injury, while the native huts, especially in the suburbs, were almost all blown down. The telegraph lines are interrupted in all directions. All these losses are sufficiently annoying and lamentable; but it is on the river that the storm has been attended by the most disastrous consequences. To give an accurate or connected account of the loss among the shipping is as yet impossible: all is confusion, and it is scarcely known what ships have been entirely lost, what are irremediably damaged, and what are safe. The last are few indeed; perhaps not more than half a dozen are in a state to go to sea without extensive repairs. With few exceptions, the shipping were driven from their moorings and cast ashore, or jammed together on the opposite side of the river, while several were sunk in mid channel, and others stranded by the storm wave high up on the Calcutta shore."

It may easily be imagined that the crowded shipping in the river would be exposed to the utmost possible danger from the violence of such a tempest. But the raging winds were not the only antagonists that the shipping and the river population had to contend against. For the cyclone was accompanied by one of those terrible engines of destruction which a violent commotion of the elements not unfrequently produces in tropical hurricanes. Stretching from shore to shore, and as far as eight miles inland on either side, a mass or wall of water, by some accounts fifteen, by others thirty feet in height, rushed up from the mouth of the Hooghly, carrying devastation before it, sweeping over the strongest embankments, flooding the crops with salt water, annihilating entire villages, and involving men and cattle in one vortex of destruction.

As long as the shipping had to contend with the violence of the wind alone, the one hundred and ninety-five vessels that were moored or anchored within the limits of the port on the morning of the 5th rode it out without much damage; but when the storm wave added its expiring strength to the force of the wind—for happily it had worn itself out ere it quite reached Calcutta—one vessel after another drove from her moorings, and as each ship swept on she fouled others in her course, and the whole becoming massed together and utterly unmanageable were sunk or driven ashore. To the few spectators

who could manage to stand on the bank, and view the progress of destruction, there appeared to be an ever-shifting, ever-changing scene of havoc and ruin passing before their eyes. "As fast as vessels either entangled or clogged together, or singly, drifted by, others replaced them, some dragging their buoys, others, whose cables had parted and left them at the mercy of the elements, drifting to inevitable destruction. Cargo boats, and smaller craft in shoals, were hurried along, and every now and then a boliyo,[1] swamped, but not sunk, bobbed up and down like some great monster hunting for its prey. And when the force of destruction could no further go, the river was left in front of the spectator clear of shipping, where there had been before a perfect forest of masts and chimneys, and not a single small boat to be seen." One hundred and fifty-five vessels were driven on shore. The *Ally*, with a living freight of 335 coolies, was totally lost with all on board, save seven of the crew, and twenty-two emigrants. A tug-steamer, the *Alligator*, like the creature from which it derived its name, crawled into the jungle; the *Admiral Casey* was found in the middle of a rice field. The *Prince Albert* and the *Red Rose*, two railway steamers were transported out of their proper element into a neighbouring garden, and the *Earl of Clare* was landed, high and dry, up on the top of a heap of stone ballast in an adjacent yard. Out of the one hundred and ninety-five ships, thirty-nine were damaged slightly, ninety-seven severely, and thirty-six totally lost. By the 19th October, one hundred and one grounded vessels had been got off.

It is not easy to ascertain the loss of life caused by the storm and the accompanying inroad of the sea, for the banks towards the mouth of the Hooghly are inhabited by a floating population, whose numbers probably no living person could at any time reckon. Almost all those, of

[1] A passenger boat, propelled by some six or eight or more oars, with cabin, painted green.

course, who were within the limits embraced by the action of the storm wave were swept to destruction. In one district, Saugor Island, out of a population of six thousand souls known to be there before the storm, there was a remnant of one thousand four hundred and eighty-eight only left. To this list must be added those who were swept away with their boats, dingies, canoes, and rude craft of all kinds that swarm all down the river. Where data are so uncertain, it is almost fruitless to attempt to indicate the number of lives lost with nearer approximation than that they were certainly over five and probably not under twenty thousand.

Sir John Lawrence had spent the summer in the cool breezes of Simla, but early in the autumn went into camp, and marched to Lahore, where he held a large durbar. There are many features that rendered the occasion especially interesting It was the locality where, just twenty years before, Sir John had taken the first step on the ladder by which he had reached his present eminence The chiefs and sirdars of the Punjab beheld in the Viceroy the officer they had so long revered as Commissioner; and for the first time in the history of India, the Viceroy was to be heard addressing the assembled chiefs in their own language. They listened to him with marked attention, and doubtless, as the words fell from his lips, reflected that there was now one more link between them and the British Government, in that the representative of the Queen could at any rate speak their language and understand them. There was, perhaps, a good deal less dignity, but more sympathy and more individuality in Sir John Lawrence's address, than those of previous Viceroys. They had spoken, indeed, in noble language and well-turned sentences, but their addresses had to be rendered into Hindostanee, and were read in an inaudible voice by the secretaries of the Foreign Department. Speeches delivered on these occasions are usually mere matters of form, but Sir John Lawrence's address was more: it was

intended to convey, not the stereotyped expressions of empty compliment and good wishes, but sentiments and feelings he had himself at heart. As such it is worthy of record.

"Maharajas, Rajas, and Chiefs! Listen to my words. I have come among you after an absence of nearly six years, and thank you for the kindly welcome you have given me. It is with pleasure I meet so many of my old friends, while I mourn the loss of those who have passed away.

"Princes and Chiefs! It is with great satisfaction that I find nearly six hundred of you assembled around me in this durbar. I see before me the faces of many friends. I recognise the sons of my old allies, the Maharajas of Cashmere and Puttiala, the Sikh Chiefs of Malwah and the Manjha, the Rajpoot Chiefs of the hills, the Mahommedan Mullicks of Peshawur and Kohat, the Sirdars of the Derajat, of Hazara, and Delhi. All have gathered together to do honour to their old ruler.

"My friends! Let me tell you of the great interest which the illustrious Queen of England takes in all matters connected with the welfare and comfort and contentment of the people of India. Let me inform you, when I returned to my native country, and had the honour of standing in the presence of her Majesty, how kindly she asked after the welfare of her subjects in the East. Let me tell you, when that great Queen appointed me her Viceroy of India, how warmly she enjoined on me the duty of caring for your interest. Prince Albert, the Consort of her Majesty, the fame of whose greatness and goodness has spread through the whole world, was well acquainted with all connected with this country, and always evinced an ardent desire to see its people happy and flourishing.

"My friends! It is now more than eighteen years since I first saw Lahore. For thirteen years I lived in the Punjab. For many years my brother, Sir Henry Law-

rence, and I, governed this vast country. You all knew him well, and his memory will ever dwell in your hearts, as a ruler who was a real friend of its people. I may truly say, that from the day we exercised authority in the land we spared neither our time, nor our labour, nor our health, in endeavouring to accomplish the work which we had undertaken. We studied to make ourselves acquainted with the usages, the feelings, and the wants of every class and race, and we endeavoured to improve the condition of all. There are few parts of the province which I have not visited, and which I hope I did not leave in some degree the better for my visit. Since British rule was introduced, taxation of all kinds has been lightened, canals and roads have been constructed, and schools of learning have been established. From the highest to the lowest, the people have become contented, and have proved loyal. When the great military revolt of 1857 occurred, they aided their rulers most effectively in putting it down. The Chiefs mustered their contingents, which served faithfully, and thousands of Punjabee soldiers flocked to our standards, and shared with the British troops the glories as well as the hardships of that great struggle.

"Princes and Gentlemen! If it be wise for the rulers of a country to understand the language and appreciate the feelings of its people, it is as important that they should have a similar knowledge of their rulers. It is only by such means that the two classes can live happily together. To this end I urge you to instruct your sons, and even your daughters.

"Among the solid advantages which you have gained from English rule, I will now only advert to one more. It has given the country many excellent administrators. Some of the ablest and kindest of my countrymen have been employed in the Punjab. Every man, from the highest to the lowest, can appreciate a good ruler. You have such men as Sir Robert Montgomery, Mr. Donald Macleod, Mr. Roberts, Sir Herbert Edwardes, Colonel

Lake, and Colonel John Becher, officers who have devoted themselves to your service.

"I will now only add that I pray the great God, who is the God of all races, and all the people of this world, that He may guard and protect you, and teach you all to love justice and hate oppression, and enable you each in his several ways to do all the good in his power. May He give you all that is for your real benefit. So long as I live, I shall never forget the years that I have passed in the Punjab, and the friends that I have acquired throughout this province."

CHAPTER IX.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE CENTRAL PROVINCES.

The Central Provinces—Boundaries—Climate and inhabitants—Sir Richard Temple—Progress and present condition—Sir R. Temple resigns—His administration—The future of the Central Provinces.

