difficulties and dangers. The truth, as usual, lies between the two extremes of treatment. The change must come, but should not be rashly undertaken till all details are well matured. Suggestions have not been wanting with reference to selection of a site; some have urged Simla or the Neilgherries; and while some have advocated the necessity of a maritime situation, others, with Lord Canning, have recorded preference for a central capital equidistant from our coasts. No doubt that all, more or less, are warped in their opinions by the circumstance of their position, and the wise are those who best conceal the prejudices inherent to their office. Thus it is to dictates of common sense rather than elaborate arguments that we prefer to look for guidance on this point, and we hold that these lean conclusively towards Bombay.

In the execution of this change it would be necessary to transfer the prestige of a separate presidency from Bombay to Bengal Proper, the former being retained under the immediate supervision of the Viceroy. We deem that this solution of the difficulty would afford a prospect of reconciling honestly, and at least expense, more of the opposed interests at stake than any other scheme which has hitherto been broached. In Calcutta a Governor would find wide choice of machinery and accommodation awaiting his selection, the superfluous being sold at profit to the State. The Colonial Office might perhaps at last be made to undertake the charge of Singapore; and Bombay, retaining Aden, Burma, and the Andamans, might rest subject to Calcutta. On Bombay buildings might be spent the profits of Cal-

cutta sales, and if done judiciously, this would produce an ample total of requirements. Sea-carriage would be open to all that needs removal, and much of doubtful matter might be temporarily left until its want was felt. A special train or two might convey those councillors and secretariats whose labours could not brook the interruption of a voyage, and the move might thus be carried out with great facility, and none of the embarrassments accompanying a transfer to an unmade place.

CHAPTER III.

THE LIEUTENANT-GOVERNMENT OF BENGAL, SUBORDINATE TO THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL IN THE HOME DEPARTMENT.

To Lord Dalhousie's annexations and protracted absences from Calcutta was owing the establishment of a separate Bengal Government; his object being to provide for the administration of the Lower Provinces without reference to himself, that he might devote his energies to perfecting the non-regulation system in the Punjab and other recent acquisitions. The result was, that an excessive measure of responsibility and power was dealt out to Bengal, and it has been said that Lord Dalhousie himself regretted later the extent of independence granted. In the framing of the Bengal statutes, however, a careful clause had been inserted, by which the Governor-General should have the power at any time of redefining the position of that Government and reassuming patronage as experience might dictate. Now patronage is power, and from the moment that Bengal acquired control over all the members of her civil service, the Governor-General became throughout those provinces an institution to which men no longer looked for honours and promotion.

Although Lord Dalhousie and his successors fully felt the mischief of this system, it has happened that circumstances have hitherto prevented any practical advantage being taken of the saving clause above referred to. Lord Dalhousie, doubtless, did not like so soon to cancel or revise a measure of his own. Lord Canning cared, personally, little for dispensing patronage, and without previous experience in government it took a Governor-General some time before he awoke to the consciousness that his customs duties were collected by another, and that even his 'Gazette' was printed in a Bengal office, over which he exercised no direct control. Then came years of struggling for bare existence, when Lord Canning's hands were full, and then a time when men were willing to be satisfied with life and peace at almost any price; and shortly after came Lord Elgin with rumours of a change of seat of government, which embarrassed him still more than other causes had his predecessors.

The correspondence between England and the Indian Government is carried on as follows: The Secretary of State consults his so-called councillors or colleagues, among whom the routine of office is partitioned according to their special antecedents. Thus, military affairs would be referred to soldiers, and political to others—though in theory all remain alike responsible. Such advice the Secretary of State by Act of Parliament is compelled to seek; the extent to which he follows it depends upon himself and the confidence reposed in him. Despatches to the several Presidency Governors-

in-Council are signed by him alone—these despatches, on receipt, are circulated by a Governor for perusal of his Council, each ordinary member usually affixing his initials. The conduct of departments is here, again, practically intrusted to professional members — the theory of a general responsibility being preserved; and by them replies and letters reporting progress are drawn up, the more important being circulated for approval in draft form. These letters, when finally prepared, are signed by the Governor-General or Governor, and by each ordinary councillor in the order of his seniority. They are then made up in the several secretariats to which subjectively they may belong, and despatched to the Secretary of State, by whom the spirit of the Indian Councils Act requires they should be handed to his constitutional advisers.

A knowledge of the difference between ordinary and extraordinary councillors should not, perhaps, be presupposed. It consists in the permission given under the Indian Councils Act to the Viceroy and Presidency Governors to call to their aid, when sitting for purposes of legislation, a certain number of non-official members selected from all classes of native and European society. Unlike ordinary councillors, such members draw no salary in virtue of their office, but serve for personal distinction like members of our House of Commons—the prefix Honourable being awarded them. Their term of office is limited by law, but, this term expired, they are eligible for reappointment. In other words, the ordinary members of our Indian Councils alone are charged with the executive, while extraor-

dinary or additional members attend only meetings held for legislative purposes.

Legislation is conducted in the Home Department. Native members have the privilege of speaking in their own language, official translators being present. The public have access to the deliberations, and accommodation is provided for reporters of the press. Such Parliaments exist in Bombay and Madras, while Calcutta boasts of two—those of Bengal and the Government of India; and the Councils Act provides for more, as the Punjab, or North-West, may ripen into constitutional activity. A great difficulty is sometimes felt in defining what is matter for local or supreme legislation. In questions like finance, which have become Imperial departments, this difficulty exists no longer; but in such questions as waste lands or education, it once or twice has happened that the Councils of India and Bengal have legislated simultaneously in opposition to each other, thereby creating great embarrassment. A remedy for this has now been found in a provision, by which the Viceroy's sanction is essential to all bills discussed in local Councils; and this system, though requisite no doubt, has much enhanced the labours of a Governor-General and the inherent jealousies of minor Governments.

The ordinary or Executive Council of a Presidency, of which the Commander-in-Chief is *ex officio* a member, usually meets its Governor once a-week for the despatch of business, when secretaries attend in turn to take their orders. Legislative meetings are convened

twice a-year or more, as necessity requires, and usually sit until accumulations are disposed of.

Such are Indian Councils in their ordinary and extraordinary character. They are forcing-beds for the imported seed of representative government. In Asia this has been a plant of most uncertain growth, and constant watching is required to remove the weeds that tend to choke its natural development. The Indian Councils Act was a supplement to the Legislation "for the better government of India" of 1858, and became law in 1861. Its aims were gradually to acquire a real knowledge of the country's wants, and to educate natives of high standing and acquirements to a sense of our desire that they, like other subjects of our vast dependencies, should learn to rule themselves. The struggle through which India had passed had so unstrung society, that few loyal natives who could be deemed representative men were left in any class of life. Some time thus elapsed ere the measure could be carried out. Those were days of punishments and rewards, and Lord Canning was the only arbitrator competent to judge which chief had trimmed his sails so as to merit slight or favour. In very many cases the claims were nicely balanced, though the merits of one or two were happily so conspicuous as to banish hesitation. Thus the Puttialla Maharaja had been the ready instrument of reducing Delhi; he had kept our camps supplied when our friends were counted on our fingers and our enemies untold; under his enlightened sway his state, moreover, had attained to a condition of prosperity unrivalled in the Punjab. He was of the

highest caste, and yet least bigoted; and to these claims he added an imposing stature and a truly kingly bearing. To him, then, Lord Canning made one of his earliest offers of a seat in Council, and the offer was accepted, though not without expressed objections to visiting Calcutta. The Puttialla Maharaja was her Majesty's first Punjab member, and overcoming, to please us, his strong prejudice against Bengal, he twice visited Calcutta to attend the Viceroy's Council. On both occasions he was treated with every mark of favour and consideration, and throughout the sittings of that period he punctually appeared to aid in the work of legislation. The Council Chamber of the Government of India occupies a portion of that palace whose four wings extend cunningly in each direction to decoy each breath of air into the presence of the Viceroy; and every Wednesday at eleven, the Maharaja Puttialla was met at the bottom of the great flight of steps that stretch towards the native city by two aides-de-camp, who literally handed him to a seat, slightly raised, above which frowned the mouldy portraits of Clive and Warren Hastings. So everything was done to make this business palatable to a proud man's pride. Many thought it was beneath the dignity of a chief like Puttialla to attend in person, and it was necessary at first to gild with dignity the pill of legislation. Once within the walls of Government House, the Maharaja's tongue seemed tied; he seldom spoke, and never at great length. Outwardly, however, his conduct was attentive, and he clearly watched with interest proceedings in which he ab-

stained from taking prominent part; but as time passed on, and the period approached expiry for which he had been appointed, he gave symptoms of a desire to connect his name with some measure bearing on his national religion, and, after much reflection, asked for leave to introduce a bill partially prohibiting oxen-slaughter and the use of beef as food. But religion is a subject purposely excluded from the Council Board; and when this had been explained, his Highness of Puttialla at once withdrew his notice, and soon after left Calcutta never to return. Within six months the Maharajas Puttialla, Jheend, and Nabha, three Cis-Sutlej chiefs of first importance, and honest friends to England, were gathered to their fathers in the prime of life, under circumstances so sudden as to give rise to rumours of treasonable designs, which the removal of such stanch allies might well have helped to further. However this may be, these three tall men have followed one another into early graves, and with them lies buried for a time much promise of reform.

