

THE COMPANY AND THE CROWN



BY THE

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Much as has been written respecting what was termed in India the "Company Bahadoor," and those events in consequence of which the soil of Hindostan has now become encircled by the British Crown, it is still matter for regret that so little should be generally known of the scope and spirit of current Anglo-Indian administration. Great men of wide experience, representing every shade of human thought, have recorded volumes of opinions and decisions on each question as it has been born, while others, rich in the faculty of turning to account a rare research, have laboured at the almost hopeless task of teaching England how to know her Eastern Empire. Yet such of the results attained as are accessible to all, have rather tended to obscure than to enlighten general readers, while the opening for sensation writing, afforded by such thrilling themes as our trans-Indus wars, and the events of 1857, have too frequently been used as frames for highly-coloured pictures, drawn by

able advocates of different schools and services. Thus,

while in the daily intercourse of life it has become the general practice to confess an ignorance concerning India of which men would rightly blush on less important subjects, leading members of both Houses of our Legislature have frequently preferred to borrow doctrines of the hour advanced by public journals, rather than work out the sum of their own individual impressions. To endeavour to dispel the cloud of error which dulls the public eye on all regarding India has hence become a fair legitimate ambition; and in this aim the present author ventures to submit a few remarks upon that country as it is, or rather was, when his position there enabled him to know the truth.

It may be thought by many, and the writer once thought himself, that information bearing on the individuality of public life, obtained while holding any kind of office, should remain unwritten history; and no doubt some reticence is needed in discussing living men, while much responsibility attaches to each word so uttered. In the solution of such doubts the author was assisted by encouragement received from native friends in India; and the following extract from a private letter, not meant originally for publication, addressed to him by one of the earliest natives chosen to take part in mixed Imperial legislation, was not without its influence on his decision:—

"Above all I have been touched by the proof, which the main subject of your letter evinces, of the high confidence reposed in my humble self by an alien in

creed, in country, in manners, in race, and indeed in everything which distinguishes man from man, and my personal intercourse with whom was so suddenly cut short by the decree of Providence, and with the space of ten thousand miles between us at this moment. I only hope you may never have the slightest cause to regret this feeling. I very well approve of the idea of publishing your impressions of this country, and your observations on its politics and public characters; I always thought to myself you should do such a thing, specially remembering to what literary use another Private Secretary of Lord Elgin put his experiences with that nobleman in another part of the world. I can well appreciate your embarrassment at the manner of publication; that is a well-known puzzle with authors, and the puzzle increases to a tremendous extent when an author has to attend to the peculiarities of three different audiences, two in one country, and the third in another at the antipodes. Besides, a great deal of the success of a work depends on the manner of publication-indeed, the title of a book often leads to its popularity. I can understand your desire to bring your work well out before the Indian public, who alone can take the greatest interest in it, and who alone will heartily recognise the right which belongs to you from your antecedents to address them."

The title chosen tells its story for itself, and needs but little comment. The transition of the Government

of India from all but boundless wealth, and a far larger measure of independence than is enjoyed by most members of the European family of nations, to utter bankruptcy and a struggle for existence all dependent on the mother country—this transition had come of dire necessity and not of man's selection. The life of the East India Company had died out as a tale that is told, and nought remained but debt and disaster, in which England had a deep and national share. ceeding to the darkness of rebellion, the transition dawned upon Lord Canning with the light of breaking day, and his last years of power were spent in healing wounds of awful magnitude. This task, still incomplete, he left a legacy to Lord Elgin, whose previous life, spent as it had been in the reconciliation of conflicting creeds and races, appeared to the public of that time to offer the most solid pledges for the future.

Counting Lord Dalhousie, three college friends were called to govern India in succession. The first, who entered youngest on his duties, ruled eight—the second, six eventful years; while the reign permitted to the third but embraced the space of two. Yet, although differing in duration, these three periods resemble one another, in that each received and bore the impress of a ruling mind. The first period was characterised by almost ceaseless warfare and the wide spread of our dominion; the second, by alternate light and shade, the light occupying both foreground and far distance, the middle plane alone being bathed in shadow; the

third was the calm that follows on a storm, affording time to the Indian people and their ruler to weigh the future in the balance of the past, to sink their differences in the appreciation of order and good government, and finally to meet together, the Hindoo and the Mussulman, the Christian and the Jew, to manufacture laws adapted to their general use. This last period it is, to which, in these pages, most frequent reference will be found.

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THE COMPANY AND THE CROWN.

CHAPTER I.

THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.

Mahomedan history relates that, in the year 1611, Jehangeer, Emperor of Delhi, granted a spot to some Englishmen on which to build a factory in the city of Surat; and that His Majesty introduced this company of white adventurers to his subjects by a proclamation, wherein it was announced that the English had a separate king independent of the King of Portugal, to whom they owed no allegiance, and that, on the contrary, these two nations put each other to death wheresoever they met. "At present," it was added, "owing to the good offices of Jehangeer, they are at peace with one another; though God only knows how long they will consent to have factories in the same town, and live on terms of amity and friendship."

The tale, however, of the rise of British India has been too often told to call for repetition at our hands. We

shall not therefore trace the gradual development of our Eastern provinces and power, but shall at once proceed to the consideration of some questions dictated by experience, and to the inquiry whether the existent state of things is merely the result of progressive energy and accident, demanding rearrangement rather than reform, or the success and full achievement of a settled policy pursued. And in the course of these inquiries we shall see first how, in early times, many of the greatest miseries of India-miseries affecting both the rulers and the ruled-were owing to the rapidly succeeding muster-roll of men and policies whereby her destinies were guided to the full force of whose crotchets and ambition her whole resources were exposed; and secondly, how, in later days of a more enlarged consciousness of the magnitude of the work intrusted to us, everything has been too often risked upon a vote of that great body of professional, hereditary, and dilettanti legislators who constitute our Parliament. Incalculable as have been the benefits conferred upon ourselves at home by the gradual perfection of the representative system and ministerial responsibility, there exists in the minds of few who know the facts the shadow of a doubt, that the extension of Parliamentary control to the details of Indian administration and finance is a measure as fraught with ill, as proved, a hundred years ago, that similar assumption of power to impose the taxes and impede the commerce of our great western colonies, till then conspicuous for their loyalty.

Yet that was a lesson neither easily read nor likely soon to be forgotten; and it behoves us, if we will not see its precepts lost, to study them by the light of our improved intelligence. Those who know India, and have had opportunities of appreciating her incomparable wealth and the industry of her people, will readily admit that conditions of government are alone required to enable her to reassert and justify her tradi-Those to whom this confidence has tional position. become familiar will further confess that the actual policy of England toward her greatest vassal is not the one best calculated to attain such ends. The rule of the great Company was marked by much that was ignoble. Under the wings of her protection favourites sought paths to fortune unknown in other spheres of life; those whom birth or accidental causes entitled to support often embraced a career distasteful to themselves, with the certainty, not of rendering good service, but of reaping pensions and promotion. Yet this was perhaps rather the exception than the rule; and it is customary in these days to cast reflection upon the sons of competition, and to reserve praise and approbation for their more happy predecessors. Under the East India Company certain families had won and retained consideration; and although the sons and nephews might not approach in excellence or zeal to the examples set them by their uncles or their fathers, yet it often happened that a youth of twenty-two or twenty-three was sent to rule a native state, whose name alone acted as a talisman more powerful with those he had to govern, than any renewed assurances of goodwill dictated by the Government of India.