THE Central Provinces may be roughly described as a portion of the table-land of Central India, lying between 18 and 25 degrees latitude, and 78 to 85 longitude. In form it is lozenge-shaped, the southern apex reaching far down in the Madras Presidency, about fifty miles from the sea-coast, where the Godavery empties itself into the Bay of Bengal; the eastern apex trenching in a similar manner on Bengal Proper, up to a point which would be intersected by a straight line drawn from Arrah, near Dinapore on the Ganges, to the Bay of Bengal. From the northern apex to the southern, the distance as the crow flies is between 450 and 500 miles, and from east to west the area covers a still larger extent of country. On the north-west face it is bounded by Bundlecund and the dominions of the Maharaja of Gwalior, on the north-west by Behar. The south-west and south-east faces look out upon the Nizam's dominions, and that part of the Madras Presidency lying between the mouths of the Godavery and the Mahanuddy. The upper portion of this large territory is destined to be the highway for traffic between the North-Western Provinces, including Oude and Bombay, for it is to be traversed by the railway at present constructed so far as to connect Allahabad with Jubbulpore, a distance of 228 miles, where it is to be

joined by the Great Indian Peninsular line from Bombay. In the north-west corner of this territory is the district of Saugor, with the capital city of that name, containing, with the adjacent military station, a population of about 50,000 souls. About a hundred miles due south of it is the sanitarium in the Puchmurree hills. Another stretch of about eight miles due south leads us to the city of Nagpore, with the adjacent cantonment of Seetabuldee. From Nagpore a line of railway passes through the rich cotton district of Berar down to Bombay. Although separated by long distances, and often by almost impassable tracts of jungle and forest land, the territory abounds in large and populous cities, the names of which are familiar to the general reader of Indian newspapers, books of travel, and statistics, such as Hoshungabad, Baitool, Kamptee, Chanda, Seroncha, Raepore, Bhundara, Jubbulpore, Saugor, Nagpore, and others. But perhaps the name which of all others will sound the most familiar to the English reader is the Godavery river, which for the latter part of its course to the sea-coast, about 160 miles, flows along the south-western face of the lozenge, forming on this side a boundary to the Central Provinces. A large river, called the Wyn Gunga, which rises in the heart of the Provinces, after a winding course of about a hundred miles, flows into the Godavery, just where that noble stream strikes the boundary towards the west, in its progress to the sea. The city of Seroncha lies at the confluence of the two rivers.

The temperature of these regions is considerably lower than that of India generally, the level portions being elevated table-land, and the mountain ranges large forests and broad rivers, all contributing to this result. It is peopled by various races of men, the aboriginal inhabitants far outnumbering the Hindoo and Mahommedan. Many of them are savages, but possess qualities which give promise of their eventually becoming, under the influence of civilization, a thriving agricultural population.

The study of the characteristics of these wild tribes, their language, habits, and mythology, is deeply interesting to the philologist and the ethnographist, while the remains of ancient buildings and temples—the scanty records of past ages—which are met with in so many parts of the Central Provinces, deeply imbedded in jungle and evidently of vast antiquity, may hereafter serve to throw some light upon an obscure page of Indian history. Rich in mineral resources, with an extremely fertile soil, except where uncleared forests and mountain ranges check cultivation, abounding with large rivers, and inhabited by a peaceable and docile population, this magnificent tract is capable hereafter of being developed into one of the most valuable subdivisions of the Indian empire. And it is fortunate that shortly after the different districts were first incorporated by Lord Canning into one chief commissionership, there was a man of Sir Richard Temple's calibre available for its charge. For a while, civilization and progress halted under the rule of a worn-out valetudinarian, Colonel Elliot; but upon his absence, in the first instance on furlough, and subsequently on his removal, Sir Richard (then Mr.) Temple was placed, at first temporarily, and afterwards permanently, in charge. In addition to great administrative talent, and that useful habit for one who is destined to be a ruler of men, the thirst for information, Sir Richard, Temple is endowed with marvellous physical powers and capability for enduring fatigue. To mould into shape such an unwieldy mass, to introduce system and organization and good government into so vast a tract of country, covered for so many miles with pathless forests and unexplored mountain ranges, it was absolutely necessary for the Chief Commissioner to make a personal survey of his domains. This Sir Richard Temple accomplished (a feat from which most men might well shrink), travelling by foot and on horseback, and by boat, upwards of 4,000 miles—further, as Mr. Strachey observes, than if he had marched from Cape Comorin to

Cashmere and back again; visiting every place of importance, and making the personal acquaintance of every official under him, and of every native gentleman of note, and every chief. The result of this extended tour of inspection he has given in his Administrative Report for 1862-3. "During the past year," he says, "I have been able to complete the tour and circuit of all the districts in the Central Provinces, and to pass up and down the two great rivers, the Godavery and the Mahanuddy." Quitting Jubbulpore on the 26th April, 1862, Sir Richard Temple marched first to Mundla on the Nerbudda, a place of great antiquity, the neighbourhood of which is rich in the remains of temples and buildings of a very great age, now completely buried in jungle. Thence he turned southwards to Seonee and Nagpore. Starting from Nagpore in the height of the hot weather, in the month of May, he traversed the mountainous district of Chindwarra, at the foot of the Sautpoora range of mountains, a district rich in mineral resources, and containing valuable seams of coal. The plateau of the Mohtor mountain district, thirty-four miles from Chindwarra, is from 3,500 to 4,000 feet above the level of the sea. The neighbouring hills and valleys are clothed with low and thick underwood, but the plateau itself is open, and the climate during the winter and spring and early summer delightful, but liable to more or less malarious influence between July and November. The soil and water are everything that can be desired, the atmosphere cool and invigorating, and the sun not overpowering. The inhabitants of the district, the Gonds and Korkoos, are the descendants of the wild tribes who, whether aboriginal or not, inhabited the country before the Aryan immigration. In appearance they differ from the rest of the tribes, having broad flat noses and thick lips; but their language has never yet been scientifically studied. From Chindwarra, Sir Richard Temple travelled westwards to Baitool, then turning southwards to Berar, visited the great cotton-fields of Oomrawattee,

thence northwards by Bhundhara to the Nowagon lake, returning to Nagpore on the 12th June. On the 8th August, the indefatigable officer went down the Godavery and its affluents to Coconada, on the coast of the Bay of Bengal, returning to Nagpore on the 10th September. In November following he travelled up the valley of the Nerbudda, and then struck across to Bundlecund. Again, in the following January, he made his way westwards to Sonepore, a place on the extreme boundary of the province, on the river Mahanuddy, where, embarking in a boat, he followed the stream a hundred and twenty miles to Cuttack, at which place he met the chief engineer of the East Indian Irrigation Company. From Cuttack, his way led through vast tracts of jungle to Sumbulpore, a distance of about one hundred and fifty miles, and from thence across the Chutteesghur plateau to Nagpore, a distance of not less than three hundred and twenty miles in a straight line; visiting the different zemindaries on the way. He reached Nagpore on the 29th April, and again, on the 17th May, set out, and passing over the Puchmurree hills, traversed the Chundla and Seonee districts, returning to Nagpore on the 19th June, having in these successive tours visited every station and district, and meeting almost every native chief, and the majority of the landholders, throughout the country.

This brief sketch of Sir Richard Temple's travels contains too many unfamiliar names to render it of much interest to the general reader; but the outline may enable him to realize in some measure the amount of labour, exposure, and fatigue which that officer did not scruple to undergo in the course of his duty. Nor was travelling in such a country as this that luxurious pastime which the official tour of the Anglo-Indian commissioner is generally represented. Pathless jungles and forests, and uncertain tracts abounding with wild beasts, and yielding little in the shape of supplies beyond what the gun of the sportsman may be able to collect, had to be traversed on horse-

back and on foot. The heat of the sun, malaria, and jungle fever, had each in its turn to be encountered. And the journey to which Mr. Strachey compares it, from Cape Comorin to Cashmere and back, might be performed with a tithe of the labour and exposure unavoidable in such a country as this.

It is not to be wondered at that Sir Richard Temple's principal impression after concluding his tour should be one of vast distance and extent of area. He says: "It appears to me, that in these provinces the distinguishing characteristic and the standing difficulty consist in the extent of area, vast out of all proportion to its wealth and population, and in the great distances which consequently have to be traversed." As regards the exposure to the weather, he says:—

"The seasons in this part of India are not on the whole favourable to lengthened travelling The autumn, owing to the prevalence of jungle fever, would be prejudicial to any one, even with the strongest constitution, who should venture to move about in the interior. Marching, therefore, cannot safely commence until the beginning of November. Then the winter is short, and the hot weather sets in by February, and lastly, the dry season does not last long, for the burst of the monsoon is to be expected by the end of May. Travelling, though difficult, is, however, practicable throughout June; and in some quarters, such as the Godavery country, if one disadvantage be balanced against another, the best time for travelling is in the midst of the rainy season. Those, therefore, who would see and know the Central Provinces in detail, must be prepared to face the scorching winds of the summer and the drenching rains of the monsoon. Nor is travelling facilitated by those appliances which now exist in the more advanced parts of India. Here as yet there is no railway, no steam communication, no horse-carriage transit over metalled roads[1] The work must be generally done on horseback, save when the more precipitous hills have to be ascended on foot."

[1] Since Sir Richard Temple wrote this, the railway has been opened to Jubbulpore, and post horses put upon the road between Jubbulpore and Nagpore, so that the journey from Allahabad to Bombay can be performed with tolerable ease and comfort, and most travellers from Upper India prefer that route to England to the old route *viâ* Calcutta.

Sir Richard Temple then proceeds to show how necessary it is that the chief ruler of such a country should make himself acquainted with its different features, which can only be done by personal inspection. Points of interest and importance are not concentrated in particular quarters, the remainder of the country being blank: "Nature and circumstance, with a severe impartiality, have distributed the points of interest and importance over the whole length and breadth of the land. In one distant direction it will be the local political affairs that claim attention; in another, the land tenure; in another, the navigable rivers; in another, the arrangements for defence and protection; in another, the forests; and in another, the communication through the passes."[1]

When the backward condition in which this territory was, when Mr. Temple took charge, is compared with what it is now, it almost appears as if the work of settlement and organization had been pushed on with something of superhuman force. Enthusiasm and energy are the soul of a successful administration, for they are communicated from one official to another; and where the influence proceeds from the head of the Government, it permeates all the subordinate departments,—as the sap in a tree ascends to the furthermost branches, carrying with it the elements of life and vigour. A few facts culled from the latest administration report now published, that for 1866-67,[2] will give the reader some idea of what has been accomplished under the impetus imparted by Mr. Temple's supervision. "Over almost the whole of these provinces the land settlements have been completed. All rights in the soil having been investigated, defined, and recorded, a moderate land-tax has been fixed for periods of twenty or thirty years. Every class interested in the land, the feudatories, the petty

[1] In the season of 1868, Sir Richard Temple rode out from Simla forty miles into the interior, and, without resting, ascended to the summit of a mountain 10,000 feet high, to sketch.