Next on the list of Lord Canning's early nominations comes Raja Dinkur Rao, the far-famed minister of Scindia, to whose sound advice it was mainly due that the Mahratta country remained faithful in 1857. His genius was devoted to the prosecution of well-laid schemes, having for their object the re-establishment of a strong Mahratta empire ruled by the Maharaja Scindia; and his intellect had taught him that this end could only be attained through British influence. In Gwalior his enemies pretended that his counsels were dictated by a selfish policy, and the mutiny of 1857

still further tended to estrange from him his master's confidence. His best efforts in an honest cause were thus misinterpreted and frustrated; and, somewhat summarily dismissed from office and the Gwalior court, he threw himself on our protection, and it became a sort of duty to look after him. Raja Dinkur Rao was a man whose sharp Mahratta face, once seen, could never be forgotten. Slender for a native of his age, and of middle height, his figure, though full of dignity, was not striking; but the acute intelligence of his features shone singularly conspicuous by the side of mild Bengal Hindoos. The close-fitting turban of his country was well adapted to display to best advantage the beauties of a manly head; and though not altogether free from the odious effects of betel-nut so common to his race, his lips and their expression had, strange to say, not suffered; and while his eye was cold and keen as ever, the outline of his mouth reflected energy and intellect of the very highest order.

Two more native councillors of the Government of India call for some remark; the first, a third Hindoo appointed by Lord Canning—the second, a Mahomedan appointed by Lord Elgin. Raja Deo Narain Singh was the first, a native of Benares. Remarkable for common sense and blind devotion to our rule, his position, as one of the wealthy high-caste pillars of his faith, rendered him an almost priceless acquisition. His utility in council was moreover real, and only to compare with that of Raja Dinkur Rao; the difference being, that while Central Indian affairs, until the cotton famine, have mainly been political, Bengal has ever been famil-

iar with the interests of commerce. Thus, while Raja Dinkur Rao devoted his brilliant parts to the achievement of a life-long patriotic dream, his colleague of Benares bestowed his careful powers on questions of a more material nature, and especially on such legislation as was needed, by the great increase of real property-holders, to confirm the strength of their position in the eyes of European planters. The Rampore Nawab owed his elevation to other and far different causes. Mahomedans are proverbially fond of learning — he was everything that is most Mahomedan without bigotry, and perfect as a representative of his creed. Possessed of a singularly fertile country, his hereditary policy had taught him to dread the incursions of his jealous native neighbours, whilst the English he regarded as his natural protectors. More than once, when danger threatened, he has cast in his lot with ours, and never have we had occasion to regret the confidence we placed in him.

Though we have here seen that natives of the highest rank are now admitted to partake in legislation, and that in many instances posts of great responsibility and trust are confided to them, yet the doctrine of exclusion still possesses a sufficient number of adherents to warrant the quotation of some passages, penned many years ago, proving that even the more enlightened administrators of bygone times pleaded the claims of the native to a greater share in the affairs of government, and were quite alive to the mischief of exclusion. One of these, Mr John Sullivan, a member of the Council of Madras, wrote as follows: "If we put on one side of the account what the natives have gained by the few offices that

have been lately opened to them, with what they have lost by the extermination of the various native states, we shall find the net loss to be immense; and what the native loses the Englishman gains. Upon the extermination of a native state the Englishman takes the place of the sovereign, under the name of Commissioner; three or four of his associates displace as many dozen of the native official aristocracy, while some hundreds of our troops take the place of the many thousands that every native chief supports. The little court disappears—trade languishes—the capital decays—the people are impoverished—the Englishman flourishes and acts like a sponge, drawing up riches from the banks of the Ganges, and squeezing them down upon the banks of the Thames." In this view many of the most sagacious Anglo-Indian rulers have since concurred, and Lord William Bentinck did not scruple to confess that "in many respects the Mahomedans surpassed our rule; they settled in the countries they conquered; the interests and sympathies of the conquerors and conquered became identified. Our policy, on the contrary, has been the reverse of this—cold, selfish, and unfeeling; the iron hand of power on the one side, monopoly and exclusion on the other."

But all these things are passed, and have been replaced by happier times; and from the native members of the Viceroy's Council, who have been taken first as being the more important, we must now turn to dwell a moment on the class of Europeans whose services are available for Indian legislation. In India, as elsewhere, society is composed of the two great classes of officials

and non-officials; and each of these is capable of further subdivision—the first comprising as it does the military and civil services, the second merchants and producers. With the second class we have now exclusively to deal. The immediate object of the merchants who congregate in presidency towns, rapidly to acquire wealth, is best served by a screwing policy, regardless of the country's good, and directed only to securing the most favourable conditions as to sale and purchase markets. With manufacturers and producers of raw material, such as indigo and jute, the case is altogether different; their interests are of a more permanent character than those of mere retailers, being identical and inseparably connected with the improvement of the soil they cultivate and its inhabitants. No one appreciated this more fully than Lord Canning, and his ripest hours of government were spent in publishing the "Waste Lands Sales" measures. Though productive of some temporary embarrassment to his successor, and the source of much inevitable gain to a class of small capitalists known as land-jobbers, these measures have opened up the richest districts of our Eastern empire under circumstances most favourable to European buyers, and have thereby assured the best approach to the much-neglected field of Indian colonisation. Unfortunately, however, the agricultural and local occupations of these settlers, standing in the way of their attendance during legislation, practically exclude them from Council, and restrict the Viceroy's choice to merchants of Calcutta. Among the ranks of these latter it was, and no doubt still is, possible to find men like Mr David Cowie, acquainted

with and inclined to further general interests; but, more commonly, representatives are sought among the agents of long-established firms, such as the house of Messrs Jardine Skinner; and of these monopolists, Mr Claude Brown will be remembered as a very favourable specimen. In this respect much advantage would be reaped from the Migratory Council system, when alternate meetings at Lahore and other places might enable men like Mr Cope, whose name will be familiar to all who know the Punjab, to accept a share in legislation.

One class of Indian lawgivers remains to be discussed —those who, chosen from the paths of office life, still rank as unofficial or extraordinary members. This half-breed has grown out of the evident necessity that the minor Presidencies, and a wide tract of country like the Punjab, should be represented in a council that prescribes laws and regulations for all India, by persons competent to protect their local interests from serious official wrong. Among those earliest selected for this duty three names occur deserving of some mention. The first in seniority of years was Mr Claudius James Erskine, of the Bombay branch of the Indian Civil Service, whom literary distinction and a critical intellect well qualified for his work of picking holes in bills framed in a spirit of one-sided legislation. Mr Robert Staunton Ellis is the second to whom reference is made; and though, from having served the Government supreme in former days, he was less of a local representative man than his colleague of Bombay, he yet proved a faithful guardian of the interests of Madras. The last of the three in date of nomination was Mr Austin

Roberts, whose substantive appointment, as it is termed in Anglo-Indian office phraseology, was that of Judicial Commissioner, Punjab; and if, in breadth of view and facile diction, he was hardly equal to the other two, in his case a long experience of the ins and outs of legal formulæ offered a sufficient guarantee for the detection of aught likely to affect the welfare of the land beyond the Sutlej.

