in India is the Bible taught under Government auspices; and that, at the instance of a Heathen Prince. Another rebuke!

H. B. E.

conducted our rule? Henry Carre Tucker, a man whom to name is to name one dignified with all the highest principles of Christian Government. There, although the danger came, the danger did not triumph. And whilst the danger was still raging, who was it in Benares that seconded the efforts of the officers of Government to provide our soldiers with supplies? It was the Christian Missionary, Leupolt. I am sorry I have departed from the rule of not naming these good men; but this name slipped from my tongue, and I trust the gentleman will pardon me. Mr. Leupolt went into the villages—he appealed to the people for succour and supplies, and the heathen and Mohammedan inhabitants came forth, and, for the sake of that good man's goodness, they furnished him with supplies for our soldiers. Is there nothing in a fact like that that will teach men? Is there nothing in that which tells us that it was not from the Missionaries that the natives revolted? They do not shrink from those

who openly preach the Gospel. They admire them, and they honour them. They say, "These men are doing their duty to their God;" and admiring their goodness, humanity triumphs over the occasion, and they render him assistance in the hour of need.

I would point, also, to another incident which occurred in the Punjaub. The outpost of Peshawur is one of the most difficult and arduous posts in India. There safety reigned throughout the whole time. Why? Because we honoured God from the very first in that place—because we established a Christian mission there; and I can tell you that Dr. Pfander, one of the best and most able Christian Missionaries who was ever sent forth, went down into the streets of Peshawur, where 60,000 heathen and Mohammedans met him face to face, and there he opened his Bible, and preached to them the Gospel of Jesus Christ. He did not fear but that God would take care of his own. He did his duty; and I believe in my heart, and

bear testimony to it this day, that at Peshawur we derived our safety from the presence of the Christian Mission like an Ark amongst us.

Let me now turn to another fact. From amongst the great and brave warriors that our country produced in that great struggle, who has our country singled out for its most especial love and admiration? Is there any one hero who will name his name, to show whether I am right? (Cries of "Havelock!") Yes, Henry Havelock. Henry Havelock has been selected by the English people as the embodiment of their idea of a Christian soldier. And let me ask you if England derived strength or weakness from the open Christian conduct of that noble Christian soldier?

I appeal then my friends, to these facts and experiences of the Mutiny of 1857—I appeal to them as undeniable proofs that *the element of Christianity, to the extent to which it existed in India, was to us an element of strength.*

If you are not tired, I will mention a few other facts and experiences — still facts and experiences — of the year 1857, for it is a page that is not easily exhausted. I there find facts and experiences which prove by the most extraordinary and astounding occurrences that God rules the world. There are some people in our Legislature who seem to doubt who it is that rules the world—who seem to think that the world is ruled by the wisdom of worldly legislation—who seem to fancy that ideas, and arrangements, and systems, and policies can guide a nation safely through its course—that these can secure it from all danger, and that they have nothing to do but to plan wisely, according to wise theories, and their countries will be safe. *But in* 1857 *we did not owe our safety to wisdom or policies, or devices. In* 1857 *we found that our refuge was in our God.* Let me give you a few instances of this.

The English people had made war with Persia. It was not the fault of the English people. It was the fault of Persia. We

entered into that war, I believe, with a just cause, and were prospering in that war, and were bringing it to a most satisfactory conclusion; and had we prosecuted it a little further, we should no doubt have accomplished our end. But it is a most extraordinary thing that that war was terminated without any obvious reason. I am well acquainted with the facts. I am not speaking of things I do not know; I knew what the objects and ends of that war were, or ought to be, and I know that those objects and ends were not attained, and that peace was made when we were not defeated, when we had no cause for shrinking, and when we had victory in our grasp. The sequel shows us *why* peace was made. British India had need of the troops that were fighting our battles in Persia. With that army were two leaders—Havelock and Outram—with whom England could not dispense. Peace was made. These troops returned to India. These generals went back, and led our armies on to victory. *Was that no interference of the Great Ruler of the world?*

Again the English people had a war with China. There was great doubt in the English Parliament whether that war were a just one or not. I am not going to pretend to decide the question, although I have my opinions respecting it. But it so happened, as some people would say, by a happy accident, that the troops sent out to carry on the war with China arrived at the door of British India when British India wanted them. Lord Canning put out his arm, and drew these troops into British India, and they were the first succours and reinforcements that reached us, and enabled us to turn the tide of battle. *Was that no interference of the Ruler of the world?*

