

commenced to act in 1861. There was a universal cry for Indian cotton. It arose in England, it was taken up in India, and the cotton-growers answered, "Give us roads" All eyes were turned towards India to see how she would behave in this new crisis. As usual, the Government was called upon to aid. The responsibility was theirs that India should not lose the opportunity of making her fortune. They responded to a call to which they dared not turn a deaf ear, and vigorous efforts were made to push on railway works, then languishing, and to complete roads that had been commenced, and to construct new ones. And the consequence was the withdrawal of the agricultural population from the tillage of the soil, and an alarming diminution in the amount of grain produced. The distress to which Sir Charles Trevelyan alludes arose to such a pitch, that officials in the receipt of stated salaries, and those not very large ones, were seriously inconvenienced. It was said there were several military officers' families at Poona and elsewhere, who could not afford meat on their table more than twice a week.

Another result of the sudden extension of the cotton trade was a measure introduced by Lord Canning towards the close of the present year. It is probable he had had it in contemplation ever since his first visit to the Upper Provinces, from which period we date that change in his views and policy which did so much to obliterate his former unpopularity among his Anglo-Indian fellow-countrymen, and raised him even in the estimation of his former detractors to a rank among the ablest of the statesmen who had filled the office of Governor-General. With the view of attracting English capital and enterprise to India he offered for sale culturable waste lands at the rate of five shillings an acre for uncleared, and ten shillings for cleared, limiting the grant to each individual to 3,000 acres. All the under-tenants' rights were respected, and by another ordinance the revenue of settled lands was allowed to be commuted at the rate of twenty years' purchase. The

minor presidencies and governorships were to issue their own rules as to details in accordance with the general principles enunciated in what was called "the waste lands order." We shall see further on the fate of this measure.

Mr. Laing landed in Calcutta the 18th January. He remained long enough to bring out the budget, and left again in May—to return, however, at the close of the year to his post. His budget and financial policy will be reviewed in another place. It is only necessary to notice here one important measure, originally devised by Mr Wilson, and introduced, with certain indispensable modifications, by his successor. Up to that time the only paper currency that India possessed was a limited amount of notes issued by the three Presidency banks, upon which anywhere out of the immediate neighbourhood of the Presidency towns a discount had always to be paid, varying in amount with the distance from the original source of issue. Thus, eight hundred miles from Calcutta, at Delhi or Agra, for such bills you had to pay one rupee per cent, and of course there was no obligation upon any one to take them at all. The native bankers had their own "hoondees," or bills of exchange; which, however, were not in circulation like bank-notes, but might be endorsed from one person to another, just as any other bills of exchange. Except for the purpose of remittances, they were not in extensive use among European residents. The whole machinery of the finance and currency system had been conducted up to the era of reform in a most primeval and clumsy manner. There were the different Government treasuries all over the country at every Sudder station, as it was called, where the collector and deputy-collector resided, and in those treasuries the cash paid in on account of Government was allowed to accumulate. One collector might draw on another by bills of exchange for public purposes, the distribution of pay of Government servants, soldiers, and the like; and when one treasury ran short of cash, it had to be supplemented by the transfer of bullion

from a neighbouring treasury, where there happened to be a surplus. Thus, in time of peace, the old native army used to be employed in little else but convoying this treasure¹ from one part of the country to another. At the most unfavourable seasons of the year, European officers would be liable to be called out into camp, in command of a detachment, and ordered, with so many thousand rupees, to a neighbouring collectorate. The duty was irksome to a degree, and the exposure to weather worse than often befel officers throughout a campaign; while the practice of keeping detachments of soldiers incessantly wandering about the country, away from head-quarters, and under command of a native officer, perhaps of a young European subaltern, was most injurious to discipline.

The whirlwind which passed over India in 1857 was violent and destructive, but it swept away a vast number of abuses, and many systems rotten to the core, and this among the rest. India was at last to have a paper currency, and if possible a gold currency. The banks of Bengal, Madras, and Bombay were substituted for the old treasuries, and they became in effect the Government treasuries, and were to act as agents in the issue of notes. The Act provides for the issue of notes in exchange for current silver coin, or standard silver bullion, at the rate of 975 rupees for every thousand "tolas" of silver fit for coinage, of which an assay may be required, at the expense of the person tendering; but issue for bullion may be refused at places where there is no mint—that is, of course, anywhere out of the Presidency cities; and the Governor-General in Council is empowered to direct that, to a specified extent, not exceeding one-fourth of notes, the issue may be in exchange for gold coin and gold bullion, at rates fixed by the order. The bullion and coin received in exchange for notes is to be retained, except so much (not exceeding four crores¹) as the Secretary of State for India shall fix to be invested in Government securities.

¹ A crore is ten millions.

The banks immediately began to set about establishing branches at other places, which should act as centres of the different circles within which the notes issued should constitute a legal tender at par. At first there was every appearance of success. The notes were a great accommodation to the European community, who were, of course, used to them, but the natives were not, and it takes a long time to introduce any sort of reform among so conservative a body; and even at the close of the sixth year from the passing of the Act, they prefer their own "hoondees."

The year 1861 is memorable for the creation of a new order of knighthood, the order of the Most Exalted Star of India. Honorary titles and distinctions are understood and appreciated at Oriental courts. The Mahomedan emperors bestowed them freely, and the Persian order of the "Lion and the Sun," and the Turkish order of the "Medjidieh," are familiar to us all. The idea of the Indian order of knighthood was a very happy one, for it served as a bond of union between men who distinguished themselves in arts or arms, in politics or literature, whether of Asiatic or European origin, and, emanating from the Crown, it formed a connecting link between it and the native princes, the distinguished soldiers and statesmen of India, who were deemed worthy of the knighthood. The insignia consists of a star and a badge and collar. The star is of five points in diamonds, resting on a blue enamelled ground, with the motto of the order, "Heaven's Light our Guide," circumscribed in brilliants, the whole surrounded with rays of gold. It is worn on the left breast. The badge is a cameo portrait of the Queen, on a ruby ground, surrounded with a circle, in which the motto is inscribed in rubies. This is surmounted by the star of five points in brilliants, and the whole is attached to a blue ribbon with white edge, to be worn over the right and under the left shoulder. The collar consists of the lotus-flower, alternating with crossed palm-branches set between two chains of gold, from the centre of which hangs a badge as above, ornamented by a

cross. The whole costs 900*l*. The robe or cloak, which is of ample dimensions, is of sky-blue satin.

With the view of lending as much *éclat* as possible to the ceremony, the same date was chosen for the investiture of the new knights at Windsor by her Majesty, and at Allahabad by her Majesty's representative. At Windsor, accompanied by the Prince Consort and the Prince of Wales, her Majesty conferred the honour on Sir John Lawrence, Sir George Pollock, Lord Clyde, Viscount Gough, and Lord Harris. Sir James Outram and Lord Combermere, who were not, however, able to be present owing to failing health, were also among the recipients. So also was the Maharaja Dhuleep Singh. At Allahabad, on the same day, Lord Canning, as Grand Master of the Order, conferred the investiture on Sir Hugh Rose, the Maharajas of Gwalior and Puttiala, the Nawab of Rampore, and the Begum of Bhopal. The Nizam of Hyderabad, the Raja of Cashmere, and the Guicowar of Baroda, were at the same time nominated knights of the Order, but the insignia were delivered to them subsequently by the political agent at their respective courts.

Much amusement was caused by the scant courtesy with which the honour was received by one of these potentates, the Nizam of Hyderabad. It was said, that for a long time he could not be prevailed on to take it at all; and when it was presented by the Resident, who is described as crawling to the foot of the throne, and delivering the insignia containing the cameo likeness of the Queen, the Nizam took it in his left hand (itself an insult), and then put it under him and sat upon it. Such is the story as it was told in all the Indian papers, and the affair has never been satisfactorily explained. That the Nizam contemplated any slight or insult is not to be supposed, for Orientals far surpass Europeans, and above all, Englishmen, in their studied observance of the courtesies and refinements of life. The Nizam might not have known exactly what to do with the insignia, and not being instructed how

to wear it, there being no superior there to put it on for him, as is generally the case when it is presented, he may have placed it down beside him on the "gaddee," or cushion which constitutes the throne, and there it might have been partially concealed by the loose drapery of an Oriental costume, and hence the report that he took the insignia and sat upon it. The Resident's crawling posture is intelligible, because, from an absurd custom in vogue, and even settled by treaty, it is the practice at most courts for the residents and political agents to conform to Oriental etiquette. And on state occasions, the Resident, with his staff, enters the hall of audience with bare feet—that is, divested of boots—and they squat down, in Oriental fashion, on their haunches, with their feet tucked under their legs. From this position, if you want to approach a neighbour who is seated at a little distance, and etiquette forbids you to rise, there is no help for it, you must support yourself on your hands and knees. If after this you are compelled to progress ever so little, the motion must take the form of an advance on all fours, and if in that posture it is necessary for you to use one of your hands in presenting a person with something, no matter what, the action necessarily places you in a still more absurd posture. So that it may be allowed that the Resident had difficulties to contend with; the fault really lying with the absurd custom which the Government have carried on since the days when the representatives of the East India Company at native courts were the representatives of a body of merchants, seeking for favours, and soliciting protection and privileges from the native sovereigns. Circumstances are changed now, and although it is right that every respect should be paid to a native sovereign, especially in his own court, yet the political agent, or resident, or whoever may be for the time the representative of the Queen, should not be required to adopt forms or an etiquette suitable only to subjects and inferiors.

