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EMPIRE

or the

MIDDLE CLASSES.

Bring

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BY HENRY MEREDITH PARKER,

BENGAL CIVIT BREVICE, RULIBLE TABLE

- "Aco Haidoregh Aco Haidargh Aco Haderegh Kay anohum um mahor, nchaun shud zeoreo negh ---Haftz.
- "Alps! Alas! Alasti;
 That so bright a moon should sak in so hak a chaid?

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1858.

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Their obedient, hum do servant,

II M PARKER,

Rengal Civil Sermee (Retired List)

London, December, 1857.





EMPIRE OF THE MIDDLE CLASSES.

Ar last, then I The Empire of the Middle Classes, that noble and gorgeous Empire won by their valour, ruled by their firm and moderate policy, tranquillized by their wisdom, governed with only that small leaven of the oligarchic element, which it was impossible to free it from under a constitution like that of Great Britain—that resplendent Empire, long gloriously and admin administered the envy of nations, is about to pass away. It will no longer exist as the Empire of the Middle Classes—as the Empire of Clive, Coote, Plint, Hastings, William Jones, Shore, Barlow, Dance, who beat a fleet of men of war with a fleet of merchantmen; Ochterlony, Munro, Metcalfe, Edmonstone, Malcolm, Pollock, Nott, Barry Close, Henry Pottinger, Eldred Pottinger, that wonderful boy, whose marvellous explort, unknown or forgotten here, would have made him a heutenant general in Russii, and in France raised monuments to his glorious memcry—James Prinsep, Tievelyan, Hoinee Wilson, Kayo, Vincent Lyio, Abbot, Rawlinson, Outrain, Lambert, Everest, Wilson, Nicholson, Neill, the Lawrences, Willoughby, and a hundred others, statesmen and warners, men of literature, and men of science, who have spring from the bosom of the ruling class. Here ulter it may very probably be the Linpure of Lord Charles A, the Honomable M. B, the Honomable Mr. C; but more, much more than all, of the sons, and nophews, and sons-inaw, and grandsons, of the honomable members for D, E, F, I, we, to the end of the alphabet. And why, it may be

asked, may not that class produce statesmen as accomplished and soldiers as gullant, as their predecessors in the East? I'm be it from me to say that it will not; they will be Eig, sh, Scotch, and hish gentlemen, that is significantly enough—t is in India that is altogether to be thought of in the matter, but quite another country, which may some fine morning become awake to the fact, that it is in extricably governed by such majorities in Parliament, as have not made their appearance since the days when Walpole is said to have said, that "every man had his price."

Be that as it may, we have to all appearance arrived at the closing act of a magnificent drama; and in that very act, full of tragic, mournful, glorious interest, manufesting to the whole world the wonderful solidity with which the foundations of the Empire of the Middle Classes have been laid; a firmness a cohesion, which nothing but a rule of unrivalled sagacity and real wisdom could have created in so short a period, and in a conquered country a firmness and cohesion, which have resisted and baffled the terrible strength of a mighty conspilacy and military outbreak, under which half the governments and nations of the globe would have succumbed Yes, the Rule and Lim ne of the Middle Classes has done this marvellous deed Massacre, mutit y, insurrection, rebellion, false firends, and treacherous fees, have alike failed to move the steadlast foundations of our power or relax our iron grasp We never quailed, we never doubted, we never wavered.

"Groom fought like noble, square like knight, As fearlessly and well '

And now that we are, perhaps, about to resign our great prize, so hardly won, so indomitably kent, we may prize day a y to our successors and the world, what Coriolanus thundered in the ears of the Volscians—

" Alone we did it '

Our successors!—and to whom will the man agement of this magnificent succession be transferred? that is the question paramount now to all others. To the Crown?—a more form of

words To the House of Peers?—that is not very probable. The nation is already sufficiently 'calous of in aristociacy, in which, nevertheless, there is much, very much, to honour, to admire, and to be proud of 'The nation would never permit any to ister which should make the Peers of Great Britain its rulers and managers, either directly or indirectly, for the vast dependency—though they may possibly do werse.

To the House of Chin ions? Yes T e House of Commons will, if we do not prevent so pregrant an evil, be the actual, whoever may be the nominal, rulers of In lia, when the present system of Government is extinguished. It will be supposed to be manuged as other things are, by a pleasant fiction, supposed to be managed by the Three Estates of the Realm; but we all know what that means in the present dry, and the real, time releas of In 11 will be the House of Conmons. The members of that Horomal le House will govern their Empire, no longer the Empire of the Mildle Classes, but the 'Empire or the House or Commons," through the minister, by an agree alle kind of enculating mocess such as that by which the Abbò Sieyes created and absorbed his "Grand Elector" Tho minister, who, as the responsible executive, must necessarily have, either directly or indirectly, great control over normation of his subordinates or assistants, will govern his gevernors, the House of Cormons, by a judicious distribution of the patronige amongst them, not only amongst those who uphold his India i me suics, but arrongst these who support his riess nes in the abstract, and everything will be inade pleusant. It will be something only on a more sublime scale, resembling the process which the Court of Directors have been accused of following with the proprietors of Ir hi Stock; only that where a minister and a House of Commons ire concorned, it may be rather a more serious affair for the nation

The good, casy public as simple enough to magine, that so long as the original appointments to India, civil and military, are only made under a system of competition, that then jobbery, nepotism, patronage, and the like, are at once cut up, root and branch

I must take leave to doubt whether, even as respects the original appointment, the system of competition will seeme us from the chronic 'abbety which appears to be a part and pared of our glatious constitution. I should not die of astonishment if we found, under the competition system that a very extraor dinary proportion of the successful candidates were sons, or nephews, or cousins, of ministers of the Crown, of peers, bishops, members of Parliament court ladies, and great bankers; of gentlemen with handsome livings in their gift, proprietors of influential newspapers, &c., &c.