[2] Written in September 1868.

chiefs who own large estates, the ordinary landholders, the proprietors of holdings, and the occupiers of fields,—each one knows what his absolute and relative rights in the land are, and what are his obligations either toward the public treasury, or towards his feudal superior. So closely are the interests of the people and the State interwoven, that while all these matters have been arranged, it has been found feasible at the regular settlement to raise the Government land-tax from fifty-four to fifty-eight lacs of rupees. And while ownership in all the cultivated land, and even a large extent of waste land, has been recognised in private landholders, the rights of the State in unoccupied, waste lands have been asserted and defined. In this way some twenty thousand square miles of waste land have been marked off as State property."

A similar improvement has been effected in the magisterial and police department. Many of the native gentry have received commissions as honorary magistrates, by whom one-fifth of the magisterial business of the country is performed with credit to themselves and satisfaction to the people.

It is a well-recognised principle of political economy that litigation increases in proportion as a country enjoys the blessings of peace, wealth, and prosperity. An uncivilized community, or a pauper population, have neither the wish nor the means to resort to a court of law for the arbitration of their disputes. It is only when the restless habits of a nomad people, or predatory hordes, yield to the influences of peace and civilization—when they settle down into organized communities, and engage in commerce and agriculture—that the conflicting interests awakened by the sustained efforts to amass property eventuate in those complications which can be solved only by a resort either to law or to physical force. In the rude condition in which the greater part of the Central Provinces were, when Mr. Temple took charge, the tendency among the people is to settle their disputes by the latter.

Men's quarrels must be arranged somehow; and when a cheap and equitable administration of justice is within their reach, they will fight their battles out in court rather than on the village plain. The popularity of the Civil Courts in the Central Provinces may be measured by the fact that when Mr. Temple first assumed charge of the administration, there were on the average nineteen thousand suits registered annually, while during the year 1866-67 there were no less than forty-five thousand original suits instituted.

In hygiene and sanitation the progress has been most marked. In 1862 there were sixteen dispensaries; there are now (1866-67) fifty-six of these institutions at which one hundred and fifty thousand patients are treated annually. A special agency has been organized for spreading vaccination, and tens of thousands of children are annually protected from small-pox; while quarantine and other sanitary regulations have very materially diminished the ravages of epidemic cholera. The progress of educational effort is shown by the institution of fifteen hundred and seventy schools, where instruction is imparted to fifty-eight thousand scholars; while Government aid has been extended to schools opened by missionary bodies and private benevolence. Altogether during the last year, fifty thousand pounds sterling were expended on education, of which a fourth was contributed by private individuals.

No one had more reason to appreciate the advantages of a good road than a traveller like Mr. Temple. In addition to the railway to Jubbulpore, which has been completed by the East Indian Railway Company, there were four hundred miles of made road metalled and bridged at the conclusion of the year under review, and a hundred and fifty more under construction, while the local committees at the different large towns were engaged in constructing feeder roads to the several railway stations. It would be tedious to enumerate; but a large list might be given of churches, barracks, magazines, court-houses,

hospitals, rest-houses for travellers, museums, police stations, and wells, erected by Government and private liberality during this period of progress.

The forest department yields a revenue of forty lacs of rupees, while the increase of revenue from the salt tax, from 90,000*l.* to 180,000*l.* a year, without any increase of duty, is a sure sign of the growing prosperity of the poorer classes. The material progress of the country may be further measured by the fact that during the years 1866-67 the people of these provinces paid into the public treasury 1,210,000*l.*, compared with 820,000*l.* in 1862; that during the past year they voluntarily contributed about 35,000*l.* to charitable objects, to public and local improvements, and to industrial exhibitions, whereas in 1862 they scarcely gave a rupee towards anything of the kind; that during the last twelve months they exported to other provinces 4,340,000*l.* worth of produce and manufactures, as compared with 1,650,000*l.* worth in 1863, the earliest period for which there are statistics; and that they imported during the same time 4,642,000*l.* worth of foreign commodities, exclusive of bullion, as against 980,000*l.* worth in 1863.

In 1866 Sir Richard Temple resigned the post of Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces for the Residentship at Hyderabad, whence he was transferred to the Governor-General's Council in the place of the Hon. Mr. Massey, the first civilian appointed to the post which was originally designed especially for some financier straight from England Sir Charles Trevelyan is no exception, for although formerly in the Civil Service, he had retired a long while before he came to India as Finance minister. Sir Richard Temple was succeeded by Mr. Morris, who drew up the report on the administration of the Central Provinces for 1866-67, already quoted. He speaks in the following terms of his predecessor, paying a noble and well-merited tribute to his genius and energy:—

"Whatever of progress has been noted in the foregoing paragraph, was secured during Mr. Temple's rule. No such progress had been

seen in this part of India before. Much of it may, nay must be, due to the action of natural, commercial, and social forces. But something, at any rate, may have been the result of good government, and must have been due to the personal exertions of Mr. Temple, to the system which he introduced, and to the body of officers which he trained.

"Perhaps among the many ways in which Mr. Temple benefited the Central Provinces, that service will not be reckoned the least important which he rendered by placing before the Supreme Government and the public full reports of the country, its people, its resources, its capabilities, and its trade. The thorough knowledge of the country gained in his many long and arduous journeys, performed at all seasons of the year, enabled him to report fully upon schemes for roads, for railways, for irrigation, for navigation, for mining enterprises, the full accomplishment of which will hardly be seen by the present generation."

Mr. Morris might safely have asserted not only that no such progress had been seen in that part of India, but that no such progress had been seen anywhere before. Instances are numerous where, under the influence of Anglo-Saxon energy, favoured by nature with a fertile soil and a good climate, and convenient harbour, a colony has sprung into existence and made more progress in the time than the Central Provinces had accomplished between 1861 and 1867. But here it was not Anglo-Saxon energy that Mr. Temple had to work with, but an Asiatic population in a backward stage of civilization, the major part, indeed, in absolute barbarism. The natural advantages of the territory were in his favour; without that he would have been powerless. But administrative genius shows itself best in a capacity to seize opportunities, to make the most of every advantage; and as the greatest triumphs of science are those in which she has subdued the forces of nature and taught them to subserve some useful purpose, so the greatest achievements of administrative ability have been evinced in exercising influence over the human will, and bending it to subserve the purposes of national progress and general prosperity. This achievement it was Sir Richard Temple's good fortune to accomplish; and a man who may be said to have raised by the force of his own

will and vigorous intellect a whole population from a condition of barbarism to that of a decent and well-ordered commercial and agricultural community, must be reckoned amongst the benefactors of mankind.

That a great future is before the Central Provinces must be apparent to anyone who will study the map of India. Consisting mostly of elevated plateaux of table-land, fertile beyond description; lying in the very heart of the Continent, with a climate that will be salubrious and tolerably temperate when the jungle has been cleared away and the country drained; within easy reach by rail of the western coast and the harbour of Bombay; watered by some of the largest rivers in the world, navigable even now for hundreds of miles, and capable by engineering efforts of being made navigable for as many more; with river communication extending on one side to the Bay of Bengal, and on the other to the Indian Ocean; intersected by the main arteries of traffic between Europe and Upper India; in a political and strategical point of view the safest part of the whole continent, because the furthest removed from the frontier, and in close communication with our resources; a table-land upon which, if the British army were driven from every other part of India by some great combination of European or Asiatic prowess, it would be placed in an impregnable position; itself a region as yet unsubdued by any former conqueror of Hindustan,—the Central Provinces bid fair to be hereafter the nucleus of British enterprise and the heart of British power in the East. Geographical and political considerations will eventually place the capital of British India at Jubbulpore or somewhere in its neighbourhood.

Thence, as from a central point within easy access of England, and within reach of every corner of the Indian continent, the Supreme Government will be able, when the network of railways now in course of construction is complete, to supervise and control with ease and efficiency the administration, even to the most distant limits of the Empire.

CHAPTER X.

1865.

The Bhotan embassy—Sir Herbert Edwardes—Indian estimate of public men—Sir Charles Trevelyan—Budget for 1865-66—Speculation mania in Bombay—Value of land in Bombay—Time bargains—Mr. Justice Anstey—General crash—Sanitary condition of Bombay and Calcutta—Port Canning—Madras—Assassination at Peshawur—Fanaticism—Insecurity of European life—The Mhow death march—Roorkee College—Sir Bartle Frere's address to the Mahratta Sirdars.

THE second year of Sir John Lawrence's administration opened with favourable auspices. A series of petty failures and disappointments in Bhotan reiterated the oft-repeated warning against embroiling ourselves with barbarous neighbours, difficult of access and unmanageable either by the arts of peace or war when reached. But the mischief had been done before Sir John came out, and in no way can he be held responsible. Towards the end of the year, when the circumstances more fully detailed in another chapter became publicly known, an unseemly recrimination took place between the officials whose credit were at stake, or their partisans, and some serious accusations of giving to the public garbled despatches and official documents, with the view of misleading them as to the real source of failure and disgrace, were not satisfactorily answered. It is easy to be wise after the event, but there can be little doubt that the envoy, the Hon. Ashley Eden, was most anxious to proceed to the capital, in spite of the repeated hints that he was not wanted there, and in face of

the obstacles put in his way. To have abandoned the enterprise would have perhaps laid him open to the charge of timidity or want of zeal, but real diplomatic genius evinces itself in the avoidance of political dilemmas, as much as courage and presence of mind in escaping from them when caught in their toils.