The Star of India could only reach a few among the

heads of native society, and it was desirable to invent some method of conferring distinction and social position among the upper classes which could be more extensively distributed. With this view, the rank of honorary magistrates was created. While presiding at the distribution of degrees at the Calcutta University, Lord Canning took occasion to assure the natives that the object Government had in establishing its extensive and costly system of education was to teach them to govern themselves. The distribution of honorary magistracies looked like the first fulfilment of the promise. They were appointed first in Bengal, and subsequently in the North-West, in Oude, the Punjab, and the other provinces. The system has been found, on the whole, to work well; but is liable to a good deal of abuse in the hands of narrow-minded men, who are apt to forget the principle on which these honorary magistracies should be conferred. The post is much coveted by the natives, more for the honour than the power it brings with it; but in too many instances it has been indiscriminately bestowed on those who had little in their social position, or their attainments, or their local influence, to recommend them. By a little judicious distribution of money among the native subordinates of the courts, or about the persons of influential officials, or else by an affectation and display of liberality in sentiment or purse, men may succeed in wheedling local governors into conferring the distinction upon them and their relations. It is right, of course, that public spirit and liberality should be encouraged and rewarded; but there should be some other method found for honouring men for donations to dispensaries, exhibitions, and the like, besides investing them with magisterial powers, which, in many such cases, they are not capable of wielding with credit to themselves or the Government that appoints them.

In addition to this, municipal institutions in the Presidency towns, afterwards extended to other places in the Mofussil, afforded a means of placing natives in a position where they might co-operate with English officials.

Meantime, the deplorable state of affairs throughout Bengal, the seat of the indigo disturbances, had resulted in the appointment of a commission of inquiry consisting of Mr. Morris and Mr. Montessoro. The inquiry was instituted in consequence chiefly of complaints urged on the notice of the Government, that the ryots had combined against the landlords, Europeans as well as natives, in a refusal to pay their rents, and that the spirit of resistance went so far as to inflict the punishment of social excommunication on all who took service with Europeans. The inquiry was not so satisfactory as might have been wished, for the Commissioners, instead of conducting it together, took separate parts of the district, each under his own investigation, and arrived at pretty nearly opposite conclusions. One was astonished at the orderly behaviour of the ryots, and their good feeling towards the planters; the other finds them guilty of fraud and forgery, and acts of violence and of combination. It is obvious that such a report could have very little weight. But the indigo districts of Bengal were suffering now from the consequences of the strike of the past year. The planters, who were landholders, naturally made use of the means within their reach to raise their rents. The ryots had refused to sow any more indigo as far back as 1859. The planters, then taking them at their word that they would not grow any more indigo because it was not remunerative, doubled the price they paid for it, and told the ryots that those who refused to grow it should have their rents raised. This, of course, was a remedy that only those could resort to who were zemindars as well as planters. Those who were not landholders mostly betook themselves to tea-planting. The tenants, at least in the district that fell to Mr. Morris's lot, resisted in every possible way the attempts of the landlord to exact his rent, and the feud at length reached the point where the law was forced to interfere. The ryots then found themselves deserted by their own leaders, who fleeced them, and then left them to fight their own battles;

the money they had received in former years was no longer there to relieve their daily wants; the inundation had swept off their rice crops; and finally, the epidemic fever, which followed on the subsidence of the waters, added the climax to their miseries. The unhappy struggle had ruined both parties; but, if the ryots contended for a principle, they may claim the victory, dear as it was purchased; and the indigo interests in Lower Bengal never recovered the blow.

The Small Cause Courts, introduced by Mr. Harrington's Act as one of the proposed remedies for the state of affairs in Bengal, were set up this year in sixteen districts; and, as affording a method of realizing small claims by a procedure more summary than the ordinary civil courts, they were calculated to do good. The new system of police, however, was not introduced into Bengal this year, although it was organized in other provinces where it was perhaps less urgently required—in Pegu, Tenasserim, Arracan, and the North-West, as also in Bombay.

Very little of any general interest transpired in the two minor presidencies, Madras and Bombay, during the year. Sir William Denison, who came from Australia with a good character as a popular governor, was by no means popular in Madras. The complaint urged against him was that he did nothing, not that he did wrong. The same fault was found with him that was at first found with Lord Canning—dilatatoriness, and an apparent *insouciance* and disregard of his duties and of the country generally. In both instances it might have arisen, certainly in the case of Lord Canning it did so, from a desire to master the difficulties of the situation, and to learn his duty before committing himself to any particular line of policy. It was scarcely to be expected that, having been so short a time in a country which was entirely a novel and a strange field to him, he should have inaugurated any new or important measures. When memorialized about the land tenures in a portion of his charge, he postponed the question for "further consideration," which was the wisest thing he could do. Mean-

time railways were pushed forward, and a stimulus given to the introduction and cultivation of the Cinchona plant in the Neilgherrie hills. Sir W. Denison also promptly acted upon the order known as "Lord Canning's waste lands order" in a part of the presidency favourable to coffee-growing, called Wynaad, where very sanguine hopes were at one time entertained of unprecedented success in coffee-planting, and Ceylon feared a rival. But the even tenor of the Governor's way was not interrupted by any of those exciting movements that disturbed the northern Presidency, while Madras and Bombay shared in the general measures of reform that were being pushed forward with all practicable speed by the Imperial Government at Calcutta, and especially they benefited in a much greater degree than Bengal by the impetus given to the cotton trade. The wild speculations and subsequent crisis in the money market which involved Bombay in so much distress will come before us in another chapter.

Some important changes were made during the year in a vast tract of territory which, in one sense, may be called the cotton field of India. The rich and fertile valley of Berar had been under our care and management ever since 1853, when it was assigned to us by the Nizam in lieu of a sum of money he was bound by treaty to pay towards the maintenance of the Hyderabad contingent; but a new treaty was this year concluded with the Nizam, by which a portion of it, the Raichori Dooab and the Dharaseo district, was restored, together with another district called Shorapore, which was thrown in as a sort of present or reward to the Nizam for keeping quiet during 1857. Berar is divided into two great districts, West and East Berar, recognised principally by the now well-known name of the chief cities Oomrawuttee in the west and Akola in the east. The population of the two districts is about the same, numbering, it is said, between five and six millions.

It was in the year 1861 that the Bishop of Calcutta, Dr. Cotton, put forward a scheme, with which his name will

ever be associated in India, for establishing schools for the education of that large class of European children whose parents are unable to afford the expense of sending them to England. The scheme met with the hearty approval of the Secretary of State, and efforts were made to collect funds for the institution. The design was to collect money for a fund wherewith schools might be established all over the diocese of Bengal wherever they appeared to the committee to be the most urgently required. The sum necessary for carrying out on anything like an efficient scale so grand a design is immense, but the object is well worthy of the support of all who have at heart the interests of India. Year by year the European population of that vast country increases, but the increase, rapid though it be, has no visible effect, in consequence of the immense extent of territory over which the population is spread. There are no trustworthy returns extant giving any accurate estimate of the number of English residents in India, but it must be very large. It was remarked, at the time of the mutiny in 1857, how little the general public knew, of the existence even, of European families residing in the suburbs of native cities in Upper India, and of whose existence they only became aware, alas! when it had been terminated by the mutineers. And people were startled at long lists of names of men, women, and children who had been murdered in places where no one seemed to be aware before there were any Europeans to be found at all. As a rule, but few military officers settle in India after they are entitled to a pension; of civilians doing so, instances are very rare. But there are a vast number of clerks and *employés* in the service of Government and the railway, merchants, planters, tradespeople, besides retired pensioners from the ranks, and a few officers, for whose children the means of education were very scanty. The bulk of them could not afford to send their children to England, and they were thrown back on such resources as the country provided. In Upper India, almost the only institution for the education of boys and

girls was the Martinière, which had two branches, in Calcutta and Lucknow. The founder of this noble institution was a General Martin, who started in life as a drummer-boy in an English infantry regiment, went into the King of Oude's service, where he made himself generally useful, and being a shrewd man amassed enormous wealth, the bulk of which, at his death, he devoted to this praiseworthy object. But the existing schools at the Presidency towns, excellent as they were, could not meet the wants of families scattered over the length and breadth of the land.

One great part of the Bishop's scheme was to utilize the Himalayas, and to provide schools in healthy places like Mussoorie and Simla. There can be no question as to the advantage that is to be derived from these hill-schools. *There is only one fear, and that is, lest they should tempt* parents who with a little care and self-denial could afford to send their children to England, to forego that advantage, and rest content with a second-class education in the country; for, with all the advantages of climate and scenery, with the best efforts of the most experienced masters, education in India is not, and can never be, the same thing as education in England. The deterioration of the Anglo-Saxon constitution in India is an inexorable law of nature, from which there is no escape. The theory of climatization is a fallacy long ago exploded. Every day that an Englishman remains in the East, he becomes less able to withstand the effects of climate. Nor does the intellectual part of our nature escape this influence. We miss every day in India a thousand associations, incidents, sights and sounds, by which our ideas, our thoughts, and feelings might be invigorated, quickened, and purified. As the polyp and sea-anemone kept in vivaria pine for what is to them life, we yearn for that contact of mind with mind, that elevating, freshening influence of civilization which can only be found in the great centres of human life in Europe and America. And as the fresh sea-water pumped into the vivarium once every six hours serves but to delude the occupants with a

counterfeit tide, and is but a sorry substitute, though it does enable them to maintain a languid existence which would otherwise totally decay, so the resources of literature and society which we have in India are but a makeshift after all, by which we do our best to repair the decay of mental vigour inseparable from a life of exile. The effect of this upon children is very striking. Here and there you meet exceptional instances, but as a rule an English boy or girl educated in the country, even under the happiest and most favourable circumstances, with all the advantages of hill climate and home influence, bears the same resemblance to a child educated in England as the indigenous horse of India does to the English thoroughbred. It is right that parents who cannot afford to send their children to England should have the means of giving them a good education in their adopted country, but it is to be feared that one result of the Bishop's schools will be that many a child who would have been brought up amid healthy influences in Great Britain, will be left to grow up to maturity amid the comparatively sickly and enervating moral atmosphere of an Indian school. Nowhere is the character of boys to be studied better than in a playground. Let anyone sit in the corner of a playground in a large Indian school, and listen to the conversation of the boys, their language, pronunciation, and general development of ideas and character. He will probably hear less actually bad language than in a similar place in England : but he cannot fail to be struck with the prevailing tone, the listlessness and want of energy in the boys' actions and gestures, their behaviour to each other, and a general want of the manliness and vigour which are observable in an English school.

