Lancashire invested it with no common feelings of anxiety, and afforded some excuse for the thoughtless clamour indulged in by some of the manufacturers in that county.

But the subject of the growth of American cotton was not a new one in India. As long ago as 1843 experimental farms for its cultivation were formed by the East India Company in different parts of the country, and when, by the success of these experiments, the capability of growing American cotton in India had been established, supplies of fresh seeds were distributed to the ryots, and, in order to give ample encouragement to them, the Directors of the East India Company undertook to buy all cotton of a certain quality at a fixed price. By these means they proved India's capacity to grow American cotton, but it was for the consumer and not the Government to decide whether its production should be encouraged and increased by such a price as would induce the natives of India to cultivate it. The British merchants did not offer the price required, and, as a natural and certain consequence, the growth of the superior kinds of cotton fell off, and the producers grew only that material which was best suited to their own or the China market.

Lord Dalhousie, on his annexation of Nagpore, had seen the importance of the cotton question. "The possession of that country," he wrote, "will materially "aid in supplying a want, upon the secure supply of "which much of the manufacturing prosperity of "England depends."

In the early part of 1861, before the commencement of the American war, Lord Canning, seeing the probability of a rupture between the north and south in the United States, and anticipating the certainty of a greatly and suddenly increased demand for Indian cotton in England, published a resolution drawing the attention of the local governments to measures for meeting the demand that was likely to arise.

All information on the subject was to be collected from public records, and, when obtained, was to be freely distributed all over the country to producers. The demand likely to occur in England, and the ruling prices, were also rapidly to be communicated to them.

Agents of the mercantile community were invited to visit the cotton-producing districts. The Government offered the aid of the public treasuries in the interior to capitalists in their banking arrangements; an official inspection of country cart and bullock tracks was ordered; and an offer was made to pay the expenses of any gentlemen connected with the trade who would accompany the officers so employed, and "observe "and report on any obstacles other than physical "which may appear to impede the cotton trade."

Handbooks on the cultivation of cotton in India were compiled in each presidency, and prizes of 1,000*l.* in Bengal, Madras, and Bombay were offered for the largest quantity of cotton combined with the best quality grown on any one estate.

These measures were all sanctioned and generally approved of by Sir Charles Wood.

In July of the same year the Manchester Cotton Supply Association deputed Mr. Haywood, their secretary, to proceed to India. The services of Dr. Forbes, superintendent of the Dharwar Cotton Gin Factory, who was in England at the time, were at once placed by Sir Charles Wood at the disposal of the company. Mr. Haywood, however, on his arrival in India, refused to buy any cotton. The people, believing that he had come to purchase, flocked round him, offering even to keep their cotton till his return from upper India; but his authority to purchase for the company had been withdrawn, if ever granted, before he touched the shores of India.

Indeed, the affairs of the association seem to have been sadly mismanaged at Sedashagur. While the agents of Bombay houses were active and busy, making the most of all available means, buying land, building sheds and boats, setting up steam-mills and cotton presses, the agents of the association were watching valuable machinery rusting on the shore, and doing little more than constructing an office with expensive materials imported from England!

The most pressing orders were sent by Sir Charles Wood for the construction of a road up the Khyga Ghaut, to Dharwar, and a large body of workmen were collected on the spot; but fever seized upon the labourers with a virulence which killed many, weakened more, and drove away the rest in fear and panic. No inducement that could be offered would tempt them to return to what they imagined certain death. In this state of things a road was

commenced over the Arbyle Ghaut, and within a few months was opened to within half a mile of Sedashagur, and this road was completed before the cotton-presses from England had been set up.

The energetic Governor of Bombay, Sir Bartle Frere, himself visited the fever-stricken districts. "Almost "every man," he wrote, "that we met had been, or "was when we saw him, fever-stricken, and, from the "miserable emaciated figures, and enlarged spleens of "the poor wretches, I can well believe the tales we "were told of its ravages among the wild, ill-fed, ill-"clothed people of these forest tracts. It seems to "strike terror into every class, especially the work-"men, who abscond after a few day's stay, and cannot "now be got to engage at all on the ghaut works."

It was not, however, only for the construction of roads for the conveyance of cotton that labour was deficient; the crops could not be properly got in from the same cause. In Berar, the great cotton-field of India, said Dr. Forbes, "manual labour is still more "scanty. The produce, as it is picked from the field, "is piled up in one large heap in the open air, where "it remains sometimes for months, until labour can be "obtained. Although the cultivation of native cotton "is capable of extension to an enormous degree, yet "the amount of manual labour available is barely "sufficient to clean the quantity now produced; any "large extension without the aid of cleaning ma-"chinery, therefore, cannot be expected; and this "remark is the more applicable, when it is considered "that the chief increase of cotton cultivation must be

" looked for in new districts, such as those of Central " India, where population is thin and scarcely suffi- " cient to till the land."

Mr. Stanborough. who was for some time settled in Berar, reported that the amount of labour employed on the railroads and construction of roads seriously interfered with the cultivation of cotton: indeed, a similar complaint of the scarcity of labourers was received from all parts of India.

The Government, however, did not relax its efforts for facilitating the conveyance of cotton from the fields of production.

In the year 1861-2 more than half a million of money was applied, out of a total expenditure on public works of 4,742,183*l*., for the purposes of facilitating the conveyance of cotton. In Bengal the able Lieutenant-Governor, Sir John Peter Grant, devoted much time to the construction of roads, which enabled the cotton of Singboom to be conveyed to the Grand Trunk Road and to the railway. In the following years not much less than half a million has been annually expended on cotton roads alone.

In the Madras Presidency the Godavery had been surveyed with a view to its being created a navigable river many years ago, and numerous plans and estimates had been framed, but no operations on a large scale were begun until the year 1861. As a matter of emergency, in the cotton famine of 1862 an attempt was made to surmount the obstacles formed by the three great rocky barriers, by temporarily constructed tramways being made at the points where

the stream was unnavigable, by which means goods passing down the river were transported on carts beyond the rapids; but this necessity for breaking bulk proved very inconvenient and expensive. In 1863, therefore, the entire force of labour that could be obtained was thrown on the completion of the works in the river, which were ordered to be pushed on as rapidly as possible: the object being the rapid transmission of cotton from the plateau of Berar to the seaboard—a line of navigation upwards of three hundred miles in length, over which it is hoped that, after the completion of the works, boats will be enabled to pass during six months in the year. The same dispersion of the labourers, however, from fever, which occurred in Canara, was also experienced in these works.

The cotton-fields of Berar and Surat are now penetrated by the Great Indian Peninsula, and the Bombay and Baroda Railways. Before this, cotton from the former district had to be carried to the port of Bombay, a distance of 450 or 500 miles, on the backs of bullocks, whose average pace was one mile per hour, or in small country carts. Had the American war found India less provided with internal means of rapid communication, Lancashire would have been deprived of her best source of mitigating the calamity which fell so heavily upon her; and, notwithstanding the impetus given to the cotton-trade by increased price, it would have been impossible that the exports of that article could have increased, as they actually did, from 1,717,240 cwts. in 1859 to 4,911,843 cwts.

in 1863-4, while, even after the cessation of hostilities in the United States, they were not less than 4,663,808 cwts. in 1864-5.

"We have no want of means," said Sir Bartle Frere, the Governor of Bombay, "nor of encouragement from the Government of India, or from the "Secretary of State, to do our duty by the country; "not only have they sanctioned all that we could "show was required, but in all their communications "they have not ceased to urge on us the necessity for "making due provision for the wants of the cotton-"trade."

Great complaints were made in England about the inferior quality and adulteration of Surat cotton, which was no doubt bad; but this arose in great part from the system of purchase encouraged by the European merchants, almost holding out a premium for fraud. The price given was for quantity, not quality.

In the warehouses of Dharwar a regular system of cotton adulteration existed; on one side of the sheds was a heap of Dharwar cotton of superior growth, on the other a heap of dirty and inferior cotton to be mixed with it; but this was not all: stones, rubbish, the sweepings of warehouses, and refuse of every description, were promiscuously mingled together; and thus, if the quality was deteriorated, the quantity and weight were unmistakably increased.