A system of administration which long withstood the

test of time, and rivalled sovereignty, could not be devoid of merit. For years and decades it was the custom to advance in argument the prosperity of India, in proof of the advantages of commercial government; and into so great security had the rich men of Leadenhall Street suffered themselves to be lulled by Lord Dalhousie's eloquent success, that prudential measures of all kinds had been alike condemned. The result was inevitable. There had been no failure; the success had only been too manifest. In a vast peninsula, peopled by a hundred and eighty millions of inhabitants, teeming with caste prejudices and innate jealousy of white rule, it was impossible such blind confidence should pass unnoticed. Private reasons were not wanting for discontent among all classes; many harsh rulings, bad in themselves, but still more dangerous as precedent, had fanned and fed the flame. Neither Oude nor cartridges were the paramount causes of rebellion; unseen and unsuspected by us all it came, the inevitable result of too rapid a convulsion of the native mind. Our armies had advanced, and kings had quietly been swept away, their kingdoms incorporated with our possessions, barely calling for geographical remark. Then came the Crimean war and the rise in money; and the Company, ever avowedly a mercantile community, bethought itself of gain. The gain was its own, but it was of short duration. The clouds. long gathering, at length burst, and the Company, shortsighted in its unrivalled prosperity, shared the fate of those rulers it had dethroned.

"It was with strange feelings," we are told, "that

men who had served the Company from boyhood, coming home after the mutiny, fresh from scenes of war and fire, razed forts and pillaged palaces, visited the East India House, and wandered through the gloomy corridors and deserted rooms, which they remembered to have seen thronged with soldiers and civilians, clerks and messengers, anxious and carnest on their several errands. And few could help lingering in the Council Chamber, and thinking of the men of bygone generations, who, by the sword or by the pen, had been instrumental in conquering India, and whose marble statues stood in their lofty niches, with the dingy gilt ceiling above, and the old-fashioned arm-chairs below, once occupied by successive generations of potentates, who, under the plain names of Chairman and Directors of a London Company, had exercised a degree of authority over millions of people, to which that of the Doge and Council of Venice in its palmy days was poor beyond comparison. Here the fate of emperors, kings, and governors-general had been decided upon; here the career of Clive and Warren Hastings had been watched and criticised step by step; here the subsidiary system of Lord Wellesley, and the social reforms of Lord William Bentinek, were discussed; and, lastly, here the annexations of Lord Dalhousie were suggested and applauded. Another turn of the wheel, and the arm-chairs of the Directors were left as vacant as the peacock throne of Delhi, and scores of other ivory thrones or jewelled cushions, the lumber of extinct power."

Such was that Company, whose greatness proved its

ruin. The first blow at its independence had, indeed, been struck by Pitt in the days of our fathers; but since then it had gathered more than former wealth, and girt itself around with conquests. Magnificent at all times as a monument of English energy, it was still grand in its misfortunes, and grander in its fall; and not until its doom was sealed did the country become cognisant of the responsibilities incurred. Yet, impossible though it be now to call in question the justice and necessity of this change, it is equally impossible to contemplate it without much mingled feeling of regret.

Of the revolt to which that Company's fall is due, we will not here repeat the oft-told history. Its horrors rank, in their intensity, second to few of bygone times; and thus, while Englishmen are found to fully justify all other risings of a creed or people against oppression, the peculiar crucities of the Sepoy War have trampled under foot all sympathy and pity. So much, indeed, is this the case, that not only writers bidding for the public ear, but even some historians, have lost sight of the national character of the rebellion, and only treated it as mutiny. The struggle, though short, was long enough to prove the futility of all attempts to wrest our Indian dominion from us by force of native arms, and to show the stuff our men are made of. classes were, however, convulsed with fear -- foremost among them the merchants of Calcutta. And so remarkable was this phenomenon of Englishmen trembling in inaction, as to call from the lips of Lord Elgin, who, at the time of India's need, came steaming up the Hoogly, the well-known words, "that all around stood

blanched with fear save one, Lord Canning," whose fate it was to govern India during six long years, memorable of themselves, yet rendered more so by the calm deliberation and high courage by which so much has been averted.

The touching story of the personal attachment between those three successive rulers has been recorded in 'A British Friendship;' and we shall only seek to cast a clearer light on the part that each has played in Indian history. The antecedents of Lord Dalhousie had rather been commercial than political. Equally sound and brilliant in debate, his splendid talents had previously found scope in railway schemes and home administration. Yet, strange to say, once transplanted to Calcutta, his whole soul embraced by preference the paths of war and foreign policy. With Lord Canning the opposite was true. Bearer of an illustrious name, with associations specially belonging to the period when England's foreign influence stood highest, he himself chose peace and commerce, and, when permitted, devoted the entire energies of his nature to the material progress of the land he ruled. Men more opposite in all respects could hardly have been found, though some delight to look for traces of resemblance. Both were young, and both had giant powers, which both bestowed ungrudgingly wherever duty called; both had wives who fell sacrifices to their country's cause not less truly than had they died on fields of battle; both worked in the same vineyard, pursuing each his path of honour, each ending in an early grave ;-but here resemblance ceases. The outlines are the same—the lights and

shades contrasting strangely. Lord Dalhousie carved an empire with the sword for Lord Canning to cement with clemency.

Few reigns have dawned more brightly than Lord The sun, so long obscured, shone lovingly Elgin's. again on all throughout that broad peninsula. theory of our sword-rule had been reduced to bloody practice, and the last years of Lord Canning's government had served to heal, though not to hide, the scars the sword had made. A feeling not unlike contrition had replaced fierce hatred. The last demand for vengeance on the Indian people for the crimes of 1857, Lad been hushed by the cry of famine that rose up from the North-West in 1860. To that appeal Great Britain and her colonies had responded by a million of rupees; and Colonel Baird Smith, to whose unflinching zeal the stupendous task of distribution had been intrusted, had fallen a noble sacrifice in a noble cause. with railways, seventy thousand British troops, and unmatched artillery in European hands, we could at length afford to adopt a less crushing policy towards the natives. This opportunity had been not only seized, but made the most of. Shaking off his early bad advisers, Lord Canning had selected men of far different stamp, who, less prejudiced, soon became the skilful tools of a still more skilful master. To the disposal of accumulations Lord Canning's last year's toil had been devoted, and to Lord Elgin was confided, one March morning, a machine of government more perfect and harmonious than Asia yet had seen. But the echoes of Lord Canning's last salute had hardly died

away when difficulties arose. Sir Bartle Frere became Governor of Bombay; Mr Ritchie died; Mr Laing fell ill; Mr Grey promoted to the Council, Colonel H. M. Durand showed some slight symptoms of dissatisfaction; while the Home Department, intrusted to Mr E. C. Bayley, was overridden by Bengal. In a word, the reins of Indian government are so numerous, and each horse becomes so well acquainted with the driver's will, that any change of hand is fraught at first with danger. The transfer to Lord Elgin had been accompanied by every favourable combination. The former policy, a proved success, fell to one to whom it had been specially indebted; and the author of our colonial constitutions was a fitting instrument to carry out the Queen's command, and call in native rulers to the administration of her Eastern empire. The basis of good government consists in insight into human hearts, and tact in dealing with human weaknesses. these qualities Lord Elgin possessed to an extent by few surpassed; and with the knowledge that India would not take his character for granted, he sought the readiest mode of becoming familiar with its people. In this spirit was undertaken that brilliant progress so fatal to himself. At Cawnpore, Agra, Meerut, Simla, he had addressed assembled chiefs in words of easy comprehension, and after that his voice was heard no more. Then in virtue of the Indian Council's Act. Sir William Denison, the senior Governor, assumed the Viceroyalty. His rule was short, and mainly remarkable for studied inaction; and if we except a cricket match, to fight which a Madras eleven was ordered

up post haste, no measure of importance marks this period. Then came Sir John Lawrence; the selection hardly calls for observation. The first civilian Viceroy inherited his office by an accident, and whether the experiment will merit repetition must depend entirely on the measure of its success.