Again just before the outbreak of this Mutiny, a system of electric telegraphs had just been completed through the length and breadth of British India. What was the result? When that mutiny broke out in Meerut, and the rebels rushed to Delhi, to seize upon the old hereditary seat of empire, a little boy, possessed of the English sense of

duty—I trust a Christian sense of duty, but I do not know, and therefore use the words "English sense of duty"—that little boy, with that "English sense of duty," while the rattle of the cannon and the musketry was rolling around him, telegraphed to Lahore, that the rebels had arrived, that the European officers were being murdered—and winding up in this natural way, "We are off." Well that childlike message saved the Punjaub, and you all know what the Punjaub saved. That message reached Mr. Montgomery at Lahore, and he in counsel with Mr. M'Leod, and Brigadier Corbett, a gallant officer, commanding the troops, who has not, that I am aware of, met with the reward which his services deserved—these three gallant men resolved to disarm the native troops. They disarmed them at a few hours' notice, and in doing so they struck the key-note of the preservation of the Punjaub. We took up that key-note, and acted with the same decision in our several places; and thus the Punjaub was saved. Well, that telegraph having rendered this

great service to our province—having performed its function—was cut by the rebels. Communication was cut off with the supreme Government; and I consider that we owe much to that telegraph being cut off, because we were thrown upon our own resources—because we were thrown upon our own resolves—because we were thrown upon the men we had in the Punjaub, and those men, by the blessing of God, did not fail us in the hour of need, and throughout the anxious months of the struggle of 1857 Sir John Lawrence conducted the government of the Punjaub unhampered and unembarrassed.

Another direct instance of the interposition of Providence in our behalf in that great war was the attitude of the whole of the Punjaub during that struggle. You all know that the Punjaub was one of our latest acquisitions; and surely it was natural to suppose, arguing from all human reasons, that the yoke which was the newest would gall the most. But what was the result? The Punjaub which had been ruled by Sir

Henry Lawrence, and Sir John Lawrence, and Robert Montgomery, and Donald M'Leod—the Punjaub, our late conquest, stood firm and loyal in our hour of trouble. It was the Punjaub which despatched its men to the siege of Delhi—the Punjaub whose recruits enabled that noble soldier, John Nicholson, to force the walls of Delhi. *I call that the fourth interposition of the Ruler of the world in our behalf.**

The fifth I find in the bearing of the King of Cashmere. Cashmere borders on the Punjaub, it tops the map of British India. The ruler of that country was a wily,

* In support of the view here taken of the manifest interpositions of God in our behalf in 1857, I subjoin the following heartfelt acknowledgment by the least feeble, most self-reliant, and most successful of Indian Governors :—

"Lastly, Sir John Lawrence desires to join with Mr. Montgomery in the expression of devout thankfulness to Almighty God. To Him alone is due the praise for our success and for our very safety. His mercy vouchsafed a happy issue to our measures, and confounded the devices of our enemies. Human aid could avail us nothing in that crisis. And it is owing to an over-ruling Providence, and to that alone, that a single Englishman was left alive in the Punjaub."—(*Mutiny Report to the Governor-General, Lahore, 25th May*, 1858.) H. B. E.

ambitious, and unscrupulous man. He possessed great influence over all the Sikhs in the Punjaub. It had been his ambition to rule the Punjaub, and he might have attempted to set himself at the head of the people of the Punjaub, to raise the standard of revolt, and to move the people against us. But he did not do so. He rose superior to the temptation. Some men who look merely to human causes, may say that he acted in this manner from self-interest. But at a moment when national prejudices and national causes are in the scale, men are not apt to be reasonable. They are apt to look only to national causes; they are apt to draw the sword without considering whether the cause is likely to prosper. But the King of Cashmere stood firm and loyal, and sent orders to his troops to assist Sir John Lawrence. *Was that no interference in our behalf?*

I find another in the conduct of the Affghans. My friends, perhaps there are many in this room whose heart-mourning has not been put off for the losses they suffered in the