The only step which the Government could take to prevent the adulteration of the staple was to pass an Act punishing fraudulent adulterations with heavy penalties; and a law to effect this was enacted in

Bombay, which to a large extent prevented such dishonest practices.

All having been done that was legitimate on the part of a Government, and perhaps a little more, in furtherance of the growth and export of cotton, the rest was wisely left to private enterprise, and to those unfailing laws which govern supply and demand; and the increase in the amount of cotton received from India has justified the expectation that to those laws might safely be left the encouragement of its production.

CHAPTER XI.

EDUCATION.

WHILE the measures for the material improvement of the people of India engrossed so much of Sir Charles Wood's time, their mental and moral welfare was by no means neglected.

It is impossible to speak of the progress of education during the last seven years, without referring to the despatch of the Court of Directors in 1854, which was prepared under Sir Charles Wood's directions, and which has ever since been considered as the charter of education in India.

In words which read almost like the commencement of a paraphrase of Dr Johnson's celebrated epitaph on Goldsmith, it was said by a speaker in the House of Lords, "that it had left no part of the "question of education in India untouched, and it "dealt with every branch of the subject judiciously "and effectually."

In that elaborate document a plan was laid down, complete in all its parts from the highest to the lowest, from the enlarged system of university and collegiate education down to the poor village schools; and, as Lord Dalhousie said, "it left nothing to be desired,

" if indeed it did not authorise and direct that more " should be done than is within our present grasp."

In accordance with the instructions contained in that despatch, educational departments were formed in every Presidency and every Lieutenant-Governorship, and inspectors and other officers were attached to those departments.

The London University was taken as the model on which the establishment of the universities was to be framed, due allowance being made for the various conditions of the inhabitants of India, differing so widely as they do from one another in many important particulars.

Professorships, for the delivery of lectures on subjects of science, were instituted in connection with the universities, and special degrees were awarded for proficiency in the vernacular languages, as well as Sanskrit, Arabic, and Persian.

The schools for the education of natives throughout the length and breadth of British India required some assistance, not only for their establishment, but for their maintenance when established. Anxious, however, as Sir Charles Wood was to provide that " useful and practical knowledge suited to every sta- " tion in life should be conveyed to the great mass " of the people who were utterly incapable of " obtaining any education worthy of the name by " their own unaided efforts," he felt that, while granting additional sums for the purpose, the Government resources were inadequate alone to carry out so large a scheme of education of the natives as

he contemplated, and he desired, moreover, to enlist as much as possible the interests and exertions of the natives themselves in favour of education. He therefore determined to found the general education in India on the basis of grants in aid to all schools, irrespective of the religious opinions of those who promoted or conducted them, and to observe an entire abstinence from interference with the religious instruction conveyed in the schools assisted. Thus were the spontaneous efforts of the people in the cause of education fostered and encouraged, with the assistance of considerably increased expenditure from the revenue.

It will be obvious to all who are acquainted with India, how important it was that this question of religious instruction should be properly settled, if any general extension of education was to be effected.

The co-operation of the natives could not be expected unless their religious feelings and prejudices were respected, and, on the other hand, it was necessary to avoid alienating the Christian teachers and missionaries by whom some of the best and most efficient of the schools in India were conducted.

The question was agitated with great eagerness how far the Bible should be introduced into Government schools, and whether clergymen should be employed in the educational department.

Both these points were happily settled by adopting the principle acted on in the Irish system of education, of not allowing religious instruction to be given as part of the system of the Government schools, and of

making grants in aid to all schools, Christian, Mahomedan, or Hindoo.

The Bible was placed in the libraries of all the Government schools, and instruction in the Bible, and in the tenets and doctrines of Christianity, was allowed to be given to all pupils at their own request, and in any manner most convenient, out of school hours.

Without any unnecessary interference with the freedom of individual thought and private views, it was laid down as an inviolable rule that no person in the service of the Government should make use of the influence of his position under Government for the purpose of proselytism. In a few cases, clergymen possessed of special qualifications were employed as professors, but they were not generally allowed to act as inspectors of schools. Sir Charles Wood had consulted officers of the Government who had the greatest experience and knowledge of the natives, and also some of the ablest of the conductors of the missionary establishments; and he had come to the firm conviction "that the extension of the Christian religion in India "must be left to the voluntary efforts of individuals and "societies, and that the interference of Government "would tend, by inflaming the religious prejudices of "the natives, to check, rather than promote this "object."

More than once had he emphatically to lay down the principle enunciated so clearly and impartially in the despatch of 1854, and confirmed by Lord Stanley's despatch of 1859, that religious instruction must be sought by the pupils of their own free will; that the

giving, as well as receiving, instruction must be equally voluntary; that it must be given out of school hours, so as not to interfere in any way with the course of instruction in the schools; and that it should not be noticed by the inspectors in their periodical visits.

By these rules, openly avowed, and strictly adhered to, Sir Charles Wood, without yielding to the views of either extreme party in this country, secured alike the respect and co-operation of all parties in England and India; and during his tenure of office no religious animosities, so often fatal to the cause of religion itself, were raised or perpetuated.

Large funds for the promotion of education were provided from native resources; and, as regards the Government expenditure, Sir Charles Wood was firmly convinced that whatever was incurred would, in the words of Sir Thomas Munro, so appropriately used at the conclusion of his despatch, "be amply repaid by "the improvement of the country; for the general "diffusion of knowledge is inseparably followed by "more orderly habits, by increasing industry, by a "taste for the comforts of life, by exertions to acquire "them, and by the growing prosperity of the country."

The grant-in-aid system, inaugurated in 1854, has been successful beyond all expectation, the voluntary donations of the people being met by contributions of equal value on the part of the Government, while the outlay on education generally has been amply provided for and increased.

Since 1859 there has been little to do but to watch with pleasure and satisfaction the progress of education,

under the principles laid down in the despatch of 1854. Candidates for the universities, as well as those who have taken degrees, have increased rapidly in number, and the admission of the pupils to the various colleges and schools throughout India has been on a greatly augmented scale.

In Madras an Act was passed empowering villages to tax themselves for the support of schools; and the example may probably lead to similar efforts being made in other parts of India.

In 1861-2 the expenditure from the public revenue was 322,593*l.*, and in the budget estimate of 1866-67 no less than 763,230*l.* has been allotted to this purpose.

Notwithstanding the deep-rooted prejudices existing in India against female education, the number of girls under instruction has largely increased. Mr. Drinkwater Bethune, when Legislative Member of Council, and President of the Council of Education at Calcutta, had given every encouragement to the formation of female schools throughout British India, and he established one in that city for girls, the children of natives of wealth and rank. His exertions in the cause were cordially seconded by Lord Dalhousie, who, on Mr. Bethune's death in 1851, adopted and supported the school, until his departure from India, when, so impressed was he with its importance, that he recorded his high opinion of the institution in terms which induced the home authorities to undertake from that time its entire pecuniary maintenance. There are now, however, other causes at work tending to the

same desirable end, and the augmented number of pupils may be immediately attributed, says the director of public instruction in Bengal, "to the growing "influence of the young men, who have received the "full advantages of a high university education in "the different colleges throughout the country."

At Lahore, Sir Robert Montgomery, the able Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, held an educational durbar in 1865, and received deputations from the native chiefs and gentry, of the Mahomedan, Hindoo, and Sikh creeds, anxious to develope further the education of young women, and offering as a tribute and proof of their sincerity in the cause, an annual sum towards the scheme, in the hope that the future mothers of their chiefs and owners of the land might be capable of rearing a race of enlightened sons, who, by their education and advanced civilization, should be able to take their proper places in the administration of the affairs of their native country.

Amongst the supporters of the movement Sir Robert Montgomery mentions Baba Khan Sing, the most revered gooroo, or religious teacher, in the Punjab, of noble descent, who has himself established 75 schools, attended by 1,172 girls, increasing the total number now under instruction to 9,000.

In 1863 a scheme of general education for the province of Oude, prepared by the Chief Commissioner, Mr. Wingfield, was sanctioned. In its leading features it was similar to those which have been introduced with so much success in other districts of India, and will probably be found to afford sufficient scope for the

action of the local administration for some years to come.