Gentlemen of Oxford and Cambridge have you always been perfectly and profoundly satisfied when Lord Fitzmorion, or the son of the Archbishop of Swaffham, or the nephew of the Lord Chancellor, figured in the first class, and yourselves in the second, that the more elevated position was entirely due to superior merit and acquirements?

But be that as it may, admit that the best candidate will always be the successful one, it is of no vital importance; for the Asmodeus who presides over patronage, jobbing, and nepotism, will, I feel satisfied, under the Empire of the House of Commons, have his head quarters in India

The "programme," to use a recent coinage, is one of sufficient simplicity There is a sharp session of Parliament, the ministry is tottering, the dark limbo of unofficial existence, dicaded by statesmen, "looms in the distance" Questions of extreme moment are barely carried by half satisfied supporters. One of vital importance is on the eve of discussion —"If Duberly," says the Premier, addressing the Secretary of State for India, "If Duberly carries his amendment, we must, of course, go out, Her Majesty's service and the country will equally suffer. I speak in no spirit of self laudation, but our resignation, at this critical juncture, would be most disastrous for the Empire The defeat must be prevented at any cost You, my dear Mount Vernon, are, of course, acquainted with those in Her Majesty's Indian service who are related to or connected with members of the Lower House. Let the members in question be apprised, confidentially of course, the thing requires delicacy, but Kater

will manage it, that if we remain in office, there are certain gentlemen in the Indian services of whose talents and conduct you receive such favourable reports, that you are prepared to recommend them for immediate promotion. Those gentlemen, it fortunately happens, are connected with members who will, we trust, feel it their duty to the country to support us against Duberley's amendment. The Governor General, our friend Quaning, who must come home, of course, if we go out, will understand the thing, and act accordingly."

But, it might be uiged, the same process may be followed at present. The immister is as potent for jobs in India under the "Empire of the Middle Classes" as he would be under the "Empire of the House of Commons" Not so. In the first place, the Governor General, through whom the job must be perpetrated, has as frequently been of the party of the outs as the party of the ins, and would scarely incur obloquy or commit injustice to serve a ministry with which he had no political sympathy. Again, the Court of Directors have had too many connections, or, at all events, persors for whom they wore interested in the services, to permit such jobs, besides, a Governor-General, frequently not on the best terms with the Honourable Comb, who might find it difficult to avoid assisting a powerful minister the chief of his own party, would be very little influenced by a request "not to forget Jones," made by one of twenty-four elderly, untill tential gentlemen in Leadenhall Street Indeed, under the Empare of the Middle Classes, any assumed unjust supercession by the local Governments of India, or of promotion to the prejudice of stronger claims, would, in nine cases out of ten, have been the subject of an appeal to the Court of Directors themselves; who, having no interest in stilling such an appeal, and no motive to slur over a job which would carry with it little profit or pleasure to their honourable body, would be fully disposed to give redress if it was justly due. But, in the case I have supposed, undeserved promotions and uncarned appointments in India for the purpose of bolstering up a tottering Cabinot in England, where will an appeal lie? Why, from a minister to a ministry with

which he must still or fall (for it is too Utopian to imagine that Governor-Generals) ips will be given under the pending system without reference to party), and to serve which the 'ol has been jobbel. Picture to yourselves, oh, most thinking people, an attaché to the embassy at Echat ma appealing to my Lord Palmerston against his supercession by my Lord Clarendon—especially if the parent of the more fortunate youth, the superceder, happened to be the son or nephew of a wavening member of the Upper or Lower House whom the ministry desired to conciliat. The idea is too jocose.

And here let me declare, what I can assert with a safe conscience, my unqualified and sincere conviction, founded on nearly twenty-five years of local experience and observation, that there can have been no Government in the world more entirely fiee, for very many years past, from favouritism or jobbory than the local Government of Bengal. I doubt not but that the other Governments in India have been equally free from those peculiarly English institutions; and if I do not express my conviction with equal strength on that point, it is because I cannot speak from personal experience and familiar knowledge,—neither can I pledge myself for the home Government, since I have not had the honour to be of the twenty-four registers of the orders issued by the President of the Board of Control But, as relates to my own Presidency, I know (and I had perfect opportunties of obtaining such knowledge) that I vouch for no more than the rigid truth when I decare that during the five an l-twenty years, while I had an opportunity of judging, no Government could have been more free from jobbery and misapplied pationage than the Government of Bengal

That there may have been occasionally, very, very rarely, a civil or military appointment given through interest or nepotism, it would be affectation to deny; the purest of Governors General is but a man with human affections, and a kindly desire to benefit those whom he loves; we never complained of such small deviations (very few and very far between) from the strict requirements of justice; because it was felt that, on the

whole, the vast civil and military patronage had been, and was, distributed with wonderful integrity, purely, honomably, wisely, and with no other objects in view than a sincere and conscientious desire to reward ment, to promote emulation in the services, and to secure the general welfare and good government of the Empire

A friend of mine, who had returned to England, after having deservedly held some of the highest appointments in India, was told by a noble Earl, then about to proceed to that country as Governor-General, that he (the Earl) knew there was nothing but jobbery and favouritism going on in his future Viceroyalty. "My Lord," replied Mr. B, "I have seen how things are managed in India; and I see how things are managed in England; I have been behind the scenes in both countries, and I frankly tell your Lordship, that I have known of more jobbing in this country in six months, than I witnessed in India during a service of thirty years." My friend most assuredly spoke the truth; the very fear of jobs (a sort of jobpanic or jobophobia), from which the public mind in England is never free, shows the prevalence of the malady. We have no fear here of cobra capellas, or Thugs, or hippopotami.