Affghan war, in 1840 and 1841. I dare say there are many here who are capable of understanding that between the Affghan nation and the English there must have reigned a determined hostility, a bitter animosity. That animosity had reigned from the termination of the war till the year 1853. A change then came over the spirit of our Government. Our Government, prompted by some foreshadowing of events, held out to the Affghans the hand of friendship. It did that which it ought to have done in 1840, when, instead of carrying up from his exile in India, Shah Shoojah, the rejected of the Affghan people, and endeavouring to force him upon the throne of Affghanistan, it might have made a friend of Dost Mohammed Khan, the ruling monarch, and the choice of the people. What they did not do in 1840, they did in 1854. They extended to Dost Mohammed Khan the hand of friendship. That treaty was made and confirmed in January, 1857, only three months before the outbreak of the mutiny. Dost Mohammed Khan at that time was

threatened by Persia. We thought that a good opportunity of affirming and proving what our policy really was; and England said to Dost Mohammed Khan, "Our cause is one —we wish you to keep Affghanistan—we wish to show you that that is our policy. You are threatened with an enemy—we will give you substantial help by paying you 10,000*l.* a-month to enable you to raise more troops." We will even give you muskets to arm those troops. We sent muskets, and did everything we could to assist him in his extremity. And when was this done? When there was not a speck or cloud on the horizon. We did it in a moment of pride and security, when no man could dare to hint that we had in view any object of our own. Three months had not passed after the conclusion of that treaty before the mutiny broke out. What would have been our position if we had adhered to the wicked and unchristian policy of the old Affghan war? What would have been our position if Dost Mohammed Khan, the able, the wily, the ambitious ruler of Affghanistan,

had taken the advice which was daily and hourly offered him?—if he had bound the green turban of the Prophet round his brow,' and raised the standard of Mohammed, and had summoned the hordes of Central Asia to sweep down on the Infidel, and drive him out of Asia? If he had given that challenge to the people, it would have been cheerfully answered, and an irresistible host of Tartars would have swept over the plains, have carried the Punjaub and all British India before it, and the English would have been driven into the sea. If that would have been our position in 1857, *I say that friendly treaty and policy which we pursued with regard to Affghanistan was the hand of God interposing on our behalf.*

Another interposition I find in the bearing of the chiefs of India. You who have made India your study know well that our progress in the empire of India has been over the bodies of the native aristocracy. It was necessarily so. It would have been well and happy for us if we could have welded the native chiefs into our system. But that was

a most difficult theory to accomplish. They would not comply with our wishes; they opposed us; and, in self-defence, we deposed them from their places. If, then, there was one class of the population in India from whom we should have naturally expected opposition in the hour of difficulty, it was from the chiefs of British India. But how did they act? Here and there we found one who rose against us, here and there we found a villain like the Nana. But, as a general rule, the chiefs of India rallied round the British standard. It is easy for us, turning to second causes, to say that our cause was theirs, that the contest going on in 1857 was the contest of order against anarchy, the contest of armies against Governments, and that the native chiefs saw that if a British Indian Government went down before any native army it was impossible that any inferior Government could stand. Infidels will point out that as the cause of the conduct of the chiefs. But, in great struggles, men do not take such matters into consideration, and

I can only account for the chiefs of India by saying that *it was put into their hearts by the King of kings.*

Again, I find another astounding fact. I find that the people of India sided with us. What does that amount to? There were 180,000,000, if not 200,000,000 of heathen and Mohammedans—aliens in blood, aliens in language, and aliens in religion; they black, and we white; they heathen and Mohammedan, and we Christian; they subjects and conquered, and we conquerors—and yet these 200,000,000 sided with their conquerors. Do men want spectacles to read a fact so large as that? I turn again to second causes, and I acknowledge with pride and gratitude the conduct of the old East India Company which has passed away, though it has passed away at least in a certain glory. Around its setting sun there rests a lustre; and although it may not be a Christian lustre, it is at least, the lustre of a large humanity. If ever there was a Government in history which struggled from first to last to rule for the benefit of its

people, I believe that that Government was the East India Company. And it was fit and right that it should reap the harvest of its exertions. It was fitting and right that the people of India, looking at the struggle that was going on in India, seeing the picked heroes of the country, the warriors, the soldier caste struggling for nationality and independence—it was a glorious recompense to this country that the people of India should stand aloof and say,—"We have no part in the matter. Although we hate the religion of our conquerors, they have protected our freedom, our property, our lives, our wives, and our children; they have at least been just to us, and we will not side with those who oppose them." But although there are these features in the case, I repudiate this interpretation of the event. *I say we can only look to the God of battles who put it into the hearts of the people of India, who might have smothered us with their very turbans, to stand aloof and spare the handful of white men.*