"Officiating" and "substantive appointments"—terms that so perplex a new arrival in Calcutta, where the majority of public servants draw pay for the nominal performance of duties virtually intrusted to another—have their origin in the frequent and repeated absences of officers from their post in search of health, or while engaged on special duty. True to this principle, Mr Ellis likewise held a "substantive appointment" in Madras to which he might revert during the recess; and while engaged in sessional legislation, he and his representative colleagues from Bombay and the Punjab drew certain moneys known as "deputation allowances," calculated on a modest scale, and intended to defray the actual expenses incident to absence from their homes.

Of Lieutenant-Governments, Bengal alone as yet possesses its own Parliament; and this machine being purely local in effect, it is but just that the interests of Bengal trade should have a powerful voice in its deliberations. A fitter member, therefore, than Mr John Nutt Bullen, President of the Calcutta Commerce Chamber, could not have been selected. In this Council natives have been chosen with almost equal wisdom, and among

them one must here be mentioned. Moolvie Abdool Luteef Khan Bahadoor, a Mahomedan, as his name denotes, had won distinction as a classic jurist and supporter of British institutions in Bengal, and Lord Elgin had availed himself of an early opportunity to appoint him to the Senate of the Calcutta University in the Faculty of Law. Of each successive honour his past conduct has well proved him worthy. Somewhat young in years and younger still in looks, he never lacked detractors, covert and avowed; but in corrupt Bengal this can hardly be considered as matter for surprise: and all admitted to his intimacy must acknowledge that this keen Mussulman formed a valuable element in the Bengal Council, not only as a fluent native counterpoise to special Hindoo interests, so largely represented in that province, but further as a zealous advocate of well-considered legislation.

The first President of the Bengal Council was her Lieutenant-Governor, Sir John Peter Grant, a man of powerful frame, whom strong opinions, firm courage, and extended understanding well fitted to control presumption in a newly-constituted body. He had been appointed by Lord Canning, after Mr Halliday, Lord Dalhousie's first Lieutenant-Governor. His knowledge of Bengal and the requirements of her people was comprehensive and exact. He was, in every way save one, the man best suited for the office; and the exception to which reference is made was perhaps that most necessary to prove the truth of this assertion. This exception was inherent obstinacy of character, a quality that never failed to stand him in good stead in the

conduct of those controversial questions which the varied interests of Bengal inevitably engender. The growth of indigo, for instance, has given rise to constant conflicts between the paramount and subject races—the former represented by greedy zemindars and European planters, bent on getting the greatest quantity of labour for the smallest possible remuneration; the latter by the miserable ryot, to whom oppression is hereditary as a condition of existence. There is, however, a certain point beyond which neither starvation nor the lash can drive despairing human creatures to work for hated masters; and more than once this point has been attained in India. Then we have had discussions in our councils how to strengthen planters' hands, so as to avert their ruin and compel the healthy labour of the masses, without placing the bulk of the population beneath the yoke of bondage, and unduly sacrificing the liberties of the many to the moneyed interests of the few. In the consideration of this and similar questions, Sir John Peter Grant was aided by Mr Seton Karr, then Secretary to the Government of Bengal, whose commanding mind could ill brook the trammels incident to office. Zealous, able, Scotch, and honest, Mr Seton Karr was an ornament to the Indian Civil Service even in its palmy days. His eloquence was so remarkable, that if his path had led beneath St Stephen's roof it must have claimed him place beside our greatest orators. These natural gifts had been heightened by unremitting studied cultivation; and the whole was set in a frame of large proportions, crowned by a well-shaped head, whose powerfully strict lines were lit by eyes of restless

energy. Such was Mr Seton Karr; and yet, with all these attributes, he lacked one element essential to executive success. This want was not ambition; neither was it knowledge of mankind in general: what he lacked was knowledge of himself, and of the way to turn his talents to the advantage of the State he shared in governing; and so little did he possess this branch of human wisdom, that, like Fox in former times, forgetful of the impartiality due to office, he threw his generous soul into the scale of oppressed mankind, and, by franking through the country the then celebrated Bengal drama, entitled 'Nil Durpan,' in which European planters were held up to general execration, aroused in ryots' breasts vague hopes of aid against their task-masters. These hopes, however, were destined to cruel disappointment on Mr Seton Karr's compelled and speedy resignation—a disappointment that has since found vent in deeds of violence and retributive justice enacted on the lives and property of the landowning few.

Consequent on Sir John Peter Grant's own resigna tion in 1862, Mr Cecil Beadon was promoted by Lord Elgin, from a seat in the Executive Council, to the Lieutenant-Government of Bengal. Sir John Peter Grant was a man of strong and sound opinions, from which he seldom swerved; while Mr Beadon's greatest merit was tact and power of conciliation, to which he often sacrificed such convictions as he had. Personally, however, Mr Beadon was the more ambitious; his aim seemed to be to stretch his own authority to its utmost limits, rendering Bengal not only independent of the

Viceroy, but practically paramount in its decisions. The fact is, that lieutenant-governors enjoy more unchecked power than either governors or viceroys; the theory being, that the interests confided to them are purely local, not imperial, and that their personal responsibility is sufficient guarantee for the proper exercise of patronage and influence. Consequently, their action is not hampered by many constitutional restrictions imposed upon their betters. They have no executive or ordinary councillors to share their labours, and even the members of the Bengal Legislative Chamber are nominated by the Local Government, subject only to the approval of the Viceroy. Again, instead of several departmental secretariats, composed of men selected from amongst the most conspicuous and able in every branch of Indian administration, having a certain reputation to maintain, the Bengal Office is conducted by one secretary, a junior member of the Civil Service, chosen by the Lieutenant-Governor, too frequently from private motives, who sometimes is an instrument, harmless in himself, for working out his master's ends, but more often bends his every effort to developing his own career and acquiring some repute. As fair specimens of each class we would name Mr Edward Lushington and Mr Ashley Eden—the former always willing to do his governor's bidding without a thought of self-responsibility; the latter, clever to a fault, ever striving to attain personal pre-eminence.

Ashley Eden has become a name in India which should not be too lightly dealt with. The part he has of late years played, though one of tertiary

rank, has been continuous and prominent. His facility of writing, added to the personal consideration his somewhat domineering manner has inspired, combined to render him, if not a very formidable adversary, at least a valuable colleague. Mr Beadon had one great merit, that of knowing men and how to use them. In the exercise of this knowledge he selected Mr Ashley Eden, first as secretary, and later for a legislative councillor; and a choice more calculated to augment his chances of success in governing Bengal could hardly have been made. But neither Mr Ashley Eden nor his ambition could be contained within the limits of a province; and, following in the track of that encroaching policy which had, independently of the Government of India, conducted to protracted though successful issues the Sonthal and Jyntia-Cossyah rebellions, he backed with all his logic the proposal of his master for the appointment of a mission to Bhotan for the purpose of procuring a final settlement of long-standing frontier questions, and establishing a system of commercial intercourse with that rude people more advantageous to Bengal industry and commerce than the exclusive regulations previously in force. For some time he and Mr Beadon tried to argue that this mission was of purely local interest, and did not concern the Government of India. Such arguments, however, were easy to disprove, and were finally cut short by reference to the ruling, that external policy in all its branches is specially reserved to the Government Supreme. To smooth, however, his ruffled feathers, Mr Beadon was permitted to suggest the

composition of the mission, and Mr Ashley Eden not unnaturally named himself. How this ardent spirit roughly penetrated to the presence of the Deb and Dhurma Rajas of Bhotan, and narrowly escaped with life, after having compromised his Government and himself by the signature of a formal act of cession, only to be cancelled by costly military measures, has now been given to the world in a careful narrative by Surgeon Rennie of the 20th Hussars. But as regards the manner of the man employed, a comparison might not seem very much out of place with Mr Kinglake's picture of an Emperor, whose ambitious and uneasy soul ever led him into desperate situations to which some unfortunate peculiarities precluded his doing justice, and proved him courageous in design, but lacking some element essential to successful execution.