"Oh, peuple vertueux"-as the much maligned Deputy for Arras used to say, "peuple sublime—peuple respectable," you are probably about to make your ministers the greatest jobmasters in creation. You force the means of infinite job upon them, and yet you will be the very first to vituperate and howl at them for employing the power you have compelled them to accept—and that power, if a certain proposition, now looming in the future, should ever receive coherence and form, will be multiplied a hundred fold. It has been urged, chiefly, I believe, by the barristers of the Supreme Courts of Calcutta and Madras (with what object, it is, of course, quite impossible to conjecture), that English shall be the law language, the language of all Courts in India, and that English lawyers shall be appointed judges therein. "Fore Heaven!" as that unlucky Michael Cassio says, "Fore Heavon! this is a more exquisite 'song than the other" A compotent knowlege of the languages

of the country subject to our rule, has always been something of a stumbling-block to the aspiring sons of Themis scarcely known a single instance of a Calcutta barrister, who could string together ten sentences in Hindost mee or Bengally, with the slightest chance of being understood. I say nothing of Tamool, Canarese, Malabais, Ooreah, Teligoo, &c, &c it is now proposed to smooth the difficulty quite away. We had an impression that, in matters of justice, there should be some mode of communication between the parties to a suit and the judge, in a language understood by both; and that it would be rather unkind to inform a man, in an "unknown tongue," that he was going to be hanged, after a trial, not one word of which had he understood from beginning to end Hence the examinations, in the native languages, at the Last India College, Haileybury, the second examination, before entering the service in India, the third after a certain period of service; and now, I believe, a fourth, before an officer chin fill the higher grades But all this, it appears, has been a fool ish waste of time and intellect,—ordam that the English language shall be the language, and English jurisconsults the judges of native Courts and Cutcherries Boldly cut the knotby declaring, that instead of plaintiffs, and defendants, and judges, understanding more or less of each others' speech, they shall not understand each other at all, and then -why, then the goddess of jobbery (and no doubt there is such a divin'ty in the Hindoo Pantheon, which provides a deity for every rascality), would dance such a dance of joy, as has not been seen since Kalı executed a fundungo on the body of her has band. For then there would not in all merry England Scotland, or Ireland, be an electroneering attorney, or a well connected briefless barrister, or a genteel solicitor, with more address than business, or any gentleman who had eaten his terms in the Temple Hall, who might not aspire to be, per saltum, judge of Futtepoore Sicri, or magistrate of Budge Budge, or principal collector of Rajahmunday—especially if he had a friendly Member of Parliament to whisper a word to the Indian minister in his favour. As for an Indian civil service (if it be allowed to exist as a service) standing in the way of such appointments, let us remember what was done at Ceylon, where there was also a civil service the members of which, had entered it under an assurance that they should not be superseded by gentlemen sent from England!

But there are other dangers which one may as well advert to though they will not, of course, be allowed the weight of a canary bird's feather against platform and newspaper declamation, working upon popular ignorance and prejudice.

India has escaped that last, great, unavoidable curse of constitutional governments party administration. It has been spaced the enormous evil of one Viceroy landing with an orange ribbon in his hat, and another with a bunch of shanrocks in his button hole, to be succeeded by a third, with the orange ribbon again. But something of that pleasant description will not fail to occur, when India is governed by the House of Commons; that is to say, it its magnificent patronage does not enable the party in power, at the time of the transfe; to retain its ascendency (much to the Lucfit of emstitutional government in England), until that time when all things shall, even to London drinking water, be putified by the inevitable democracy promised us by M de Tocqueville

But if that unfortunate India, hitherto so happily spared from such a calunity, should become a battle ground for parties, and it most certainly will if it ecomes the Empire of the House of Commons; imagine the utter confusion worse confounded that must ensue—One day the "puti prêtre," which appears to have a personal quarrel with Vishnoo, will be in power, and drive our unhappy dusky follow-subjects to despair by pushing proselytism to the verge of persecution. The next, the "partiphilosophe," successors of the foregoing reconclusts, will stand up for the extremest liberty of conscience, and proclaim about that a man may, as far as they are concerned, worship an old shoe, if it affords him any comfort to do so. Then comes a set into power—haughty, imperial, all for absorbtion, amovation, conquest, if necessary, and complete subjugation,—succeeded, possibly within three years, by another set, who will breathe nothing hut peace

and love,-utterly repudiate the stern views of their producessors, and hasten, perlaps, to restore pensioned sultans, and unemployed rajahs in "a transport of republican enthusiasm and universal philanthropy," never equalled since the days of the "needy knife-grinder. Imagine this kind of process, which Great Britain itself only survives owing to the toughness and sturdy good sense of the people; imagine, I say, this kind of process at work among the ignorant but sensitive and impulsive races of India—a country in which you are lucky if you effect any change after twenty years of preparation, and where you approach a reform as you would touch Rob Roy's sporran, out of which, unless you handle it with preternatural caution, pops the muzzle of a leaded pistol. I feel persuaded that a few years of English party government would be very likely to drive not only an Indian army, but a much more formidable power, the whole Indian people, into a resistance to your authority, which might take a form calculated to baffle all the might even of mighty Britain. They would politely decline to pay any more revenue to a Government which kept them in such an incomprchensible state of oternal fidget and bewilderment. Very few of you are aware that the entire, complete, whole Hindoo population of one of the greatest cities in India once walked forth, bag and baggage (it was not some nonsensical quarrel about a cow and a pig which always affords legitimate cause for a row between Hindoos and Mahommedans, but the imposition of a Police rate), and remained in the fields for more than a fortnight, and this happened, not in the times of Ram Raja and the "Michchicatra," but while Wellington gained Salamanca, and the first gent in Europe wore the best made coat in the world.