The talookdars of Oude, anxious to perpetuate their grateful remembrance of Lord Canning, have instituted, at Lucknow, a college to be called after his name, in which a separate department is constituted where the children of the chiefs and principal landowners of the province may receive their education; but the college will also be thrown open to the natives of the country generally. An annual grant, equal in amount to the endowment of the talookdars, will be made by Government.

The rich merchants of Bombay, following the noble example of enlightened liberality set before them by Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy, whose gifts to, and endowments of, charitable and educational institutions in Bombay during twenty years amounted to upwards of 200,000*l.*, have largely contributed to various similar objects. Mr. David Sassoon's name will long be remembered in connection with a reformatory established by him; Mr. Rustomjee Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy has offered 10,000*l.* for the promotion of English education in Guzerat and Bombay, besides, in conjunction with his brothers, spending 1,200*l.* on the School of Arts in the Presidency town.

Large contributions have been given by Mr. Chesetjee Furdonjee to the foundation of a school at Surat; Mr. Premchund Roychund has placed at the disposal of the Government 1,200*l.* and a house for a girls' school; while Mr. Mungaldas Nathabhoy has founded a travelling fellowship for Hindoos in the

Bombay University, at a cost of 2,000*l*., and has endowed a professorship of economic science, as well as provided funds for building the Civil Engineering College at Poona.

Whether, therefore, we look to these generous and magnificent donations, to the increased interest shown in education by the chiefs in Oude and the Punjab, or to the appreciation of these advantages manifested by the poorer natives, and the readiness evinced, in many quarters, to come forward in support of the schools, we cannot but believe that, under the blessing of God, we have good grounds for satisfaction for the present, and hope for the future.

CHAPTER XII.

POLITICAL.

When Sir Charles Wood entered upon his duties as Secretary of State for India, the mutiny and rebellion of 1857-58 had been trampled out; but it still remained for the British Government, by a wise and generous policy, to restore confidence to the princes and nobles of the land, and to render permanent the peace which, in the first instance, had been accomplished by the strength and valour of our arms. As our enemies had been punished, so were our friends to be rewarded. This good work Lord Canning was pushing forward with congenial energy; and he was warmly supported by Sir Charles Wood, who addressed letters to many of our most faithful friends and adherents, thanking them in the name of the Queen, for the good services, "more precious than gold and silver," which they had rendered to the British Government. Throughout his administration, Sir Charles Wood has scrupulously abstained from aggression or annexation; what is known as the adoption policy of Lord Canning was cordially accepted by him; and in reply to the Governor-General's despatch on this important sub-

ject, he wrote:—"It is not by the extension of our "empire that its permanence is to be secured, but by "the character of British rule in the territories already "committed to our care, and by practically demon- "strating that we are as willing to respect the rights "of others, as we are capable of maintaining our "own."

While such sentiments pervaded the minds of the authorities both in London and at Calcutta, it is not surprising that nothing has occurred to mar the perfect tranquillity which has prevailed within the limits of India since 1859.

The only occasions on which British troops have been called into action were three affairs on the frontier; the first in Sikkim, the second at the Umbeyla Pass, and the third in Bhootan. "With "regard to these frontier raids," as Lord Dalhousie said in his memorable minute summing up the political events that had occurred, the measures that were taken, and the progress made during the course of his administration, "they are and must for the "present be viewed as events inseparable from the "state of society which for centuries past has existed "among the mountain tribes. They are no more to "be regarded as interruptions to the general peace in "India than the street brawls which appear among "the every-day proceedings of a police-court in "London are regarded as indications of the existence "of civil war in England."

The cases referred to form no exception to Lord Dalhousie's principle.

At the end of the year 1860 the outrages committed on British subjects by the Rajah of Sikkim and his minister compelled the Government of India to send a force into that country, in order to obtain satisfaction for the injuries which had been inflicted. In sanctioning this expedition, Sir Charles Wood expressed his cordial approval of the instructions given to the political officer, that a strict line should be drawn between the ruler, whose offensive conduct demanded reprisals, and the inhabitants of the country, to whom all possible consideration was to be shown. The military operations were brought to a successful close; the just punishment of the minister was obtained; and a treaty was negotiated, providing for free commercial intercourse with and through the country. "Her Majesty's Government," wrote Sir Charles Wood to Lord Canning, "hope that the "moderation evinced by your declared intention not "to annex any portion of the Sikkim territory to the "British empire, will contribute as much to the main- "tenance of a lasting peace, as it did to the speedy "conclusion of the war."

In 1863 another expedition was undertaken to repress the marauding incursions of Mahomedan freebooters on the North-western frontier. Some of the fanatical Mahomedan tribes on the border, taking alarm at the approach of our troops, opposed their progress, but after some resistance they were signally defeated, and, finding what was the real object of our advance, several of their chiefs, at the instance of Major James, whose influence over them was very

great, joined our troops in person, and conducted them to the stronghold of the marauders, which however was found to have been evacuated and destroyed before their arrival.

Shortly afterwards, the long-continued robberies of the Bhooteas, and ultimately their gross ill-treatment of a British envoy who had been sent to them in the hope of averting the necessity of hostile operations which had been contemplated by Lord Canning, rendered it imperative on the Indian Government to vindicate the honour of England, and take some security for their better behaviour in the future. The military operations were of a very trivial nature, and were brought to a close by a treaty, concluded with the Bhootan Rajas, the passes in the mountains through which the plundering expeditions issued on the plain having been placed in the hands of the British authorities.

While, then, the arm of the Government has not been slow to defend its subjects against attack from without, instances have not been wanting in which states under British rule have been restored to their native princes, and rights have been confirmed to native chiefs, in a spirit of liberality well calculated to increase our power.

In 1861 Kolapoor, which had been in the hands of the British Government since the suppression of the insurrection in 1845, was restored to the management of the Rajah, a young man twenty-seven years of age, anxious to assume the control of the affairs of his native country. In 1864 the administration of the

principality of Dhar, which had been confiscated on account of the rebellion of its mercenary troops in the troubles of 1857, was restored to the Rajah. It had been Lord Stanley's intention, when in office, to have effected this restoration, but the age, inexperience, and incapacity of the young Rajah prevented its being concluded before 1864.

Sir Charles Wood's tenure of office has not, however, been destitute of political questions of grave importance, one of which—his grant to the Mahomedan princes of Mysore in 1859–60—created much comment and dissatisfaction in India.

After the death of Tippoo Saib at the storming of Seringapatam in 1799, these princes and their families had been removed to Vellore, and an allowance of about 77,000*l.* per annum was settled upon them. Their supposed complicity in the Vellore mutiny in 1806 entailed upon them their removal to Calcutta, and the forfeiture of any claim on the British Government. They lived in seclusion at Russapugla, under the superintendence of a British officer, and were treated as royal pensioners by the Indian Government; but the profligacy and the disreputable course of life pursued by several of them tended neither to their advantage nor honour, nor to that of the Government.

In this state of things, Sir Charles Wood was very anxious that the settlement should be broken up and the Mysore stipendiaries absorbed in the general mass of the people. He was desirous to place them in a better position as regarded their

own independence and power of utility; and, at the same time, to relieve the Government of India from the charge of a numerous and increasing body of pensioners. He proposed therefore to allow each member of the family to settle where he pleased away from Calcutta, free from any Government supervision; and, in order to place this in their power, he proposed to create an amount of India stock, the interest of which should make provision for their incomes. The sum allotted for their permanent provision amounted to 17,000*l.* per annum for their lives. An equal amount was assigned to the existing heads of families for their lives, and a certain sum was granted for the purchase of houses elsewhere than in Calcutta. The whole provision was very far below the sum originally set apart for their maintenance, or the interest of the sum which had accrued to the Government by withholding part of it for so many years.