Whatever faults and failings a somewhat harsh criticism of Mr Beadon's reign may discover it is impossible to deny that it has been most favourable to the progress of Bengal. As Foreign Secretary, some say that he committed errors of all kinds, and often led Lord Canning into fatal blunders; as Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, he occupied the place calculated for displaying to the best advantage his very varied qualities; and since it has been above imputed to him that his aim was independence of all supremacy, it is only just to add that no material interest ever suffered in his hands. He was eminently suited for the conduct of a government of radical improvement, and under him nothing seemed to slumber or decay. Justice, education, docks, and drainage, public build-

ings, roads, and even theatres, all bore speedy witness to his elevation. Under him it was, moreover, that a practical advance was made in the execution of a long-cherished scheme for substituting the Mutlah river for the Hoogly, and constituting Canning-Town the port of entry for Calcutta; thereby avoiding the rapid tides and tortuous navigation caused by shifting sands, and the dreaded "James and Mary" shoal, where some hundred lives are lost each year, and on whose account alone insurance companies augment their rate of charge by one per cent on all vessels destined to Calcutta. Such real services as these we may well accept as striking a balance much in Mr Beadon's favour, when compared with general constitutional objections as to the personal ambition of his government and the rash ability of Mr Ashley Eden, who never lost an opportunity of rushing in where "angels fear to tread."

The proceedings of the Government of Bengal are chronicled for communication to the Secretary of State in the Home Department of the Government of India. Besides the conduct of this and other correspondence, police, the telegraph, and post-office, and, since the abolition of the Indian Navy, marine affairs, are confided to its care. The post of secretary was not long since ably filled by Mr William Grey, to whom succeeded Mr E. C. Bayley, both civil servants of Bengal. The character of the former was of a die well cast for prompt despatch of business; his brain was of a legal order, somewhat warped perhaps by "Bengal Regulations," but accurately just in its deci-

sions. He was tall and slender, and his thin lips, hard compressed, were surmounted by the outlines of a face naturally severe, and whose severity of expression was enhanced by the furrows caused by one-and-twenty years in India. The nature of the duties of the Home Department more resembles that of work in London Public Offices than any other branch of Eastern Government; and legislation is the most exciting subject with which it has to deal. It may be said to exercise little direct administrative power, and its functions are usually confined to criticising measures introduced by others. For this work Mr William Grey was admirably qualified; but the great industry which characterised Mr Bayley, his successor, more fitted him for the compilation of blue-books of an ordinary character, or recording the proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, than to control the actions of ambitious men. So long, however, as Mr William Grey, though promoted to the Council, retained the supervision of the Home Department, little harm was done; but when the force of circumstances called him home to England his place was temporarily occupied by Mr H. B. Harrington, a North-West civilian of great ability and activity of mind, but whose turn for legislation practically impaired his executive utility; and during this short interregnum Mr Beadon's power and independence acquired a greater measure of development than was perhaps consistent with the dignity of the Government of India.

CHAPTER IV.

THE LIEUTENANT-GOVERNMENT OF THE NORTH-WEST PROVINCES, SUBORDINATE TO THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL IN THE HOME DEPARTMENT.

THE North-West Provinces are bounded on the south by Bengal Proper, and, stretching upwards from Benares, occupy the neck of land between Oude and Bundelcund; whence, extending west and north, they skirt the frontiers of Rajpootana and the Punjab, being walled in to the east by the mighty Himalayas. This tract of country is watered by the Ganges and the Jumna, and embraces every variety of climate and circumstance of life. From the dusty cities of the plains exhausted Europeans may rapidly ascend to Nynee Tal and other stations in the Hills, beyond which towers again a snowy range of twenty thousand feet.

Each Indian Government breeds its special class of civil servants; and those of the North-West have become conspicuous for a happy combination of the efficient zeal that characterises the administration of the Punjab, with the hardy love of sport and out-door life that tended so much formerly to identify

Bengal civilians with the native population. Consequent upon the great numerical increase of Europeans in Bengal, young civilians nowadays mix much less with the children of the soil than their predecessors were wont to do. Each race has now its own pursuits. Deprived of the pecuniary advantages incident to domestic strife and foreign war, Bengalees have turned their thoughts into more commercial channels; while commissioners and magistrates, prohibited by the Regulations from entering on agricultural or trading speculations, have little left in common with the men they rule, and unbend their minds in social intercourse and the pleasures of the chase. Moreover, the smallest Bengal station now boasts of some half-dozen English ladies, who form a barrier more impassable between the different shades of colour than the want of sympathy produced by habits of existence and interests diametrically opposed. The Punjab school is of a far different stamp. Farther from headquarters, a wider measure of responsibility attaches to its governors, and has gradually diffused itself among the junior overworked civilians, thinly scattered over the vast fields of enterprise which lie enclosed between the five grand rivers whence that country takes its name. Situated midway between the Punjab and Bengal, all seems to have combined to make the North-West Provinces a government of energy and moderation. Benares, in the south, is a centre of Hindooism; while at Delhi, in the north, Mussulmans preponderate. To the east lies Oude, hitherto a hotbed of revolt, peopled by a martial race whose sons

supplied the Company with soldiers, and who had but to traverse the narrow strip of land above referred to, to find among the native states of Bundelcund and Central India ample scope for political intrigue and those deeds of daring so suited to their instincts.

When, therefore, its geographical position has been examined, it cannot be a subject for surprise that the full tide of mutiny swept down upon its plains in 1857, that, for a time at least, the North-West became a term synonymous with bloodshed and revenge, and that its name will ever stand recorded as associated with one of the darkest pages in the history of British India. But that page has been so often written, and has become so painfully familiar to us all, that we shall not here attempt even the bare outline of a tragedy which reddened with the blood of England's sons and daughters a tract of country larger than Great Britain.

Yet the traces of rebellion are still too recent to render possible any faithful picture of those provinces without dealing boldly with their painful memories. There are few cities or military stations throughout the North-West Provinces but bear the mark of fire and sword. In some towns, indeed, such as Allahabad, a rapid growth of population and new buildings has done much to hide the ravages of war; but in Cawnpore the traveller is still brought face to face with General Wheeler's burnt intrenchments, and streets of blood-stained ruins.

To understand the true horrors of the Sepoy war, a knowledge is necessary of the miseries incident to Anglo-Indian life, even under the most favourable cir-

cumstances. Few subjects have been more often dealt with to less purpose; and to this day a European, be he a high official or a plain English gentleman travelling for self-improvement or for pleasure, lands in India ignorant of almost all that constitutes the sum of the existence of his exiled countrymen, and of the real character of their relation to the coloured races by whom they are surrounded. So long, however, as his experience is confined to the society of Calcutta, his mind will hardly rise to an appreciation of the truth. If his mornings are occupied by office-work or paying visits, and he takes his evening rides round Eden Gardens, listening to a European band, surrounded by white faces, even whiter than he sees at home, he at first will feel inclined to contradict the statement that the atmosphere he breathes is impregnated with thoughts, and hopes, and fears, widely differing from anything he was acquainted with in England. But wait some months: let that man, whatever his position in society, quit Calcutta, travelling north. On that railway journey he will have to traverse a country strangely fertile and pleasant-looking, even beautiful in places. He will have a passing glimpse of the pretty station of Burdwan, perhaps of its wealthy Raja, whose palaces lie scattered in rich profusion on the shores of artificial lakes, enclosed in grounds where the last improvements known in landscape-gardening have been introduced, with splendid disregard for money. He will skirt the woody hills of Rajmahal, and pass through the Sonthal districts, not long since in rebellion. The lattice-bridge across the treacherous Sone, one of the largest tribu-

taries of the Ganges, will teach him some, at least, of the enormous difficulties by which nature has seen fit to check too sudden a development of the resources of our Indian Empire. But let our traveller proceed still further; let him cross the Bengal frontier, and enter those arid provinces which suffered most during the late famine;—let him push on further still. No fields of rice or indigo clothe that country in a fruitful green, no undulations break the dull monotony of that clear horizon; all around is coloured by the fine white dust peculiar to the North-West Provinces, which, borne by the hot wind, forms itself in clouds, and sweeps across the dreary plains. Then ask that man if the light of Indian life begins to dawn upon him, and if he sees its shadows; then ask him whether Upper India resembles the fairy tales of modern writers, or if he does not think success in life of almost any kind dear at such a price?

But, like sailors, the members of the Civil Service are caught young; and once committed to a career, they, being Englishmen, make the best of it. Their pay at first is good, and it gradually assumes magnificent proportions as they rise in seniority. In our days they mostly marry early, and settle temporarily as magistrate and collector at some native city, unknown perhaps to European fame. The life the new arrivals lead is one almost beyond description. The society of the place is probably composed of some two or more families besides themselves, soldiers and civilians, whom professional prejudice or private jealousy render insupportable to each other. The young people, if wise, endeavour to steer clear of both hostile factions; but more often

espouse warmly, for want of better interest, the cause of one or other. Thus months wear on in dull monotony, only broken and relieved by successive rains and hot or so-called cold weather. Each evening a drive is taken, or a ride of small dimensions, and at sunset all return to eat their meals in discontent. This kind of life is only varied by occasional sickness, or the visit of a chance, and not always welcome, guest. The man has most occupation, and sometimes keeps his health in consequence; the woman generally breaks down with the birth of her first child, and then returns to England, or spends at least her future summers in the Hills.