Any attempt to describe the nature and the attributes of the society over which Sir John Lawrence was thus called to reign, must almost of necessity fail to render to the general reader a fair conception of the reality. More than twenty different and distinct classes enter into its elementary composition, and each of these is so varied and intensified by the peculiar circumstances attending any change in persons and in things, as to baffle every effort at an ordered classification. There are officials, and the crowd of non-officials. The former are divided into members of the covenanted and uncovenanted civil, military, naval, clerical, and legal services; the latter counts within its ranks bankers, merchants, planters, missionaries, travellers, and adventurers, and all these put together form but one tint in the social rainbow of Calcutta; for, in addition, high-capped Parsees, turbaned representatives of both prevailing native creeds, mixed Eurasians of every shade, deposed dynasties, whose object seems to be to sink the little that remains to them of Oriental noble blood in the vices of our importation-these almost countless particles meet together each day on the Maidan of Fort-William. The Viceroy of the hour is the axis on which they all revolve, and by the precedent which he establishes are decided the claims of

this or that colour or religion to intimacy in their dealings with ourselves. The deposed royal family of Mysore, being in practice renegades from their ancestral faith, accept of European dinners. royal brethren from Oude, who pollute with their numerous presence the fair retreat of Garden Reach, now vainly strive to attain to a like pre-eminence in degradation. The young King of Oude indeed, and his wily ex-Wuzeer, Ali Nucki Khan, are seen at times at evening parties in Calcutta, and sometimes condescend to ride or drive in Eden Gardens with a white acquaintance; but the memory of their family crimes is still too recent to admit of much good-fellowship. The question of the admission of natives into English drawing-rooms is surrounded with much that is difficult and much that is obscure. In the eyes of Eastern princes, our dances, our dresses, our conversation, and all that constitutes the intercourse between the sexes, is so strangely at variance with their own notions of propriety, as to render it impossible to present to them a picture of European life at which they would not eavil. From the time of Lord William Bentinck it has been attempted to educate them in our ideas, and the mutiny with its sorrows did not obliterate this practice. No doubt the system received a rude shock by the conduct of the favoured Azimoolah and of his brutal master of Bithoor; but the ladies of Burdwan did not on that account absent themselves from the picnics and parties on the lake to which they were invited by the Croesus Maharaja of the place; neither did Lord Canning thenceforth on that account withhold his invitations from those entitled by immemorial usage to attendance at the Viceroy's balls; and, strange to say, it remained for one of Indian antecedents and of known philanthropy, of cast-iron faith in native virtue and the deepest sympathy with missionary enterprise—in a word, to Sir John Lawrence—to trace a line and say, Thus far shall the native come in contact with ourselves, and no farther.

The step thus taken by Sir John Lawrence at the outset of his viceroyalty, whether right or wrong, was retrograde, and as such affords cause for great regret. It was a blow struck at the native social character, in such a manner as to go home to those most intimate with Europeans, and most partial to the aspect of a white man's court. And in every eye it assumed the more significance as coming from a friendly quarter, from one whom natives deemed allied to them by every instinct engendered by the daily commerce of more than thirty years. Though the pride of the dominant race might be flattered by watching the shadows as they formed on the downcast heads of highborn natives, excluded from their presence, and turned away from Government House, somewhat roughly perchance, by a white policeman, who took a coarse pleasure in his ungrateful task; yet the reflecting element could but regard with sorrow as an evil omen society thus officially divided, and recast according to its primitive colours, by the fiat of a former servant of the Company.

Thus such is the condition of Indian affairs that, in great things as in small, all depends upon the nature of the men in power. The present system of subser-

vience to Westminster that clogs each wheel of ponderous Government machinery with reference and delay, has only tended to enhance this truism. A Governor-General, to do aught to-day, must have a taste for opposition, and an almost total disregard of what they say at home. Yet the manly and consistent attitude maintained by Sir Charles Wood throughout the course of the last few years, in meeting Parliamentary clamour for Indian Reform, has not received sufficient recognition. Power must remain with some, and perhaps, pending the complete development of the Indian Council's system, it was in good keeping in his hands. However this may be, one can but admire the firmness and ability with which he has succeeded, against the determined opposition of the services and Parliament, in constituting himself, as Secretary of State, sole exponent of the Royal pleasure where India is concerned. The history of the world affords but few examples of such mass of power being given to one man. For years the map of Hindostan lay prostrate at his feet; and though, in the interest of truth, one must confess that kicks, when wanting, have not been spared, it is equally incumbent on us to record our fixed belief, that, at least in Native questions, his policy ever has been such as to sow the priceless seed of restored confidence in England's loyalty, and this alone is a service of no common order. The vast powers thus centred in a single human will, cause the question of who may, or who may not, be Sir Charles Wood's successors, to be fraught with anxiety to millions of our fellow-subjects. Will they cancel certain military measures—will they permit to the so-called Supreme and Local Governments under them any independent action, and if so, how much? These are indeed weighty considerations, the true importance of which can only be appreciated by those possessed of personal acquaintance with the interests at stake.

The fact is, that Sir Charles Wood's measures have been of three classes totally distinct, and the success of two has been so signal as to stifle criticism of the third. An English member of the House of Commons, rich indeed in home experience, but wanting in all local knowledge, had undertaken to dictate the laws, restore the finances, and gather up the fragments of the army, of our Indian empire. The result we deem a wonder of our days. The laws prescribed are daily gathering strength and popularity. The finances have acquired an elasticity unrivalled in our times, and the fragments, to all appearance neatly swept together, have so deceived the eyes of Parliament, as to pass for a construction perfect in proportion and design. Yet to those who know the truth in military matters, the melancholy patchwork is self-evident, and it but remains for time to scatter broadcast, and remodel on a sound and healthy footing, those martial institutions whose best interests have been so rashly dealt with.

In India the so-called legal question had always been one of unusually difficult decision. Under the Company, might too often took the place of right, and the doctrine that the country had been got, and must continue to be held, by the sword, never lacked supporters. In the opinion of those indeed who knew the country best,

there was much truth in this assertion. The native mind is strangely fitted to evade our justice. weapon of false witness is especially its own. Each Vakeel or native pleader has at his beck and call a well-trained phalanx of professional perjurers. native cases of importance the mass of oral and spurious documentary evidence adduced in court, would utterly bewilder an English judge and jury; and the relative value of the oath of men of different shades of creed and colour has ever been much canvassed. Company went no doubt too far in favour of white evidence; and in those days an Englishman could practically ill-treat natives with impunity. Now, if we err, it is on the other side, and the white are often at the mercy of their native plunderers. Hindoos and Mahomedans, possessing their own social codes and notions of what is right or wrong, care little for our forms of swearing witnesses; and though in remote Mofussil districts, where natives and white men dispense the laws and justice of the land upon an equal footing, one meets with more regard for truth than in the Presidency towns, yet even there corruption thrives to an extent incredible.