Dr. Daltry, the Bishop of Madras, died early this year. He was a contemporary and friend of Simeon at Cambridge in early days, and was appointed Archdeacon of Calcutta in 1831. In 1840 he left India, and succeeded Baptist Noel at St. John's, Bedford Row, whence he was taken for the Madras bishopric. He was a good, guileless man, but

not gifted with those abilities, the best test perhaps of true greatness, which enable men to influence others.

Cast in a different mould from Bishop Daltry, but gifted with many sterling qualities, though they were destined to be exercised in another field altogether, and were combined with the utmost refinement to which the highest cultivation of mind and manner can attain, the Countess Canning, at the close of the year, preceded her husband, by but a short period, in her flight to a world where political animosities and social distinctions are forgotten. Lady Canning left Calcutta in the autumn for a short sojourn at Darjeeling, and on her way back caught a jungle fever, which developed itself about ten days after her return to Barrackpore. Perhaps there were never two people in the position Lord and Lady Canning held, who realized better in the mere outward observances of life the ideal of true nobility and gentle breeding. Courteous and affable, and at the same time dignified, Lord Canning had the faculty of making his guests feel at home, while at the same time as long as he was in the room they never lost the perception that they were in the presence of her Majesty's viceroy. And the Countess Canning, in her own sphere, exerted a similar influence. There was a shade of great sadness at times upon her features, which would have been painful to witness but for the spirit of sweetness and resignation that accompanied it. On terms of intimacy with the Queen, the childless Countess may have felt sadly at times in India the want of female sympathy and friendship. It is seldom the part of the historian to intrude into the private life of great people or public characters. But in India the tongue of scandal is never silent, and I may not in thought follow Lady Canning's mortal remains to the tomb her sorrowing husband had prepared for her at Barrackpore, without recalling, in open contradiction to the reports about the terms on which she was said to live with her husband, the impression I have received from one who was frequently in their society, when relieved for a time of the pressing

cares of state Lord Canning sought and found, in the companionship of one of the most refined and elegant women of her age, the solace of domestic happiness. His feelings at her loss found expression in the following words, which were subsequently inscribed as an epitaph over her tomb :—

“ Honours and praises written on a tomb are at best a vain glory ; but that her charity, humility, meekness, and watchful faith in her Saviour, will, for that Saviour’s sake, be accepted of God, and be to her a glory everlasting, is the firm trust of those who knew her best and most dearly loved her in life, and who cherish the memory of the departed.”

Below this are the following lines :—

“ The above words were written Nov. 22d, 1861, by Earl Canning, who survived his wife but seven months. He left India on the 18th March, died in London on the 17th June, and was buried in Westminster Abbey on the 21st June, 1862.”

CHAPTER VI

1862.

The Legislative Council—The Mysore grant—Lord Canning's protest—Bombay and Madras Councils—The High Courts—Sale of waste lands—Sir Charles Wood's unpopularity—Redemption of land tax and permanent settlement—Physical changes in operation—Climate and irrigation—Railways—Increased cultivation—Ganges Canal—Extension of cotton cultivation—Tea—Causes of failure—Rising in the Hills—Treaty with Burmah—Official changes—Lord Canning's death—Sir John Peter Grant—Sir George Clerk—Police and Finance Commission

THE new Legislative Council met on Saturday the 18th January. The visitor to the Council Chamber might have seen seated at the centre of a long table covered with green baize, facing the door, the noble figure of Lord Canning. On his right sat a native prince, calm and impassive, but showily and richly dressed. This was the Raja of Puttiala, a Sikh chieftain from Upper India, who had behaved with marked fidelity to the British Government in 1857. He was the first native member appointed to the Council under the new Act, and perhaps was better fitted to aid Her Majesty's Government in the field than in the council chamber. After attending several sittings, the Raja asked leave to bring in a bill. The permission could not be refused, and the object of the contemplated enactment was to prohibit the use of beef as an article of food. Next to the Raja of Puttiala sat Sir Bartle Frere, then another native member, Raja Deo Narain Singh, Raja of Benares; and next to him the strikingly tall figure of

Sir Cecil Beadon. On the left of Lord Canning sat Mr. Grey, the Secretary; then Mr. Harrington; then the Raja Dinker Rao, the astute Mahratta minister who kept Scindia, the Raja of Gwalior, straight during the troublous times of 1857, although others say that it was Scindia who kept his minister straight. But it only needed a glance at Scindia and his minister to see with which of the two the moral influence lay. Next to Dinker Rao came Mr. Erskine, and after him Messrs. Cowie, Fitzwilliam, and Forbes, the non-official element in the Council, for the independent influence of the native members was so small that they hardly deserve to be reckoned in that category. Mr. Wyllie, the deputy secretary, sat next to Mr. Forbes; the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, Sir J. P. Grant, was placed immediately opposite Lord Canning; and after him Mr. Ritchie and Sir Robert (now Lord) Napier of Magdala.

The constitution of the new Council was given to it by the "Indian Councils Act" of 1861, alluded to in the last chapter.

With the exception of the presence of a small body of non-official members, that constitution was eminently despotic. It was never intended, indeed, that the power of the Viceroy and his Executive Council should be in any way interfered with by the legislative body. Ever since the free expression of opinions, and the attitude assumed by the popular party headed by the Chief Justice Sir Barnes Peacock, in the discussion that ensued upon the question of the Mysore Grant and the budget, the Government at home, as well as in India, seemed to have resolved to trample down the sickly little shoot of liberal principles that had thrust its head above the ground during the reaction of public feeling at the time of Mr. Wilson's appointment.

Even Mr. Wilson's English ideas in favour of representative government speedily gave way before the conviction forced upon him after his rapid tour through the country up to Lahore, that what India required was a firm govern-

ment. After the blow which had well-nigh staggered us in 1857, there was indeed need of firmness. And when, in the angry and excited state of feeling consequent upon Sir Charles Wood's policy in the matter of the Mysore Grant, the Council assumed something of the functions of a House of Commons, and called for papers, the fate of the sickly little shoot was sealed. It must be trampled down, and trampled down it was.

That India is not yet ripe for representative government is patent to every one. The native population have to go through many decades of education before they are fitted to exercise the right of suffrage, and before they find candidates suited for the Indian Parliament. Here and there might be found some of sufficient breadth of view and general intelligence to take part in a debate, to criticise a bill, to recommend a measure. But to entrust a house of native representatives with the power of a House of Parliament would be to surrender the country.

That the Legislative Council, however, should be improved by being deprived of the experience of a man like Sir Barnes Peacock, or that it would not be improved by a much larger admixture of the non-official element, both European and native, is indeed difficult to understand.

No one felt or resented the interference of Sir Charles Wood in the matter of the Mysore Grant more strongly than Lord Canning himself. The Mysore princes were the descendants of the sons of the notorious Tippoo Sultan, who after the death of their father at the capture of Seringapatam in 1799 had been brought over to Calcutta, where they had lived, and their children after them, ever since, in the receipt of a pension from the British Government. As the family increased in numbers in course of years, and bid fair to go on increasing, and as they refused to exert themselves, or do aught but live the lives of Eastern princes in luxurious indolence, Lord Dalhousie recommended that after the fourth generation the pension should cease. But the Directors, probably afraid of agitation in

England, declared that they could not turn the princes out into the world to share Adam's curse and earn their bread by the sweat of their brow. The numbers of these claimants to eleemosynary support had arisen in 1850 to the alarming figure of twenty-two grandsons and thirteen great-grandsons, with their families and servants and pensioners, and the host of nondescript hangers-on that are a part and parcel of every Eastern court. What was to be done with them? Were we to go on pensioning the ever-increasing host of princelings and their satellites for all time; or were they to be told to go to seek their own bread? Lord Dalhousie, as has been stated, suggested stopping their pensions altogether after the fourth generation. Lord Canning was not averse to making an arrangement by which a permanent provision should be secured on a reasonable and moderate scale, but the family determined to try the experiment of an appeal to England.

Fully alive to the objectionable course of maintaining a large colony of princelings in mischievous idleness, Sir Charles Wood was desirous of making some arrangement by which they might become absorbed into the body of the people, and learn to be independent. So he proposed to allow the different members of the families to remove from Calcutta, and settle where they pleased; and in order to enable them to do this, he proposed to create a fund in India stock, the interest of which would be sufficient to maintain them. Accordingly a sum of 17,000*l.* per annum was allotted for their maintenance, an equal amount given to the existing heads of families for their lives, and a further sum for the purchase of residences. Altogether it amounted to 520,000*l.* But Sir Charles Wood justified the expenditure on the ground that the whole sum did not equal that 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.¹

¹ *Vide* "Sir Charles Wood's Administration of Indian Affairs." By Algernon West, late Private Secretary. P. 140.

