

leisure as belongs to London office life. Education 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 well-known 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, Sir Charles Trevelyan could no longer hold himself, and solemnly recorded his insubordination.\* In the struggle that ensued, as usual the weak went to the wall, and Sir

\* To repair the financial disorder occasioned by the mutiny, Mr Wilson, the first financial member of the Viceroy's Council, proposed the following three new taxes for all India—Income-tax, licence tax on trades, and a duty on home-grown tobacco. Now, all these were inquisitorial taxes; that is, could not be collected without inquisitorial machinery, which militated against caste distinctions, and the veil that Orientals throw over all that passes at their own firesides.

Of the income-tax Lord Elphinstone, then Governor of Bombay, wrote as follows:—"Conceive a tax which requires 206 clauses, occupying 181 folio pages of print, which is apparently to be collected by a host of underpaid officials, who will probably take twice as much from the taxpayer as they will pay into the Treasury." From another not less authoritative source we quote with reference to the second of these measures, the "licence tax on trades," that "this tax would bring the Government into direct collision with every petty trader, shopkeeper, and artisan in British India whose net profits exceeded 5½ rupees a month—i.e., £6, 12s. a-year."

Thirdly, Sir Charles Trevelyan, than whom no one better knew the facts, has himself recorded, that "the tobacco-tax was still more open to objection. It must have been collected either by a universal excise, or a universal monopoly; and as tobacco is grown in every back garden, as cabbages are in England, the all-pervading inquisition necessary for the enforcement of such a tax may be more easily imagined than described."

In short, these three projected taxes, on which Sir Charles Trevelyan

Charles returned to England, in nominal 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.

was requested to record his views, were, in his opinion, certain to "cover the land with corruption and oppression."

The reply to these objections on his part to the introduction of these taxes in Madras, has been condensed as follows:—"The Government of India determined to impose the three taxes on its own responsibility, the Madras Government being merely expected to give effect to this decision, and to put down any opposition that might be offered; and it was intended by the Legislative Council to suspend the Standing Orders, which prescribed three months delay to admit of free discussion, and to refer the bills to committees, with instructions to report upon them in one month, in order that they might be finally disposed of and become law."

The sole remedy, to stay the hand of the Government Supreme, became publicity, and a consequent reference home. From this resort Sir Charles Trevelyan did not shrink; and he then "solemnly recorded his insubordination" in a minute, to which the only practical reply was his removal from the Government of Madras—a costly sacrifice to discipline, qualified, however, by the assurance, made public in a state paper signed by Sir Charles Wood, that, than Sir Charles Trevelyan, "no servant of the Crown had more earnestly endeavoured to carry out the great principles of government which were promulgated to the princes and people of India in her Majesty's gracious proclamation."

This concise but accurate statement of the facts which led to the recall of Sir Charles Trevelyan, is due not only to that statesman personally, but to history itself, which can now record that, after the three above objectionable sources of revenue had been removed by the united wisdom of Sir Charles Trevelyan, Lord Elgin, and Sir Charles Wood, to the great contentment of all classes of the native population, resort has again been had to two of them (income and licence tax) by the last appointed Chancellor of the Indian Exchequer, Mr Massey, for the purpose of covering an *estimated* deficiency for the current year of half a million sterling—a deficit which the wonted elasticity of Indian finance may very possibly have converted into a surplus when pay-day comes.