The above, though a somewhat sad, is not an altogether untrue, picture of the early married life of young civilians of the present generation. With those who are single the case differs much to their advantage. Great exceptions exist, however, and many small green spots there are amid those North-West wastes, where all branches of the public service live peacefully and happily together.

In the diction of recent legislation, the North-West is styled the Government of Agra,—the original intention being to establish a fourth Presidency. The execution of this scheme, however, has been long delayed, if not abandoned; and these provinces have latterly been ruled by Lieutenant-Governors appointed by the Viceroy. The designation adopted by the English House of Commons may be deemed sufficient proof of the existence of a general feeling, based on a knowledge of the past, which pointed then, and still points now, to Agra for a capital. Agra is something more

than a splendid name in Indian history,—something more even than a simple landmark, strongly fortified, by which to trace the limits of a nation's power. Her red sandstone walls surround a strong position, immediately above the Jumna, and are relieved at every angle by lofty towers and battlements. The place is one of extraordinary strength, and capable of defence against most fearful odds. To scale the citadel, if held by Europeans, would be a task from which natives would recoil. In 1857, Europeans far and near flocked to its welcome shelter; and, well provisioned and tolerably armed, it only needed investment to prove its giant strength. Among the men within its walls were bold civilians who had held their districts till the very latest hour at which escape was possible. In the early days of mutiny, some reached its gates sick and fever-stricken, bringing in a country cart their wives and household gods. Later, others from a greater distance staggered on towards a common goal, through jungle and the enemy; and of these some few alone were saved to tell a tale of suffering and endurance unsurpassed in history or fiction. At last those heavy gates swung to, and were no more opened to admit starving, homeless wanderers. Then followed weeks of breathless expectation, when nothing reached that unbeleaguered motley garrison from the world without but rumours, rendered doubly awful by their vague conflicting nature, and whose truth was only to be tested by reports of native spies, and such information as could be gathered by sortie-parties seeking food or forage. Upon Mr Colvin, the Lieutenant-Governor, devolved the labours of com-

mand in the absence of professional men, and while the crisis lasted he commanded well. It is true his measures taken for defence were really never tried, for the rebel army was dispersed by General Greathead while advancing to attack. But when a man does well whatever duties fall to him, and dies in their discharge, he merits honourable mention in proportion to the import of the deeds with which his name is linked.

Although Agra has been termed the key of Hindostan, it has been twice her fate to be abandoned by a government in search of a strategic capital; and as, in 1658, Aurungzebe removed his court from thence to Delhi, so, after the lapse of just two centuries, the British have again exchanged it for a slightly elevated site between the Ganges and the Jumna known as Allahabad. This tongue of land owes its selection entirely to military reasons, and the supposed necessity for river communication with Calcutta. In former times, such arguments might well have been allowed; but, in these days of Indian rail development, their value, when compared with others, such as prestige in the native mind and the enormous expenditure incurred, can hardly be permitted to hold good. It was not without regret that Lord Canning eventually sanctioned this costly transfer of a government from what many think the most striking place in Northern Hindostan to a triangle of sand clothed by scanty crops of Indian corn, and hitherto known only as the first station of importance beyond Benares on the grand trunk road. But still Lord Canning did it; and in these days Agra's greatness can only be occasional, when circumstances

suggest her as a place of meeting for a Viceroy's camp or council.

Such an opportunity occurred when Lord Elgin selected Agra as the spot at which he should embark upon his northern progress, and hold his first durbar in Upper India; and those who saw her decked in the glory of the mighty chiefs who flocked to do honour to the Viceroy of the Queen, will readily confess that she then did justice to herself and the occasion. Coming from Cawnpore, Lord Elgin entered Agra by a railway that traverses a thirsty country cleft in all directions by dried-up watercourses, and bearing lasting trace of war, famine, and the locust, all which three scourges have lashed those plains in quick succession since 1857. For very many miles no inhabitants are seen; but here and there a solitary buck is startled from his lair, apparently the only animal capable of supporting life upon the burnt-up soil. While still at a considerable distance, and swiftly passing through a country that seems specially designed to bear the curse of God, the traveller observes towards the north a white speck on the horizon glittering brightly in the sun, and relieving the painful sense of desolation caused by all around. That speck as you approach assumes a dome-like form, and gradually dissolves itself in three, of which the largest is the centre. As the train draws nearer, at a distance of perhaps ten miles, a liquid silver thread is drawn across the view, and winds between the traveller and those domes. Then, with each minute, rich groves and marble minarets take shape, and seem to pierce the brazen sky above; and while the traveller strains his

eye across the scorching waste to catch each rapidly succeeding phase of colour and development, he instinctively rises to the knowledge that he is being brought within the presence of the Taj.

Arriving at the railway station, Lord Elgin met with a reception worthy of the East. The road, thickly lined with native troops, crossed the Jumna by a bridge of boats, and wound along the river's bank beneath those lofty sandstone walls; then, mounting a steep hill and leaving the main entry into Agra Fort upon the right, the Taj remaining to the left, it led, through miles of garden-ground thickly studded with suburban villas, to the Viceroy's camp, that occupied the centre of an extensive plain, where tents were pitched for the accommodation of the Government of India and an escort of ten thousand men. Beyond these were ranked, according to priority of arrival, the far-spreading noisy camps of those rajas the number of whose followers was within some bounds, and beyond them again stretched miles and miles of tents containing thousands upon thousands of ill-conditioned-looking men from Central India and the wildest parts of Rajpootana, the followers of such maharajas as Jeypoor, who marched to meet the Viceroy with an army thirty thousand strong, found in horse and foot and guns, ready for the field.

No circumstance that could enhance the possible effect was forgotten or neglected. The Mooltanee Horse were present; and the native body-guard, commanded by Major George Delane, wore for the first time their new and costly uniforms. The European force comprised some horse-artillery picked for smartness, and a battalion of

the Rifles. The road the Viceroy had to follow was long and densely thronged with dusky crowds; and ere his tents were reached the sun had wellnigh set. After one short hour of twilight that broad expanse was lit by watchfires reflecting forms massed in every variety of attitude and colour; and later, as night wore on, revelry and native song resounded through the camps. Then came a busy hum, and then a silence broken by occasional salutes and evening guns, for which natives deem all hours appropriate. Yet a little, and a truly Eastern moon had risen, casting tall shadows strange to European eyes; and, save the dull moaning of uneasy camels or the jackal's melancholy cry, all was wrapt in slumber for some few short midnight hours, until the early Indian sun should rise once more upon the stern realities of life.

Some ten days Lord Elgin stayed at Agra receiving native homage and visiting the many monuments of Indian history which enrich that neighbourhood. Then one morning at early dawn his mighty camp broke up, and the course it took was clearly marked by endless strings of baggage animals, and a heavy column of North-West dust ascending high to heaven.

When Mr Colvin died, Lord Canning selected Mr Edmonstone, formerly Foreign Secretary, to succeed him as Lieutenant-Governor. To him it therefore fell to convert the jungle site, selected for military reasons, into the capital of a province. At this work Mr Edmonstone laboured full four years, and on the expiration of that time Allahabad assumed an aspect, if not imposing, at any rate respectable. Like Mr Beadon,

Mr Edmonstone succeeded better as Lieutenant-Governor than in offices of a more subordinate character. Not only was he unacquainted with the meaning of such words as fear or danger, but his heart seemed even steeled against anxiety. He worked unremittingly, and with less thought of self than most Anglo-Indian civilians. In revenue matters he was assisted by Messrs Muir and Money, both of whom possessed considerable executive ability. The former was a man of spare habit and quick perception, who, in conversation, seemed to see a thing at once from every point of view; and the latter, though less brilliant in society, was justly popular with those with whom he came in contact.