Many Indian statesmen have devoted great talents and research to the framing of one law for British India; and all attemps as yet have failed. The most successful efforts are unquestionably those of Sir Charles Wood's reign. The establishment of the High Court, and the introduction of the circuit system, are great experiments, both of which seem likely to succeed. These measures found an earnest advocate and zealous

executor in Mr Henry Sumner Maine, who was appointed Legal Member of Council after the death of the lamented Mr Ritchie. Mr Maine was a man of feeble constitution, but most refined and cultivated intellect. His home career had been more occupied with literary labours than the active branches of his profession. contributions to the 'Saturday Review' and other critical papers, were always masterpieces of taste and style, and his well-known work on ancient law had finally secured to him an honourable and lasting place in the literature of his country. Mr Ritchie had risen gradually to the summit of his aspirations, through the long and crooked, though profitable, paths of the Indian bar, while Mr Maine's first experience of the East dated from his appointment to the Council. He lost not a moment, however, in mastering the intricacies of native law, and at Lord Elgin's instigation became associated with Mr H. B. Harington in the revision of our Indian Penal Code—a colossal undertaking, well worthy of the energies of two such untiring jurists. Moreover, at that time the conditions of Hindoo polygamy, and the establishment of a Divorce Court in India, were eagerly discussed, and, in addition to his other labours. the consideration of these subjects devolved on Mr To the solution of such problems he brought great talents, with zeal of no common order; and in all confidence the Indian public watched these complicated tasks intrusted to his care.

The new High Court was constituted under principles most calculated to render it a popular institution. Its ranks absorbed civilians like Messrs Seton Karr

and Campbell, of tried and eminent ability, for whom executive appointments equal to their claims could not at the time be found. Its doors were also open to barristers from home, and on its bench two new and startling precedents had been adopted. Natives were to be appointed to this high tribunal, with power to judge our countrymen in criminal as well as civil cases; and, for the first time, natives of high rank became entitled to the same emoluments as their English colleagues. The effect of this was quite electrical, and throughout Bengal the native public prints teemed with praise at the happy omen. It was clear, however, that as regards the native question, the chances of success or failure depended on the men selected. The statutes of the court had been thus liberally framed, bearing in view a man of proved integrity and parts. Ramapersad Roy was a name, at the very sound of which corrupt vakeels or pleaders quitted court. He was without price, and the office had been made for him; but ere the letters patent had reached Calcutta he had died. Sumbhoonath Pundit Roy Bahadoor indeed was found to reap the honours invented for another; but the new High Court went forth shorn of its greatest ornament.

Thus strictly following in the track prescribed to him, Sir Charles Wood's best endeavours have been directed towards reconciliation. The wounds were so deep and recent that all his skill was needed; but the result has been that Indians, great and small, regard the "Maharaja Wood of Westminster" as a certain cure for all political disorders. Yet this triumph, incomparable as it is, has been dearly bought—bought at the

cost of much native prestige in our local institutions, previously regarded with the respect due to tribunals from whose decision there practically existed no appeal.

His conduct of finance was not less bold or happy. Not sharing in the ill-timed fear of humiliating our Anglo-Indian services, a special man was found for a very special duty, and Mr Wilson went to India. What has since happened is well known. Mr Wilson lived just long enough to invent machinery for other hands to work. Those then at Calcutta will not have forgotten the feeling of despair that took possession of their minds, when, one evening of unusual heat and dust, the enfeebled society of that capital, issuing from their air-tight houses to take their short hour's drive, learnt the worst they long had feared. Never strong, and always overworked, Mr Wilson had gone forth, at an advancing age, to act a part whose grandeur he alone could properly appreciate. He soon broke down, and shortly after died-a fresh instalment of that mortality so fatal to the interests of India in England.

Mr Samuel Laing was his successor; and though neither the equal nor the prototype of Mr Wilson, this is a name Indian history should not utter without praise. Vast abilities, and home-bred fundamental knowledge of finance, enabled him to hold his own against all comers, and his short term of office was singularly prosperous. Cautious in manner, distinguished for readiness in argument and writing, much was his that an Indian statesman needs. One great quality he lacked—forgetfulness of self; and as succes-

sor to a man like Mr Wilson this want was the more conspicuous. Mr Laing was a man whom all commercial undertakings do wisely to employ. He could speak, defeat adversaries, record minutes of unusual length and force, and challenge opposition with unvary-To him it mattered little whether cheming success. istry or his Aryan brothers formed the subject of an evening lecture; his powers were flexible, and, equally at home in finance or poetry, he never failed to please. Whether such versatility of thought, and, we may add, of action, fitted him to the same extent for the performance of State offices, may remain question for remark. All we know is, that during his tenure of his post he The circumstances gave at least local satisfaction. under which he quitted India never to return have been long and largely discussed, and of that controversy more than enough has seen the light. Faults there were on both sides; Sir Charles Wood and Mr Laing both forgot that each had pride; neither made concessions, and the weaker fell. By submission Mr Laing might have served his adopted country longer, but by independence he really served it most.

And then it was that even Sir Charles Wood hesitated. The powers in part given, part assumed, by the Financial Department had grown so rapidly, that an autocrat in England might well begin to deem the sacrifice too great. In his council there were, however, many who, though Bengal civilians, fully recognised the value of outsiders; and to others, who were loth blindly to admit this principle, public opinion had found means to whisper the well-known name, Trevelyan. Smarting,

perhaps, still under the lash of his recall, official idleness had become intolerable to him; the place was offered and accepted; and one of the greatest Secretaries our Treasury has seen, one whose familiarity with India dated from his childhood's first ambitions, was duly named Financial Member of the Viceroy's Council. His experience of Madras, no doubt, enabled him to avoid more readily the rocks on which his predecessor split; and the spirit in which his duties were undertaken left nothing to be desired so far as Westminster was With the Government of India, properly concerned. so called, the case was different; and all the tact and wisdom of his local master were needed to restrain his Tall and worn, but of iron frame, accumulated zeal. he landed in Calcutta to replace Mr Laing's shadow of his former self. Such was his energy, that barely had Fort-William's guns announced his advent, ere he sought and found an opportunity to lay before his colleagues schemes for all kinds of radical improvements. With each branch of home and foreign administration he was all familiar: some hobbies were indeed his own. and those he rode to the death. Such was the immediate removal of the seat of Government to some unknown region situate in Central India, watered by some as yet unnavigable river, on whose banks, according to Lord Canning, all grew that white men want, and beneath whose soil both coal and marble should abound to an extent unknown. His arguments and eloquence were such that the Council, fully acquainted with the evils of Calcutta, remained dumbfounded, all save its President, Lord Elgin, who, at all times eager to arrive

at knowledge, naturally solicited more accurate details before consenting to transplant to a mythical land the whole machinery of Government. Such an exodus for a site but vaguely dreamt of could only have embarrassed all, and most of all Sir Charles Trevelyan, the very existence of whose department was dependent on Bengal. Neither were schemes for education wantand here, again, Madras experience came into In short, his energy and reputation, always great, and certainly the former greater since his fall, rendered him singularly calculated to embarrass a superior. The scope of his labours could not be confined even within the pliant limits of Finance: no passing mention of his measures can form an outline of his aims, and we can only deal with the most prominent as they may occur.

While touching on finance, it may not be amiss to contemplate a moment the class of local men intrusted with it. In the Company's days its special character had not been ignored, but rather the reverse; and the conservative nature of directors' patronage had almost gone so far as to constitute the conduct of accounts an office for which hereditary claims were deemed the fittest qualification. Thus it was that when a vacancy occurred, a member of the house of Lushington was sought; and if one could be found of decent antecedents he was generally pitchforked into power. At the demise of the Company many Lushingtons were thus bequeathed to us, and with them their supposed facility for figures; and though it is true that upon the departure, superannuated, of one member of this happy

family, justice was done by Lord Elgin to a singularly able, zealous public servant, who for long years had played an up-hill game in this exclusive walk; yet shortly after, strange to say, the old tradition re-asserted its prerogative, and upon Mr Drummond's appointment to the Lieutenant-Governorship of the North-West Provinces, a Lushington was his successor as Financial Secretary to the Government of India.