Sir Charles Wood thus expressed himself upon these points, in his despatch dated February 4, 1861 :—

“When I review all the circumstances 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 revenue of the territory assigned for the maintenance of the country ; when I consider the intentions of the framers of the treaty, the recorded opinion 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 payment to the family had occurred, there were accumulations to the credit of the fund greater than the amount 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 incumbents 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 beneficent 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.”

This drain upon the Indian revenue certainly came at an inauspicious moment, when the finances were in such a state that it was deemed necessary to send Mr. Wilson out to see after them, when there was an enormous deficit, and the only hope of balancing our receipts and expenditure lay in a stern and ruthless exercise of the shears in cutting down departments, abolishing offices, reducing salaries, and in taxing the people. The announcement was received in India with a yell of indignation, which found an echo within the walls of the Council, and put back for a half century, probably, the progress of India towards a representative Government.

Lord Canning had entered a dignified and a firm protest against this unheard-of interference with the administration of Indian affairs. He said in a minute, dated 20th August, 1860, to which the portion of the despatch from the Secretary of State just quoted is a reply:—

“The circumstances of the time must be my excuse if I say that this is a grievous weight to put upon the State, when every nerve is being strained to reduce and keep down expenditure, and when risk and odium are being incurred by the raising of new taxes

“The Home Government cannot be fully aware of the refusals and postponements with which the most urgent requests for increased expenditure in various departments of civil administration are almost daily met by the Governor-General in Council, even when based on the clearest justice and expediency. But the general necessity under which we lie of avoiding for the present every increase of expense that can by possibility be avoided, must surely be understood in England

“Here it certainly is not by the Government alone this new infliction is felt. The arrangement has been paraded in the newspapers (not by the authority of Government), and is known to the public at large, and I have reason to believe that it is viewed as a very unreasonable burden by many who are now being called upon for the first time to pay a direct tax to the State, and who are therefore more inclined than they have hitherto been to criticise the disposal of the State's money

Usually the Government of India has been consulted by the Home Government when measures affecting the position of the chiefs or great families of India have been in question, and especially when any considerable expenditure, hitherto unlooked for, has been involved. In the present instance, the Governor-General in Council was not apprised of such measures being contemplated

“Had he been so apprised, it would have been his duty to suggest for consideration some points which seem to have been entirely overlooked in England

“Admitting that it is desirable and just that there should be some permanent future provision made for the Mysore family, it would have been his duty to submit that the present and general increase of their stipend is not called for”

And again, in alluding to the blow which was dealt to the prestige of the Viceroy of India by such an ignoring of his authority, he adds:—

“Now it is very probable that, the result of Prince Golan Mahomed's voyage to England being known, other natives of high rank who may have favours to ask will follow his example. It will be for the Secretary

of State to judge whether their claims too shall be decided in England without reference to the Governor-General in Council.

"I venture to think that, apart from the burden which may be put upon the revenue unnecessarily and unseasonably by such a course, there are strong reasons for adhering to the former practice of receiving the representations of all such claimants through, or of referring them to, the Government of India

"With the increasing facility and habit of visiting England, and with the tendency which the assumption of the government of India by the Crown has naturally had to direct all eyes to England, it has become more than ever desirable that, with the view of upholding the authority of the Governor-General in Council, natives should not, whatever their rank, be encouraged to address their claims direct to the Home Government.

"It cannot be a good thing that a native prince, however high in rank or loyal in disposition, should go about vaunting the influence which he has been able to exercise in England in the acquisition of his desires, as Prince Gölām Mahomed has done.

"I have before had occasion to remark (I believe with the approval of Her Majesty's Government) that 'it is not a proper or a wise policy to lead the native chiefs to look beyond the Queen's representative in matters affecting their rights and titles, and the engagements made with them,' and that 'it is a mistake to suppose that by so doing their loyal and orderly subordination to the Queen's Government would be promoted.'

"These remarks had not reference to the rights or claims of stipendiary chiefs, but they are not the less applicable to such chiefs. I refer to them now, not from any jealousy for the authority of an office which I shall soon lay down, but because I am convinced that to hold India well in hand, the influence of the Governor-General in Council ought to be increased and not diminished in the eyes of the natives, and that weakness will result to the Government of India by attracting their attention and their hopes from India to England. It appears to me that the tendency of some recent proceedings has been in this last-named direction; but however this may be, the fact that a pensioned prince, leaving Calcutta without any avowal of his purpose (indeed with a studious concealment of it, as regards myself), has been able to obtain from Her Majesty's Government an augmentation of the stipends and grants to his family by the vast amounts ordered in the despatch of the 11th of June, and that he has claimed payment with only a few days' foreknowledge on the part of the Government, and at a time of notorious financial pressure, is a significant one. All this is as well known in the bazars and streets of Calcutta as in the Council Chamber of Government House, or at the India Office in London; and it will not tend to elevate the Government of India in the estimation of the public, native or European."

Such was the history of the Mysore Grant, which was loudly condemned by the Legislative Council; Sir Barnes Peacock heading the malcontents by questioning the extent to which the treaty as originally construed was binding on us at all. Care was taken that in the new Council there should be no opportunity for a similar expression of public opinion to find vent. The president is the Viceroy, or some one nominated by him; he may adjourn any discussion or vote, any meeting or business—whether a quorum be present or no—to any future time. A member may call for papers, as “spirits from the vasty deep,” but the President shall determine whether he shall have them or no. And, thirdly, the President may suspend the constitution of the Council—for sufficient reasons. After a bill has passed it must receive the assent of the Governor-General in Council as Viceroy, besides the assent he gives as President of Council; and after an unhappy bill has struggled into existence against all these odds, it may be vetoed by the Secretary of State.

Such is the constitution of the Indian Legislative Council, the non-official members of which are nominated by the Governor-General. But, indeed, it matters little by whom they are nominated, as it is clear that they are but a cypher, a “sham and a wind-bag,” as Dr. Johnson would have called them. Even the public, or reporters for the press, were only admitted on Mr Laing’s urgent representation. It is a great misfortune that the term ‘Legislative Council’ was retained, because the phrase conveys to the mind the idea of a real council met together for free debate and to frame laws; and we shall see in the sequel of the history how, even in such an assembly, the non-official members have met with scant courtesy, and been desired in other words “to hold their tongues.” But in England, people who hear of the Calcutta Legislative Council are apt to get the idea that it is really a legislative council in the same sense as the phrase is used in the colonies and other dependencies of Great Britain, where

there is a real freedom of debate and interchange of opinion; and so they come to give much greater weight to the proceedings of the Council than they deserve, supposing them to be in some sense a reflection of the popular voice supported by the weight of public opinion, instead of being the acts of a small clique of officials which may be annulled by the simple fiat of the Viceroy or the Secretary of State.

From 1833 to 1861 the minor presidencies had had no legislative council of their own, but their laws were all manufactured for them by the legislators who sat in Calcutta. In 1833 a legal member nominated by the Crown was added, and in 1853 a member of the Civil Service from each presidency and lieutenant governorship was nominated as a sort of representative from his own province, and at the same time two judges of the Supreme Court were privileged to sit in council. By the new Act the minor presidencies received again the privilege of having legislative bodies of their own, but they were not to interfere with the army, customs, public debt, or any question of Imperial interest. The Bombay Council met on the 22d January, and that of Madras on the 4th February. In Madras Sir W. Denison appointed three officials and an equal number of non-officials, of the latter of whom one was a native. In Bombay Sir George Clerk appointed seven, out of whom four were non-official, three being natives and one an English gentleman, for which he was belauded by the natives exactly in proportion to the extent to which he was cried down by the Europeans.

As to the comparative value of a European or a native in council, it is more dogmatism to assert, as is so often done, that the superiority lies wholly with the Anglo-Saxon. As a general rule, applicable in principle only—for in each instance the question of comparative efficiency must rest upon the selection made and the individual merits of the nominee—the Englishman will of course have the advantage in breadth of view, independence of thought and

feeling, and political education: on the other hand, the native has the advantage of acquaintance with the country and the feelings of the people, and it is India after all, and not England, that is being legislated for. But what is of much more importance than the comparative qualifications of the Englishman and the native, is the fact, generally overlooked, that experience gained in Calcutta, Bombay, or Madras, is of very little more use in legislating for all India than that gained in London or Melbourne. Nor is there much less want of sympathy between the European and the native than there is between the natives of Upper India and the class known as Young Bengal and Young Bombay.

One would have thought the Council as thus constituted was sufficiently secured from all tendency to freedom of debate or procedure; but, to take away even the slight shadow of resemblance to a House of Commons which some member might at a future time have been so infatuated as to imagine he beheld, Sir Charles Wood subsequently sent out instructions to Lord Elgin, who had meantime succeeded Lord Canning, that such terms as "sessions" and "prorogation" were not to be used, and that the right was reserved to the Viceroy of publishing a bill when the Council was not sitting without asking leave to bring it in.

Another important measure of this year was the amalgamation of the courts. The old Supreme Court and the old Sudder Court at the three Presidency towns were abolished, and an amalgamated court called the High Court substituted in their room by charter. One-third of the judges by the Act must be barristers of five years' standing, and two-thirds members of the Civil Service who have been judges of zillahs or district courts for at least three years. The High Court at Agra, now Allahabad, was not created till a year or two subsequently. At the same time, the Civil Procedure Code in vogue in India in every court not established by royal charter was intro-

duced into the High Courts of the Presidencies, much to the disgust of the bar, but very much to the advantage of the client, for one uniform procedure thus became generally adopted throughout India.