In the early part of the year India was deprived of the genius and ability of one of the most eminent of that school of soldier-statesmen who in the past official generation had done such good service to the country. Sir Herbert Edwardes' last public act of importance was the trial of the Wahabee conspirators. He had filled successively the post of Commissioner of Peshawur and Umballa, and, if the public voice could have controlled the selection, would have been appointed Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, upon Sir Robert Montgomery's retirement. His brilliant services are too well known to need recapitulation, and India could ill afford to lose the experience, the personal influence, the undaunted courage, the presence of mind combined with the power of action in great emergencies, of the man who held the helm in the Peshawur district during the rebellion.

It is too much the custom in England to ignore the existence in India of anything in the shape of public opinion. Public opinion, indeed, there is not in the same sense as it exists in England, for there is no House of Commons as the ultimate court of appeal, without which the press would be powerless. The press in India is consequently dependent on the extent to which it can influence Government by sound argument or cogent reasoning. But the public opinion of India, such as it is, ought not to be totally ignored. The major part of it emanates from the official classes, and is the experience of the thoughts and views of members of the different branches of the public services, who, through the medium of the press, make known sentiments and opinions for which the regular official channels of communication with

the Government afford no vent. In such matters as the selection of governors and appointments of men to high offices in the State, the expression of opinion in India, especially when unanimous or nearly so, might with advantage be consulted in the selection of candidates, of whose abilities the Indian public (including the official world) is in a much better position to judge, and will judge, more accurately than the English.

The merits of the policy Sir Charles Trevelyan adopted in his last budget for 1865-66 will be discussed under the chapter on Finance. The history and fate of that budget may be related here. Sir Charles Trevelyan's determined opposition to his *bête noir*, the Income-tax, has a melodramatic air about it which may reconcile the general reader to a subject usually so repulsive as a budget. Recalled from Madras because he condemned the Income-tax, and sent out again as Finance minister because Sir Chas. Wood saw he was right in condemning the Income-tax, though wrong in the way he did it; forced during his three years of office to permit the existence of the impost, he was determined not to quit India and leave his foe behind him. But there was a deficit, and how should that be met and the Income-tax nevertheless demolished? He proposed a loan for public works for 1,200,000*l.*, and an increase on the export duties. The proposition was received in Council with disfavour. Sir John Lawrence had the power, but declined the responsibility, of rejecting the budget altogether. Outside the Council chamber the resolution was received with dismay. Export and import duties touched the pockets of the class who were quite powerful enough to be feared by a Secretary of State; the Liverpool and Manchester merchants re-echoed the cry uttered from Calcutta and Bombay, and the budget was returned "disapproved." Sir Charles Wood preferred a deficit to an equilibrium produced by a loan and a tax on raw produce. Meantime, Sir Charles Trevelyan had left the field to his enemies, having had the grim satisfac-

tion before he went of laying up the Income-tax, as he expressed it, "a potent but imperfect fiscal machine upon the shelf, complete in all its gear, ready to be re-imposed in case of any new emergency." Sir Charles Trevelyan was right in his determined opposition to the impost. It has lain where he placed it in all its gear, but no succeeding minister has cared to use it, though it has been several times taken down, turned over, and then put back again.[1]

Another public man, who during his tenure of office had left an ineffaceable mark of his genius upon the department of the administration allotted to him, left India this year. After being feasted and toasted at a public dinner in Calcutta, the place where three short years before he had been at the very height of unpopularity, Sir Hugh Rose made over the command of the army in India to Sir William Mansfield, and sailed for England in March. The same year which saw Sir William Mansfield removed from Bombay to the head of the army, and Sir R. Napier installed in his place, witnessed also the retirement of another distinguished officer, Sir Hope Grant, from the Commander-in-chiefship of Madras, and the advent of Sir Gaspar Le Marchant in his room.

The spirit of wild speculation which had in the last two years infected, more or less, all classes of the community, this year reached a climax, and was followed by the inevitable reaction. The growing traffic of Bombay and the impetus given to the import trade by the opening of the railways had increased enormously the value of land in the island. The population, on such respectable authorities as McCulloch and Martin, was in 1861 at the surprisingly low figure of a little upwards of half a million. But this half-million of souls were confined within the narrow limits of an island of an oblong shape, eight miles

[1] Since this was written, Sir R. Temple has re-introduced this tax in a modified form.

in length from north to south, and between two and three miles wide. In such a position it is obvious that any land reclaimed from the sea would become of the utmost possible value; and during the time of the unexampled prosperity which the Western Presidency enjoyed from 1861 to 1865, reclamation schemes were in high favour. The present year 1865 was a period of wild speculative excitement in Bombay. Enormous fortunes had been realized in the cotton trade, and capitalists were longing for investments. House accommodation, at best of times very dear and most scanty in proportion to the requirements of the European and the heads of the native community, rose to a fabulous rent. A writer in the *Times of India* stated that there were at that time (April and May) twenty or thirty English gentlemen residing in Bombay houseless. A well-known official had given up his house because the owner raised the rent to 300 rupees (30*l.*) a month, refusing to pay so large a sum. The owner immediately afterwards declined an offer of 750 rupees, and would not take less than 1,000 rupees a month. A mercantile house paid 107,500*l.* for offices which in Calcutta would not have fetched 20,000*l.*; and another rented a ground-floor warehouse at 2,400*l.* a year. Shares in the Colaba Land Company rose from 10,000 rupees at par to 1 lac and 20,000, or twelve times the par value. Back Bay shares went up from 2,000 rupees to 54,000 Equally great was the rise in Press property. Shares in the Elphinstone Press Company went up from 40,000 to 1 lac and 35,000 rupees; and the Apollo Press Company from 12,000 to upwards of 20,000. It was in the height of this speculating mania that the Bank of Bombay, one of whose directors was the famous Premchund Roychund, at one time possessed of almost countless wealth, commenced the course of action which eventuated in the crash of 1868. A clause in its charter empowered it to make advances on the security of shares, and it did so, among others, to the Back Bay Company,

reckoning its shares at the then fictitious value of 25,000 rupees.

But if this speculation, wild as it was, had been conducted on anything like sound commercial principles, the consequences would not have been anything like so serious as they were. But the wealth which rested on the caprice of the share-market was imaginary. Shares, it is true, were bought and sold at fabulous prices, but the greater part of these transactions were what is called time bargains; that is to say, the purchaser bought shares and promised to pay at a long future date, trusting in the meantime to realize the amount due by a profit on a further rise in prices. He sold again immediately at a large premium on the same terms, and the person who bought from him sold again to a fourth party under similar conditions. It was during the prevalence of this gambling mania that Mr. Chisholm Anstey, formerly of the Hong Kong and more recently of the Bombay bar, was raised to fill a temporary vacancy in the bench of the High Court. It may well be supposed that these time-bargains were not likely to be very favourably viewed in a court of law; and Mr. Justice Anstey—who combined with great eccentricity of manner much determination of character, and an unusually vehement habit of expression—struck terror into the hearts of insolvents who had dabbled in questionable transactions. An Augæan stable required a Hercules to clean it, and a Hercules was found. In one of the first cases that came before him where the time-bargains formed the subject of the suit, the indignant judge, in dismissing the case with costs, remarked that, "According to the custom of these miserable gamblers, of whom the native community of all races, except the Moslem, appeared to be full, they made a double venture; first of all a venture in the way of purchase, and then again in the way of resale, without any intention to give delivery or to take delivery, but merely to settle the differences in both."

Most English readers are familiar with the name of Sir Jamsetjee Jeejeeboy, the millionaire Parsee baronet, who raised himself from a vendor of old bottles to be one of the wealthiest men in the world. In the crash of falling firms and wide-spread insolvency that swept like a cyclone over Bombay in the latter part of 1865, the nephew of the wealthy baronet had to seek the protection of the Insolvent Court. His assets were 13½ lacs as represented, and his debts 55 lacs, or 550,000*l.* Mr. Justice Anstey sent him to jail for two years for fraud, but somewhat weakened the effect of his remarks in sentencing him, by offensive allusions to his uncle's origin. "A man," he said, "who is originally a dealer in old bottles, gambles till he has contracted debts to the amount of 55 lacs."

The speculating mania in Bombay at this time almost amounted to a moral epidemic, like the dancing and other epidemics of the Middle Ages, with which Hecker's interesting pages have made us familiar. It was succeeded by the inevitable reaction. Failure followed failure, confidence was gone, and amid the general dismay, when no one dared trust his neighbour, the day fixed for the settlement of the time-bargains, the 1st July, approached. It usually happens that the apprehensions of impending calamity are worse than the reality. The state of commercial affairs could hardly have been worse than it was before the 1st July. The climax of the crisis on that day and the succeeding Monday, the 3d, was less disastrous than had been expected, perhaps because, where so many had failed to meet engagements, the means or the will to force the consequence of failures on the defaulters may have been wanting. No more striking and sad illustration of the consequences of a gambling, speculative mania is to be found than the fact of a once thriving and prosperous commercial community urging the Legislature by a memorial to amend the Insolvent Act, so as to simplify and accelerate its process, "with all the haste the constitution of the country will admit."

Much light will probably be thrown upon the commercial history of Bombay at this juncture by the publication of the report of the commission of inquiry into the affairs of the Bombay Bank. While that inquiry is incomplete, it will be dangerous to hazard, and unjust to express, an opinion on the conduct of the Bombay Government. From what is before the public now, there was unquestionably a want of firmness and of caution, and an inability to foresee the extent of the danger that surrounded them. As has been mentioned in another place, Sir William Mansfield, one of the members of that Government, does not hesitate to plead on his own behalf and that of his colleagues the dangerous doctrine that it was too much to have expected the Government to resist the tide of public feeling. And when the condition of the Bank had become known, though not perhaps to its full extent, there was a backwardness on the part of the subordinate in affording the Supreme Government all the information it wanted. Nothing, however, has been urged in extenuation of the reckless imprudence which caused the ruin of the Bank.