"When I review," says Sir Charles Wood in his despatch of the 4th of February, 1861, "all the circum-
"stances of British relations with the families of Hyder
"Ali and Tippoo Sultan, from the time of the conquest
"of Mysore; when I advert to the terms of the treaty
"of 1799,—to the revenues of the territory assigned
"for the maintenance of the family; when I consider
"the intentions of the framers of the treaty, the
"recorded opinions of Lord Wellesley, and especially
"of the Duke of Wellington, who remonstrated
"against the illiberal manner in which effect was given
"to a treaty he helped to negotiate; when I refer to
"the accounts of the 'appropriated Mysore Deposit

" 'Fund,' and know that in the year 1806, when neither " of the contingencies contemplated in the treaty as " grounds for a reduction of the payments to the " family had occurred, there were accumulations to " the credit of the fund greater than the amounts " which I have ordered to be distributed amongst " existing members of the family; when I consider " that since that time the sums actually paid to the " descendants of Hyder Ali and Tippoo Sultan fell " short of those specified in the treaty by a larger " amount than that which I have ordered to be " capitalized, as a permanent provision for the family; " that the annual amount now paid to existing incum- " bents is below that stated in the treaty; and that, " on the death of these incumbents, many of whom " are of advanced age, the territories assigned for " the maintenance of the family will revert to the " British Government in perpetuity, free from all " charge or incumbrance; and when I bear in mind " the claims of a body of men, descended from a " sovereign prince, to generous sympathy and bene- " ficent treatment, and the benefit which they will " derive from being placed in a position of honourable " independence, I cannot think that the demands of " justice and humanity would have been satisfied by " any less liberal arrangement than that which has " been directed by her Majesty's Government."

Another question of a similar nature, which had more than once been discussed in Parliament, was Azeem Jah's claim to be recognized as the titular Nawab of the Carnatic. In the early wars during the last

century with the French, the ancestor of Azeem Jah, Mahomed Ali, one of the pretenders to the Nawabship, was our ally, and his claim was supported by the English, as that of his rival was by the French. On the ultimate victory of the English, he was rewarded by being established as the independent sovereign of the Carnatic. In 1795 Mahomed Ali was succeeded by his son, Omdut ul Omrah. At the time, however, of Tippoo Saib's most violent hostility to the British Government, the Nawabs, both father and son, forgetting the obligations by which they should have been bound, entered into correspondence with him; and proofs were discovered at the capture of Seringapatam, which satisfied Lord Wellesley, and the ablest men at the time in India, of their treachery.

On the death of Omdut ul Omrah, which almost immediately ensued, in 1801, Azeem ul Dowlah was placed on the throne, and a treaty was signed with him, in the same year, by which a certain income and certain privileges were assured to him for life; the British Government "remaining at "liberty to exercise its rights, founded on the faith-"less policy of its ally, in whatever manner might "be deemed most conducive to the immediate safety, "and to the general interests of the Company in the "Carnatic. Thus," said Lord Dalhousie in his minute of the 19th of December, 1855, "in 1801 the terri-"tories of the Nawab of the Carnatic were at the "absolute disposal of the British Government."

In 1819 Azeem ul Dowlah died, and his son, Azeem Jah, was recognized as his successor. On the

death of the latter, in 1825, his infant son, Mahomed Ghouse, succeeded, and during his minority his affairs were conducted by his uncle Azeem Jah, the term of whose administration was rendered conspicuous by an exhausted exchequer, enormous debts, hideous profligacy, and fraudulent proceedings tending "to bring high "station to disrepute, and favouring the accumulation "of an idle and dissipated population in the chief "city of the presidency."

On the death of Mahomed Ghouse, without children, in 1855, the friends of Azeem Jah in this country, founding their pretensions on the treaty of 1801, claimed for him the Nawabship of the Carnatic, and its rights and dignities, as hereditary. Lord Harris and Lord Dalhousie both refused to place Azeem Jah on the throne; the Home Government, when Mr. Vernon Smith was President of the Board of Control, confirmed their decision; but again and again was Sir Charles Wood pressed to confer the sovereignty on Azeem Jah.

Had he consented, he would have reversed the decision of Lord Clive, Lord Wellesley, Lord Dalhousie and Lord Harris, and would have entailed on India the mischief of more royal puppets, whose ancestral names and dynastic traditions made them often the rallying points of disaffection and treason. Sir Charles Wood firmly, and more than once, resisted these appeals, founded, as they were, on erroneous grounds and inaccurate statements.

The members of the late Mahomed Ghouse's immediate family had been already liberally provided

for, and Sir Charles Wood increased Prince Azeem Jah's allowance to 15,000*l.* a year; consenting to recognize his position as that of "the first nobleman "of the Carnatic."

The most important political question which arose during Sir Charles Wood's tenure of office was, whether the administration of the affairs of Mysore, of which the Rajah had been deprived in the year 1834, should be restored to him.

About a hundred years ago, Mysore was an independent state, under the rule of a Hindoo Rajah. Hyder Ali, a Mahomedan adventurer in the service of the Rajah, deposed his master and usurped the government of the country, which he conducted with great ability. He was succeeded, in 1782, by his son Tippoo Saib, whose inveterate hostility to the British Government was only terminated by his death at the capture of Seringapatam and the conquest of Mysore in 1799. Part of the territory of Mysore ruled over by these Mahomedan princes was taken possession of by the British Government, part was assigned to the Nizam, who had been the ally of the English during the war. The remainder, with some additional territory, was formed into a separate state, and a young child, a descendant of the old Rajahs of Mysore, was taken from prison, and placed in possession of it, the arrangements being sanctioned in a treaty concluded between the British Government and the Nizam. From this treaty the Rajah's title is derived. In addition to this, a treaty was made with the Rajah, called the Subsidiary Treaty of Mysore, which

contained the relations and defined the conditions which were to subsist between the British Government and the Rajah. It was stipulated that a certain annual sum should be paid to defray the expense of an auxiliary force, and, in default of payment, territory might be taken as security. The Rajah bound himself to be guided by the advice of the British Government, and provision was also made for "assuming "the management and collection of the said terri- "tories, as the Governor-General in Council shall "judge most expedient, for the purpose of securing "the efficiency of the said military funds, and of "providing for the effectual protection of the country "and the welfare of the people."

During the minority of the Rajah, the administration of the country was most efficiently carried on for several years by Purneah, a valuable Hindoo minister; but, upon the Rajah's accession to power, he was dismissed, the Rajah assuming to himself the Government. Under the Rajah's management affairs were so ill conducted, and such disorder prevailed over the whole country, that in 1831 the people rose in rebellion. In consequence of this state of things Lord William Bentinck, in 1834, moved a considerable body of English troops into the country, restored tranquillity by force of arms, and found himself under the necessity of assuming the administration of the country, in which state it has continued ever since, a large annual allowance, as stipulated by the treaty, being placed at the disposal of the Rajah.

Before he left India, Lord William Bentinck pro-

posed to restore to the Rajah the greater part of the territories of Mysore. The Home Government, observing that, if the Rajah's character was sufficiently good to enable him to govern any of his territories well, there was little reason for not restoring the whole to him, expressed their opinion that his vices were permanent, and they desired the administration of the whole country to be retained till a good system of Government was established, and security taken for its continuance. Lord Auckland, in communicating the decision of the Home Government to the Rajah, stated that "the administration of his Highness's territories "should remain on its present footing until the "arrangements for their good government should have "been so firmly established as to be secure from "future disturbance."

The Rajah applied for a reversal of this decision to Sir Henry Hardinge, when he became Governor-General in 1844, who, avoiding any direct opinion on the subject of his restoration, desired the Commissioner to furnish an account of the Mysore debt to the British Government.

Again did the Rajah appeal, to Lord Canning. This appeal was made in 1861. In March, 1862, Lord Canning, after long and patient consideration of the request, informed the Rajah of his inability to "recog-"nize his claim, or to admit the claim on which it was "founded." He referred, in the course of a long despatch, to Sir Mark Cubbon's testimony, that any improvement that had taken place in Mysore had been effected in spite of the counteraction he had met

with on the part of the Rajah and his adherents, and that his conduct during his suspension from power offered no security that the crisis which induced that suspension would not recur in the event of his restoration. Nothing could be clearer or more emphatic than Lord Canning's treatment of the question. He denied that a pledge of restoration was ever given, and declared that the Rajah had forfeited the administration of his country by his misconduct, and that the British Government intended to remain free to act as circumstances might render advisable.

The Rajah of Mysore, on the receipt of this despatch, renewed his appeal to Lord Elgin, who replied that "its allegations and reasonings did not "shake his confidence in the propriety of the decision "of his predecessors."

The protest and appeal of the Rajah were referred home to the Secretary of State in Council, and on him rested the final decision in this important case.