The opening of the new Council and of the new Courts were the only constitutional measures carried out this year. But Sir Charles Wood, the *bête noir* of the Indian Government, continued to deal his blows against the prerogative of the Viceroy with unabated vigour. Lord Canning, there is no doubt, felt bitterly the humiliation to which he was subjected, and Lord Elgin is said to have remarked shortly after he came into power that his predecessors were Governor-Generals, but that he had not authority to confer a pension of two pounds a month on a retired clerk. Of course so long as the constitution of the Government provides a machinery whereby all the Viceroy's public acts are liable to be cancelled, and it is required that they should receive confirmation by the higher authority of the Secretary of State before being effective, neither the Viceroy nor the public have any reason to complain of that machinery being set in motion. Whether the Viceroys of India, and Lord Canning was the first, have fully realized the fact of their subordination to the Secretary of State, there are no means of knowing; but certainly the incessant, and, as it appeared to the outside world, the occasionally abrupt, interference of Sir Charles Wood with many of the measures of the Indian Government, had the effect of lowering very much the prestige of the local Government among the natives, and to a certain extent no doubt weakened the power of the executive. I am not depreciating the principle of that interference. When the Viceroy, as is the case in India, is necessarily so much under the influence of a small clique of officials, and the Government is practically an oligarchy, the check that is capable of being applied to tyrannical, or oppressive, or unjust measures, by a higher authority in England, situated at a distance from the vortex of petty prejudice and

passion that too often sway the councils of the Government in a place like India, is most wholesome and salutary. The outcry against Sir Charles Wood among all the European community in India was very loud. The unpopularity with which Lord Canning was at one time regarded was all transferred to the Secretary of State. And during the latter part of Sir C. Wood's tenure of office, there was literally nothing too bad to be said of him. Every unpopular measure, every distasteful order affecting either of the three services, was invariably ascribed to him. In private circles or in public, to say a word in his defence was to draw down on yourself a portion of the odium with which that official was viewed. In the army especially, while the ill-conceived and ill-ordered amalgamation was being carried out, every order, every measure, every act of government which injuriously affected the interests of any class, was attributed to some hostile feeling which Sir Charles Wood was supposed to entertain towards the officers of the old Indian army, whose ruin, according to popular representations, he was for ever plotting. It was utterly vain to combat this notion, and so deeply was it engraven in the minds of all classes, that if such a mode of expressing political feeling had been common among Anglo-Indians, the Secretary of State would have been burnt in effigy every night in every garrison, and in every place where more than two Englishmen were to be found together. He occupied the place which the Pope fills in the Protestant mind of England every fifth of November. The natives, on the other hand, regarded him in quite a different light; and I am quite sure that the fact of there being an appeal from the decision of the local Government to a higher authority in England, however distasteful it may be to officials on the spot, is a source of untold satisfaction and confidence to the whole native population.

So would the European community regard it, if they knew their own interests. But in 1862, to borrow a meta-

phor from Hindoo mythology, Lord Canning had become the Avatar of Anglo-Indian worship, and Sir Charles Wood the antagonistic demon ever seeking its destruction.

The next interference by the Secretary of State with the measures of the local government, which gave great umbrage, was the practical annulment of Lord Canning's resolution for the sale of the waste lands. This measure was no new design hastily conceived, for as far back as 1858, Lord Stanley, when Secretary of State, had desired Lord Canning to collect information and prepare a scheme for selling the waste cultivable land, as well as parting with the fee simple of lands owned by Government, by means of the redemption of the land-tax. Why the measure had lain so long in abeyance is not known. Perhaps Lord Canning's attention was too much occupied with other matters, or perhaps it was not till the cotton crisis and the famine that the probable advantages of the scheme forced themselves upon his notice. At any rate it was not till October 1861 that the resolution appeared offering waste lands for sale in fee simple. The date is not unimportant, and so anxious was the author of the scheme to see it carried out, that he took the somewhat unprecedented course of officially desiring those who wanted to avail themselves of the opportunity to take up land, not to wait for legislation on the subject.

He retired in March 1862, and almost his last act was to introduce into council his bill giving the authority of a legal enactment to his proceedings. Now all this time the measure was before Sir Charles Wood. He had from October to March to express his dissent from the scheme, if he did dissent. He knew its importance. He knew that the moment the resolution had been published, it was received with acclamation by all parties. He knew that applications for grants of land were pouring in from all sides. He knew that in England companies were being formed to purchase estates in India, yet it is strange he took no steps to express disapproval; on the contrary, he

allowed things to take their course. But after Lord Canning was dead—for he died very shortly after his return to England—the Secretary of State issued orders superseding the late Viceroy's resolution, and practically annulling it. All India stood aghast. Those who had bought lands, but whose purchase was not complete, complained loudly that they had been deceived. The enthusiasm with which the resolution had been received, and with which English planters and capitalists were preparing to settle down in India, suddenly cooled. Companies suspended their operations, and intending speculators shut up their purses, and betook themselves to Australia or some other colony where the government was a little less arbitrary and capricious, and where there was a restraining power in the shape of public opinion, or a hope of satisfaction from an appeal to Parliament. Meantime, officials under some local governments, taking the cue from their superiors, adopted every shuffling and quibbling artifice they could to put an end to bargains already half made, and get rid of the *bête noir* of Indian officialism—the European settler.

By the new resolution, dated 9th June, 1862, waste lands, instead of being sold as had been directed, at so much an acre, were to be sold in plots or blocks by auction at an upset price which the local government might fix. Now if the object was to get European settlers to come to India—and Lord Canning made no secret that such was the end he contemplated in issuing the resolution, and Sir Charles Wood professed to concur with him—it was about the last thing likely to forward such an object, allowing the local governments to fix an upset price on land; for it obviously left it in the power of a small clique of officials to put a prohibitory price on it if it were likely to be purchased by any one who was obnoxious to them.

Acquaintance with the site of valuable blocks of jungle land in India is not to be acquired very easily, and Lord Canning's resolution plainly aimed at both rewarding

energy and encouraging a wholesome spirit of enterprise. For unless a plot selected was in the proximity of a town, or there was any cause for making it specially valuable, in which case it was to be put up to auction, the person who discovered the site—a discovery which perhaps was not made without toil and risk—derived some advantage for his trouble, for he had but to apply for the land and it was his on compliance with the necessary conditions. But Sir C. Wood totally forgot that waste land in India does not lie by the road-side, where you can inspect it during a morning ride, and he offered but little inducement to a man to spear out desirable localities whereon to settle. For, first of all, the local authorities must make themselves acquainted with the site, so as to fix the price; then the applicant must deposit the cost of the survey, and then it has to be surveyed. Each one of these regulations is in itself calculated to act as a prohibition; and certainly the clause regarding the survey is; for in many parts of the country, unless the jackals and bears could have been prevailed upon to occupy some of their spare time in surveying the block, there would be but little prospect of getting the work done. Sir Charles Wingfield stated that this work could be done by qualified natives, of whom he said there was any number who had been turned out professional surveyors from the Government colleges. Now the Government colleges do not, as a rule, teach surveying at all, with the exception of the Roorkee institution; and the students from that mostly enter Government service, so that it would have been extremely difficult to find this host of ready-made surveyors, except on paper. But under such a system, who in the world would take the trouble to go and find out a valuable block of land for the sake of seeing it bought over his head by some one with a long purse? An intending settler might after severe toil and exposure discover a site, and after depositing his money and getting it surveyed, have the satisfaction of seeing it purchased at auction by a native banker acting on a hint from the

collector. Had it been designed to hedge round the purchase of waste lands with prohibitory injunctions, without the appearance of actually cancelling Lord Canning's resolution, it could hardly have been accomplished more effectually than by Sir Charles Wood's regulations.

But, in truth, there was a great deal of misunderstanding on both sides of this question. Waste land, in the sense of land having no owner, and waste land in the sense of uncultivated land, are two different things. Of the latter there is no lack in India. Thousands and thousands of acres in every part of the country meet the eye, even of the traveller who pursues his unadventurous way by train. Any one who traverses the continent either in pursuit of science or at the call of duty, may pass, if he go so far, over thousands of miles of uncultivated land covered with stunted vegetation, the abode of the jackal and the deer. But if he imagines the land has no owner, he will be much mistaken. Let him set up a claim, or begin to plough up a portion of it, and valueless as it is he will very soon discover the landlord. Even in jungle districts or virgin forests it will often happen that the zemindar of the neighbouring village—whether that village be one or twenty miles off—will put in a claim for the whole tract. Of course such claims are not easily substantiated. But Sir C. Wood had the then recent events in New Zealand fresh in his recollection. He made no distinction in his own mind between the New Zealander and the native of India, and he dreaded a repetition of what had occurred in the South Pacific. Those who know India perceive how groundless are such fears. Hardy as are some of the natives of the Upper and Central Provinces, there are none that can be compared for a moment with the Maori: and tenacious as the Indians are of their rights in land, the settler is not likely to be called on to compete with them in any field more fatal than the civil courts. The different parties, however, who contested so hotly the policy of Lord Canning and Sir Charles Wood, might have saved themselves the trouble. English capitalists and

colonists will never settle in India as long as there is land to be had in Canada, New Zealand, America, Vancouver's Island, or the Cape. Indeed, as to colonists, the idea of Englishmen "colonizing" the plains of India in the same sense as they do Australia or Canada, and other countries similarly situated, is a mere chimera.

No doubt Lord Canning's resolution was faulty in one respect. He allowed thirty days for a claimant to come forward and establish or set up his right to a plot of land selected for purchase, and within one year from date of sale an owner might recover compensation. The first clause was defective, because thirty days were not long enough; the second conveys a privilege which ought not to have been granted.

