connected only by a triumph of engineering skill, the former by a succession of broken rocks or islands worn away through long ages by the break of the monsoon, known to geography as Adam's Bridge, and uniting the island to the main shore with the exception of a pass one hundred and fifty yards in width, dignified on charts by the appellation Paumben Channel, where at low tide, thanks to an expenditure of fifty thousand pounds, we have now succeeded in obtaining a depth of water of about thirteen feet. Other breaks and irregularities exist, it is true, in Adam's Bridge, but over many of them a boy could leap with ease; and geology has surmised that the interruptions in this natural causeway were originally the result of some slight terrestrial convulsion early in the fifteenth century.

The fact of the island of Ceylon being constituted independent of the Government of India, was no doubt mainly owing to the circumstances connected with its acquisition. The Portuguese established themselves there early in the sixteenth century, and were succeeded in the seventeenth by the Dutch, from whom the island was wrested by the British in the course of the wars resulting from the great French Revolution. Yet the conquered portions were confined to fortified points along the coast, and the King of Candy until quite recently ruled in the mountains of Newra Ellia. In former times Ceylon was mainly prized as a convenient point to touch for wood, water, and provisions; it boasted more than one good harbour, and was inhabited by a peace-seeking people who knew few wants. Its interests were Imperial, being bound up with those, not only of East India, but of China and the whole extensive Australasian group; and it was argued, that if made subordinate to the Governor-General, these interests might be farmed for

local ends which might not so well reconcile with general requirement. Lord Wellesley early saw the shortsightedness of such a view, and used his influence, though in vain, to counteract the claims to this pet island which the Colonial Office was advancing on the strength of its colonial antecedents. But at that period our Indian possessions had by no means formed themselves into the ring-fenced estate they now resemble. The process of consolidation had not indeed commenced, and conquest was still the order of the day. The Cingalese themselves, no doubt, have benefited by the course pursued. They have escaped all share in the vicissitudes of war, pestilence, and famine which waged beyond that narrow belt of sea. Neither have they been compelled to contribute towards the maintenance of Indian finance a quota corresponding to their wealth. As an independent colony, their taxation has been light and easy to be borne; and though the progress they have made in arts and agriculture has been small compared with that of Madras or British Burma, it has proved sufficient to satisfy the humble cravings of an unambitious race. A market for their pearls is all that they require, that a family may buy some five-and-twenty cocoas, and build beneath their shade a rude abode composed of sticks and matting—the trees themselves supplying all their wants; one tree, perchance, is hollowed out to form a rough canoe, by aid of which still more pearls and fish may be obtained; and with such treasures, and an iron pot or two, they contentedly eke out the burthen of their existence. Still Ceylon is not without drawbacks, mainly incidental to its independence. It has a civil service of its own, an ecclesiastical establishment both overgrown and overfed, and a mint, accompanied by all the ramifications of a fiscal system on a scale commensurate with

the necessities of Imperial shipping interests, but far exceeding those of the inhabitants themselves. One argument used in former days against the incorporation of Ceylon with British India was, that such a step would immediately be followed by granting to Trincomalee the patronage bestowed on Point de Galle: the latter undoubtedly the worst haven into which the shipping of the East habitually puts, and only maintained as lying handy at the extreme south of the island, so as to save each China and Australian ship some half-day's coal; the former styled by Nelson "the finest harbour in the world"—a reputation endorsed in the following words by one of the ablest navigators of our day:—"Almost entirely landlocked, the water is so deep that it is practicable to step from the shore on board the largest vessels moored alongside. During the north-east monsoon, when all ships on the Coromandel coast and in the Bengal Bay are compelled to put to sea, Trincomalee is their main place of refuge. The town," it is added, "well fortified by the Portuguese, may be considered as the military capital of Ceylon." Galle, on the other hand, is assailable both by land and sea, and annually submits to the appreciation of mankind a list of accidents and loss of life, so long, that nothing but the influence of Peninsular and Oriental Company directors and of the agents for Australian mails, combined with the ignorance of the general public and of the holders of East India stock,—nothing less than such a powerful combination of ignorance and wealth, could have preserved, beyond the middle of the nineteenth century, Galle harbour from its inevitable doom of utter and complete abandonment, and kept closed to trade for upwards of a hundred years "the finest haven in the world."*