In Bengal and the North-West Provinces, the Board of Revenue is an office of great importance and emolument. It is composed of members chosen from among the seniors of the Civil Service, and their special duty is to superintend the working of machinery by which the revenue is raised. They are nominally subordinate to Lieutenant-Governors, but really take their orders from the Financial Councillor of the Government of India. One member of the Bengal Board was so long conspicuous for ability and success in all he undertook, that in treating of his North-Western colleagues some mention may perhaps be made of him. Mr Grote, a brother of the historian, had gradually ascended the successive steps of Calcutta office life. Much of his time had been devoted to literary and scientific labours, and it had perhaps been owing to his apparent preference for comparative retirement among his books and rich collections of animal and vegetable life, that the doors to the

highest civil posts remained closed against him. But Mr Grote cared little; he enjoyed good health; his days were given to finance administration; and towards evening he returned to Allipore, the St John's Wood of Calcutta, where, in a pretty house well planted out by trees, he spent his hours in the society of such men as Drs Archer or Macrae, and other congenial companions who loved the same pursuits.

The Indian career of Mr Edmonstone was one of continuous and well-merited success. He belonged to the old school of Civil servants who adopted for their own the country where their labours lay. As a boy he had gone to India in search of personal distinction; and having put his hand upon the plough, he never once looked back. He appeared indifferent to climate, and seldom visited the Hills: and having filled with honour high offices of difficulty and danger, he returned to England, after thirty years of exile, unbroken by the illness or the absence of a day, with fair prospect of much future usefulness in the Council of the Secretary of State; but in reality to receive the collar of the Bath, and within six months to sink into an obscure churchyard, apparently from want of an object for existence.

It is in such manner that Indian rulers of the second class pass away and are forgotten. A man who for years has governed thirty millions of his fellow-subjects —governed, not in the mild mode of Western civilisation by delicate contrivances known as ministers more or less responsible, but by force of individuality and the strength of his own right arm—this man quits the land of his adoption, and returns worn out to find his

very name unknown in England. At first perhaps he lives in London, having business now and then to transact with the India Office; but gradually and by degrees even this resource is seen to fail him; he buys a little place in some southern county, to which he retires with books for his companions, and the tolling of a village bell soon makes known that one more weary public servant has found a home at last.

When Mr Edmonstone requested the permission to resign, it became imperative to look out for a successor. Lord Elgin was then traversing the North-West Provinces, seeing for himself how much had been done towards healing that distempered country, and how much still remained to do, in order that he might select the man best fitted for the task. Throughout that tour Lord Elgin saw enough to make him know that severity had stamped out the embers of revolt, that all classes longed for peace, and were willing to obey the laws if carried out with firmness; and that the man required was not one too ready with suspicion and harsh retributive measures, but of a calm, judicial, and administrative mind. Upon such occasions, when a viceroy has to name a new lieutenant-governor, he first passes in review the members of his Executive Council; and at the time we write of Lord Elgin's Council was composed as follows:—First in seniority came Sir Robert Napier; after him ranked Messrs Harington and Grey, Sir Charles Trevelyan, and Mr Henry Sumner Maine. Of these Sir Robert Napier was a soldier; and whatever advantages might be derived from military domination in

countries like the Punjab, the North-West Government eminently required the supervision of a civilian qualified to work out settlement details. Mr Maine and Sir Charles Trevelyan were specialties practically ineligible for routine promotion, and thus Mr Harington and Mr Grey alone remained. The service of the former dated from 1827; the latter was some thirteen years his junior. Moreover, Mr Harington's career had principally been run in North-Western India, while Mr Grey had seldom stepped beyond the limits of Bengal, and was hence regarded by the unofficial eye as Mr Beadon's heir-apparent. Within the Council Chamber, therefore, the claims were not conflicting; but beyond its walls public favour had become enlisted in the cause of candidates possessed of local confidence. Foremost among these were Mr Muir, who was on the spot, with Messrs Yule and Wingfield, both known for able government of Oude. The choice fell on Mr Harington, but the offer was only made to him to be refused on public grounds; for, though possessed of every qualification, he modestly expressed a fear that his health was too shattered to permit him to cope with work of such proportions. A second choice was thus required, and the small field for selection now necessarily became somewhat enlarged. This time the choice fell on Mr Drummond, who, as financial secretary, had won the goodwill and appreciation of every member of the Government of India. Senior to Mr Muir, Mr Grey, and Mr Wingfield, his appointment passed unquestioned, except by certain newspapers, who, balked of the fulfilment each of its own pet prophecy, made for a time a common and

a harmless cause against an accomplished fact received with general approbation.

As Mr Drummond had been named just upon the eve of the Indian financial year, when his controlling presence was most necessary at Calcutta, the North-West Government was conducted for a time by the Board of Revenue But so soon as he had rendered to Sir Charles Trevelyan the full benefit of his rich experience, and a Budget had been presented, of which the sanguine expectations have not been yet fulfilled, he set out for Allahabad, and undertook the task committed to him. In this manner was it that, owing to the accident of Mr Harington's exceeding modesty, Mr Drummond found at last a fitting sphere of action. Continued residence in Calcutta had impaired his health, but not his understanding; and he knew that if good service were expected of him, he must be permitted to spend the hottest period of the year among his mountain stations, descending to the plains to work double time throughout the cooler months. This permission was sought in writing, and the reply it met with from Lord Elgin best shows the perfect confidence he placed in his lieutenant. "Upon the propriety of such proceeding you must judge yourself. You alone can [illegible] from day to day of the requirements of your administration; and, for my part, I possess the firm conviction that your decisions will ever be in harmony with what you deem conducive to the welfare of the interests at stake." Such was the tenor, if not the actual wording, of the letter that left Mr Drummond his own master; and, shortly after its receipt, he removed to a cool and

shady spot, deep buried in the hills of Nynee Tal, upon the borders of a lake of all-surpassing beauty.

Those are really the most enviable hours of Indian government, when, on a fine spring mountain morning, the mist clears off, and the dew is rapidly drunk up by a sun just warm enough to render fires indoors essential to the comfort of a breakfast-table. At nine the daily dâk arrives, with nothing of importance demanding immediate attention. Some two hours later, guns are slung across the shoulders, and throughout the day the baying of the dogs resounds from hill to hill, relieved at intervals by the echoes of an English rifle. But in those deep valleys the sun sets early, and darkness grows apace; and our ruler, guided by the waning light, nears his temporary home, to find, perchance, upon arrival, a telegram, whose true importance time alone can test. Sufficient is, however, clear to show him that clouds have risen, gathered, and are now prepared to break upon some spot within his jurisdiction which that morning's post reported tranquil and content. But of the actual extent of the mischief vaguely hinted at in electrotype, his personal examination can alone assure him; and that night, instead of going to well-earned rest, he is seen slowly winding down some tortuous pass, leaving all that is fair and fresh behind him. As morning dawns, he exchanges with a native servant a dusty shooting-cap for a solar topee, and some hours later reaches the indifferent shelter of a postal bungalow, at which he halts awhile. There a mitigated form reaches him of the rumour of the day before; but his duty lies in personal examination of at least the causes

of excitement, and after two more days and nights of travelling, he reaches the centre of ill-will, simultaneously, it may be, with a wing of European troops brought from Delhi by forced marches. The raising of the revenue is proved, upon inquiry, to be the origin of discontent, and some weeks are spent in adjusting disagreements. The back taxes are paid up, and the English soldiers retrace their dusty steps; but the Hills see the lieutenant-governor no more that year. He proceeds to Allahabad, and deems it incumbent on him to report at length to the Government of India the origin and end of this fiscal failure. Next he relates how purely local it has been in all its bearings, winding up, perhaps, by a series of elaborate arguments, all bent to prove how utterly impossible it is that such temporary confusion should ever re-occur.

It has been said that English statesmen speak beyond their powers of reasoning, and that Anglo-Indians write above their natural ability; and nothing is more true. What is known as "duftur" is the curse of India. Each councillor has many secretaries of some kind or other, and each of these has countless clerks. All draw pay, as a rule, in inverse proportion to the measure of their utility; and it is the lower members of this scale of official life who contribute to our Anglo-Indian and Mofussil press those articles and letters from "special correspondents" whose depreciation of our aims and ends tends even more to degrade us in the native mind than our arrogant affectation of superiority, and inborn contempt for all except ourselves.