Hitherto we have been considering waste lands in the sense of jungle lands. There is another kind of waste land in India, viz. common land, or uncultivated tracts lying contiguous to cultivated, but without an owner. With regard to land of this kind, Lord Canning's resolution was fair enough. He laid down that the owner of the cultivated land to which such tracts were contiguous should have the right of pre-emption. If he did not choose to exercise that right, then in that case, after an interval of five years, and if the land was still waste, it might be sold. Sir C. Wood, however, ruled that in such a case the purchaser should not get a title till the twelve years—the period allowed by the limitation clause of Act X. of 1859—had elapsed. Added to all which, when the different provinces published their detailed rules under the new resolution, many of them added a proviso that the purchaser should hold his grant subject to any future legislation as to the claims of third parties.¹ So it is hardly to be wondered at that applications for waste land in India were not numerous.

There were two other important questions which received the attention of Sir Charles Wood and the Council at the same time as the waste lands resolution, viz. the proposed

¹ *Friend of India.*

redemption of the land-tax and the Permanent Settlement. The latter measure met with the approval of the Council and the Secretary of State, as it has met with that of a large party in India. The operation of the former was practically restricted to the land purchased by settlers under the new resolution.

But, in point of fact, the proposed redemption of the land-tax is a subject scarcely worth discussing, for the simple reason that natives will not avail themselves of the privilege. They have not sufficient confidence in the permanence of British rule, or in British good faith, to run the risk of paying down twenty years' purchase in commutation. Let the offer be made ever so widely, it will not be accepted save in a few exceptional cases, and, in fact, there was not a single application from all the North-West Provinces and Oude during the six months that the experiment was tried. The project, it may be added, would never have been entertained by any one who had any actual knowledge of the feelings and prejudices of the people.

As to the Permanent Settlement so strongly recommended by a large school of politicians, the Government might be advised to act on the principle illustrated by Shekh Sadi in the Gulistan. A certain king had sentenced a man to death. The criminal advised the king not to carry out the sentence. He was asked why. "Because," he said, "if you kill me now the chances are you will hereafter change your mind and believe me innocent, and then it will be impossible for you to undo what you have done." The introduction of the Permanent Settlement is, it is true, recommended by a large class of writers, but it is with equal vehemence opposed by others who have as many claims to attention on the score of practical knowledge and experience as the first. It must be at the best a doubtful experiment; and the fact that the measure, once carried out, cannot be undone, but will be binding on us for all time, ought to make the Government very cautious

how they introduce it. Until it has been carried into effect, we are free to try experimental measures, and, as a last resource, after all we can fall back on it. *

In his minute upon the revenue administration of India, submitted to the Select Committee of the House of Commons in 1832, the Right Hon. Holt McKenzie, alluding to the Settlement, says: "Fully admitting the propriety of creating a private property in land where it may not have existed, and of giving considerable value to it where it may have possessed little or no value, I confess I cannot altogether applaud the policy which limited for ever the reserved rent of the Indian exchequer, and that in a condition of things so little advanced towards the state of improvement which we may reasonably anticipate, and to which a perpetual limitation of the public rent seems to be in no degree necessary. I do not refer to the glaring inequalities which disfigured the Settlement actually made, these were incidental, though sufficiently discreditable to the authorities that permitted them to occur in an arrangement irrevocably sanctioned. They do not affect the principle of the measure. Independently of any such defects, it seems to me that the Perpetual Settlement must be held to have been a very improvident proceeding."¹ But, indeed, it would be easy to fill many pages with the opinions of very high authorities against this measure, as also with many good authorities in favour of it. There is reason to believe that many of the glaring inequalities and defects to which Mr. Holt McKenzie alludes, have been lost sight of, and overlaid with statements and opinions in favour of the measure during the time that has elapsed since it was first carried out. But it is clear, from a perusal of the official and parliamentary papers of 1817 and 1832, that on both these occasions, when the question was thoroughly sifted and discussed, the weight of authority was against a further extension of the system; and,

¹ Report of Select Committee of the House of Commons on Indian Affairs, 1832, vol. iii. p. 308.

although that ought not to be any guide for Indian politicians in the present day, if they can discover fallacies in the arguments formerly adduced, or if the condition of the country has undergone such changes as to make that desirable in 1868 which was deemed undesirable in 1832, yet the opinions recorded in the voluminous proceedings of the Select Committee, and the numerous minutes and despatches that have been written on the subject, may not lightly be disregarded. There are, of course, some tracts of country where such an arrangement might be made with due regard to the general interests of the whole empire. But India is now passing through a transition state. It is impossible for the most far-seeing politician to estimate the probable value of land ten years hence. During the last thirty years India has so much changed that, except for the colour of the people, and perhaps the climate, you would hardly recognise it as the same. It is all very well to assert that the Permanent Settlement has been a success in Bengal. Even allowing, for the sake of argument, that it has as regards Bengal itself, it must be remembered that Bengal is an integral part of the empire, and must not be regarded as if it stood alone, an isolated province, and was not called on to bear its share of Imperial burdens.

The following figures exhibit the proportions in which Bengal Proper and the Presidencies of Bombay and Madras contribute to the Indian revenue.¹—

	Population	Square Miles	Taxes £	Average per head Rs As
Bengal	40,852,397	277,000	8,189,067	2 0
Madras	23,127,855	128,551	6,141,126	3 12
Bombay	10,021,305	80,000	4,654,295	4 0

So that while Bengal, with its 277,000 square miles of the most fertile land in the world, pays but eight millions to the State, Madras with its 128,000 square miles, and its population only a little more than half of that of Bengal, pays six millions.

¹ *Vide* returns in the *Times of India*, Dec. 21, 1861.

There are many reasons for believing that, compared to what it was in very early days, the climate of India has undergone a total change. One strong indication of this are the traces and remains of buildings and enormous cities which meet us everywhere, erected by the former inhabitants on a scale of magnificence and grandeur which the present race of natives could not be conceived under any circumstances capable of compassing.

Such a deterioration in physical development as would account for the difference between the present race and the inhabitants of India before Alexander's time, making allowance for the admixture of Northern blood consequent on the various invasions of India by races from Upper and Central Asia, can be explained only by supposing that changes have occurred in the climate similar to those which have taken place in Italy and other countries. There was, in all probability, as much difference between the ancient and modern Indians as between the ancient and modern Greeks and Romans, and without searching for the causes of deterioration in the latter instances, the phenomenon in India may be fully accounted for by a change of climate. Certainly there is no country in the world where at different seasons Nature wears so different an aspect. In Bengal, and the southern part of India, especially near the coast, it is pretty much the same all the year round; but all over Central and Upper India, the rich verdure, the brilliant foliage, tinted with every possible shade of brightest green, the luxuriant crops, the rivers, brooks, and small lakes, that form the characteristic features of the country during the periodical rains, is as utterly different to the parched-up appearance of the same land a month before as it is possible to conceive. Then the earth is like iron under your feet, and the sky white with heat; the trees, shrubs, dry river-beds, and the whole surface of the soil and everything on it the same brown colour, like burnt clay. An extensive system of artificial irrigation, and the growth of forest-trees on a large scale, would even now so totally alter the

character of a great part of Upper India, as to transform it, in climate at least, into another country.

Another cause of future change, the result of which no one can at present foresee, is at work in the development of railways. We are only just commencing to sketch out the nucleus of that network of iron roads which will one day overspread India and alter the channels of commerce, and most materially affect the value of land. While we were constructing a thousand miles of railway in India, there were twenty thousand constructed in America, and mostly with English capital. But our progress, though slow, is sure, and will become more rapid, doubtless, as time goes on. In no country in the world, perhaps, are railways better appreciated than they are in India. Wherever they appear they stimulate commerce and agricultural industry, and diffuse among the masses a spirit more approaching that of Western civilization than anything that we before have witnessed. Traversing vast tracts, as railways do in India and America—in the former case affording practically the only communication between rich agricultural districts and the sea-board, or the great centres of population and the markets—land in their neighbourhood increases in value in an untold ratio.

In the ten years between 1850 and 1860, the cultivation increased in five collectorates in the Bombay Presidency from below six millions to upwards of ten millions of acres. This was under a low assessment, which was fixed at a time when the value of land was much depressed. But in course of years the value increased enormously, on account chiefly of the rise of the export trade, and general growth of prosperity. Throughout one collectorate, that of Nuggur, the average rate of assessment was eight annas, or a shilling an acre; but in consequence of the change in the value of money, and other causes, it was practically reduced to half that, or sixpence an acre, and that under a thirty years' lease!*

* *Times of India.*

During the famine of 1860-1 in the North of India, an estimate was made by Colonel Turnbull, of the Engineers, of the probable results of the Ganges Canal. This estimate should not be taken as being very accurate. Accuracy in such a calculation was impossible; but as an estimate it may illustrate the subject. The canal was calculated to produce 339,243,840 lbs. of grain, sufficient for 464,718 men, and the same number of women and children, per diem for a year, and fodder sufficient to support the cattle of the whole district through which the canal flows, besides causing a circulation of 120 lacs of rupees, or 12,000,000*l.*

Without pursuing further this subject, which would easily occupy a volume in itself, let us ask whether a country where art and nature are working such modifications is ripe for a perpetual settlement? Bengal, with its fertile soil and thriving population, pays three annas and a half an acre; while Madras pays seven, and Bombay the same; an inequality of taxation which it would be assuredly unjust, even if it could be shown to be politic, to stereotype.