On referring to the opinion of successive Governor-Generals, Sir Charles Wood found that Lord Hardinge, Lord Dalhousie, Lord Canning, and Lord Elgin, supported by the valuable opinion of Sir Mark Cubbon, the chief commissioner in Mysore, had all expressed their views against the restoration of the administration of Mysore into the hands of the Rajah. To these views Sir Charles Wood naturally attributed much weight; but to Lord Canning's especially he attached great importance. "The name of Lord Canning," said he, in his despatch supporting the opinion given by Lord Elgin and the Indian Government, "will for

"ever be associated in the history of British India "with the most liberal policy towards the native "Princes of India. That lamented statesman has "given abundant proof, not only that questions "affecting their rights received from him a fair and "impartial consideration, but that he cherished a "lively sympathy with their feelings and interests, "and his opinion therefore deserves especial con- "sideration upon the present question."

Sir Charles Wood was averse to cancel the deliberate opinions of so many high authorities, and, taking into consideration the interests of the people of the country, long accustomed to the enlightened rule of the British Government, which they had learnt sincerely to appreciate and to respect, he refused to sanction the dangerous experiment of removing the administration out of the hands of British officers by whom the country had been so materially benefited.

The Rajah, having since adopted a distant relative, the power of adopting an heir to his title and his private property has been admitted; but no authority to adopt an heir to the raj of Mysore has ever been conceded to him, and he has been distinctly informed by the present Governor-General, Sir John Lawrence, that no such concession would now be made.

In the political troubles of Affghanistan Sir Charles Wood has consistently refused to bear a part, or to take any action beyond affording in British territory an asylum for refugees, and acknowledging the *de facto* rulers of that distracted country. He has thus set an

example of non-interference with foreign politics, which has of late years been happily followed in this country.

It was Sir Charles Wood's good fortune to introduce into India a new order of knighthood to be conferred alike on distinguished Europeans and distinguished natives. Its title is the Star of India, and its motto, "Heaven's light our guide."

Never since Englishmen first conquered India has any decoration peculiar to that country been bestowed upon its native princes. Doubtless the conflicting elements of many creeds, the jealousies of caste, and the rivalries of race, had deterred any Governor-General or any government from making an experiment likely to be attended with so many difficulties.

It was reserved for Sir Charles Wood to be the first to obtain the sanction of the Crown to this new honour. More than a formal sanction was promptly accorded by the Queen. The Prince Consort himself took an active and energetic interest in the details of a measure which proved successful in overcoming all prejudices, jealousies, and heartburnings in India. Lord Canning added lustre to the order as its first grand master, and it is now worn with pride by the present Governor-General, the Nizam, Lord Gough, Sir George Pollock, the Maharajahs of Cashmere, Gwalior, and Indore, Sir George Clerk, Lord Strathnairn and others of high and distinguished positions at home and in India. A lady knight also adds a peculiar grace to the order, in the person of

the loyal and able Secunder Begum of Bhopal. So popular and esteemed has the Star of India become, that a second and third class of the order have since been added, to be worn by those who have rendered distinguished service to the State, in military or civil capacities in India, but whose rank and position are not sufficient to place them on an equality with the original knights of the order.

CHAPTER XIII.

MILITARY.

From the first moment of his taking office to the last day before his retirement, the affairs of the army, in one shape or another, caused Sir Charles Wood more anxiety and exhausting labour than any other subject that came before him.

The year 1859 has been well described as being "the year of India's suspense." The mutiny was crushed, the protracted sieges and reliefs, the hard-fought battles, the dearly-won victories, were all over. Tantia Topee, the last of the rebel chiefs, had been treacherously betrayed by his own followers, and had expiated his crimes on the gallows; but, though the work of the soldier in the field was concluded, the whole question of the future constitution of our armies in India remained to be considered.

While the rebellion of the mutinous sepoys had come to be looked upon as a thing of the past, another danger little anticipated, and at the time much under-rated, arose.

In the Bill introduced into Parliament by Lord Stanley for the transfer of the powers and possessions of the East India Company to the Crown, their

European troops had been transferred also, without a passing allusion to them, or to their new position. The transfer was, in fact, purely nominal; they had been the servants of the Company as the trustees of the Crown, they became the servants of the Crown without the intervention of the Company; but every right and every privilege which they had enjoyed as soldiers of the Company were scrupulously secured to them as soldiers of the Crown.

The men, however, tempted perhaps by an opportunity of obtaining their discharge, and a renewed bounty on re-enlistment, or perhaps by the fancy of a visit to England, strenuously, and even mutinously, opposed their transfer to the direct service of the Crown. This was the first of the many difficulties which met Sir Charles Wood on his accession to office.

It is important to notice at this time what was the actual position of the European portion of the Indian army.

Up to 1852 the European troops consisted of two regiments of infantry in each presidency; in that year a third regiment was added; and during the mutiny an additional force of European soldiers was raised, and the officers of the new artillery, cavalry, and infantry, were taken from those of the native artillery and native regiments which had disappeared or been disbanded.

In the year 1858, a Royal Commission was appointed to inquire into the reorganization of the Indian army. On the question whether the European

forces in that country should be exclusively Royal artillery and cavalry, and infantry of the line, or partly of this description, and partly a local force, the Commission were nearly equally divided—the members of it connected with the Indian services being in favour of a local service,—the other members being opposed to such a system. They reported, however, in favour of an exclusively line army. Lord Stanley, however, decided, against the report of the Commissioners, that the European forces in India should be partly local and partly general.

Upon Sir Charles Wood becoming Secretary of State for India, the European troops in the service of the East India Company amounted to 24,000, being in excess of the numbers authorized by law to be maintained by them. It was necessary, therefore, that an Act should be passed, legalizing this excess.

In introducing a Bill for that purpose into Parliament, Sir Charles Wood had announced his determination to abide by the decision of his predecessors in office, and to maintain a local army for India.

The mutinous conduct of the European troops, however, convinced Lord Palmerston's Government that it was not expedient to maintain in the Queen's army a body of European troops exclusively for service in India, and other reasons, indeed, led to the same conclusions.

The disclosures made during the inquiries into the late disaffection of the European troops, had converted Sir Hugh Rose, Sir William Mansfield, and Sir Patrick

Grant, from being advocates of the local force, into supporters of a contrary system.

The discipline of the old Indian army was confessedly and notoriously inferior to that of the Queen's troops, and it was acknowledged that long service in a tropical climate deteriorated troops in that respect as well as others. Lord Clyde urged that it was "absolutely necessary not to trust to local "corps, but to put faith alone in a discipline which is "constantly renovated by return to England, and the "presence of officers with their regiments who look "on these as their homes."

In June, 1860, therefore, Sir Charles Wood introduced into the House of Commons his proposal for the reorganization of the Indian army, in a Bill entitled "The European Forces Bill."

The difficulty of this question, great enough in itself, was increased by the opposition of the Council of India, whose members fondly clung to the recollection of the old service with which they had been associated, and in which some of them, perhaps, had passed some of their happiest days.

They urged on financial grounds, that, as India paid for the whole of her military expenditure, none of the troops should be liable at any time to be withdrawn for Colonial or European purposes. On the same grounds it was argued that the expense of a Royal army far exceeded that of a local force. The proposals of the Government were further opposed, on the grounds of acclimatization being necessary for the troops employed in India, the impolicy of

placing more authority in the hands of the Horse Guards, and the difficulties of checking patronage and expenditure.

The soundness of these arguments was very questionable.

The matter was one of such a character, that it had to be looked at from an Imperial rather than from a departmental point of view. It was very carefully considered, therefore, by Lord Palmerston's Government, and it was ultimately determined by them to discontinue the local European troops, and to provide for the whole of the European force to be stationed in India, by increasing the artillery, cavalry, and infantry of the line, in the Queen's general army.

All the European troops in India were to be relieved periodically, as those regiments of cavalry and infantry had been, which for many years had formed the largest portion of the European force in India.

It was not to be expected that this measure, as to the expediency of which the opinions of the great authorities in India materially differed, would pass unchallenged in the House of Commons. Lord Stanley and Sir De Lacy Evans both spoke in favour of the maintenance of a local force; but the opposition in Parliament was not sufficient to defeat the measure, which was passed by large majorities; and the amalgamation, or more properly the conversion of the European troops of the Indian army into troops for general service, was finally adopted.