Sir Charles Trevelyan, among his Treasury predilections, appears to have harboured a pet project for a system of exchanges between India and Whitchall; and no doubt the plan possesses many merits. Yet the rules of the Civil Service proper retain so much of their exclusive character, that a so-called "uncovenanted officer" of junior grade still occupies a place well-educated Englishmen object to. An instance of this recently occurred, when a well-bred scholar, after trial, finding all doors to advancement shut against him, and he himself condemned to the work, and much of the society, of a class of writers known as "native Christians," neither remarkable for talent nor morality, reluctantly exchanged his Indian prospects for such work as he could get at home, with smaller pay, but the position of a gentleman.

The third class of Sir Charles Wood's measures demands more careful scrutiny. His military policy has failed to an extent the more apparent when compared with his successes in other branches of the public service. The misfortunes of our Indian army, during the years it has been helpless in the hands of home authorities and Horse Guards prejudice, have

attained to a pitch only rendered possible by a fatal war resulting in the utter bankruptcy of India's proper share of independence. Thenceforth all not personally interested welcomed any change, however fraught with wrong, that promised to relieve the land we live in from enhanced financial burdens, without neglecting the integrity, or, we might more truly say, recovery, of our Eastern rule.

The night of mutiny was long and pitifully dark. During its continuance it had been barely possible to watch the fortunes of the few on whom we all depended; and when morning dimly broke—the storm yet raging with increasing fury, the waves of war still lashing our frail bark, and the rollers of rebellion surging past to melt in foam upon the rugged Punjab strand, that, acting as a breakwater, was at once our greatest danger and sole chance of safety, and beyond which the waters, thick and turbid still, were calm enough to allow of rest to the exhausted and diminished crew who had fought with death and conquered,-then, indeed, all who could appreciate the past did dicad the future. Cadres of British officers were all remaining of our native army. So long as actual fighting lasted their value had been priceless; with the energy of despair they had formed themselves in bands of heroes. against whose prowess all attacks proved vain; outnumbered many times, they had cut their bloody way through countless hosts of enemies; and now that all was over, England felt they had done well their country's work, and honours and rewards were freely showered on them. It was not long, however, before

all became aware of their anomalous position. The army-list showed rolls of names to whom death had dealt promotion, and who for a time found occupation in stamping out in far-off districts the last embers of revolt. Then suddenly arose the cry of bankruptcy, and each rupee was watched in circulation and grudged to our defenders: yet a little, and was born that word "amalgamation:" offspring of economy and wrongs, it proved the parent of embarrassments untold, a fruitful source of misery to many, of jealousy to all.

In those days India was in everybody's mouth, and two men's names were paramount. Both were abused, each in the country of his residence, and both, abroad, were prophets. Lord Canning, who at the earliest moment had stayed the hand of butchery, had reaped the reward of those who interpose between soldiers and success; the very merchants, recovering their colour, now clamoured for revenge; and the natives, crushed in their turn by our heavy heel, not unnaturally regarded the head of Government as the source of their With Sir Charles Wood the case was misfortunes. different: not strictly popular at home, enough had happened to heap odium upon one so singularly well placed to prove the scapegoat of a nation's crimes; whilst in India, his consistent care of native interests had placed him on the pinnacle of their hopes for future favours. The demand for amalgamation had been very general. Having fought and died together, there arose between the Queen's and Company's armies a feeling that each was not unworthy of the other: neither was this feeling purely sentimental; each saw, or thought

he saw, a positive advantage in such union. To English officers who had devoted time and opportunities to the study of native languages and character, the broad preserves of Indian administration should at length be opened; and Indian officers were not loth to serve the Queen and wear her lace, with the prospect of improved position when circumstances should call them home; neither were they blind to the advantages implied in changes and exchanges from India's dusty camps to Aldershot or Chobham. Thus, in a way and for a time, the scheme was positively popular, and only more inquiring minds read the mutual sacrifices such a measure must entail. Among the endless difficulties besetting its consideration, ranked primarily pensions, funds, and local service claims. Then there was the fact of the commission money, by means of which our English pay could only be compared to interest on capital invested; and the purchase system, though indeed existing in both armics, was conducted in so different a manner as practically to preclude comparison. With the special arms, or branches of our services, the question appeared to offer more ready promise of solution. Original gratuitous cadetships might be held of equal value, whether received from Queen or Company; and conditions as to special training for an Indian or a home career might easily have been dictated. However this may be, the means employed seemed such as to baffle opposition; and, armed with a royal warrant, Sir Charles Wood went forth, ostensibly to deal out royal favours with a lavish hand upon distinguished men, himself most ignorant of what lay before him.

position was one really forced upon him, and not of his selection. It was a task which fell to him as an item of his daily labours: great as it was, to have hesitated might have displayed cowardice or want of confidence in the powers that God had given him. Neither of these feelings was likely to deter Sir Charles Wood; and he commenced with characteristic energy to call together men, and establish data for his guidance.

Among the men so called together was one whose name can hardly be too prominently recorded. adjutant of his regiment, not many years before, young Norman had become remarkable for bearing, zeal, and knowledge of his work. Selected by Lord Clyde, he had served in offices never previously committed to one so young in years. Called by the rapidly-succeeding deaths of three superiors to act as Adjutant-General to our army before Delhi, General Nicholson and he together had grappled with and overcome the greatness of that crisis. Although his honours had been reaped on others' graves, both pen and sword were ever in his hand; and to those who knew him then and fought beside him, his name will be inseparably connected with Metcalfe's ruined house, and that intrenched position on the heights commanding Delhi where Hindoo Rao once dwelt.

Indeed, all who could shed light on the obscure questions to be dealt with were earnestly addressed, and all responded by reports embodying their private hopes and fears, and breathing opposite advice. Sir James Outram and Sir William Mansfield, with junior officers like Colonel Baker, each had his say, and all

the doctors differed. Commission sat upon Commission, and the work advanced but little. The patience of the Horse Guards had been sorely tried-action of some kind had become essential; and at length in despair some ready pens put certain figures down on paper which, aiming at a compromise with all, eventually pleased none. A basis thus established, much was hurried over, and still more omitted altogether. Then came the Staff Corps, which, with its painful changes and uncertainty, has wrought more wrong and deceived more minds than aught else we know of. The establishment of a Staff Corps originated in a known necessity-the only question was the mode of execution. The knot was so entangled, and had been tied by such countless hands, that cutting seemed the only Time pressed, moreover, so the sharpest sword was sought. That sword was Colonel Norman's. The blow was bold, and dealt with skill; the tangled skein parted at its centre, and for a time all hoped a conjuror had done it, and that the threads, proving of equal length, might all be worked up without waste. This hope, like many others, was doomed to bitter disappointment. The immediate pressure was, indeed, removed-amid whispered approbation the expectant crowds had vanished-but the real difficulties of the situation had practically increased tenfold.

It happened that most of the heads of the Indian army had profited in some measure by amalgamation, and that rewards for recent service had reached the higher grades of officers and won their silence for a time at least; hence the junior captains and subalterns

were those who really suffered most, and it was exactly they who naturally were least consulted, and whose opinions, when expressed, received least consideration. Thus it is, also, that as these grew from boys to men they awoke to a consciousness of wrongs that now are uttered and repeated each year with increasing Neither can it be lost sight of, that in practically endeavouring to obliterate all former service claims and regimental pride, the Government has been guilty of a policy as unwise, and calculated to estrange the army, as those measures of the Restoration, when the tricolor, with the names and numbers of distinguished corps, gave place to the Bourbon flag, and to a series, perfect, indeed, in arithmetical progression, but wanting in those grand associations upon whose wings the eagles had been borne to Moscow and Madrid.