The effort to promote the extension of cotton cultivation was this year carried out with unabated vigour. Sir Charles Wood even sanctioned an expenditure of 3,000,000*l.* from the cash balances for reproductive public works, but it was found impossible to procure labour to that extent. Prices of cotton continued to rise, and "Surats" went up to sixteen pence. This was a year of great distress in Lancashire, and India was of some service in remitting 70,000*l.* towards the fund for the relief of the operatives; but her best aid, perhaps, was the million and a quarter of bales of cotton she shipped to Liverpool. Meantime, 30,000*l.* were voted for temporary works on the Godavery in the Madras Presidency, with the view of tapping the cotton districts in the Central Provinces. The navigation of the Godavery is seriously impeded by three great barriers, or bars of rock,

which cross the river in three different spots, and it is the removal of these barriers which has for so long occupied the attention of the Madras Government. This grant of 30,000*l.* for temporary works was not intended to supersede the operations for opening out the navigation of the river permanently. In the Bombay Presidency roads were sanctioned from Poona to the frontiers of Mysore, at a cost of 27,000*l.* Other grants for similar purposes were made in other provinces at the rate of 15,000*l.* in the North-West Provinces, 7,000*l.* in Nagpore, and 2,500*l.* in Berar; sums that appear ludicrously inadequate for the objects to which they were devoted, but they were granted from the Imperial revenue for local improvements at a time of great financial pressure, and were necessarily cut up into small fragmentary portions, owing to the vast extent of country over which the money had to be spread, and proportionate also to the amount of labour likely to be profitably employed.

The attention of private speculators had for many years been directed to the cultivation of tea in Assam, and more recently in the North-West of India and the Punjab. In Assam the plant is indigenous. In Upper India it is not so, the seed having been imported in the first instance from China. With the view of encouraging as much as possible the growth of tea, and at the same time of improving the quality, the Government established experimental gardens in Upper India, under the supervision of Dr. Jamieson, the superintendent of the botanical gardens at Saharunpore, in the North-West Provinces. Dr. Jamieson's reports speak most favourably of the prospects of tea cultivation; and small gardens in the hands of one or two private speculators having turned out eminently successful, the rage for tea planting spread rapidly among the European community. The natives never seem to have taken to it with any zest. But a vast number of English, principally retired officers and others, living in the Himalayas and the adjacent valleys, engaged in it. The tea-plant is hardy

and survived wonderfully the series of experiments made by hands altogether unskilled in that branch of horticulture. The mania spread like an epidemic. Companies were started by officers in the service, who invested all their hard-earned savings in estates which were to yield a fortune in a few years' time. Patience was the only thing required; capital and skill—above all, experience in tea planting and manufacture—were quite secondary matters. Elaborate prospectuses set forth the yield per bush, the number of bushes in an acre, the expense of cultivation, and the market price. The statements were a little overdrawn, perhaps, but the scheme appeared so plausible that numbers were eager to invest. Assam shares, which had been bought some years back for five or ten rupees, were selling for five hundred. By the present year, 1862, almost every available plot of ground suitable for tea had been taken up in the Kangra district, in the Punjab, in Kumaon, in Darjeeling, in the Dera Doon. In Assam, planters might be reckoned by hundreds; upwards of a hundred had settled in the valley of Cachar, which a few years ago was an uninhabited jungle. In Central India, on the high lands, in the Deccan, in the Neilgherries, the same state of things prevailed; while in Coorg, and the Wynaad, and other districts in the Madras Presidency, similar energy was being bestowed on coffee planting. India was suddenly represented in the character of an agricultural El Dorado, where gold and silver were to be plucked off the tea, coffee, and cotton bushes, instead of dug out of the ground. The tea fever did not reach its height in this year, but it may be as well to anticipate a little, and relate in this place the results of the epidemic. In 1860-1-2, and in 1863, with the exception of a few long-headed men who were vastly in the minority, tea-planting was considered as a certain road to a moderate fortune. Banks advanced large sums on the security of plantations—a sure sign that confidence was placed in the speculation at that time. Of course the inevitable reaction came. The

elaborate prospectuses, that set forth the most unexceptionable tabular statements, showing the amount of profits to be derived, might have been correct, but they took no account of one thing which in all prospective views of human affairs should be allotted its proper place. If it is ignored and put out of court altogether, it invariably revenges itself for the contumely by asserting its right to be considered, and that is CIRCUMSTANCE. The tea companies failed, failed altogether, failed everywhere. One or two of the very best are in existence in 1868, but they are mostly, paying little interest on their capital. All the rest have perished, and untold sums of money have been buried in the soil—sacrificed to the bubble Tea. These failures are especially painful to contemplate. Usually in a great commercial crisis, when some very favourite speculation has proved unsound, and a general smash has involved in ruin all who were unwary enough to trust the bubble, the disaster has chiefly been confined to the commercial world, where, though it would be unjust to say men are used to such things, yet, compared to bodies of men like the officers of the civil and military services, the ruin is less complete, and the losses are more easily recovered. But the speculators in tea were principally officers in the service, or retired officers who invested the savings, perhaps, of a lifetime, upon which they depended for the means of educating their children or starting them in the world, or providing for their old age, in some company or private partnership. The ruin that overtook them was complete. There was no recovery. There was no going through the insolvent court and starting again in another line of business. Their savings were gone, and except for their bare pay and pensions they were penniless. It is lamentable to think how many lacs of rupees, representing the hope of comfort in old age, of a provision in retirement, of a liberal education for children, have been squandered in India within the last five or six years in tea.

The question naturally occurs to the reader, *Why this failure?* The causes are several; and may be briefly stated as follows. It must be premised that, as a rule, small gardens of from fifty to a hundred or two hundred acres, managed by the owners themselves, have succeeded so far as to afford a very fair profit on the outlay, and the labour expended on them. A planter—a retired officer, for instance—purchases a small estate, say a couple of hundred acres in extent. He plants out fifty acres of tea the first year, tends it himself with the assistance of a few gardeners at eight shillings a month. Next year he plants out fifty acres more, and in the fourth year the first fifty acres will begin to be fit for plucking, and in full bearing in the fifth year. He constructs a rude factory, sets up his furnace, which costs him next to nothing, and manufactures his tea, for which, being a small quantity, he finds a ready sale in the neighbouring settlement. The story of his success gets abroad. People hear that Captain Smith, with a very small outlay, is realizing such and such a profit from so many acres of tea. If it pays him twenty-five per cent. on an outlay of a thousand rupees, they multiply it by tens, and think they can realize twenty-five per cent. on ten thousand rupees, forgetting altogether that it is to Captain Smith's own supervision that the success is attributable; and that, moreover, Captain Smith, on his own account, has not reckoned anything for his own services during the five years he was waiting for the plants to mature. As Captain Smith could not possibly have existed on less than two thousand rupees a year during those five years, to make the calculation correct, ten thousand rupees ought to be added to the capital invested, and then the profits dwindle down from twenty-five per cent. to about two per cent.

But there is another thing not taken into consideration. Captain Smith's five or six hundred pounds of tea found a ready sale in the neighbouring settlement, at perhaps five shillings a pound, but the supply was just equal to the demand; and had that five hundred pounds been five thou-

sand pounds, there would have been no call for it, but it would have had to be packed up in boxes, and sent all the way to Calcutta, where brokerage, agency commission, freight, loss by the way, and half a dozen etceteras would have very speedily reduced the two per cent. to a deficit.

The main cause of failure, then, may be said to be the erroneous conclusion that success in a concern conducted on a large scale would be proportionate to that which attended efforts on a small scale. Another cause of failure was the ignorance of managers of plantations. In the small gardens the owners looked after the cultivation and manufacture themselves; they had to teach themselves by experience, when all was new, but by care and attention and diligent acquisition of information from every available quarter they picked up knowledge enough to guide them clear of any very great error. But tea-planting is by no means an instinct or a science which is born with us. During the time that the tea mania prevailed there seemed to be a notion abroad that any man in the world could plant and manufacture tea. A sailor by profession who had been all his life at sea; a soldier who for years had pursued the unvarying round of regimental duty; clerks who had never left their desks for two days together; younger brothers of directors who had never had any opportunity of acquiring the requisite knowledge; members of every class, of every profession, with all kinds of antecedents, and one common feature, viz. utter ignorance of tea culture and manufacture, were entrusted with the management of estates, generally the property of joint-stock companies, on salaries of five or six hundred a year. Some of them never learnt at all; others did, but the experience was dearly paid for by the shareholders.

Another fruitful source of disaster was—in Assam, the want of labour; and in Upper India, the drought. It is doubtful if these difficulties can ever be entirely got over. Assam seems a country singularly situated, having no indigenous population. Coolies, of course, can be im-

ported, but the expense of importing them is so heavy, and they die off so rapidly, that it is extremely doubtful if the produce of the estates will ever pay for the labour. In Upper India small gardens may be watered artificially, almost by the hand, and in seasons of drought extra efforts may save the crops, but large plantations require an extensive system of irrigation.

The seasons are very variable, at least they have been so lately, though they were not so formerly ; but, judging by the experience of the last few years, the drought is so great that the spring crops will generally be very poor. In Upper India the first flush is in the spring. Plucking commences about April, and is supposed to go on till June ; but in point of fact the great dryness of the spring weather prevents the young leaf from sprouting, and in that case little or no tea is made till the autumn. When the periodical rains fail, as they do occasionally, the planter's prospects are poor indeed. Tea-planting in Upper India will become a certain success when a good system of artificial irrigation has made the planter independent of the seasons, and when the principle is recognised there as fully as it is elsewhere, that special training or skill, acquired either by study or experience, is necessary in every pursuit in life. In Assam and Lower Bengal, where the air is much less dry, and there is always more rain, the spring crop may always be relied upon. There is no doubt, too, that the indigenous Assam plant yields much more leaf than the China plant, which is not indigenous ; although the flavour of the tea grown in Upper India is very far superior to that produced in Assam, which is chiefly valued in the market for its colour. In fact, the higher the elevation at which tea is grown the finer will be its flavour ; and this is the reason why the Russian China tea is so much finer in its flavour than that imported into England. It is often supposed that the difference is to be accounted for by the fact that the inferior qualities only are shipped to England,

or that the tea deteriorates from contact with the sea air. Neither of these explanations is correct; the latter, indeed, is so absurd that it is extraordinary it could ever have been entertained. The tea imported into Russia, overland, is grown upon the high lands of China, and has the same rich aromatic flavour as the tea grown in Kangra and Kumaon and other hill districts in India.