The Government of the Empiro of the Middle Classes may not have been a perfect Government, but it so far suited the people to be ruled that on all settled portions of our dominions it was a steady methodical, quiet Government—slow, perhaps you might call it, but sure, and regular. It was not a rule of fits and starts and contradictions We did-not one day express our bitter abhorrence of negro slavery and the next clothe ourselves in nightcaps of cotton from Georgia, and eat Brazilian sugar,

neither did we at one time ally ourselves with our fellow subjects the Orangemen, against our fellow subjects the Catholics, and at another with our fellow subjects the Catholics, against our follow subjects the Orangemen Wo fettered ourselves with many self-imposed chains; but we have woin them honestly and conscientiously. There is now a sort of idea that the Parliamentary Empire would not hesitate to break one of the heaviest,—namely, the perpetual settlement in Bengal. If the Parliament should do this thing, and if it is to be a sample of the new system intended to replace our "madition and "routine," I wish their honors joy of their task. Lord Metcalfe's prophecies touching the Sepoy levolt, not the vague, general prognostics of a clever guesser, but distinct and explicit as if the native troops had sent him a plan of operations, specifying time, place, and circumstance before hand; Lord Metcalfo's sad, but most true, predictions, I say, have been largely quoted, as emanuting from a man of the clearest sagacity and wonderful prescience Well, if he is to be honoured as a prophet in one thing, let due reverence be paid to his prophecy with respect to another. I knew Lord Metcalfe well, and I reverenced and honouned him, for a braver heart or more clear spirit never guided the present or seamed the future. I have heard him. say, with that mild equanimity which no danger ever shock, or pain ever vanquished, "Willnivle India is test, in will but LOSE IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS."

Men of England, think of this prophecy when you are about to change the system of Indian Government; remember it is the conviction of no ordinary man, and no ordinary statesman, but came from one whose other prophecy men jeered at, until it was misorably and awfully fulfilled.

"WHAT HAVE YOU DONE FOR INDIA?"

The Court of Directors of the East India Company, that true type and organ of the Middle Classes, and those their officers who have so honomably represented the Middle Classes in the East, have continually to endure the repetition of one cuck to note, trilled forth in the menotonous and rether dull manner of cuckoos, less, perhaps with any malevolent design, than in ignorance and prejudice, those besetting sins of the English mind, wherever Indian and most other foreign affairs are concerned

We are asked, with a triumphant and jaunty air, as if the question was wholly unanswerable, "Pray, what have you done for India? What traces would you leave behind you in India, if you were deprived of your Empire to-morrow?"

I don't know what traces we might leave behind us, if India ceased to be ours "to morrow," and if we were deprived of the country by force, amidst mutiny and rebellion, and battle as d violence, because the good we have accomplished, not showing itself in marble and brass, in mighty edifices, or works like the Mahomoodee canal, which is said to have cost the lives of some fifty or sixty thousand forced labourers—the good, I say, which we have accomplished, not being immediately tangible to sight and touch, would, probably, perish with our rile. But if, in the year 1841, we had tranquilly handed over our dominion to the Crown of Great Britain and Ireland, or relinquished it in benevolence and good will, to the people of India, I should then have said, and have said with pride, "We lave traces of our rule more marvellous, more beautiful, than all the pyramids or Taj Mehals in the world-more glorious than the glories of Alchar or Shahjehan, were those a thousand times more unsullied than they are" We found war, murder, mis rule, confusion and desolation, rampant in every part of India We leave peace, security, justice, order, and abundance.

We found the villager at his plough, aimed to the teeth

uncertain, despite of his warlike gear, whether he should ever be able to garner the fruits of his labour. His v'llage was near, he dared not go far a field—walled, moated, and prepared for defence. From its ramparts, if the toe (or friend) had relicious or disposition to storm them, he might see "fire, famine, and slaughter," skurry over the smoking fields and amongst the felled fruit trees, in the shape of hordes of furious horsemen, who spared no man or thing that crossed their mercaless path, except for "chout"

In 18.1, the peasant could guide his plough as securely in the British Indian dominions, as he could in Dorsetshire. The walls of hundreds of villages had fallen into decay, or remained unrepaired, the mosts were filled up, and there was no more necessity for maintaining such defences at Nya Gong or Indraputan than there is for maintaining them at Ivy Bridge or Rochampton

In 1811—mind, I cling to this date—first, because I had no personal knowledge of India after that period, and, secondly, because the government of the Court of Directors seemed to wane, and that of the Board of Control appeared to become more in the ascendant, about the time that an English ministry drove on the Alighan war against the feelings of the Court, and in opposition to the opinions of some of the ablest and wisest statesmen who upheld in India the Empire of the middle classes.

In 1841 then, if, in percently relaquishing on rule, or handing it over to the House of Commons, we had been asked, "What traces will you leave in Indua?" I should have continued my reply in this wise:—

When we went to by the foundations of our Sovereignty with those hardy workmen—Chve, and Lawrence, and Pophan, and Coote—we found that a Mogul noble, with his suite, might arrive at a village about nightfull, and no forage being ready for his numerous horses, he would shout, with many most objectionable and uniquislatable ob nightions, "Where is the dog of a Zemindar, to whom this miserable rat-hole belongs? The wealthy, but trembling Hindoo, having first hidden his six

yards of pearl necklues, lumpy with enemids at short intervals, as brought be ore the Nawaub Scrib. "No words Kaff'r I or lead for up, where is it? Give him a piece of cow, give cow to his family and dependents, give cow to everybe ly. Ah, messenger of Allah I who are we, that this dog, and so of a dog, should laugh at our beards?" The cow was duly administered, and those beet-ted unfortunates were no longer Brahmins, the equals of the gods, as they had been six hours earlier, they were the impure of impures; doomed to a privation of all social and brotherly communion in this life, and, hereafter, to countless ages of transmigration, through the bodies of dogs, rats, pigs, vultures, scorpions, and other unclean and abhorrent creatures.