Thus it was with the "Bengal Engineers," who had ever been conspicuous for talent and distinction. Thrice weeded, those who withstood the test of such a crucible might well boast of merit. The merit was theirs, and they were duly proud of it. No service had produced a greater number of brilliant representatives. In peace and war her sons had sought and found a field of action worthy of themselves. Equally great in practice and in theory, many of the highest administrative offices of India had almost become hereditary to them. They possessed a powerful identity not easy to erase; they were ripe, at least, in glory; so their doom was sealed: the scythe went forth, they were gathered into the royal ranks, and since have been forgotten.

Of military measures two more only call for imme-

diate remark. First, the oft-quoted breach of faith in the want of observation by the Indian Government of the gracious terms of the amalgamation warrant; and, secondly, the establishment of the Military Finance Department, to whose tender care was handed over all that remained of our former Indian army. has been so much discussed and fully proved, that few lines will serve to record our deep conviction that the royal word has not been kept. Quite recently, and with perhaps the best intentions, a Parliamentary Committee sat on this inquiry; some evidence was taken, and the matter was dismissed with certain unimportant observations. In such questions all depends upon the composition of the Committee, and the one to which reference is made was singularly calculated to defeat the objects aimed at by its authors.

The Military Finance Department had its origin in economy. Its childhood had been passed in those days when, as has been said, each rupee was watched in circulation; and even later, when fortune smiled again, its object was not so much to check excess in some departments as to reduce the estimates of all without reference to obligation or utility. For the sole control of this machine, under the personal authority of Lord Canning, a man of obstinate ability had been selected and armed to the teeth, with power and promise of support. Colonel Balfour appeared upon the stage of past extravagance. For some two years he conducted the work of pruning with a knowledge of detail only exceeded by his zeal in execution. To him succeeded Major Mallison. The writer of 'The Red Pamphlet'

was not likely to shut his eyes to facts, and his conduct of military finance proved worthy of his name and reputation. Lord Elgin wrote, on Colonel Balfour's resignation, that "a man who, right or wrong, saved his country several millions, well merited some reward." And thus it was with Major Mallison, who, in the discharge of duties specially unpopular, ever sought to reconcile the support of the finances with the interests at stake.

CHAPTER II.

THE MINOR PRESIDENCIES.

THE relations between the Government of India and the Minor Presidencies of Madras and Bombay have never been very clearly traced. Many efforts have indeed been made to obtain from home a definition of their respective authority and independence; but the wisdom of leaving each separate question to be decided upon its own merits, and of maintaining the general responsibility of every one concerned, is so apparent that such demands have been ever met with silence or evasion. In matters of prerogative, a person whose position is uncertain is naturally most susceptible; and thus, though this system has no doubt produced great public benefits, it has also been the cause of much In former days, when Indian personal hostility. mails went round the Cape, the fact of a Hastings or Cornwallis watching, for aught he knew, an early opportunity of meddling, might often tend to keep a sleepy Governor awake; and it must at all times be a comfort for a Governor-General to have it in his power to turn his weary eyes from the contemplation of his own measures to the more pleasant occupation

of criticising others. Again, whenever it so occurred that a really happy understanding existed between supreme and local governors, each did his work the better for a little constitutional encouragement. tunately this was the case when Lord Harris ruled Madras and Lord Canning was in India. Their friendship dated from their school-days; each occupied the place for which his talents fitted him; both had a modest unspoken consciousness of this, and all went well. The antecedents of Lord Harris were colonial, and in Madras he found a field more ready for the seed he had been used to sow than would have been the case in any other part of India. The people of his kingdom were more industrious and agricultural than Hindoostanees properly so called, and not even the events of 1857 could rouse them from their apathy in things political. Moreover, many causes had conduced to render the Madras troops the most stanch in their allegiance. Not only were they of lower caste and less open to religious impulse than the Sepoys of the other Presidencies-not only had they known us longest and watched with envy our successive conquests over the warlike races of more northern India, to whose hard terms they had so often bent-but they, and they alone, had, owing to their maritime position, full opportunities of judging of our vast resources. Yet the fact that the nature of this people is not prone to mutiny, does not detract from the credit due to Lord Harris, who, knowing them as a ruler should his subjects, turned his knowledge to the best account, and, by dismantling his own Presidency of both guns and men, enabled

Lord Canning and Lord Clyde to reconquer Northern India.

Lord Harris was succeeded by Sir Charles Trevelyan. Much has been already said of him, but more remains Bred to the Indian Civil Service, he had to tell. mastered young the elements of native thought, and to the perfection of this study he had since devoted such leisure as belongs to London office life. was a subject on which, in England, he had bestowed much labour, and its Eastern branches were those he specially delighted in. It was therefore natural that he should turn his earliest attention to these considerations, and the result was such that during his year's local government he paved the way to most of our subsequent Indian educational reforms. One thing, however, he could not brook-interference; and least of all in matters of finance. Hence arose that wellknown opposition which Mr Wilson's measures met with at his hands, and when the local sway over income and expenditure became, by a stroke of Mr Wilson's pen, reduced to a simple question of account, S.r Charles Trevelyan could no longer hold himself, and solemnly recorded his insubordination. struggle that ensued, as usual the weak went to the wall, and Sir Charles returned to England, in disgrace indeed with his employers, but not without the consciousness that, short as was his tenure of Madras, it had yet proved long enough to stamp his name indelibly on the history of India.

Sir Charles Trevelyan was a man not easy to replace. His appointment had been viewed as the reward of

genius. In boldness of design and energy of execution no one was his superior; and, added to these qualities, he possessed an earnestness of manner, and a thirst for learning, singularly pleasing to those he had to teach. In conversation he appeared ever to take for granted that all were equal to himself. With attainments most remarkable, and thoughts most varied, that seldom failed to find the happiest expression, he combined a practical philanthropy, which made him love his fellows. those social attributes which tend to make the stranger feel at home, the partner of his household almost rivalled him, and the union of the two was almost calculated to take popularity by storm. By natives, soldiers, merchants, and civilians in Madras, he was equally beloved. He was, in short, a type of what a governor should be; and local enthusiasm reached its highest pitch when all within that jealous presidency learnt how resistance to Calcutta had proved his ruin. From that moment he became to the eyes of millions a martyr in a people's cause, and he left their surf-bound shores amid more tears and honest expressions of regret than we have ever known bestowed upon a presidency ruler.

His recall thus caused a gap not easily filled up. Yet some one was required who, while possessing such abilities as might command respect, and not pave the way to unnecessary comparisons, should yet be ready to act in all things in conformity with the prescriptions of masters. Such a man was the late Sir Henry Ward; and, moreover, he was almost on the spot. As Governor of Ceylon he had but to cross the Paumben Channel to land within the limits of Madras. Besides,

his term of service in Ceylon was drawing to a close, and he had established claims to future confidence not easy to ignore. In him, therefore, centred all requirements, and to Madras he went-alas, to die! His reign was counted but by weeks; for scarcely had he trod the promised land of India, and embraced her mighty interests, than he paid with death his life's promotion. After him came Sir William Denison. Born of a family whose widespread branches have furnished pillars to both Church and State, Sir William first entered on a soldier's life. Later called to civil government, his last laurels had been reaped in practical Australia; and though his Young-England notions were not exactly those most fitted to find favour in Conservative Madras. vet knowledge of detail and fixity of purpose soon gained for him, if not the hearts of all, at least the fear of many.