Lastly, amongst other facts, let me call

your attention to this fact, that, although this war raged for two years, from first to last, there never rose from the rebel ranks one man who could lead them on to victory. In former storms we had a Hyder Ali to contend with, or a Tippoo Saib, and we have found native courage not inferior to our own. We have found that an Asiatic army led on by an Asiatic leader of ability, was no child's play; and had there arisen in 1857 one Hyder Ali or one Tippoo Saib, I should not probably have stood here to tell you the story. No, we must have been driven out; no earthly power could have saved us in this extremity. And I say, if in these two years no man came forth able to lead our enemies to victory, *it is attributable only to Him who alone can rule the heart, and who chose to confound their counsels.*

My friends, these things are wonderful. In them indeed, if we may humbly say it, we hear the voice of God. And what says that voice? Does it say that you had errors in your Administration? Does it say, Reform

your foolish laws—reform those things which were weak in your Court polity? Does it say, Disarm the people, if you want to hold the empire? Does it say, Demolish the forts in which these chiefs take refuge, and which give you trouble when the struggle comes? Are these the lessons which the Voice proclaims to us? Or does it say, "India is your *charge*. I am the Lord of the world. I give kingdoms as I list. I gave India into the hands of England. I did not give it solely for your benefit. I gave it for the benefit of my 180,000,000 of creatures. I gave it to you to whom I have given the best thing man can have—the Bible, the knowledge of the only true God. I gave it to you that you might communicate this light and knowledge and truth to these my heathen creatures. You have neglected the charge I gave you. You have ruled India for yourselves, and I have chastened you; I have humbled you in your pride; I have brought you even to the dust—I have brought you within one step of ruin. But I have condoned your offences. I have

raised you up. When no mortal hand could save you from the results of your own policy, I, the God whom you have offended, have come to your assistance. I have lifted you up again, and I say to you, England, that I once more consign this people to your charge. I say to you that I once more put you upon your trial, and I say to you, take warning from the past."

And, my friends, let us take warning! Let us not only take warning, but let us take courage. It is not the language of fanaticism which says, "Christianize your policy." It is the language of sound wisdom — it is the language of experience. I say that *the Christian policy is the only policy of hope.* I say that hitherto we have been living on in India without a policy at all—that we have been living from hand to mouth — and that now, at this late hour, *we want a policy*, and can only find a sound and hopeful policy for the future in standing forth, and boldly *Christianizing our Government.* What, then, shall we do? Let us, let all in our several

spheres, men and women, influence our friends. Let us give our votes. Let us, if any of us have a seat in the Legislature, open our mouths, and speak the thing which we believe to be true. Let us not be afraid of men. Let us do, as Mr. Wilberforce did, lift our voice in the councils of the nation and tell those men who are legislating without a God in the midst of them, that in God only can empires and Legislatures be safe. You know, my friends, that between us and the Indian people the great want is the want of a link. We are divided by our religions. There is no amalgamation between the races. There is nothing to twine one within the other and cement our interests. We stand aloof—the heathen on one side and the Christian on the other—and find nothing in our worldly policy to bridge the space. *We shall only find that link in Christianity.* If we Christianize one man, we have made one friend. If we Christianize a race, we have got an army. If we Christianize a province, we have founded a Government. If we Christianize a people, we have made an

empire. Let us observe that this war of 1857 is one of those great throes in which new eras are produced. A new era has been born to us in 1857, and it is useless for us to try to return to the old order of things. We cannot do it if we would. The Government of India has been transferred to the Crown. Every single operation of this change serves to draw England and India more closely together. All our commerce, all our finance, and the new minister who has been recently sent out to inquire into the subject, draw us nearer and nearer. The people of India are awake. They are not looking to their own kings and rulers. Their ken is abroad. They look to Europe. They understand European war and European alliances. They understand the affairs of Russia, of France, of Constantinople. They perceive now that Asia and Europe are inseparably knit together. Oriental thought is on the march, and you cannot stop it, do what you will. *If you ask me what is safe for the future—if you ask me to indicate a safe and expedient policy to the Government—I say*

an open Bible. Put it in your schools. Stand avowedly as a Christian Government. Follow the noble example of your Queen. Declare yourselves in the face of the Indian people a Christian nation, as Her Majesty has declared herself a Christian Queen, and you will not only do honour to her but to your God, and in that alone you will find that true safety rests.

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