Such was the fate, shortly prior to Plassy, of the not very remote ancestor of an annable and accomplished friend of mine, a native of Bengal—a gentleman, in every sense of the wind, and a man of commanding talents—but that fierce Mogul had deprived his family of their caste. My friend was a man of noble benevolence in his own country, and courted by the very best society in this, but, in despite of his wealth, his charity, his influence, and accomplishments, the lowest and most begginly Brahmin in his heart spat upon him, and scorned him with a scorn not to be described.

In 1841, the highest civil or military functionary in India would no more have dated to commit such an outrage as that to which the Mogul chief subjected the Zomindar, than a colenel of Her Majesty's guards dates to the up the Right Honourable The Lord Mayor to the triangles, and give him a hundred lashes at the bottom of Ludgate Hill

Nor am I quoting a mere solitary instance of insolent oppression. The Hindoo women went about unveiled, as I have myself seen them in a pure Hindoo state, until the licentious tyranny of the Moguls forced all, but the very poorest, to conceal their faces when abroad, and at home to retire to the very recesses of their dwellings, taking advantage of the Mahommedans' scruples respecting the Zenanch. The atrocities of Sooraj ool Dowlah, who had pregnant women drag_ed

into his infernal shambles, and there sought, at the expense of his victims' lives, to trace the progress of gestation, are remembered in Bengal even to this day, but are too horrible for more than a passing allusion.

About the commencement of the present century, when we found time to breathe after years of trying but glorious conflict, a fearful pest pervaded the great Indian peninsula from Cape Comorin to the banks of the Sutlej. The power and energy of the noble Akbar, the wealth of his splendid son, the astute and merciless policy of the tarible Aurungzib, had proved equally powerless to effect its diminution of travellers departed annually from, or started to return to, their homes, and then were heard of no more. Their bones whitened no highway; no charitable Brahmin had received them sick into his village, only to die. The waters of the Indian streams flowed not over their bodies, nor had the wild beasts borne them to their jungle lairs Where are the dead? How did they perish? Ask that singularly benevolent looking old gentleman, with a pleasant smile and grey beard, who is fluting a pocket handkerchief in the easiest and most careless manner imaginable in front of yonder temple of Kali Le is a Thug. It is he who defied the Great Mogul and his heutenants in all the pride of their strength, and full power of their dominion. It is that worthy gentleman who will show you tho very spot where, a few feet beneath the carefully-restored, wellsmoothed turf, lie not only the bones of his human victims--sacrifices to the terrible goddess with the n eklaco of skulls-but the bones of their very dogs and horses, that not one living evidence of the fearful holocaust should remain on the earth. But a more mighty goddess than Kali took up the task, which Sultans and Rajahs had abandoned in despair. Britannia stretched forth hor strong and resolute hand, she grasped the work after her fashion, determined that it should be done; and the once awful, onnipresent, omnimudering Thug lies bound at her feet, like a tamed wolf; his claws drawn, his heart cowed, and his spirit broken. In 1741—nay, in 1801, the Thug had, for centuries, been a power in India—bloody, appalling, terrible In 1811 he was, and now,

he is in a clity—what he once only pretended to be—the peaceful dweller in quie, villages, thinking of the once fearful "1 m ml," as a history o' byg me days, and, in all probability, as in offensive and industrious a "Ryut" is my in the British dominions. Chosts of the thousands who perished on lonely roads, in dusky topes of thick-leaved trees, by the banks of solitary rivers, in the shadow of deep ravines—in avenging your murders, in fettering your murderer's body and spirit, so that their "occupation's gone," have we, indeed, left no traces of our rule?

Did you, kind reader, if I happen to have one, ever hear of a "Wulsa?" When we, the Middle Classes, first discovered that there was an Empire to be won in far-off Hindostan, a "Wulsa" was a proceeding and a word in as common use in that I uppy country, especially to the south of the Chumbul, as the word "removil" is in England, or the word "deme nagement" in France; and what a removal what a deme nagement! It was the flight of a whole population of an enthe value or small fown-man, woman, and child, young and old, with their cattle, with all the goods they could sive from their abandone I habitations an exodus, having for its goal the inaccessible jungle, or the caves of the mountains, and for its cause, the approach of an armed force: so common was this blessed state of things, that a word signifying its recurrence, became familiar and naturalized in the language through the south, central, and great part of North Western India, and as the Nurru of the Maliattah, the Robi ah hoin, or the "Allah Akbur" of the funce And and Persian mercenaties, no matter in whose pay, was heard from afar, the miseral le people, threatened with their ferocious advent, made a "Wuisa," leaving their homes, and all that they were unable to transport, as a prey to the Dunahs of Huny Pint the Mahrattali, or to the matchlockmen of Gholaum Mahommed the Afighann What, as Col Wilks truly observes, must have been the state of a country when such an addition as the word "Wulsa," with all its terrible significance, was permanently made to its language?

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The word is now merely a philological emiosity, for I need scarcely assure the most ignorant or most prejudiced of my countrymen, that the "Wulsa" and the British rule have long been incompatible

In 1711, society in India was in the agonies of dissolution appalling was the condition of the country, that if some strong, almost irresistible power, had not been appointed to arrest its downward progress, that great and rich peninsula would probably at this day have been as little removed from barbarism, and a never ceasing anarchy, as Abyssima. In the whole civilized world there was no country where life and property were held by tenures so precarious There was one law, if one could call it law, for the rich and powerful, and another for the poor and lowly The law for the wealthy or potent was, that they should do what seemed right in their own eyes,—oppress, torture, murder, abduct, plunder, if such seemed to promise them pleasure or advantage, and if they had the strength as well as the disposition to carry those pleasantnes into practice. There was another law for the poor man, mamely, that if he could not circumvent, or cheat, the great or petty tyrant who chose to grind him to the earth, he must submit to be ground with the best grace, and all the patience he could command.