Towards the end of September a slight reaction from the state of deep depression in which the market had fallen took place in consequence of a sudden rise in the price of cotton, owing to the discovery that the supposed resources in America had failed to realize what was expected. But the system had been too much shattered and disorganized by the late attack of the epidemic for any healthy reaction to ensue so soon after the crisis of the disease, and the speculation that followed partook of the same wild character that had distinguished the era of time-bargains. It was followed by a crisis in the money-market at the close of the year, when the Supreme Government, acting upon urgent requisition for aid transmitted by telegraph to Calcutta, sent round 60 lacs (600,000*l.*) in silver, while about 30 lacs more were supplied by private firms. Two steamers were engaged to convey this large

amount of specie, and thus poured into Bombay upwards of a million sterling within a fortnight.

The European reader is familiar with the contrast Oriental cities so often afford, between enormous wealth side by side with abject poverty, squalor, and wretchedness. In spite of the scarcity of money in the exhausted treasury of the Government and the Bank of Bombay, it is allowed on all hands that the city contained enormous wealth. Some of the most munificent gifts for charitable institutions that modern times can boast have been made by wealthy merchants of Bombay. Sir Jamsetjee Jeejeeboy, the bottle-seller, and David Sassoon and others, have enriched their native city, and immortalized their names by their princely donations to hospitals, and other endowments, to relieve the wants and mitigate the sufferings of humanity.[1] Yet a city whose merchants might, even in the hour of depression, after a period of unwonted excitement, have paved their streets with silver, could call forth the following remarks of the Municipal Commissioner in 1861:—"Go into the native town," says Mr. Crauford, "and around you will see on all sides filth immeasurable and indescribable, and at places almost unfathomable; filthy animals, filthy habits, filthy streets, and with filthy court-yards round the houses of the rich, and masses of filth around the dwellings of the poor, foul and loathsome trades, crowded houses, foul markets, foul meat and food, foul wells and tanks and swamps, foul smells at every turn, unventilated drains, and sewers choked with animal and human ordure, and the garbage of an Oriental city. Men, women, and children, the rich and the poor, living with animals of all kinds and vermin; seeing all this, smelling and inhaling the tainted, deadly atmosphere, and dying by the thousand. And this," he adds, "is Bombay, as it will be ere long, the focus of the trade of India, fed by thousands of miles of railway, its population doubled, overflowing the island, daily—nay

[1] Mr. Premchund Roychund, at the height of the epidemic, gave £20,000 to the Bombay University.

hourly—adding to the horrors faintly depicted here." Much has been done since that was written, although much remains to do. But the visitor to the capital of the Western Presidency cannot fail to be struck with the contrast between the external appearance of Bombay and the natural beauties of the place, as he sees them, and the handiwork of its inhabitants, as described by the Municipal Commissioner.

The harbour, one of the finest in the world, is formed by a crescent-shaped group of islands, of which Salsette (connected by a causeway), Elephanta, and Colaba are the most familiar to English readers. The rays of a tropical sun are tempered by a delicious breeze; innumerable boats glide here and there on errands of business or pleasure; stately ships ride securely at anchor in the offing; picturesque islets rise abruptly from the ocean, clad from the summit to the very edge with the richest tropical verdure; and the branches of the trees hang so close over the water that they seem to coquet with the rippling waves as they toss themselves in wanton sport upon the pebbly shore. Such a scene, under the clear blue Indian sky and bright sunshine, as it meets the eye of the exile who enters India by its western gate, is well calculated to impress him favourably with the land of his adoption. Nor would he be undeceived as long as he remained content with a superficial view of the place. A nearer acquaintance might reveal enough to justify the strictures of Mr. Crauford and the denunciations of Mr. Justice Anstey.

Three years of persevering energy in working out sanitary reforms have, however, done wonders. A writer in the *Friend of India*, in April 1868, thus eulogizes the results of Mr. Crauford's efforts:—"In three years, assisted by a good health-officer, he has wrought a marvellous revolution. Except in a few obscure lanes, the city is almost devoid of bad odours. Its area is nearly thrice that of municipal Calcutta, yet every street and house, and

every road is daily swept as well as watered, and the dust is carefully removed. Its natural effect has been seen not merely in the comfort of all classes of the inhabitants, but in the fact that cholera, which used to be endemic in the city, as it is in Calcutta, has not been known for some time."

But Calcutta felt the effect of the speculative mania, though not to the same extent as the sister Presidency. Situated a hundred miles from the sea, with which it is connected by an awkward river, most difficult of navigation, the capital of British India enjoys a trade unsurpassed by that of any commercial city in the Eastern hemisphere. The noble river—for at Calcutta the Hooghly is well worthy of the name—is crowded with a forest of masts, the vessels all lying comparatively close together, so as to present a much more imposing appearance than double the number of vessels at anchor in a spacious harbour like Bombay.

Ill adapted for commerce, the Hooghly affords the best defence a maritime capital could have. It is only by the assistance of trained pilots, who have to spend their lives from early boyhood in mastering the difficulties of Hooghly navigation, learning the intricacies of the channels, and watching the ever-shifting shoals and sand-banks of the capricious river, that any ship of large burden can reach the port. Were the landmarks, and the lights, and the buoys to be removed, no human skill or caution could steer a vessel through the narrow winding channels of which the unpractised eye can perceive no trace. The experiment would be attended with certain destruction to any ship that attempted it. Even with all the precaution that a careful supervision, constant watching, and a large establishment can secure, accidents frequently occur; and a ship that has reached the Bay of Bengal from Calcutta in safety, may sail round the world and return again without encountering any danger in navigation so dangerous and difficult as the voyage down the Hooghly. For a long while it was believed that the channels of the Hooghly, intricate as they are, were annually becoming more diffi-

cult in navigation by the silting of the bed of the river. Whether this be so or no, there can be but one opinion as to the advantage of a seaport within easy distance of the Bay, and connected with Calcutta by rail. The delta of the Ganges, which is almost double the size of that of the Nile, begins to be formed about two hundred miles from the sea. It consists of a vast alluvial level covered with vegetation, and intersected with a network of innumerable streams and channels, each connected with the other, and appearing to the eye a vast maritime labyrinth of natural canals. The delta is about two hundred miles in breadth, and is bounded by two principal arms or bifurcations of the main stream, the easternmost of which preserves the name of the Ganges, or the Bhagirathi; the westernmost branch flowing by Calcutta, is called the Hooghly. At one of the numerous outlets by which the waters of the holy river find their way to the sea, a site has been fixed upon for a harbour, and called Port Canning. The choice of the site, and the scheme altogether, is due to Lord Dalhousie, although the locality now goes by the name of his successor. A railway was sanctioned under the usual system of Indian railways, by guarantee: but for years the scheme hung fire; the Government expecting that the commercial community would carry out a measure in which it was so much interested, the community looking to Government to complete what they had begun. Matters were in this unsatisfactory state when an enterprising merchant of Calcutta, Mr. Schiller, took them in hand, and got up the "Port Canning Reclamation and Dock Company," with the object of securing valuable landed property in the new port and town of Canning and its immediate vicinity, building upon it, constructing docks, wharves, &c. &c. The capital was 1,200,000*l.* in shares at 200*l.* each. The company had not been started long before the 2,000 rupee shares went up to 12,000. But though the railway company runs its trains daily between Calcutta and the port, the trains go and come empty, except when

some traveller is tempted by curiosity to visit the silent city; or some English gentleman from Calcutta, in search of change of air, takes his belongings with him to enjoy the sea-breeze on the Mutlah. There may be seen the strange spectacle of a city without an inhabitant; extensive wharves and docks without a ship, warehouses unoccupied, and not a human being visible upon the quays. It has been said that the Mutlah port does not possess the advantages it was supposed to enjoy when Lord Dalhousie fixed upon the site as the future harbour of one of the richest countries in the world. It is about forty miles from the sea, but the navigation is much less dangerous and difficult than that of the Hooghly, and it is not easy to see any reason stronger than the caprice of fashion, or the objection of sailors to a dull harbour, for the original scheme not being carried out in its entirety. It was thought that the great cyclone of 1864 would prove an illustration of the adage that it is an ill wind that blows no good, and that when the disadvantages of a confined space like the Hooghly for the Calcutta harbour were so fully and so fatally evinced, vessels would eagerly embrace the opportunity afforded by the Mutlah of securing a safer harbour. Unfortunately at the time it was not quite ready, and as these heavy cyclones generally come at an interval of twenty years, the usual mode of reasoning was resorted to; and the merchants argued, the next cyclone would not come in their time, and after that, if a deluge swept over the place, they would be unaffected by it. After passing through the furnace of hot speculation, the Port Canning Company has recently been cooling itself in the law courts, owing to disputes among the directors and shareholders, which are now, however, terminated. Its ultimate fate it is impossible to foretell, but the final abandonment of the magnificent project of its enterprising founder would be almost a national misfortune.[1]

[1] The whole history of the Port Canning scheme has recently been collected and published by Government with the view of encouraging

Two other grand schemes divided the attention of the Calcutta speculators at the same time: one was a Reclamation and Irrigation Company, to reclaim a vast salt

public discussion on the question, and with the forlorn hope that some light may be thrown upon the present dilemma.

It is a strange story, a chapter of mistakes from beginning to end. The panic about the gradual deterioration of the navigation of the Hooghly in 1853, the *fons et origo mali*, was a mistake. But that great statesman, Lord Dalhousie, shared in it, and directed the purchase, at a cost of 11,000 rupees, of the lot of ground on which the existing skeleton of the township was erected, and ordered a survey of the Mutlah estuary, and of the country between it and Calcutta, with a view to the construction of a railway. Major Baker reported favourably of the country for railway works, and Lieut. Ward of the estuary. "There was nothing," he said, "to prevent vessels of the largest tonnage from proceeding up and down the river at all times."