The real men who bring our rule in India into dis-

repute are such as the late Mr John Lang, formerly proprietory editor of the 'Mofussilite,' a daily journal of the North-West Provinces, who unhappily was possessed of talents just sufficient to secure the widest circulation for the coarsest wit. The low-bred personalities to which Anglo-Indian newspapers descend, with too few exceptions, render them completely valueless for purposes of history; and the efforts of Sir Herbert Edwardes, and of other able writers, to raise their tone to something more approaching the level of European journalism, have not yet been sufficiently respected; for few know at home the difficulties these men have to fight against in the thankless nature of their labours and the jealousies incurred.

In India the influence of one man, be it for good or evil, attains perhaps its widest sway. Of this a striking instance may be cited in the case of Mr Allen Hume, the magistrate of Etawah, who, by force of will and mild obstinacy of purpose, has become remarkable for meeting natives with measures of resistance all their own. A place more desert-looking and hopeless for the growth of any European seed than the stony field in which Mr Allen Hume has toiled at schools and Christianity, and all that elevates the human heart, could hardly be selected; and the following description, taken from the soundest Anglo-Indian book of reference, may serve to illustrate the truth of the assertion: "In no part of India do hot winds blow with greater fury; they commence in March, and rage throughout the whole of April and of May. The wind usually rises about eight A.M., and subsides at sunset; though it sometimes blows

at night as well. Every article of furniture is burning to the touch; the hardest wood, if not well covered with damp blankets, will split with a report like that of a pistol; and linen taken from a press is as if just removed from the kitchen-fire. But terrible as are the days, the nights are infinitely worse,—each apartment becomes heated to excess, and can only be compared to an oven. The hot winds are succeeded by the monsoon, or periodical rains, the transition being marked by a furious tornado. At mid-day, darkness, as of night, sets in, caused by the dense clouds of dust; and so loud is the roar of the storm, that incessant peals of thunder are heard only at rare intervals, whilst the flashes of forked lightning seldom pierce the gloom. At last the rain descends in torrents, floods the country, and refreshes, for a while, the animal and vegetable world." Yet this one pale Englishman, of slender frame and ascetic habit, has developed upon that fiery soil a caste of natives unsurpassed in firm allegiance and educational distinction.

Now, this tract of country, stretching down from Delhi to Cawnpore, is known as The Doab, and lies between the sacred banks of the Jumna and the Ganges. Here was literally the neck of Indian mutiny, which English fugitives had to traverse, in the spring of 1857, in order to escape the awful fate reserved for those unable, by reason of their health or other circumstance, to fly from that accursed plain in time. But monuments enough still greet the eye at almost every turn of what befell both those who fled and those who stayed behind; and, quitting the remembrance of the days when

the land above described was clothed in rapine and revenge, we shall introduce our readers to a pretty little fort, whose strategic value has of late years happily not been tried. Around it winds a road, which later makes its way between well-thatched farm-like buildings planted here and there on little rising-grounds, with pleasant streams of cool clear water flowing at their feet through grassy meadows backed with tamarind and the cactus tree. Such is the approach to a North-West oasis of celebrity for health and beauty. It lies below the outer ranges which form the Dehra Doon, and is well watered both by nature and by art. Saharanpoor affords resources of an uncommon order for the happy few who bask in its delights. The gentler members of that small community may roam for miles through shady gardens, maintained by Government at great expense as nurseries for Himalayan plants, and as embracing the most favourable conditions for purposes of acclimatisation. The men may shoot and hunt a more extensive field of game than in almost any part of India, and the special duty which attaches to their well-favoured and well-paid office consists in looking after the birth, parentage, and education of thousands of young colts of mostly Arab blood. In other words, Saharanpoor, like Haupur and Buxar, is a stud depôt, where corn and all required is grown upon the spot; and the work intrusted to the happy superintendents of that justly popular department really more resembles the employment of wealthy country gentlemen, who can afford to stay at home and nurse their own estates, than that of any class of public servants with which we are acquainted.

Five pleasant marches through a lovely country, much intersected by the drainage of the Himalayas, divide Saharanpoor from the ardent furnaces of the Roorkee workshops. These lie upon the straight, well-cultivated banks of the Ganges Canal, whose commencement, for purposes of irrigation, is here marked by two colossal lions, pointing the moral of the jealous watch maintained by the British Government over the waves of liquid treasure, which science has known how to pour upon a land by nature thirsty, but by art become one of the most fertile tracts of India.

Above Roorkee this artificial tide extends some twenty miles towards Hurdwar, where it taps the mighty Ganges just as it breaks cover from the Sawalik ranges of the Himalayas; and during that short span of twenty miles the eye is caught by three successive works of engineering skill, each of which in Europe would justly be regarded with the admiration due to mastery of mankind over matter. The ride from Roorkee to Hurdwar, rightly called the Ganges' Gate, taken on a bright spring morning, can never be forgotten. Turning your back upon those lions, your horses' heads would point to neighbouring hills, and distant mountains capped with snow. The road lies along the bank of the canal, which ends in several locks and dams abutting on the shallow rapids of the Ganges, here a full mile broad, filling a wide chasm or rather narrow valley borne between two wood-clad mountains. Where the highroad ends a narrow stony street begins, leading to the holy Ghât, or stairs of Vishnu, where two million pilgrims on an

average bathe each year, and then return, comforted at heart, to homes unnumbered and unknown.

And now that we have traced the North-West Provinces from Benares to Hurdwar, and witnessed beneath one administration the most opposite effects, we shall direct our steps towards the former confines of our rule; and taking Muttra as our starting-point—that city where sainted monkeys govern most despotically—and rising with the Jumna towards its source, we reach the rocky range on which lies Delhi. The city of to-day, built by Shah Jehan, is actually subject to the North-West Government; but in character and associations it leans so strongly towards the Punjab, to which geographically it belongs, that we prefer postponing to some account of that administration a mention more detailed. So far back as 1829, Colonel Tod concluded an elaborate treatise on the Pandua dynasty, which ruled there from 1120 B.C. to 610 B.C., and counted, during that period, thirty-one generations of direct descent, by the following statement, since endorsed by actual fact: "Great Britain has become heir to the monuments of Indraprestha, raised by the descendants of Boodha and Ella; to the iron pillar of Pandus, whose pedestal is fixed in hell—and in which some forms of Mahomedan belief are content to recognise the axis of the universe; to the columns reared to Victory, inscribed with characters yet unread; to the massive ruins of its ancient continuous cities, encompassing a space still larger than the largest city in the world, whose mouldering domes and sites of fortresses, the very names of which are lost, present a noble field for speculation on the ephemeral nature of

power and glory." With titles to our veneration such as these, Delhi surely forms a subject that should not be lightly touched upon towards the end of a somewhat hurried reference; and we close the page before us with the expression of an earnest hope that, as years wear on, and England's Eastern Empire fulfils the expectations of the present generation, both courtly Agra and the imperial city of the Padshahs may again resume a precedence that the history of Asia still jealously reserves for them.

CHAPTER V.

THE LIEUTENANT-GOVERNMENT OF THE PUNJAB SUBORDINATE TO THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL IN THE FOREIGN DEPARTMENT.

THE Foreign Department of the Government of India is the mouthpiece of those decisions of the Crown, by which so many Eastern kingdoms, principalities, and powers, have ceased to throb with independent life, and taken rank among the visions of the past. Hence the high importance which in native minds instinctively attaches to aught that serves to indicate the nature of the thoughts that cloud the brows of Foreign Secretaries. In quiet times, when the Government of India is reposing normally upon the putrid shores of the Hoogly river, a Foreign Secretary's sense of personal importance is reduced to something like a minimum; but should any stirring question arise to unsettle native thought in Oude or Rajpootana, or the succession be disputed to some estates in Central India with which a title and a taste of power still lurks, on such occasions the antechambers of the Foreign Office are thronged with subtle natives seeking access to the presence, and bold aspirants with heavy purses girt around their loins, whose golden burden is still brought half in

hope, though half perhaps in fear of failure, or still more in fear of the perils attendant on success: for those men of wild appearance, though born perhaps beyond our furthest frontier of Peshawur, know full well what deserts are dealt out to corruption by the British Government. Still the force of habits rife among themselves, enhanced by such education as they have enjoyed, and to which they owe a scanty knowledge of our early Anglo-Indian crimes,—these have taught them to consider that, though gold may be refused, and though no fitting opportunity of offering it may occur, yet to come empty-handed would render them a laughing-stock among their fellows, and might appear to signify indifference to success, or even want of due respect towards their rulers.