Every tolerably comfortable man, or man blessed with a passable share of this world's goods, was squeezed according to his squeezability. The small landholder by the large proprietor; the large proprietor by the court parasite; the court parasite by the prime minister; and the prime minister, either by the sovereign, if he had energy, or by the sovereign's favourite, if he had not. There was a high maxim of state in Bengal, that the Zemindar was a sponge to lick up and absorb as much as he could draw from the Ryut, and that when he was in a fit state to be squeezed and wrung out he was to be wrung out accordingly for the benefit of the Padishah. As for the Ryut, he was plundered by all and sundry, with the addition of Thugs strangling him on the road, Dacorts at home filling his eyes with red pepper Mahrattas collecting chout, and

And mercenaties carrying off his daughter. He was a sort of human midge,—a prey alike to birds, fishes, and spiders. If he escaped from the ever caving mass of the more violent, he was sure to fall a prey into the nots of the more cuming.

In place of this frightful M elstrom,—this chaos of utter confusion and disarganisation, we have introduced system, regularity, open courts, upright judges, and written laws. Those laws may be well or ill framed, wise or loolish; they may not always be ably, however honestly, administered, but by them, and they are printed in the vernacular as well as English, every man may determine for himself what are his rights, and find how to secure redress if he is wronged. Above all, we have enforced equility in the eye of the law. By our code, and in our courts, no distinction is made between the highest noble and the poorest peasant,—between the fierce soldier and the trembling bunnes, - between the wealthy banker and his squalid debtor. "Hine illa lachrymae."—It is therefore that we are hated by the princes and nobles, by the powerful land holders, the wealthy usurers, and the military classes of India, with the bitterness which beasts of prey must feel when the morsel they are mangling is snatched from their ravenous jaws.

While you, my brethren, have been wrangling here about education, and, to speak without flattery, made yourselves, with respect to that important matter the laughing stock of all Europe, the East India Company have erected colleges, and spread innumerable schools (they will become few enough soon) throughout the length and breadth of their rule. Nay, I once saw accomplished in Bengal a thing so strange, so wonderful, that I scarcely dare to narrate it, lest in this land of sectarian and party hate, of religious and political rancour, it should seem fabulous.

A vast sum of money had been left for the purpose of founding a great seminary in Calcutta for the gratuitons education of poor children. Circumstances, needless to relate, caused it to be ruled that the testator intended to provide for the education of poor children whose parents were of every denomi-

nation of Christians Three men, neither Toiles, or Whigs, or Radicals, but honest, God fearing men, were nominated to draw up regulations for the management of the school. One was a Church of England Protestant, one was a Roman Catholic, and the third a Presbyterian. Two of the three were high ecclesi astics, and of much esteem in their respective churches, and they all belonged to a sect very much talked of, but very seldom encountered in these happy islands,—the sect of practical Christians. Well, those three christian gentlemen, earnestly striving after the right in the administration of a school of mixed christian creeds, did succeed in selecting a form of prayer, and fiaming some brief sentences of religious exhortation, founded upon, and comprehending, those glorious promises, those facts and rules of our faith in which all Christians, of whatever denomination, concur. That form and counsel were for the use and benefit of the school children collectively, leaving the nicer shades of doctrine and discipline, which distinguish the various christian communities, to be inculcated by the clergymen of that communion in which the children had been born

If by denominating a Presbyterian, and a Roman Catholic, practical Christians, I have offended any member of the Church of England, justly incensed against Calvin and the Pope, I pray him to excuse me; or if, by calling a follower of John Knox, and a follower of Martin Luther, Christians, I have offended any gentleman of the Church of Rome, I also of him crave pardon; but the fact was, as I have stated it above, and I really wish that with your astomshing Government of Great Britain, which I hold to be next to that of China in all the excellencies of "how not to do it," and "circumlocution," you would contrive to take a hint from the way we have managed such matters in the Empire of the Middle Classes, and accomplish something of the same kind at home

While the East India Company's Government were sowing sound and profitable education broadcast over their vast territory, and the English Government and people were ingeniously finding out the way "how not to do it," there was established in

the Empire of the Midle Classes another thing which ought to excite the present administrance of all fee born men, as it will excite the climination and the worder of fittie generations, when they shall read the marvellous enter of the East India Company, and judge their history with minds free from bias or propulace.

The men of the Middle Classes in India, the servants of Government being amongst the most active promoters of the movement, won the freedom of the Indian Press. The Home Government of the Middle Classes acquireced (with their tre mendous responsibilities, and, considering the nature of their rule, they could do no more)—The Home Government acquiesced in its liberation, and the press, throughout the vast empire in the East, was free, and, when a passing cloud shall have vanished, will be free again

We have, I repeat, been repreached with having done nothing, the memory whereof would survive the extinction of our rule in India. Why what are Taj Mchals, and Jumma Musjeeds, the paaces and tombs of maible and Pietro Duro, to the proudest monument of the highest civilization an unfettered press?