The Government lay the blame of the first movement in the matter on the Bengal Chamber of Commerce, which first raised the alarm of the closing of the river. Within the following two years they had altered their decision, for when the Committee on the Hooghly made their report, it was rather in favour of adopting measures to improve the Hooghly than to carry on the Mutlah scheme. The experience of the thirteen years that have since elapsed has confirmed the impression of the Chamber of Commerce in 1855, and it is the opinion of many competent judges that the navigation of the river, so far from deteriorating year by year, is, if anything, improving.

Meantime, as if nothing could be done right in this business, Government made the discovery that the vendor from whom they had purchased the lot had previously alienated all really beneficiary rights: in short, what he sold he had no right to sell. No explanation is afforded as to how the Government, with their staff of solicitors and Advocate-General, could have made such a blunder; for the expression in the *Gazette*, "that the purchase was a hasty one, and made secretly without the usual forms," only raises a question without answering it.

On the 14th December in the year 1855—a great day in the history of Port Canning—a ship actually made its appearance in Mutlah! This notable event cost the Government, however, 15,000 rupees, which sum was sanctioned for "buoying off the estuary."

On the 12th March a committee of Government officers and "a party of merchants," says the *Gazette*, proceeded to inspect the site of the proposed port and the estuary. "The report of the merchants" and of the committee were alike *couleur de rose*, the committee quoting with something like incredulous scorn a remarkable prophecy of Mr. Piddington, as follows:—

marsh in the neighbourhood of Calcutta, irrigate it, and utilize the sewage of the city upon an area of 130 square miles, capital 600,000*l.*; and the other was a project to

"Supposing the head of the Mutlah were to be fixed upon as a mercantile and naval depôt, everything and everyone must be prepared to see a day when in the midst of the horrors of a hurricane they will find a terrific mass of salt water rolling in or rising upon them with such rapidity that in a few minutes the whole settlement will be inundated to a depth of from five to eighteen feet."

This is precisely what did occur on the occasion of the last cyclone in November 1867.

It will not be necessary to detail the different measures proposed, some to be rejected, others to be carried out up to 1857, during which year the site of the projected town and its vicinity was cleared of jungle, and arrangements made to reclaim 667 acres of land in the immediate neighbourhood. Up to 1858 only thirteen vessels had taken advantage of the port, and the consignees of these ships experienced so much difficulty in disposing of their cargoes that for at least four years not another ship entered the port!

The projectors, however, were not discouraged, and an association called the Mutlah Association was founded in 1858 to further the scheme, which at this stage enjoyed the support of the then Lieut.-Governor of Bengal, Mr. Halliday.

About this time the railway project was started, but Lord Canning and the members of his Government threw cold water on it. The association, however, returned again and again to the charge; and having the support of Mr. Halliday and influential people at work on their behalf in London, the Secretary of State on the 12th November, 1858, authorized a guarantee of five per cent. on £280,000, the *then* estimated cost. When it was found the expenses came to £500,000 instead of £280,000, the Government could not very well help themselves, and having once put their neck into the collar of a guarantee, were obliged to keep it there, and to extend the security to the half-million. The line was opened in 1863, and has never paid its expenses. This year (1867) the company have made it over to the Government.

The next important step was the creation of a municipality under sanction of Mr. Beadon's government, and the transfer to this body, in trust for the town of Canning, of certain lots of land, on which it endeavoured unsuccessfully to raise a debenture loan of 10 lacs at 5½ per cent.

In March 1864, the municipality sent in an estimate to Mr. Beadon of 21 lacs, which were required for various improvements, drainage, roads, &c., and Mr. Beadon so far met their views as to ask for a loan of 4½ lacs to complete improvements of the most urgent kind. Sir C. Trevelyan

reclaim and bring under cultivation the area of the Sunderbuns, the alluvial tract before described between the mouths of the Ganges. Neither of these schemes resulted in anything beyond wild speculation in shares.

The usual placid atmosphere of Madras remained un-

stoutly opposed the measure, but Sir John Lawrence addressed the Secretary of State with a view to obtaining a sanction of a loan of 4½ lacs, on condition that the municipality raised 15½ lacs for themselves.

After a little pressure had been put on Government by the Chamber of Commerce and some Calcutta firms to go on with the scheme without effect, Mr. Schiller came forward with his "Port Canning Land Investment Reclamation and Dock Company (Limited)," in the height of the speculative mania of 1864. Upon the strength of 60 lacs of rupees raised by this company, the municipality claimed the loan of 4½ lacs conditionally promised, and it was granted.

Hitherto, so far as being resorted to by vessels, the Port Canning scheme has proved a failure. There is nothing particularly against the port, the navigation of the Mutlah is good, and although the place is not very healthy, it is clear that as long as the navigation of the Hooghly does not deteriorate, ships will not go to Mutlah. Meantime the municipality has spent much money upon the drainage of the place and upon the construction of metalled roads. The jungle has been cleared, and the land more or less cultivated. The Port Canning Company has erected a spacious hotel, and costly rice mills and one or two other buildings. They have nearly completed the excavation of a boat dock, and have done a good deal for the protection of the foreshore, and have erected some jetties. The Government and the railway company have also erected some buildings.

After giving a history of the whole affair, and describing its present condition, the Commissioner who compiled this report proceeds to call upon Government to determine what to do next, whether to abandon it altogether or to complete it altogether, or to temporize, that is to say, leave it as it is, withdrawing all establishments, and just keeping the place from falling to actual ruin, and let everything remain *in statu quo* till the Hooghly becomes unnavigable, when ships will be only too glad to resort to the new port. On the other hand, if completed, all efforts should be made to carry out the original design. The port should be declared a free port for the next five years, and to set things going, all Government marine establishments should be moved and located there at once. This would cost about 20 lacs.

Another proposition is that made by Mr. Schiller, for the Government to guarantee the interest on £2,000,000 sterling, to be raised by a company to buy up the Sunderbuns, the railway, and the present Port Canning Company.

disturbed by the whirlwind which passed over the share markets of Calcutta and Bombay, and only lent itself to one scheme of utility and importance if it had been but sound—an Irrigation and Canal Company with the magnificent project of carrying water over 400,000 acres, and affording 300 miles of uninterrupted navigation. Unlike the other schemes and projects in Calcutta and Bombay, the Government sanctioned a guarantee of five per cent. upon a capital of 1,000,000*l.* to the Madras Company. Sir William Denison, whose project of supplying agricultural machinery for the use of the natives has been before noticed, had in the meantime become convinced that the introduction of improved agricultural implements would be premature till the people were willing and instructed how to use them, but he adopted and endorsed the views of Sir Charles Trevelyan, who in his rejected budget had advocated the policy of constructing permanent public works by means of loans.

But few political events of importance took place this year. In Upper India, at Peshawur, two valuable lives were sacrificed to the fury of Mussulman fanatics. Major Adam, the Deputy-Commissioner of Peshawur, was suddenly attacked and cut down at the gate of the city, and Lieutenant Ommaney, of the Guide Corps, was shortly after stabbed. Determined to make an example which should crush the growing spirit of assassination, Mr. Macnabb, who had taken Major Adam's place, rode out to the locality where the murderer of Lieutenant Ommaney had been apprehended on the scene of his crime, had him hanged, and his body burnt on the spot, a proceeding which was subsequently fully confirmed by Government.

A wild, fanatical Mussulman, from the regions about Peshawur, has little enough to all appearance to make life dear to him. With neither kith nor kin that he cares about, neither wife nor child, no property, no habitation, no friends, very little clothing, and scanty food, an ex-

change from this world to the next must be a clear gain. A firm belief in the promises of the Koran and the dogmas of his bigoted moollas, or religious instructors, a fertile imagination, a strong will, and physical daring, are elements of savage enthusiasm well calculated to arouse the excitable temperament of the Affghan, and the state of mind thus produced may very often be intensified by a tendency to hereditary insanity. When a mind thus constituted and prepared for crime becomes impressed with the idea that to compass the death of one of the hated English unbelievers is to secure instant admission into the Mahommedan paradise; when a condition of abject poverty will be changed at once to inconceivable bliss—a bliss in which the possession of many wives and plenty of camels, with abundance of good food, are principal ingredients;—when a man of the nature above described, takes home the idea to his heart, dwells upon it, and cherishes it, there is nothing to be wondered at that it develops into action. English officials are to a fault careless about their personal safety. Any man who intends treachery can easily gain access to almost any officer of any rank in India. Their doors are open all day, and generally all night. Some few sleep with loaded revolvers by their side, or under their pillows, but they are exceptions. In the morning and evening rides they are unaccompanied by any escort, and without any weapon of defence. Almost at any hour of the day or night, the hand of the assassin might be directed, with unerring aim, against the life of almost any officer in India. The marvel is, not that assassinations occur, but that they are not much more frequent; especially in and about a country like Peshawur, where there are hundreds of fanatics for whom death has really no terror.

But as in the early part of the century it was found that the capital punishment of criminals had no effect in suppressing Italian brigandage, until the practice was adopted of executing them without allowing the access

of a priest, so the only hope of checking the practice of assassination among the wild fanatics of the Peshawur valley was to adopt some penalty which should affect the state of the criminal in the other world besides dismissing him from this. Accordingly the plan of burning the bodies of assassins was tried, first in the case of the murderer of that distinguished officer Colonel Mackeson, the Commissioner of Peshawur, in 1853. Colonel Mackeson had been stabbed through the lungs and chest while sitting in his verandah reading some official papers. The long, sharp, Affghan knife, a murderous-looking weapon, is pretty sure to deal a mortal blow when struck home with a vigorous hand. The assassin was seized; but utterly regardless of his fate he awaited death with the utmost composure, while his victim lingered for a week enduring the most frightful agonies, from which death at last released him. The murderer was condemned to be hanged; but hanging was to him a comparatively pleasant death—an almost painless entrance into Paradise, the reward in store for the martyr who had compassed the death of the representative of the British Government. That loss was deeply felt, for he was an intrepid officer, much dreaded by the wild Affghan tribes, and with a more extended experience of the frontier than any man then living. But what if, after all, Paradise was not to be attained by this deed of treachery? What if the unbelievers, fertile in resources, could devise a scheme to shut the gates of Heaven against the assassin? The authorities were advised to strike terror and dismay into the hearts of the thousands of Mahommedans who, it was known, sympathised deeply with the murderer. It was to be effected by burning the body after execution, which, according to Mussulman superstition, would shut the gate of Paradise on the criminal. It was done, and with the most salutary results. Simple death by hanging had no terrors for these men, but followed by cremation it had, and ever since the practice has been retained.