Thus it is that our Indian Government, the *personnel* of which is ever changing, works in a vicious circle, and finds its way back into familiar ruts and errors with the utmost self-complacency. Every two or three years some cause has as yet been found to remove an Indian Financial Councillor from Calcutta. Mr Wilson died, Mr Laing fell ill, and even the iron Sir Charles Trevelyan had had enough of it by the expiration of the fatal period. Some new man is on such occasions recruited from the benches of the House of Commons, and sent to India to raise an annual revenue of over £45,000,000 from a population

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. In 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 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

of whose habits, thoughts, and language he is totally ignorant. Little wonder if such men fall back naturally in the hour of need on sources of revenue with which they have been familiar at home ; and little wonder if Sir Charles Trevelyan, who was a grand exception, and *did* know India, deemed it a paramount duty, even at the risk of present embarrassment, to proceed at once to the selection of a sanitary capital, where white men could work for the benefit of their adopted country, without constant interruption from famine, pestilence, and sudden death.

to act in all things in conformity with the prescriptions of his 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, yet 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 anxiously 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 withstood. 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 Calcutta 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 render 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 for 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. Half-surrounded by the ocean, his north-eastern frontier was his only source of foreign wars and friendships. His 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 atmosphere 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. In 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

\* Since the above was written, Sir William Denison has exchanged the Government of Madras, with its thousand responsibilities and cares, for well-merited repose at home. A few months ago, he made over the burthen of the administration of the Presidency of Fort St George to Lord Napier, who had been appointed by the Queen as his successor. To this well-known diplomatist, whose reputation for ability, for extreme zeal, for restless energy, and for lofty aims, has been well earned in the Old World and the New, at Washington, the Hague, and Berlin, England must now look for any amelioration in the condition of at least one-third of her Eastern subjects

† The suburban retreat of the Governor of Fort St George, a few miles distant inland from the town of Madras, a roomy residence, surrounded by an extensive undulating deer-chase.

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 Malrattas 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 afloat 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 disqualified for absorption and amalgamation; and with few exceptions—such as the “Ferooz,” now become the Viceroy's yacht—those teak-built men-of-war are now reduced to guardship and to transport duty. Their service mostly lay in the Red Sea and Persian Gulf, and Mohammerah and Bate have proved that they were equal to perform

\* Beypore.

† Madras.

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 neighbouring coasts. Prominent amongst the reasons why such influence 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 Gulf Telegraph, which, after years of labour, the energy of Colonel Patrick Stewart succeeded in perfecting, only just in 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. This 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 lookers-on to breathe with greatest ease the atmosphere of war. 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 action. 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 a few telling lines by Mr Kaye.\* In 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 attention. Lord Elphinstone had been essentially a governor by birth; Sir George was one by education. His earliest honours had

\* 'History of the Sepoy War,' vol. i. p. 421.

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. He 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 by experience 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 Council, 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 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

\* Indications are not wanting to prove that the fulfilment of this design is now but a question of time. The recent famine, and especially the unpopularity of Sir Cecil Beadon, a civilian, have opened the eyes of the British public to the claims of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa to a stronger, more responsible, and more independent form of Government than they have enjoyed under the constitution granted them by Lord Dalhousie.

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 Calcutta 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.

\* Since the publication of the first edition of this work, this arrangement has actually been carried out so far as Singapore is concerned. The Straits Settlements, and the valuable coaling station of Labuan, are now ruled by a governor appointed by the Queen, on the recommendation of the Secretary of State for the Colonies, their military organisation being dependent on the Island Government of Ceylon.

## 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

\* This evil has since been remedied.

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 extraordinary 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 depend-

encies, 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 at-

\* This passage has been construed as unjust to the large masses of population, whose loyalty was sorely tried and nobly proved in 1857. It is a short sentence, however, and must be read and judged in its entirety. The loyal native was happily not a *rara avis*, but a loyal *representative* native was difficult to find. The rule of the Company had not been calculated to teach the native to seek redress for wrongs through constitutional machinery such as a mixed Council. Nor can this be considered as a grave indictment against the Company, for representative government was unknown in Asia, and its introduction by the Crown was an experiment that may—who knows?—not stand the test of time. It is not therefore surprising, or a reflection on the native character, to say that representative men, in a constitutional sense, were few and far between in 1861; neither was it a reflection upon a people in whose eyes the profession of bearing arms ranks so high, that such representative men as the mutiny had produced were not exactly those we might deem best fitted for a seat in Council. Men most successful with the sword are not always, nor indeed often, equally successful with the pen. Some few there were, indeed, like Maun Singh of Oude, a representative man in the highest sense of the word, to whom each party looked and trusted in its turn; yet his conviction of the beauty of our Raj was hardly known to be so deeply rooted as to warrant his selection. Still, such men as we wanted did exist—men of loyalty, learning, ability, rank, fortune; successful administrators of their own or their Sovereign's dominions; and such men Lord Canning at length found in the persons of Sir Dinkur Rao, the Maharaja Puttialla, and the Raja Deo Narain Singh of Benares.