For the first time since the day when the ark rested on Alarat,—for the first time in the vast regions of Asia, man has dared to discuss the acts of his rulers without being driven to clothe his thoughts in apologues, wherein the elephant stands for the severeign, the lien is his commander in chief, the jackall his prime minister, the fox his treasurer, and all other brutes the people at large While Demosthenes harangued the Athemans, while the senate of awful Rome defied Hanmbal, or crushed Catiline; while the free towns of Italy glowed with all the glories of art, and the splendours of commerce; while the "Ricos hombres 'of Spain-said to their sovereign,---"Senor Don Alphonso, we took thee for our king to rule us, if you rule according to the law; if not, not!" while the Barons and the Franklins of England won liberty from the Crown:—for all those long, long ages the people of Asia grovelled, and still grovelled in the dust before their satisfies and sultains, or if they dated to

entucly of an abstract nature, and pushed no further than making birds and brutes the exponents of their griefs and wrongs as in the fables of Pilpay, and that most thresome of all apologues, the "Anwaree Soheili,"—for the first time, I repeat, in the history of Asia, "men having to advise the public might speak out"

If it was an error, it was a noble one; if it was a mistake, it was a glorious mistake, and I claim that error, if it has been one, I claim that mistake for the Government of the Middle Classes with more pride than I should claim to weave fifty new victories into the imperishable wreath of warlike glory which they have won

When I went to Bengal not longer ago than the days when the first gentleman in Europe, of whom Mr. Thackeray could discover a beautifully cut coat, waistcoat and pantaloons, but not the man, when that gracious gentleman was, I say, Regent of these realms, the Pindarrys carried fire and sword throughout nearly the whole of India, not under direct British rule "Chout," that is to say, the fourth part of your worldly goods, or death was the agreeable alternative offered, generally every cold season, by those ubiquitous marauders. Before that terrible cavalry went panic and horror; behind them they left massacre and famme, not for a few short leagues, but over vast tracts of country The wail of millions the voice of humanity, alike called upon the Government of the East India Company to sweep those monsters of rapme and cruelty from the face of the earth A great statesman, a great soldier, a truly great man, the tithe of whose worth was never recognized by any of the miserable, self seeking factions who are allowed to govern Great Butain—the Marquis of Hastings, vigorously, gloriously, and with consumnate soldiership, guided the storm which burst on the heads of those detestable brig inds, their aiders and abettors, and from the Sutlej to the Anemalee mountains, from the India Ocean to the mouths of the Berhampooter, the very name of Pindany is only remembered as we remember the great plague or the fire of London.

Nor have we saved the peaceable millions of India from this great scourge alone. The chuel Bhirman in the East, the Nepaulese first er north, the Afighann, and the Seikh, were all prepared to rish upon the prestrate and powerless g'ant, and rend away what portion of spoil their respective strength might enable them to conquer. All the neighbours of rich India, in ha commutose condition, were man festly of the opinion which Sir Ilvan Dhu, of Lochiel, entertuned concerning the Suxon Lowlands, that it was a place "where all men took their prey," and, generally speaking, both friends and foes considered the whole country as certain African tribes consider a caravan—a 'dum fong long," or thing to be devouted. Our shield was spread over the prostrate land; the Bhirman was humbled; the Scikh subdued; the Nipauleso swept back into the depths of their mountains, the Affghauns taught to dreadafee whom no disasters could intimidate — India was saved at once from domestic anarchy, no less than from the swage spoliation of ferecious and barbarous foreign conquerors For the first time for more than a century there was through the length and breadth of that vast country, IEACE, security, safety for life and property-a blessed calm, such as the oldest man alive could not remember. Well may the rebellious scroy Havildar have said, in his me morial to the mock Emperor of Delhi, that they could not improve upon the system of British rule—"the best the country had ever felt" Well may the mutinous army and mutinous nobles in their recent proclamations have urged no word of reproach against our Government, our courts of law, our justice, om fiscal system, or om general administration. They dared not to bring charges of tyranny or mismanagement, or want of integrity in our functionaries which every man could refute from his own experience; they could only put forth that miserable trash about making them Christians by fraud or force, to give some colour to their nefluious proceedings

I say nothing of the abolition of those exhibiting acts of faith by which hundreds of children were annually consigned to the sharks and alligators at Saugor, while hundreds of widows devoted themselves to the suttee fires all over Bengal, Behar,

and Orissa Nevertheless, it was effected by the Government of the East India Company. The powerful princes of the House of Timoor no doubt viewed those infernal fruits of the idol worship which they hated with infinite abhorrence, but they did not dare to attempt their suppression; to dare and to do was reserved for the Empire of the Middle Classes.

Two blacks do not make one white, wrong does not justify wrong; but we are told by words, in which there can be no error, to take the beam out of our own eye before we seek the mote in the eye of our neighbour. Now, when the press and the platform of England ask us in a tone of virtuous indignation, "What have you done for India?" we may, perhaps, be permitted meekly to ask in return, What have you done for Ireland?—a country conquered and held by England under cucumstances not altogether dissimilar England, not through a government of the Middle Class, but through a government of the three estates of the realm, ruled conquered heland as it thought fit for six centuries; but deduct four of contusion and unavoidable misrule, and say, that from about the restoration of the second Charles until the colonation of Queen Victoria the English Government of Ireland was more or less systematic and orderly; carried on in a Christian, or, at all events, a Protestant spirit, and having the welfare of the people for its object. Now compare the state of Ireland, close to your own doors remember, after you had ruled it for about a hundred and fifty years, or from the time of Charles the Second up to the end of the last century, and the state of India after we had been puramount in that country not quite fifty years.

The East India Company, mind, had been beset during that period by enormous difficulties, constantly engaged in wars, not of their own sceking, and not unfrequently hampered by the shifting factions, called Governments, at home. Still have the goodness to compare the state of Ireland in 1798 with that of India in 1848. Take the worst, by which I mean the most exaggerated account of our courts in India, and compare them with the Orange tribunals in Ireland with a party judge on the bench, and a party jury in the jury box, things familiar enough