A more terrible tragedy occurred in the Western Presidency, owing to the indifference of the senior military authorities, and their habit of sacrificing everything to red tape. It had been resolved to break up a European battery at Mhow, and transfer the men; but the necessary orders could not be issued till the hot weather had set in. There was no pressing necessity at all for the battery to march. It had been in existence for a hundred and four years; and as the season was advanced, and the route would necessarily lie along a road flanked by impenetrable jungle, a hotbed of disease, as it was known that cholera was raging in the villages by which the detachment would have to pass, the departure might have been delayed for nine months or so, till the weather was more favourable for marching. But no! under the burning sun, exposed to the fiery heat of the hot winds, and through this death-bearing country, the hapless band of men, women, and children were ordered to proceed! It was a cruel and wanton sacrifice of human life. Paralysed by the severity of the attack, nineteen corpses of men, women, and children having accumulated in that little camp in a few hours, the officer commanding halted, hesitated, and then returned whence he had started, carrying with his camp the seeds of the disease, in the shape of sick and dying, and leaving the dead behind him in the jungle. The "Mhow death march" would have escaped notice had it not been brought to light by the press; as it was, the authorities were forced to inquire into it, and the officer commanding the division, General Green, was reprimanded and removed. It may be difficult, as in the case of the tragedy at Meean Meer, to fix with certainty on the department or the officer to blame; but here, as there, no doubt can be entertained that, if the Quartermaster-General's department had done its duty, a second tragedy might have been averted.

During the year the examples of the Lahore and Calcutta Exhibitions were pretty generally followed; efforts

being mostly confined to the display suited to an agricultural community. But the Nagpore Exhibition of arts, manufactures, and produce, in the Central Provinces, under the auspices of Sir Richard Temple, at the close of the year, was conspicuous for the success which attended it. The cause of progress was further advanced by the institution of a college of engineering for the instruction of officers and men in that science. Roorkee, near the foot of the Himalayas, and close to the spot where the waters of the Ganges flow into the great canal, was the site selected for the college. Under the presidentship of Major Medley and his staff of professors, Roorkee College, on the plan designed by Sir Hugh Rose, has turned out one of those institutions that are destined to confer a lasting benefit upon the country. It must be further developed to become the West-Point of India; but it is a germ capable of such development, and well worthy of the hearty support and encouragement of Government. The object of this college is to qualify officers and other students for the engineering profession. The former must be under the rank of field officers before they enter. Leave of absence is granted from regimental duty, and the time spent at the college is reckoned as active service. Non-commissioned officers and soldiers of good character can also get leave to be admitted to the college, and a certificate of proficiency is pretty sure to obtain them staff employ in the Public Works department. Civil students, or those who do not belong to the army, must be not under the age of eighteen, and must furnish a certificate of having passed the first examination in arts at the Calcutta University, or an examination equivalent thereto at any recognised college or university; the usual certificate of good character, soundness of constitution, &c. are also required before matriculation. To officers of the army who study and pass the necessary examinations no appointment is guaranteed, but as a general rule all who qualify obtain employ, only they are required to join the

staff corps. To the non-military student there are eight appointments in the Public Works department, guaranteed annually to men properly qualified; and to those who enter into an engagement, on joining the college, to take employment in the service of Government, if found qualified at the end of the course, the instruction is gratuitous. The educational course embraces all the subjects of instruction imparted at schools and universities in England; and the opening in India for the engineering profession is so great that for many years to come Roorkee College will afford to industrious men a sure stepping-stone to a noble profession and a handsome independence. Indeed, in the opening it gives to young men of promise there is no institution in the United Kingdom to be compared to it, saving always, of course, the disadvantage of a residence in India. The scientific engineer in every country must be prepared to meet with difficulties peculiar to its conformation, the character of its rivers, plains, and mountains, the nature of its soil, and of the means, appliances, and resources it affords. To grapple effectually with these, local knowledge is indispensably necessary. Experience is sometimes too dearly paid for by failure, and the instruction imparted at the Roorkee College cannot fail to be highly valuable to the engineer, whether civil or military, whose field of operations is to be confined to India.

A brief *résumé* of the principal events in Indian administrative progress during 1865 would be incomplete without allusion to an admirable address delivered by Sir Bartle Frere to the Sirdars of the Deccan in durbar. Twice he met the Mahratta chiefs, once on the northern, and on the second occasion on the southern limits of their territory. Alluding to traditions of the past, the great deeds and the renown won by the famous heroes of antiquity, Sir Bartle Frere must have won a way into the hearts of those still uncultured descendants of warrior chiefs, who almost within the memory of the present generation were

the chivalry of Southern India. Crediting the sons with the warlike energy of the fathers, the speaker endeavoured to bring before them the contrast between the present and the past—between an age of peace and an age of war—showing them that the same energy and vigour which could win victory in battle could, if rightly directed, win no less valuable victories in peace. "Though it is no longer necessary," he said, "to build forts, you may rival the Pandoo heroes of your early history by cutting roads over mountain gorges and building bridges over unfordable streams. You may emulate Asoka by works of irrigation, or of shelter to travellers, or by building hospitals for the sick and needy, and your name may be remembered with gratitude by future ages when all traditions of the mere fighting chieftains of former days shall have passed away."

CHAPTER XI.

1866.

Famine and irrigation works—Orissa—Official blunders—Sir William Denison—Irrigation and private enterprise—Horrors of famine—The currency—Gold as a standard—The Currency Commission—Lord Napier visits Wynaad—Sir Bartle Frere resigns—The Bishop of Calcutta—The Indian chaplains—Dr. Cotton's untimely fate—His influence, usefulness, and character—The High Courts.

IF it be true that the horrors of famine may be averted in India by artificial irrigation, the fact that during a review of the history of that country for ten years it has been my lot to record two visitations of that terrible scourge becomes one of much significance. The first visitation within the period embraced in these pages was in 1860-61; the second was in 1866; and the record of 1868 closed with the gloomy prospect of a severe famine over at least one-third of the continent of India. Happily the fall of rain, long withheld in the early part of 1869, has in a great measure belied these forebodings, but in spite of this the distress has been very great, and India has had a very narrow escape of a third famine within the decade. These famines are the most awful visitations. An earthquake, which is destructive enough to form an epoch or a landmark in history, such as the great convulsion at Antioch or at Lisbon, and the recent catastrophe in Peru, occurs once or twice in a century, and carries off its twenty thousand, as in South America, and its sixty thousand, as at Lisbon, and its two hundred and sixty thousand, as at Antioch. There is always a tendency to exaggerate estimates of

great numbers in connexion with striking historical events; and the longer the interval since the occurrence, the greater is the opportunity for the imagination of successive writers to add to the previous statement. It will be quite sufficient for the purpose of illustration to suppose that the earthquake at Antioch destroyed no more than double the number that fell at Lisbon. Suppose these visitations occurred three times within ten years in the same country, and suppose further, that the researches of science had disclosed a means for averting the calamity, what would be said of a government or a people that in spite of this discovery, and in face of this ever-recurring calamity, persisted in doing nothing to avert it? When the earth opens and swallows up a dense crowd of men, women, and children, and the sea rushes in with overpowering force, and sweeps away its thousands, or when buildings fall and crush the trembling wretches who have sought shelter under their walls, there is little of physical suffering for those who perish, and the after consequences on the survivors are not to be dreaded; but when famine comes, the victims who fall under it die by the most horrible of deaths, and the amount of human suffering is perfectly appalling. Added to which, it is invariably followed by an outbreak of epidemic disease—either cholera or fever. The sufferers by earthquake or by war are reckoned by the thousand, but the victims of these Indian famines by the million! Yet there can be no question that, unlike the earthquake, unlike epidemics, even unlike war, this terrible scourge might be certainly to a great extent, if not entirely, averted.

To the south-west of Calcutta, connecting the Bengal and Madras Presidency, there is a large tract of country on the western coast, washed by the Bay of Bengal, called Orissa. It is intersected by the great Mahanuddy river, which flows by the city of Cuttack into the Bay. In former years this country was inhabited by an industrious and wealthy population. In the time of Akbar it was perhaps at the

height of its prosperity, and the large and populous cities, the temples, the bathing places, the gardens, and buildings on the banks of the Great River,[1] rivalled those which adorned the holy Ganges. Many traces of its former magnificence are found in the shape of ruins now overgrown with jungle. It is not likely that the Mahommedan conqueror would depopulate and destroy a country incorporated by conquest with the empire; but that race of plunderers, the Mahrattas, who followed, were less scrupulous, and partly under the oppressions exercised by them, partly by misrule, and mainly from natural causes, Orissa has sunk during the last century or two from a populous and thriving country to the condition in which we now behold it, inhabited by an indolent and superstitious pauper population, said to number five millions, scattered over an area the size of England and Wales.[2]

Owing to a failure of the usual rains in 1865, great scarcity, developing as time went on into actual want, began to be felt in Orissa in the latter part of the year. In the early part of 1866, the distress was so great that the East India Irrigation Company began importing rice to feed their people. As usual, the alarm, being given by the non-official Europeans residing in the district, and by the press, was disregarded by the Government; and after the scourge had fallen, after about a million of human beings had perished miserably from want, a commission was appointed to investigate the extraordinary apathy evinced by the local government, and their report, with the minutes and official comments together, makes up a blue book of two thick volumes, which was published in 1867. The cries of the suffering people, and the indignant remonstrances of the press, reached England, and the Secretary of State called on the Viceroy for explanation. The old question was asked who was to blame, and the public was amused and scandalized by a triangular duel

[1] Mahanuddy, or "The Great River." *Friend of India.*

between the Viceroy, the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, Sir Cecil Beadon, and the Calcutta Board of Revenue; the local authorities in Orissa itself coming in for occasional stray shots from all three.