It would be an error to suppose that the losses by tea failures were all confined to the services. A very large number of firms in Calcutta suffered materially. Estates which had been bought for large sums of money—generally speaking, having fetched far more than their value owing to the excitement that prevailed—were thrown into the market by decrees of court, the foreclosure of mortgages, or a general inability to meet engagements. Plantations on which lacs of rupees had been expended were sold for ten or twenty thousand, in some cases abandoned to weeds and wild beasts; and one estate, which was valued at upwards of a lac, and on which the whole resources of the proprietor had been expended, was sold for seven rupees, or fourteen shillings.

The tea fever may be said to have reached its height in 1863. In the autumn of that year the *Friend of India* wrote: "A glance at the *Calcutta Gazette* will show the enormous extent of tea-land advertised as applied for by capitalists in Assam. Our share-list, which does not represent private owners, almost every week contains the name of a new tea company. There are several young plantations which annually double their produce." The same authority, quoting Dr. Jamieson's official report, gives the following figures, showing the extent to which tea cultivation had then spread. In Assam, in May 1863, there were 246 tea estates, of which seventy-six belonged to companies, the rest to private owners. The area of the whole was 122,770 acres, of which 20,144 were under cultivation. These acres yielded 2,150,068 lbs., valued at the rate of one and ninepence per lb. at 190,000/. In

Cachár, in the six years since 1856, no less than 177 grants of land, covering 558,078 acres, had been applied for. The tea manufactured, with seed sold, was estimated at 47,614*l*.; and in the current year the value, it was expected, would be doubled. In six years planters in this territory, a tract previously uninhabited, drew from the treasury a sum no less than 173,058*l*. Where there was hardly a human being before there were in 1863 150 English planters, employing 15,317 coolies, and the number was increasing every month. At Darjeeling there were, in 1862, 12,366 acres cleared, of which 9,102 were cultivated by 7,447 coolies

In the North-West and Punjab tea districts, covering 35,000 square miles, Dr Jamieson estimated the produce, when in full bearing, at the rate of 100 lbs an acre—by no means a high estimate—at ninety-three millions of pounds, equal to the whole quantity exported by China. In Kumaon there were eleven plantations, two of which belonged to Government. In the North-West Provinces there were 38,556 acres of tea grants, of which 4,596 only were under cultivation, producing 33,960 lbs. in 1862. In the Punjab there were 9,518 acres planted out, employing about thirty-seven planters and 4,000 coolies

Such was the smiling aspect of affairs in 1863. Alas that such pleasing anticipations were destined never to be realized! There is still, however, vitality in the Indian tea cultivation; and wherever the planter is so situated that the seasons can be depended upon, or is rendered by artificial irrigation independent of them, and can procure as much labour as he requires, there is no doubt of success. But in India these are very onerous conditions, and it is to the fact of their being overlooked, amid the sanguine expectations at first entertained, that we must attribute much of the failure and ruin that have overtaken so many speculators.

The year 1862 was not marked by any military event of importance. There was a rising among the tribes in the

Jyntea hills in Assam, who were driven into rebellion by misgovernment and the oppression of petty officials in levying a house-tax. This occasioned a little trouble, on account of the inaccessibility of the place. Brigadier-General Showers, commanding the Presidency division, took the field against the rebels, and Mr. Beadon, who had succeeded Sir P. Grant as Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, also visited the disturbed district. The malcontents were, as it was supposed, pacified, and the General and the Lieutenant-Governor returned to their respective charges, but the rebellion broke out again, and was not quelled at the close of the year.

An important treaty was procured this year, after a vast deal of coaxing and trouble, from the King of Burmah. This potentate, when deprived of a large part of his dominions in the last Burmese war by Lord Dalhousie, declined, with an excess of caution which we should have expected to find exercised by an attorney rather than a semi-barbarian chief, to sign a treaty, lest he should be held to have acquiesced in the annexation of his territory to British India. What difference the king supposed it would make, whether he was held to have acquiesced in it or not, it is difficult to see. But he refused to execute a treaty till the close of the present year, when Colonel Phayre (who had succeeded Colonel Yule as Chief Commissioner of the new province of British Burmah, which was in this year formed by the amalgamation of Arracan, Pegu, and the Tenasserim provinces into one charge) proceeded to Mandalay, the capital, and persuaded the king to grant one. By its terms Englishmen are allowed to trade in the dominions of the king, and to pass through them unmolested; and a British consular agent is to reside at the capital. He refused to surrender his custom duties, but an impost of one per cent. only was levied on goods conveyed by the Irawaddy from China to the Bay of Bengal.

Several changes of officials in high positions occurred during this year. On March 12 Lord Canning made over to

Lord Elgin his responsible post, which he had held during a period more thickly beset with political difficulties than any which it had ever fallen to the lot of a Governor-General to encounter. The historians who attempt to describe Lord Canning's career in India, will be struck with the remarkable difference in his public character and policy, before and subsequent to the suppression of the rebellion. To the probable causes of that difference I have already alluded. And the period that elapsed before the change took place does not come under review in these pages. In the later years of his administration, Lord Canning earned a title to be ranked among the greatest statesmen who have ever held the office of Governor-General. Whether a more vigorous policy at the outset of the disturbance might not have trampled down the spirit of disaffection, it is fruitless now to inquire. Eminently unfortunate in his advisers, he had no sooner shaken himself free from their influence and turned the full force of his own judgment and discretion upon the management of affairs, than he found himself beginning to rise in the estimation of all independent thinkers, supported by public sympathy, and hailed as the pioneer of a more liberal and enlightened policy than India had up to that time ever seen. The wounds, however, that society in India had suffered during the mutiny were too fresh to allow men to form a calm or unprejudiced judgment. The shortcomings of the first part of his administration were still attributed to him rather than to the ill advice of the counsellors by whom he was surrounded, and it was not till time had been allowed for the passions which a period of unprecedented excitement had aroused, to cool down, that men could bring themselves to regard Lord Canning's character in a true light.

With his great experience of India, and the liberal views he adopted in the later part of his career, it was fondly hoped that on his return to England he would continue to watch over the destinies of his recent charge in the capacity of Secretary of State, if indeed his services could have been

spared for the office. He died at the zenith of his fame, having been preceded but a few months by his wife, the Countess Canning, by whom he left no child to perpetuate his line and title. His death has been popularly ascribed to the effects of the Indian climate and to over-work. The Indian climate, however, though it had robbed us about that time of many great men, was not the cause of Lord Canning's death. He landed at Marseilles in good health, and must have caught cold on his journey across France. Not long permitted to enjoy the first instalment of rewards conferred on him for his services, the rangiership of Greenwich Park and an official residence at Blackheath, he was, on the 21st June, 1862, followed to his last resting-place in Westminster Abbey by a train of distinguished mourners, among whom were Lord Palmerston and Lord Clyde, and Sir James Outram.

It has been remarked of Lord Canning that one indication of greatness was wanting in his career. Really great men are always served by great men; but of all Lord Canning's subordinates who owed their elevation to him, few exhibited any peculiar capacity or genius with the exception of Sir R. Temple, under whose vigorous administration the Central Provinces took a sudden leap towards civilization, the more striking from the contrast with the state of stagnation in which that territory had lain so long.

The great fault in Lord Canning's character—the key to all his failures and unpopularity—was the utter absence of all enthusiasm. Cold, phlegmatic, and reserved, his icy nature seemed incapable of being warmed into life, either by zeal for public service or private friendship. There is no real greatness without enthusiasm; for he who is without it cannot influence his fellow-men, and the man who has not a spark of it in his nature will neither kindle it himself in others, nor sympathise with it when it has been kindled. There are some who confound enthusiasm with impulse; and in the estimation of such men, the calmness of judgment and careful thought necessary for a ruler are wanting

in an enthusiastic nature. But this is a mistake. Calm, impartial, just, Lord Canning allowed important questions to remain undecided day after day, week after week, till the public grew weary and impatient, and called that indolence which was in reality over-caution. An impulsive man is ever incautious; and impulsiveness is incompatible with justice and impartiality. But enthusiasm is a higher order of emotion altogether—it is the sympathetic chord that links great minds together: in this attribute Lord Canning's character was totally wanting, and this is why he made choice of few but men of mediocrity to serve him.

True justice can only be done to his memory by a publication of his papers, and these may throw much light upon the career of a statesman who served his country in a most eventful period, and upon a character that is after all an enigma.

In Bengal, Sir John Peter Grant was succeeded in the Lieutenant-Governorship by Sir Cecil (then Mr.) Beadon, on the 25th April, and early in the same month Sir Bartle Frere succeeded Sir George Clerk in the Governorship of Bombay.

Sir John Peter Grant, one of the ablest of the Bengal civilians of the old school, was called to the helm at a critical time. His position, to compare the small with the greater, was very like that of Lord Canning. His whole official career having been spent in running the ball backwards and forwards in the same groove, he was well adapted to continue the process with the additional impetus communicated by the authority of his new position. No sooner had he taken charge than the ball glided out of its groove, ran off the board, and began to describe unwonted circles and gyrations on the floor. But that Sir John Peter Grant should have been unpopular among the planters and the non-official community is hardly to be wondered at. The part he was forced to take set them necessarily against him. How serious was the crisis in 1860 may be judged by Lord Canning's remark, who declared that it caused him more