The European soldiers of the East India Company

had the option of volunteering for the Queen's service, and with few exceptions both officers and men availed themselves of the offer, the latter receiving a small bounty. Fourteen brigades of artillery, three regiments of cavalry, and nine regiments of infantry, were added to the establishment of the Queen's regular forces, and this part of the army question was thus satisfactorily brought to a close.

The insubordination of the European troops, however, was not the only difficulty that had to be overcome.

The native army in India consisted, before the mutiny, of seventy-four regular regiments in Bengal, fifty-two in Madras, and thirty in Bombay. The number of officers attached to each infantry regiment was twenty-six, to each cavalry regiment twenty-four; but, according to the invariable practice, a certain portion, not exceeding seven, of these officers was withdrawn from their regiments for service in other ways. Besides these troops, there were irregular regiments, with only three European officers, and these were generally admitted to be the *corps d'élite* of the whole army.

The regular army had, as far as Bengal was concerned, almost ceased to exist; for, whereas before the outbreak of the mutiny there were eighty-four regiments, cavalry and infantry, in 1859 only seventeen were left, though the officers of all the original regiments remained. In Madras, the former number of regiments still existed, and in Bombay there had been only a small diminution of numbers; so that,

including the new levies embodied during the mutiny, the whole army in India amounted to 260,000.

It was indispensable to take into serious consideration the question of what was to be done with the native army. The danger of an overgrown native force, the pressure upon the finances and on the maintenance of so large a number of men, the prospects of peace, all pointed alike to reduction. But, beyond the diminution of numbers, it was thought expedient, partly with a view to improve the character of the regiments, partly from considerations of expense, to change the organization of the army, and to adopt the system which had worked so successfully in what were called the irregular regiments, with a smaller number of picked officers, receiving higher allowances. That the effects of this reorganization were advantageous to the native officers and soldiers was never disputed; but the question as to the European officers of the native army was different altogether. The diminution of force naturally led to a diminished number of officers, and the change in the organization of the army rendered the reduction still larger. A considerable number of officers thus became supernumerary.

Had such a reduction taken place in the British army, the difficulty would have been met by placing all supernumeraries on the half-pay list; but such had not been hitherto the practice of the Indian Government. The fact was, that ever since our possession of India, our territories, and consequently our armies, had always been on the increase; so that only once since

the East India Company existed had any reduction, and that a very small one, taken place. It is obvious that no question could be more difficult of solution than one in which the personal claims and personal interests of so many officers were concerned. Nothing daunted, however, Sir Charles Wood encountered the Herculean task, which has proved not less difficult than he anticipated, and has lasted to the end of his administration, with all its technical details, all its grievances—some real, some imaginary, but none that were intentional, and none which, when proved, it has not been sought to redress, by the incessant care and attention of those to whom the execution of details was entrusted, and by labour almost incredible.

If Sir Charles Wood experienced opposition from the Council in originating and proposing these great measures, he met with their cordial and hearty support in carrying them out.

It had been a frequent subject of complaint that the efficiency of the old local European and native regiments was most seriously affected by the large number of officers, and those the most capable, being withdrawn from service with their regiments for staff employment. Under the term "staff" employment were included appointments in all branches of public works, telegraph, surveys, engineering, ordnance, political, commissariat, stud, and pay departments, besides the general staff of the army. Those that were so taken for civil employment became naturally unaccustomed to their military duties, and, what is perhaps of more importance, they lost their

interest in the men of their regiments, were unknown and without influence with their brother officers and their soldiers, while those that were not so favoured were inclined to be discontented and dissatisfied, aiming not so much at military proficiency, and an acquaintance with their men and their regimental duties, as at future employment in places of superior emolument and greater interest.

It had been a subject of frequent discussion during the existence of the late East India Company, how to meet this crying evil and to provide officers for the various situations in which their services were required, without impairing the efficiency of the regiments.

The only scheme which afforded the means of attaining so desirable an end, was the formation of a Staff Corps, which had been frequently recommended by high authorities, including such men as Sir John Lawrence, Lord Elphinstone, Sir Bartle Frere, Sir Herbert Edwardes, and Sir Patrick Grant, the last of whom expressed his hope that under this system the European officers would look upon their regiments as their homes. "To be attached," he wrote, "to a native corps would be considered one "of the prizes of the service; and the permanent "association between officers and men that must "ensue, would more than anything tend to restore "the old feeling of mutual respect and attachment "which, in the early days of British power in India, "united the native soldier and his European officer." The institution of a staff corps was also recommended by a committee presided over by Lord Hotham, which

sat for the purpose of considering the measures to be adopted for the amalgamation of the Indian forces.

Besides the improved efficiency of the army anticipated from such a change, the financial part of the question was well worthy of consideration. A sum, it was calculated, of 330,000*l.* per annum would be saved to the revenues of India by the change.

It was determined, therefore, to organize a Staff Corps to which both Indian and Queen's officers might be appointed, but which would be ultimately filled up by candidates selected from the Queen's general service; while those officers of the Indian forces who had not been transferred to the Queen's army or joined the Staff Corps, would be employed as heretofore with native regiments, or in various situations on the staff.

On the 16th of January, 1861, Sir Charles Wood advised the issue of a royal warrant, authorizing the formation of a staff corps to provide officers for general employment, as well as for regiments which had been placed on the irregular system.

One of the chief difficulties attendant upon the new order of things, was to devise the best system of promotion for the officers in the staff corps. The fluctuation of the number as the necessity for more or less officers was felt, prevented the adoption of any scheme but that of length of service; and indeed, Lord Hotham's committee had recommended "promotion in the staff "corps to be governed by length of service, and to be "irrespective of departmental position."

The option of joining this corps was given to all officers of the Indian army who were in staff

employment, or who had been so within a certain time, and the benefit of counting towards promotion, time previously served in such employment, as if it had been in the staff corps, was accorded to those officers who entered it on its formation.

Upwards of 1,300 officers availed themselves of this privilege, which, in very many cases, gave additional promotion, as well as additional pay.

This liberality on the part of the Government led to complaints from those who, remaining in the position of regimental officers only, were thus liable to a supersession in army rank. Sufficient precautions were taken to prevent their being superseded in regimental duties.

These complaints were pressed upon Sir Charles Wood, who, with every anxiety to remedy any reasonable grievance, appointed, in 1863, a commission, presided over by Lord Cranworth, and comprising Lord Ellenborough, Lord Hotham, and Mr. Henley (the mover of the original parliamentary clause, guaranteeing to the officers of the old Indian armies, all those "advantages as to pay, pensions, "allowances, privileges, promotion, and otherwise," which they would have enjoyed, had they continued in the service of the East India Company), as well as Sir Charles Yorke, General Clarke, and Sir Peter Melvill, "to inquire into and examine whether any "departure from the assurances given by Parliament "had taken place by reason of the measures which "have been taken since the passing of the first-"mentioned Act for the better government of India, "by the Secretary of State in Council, or by the

"Government or military authorities in India, to-
"wards such reorganization and amalgamation as
"aforesaid."

This commission made their report in November, 1863, having classed and arranged the various complaints they had received from officers under thirteen heads, the principal of which were the following :—

1. Retention on cadres of names of officers transferred to the staff corps.

2. Retention on the cadres of European regiments of the names of officers who joined the representative line regiments.

3. Injury to the remaining officers, from the greater healthiness of service in the staff corps.

4. Or in representative regiments.

5. Retardation in attaining colonel's allowances in ordnance corps.

6. Injury to officers as regards funds for retirement.

7. Discontinuance of Indian allowances to regimental colonels residing in India.

8. Cancelling an order for ante-dating commissions in ordnance corps.

On three points the commissioners considered that the parliamentary guarantee had been infringed; the first being the immediate and prospective supersession in rank of regimental officers, by those in the staff corps, which was the inevitable consequence of the rule regulating promotion in the staff corps, and especially of that which allowed previous staff service to count towards the period of service qualifying for promotion in the staff corps.