tained 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 thus became 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 abstained 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 staunch 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 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 familiar 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 in a constitutional point of view, 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, which, though productive of some temporary embarrassment to his suc-

cessor, and the source of much inevitable gain to a class of small capitalists known as land-jobbers, have opened up the richest districts of our Eastern empire, under circumstances most favourable to European buyers, thereby assuring 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 Councils 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 Ser-



vice, whom literary distinction, and a critical intellect, well qualified for the 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 delibe-

rations. A fitter member, therefore, than Mr John Nutt Bullen, as President of the Calcutta Commerce Chamber, could not have been selected. In this Council natives have as yet 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

Landlords.

† Peasant.

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 taskmasters. 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 resignation 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

\* The Mirror of Indigo.

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 longstanding 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 recent famine in Orissa has served well to illustrate the astounding ignorance in England concerning India; and the result has been to heap upon the head of poor Sir Cecil Beadon an amount of popular indignation most unmerited. Sir Cecil Beadon was not Lieutenant-Governor of Orissa, but of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa,—of Bengal with its 34,000,000 inhabitants, spread over 177,000 square miles; of Behar, with its 2,500,000 inhabitants, spread over 6000 square miles; and of Orissa, with its 4,500,000 inhabitants, spread over 53,000 square miles—three distinct provinces, differing in race, climate, produce, and dialect; and only bound together under one administration from the accident of their simultaneous cession, by the Emperor of Delhi, to the East India Company, after Clive's defeat of Sooraj-oo-Dowlah at Plassy in 1757.

Now, Bengal Proper, with her export produce of rice, cotton, indigo, sugar, rum, saltpetre, lac, silk, opium, tea, coffee, and tobacco, of the value of over £12,000,000 annually—with her import trade of British goods of an annual value exceeding £9,000,000, and with her revenue of nearly £15,000,000—is the province which has earned for the Presidency of Bengal the title of "The Company's Milch Cow." Behar is the centre of that opium trade from which we derive, by a Government monopoly, a clear revenue of £8,000,000 annually; and it is besides distinguished for its manufactures of cottons, blankets, silk fabrics, carpets, tents, tapes, thread, ropes, paper, torches, glass, coarse jewellery, cut-

the conduct of a government of radical improvement, and under him nothing seemed to slumber or decay. Justice, education, docks, and drainage, public buildings, roads, and even theatres, all bore speedy witness

lery and hardware, turnery, leather and saddlery, shields, fabrics of horn, ornaments in lac, in glass, in gold and silver, and other metals, ink, soap, sugar, nitre, pottery, tiles and bricks. Ardent spirits are also distilled in large quantities, especially from mahua flowers. Perfumes are made from sangalwood, roses, and jasmine; and dyeing is largely practised.