* It is a noteworthy fact, that the so-called peninsula of Hindostan,

It so happens that public opinion in England concerning India is mostly formed by men whose paths have lain in Bombay or Bengal; for not only numerically speaking do they form a stronger phalanx than those who toil within the precincts of Madras, but the commercial and military ascendancy of the two northern Presidencies has tended to absorb the interest expressed in England for what relates to British India. Of these two Presidencies the servants of Bengal alone set eyes upon Ceylon, where they spend in transit some few hours, just sufficient to enable the more energetic to visit the so-called Cinnamon Gardens, and Wockwallee, in the immediate vicinity of Galle; and they are thus alone enabled to form an opinion worthy of the name, as based on personal observation. This opinion is palmed off upon their brethern of Bombay, by whom it is adopted, partly from deference to the superior wisdom of Bengal, partly from the fear of being bracketed perhaps with the benighted denizens of Fort St George, and most of all, no doubt, from the innate love, common to peoples as to individuals, of dissenting from the preconceived opinions of their nearest neighbour, when circumstances enable them to do so without incurring responsibility. To men thus fresh from Calcutta or from Europe, Ceylon's palm-clad coast affords a marked contrast to the Hoogly's

representing an area as large as Europe, should only possess four harbours worthy of the name along a coast-line of over thirty geographical degrees. These are Kurrachee, Bombay, Madras, and Calcutta; and of these it has been long questioned whether Kurrachee and the Hoogly River are not gradually silting up, while Madras is known by all to be but an open and too frequently tempestuous roadstead. Under these circumstances it should not afford matter for surprise or condemnation, when enterprising men or companies seek to make accessible to commerce favourable indentations in the coast, such as Sedashvegur, or some landlocked estuary, like the Mutlah, rendered daily deeper by the constant growth of mud deposit upon the neighbouring shoals.

muddy shores or Aden's scorching cinders, and they endorse in daily conversation the belief existent, that the island of Ceylon is distinct from continental India in language, manners, and religion; whilst the Anglican of Madras, who occupies, both from his minority and the accident of geographical position, the place of smallest interest and influence at home,—he alone can trace a similarity between the Cingalese and the southern races who occupy the lands beyond the Cauvery, from Tanjore to Cochin.

The fact is, Hindostan must be regarded as a continent, of which Ceylon forms but one component part. The mountain races to the north are rude-spoken and rough-mannered; as you travel south, they soften at once in character, language, and appearance. They are less martial, less fanatical, and more effeminate. The patois of the Hills gives place to the full-mouthed Punjabee languages, which are superseded in their turn by the more cultivated Mahratta and Hindee; and finally all give way to the softer sounds of Canarese and Tamil. These dialects again, as the coast is gradually approached, merge, through stages not always very clearly traceable, into Cingalese, which, when spoken in its purity, is peculiar to the island whence it takes its name, but when written and termed Pali is in general use in Burmese literature, and has much analogy with Malay and Siamese. Further, we are told that throughout Ceylon and Travancore, "gatherers of fruit," "drawers of toddy," or fermented sap from the palm, and low-caste fishermen called "Moognas," form a large proportion of the population; and again we have on high authority "that the Malabars of Ceylon and the Cingalese of Malabar are so closely allied in manners and religion, and both resemble in such degree their congeners of Southern India, as to form one

people, evidently descended from the posterity of Hashem, who was expelled by Mahomet from Arabia; and though Candy, from its isolated and inaccessible position at the summit of the Kadaganava Pass, still remains a stronghold of the Buddhist faith, yet little physiological importance should be attributed to a circumstance so local in its operation and accidental in its origin"—owing, as the priests themselves allow, to a very flying visit once paid that mountain by the divine Buddha, who condescended, we are told, to purchase the eternal sanctity of so beautiful an island, hitherto inhabited by demons, at the costly price of a holy tooth.

Thus race, language, manners, and religion seem to culminate in the most southern portion of the peninsula of Hindostan. There, within the space of two square degrees, are found living side by side, in friendly intercourse and commercial prosperity, representatives of every creed from Ghuznee to Juggernaut; and England, far from seeking to sink the nationality of Ceylon, and class her by the side of secondary insular possessions, ought on the contrary to cast her weight into the scales of British India, with whose destinies she must ever be inseparably associated. Their products are the same; and unfortunately there is but little difference in their climate. The same Eastern sun shines on both, and, recent experience has taught, with almost equal detriment to European life. The last two rulers of Ceylon have been brought to early graves by reason of the noxious influences there imbibed. Sir Henry Ward, it is true, succumbed to cholera a few days after his arrival in Madras. And that Presidency unjustly has his blood upon her hands; for no less surely did his labours at Colombo predispose him to the grasp of the disease than was the case with his successor, Sir Charles Macarthy,

who after lingering long, apparently unwilling to leave his work ere its completion, was finally compelled to ship himself for England, which he never lived to reach.