Measures were at once adopted for remedying this complaint, on its being pronounced by the commissioners to be well founded; and it was decided to give brevet rank to the regimental officers of the Indian army, and local rank to the officers of the line serving in India, from the formation of the staff corps, so that from that date the whole of the officers of the Indian army, including the staff corps, will be promoted in army rank after the same periods of service. Sir Hugh Rose, now Lord Strathnairn, with all his affection for the officers of the Indian army, with whom his name is so nobly associated, recorded his opinion that these measures adequately met the complaint of supersession, and the Government of India declared that all substantial ground of complaint was removed.

The two other points were—the retention, on the cadres of native corps, of the names of officers who joined the new line regiments, and the arrangements for the future promotion of officers of the Indian army to the rank of general officers.

To obviate the first of these two complaints, Sir Charles Wood directed that the names of all officers who have joined the new line regiments from the native cavalry and infantry should be removed from the cadres, and that promotion should take place in the vacancies so caused.

To remedy the second, the provisions of the royal warrant, regulating the future amalgamation of the field officers of the British and Indian armies, were modified, so as to retain the whole of the officers of

the cavalry and infantry of the Indian army, on the general list of that service as before, for promotion to the rank of general officers.

Thus were the three points in which the parliamentary guarantee was reported to have been infringed dealt with in a generous and comprehensive spirit.

There were two complaints on which the Royal Commission expressed no positive opinion.

These were :—

1st. The regulation by which twelve years is made the period of service in the grade of lieutenant-colonel, for the attainment of colonel's allowances.

2nd. The reduction of the regimental lieutenant-colonels by making promotion in succession to one-half only of the officers of that rank, who accepted the special annuities offered to them on retirement in 1861.

The period of twelve years was adopted, on what was considered as a fair calculation, being somewhat more than the time recently taken to pass through the colonels' grade in Bengal and Bombay, but less than that in Madras; and this term was so fixed absolutely, only in respect to the officers who attained the rank of lieutenant-colonel after the 1st of January, 1862, and whose promotion to that rank had been accelerated by the liberal scheme of retirement.

The officers who were lieutenant-colonels before 1862 have attained to the colonels' allowance under the previously existing rules, unless, as was the case with many officers of the Madras army, the new rule was more favourable to them.

With regard to the second complaint, that the

number of lieutenant-colonels was reduced by promotion in succession to one-half only of the retirements in 1861, it must not be forgotten that these retirements were the result of an extraordinary measure, involving considerable expense, which gave special annuities to a larger number of officers, who were thereby induced to retire.

It was impossible to contend that the guarantee could have been intended to prevent the Crown, if, in the interest of India and of the empire at large, it should deem it necessary, from reducing the number of the Indian army. And, when the native army was reduced by 135,000 men, it could not with justice be made a matter of complaint that the number of colonels' allowances should be gradually diminished. The Government, on the reduction, did not place a single officer on half-pay; and, with the exception of this diminution of colonels' allowances, they continued their full allowance, as well as promotion, to those officers for whom, owing to the various circumstances mentioned above, there was no employment.

Lord Cranworth's commission had reported that, if it was impossible to retain all the advantages enjoyed under the East India Company, some counterbalancing benefit should be given in compensation for them.

It would be too long a task to explain in detail all the advantages accumulated upon officers by the measures of the Government. A few examples will show that they were many and great.

The immediate effect, in a pecuniary sense, was to increase the pay, pensions, and emoluments, in one

shape or another, of the existing officers, by more than a quarter of a million sterling.

A glance at the number of promotions to substantive rank in the three Indian armies in the four years ending January, 1857, and the four years ending January, 1865, will show how the promotions have increased. In the latter period there were 233 promotions to the rank of lieutenant-colonel, against eighty-four in the former; to that of major there were 534 against 142; and to the grade of captain, 616 against 585, or against 409, if 176, which were due to augmentation, be withdrawn from the calculation.

These advantages were with great fulness demonstrated to the House of Commons, by Sir Charles Wood, in a debate brought on by Captain Jervis; but, unfortunately for the encouragement of an agitation damaging to the discipline of the army, on a division in a thin House, an address was carried praying the Crown to "redress all such grievances complained of "by the officers of the late Indian army as were "admitted by the commission on the memorials of "officers to have arisen by a departure from the "assurance given by Parliament."

Another commission was thereupon issued for the purpose of inquiring into the effect of the measures already adopted with this object.

This commission having only to deal with questions affecting pay and promotion, was composed entirely of officers of the army. General Sir John Aitchison acted as chairman, and it rested with them, according to the instructions they had received, to report whether

the brevet rank given to all officers of the Indian army effectually removed the cause of the complaint that regimental officers might, in certain contingencies, be superseded in rank and command by officers of the staff corps; whether any retardation of promotion which might hereafter take place in a few cases, from not filling up all the vacancies caused by the extraordinary retirements, and fixing twelve years as the term of service in the rank of lieutenant-colonel, consequent on the great reduction of the army, is to be considered as a departure from the parliamentary guarantee; and, if so, whether the increased pay, pensions, and general acceleration of promotion conferred on officers, are not an adequate counterbalancing benefit.

It was in the autumn of 1865 that the commissioners made their report, pointing out where the measures taken fell short of what was required for removing the causes of complaint, or for giving such counterbalancing benefit in lieu thereof. Their report received from Sir Charles Wood immediate and constant attention, but his accident and subsequent resignation of office prevented his completing the task he had undertaken. The question was left to his successor Lord de Grey, and it was well that Lord Russell's choice fell on one whose previous official career had been exclusively connected either with India, as Under Secretary, or with the English army, as Under Secretary and Secretary of State for the War Department. Conversant as he thus had become with all military matters, and assisted by Mr. Stansfeld as his under secretary,

and the military members of the council, he at once gave his best consideration to the settlement of the matter. Indeed a despatch was actually prepared under his directions, but not signed, when Lord Russell's administration resigned office.

Lord de Grey did not consider himself justified in settling so important a matter on the eve of his retirement, but left his opinions and his despatch to his successor, who shortly after, in the House of Commons, enunciated the measures to be adopted by the Government for the remedy of the alleged grievances of the officers of the Indian army.

He adopted entirely the conclusions which had been arrived at by his predecessor in office with regard to all the points touched on in the report of Sir John Aitchison's commission. All officers belonging to that army before the amalgamation, were to be allowed to join the Staff Corps without any condition or test whatsoever.

And further, Lord Cranborne issued instructions to the Government of India, for compensating, to some extent, the officers who could prove that they had not received an equivalent advantage for the sums which they had from time to time contributed, for purchasing out their regimental superiors.

Every one who has the interests of the Indian army at heart, will wish that this long-vexed question may now for ever be set at rest, and will join with the present Secretary of State in hoping, "that all who "have taken up the case will use their influence to do "all they can to put a stop to a system of agitation,

" most mischievous to the Indian service, and most " inconsistent with the ordinary attitude which officers " ought to assume towards the Government."

If the measures adopted for the amalgamation of the army did not give the satisfaction that they ought to have done to individuals who were too apt to consider, not whether they themselves had been fairly dealt with, but whether others had not, amidst many necessary changes, been more fortunate than they, it is consoling to find that there were other military changes during this period on which there can be little or no difference of opinion.

In 1863 sanitary commissions were nominated in each Presidency, in accordance with the recommendation of a sanitary commission appointed in 1859 to inquire into the best means of selecting the sites of military stations, improving the health, and preventing epidemic and other diseases incidental to the British soldier serving in India.

Sir Hugh Rose's noble efforts for the amelioration of the condition of the soldier in the East were at all times cordially approved and seconded at home.

Workshops, as well as gardens, gymnasia, fives-courts, baths, cricket-grounds, skittle-alleys, refreshment-rooms, have all been instituted to relieve the soldier from the depression and lassitude of an enervating climate; additional pay was given; the period of service entitling them to good-conduct pay was reduced; the odious order of 1836 instituting "half batta" for all troops within 200 miles of presidency towns, in consequence of the supposed facility with

which they obtained supplies from England, was withdrawn, and full batta granted to all soldiers, wherever stationed.

In 1864 fifty good-service pensions were announced for officers of distinguished and meritorious service, and a capitation allowance was granted to all effective members of Volunteer Corps.

All these benefits could not be given without a corresponding charge on the revenues; but the additional outlay will not be considered ill spent, if it should be proved that there is a compensation in the shape of increased health and comfort, and prolonged life, to the soldier, and new popularity to a service on which much of our prosperity and safety in India depends.