The Viceroy, in a minute dated 20th April, 1866, concurs with the commission in their opinion, the record of which reads almost like a grim satire, "that timely measures were not taken," and that "valid reasons were not adduced for this neglect." "It seems to me," the Viceroy adds, "beyond all doubt that there was a want of foresight, perception, and precaution, regarding the impending calamity, which was quite unaccountable even when allowance has been made for the fact alluded to by the commission that the officers under the Government of Bengal had with scarcely an exception no previous personal experience of the character of famines."

This must be regarded, however, at best as but a poor attempt to shuffle off the responsibility. The Supreme Government were neither deaf, nor blind, nor dumb; they could read the papers, they could not help hearing what was being talked about everywhere. If a "terrible calamity" was impending, and the Local Government were taking no effective measures to meet it, were the Supreme Government tied hand and foot that they could not remonstrate? Or was it that, according to tradition and custom, the regulations of the service, and red tape, an impending calamity must be allowed to fall, and tens of thousands of human beings be allowed to perish, because the "impending calamity" had not been represented to be "impending" through the "usual channels?"

We have seen that in January the East Indian Irrigation Company found it necessary to import food for their establishments. Mr. Beadon visited Orissa himself in February, and after his return saw the Viceroy and related the result of his visit, and the Viceroy remarks, "that it was after hearing all which he (Mr. Beadon) had to tell me of the state of things in Orissa that I came to the con-

clusion that all which appeared to be necessary had been done for the country." To which Mr. Beadon somewhat testily replies in the Appendix to the Blue Book, at p. 4: "If His Excellency means to say that he does not believe what I have said, and what every witness examined on this point by the Commission has said, there can be no further room for discussion. But the fact is, as shown abundantly by the Commissioners' inquiry, that at that time no one feared that there was not food enough in the province to last till next harvest." It is clear, however, that the Irrigation Company did know there was fear of an absolute failure of food. Sir John Lawrence remarked that Mr. Beadon should have attached more weight to the views of those who held an opinion contrary to the officials, such as Colonel Rundall, the Company's engineer, and others, and have helped them to combat the opinion of the Board of Revenue, to convince them of the real state of the Province.

The inaction of the Board is thus excused by Mr. Grote, the senior member. At par. 20 of the Appendix, he says: "We have been charged with inaction in having failed to import food despite the warnings of the non-official community of the Province conveyed to us through the press. On such statements, *all unsupported as they were by those of our own local officers*, we have been held to blame for not doing in February and March what we had at last to do in May." The reasoning by which the Board was led to their conclusion is curious. They refused to import food into Orissa because Sir Charles Trevelyan's account of the second Irish famine in 1846, published in the *Edinburgh Review*, No. 175, of 1848, shows that "the Government of that day throughout stated interference inexpedient in a crisis assumed to be similar to this." Mr. Grote then quotes the whole passage upon which he relies, and adds:

"I have made this quotation in the belief that it will explain and justify our hesitation to recommend a depar-

ture from rules and principles which paragraph 8 of the Secretary of State's despatch admits should not be lightly interfered with," (the interference by Government with the ordinary operations of trade;) "the question which so anxiously occupied the Home Government in 1846, and which was finally dealt with by adopting measures confining their interference in Ireland to a minimum, did not till the end of May come before us in the same form. It was then only that the actual crisis presented itself to the Commissioner of Cuttack, and that with him we saw the necessity for sacrificing every consideration" (even the *Edinburgh Review* of 1848) "to that of humanity."

In April the Supreme Government betook itself to Simla, and shortly after Mr. Beadon retired to Darjeeling, and the people in Orissa perished in thousands for lack of food.

The episode is worthy of this detail because it illustrates most forcibly the prominent defect in the constitution of the Indian Government, the excess of its bureaucratic element, its bondage to red tape, its exaggerated jealousy of external influence or non-official interference, and the contracting effect upon the mind which long years spent in the official groove of departmental routine inevitably imparts.

While Mr. Beadon, the old Bengal civilian promoted to Lieutenant-Governor, kept himself cool at Darjeeling, and only repaired to Calcutta, and that for a short time after the setting-in of the rains, in obedience to the order of the Viceroy, Lord Napier, the Governor of Madras, himself went, in the scorching month of May, to that portion of the district affected with famine which lay within the limits of his charge, and deputed the best officers he could find to other parts; and doubtless Sir William Denison would have done the same, had he been then in office, but he had recently retired on the expiration of his time, and had been succeeded by Lord Napier. It is another proof added to those we see daily in India, that an official career

is not the best school for governors of provinces. The famine raged the whole year, and many orphans were thrown upon public charity, most of whom were transferred to Calcutta to be brought up in the various charitable institutions in that city.

After getting several prizes for fine celery and onions, and being equally fortunate in the more refined department of flowers and plants at the Horticultural Exhibition, in the beginning of the year, Sir W. Denison took leave of Madras. It would be unreasonable at any time to charge with indolence a man of well-known scientific acquirements, who had already been successful in his career as Governor in Australia; but the press of Madras found fault with Sir W. Denison for indifference to public duties, although, when suddenly called upon to act for once during his Indian career in the face of a formidable crisis, he had exhibited all the genius of a great administrator. It is impossible to say what may not have been the consequence had Sir William Denison not been guided by his own sense of what was right, and had he not depended on his own judgment rather than on the experience and advice of others; if he had shirked responsibility, and confirmed the timid counsels of those who ought to have known India a good deal better than he. His firmness, at any rate, saved the country from a long and dangerous campaign, from political excitement which might have thrown it back a quarter of a century in as many months, and awakened afresh the spirit of disaffection which we fancied had been lulled into a feverish and passing slumber, but which was even then, though we knew it not, awake and active. In his own Presidency, there was little to do that might not be done quietly and without any display of statesmanship, and it is probable that Sir William and Lady Denison's influence was none the less beneficially felt in their respective circles because unattended with much *éclat*. The Governor was not wont to sound a trumpet before him when he went about his public duties; and the story

which is told of him, that during the few weeks he held office as Viceroy, after Lord Elgin's death, he took the opportunity of calling up all the cases which had been referred from Madras to the Supreme Government (some of them, no doubt, appeals from his own decisions) and settled them all, shows at any rate that he was alive to the interests of his own government, and could work with a will when there was necessity, as well as accept responsibility. He was indefatigable in his efforts to advance the cause of education, and if he kept the wheels of the state machine in very tolerable working order, revolving at exactly the same speed as his predecessor had left them, perhaps he thought he had accomplished all that was required of him. For once, during a three weeks' term of office as Viceroy, a tremendous responsibility was thrown upon him, which he cheerfully accepted, and by his firmness and judgment saved India from a very heavy political disaster. That he should have received no recognition for such an act will not be wondered at by those who know and can appreciate the influence of the Indian Civil Service. Lord Canning sacrificed India to his civilian counsellors; Sir William Denison saved at any rate the upper half of it in spite of them.

The Governorship of Madras was not the only office which changed hands this year. During the period three men successively filled the post of Secretary of State, or the Wuzeer i Hind, as the natives somewhat euphoniously style that official. Sir Charles Wood was promoted to the Upper House as Lord Halifax, and was succeeded by Earl de Grey and Ripon, who was a short time after, in consequence of a change of ministry, succeeded by Lord Cranborne.

Two questions of vast importance and great interest came under discussion during this year. One of these, whether extensive irrigation works should be undertaken by the Government, or made over to private enterprise, came prominently into notice in connexion with the Orissa

famine; the other, the currency question, had been under discussion by the local and the home governments and the press in India ever since Mr. Wilson had initiated reform in the finances, and it was this year submitted to a committee consisting of Sir W. Mansfield and the Hon. H. S. Maine, Mr. W. Grey (afterwards Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal), Messrs. Cowie, Ross, Lushington, Halford, and Mr. George Dickens, manager of the Bank of Bengal. A vast amount of evidence was taken by the committee, but for some reason or other they refused to publish it as it was taken daily; and their report, which came out towards the close of the year, was the most meagre and disappointing production of the kind ever seen.

There appears to have been a great deal of difference of opinion as to whether irrigation works were legitimately the exclusive department of Government, or whether they formed a fair field for private enterprise. Lord Canning clearly was of opinion that private enterprise should be encouraged in the construction of irrigation works, for it was he who sanctioned the East India Irrigation Company's operations in Orissa, where they undertook a grand scheme for the irrigation of the delta of the Mahanuddy and the adjoining country. They only commenced, however, in November 1863, and by the time the famine began they had progressed almost, but unfortunately not quite, up to the point where their canal might have been brought into partial use.[1] Under the pressure of the famine, however, they made fresh exertions, and by January could undertake to fertilize 10,000 acres, and within the following six months the canal was capable of watering 30,000 more.[2] Unhappily, owing to the apprehension caused by the approach just at that time of a new land revenue settlement, and an intimation from Mr. Beadon that the indirect result of irrigation would be an increased land-tax, the inhabitants would not take advantage of the oppor-

[1] The Blue Book on the Orissa Famine, vol. i. p. 19.

[2] *The Friend of India.*