In point of climate, Madras, though more southerly, is superior to Bengal, and, many say, even to Bombay. To the English traveller the first sight of the low dark outline of its land, fringed with a foaming belt, is not indeed inviting; but to an Anglo-Indian its never-failing evening sea-breezes are invaluable. Of these sea-breezes Madras reaps full benefit, while the same fresh air, before it can reach the exhausted inhabitants of Calcutta, must cross some hundred miles of swampy sunderbund, thence gathering most noxious exhalations. None who have ever known Calcutta can forget how arrivally all watch soon after sundown for the coming of that fatal wind. During the warmest months it hardly ever fails—it comes, and the temptation is not to be with-

stood. Doors and windows, hermetically sealed since daybreak, are thrown open, and the white man's bed is placed within the range of the cool though deadly air. At Madras the case is altogether different. The salt-wind blows each night upon you untainted by the strip of sand it has to traverse, and you wake refreshed, without having inhaled with your dose of daily life the seeds of those disorders so fatal to humanity. In another point of view the comparison has hitherto been drawn in favour of Calcutta. Both presidency cities have native suburbs or bazaars; both partially surround our dwellings; and both are death's preserves. To the so-called "black town" of Madras the palm of dirt has been awarded. Native cleanliness is purely a matter of religion, and Bengalis are equally straitlaced in ablution and theology. On the other hand, science has done much within the precincts of the black town, while the rich municipality of Calcutta has as yet effected little. In the interest of truth, however, it must not be omitted that while Calcusta lies on the low banks of the hideous Hoogly, whose successive tides defeat the aims of drainage, Madras is so situated as to render problems of this nature comparatively easy of solution.

Thus Fort St George, with all her failings, has ever been a favoured presidency; and, landing there, Sir William Denison found all ready to his hand; for, thanks to the ability and zeal displayed by Mr Morehead, who during repeated interregnums had administered the government, its springs had not worn rusty. Distance from England, the character of her people, and her secondary commercial weight, have contributed to ren-

der Madras more independent of home direction than either of her sister presidencies; and within those limits which financial pressure first prescribed, her governors were practically absolute. Bengal claimed the precedence of wealth, and was rightly termed the Company's "milch cow." Politically speaking, from the time she had become a British appanage, Bombay perhaps had been most prized. The possession of Madras was an accident secured to us by other accidents, and as such we held it firmly, but cared little how. She paid her way, though not much more; but her troops, not dreading the salt-water, soon became a valuable auxiliary in the execution of our Eastern destiny. In Burma, China, and the Andamans their value has been fully tried, their courage never failing, and they have thus become essential to our national defence.

The jealousy prevailing in the so-called benighted Presidency has been chiefly caused by the mode pursued in conducting her political relations. Mysore has been a constant source of discord. Literally surrounded on all sides by the influence of Fort St George, her Commissioners have received their nomination and instructions from Bengal; thus greatly tending to disparage the proper weight of all advice to other native neighbours dictated by Madras. But the peaceful nature of the different tribes upon the Malabar and Coromandel coasts is now happily so marked, that all those races, whether speaking Canarese or Tamil, have embraced our rule and governance as the best security to undisturbed possession of the produce of their fields. In this policy of confidence in British honesty a

noble example has been set them by the learned Raja of Travancore, who, furthest from the seat of power, has been the first to recognise the benefits our sway confers. Unfortunately for us, the geographical position of his State is such as to restrict the sphere of his utility within the narrowest compass. rounded by the ocean, his north-eastern frontier was his only source of foreign wars and friendships. wisdom has prompted him to choose the latter; and, devoting all his energies to development at home, and his hours of leisure to the study of our language and the Eastern classics, he has lived a life "sans peur et sans reproche." His great attainments and domestic virtues have more than once suggested him for the Viceroy's Council, as a fitting member for Madras; but circumstances, proverbially impatient of control, have built up difficulties in the stronger claims of others from more northern India; and Travancore, though raised to the rank of Knight of the Star of India, has not as yet achieved the aim of his ambition.

It was the good fortune of Sir William Denison to be associated with Sir Hope Grant as his Chief Commander, and the association was of mutual advantage; for while Sir William in civil matters learnt to count for firm support upon his military adviser, Sir Hope, in those measures of professional reform which are his soul's delight, found his surest advocate in the Governor himself. Thus, with exceptions to be counted on one's fingers, they worked unjealously together, and the result of such harmonious action in both branches of the executive has proved of good incalculable. The at-

mosphere of Colonial Government is singularly prone, however, to awaken strong opinions with class and service prejudices. Of these it would be false to say Sir William Denison had none; and to say that such a man had lived long years and bred no home convictions, would indeed be damning with faint praise. Yet his prejudices were comparatively innocent, and especially confined to things he ought to know with reference to his own professional education. Thus works of public utility or improvement never failed to stir up in him a longing for personal activity. But, as ill-luck would have it, the Public Works Department, involving large expenditure, had become dependent on Imperial finance, and all schemes of any magnitude required the Viceroy's sanction. At the other end of this constitutional checkstring sat, once, Colonel Yule, and later, Colonel Strachey; they were Lord Canning's choice, and had fully justified selection. During the administration of the former, things worked tolerably well for Colonel Yule was a man of large ambitions, and left the mode of execution more in local hands than his successor chose to do; but after his departure, the Madras Public Works Department, fretting under Colonel Strachey's somewhat heavy hand, more than once displayed symptoms of impatience. In such affairs as these it is that a Viceroy's tact has fullest scope and value, and that a few conciliatory words, spoken or conveyed in private letters suffice to cool down local wrath, and thus avoid the necessity of reference to England, with entailed delays, and scandal generally proportionate to the measure of publicity acquired.

Horseflesh, again, was a subject on which Sir William Denison held strong opinions of his own; and here he was at issue with his general. The mounting of our Indian army has been a much-debated ground, and the rival merits of Arab and Australian blood have never lacked supporters. To rulers fond of riding, the question of the stud is sure to recommend itself, and Sir William Denison was no exception to the rule. some degree it might appear that antecedent causes had swayed his judgment; for, conscious of his Walers' points, he seemed to shun a closer intimacy with Arabs. Thus landing in Madras with his horses and his preconceived opinions, he at once engaged in equine controversies, and with all his natural energy espoused Australian interests; while Sir Hope, with equal force and more experience of fact, upheld the Arab cause. The problem, however, was too involved for any definite solution. Each race possesses its own qualities, and both are fully prized; but, thanks to this amicable variance, 'the general question of the mounting of our Indian army has at length received due prominence and consideration.

Amid such practical issues as these, Sir William Denison spent his five years' tenure of Madras; and it is not too much to say, that under him advance was made in every branch of human industry known to a singularly domestic and peace-loving people. Of this people we shall now take leave, and, quitting the pleasant shades of Guindy Park, we shall proceed to Bombay Castle by what is termed the Beypore route. Were it not that Bombay at this hour can well afford

to hold her own as a half-way house between London and Calcutta, it might be necessary to enter at some length into the demerits of a scheme which once received some share of public favour. But train and rail and cotton roads have lately made such rapid strides, that a project of communication between England and Bengal which should add to other perils of the deep the danger of additional discharge of cargo upon an iron-bound coast, with a second embarkation in an open roadstead where the Peninsular and Oriental Company's steamers do not always guarantee the landing of the mails, may well afford to pass uncriticised.