CHAPTER XIV.

POLICE.

The subject of the reform of the police in India engrossed much of Sir Charles Wood's attention. The military character it had assumed, and its increased numbers, had entailed enormous charges on the Indian revenues.

"Hordes of military police and local levies, whose "name was legion," said an article in the *Calcutta Review* of June, 1861, "and whose aggregate numerical strength has probably never been accurately "known to any one, had grown up in every district, "pervaded every town, and patrolled every highway, "and bid fair, if allowed to remain undisturbed, to "become as great a source of anxiety in the future as "the pretorian Sepoys had proved in the past, while "for the time being they consumed the revenue of "the country."

There were many systems, no one like another, and no uniformity of plan or discipline. In Madras alone a purely civil force had been organized, responsible only to an inspector-general, who was to be in direct communication with the Government. It was

impossible, however, having in view the many requirements of various districts, to dispense altogether with an armed police throughout India, but it was advisable to define more clearly the duties of the civil and military forces.'

'In July, 1860, an able and exhaustive memorandum, embodying the views of Sir Charles Wood on the principles on which a police force was to be organized throughout India, was sent to the several presidencies of Bengal, Madras, and Bombay,

. Lord Canning, seeing at once the pressing nature of the subject, appointed a police commission, its members being carefully selected from men of experience from all parts of the country.

In consequence of the unanimous report of that commission, Act V. of 1861 was passed in the Legislative Council of India, and a civil constabulary is now introduced in all the presidencies, their duties being to preserve tranquillity in ordinary times, to protect life and property, and to perform many duties heretofore discharged by sepoys, such as furnishing guards for escort of bullion, for gaols, for public treasuries, &c.

An improved police has enabled Government not only largely to reduce the number of native troops, but has to an incalculable extent restored discipline to regiments who, under the old system, were constantly broken up and scattered on detached duties, considered by all military men to be eminently subversive of proper regimental control and discipline.

The supervision of the police is henceforward to be intrusted to European officers, themselves responsible

to a chief appointed directly for that purpose, and subordinate only to the local Governments.

The new system, from the trial that has already been made of it, holds out every prospect that it will prove really efficient and far superior to the old and effete system which it has supplanted. "We believe," said an Indian writer, "the wheels of police adminis-
"tration have now got into the right groove, and we
"look with confidence to the experience of the next
"ten years to bear us out in our conclusions, and to
"justify our hopes."

Sir Charles Wood was also desirous of seeing vigorous and effective measures taken for the improvement of the village watch, who were to be carefully selected, and to be placed under proper and sufficient superintendence, under the control of the magistrate.

No great reform in the village watch could well be carried out without the co-operation and assistance of the heads of the villages, the landholders, and local chiefs. Sir Charles Wood was anxious to follow up, throughout India, the judicious course pursued by Lord Canning in Oude and the Punjab, and to invest the Native country gentlemen with considerable magisterial and executive powers; and he impressed upon the Government of India the value of enlisting the influence of the landed proprietors in favour of the public interests, not only by law, but by the steady pursuit, on the part of the magistrates, of such conciliatory measures as should lead them to consider themselves as parties concerned in the general administration of the country, rather than as servants of the district authorities.

CHAPTER XV.

NAVY.

In the beginning of 1860 great uneasiness prevailed among many thinking men in India, on account of the insufficiency of the naval defences of our British possessions in the Indian Seas; the Indian Navy, gallant as her officers and able as her seamen had proved themselves, was of course utterly unable to cope with the overwhelming forces that any large European power might bring against it, and many years and many millions of money would hardly serve to put it in a position capable of defending our Eastern Empire. Indeed, even for the purposes for which it was intended, of suppressing piracy and slave trade in the Persian Gulf and Indian Ocean, its condition was far from satisfactory; many of the larger and most expensive ships were almost useless for any service, were under-officered and under-manned, and the uncertainty of its future as a fighting navy had affected all classes and seriously impaired its former efficiency. "Its extinction was most desirable," wrote Lord Canning; "it is a service extravagant "to the state, disheartening to the officers, and "utterly inefficient, owing to its nature, not to the

"fault of officers or men." It was necessary that some remedy should be devised for this state of affairs, and the subject had to be regarded by Sir Charles Wood from an European as well as an Indian point of view. He decided upon its abolition as a fighting service, retaining only a sufficient number of vessels for purposes of surveying, transport, &c. In the first instance the number of ships in commission was reduced as far as practicable, and those that were not absolutely required, were directed to be sold; it was not therefore till 1863 that the abolition of the Indian navy was actually accomplished.

No appreciable dissatisfaction at the measures adopted has been created; officers of all ranks and grades have been pensioned on a liberal scale, and the local Governments directed, in all cases when it is possible, to employ the officers of the late Indian navy, where suitable opportunities present themselves, the men being discharged gradually, and with due regard to the demand for their services in the mercantile marine. The defence of the seaboard of India is now altogether intrusted to the Royal Navy, and the Cape of Good Hope command is extended to the East Indies, with the addition of a commodore, whose head quarters are at Bombay.

The wisdom of this arrangement is very evident, remedying as it does all the objections raised against the insufficiency of Indian Naval defence, while the enormous expenditure which would have been required to place the existing navy in a proper fighting position, has been obviated.

Much correspondence with the various offices at home has taken place respecting the transport of Indian reliefs and their passage through Egypt, instead of the long sea voyage round the Cape of Good Hope. After considerable discussion, and notwithstanding some objections, it has been determined that the service shall commence in the autumn of 1867, by which time five first-class steam transports, it is expected, will be completed, and ready for service. This means of transport will be much more economical than the old service round the Cape, and will, naturally, be far more rapid and advantageous to the discipline of the troops, which is always apt to deteriorate in long sea passages. The service will only be conducted during those months which are adapted in a sanitary point of view for the passage and landing of the troops in India.

CHAPTER XVI.

CONCLUSION.

It was in the autumn of 1865 that Sir Charles Wood had an accident in the hunting-field, which, though exaggerated at the time, was nevertheless so severe as to compel him, in the beginning of the following year, to resign his office of Secretary of State for India to a younger colleague in the Cabinet, anxious to continue the liberal policy developed in his predecessor's administration.

It was impossible that Sir Charles Wood could have witnessed, without some feelings of pride and satisfaction, the sincere regret caused by his retirement from the field of Indian politics. To him, the enforced relinquishment of a life's pursuit must inevitably have been a source of much regret. To those associated with him in official business it was a matter of deep sorrow, and at the council-table, when he announced his retirement, there were few who could trust their voices to express the emotion which they felt. Though Sir Charles Wood had frequently differed with individual councillors, his masterly conduct of business, his quick appreciation of merit, his experience and know-

ledge, his frank manners, and his liberal consideration for the feelings and opinions of others, had won a place in every heart, and those who had differed from him the most, were not those who regretted his loss the least.

Nor was it only with those who personally knew him that this feeling existed. The native princes of India, the wealthy merchants of Bombay, the talookdars of Oude, the poor and needy ryots of Bengal,—all vied with each other in the expression of their regret. "The native press knew well to "whom was due the credit of the successful and bene- "ficent administration of India," which, to quote the words of the address of the British and Indian Association, "has nobly sustained the authority and dignity of "her Majesty's Government in her Indian territories; "which has strengthened by new bonds of attachment "the confidence and sympathy of the princes and "chiefs of the country, which has, above all, steadily "sought to govern the empire in consonance with "justice and the true interests of her teeming millions. "Indeed, from one end to the other, the country rings "with the praises of Sir Charles Wood. We might "have, but for his too rigid justice and impartiality, "been cursed by the European adventurer, whose "claims to superior privileges by reason of colour and "creed he would not admit; but he has the blessings, "spontaneous and sincere, of two hundred millions of "fellow-creatures, whose good he has sought with a "single-minded zeal. If the conscious satisfaction of "having discharged his duty and advanced the cause

" of humanity and justice constitute the best and
" richest reward which a statesman can reap in this
" world, Sir Charles Wood has that reward. May he
" reign over us for all the time God may be pleased
" to spare him to serve his fellow-men."

THE END.

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