The coins they bring are indeed of no small use to them even in display. The lower class of native door-keepers are open to such convincing proofs of wealth, if not respectability, and make cringing way to let their bearers pass upstairs: eventually they gain, after hours of parley and delay, the threshold of the first room occupied by Englishmen; but beyond that, few penetrate without good cause, for the presence of the Secretary himself is closely guarded by ambitious younger men, able to dispose of current cases with a perfect knowledge of the views of their superior.

A glance around the lofty spacious rooms where these picked men of action sit, will serve to illustrate the extent of country they administer. On all sides hang maps entitled Oude, Mysore, Punjab, and Rajpootana; while around lie fireproof safes bearing letters

whence the intelligent may gather that the contents relate to Nagpore administration, or to that network of foreign policy in whose complicated meshes the abilities even of statesmen like Lord Ellenborough and Lord Dalhousie at last became so hopelessly entangled as to leave but one possible escape—in war.

One of these maps has evidently been recently referred to, and still extends its length and breadth to view. It represents a tract of country whose right hand rests upon Thibet, while with its left it holds in check the hordes that would fain emerge in dark columns of destruction from the passes of Cabul, and descend like locusts on the harvest-bearing plains of Hindostan. This land is divided into nearly equal parts by six noble rivers, five of which have long since become historical, and lent to it a name now known as an emblem of well-directed energy and vigorous administration.

The history of the Punjab for the last thirty years has been so pregnant with results as to render some short account requisite for the due appreciation of the conditions under which we first assumed its governance. The people, though brave, and turbulent among themselves, are quite content to be ruled by an iron hand, provided always the administration be powerful enough to inspire respect among neighbours even more turbulent and warlike than themselves. The population, which exceeds ten millions, consists of Jâts, Gugurs, Rajpoots, and Patans, of whom the second category alone are devoted to agricultural pursuits, the remaining three being wedded to the sword. Of Mus-

sulmans recent computation has numbered seven millions, and these lie thickest as the Indus is approached. Towards the east Hindoos preponderate, but even there Mahomedans abound. Punjabees are finer-limbed and more stalwart in appearance than their brethren of Southern India. The men hold themselves erect, and have a martial bearing and bright eye unknown among Bengalees; while the women of Loodhiana and Umritsur, some of them fair as Europeans, are a type of rounded Eastern beauty. These are Hindostanees properly so called, and proud they are of the distinctive features of their race.

Such a country, so inhabited, surely was a worthy object of ambition for a man who seemed to have adopted as a rule of guidance the elementary doctrine of the fifteenth century, "that the heathen nations of the world were lawful spoil and prey, and that the right of native Indians was subordinate to that of the first Christian conqueror, whose paramount claim excluded that of every other civilised nation, and gradually extinguished that of the natives." Yet the Punjab's fall from independence was not purely the fruit of Lord Dalhousie's vast ambition, but the necessary consequence of dissensions of the Sikhs among themselves.

In 1838 the Maharaja Runjeet Singh entered into a tripartite treaty of alliance with the British and the Ameer Shah Shooja. The "Lion of the Punjab" died in the following year, and in 1840 his succeeding son and grandson both met with deaths of violence. A bloody competition followed between the widow of the son and Shere Singh, a brother upon whom was cast

the stigma of an illegitimate birth. The latter gained the object of contention; but upon his assassination in 1843, a widespread anarchy prevailed, which, after desolating years, terminated in joint invasion, by all the hostile factions, of the Company's dominions. Two wars ensued, each of one year's duration, and in both victory was given to us; but in 1848 it had become apparent to the meanest comprehension that the only real guarantee for future peace lay in military occupation. It was, however, not less in the nature of things than the interest of humanity that this military occupation should become exchanged for annexation; and on the 29th of March 1849 annexation was solemnly proclaimed at Lahore, in the presence of assembled chiefs collected to receive the yoke of foreign subjugation. The yoke, however, has lain lightly on that land. Dhuleep Singh, the hereditary Maharaja, received an English education that fitted him to take his place as an Eastern prince of great accomplishments upon the steps of Queen Victoria's throne; and, liberally provided for by the bounty of the Company, he has led a happier, and probably a longer, life than he could have aspired to as ruler of a nation where assassination had become wellnigh the price of primogeniture.

Of the men selected by Lord Dalhousie to govern his greatest acquisition we shall later speak in more detail. The first form of government was a mixed military and civil board, presided over by Sir Henry Lawrence and his brother John; and in three short years the success that characterised its labours had been such as to call forth from the East India Company's Directors the fol-

lowing well-merited acknowledgment :—" In the short period which has elapsed since the Punjab became a part of the British dominions, results have been attained such as could scarcely have been hoped for as the reward of many years of well-directed exertion. The formidable army which it had required so many battles to subdue has been quietly disbanded, and the turbulent soldiery have settled to industrious pursuits. Peace and security reign throughout the country ; justice has been made accessible, without costly formalities, to the whole population ; industry and commerce have been set free ; and a great mass of oppressive taxation has been removed. Results like these reflect the highest honour on Indian administration. It is a source of just pride to us that our services, civil and military, should have afforded men capable, in so short a time, of carrying into full effect such a series of enlightened and beneficent measures. The executive functionaries in the subordinate ranks have proved themselves worthy of the honourable career which lies before them ; and the members of the Board of Administration, Sir Henry Lawrence, Mr John Lawrence, Mr Mansell, and Mr Montgomery, have entitled themselves to be placed in the very foremost rank of Indian administrators."

The history of the brothers Lawrence has long passed in the form of household words into English homes; and though the casual world is still in ignorance of many circumstances attending their divergence of opinion in the execution of their work, and of the reasons that forced Lord Dalhousie to change the character of Punjab administration by creating a Lieutenant-Government,

conferred upon Sir John, and sending Sir Henry into prouder exile at Mount-Aboo, yet we prefer leaving to a special pen the explanation of such measures; and turning to Montgomery, later called Sir Robert, we have before us the outline of a man whose deeds are not yet written.

Sir Robert Montgomery was appointed by Lord Canning, in a minute read by a privileged few, in which the claims of this administrator were summed up in a manner worthy of the author and his object. He assumed his office in 1859, having, as has been seen, previously enjoyed the fullest opportunities of acquaintance with his subjects. He ruled the Punjab until the other day, and has left among its martial races a name not soon to be forgotten. Still, notwithstanding his unquestioned ability and good-nature, he was not a general favourite. His detractors have accused him of endeavouring to introduce in India the system of bestowing patronage brought at home to such perfection; and it is a fact that Anarkullee, the civil station of Lahore, has of late years become best known to the initiated by the familiar name of "Cozengunge." It is, however, far too easy to find fault; and the narrow limit of these pages may better be employed in chronicling results than in barren criticism. The administration of Sir Robert was marked by measures of improvement, steady and progressive. Finance, specially detailed to the supervision of Mr Donald Friell M'Leod, remained in a manner subject to the general control of the Lieutenant-Governor, and has amply proved the justice of the sanguine statements advanced during the early years succeeding Punjab annexation. Education has become not only

an essential qualification for those in search of place, but, more perhaps than anywhere in India, the distinctive mark of gentle blood. Some few years ago, Punjab chiefs made wellnigh boast of ignorance, pointing proudly, from the height of their descent, to native pundits and well-paid librarians, as those intrusted with the keeping of their rusty minds. But now all this has changed, and the better classes rival one another in munificent donations to scholastic institutions of all kinds. Neither have the material interests of the native population been neglected in this whirl of intellectual advancement. The progress of canal and road construction, introduced by Sir Henry Lawrence and Sir John, has not suffered interruption even of a day, and the several Doabs formed by the mighty rivers which collect the drainage of the Himalayas have steadily increased in the measure of their crops.

Under Providence all this has been effected by a pleasant-looking man of middle height, whose benign appearance militates against the known severity of his decisions. In him, regular attendance at divine service, audible repetition of the responses, and large participation in all missionary works, did not prove incompatible with, displace, or even mitigate, the readiness with which he had resort to capital punishment, or applauded a liberal use of rope by the junior members of his administration. This peculiar feature in a man so gifted as Sir Robert Montgomery has not escaped the keen observation of some previous writers; and Mr Martin quotes, in his 'Progress and Present State of British India,' a letter dated "Lahore, Sunday, 9 A.M.," wherein