A Governor of Bombay ought to be a happy man. Nearest to England of all our Indian rulers, he gets his letters and his papers at earlier dates with greater regularity. The climate is quite tolerable, and with average ability he must have it in his power to render the long tropical days too short for his requirements. Custom has awarded to him a constant change of residence, more recognised and varied than the Governor-General himself enjoys; and, regarding Bombay as his axis, he pleasantly revolves between Matheran, Parell, Mahableshwar, and Dapoorie, according to the exigencies of the seasons, and as his health demands sea-breezes or the Hills. Surrounded by Mahrattas and Beloochees, his political reports usually forestall in interest the perhaps more careful letters of the Government of India. Until the other day he had besides at his absolute control a navy whose proportions and equipment rank second to none affoat in Eastern waters. This arm of power, however, has not escaped

the policy of extermination applied to local services whom special fitness for a special duty disquelled for absorption and amalgamation; and with few exceptions. -such as the "Ferooz," now become the Vices of the vices -those teak-built men-of-war are now reduced to mandship and to transport duty. Their service the bay in the Red Sea and Persian Gulf, and Matterment and Bate have proved that they were equal to form it. Extravagance, not incompetence, was the crime imputed to them, and the Admiralty offered to do the work for less. The bait was too tempting to be refused at a time of general embarrassment, and partial and imperfect schemes of compensation to those deprived of lucrative and honourable employ were hurriedly sketched out. Here, as with the shore services, the elders had the best of it, and many got pensions on more favourable terms than they could otherwise have expected. Neither had the very junior officers much to cavil at. They, many of them, got, at the age of twenty, retirements of some sixty pounds a-year, with permission and facilities to serve their Queen in other walks of life. Those hardest dealt with were the non-commissioned officers and men of ten years' service; for, if we except inadequate gratuities, the only consolation they received was the unwelcome information that, in all measures for the general weal, experience has taught that some at least must suffer.

Thus died Her Majesty's Indian Navy, and with it passed away much of the influence of a Bombay Governor over the lawless tribes that fringe the neigh-

bouring coasts. Prominent amongst the reasons why sich sence should have been most jealously preserved ranks the fact that in it lay the surest means of securing adequate defence along the line of our Chill Telegraph, which, after years of labour, the energy Colors Patrick Stewart succeeded in perfecting, only instant time to flash as its first message the sudden news of his own death in the moment of the most complete success. For many hundred miles this wire is laid upon the wildest coast, inhabited by murderous races whom fear of consequences alone has taught to tolerate our friendly intercourse. The landing, sinking, and hard work attaching to the construction of this line, were mainly left to Indian naval officers, as most conversant with those shores; and when, at cost of life and treasure, their task at last was done, its future was intrusted to the fleeting influence of a visit now and then from some Royal Navy ship, whose captain might neither be acquainted with the character and language of the people dwelling on those burning sands, nor feel himself bound up professionally with the credit of the interests accidentally confided to his care.

A Royal Navy vessel goes on a given station with general orders to oppose or afford protection to certain stated objects. To the exercise of this power her captain brings experience of perhaps every other quarter of the globe to that in which he may be called to act. In war and navigation this is perhaps a matter of less consequence; but when the nature of the duties approaches nearer to, or at least combines, political with

other work, special qualifications, such as knowledge of locality, would appear of some importance. This we deem essentially the case in Gulf and Red Sea service; and, pending proof, we must acknowledge hesitation in accepting as a gain the trifling saving introduced by the abolition of a system which always did thoroughly and well whatever task fell to it by reason of the force of special circumstances.

Before permanently dismissing the subject of our Indian Navy, some mention should be made of two men deserving record. The name of the last Commodore who hoisted the broad pennant of the Company was Wellesley, and Rennie was his last flag-captain. latter calls for most remark. In younger days, upon those seas wherever danger most abounded his hard face was seen. He was remarkable for those qualities and failings so often common to great mariners. With an oath on his sunburnt lips he had led his sailors to success in expeditions whose title to temerity would inevitably have been proved under weaker guidance. He loved desperate attempts, and seemed to lookerson to breathe with greatest ease the atmosphere of In proportion as smoke thickened, and the din of battle drowned all other sounds, his clear voice rang more cheerily with words of bold command. In time of peace his temper was not always equal to the monotonous confinement of a ship, and his talents had procured for him the charge of the Marine Department in Calcutta. There his energy of character found ample scope for outlet. Earliest in attendance at his office, he was last to leave the whist-tables of Chowringhee, and seldom failed at daybreak on the course to watch his racers take their morning's exercise. But in Bengal even Captain Rennie's cast-iron constitution could not stand this life for long, and from time to time he took sick leave to England, at last returning to Calcutta only to retire on the abolition of his office.

The history of late Bombay Governors hardly affords such salient points for observation as that of Bengal or Madras; they have come and gone more quietly, and in more regular succession, most serving their full time. Lord Elphinstone's career has been ably sketched in two telling lines by Mr Kaye. mind and manners he was the very essence of personal distinction; and though his early youth was more remarkable for social than political success, yet, rapidly promoted to a government, he proved himself a ruler of uncommon wisdom. Sir George Clerk next demands Lord Elphinstone had been essentially a governor by birth; Sir George was one by education. His earliest honours had been won among the rank and file of the Bengal Civil Service, and, gradually rising to the surface, he had constant opportunities of judging of those classes whom later he was called to rule. twice was Governor of Bombay-before and since Lord Elphinstone—and between those reigns, and after their completion, his time was passed in counselling at home. In 1861, ill-health a second time compelled his resignation, and then it was Sir Charles Wood made perhaps his happiest appointment. To fill the vacant throne a man was chosen known to all in India as a pattern of vigorous intelligent refinement. A civilian of Bombay

extraction, whose ideas had been enlarged been enlarged in Bengal, he had become Lord Elgin's senior councillor. Throughout the trying times of 1857 he had displayed 'a courage only exceeded by his modesty, and tempered by his chivalry to natives of all creeds and classes. Sir Henry Bartle Frere belonged to a race of men wellnigh extinct in modern days. To courtly bearing, and all that fascinates the eye, he added a facility of thought clothed in simplest language that seldom failed to bring conviction. But beneath his smooth and silky touch and style there lurked a firmness of decision and tenacity of will which natives seemed to learn by intuition. (Arriving at his post, he found a practised Couneil, well composed, and in Sir William Mansfield, the Commander-in-Chief, he had a colleague who, with management, was priceless. All know Sir William Mansfield who are acquainted with the times they live in, and few words will serve to introduce him. In both Sikh wars of 1846 and 1848 he had played a conspicuous part, and when the Russian war broke out, his merits claimed for him high political employment. In the Crimea and at Constantinople his reputation was thus tested and enhanced, and on the Peace of Paris in 1856 he was sent as Consul-General to Warsaw. Although civil, and specially financial, matters were his delight, yet he knew that war was his profession. and in 1857 he again returned to India. A grateful country has not been slow in recognising the services he then rendered as Chief of Lord Clyde's Staff, and shortly after their conclusion he was appointed Chief Commander in Bombay. It has been said above that he.

with management, was priceless; with Sir Bartle Frere as Governor this condition was secured; and Sir William's constant craving to dive beyond a constitutional depth in finance and policy, was steadily met with courteous tact, and forced to find legitimate vent in lengthy minutes of singular ability.

The great political influence that Bombay wields in Cabul, Central India, and Rajpootana, owes its steady increase and development to many different causes; the principal of which are geographical position, and the gradual diffusion among natives of the knowledge that the so-called Supreme Government is not supreme at all, but, like local governments, the faithful mouthpiece of a man in Westminster. Commercial interests have also greatly tended to augment her wealth and weight; and the cotton crisis, with its attendant consequences, has at length opened the eyes of all to the real value of Bombay. We say of all-but there are still exceptions, in whose foremost rank are found the old school of prejudiced Bengal civilians; and these it is who really coin the obstacles to a change of seat of Government, which could but have as one of its effects the conversion of the rich preserves of Bengal patronage into outlying provinces, only prized for their production of indigo and opium.

This change in the seat of Government has been most seriously discussed, but seldom with sobriety. Sir Charles Trevelyan's hurried manner, and somewhat crude suggestions, only served to create unnecessary alarm, while others of the school of Messrs Grey and Beadon have hedged the scheme around with fictitious