Now, what of Orissa? The scanty notices which we have respecting this extensive tract represent it as consisting of a range of mountains, the continuation of the Eastern Ghauts. The climate is extremely sultry, the thermometer reaching  $115^{\circ}$  in the shade; and the very high temperature, acting on decayed vegetation saturated with moisture, is productive of deadly malaria, rendering the country one of the most unhealthy in India. Wild beasts abound—the wild elephant, the gayal (a huge bovine quadruped), the wild buffalo, nylgau, wild swine, monkey, tiger, leopard, bear, wolf, hyæna, jackal, fox, and wild dog. Venomous snakes infest every jungle and ravine. Motte, a traveller who visited the country late in the last century, mentions having seen near Sumbhulpore an immense snake worshipped as a deity, and alleged to be coeval with the world. Kittoe, who visited this locality in 1838, states that the snake was then still living, and able to enjoy the offerings of its votaries. The boa lurks in every jungle, and attains an enormous size. Scorpions and centipedes are also very numerous. Fish swarm in the streams and tanks, and form a considerable portion of the food of the population.

And now mark what records we have of the population itself. “The population is divided into four principal divisions:—1st, The Urias, who are Brahminists, and inhabit the plains and valleys towards the west; 2dly, The Coles, in the northern part, semi-barbarians, but not sunk in the lowest stage of savage brutality; 3dly, the Khoonds, in the middle of the country; and, 4thly, the Saurias in the south.”

These rude people fight with bows and arrows, slings, and battle-axes, and neither give nor take quarter. Their good qualities are said to be bravery and love of independence; but they are dreadfully vindictive and addicted to drunkenness. The god of the Earth is most revered by the Khoonds, who seek to propitiate him by the sacrifice of human victims, bought for the purpose from those who steal them from the neighbouring people. No Khoond is sacrificed, and no victim is held to be acceptable unless bought with a price. At the time appointed by the priests a feast is held, and, after two days and nights of drunken and obscene revelling, the victim is brought out and bound to a stake. Its limbs are then broken, and the priest having struck it with an axe, the crowd set upon it, and, crying aloud, “We have bought you with a price, no sin rests



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

on us," they hew the living body into pieces, each carrying away a morsel to throw upon the earth in some part of his ground. The number of these sacrifices was formerly very great. Macpherson states that he found seven victims held in readiness for immediate sacrifice in a valley two miles long and less than three-quarters of a mile broad. The British Government has made strenuous efforts to check the practice, but the Khoonds adhere to their sanguinary rite with dreadful pertinacity; and with unflinching ferocity defend the fastnesses where malaria would inevitably destroy an invading force. The Saurias are slaves to the same superstitions as the Khoonds, and are considered more savage and barbarous.

This is the people, vaguely estimated at 4,500,000, that the hand of God has recently smitten with a depopulating famine; and in their interest Sir Cecil Beadon was expected, by the ignorance of the British public, to absent himself from the administration of a population of 34,000,000 of the most peaceable and industrious human beings in the world. Among so inaccessible a people, it was, moreover, physically impossible to establish practical centres of relief; and this explains why the Government of India at the outset very properly declined to divert from charitable purposes at home the ready offerings of the British taxpayer.

Our wish is not, however, to lift from the shoulders of Sir Cecil Beadon the burden of responsibility which must attach to him for his management or mismanagement of the recent and appalling Indian famines, but to show that the wide sympathy expressed in England for starving Orissa was misplaced, and should rather have been bestowed on those crowded peaceful districts of Bengal and Behar, which likewise suffered by the famine to a mitigated extent, which Sir Cecil Beadon *did* personally visit, and where it *was* physically possible to feed the people and alleviate human suffering.

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 decisions. 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,

\* An official compilation of the old Statutes of Bengal, a work practically almost superseded by the mass of recent Indian legislation.

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 Nynce Tal and other stations in the Hills, beyond which again towers 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 circumstances. 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

ride 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 tributaries 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 farther ; 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 command 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 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 water-courses, 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 Mooltanec 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

\* Since the above was written, Sir John Lawrence has followed in the footsteps of his viceregal predecessors, Lord Canning and Lord Elgin, and has held a third grand durbar in the natural capital of Northern Hindostan. It is thus proved upon experience, that though Agra has been abandoned for the less imposing site of Allahabad, resort must still be had to her on occasions when Indian rulers deem it fitting to display their power to best advantage.

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 steelled 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