up to a late within the remove of elderly men. Take the condition of the frish peasant, his hut, I is attire, his me us of subsistence, his ignorance his beggary, up to the time in ques tion—aye, and long after Why, if I were to attempt to elevate him to the condition of the Hindoo Ryut, as soon as peace and , a strong government secured to him the finite of he labours, the gods of Swerg i would buist into a laughter as loud as that of their brothien of Olympus As for torture in India, of which I may have to say more, there was, in the year 1798 and there abouts, a pleasant quantity and agreeable variety in Ireland, not practise I chandestinely by misbelieving heathens, and sons of Mahoun, carefully concealing it from their European super riors, but inflicted under orders, and sometimes under the direct supervision of public functionaries calling themselves Christians and Englishmen, glittering with gorgets, and epaulettes and plumes, and all manner of beautiful pumphernalia. There was a man about seven feet high, called the walking gibbet; by an ingenious process a noose was slipped over the suspected Vinegar Hill man's nack, and the end of the rope over the giand's shoul -1dor, in an instant the supposed pikeman was hoisted with his feet off the ground, and let down again every twenty seconds or half a minute, to take breath, and be asked if he would make a clean breast. Then there was the Town Major and the "cat" A friend of mine, an Irish artist of some emmence, was within half an hour of the triangle and cat-of-nine trils at the Riding House Dublin, Lecause he happened to be in the name of a croppy schoolmaster at Cork, who wrote short hand, in which Mi C was also an adept. The hum me object was, to flog him until he confessed—what, he never had the good fortune to learn

Now, all this, and much more, in the shape of agrarian out rige, privy conspiracy and relellion, barbarism, want, and ignorance, was, after you had held Ireland for five or six centuries, and for one-and a-half, or thereabouts, ruled it more or less constitutionally, after the King, Lords, and Commons method It was an Island but little separated from your own, and, so to speak, under your very noses, where a vast proportion of the poc-

ple spoke your own tongue and where those of your own faith were amongst the most hardy and bravest of mankind; where you had hundreds of thousands of energetic, sagacious, Scotch and English settlers to aid you in the work of good govern , ment and civilization; and yet, with all those prodigious advantages, what a precious business you made of ruling your conquered country? You may urge the difficulties imposed by a difference of religion between the rulers and the ruled; but at least, you all were, or pretended to be, Chustians that the fervois of Catholicism, and the vehemence of Protestantism, threw great obstacles in the way of good govern ment in Ireland, what were those to the greater, which beset the progress of the East India Company and its servants in India? The fierce faith of the Mussulman the cold, unap proachable bigotry of the Hindoo all to be dominated and kept within the bounds of the public good, by the aid of no greater power than a mere handful of despised Nazareens and unclean **Feringhees**

But, you may say, "nous avons change tout cela;" good! be it admitted; you have done so by the aid of a famine. Well, give us, the government of the Middle Classes, another century (we don't want the famine), and then revile us as much as you please, if we shall not well and nobly have accomplished our mission; but to expect us to do in a hundred years, in India, what you have been six hundred in accomplishing in Ireland, is somewhat hard measure.

Do not imagine, from all this, that I uphold the Government of the East India Company—The Empire of the Middle Classes as at all approaching to a perfect or model Government, it is full of imperfections; but, with all its errors and shortcomings, I maintain that it is the most wonderful and admirable Government of a conquered country the world has ever witnessed. Well-intentioned, humane, moderate, earnestly desirous of the people's good;—with not one sinecure on its immense establishments,—with Courts where the poorest subject may, with no leave, but his own will, institute a suit against the Sovereign, and generally gain it, as Government knows to

the cost, for, if the judge last my upprehension to us lest he should be birsed, or, appear to be birsed, in two nof the State—the true feelings of an English gentleman, but, rather unfavourable to the pleadings of the Government Vaccel

I maintain that our Linpire, the settle I portion, has for years past been better, been more liberally governed, than any country in Europe, excepting Great Brutain, Prince, and Prussia. Anativy of the country might do what he pleased, go where he pleased, and say what he pleased, so that E injuned not his neighbours There was universal teleration and protection for all religions there was no conscription no press-gang. The taxes were fixed; not heavy, nor inequitable. There was no privileged class exempted from impost; there was no favoured class to profit by a Corn Law. There were no passports a conquered country no passports! and, there was also, in that conquered country a Free Press. This last, at least showed, that our intention was to rule well, whether we succeeded or There was no Court, no unemployed placemen; no poor and idle anistocracy, living upon the toil of the people, there was—but let another voice than mine speak in graver accents, words infinitely more wort by of attention.

The present Bishop of Calcutta, Bishop Wilson, is known wherever piety, singleheartedness, and all the virtues of a true Christian divine are held in honour. He has resided more than twenty years in India. He has visited, more than once nearly every part of that immense territory, and been in communication with high and low of all creeds. He, a pilgrim of God, whose staff even I am unworthy to truch, is too sincere to colour, too honest to flatter,—he values nothing that the greatest Government on earth can bestow; for yet, a little time, and his, by the blessing of Gol, will be that glorious reward, beyond all price, such as this world cannot offer.

In his sermon, preached at Calcutta on the recent day of humiliation, Bishop Wilson expresses himself thus.—"Things were better with them than they were formerly—all had been moving on in the right direction for more than fifty years, past Never was there" a more just or beneficent Government than

that of the British power in India Peace and security for property have prevailed—commerce, and all the Western improvements in medicine and the arts have been encouraged every man stood equal before the laws—the administration of justice was pure—the taxes were of moderate weight. Then, as to Christianity, ministers of every name and class—missionaries from all the different societies—were protected and honomed churches had been raised, and native converts had been made in large numbers. Charitable designs, to meet new forms of destitution, were liberally supported. Christian education, in all their missions, and national education, not excluding Christianity, though not directly teaching it, was spreading throughout the country. His Lordship concluded, by exhort ing his hearers to cast themselves upon the Almighty in the present necessity, to live better lives for the future, ar pray earnestly for the restoration of peace and tranquilli their country."*

Years hence, other hearers of other Bishops may prothe restoration of that rule under which all that Bishop has so truly enunciated was effected, or so The Rule of the Directors of the Common Common fitting Rulers for The Empire

* Extract from a Calcutia Journal

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