But interest in Ceylon has made us stray from the path prescribed, and Aden, with Perim, have claims on our attention that brook no further of delay. The acquisition of the former dates from 1849, when Captain Haines was authorised by the Government of India to demand redress for some indignities suffered by Mahomedans, under the protection of Bombay, bound upon a pilgrimage to Mecca. The local sultan was accordingly addressed, and his reply was of so insolent a nature as to provoke hostilities, which terminated in our acquisition of a town and seaport of Arabia Felix in the province of Yemen. "The geological formation of Aden is of pure igneous origin, the whole peninsula being little more than a huge mass of volcanic rock. Aden has been styled the eye of Yemen; it is certainly the key to the Red Sea from the south, its harbour being the finest in Arabia." Since the possession by Great Britain of this exhausted crater, vast sums have been lavished in the erection of fortifications, which render it no doubt impregnable, if not to any attack that might be made from the sea or the mainland, at least to any force the Arabs could collect. Indeed it has been said by competent authorities, that what Aden has most to fear in the event of war, is that its lofty walls might be brought down by the concussion caused by the discharge of its own artillery. Such as it is, however, Aden is governed by a military Resident appointed from Bombay. The wonders of the tanks, by means of which the rain that falls once in three years or so is carefully preserved for the use of the inhabitants, are too well known to need description here. They have been supposed to be of

Roman origin, and their excavation is mainly due to the energy displayed by Captain Playfair, now her Majesty's Consul at Zanzibar, who, being left long in charge, spared nothing, and money least of all, in the successful execution of this work.

The island of Perim is dependent upon the peninsula of Aden, being situated in the centre of the Strait of Bab-el-Manbeb. It is small, flat, arid, and worthless; and the meagre company, detached from the garrison of Aden for its defence, would be of less value to serve the guns commanding the narrow entrance to the Red Sea, than they actually are as a security for the burning of the light watched for with anxiety by every pilot as he nears that channel. The blustering menace expressed by France at the date of our attachment of the island of Perim, was so much capital expended on an unremunerative object. It has since become palpable to all that for offensive purposes Perim is powerless; while its defence could not be maintained in so isolated a position without a force vastly superior to its strategic value. Perim is not a fortress, but a light-station; and the eloquence of France, and the threats of her colonels, have failed to construe the encouragement of commerce into an act of political aggression.

CHAPTER IX.

THE MILITARY DEPARTMENT.

In previous chapters some space has necessarily been devoted to military deeds and men, but without encroaching on the place reserved for notice of the profession whose history they adorn; for in the East a soldier's duties cannot be kept within the limits of camp life, and the force of his example extends far beyond the small circumference whence his watch-fires may be seen. Half a century ago the duties of an Indian soldier to the English Crown embraced even wider fields of action than is the case to-day. Less liable to barren criticism, a broader scope was left for the unembarrassed exercise of character and genius; and while it was impossible for a commander to shield himself from the responsibility attaching to his office by endless reference to headquarters, no general could be blind to the fact that the prestige of the blood shed by Clive and Warren Hastings might easily be sacrificed in one campaign. Thus place and power then really went together, and each conveyed some sense of its responsibility to him who held it, by force of actual fact, and not by reason of the fear of having tardy tactics watched with ill-disguised impatience, and military distances measured upon the Horse Guards' maps

by the light of letters from a correspondent of the 'Times.'

A combination of the difficulties of both these positions may be said, however, to have been embraced in Lord Clyde's Indian career. He, perhaps, more than any of his predecessors, might feel that one day's insuccess, or even doubtful gain, would more than neutralise the prolonged victory of a century; and he moreover entered on his duties at a moment when national anxiety for India in England had reached its highest pitch, and when each British tax-payer considered that his status as a free-born Briton, not less than parental fondness for a younger son who had perchance embraced an Eastern life, entitled him to know the programme of reconquest. Sense of responsibility is of two kinds — legitimate, for the ultimate result of the interests at stake; and illegitimate, for fear of the discredit entailed by failure. Both of these Lord Clyde might well experience. He had been essentially the soldier of good fortune, who, raised to high command by past successes dearly won at the hands of worthy enemies, might not unnaturally be supposed to shrink from the possibility of dulling in some Indian fight the lustre of a long life's achievements. Besides, though suffering less than many from a morbid consciousness of the magnitude of the game he played, he yet possessed a full and healthy knowledge of the heavy liability incurred, by one who led the vengeful hosts which England had sent out, to buy back with still more blood a land already reddened by the sword. To this just appreciation of his own position, Lord Clyde's good fortune further added the not inconsiderable advantage of having to narrate his doings in the East the pen of Dr Russell, who, from long familiarity with both the pains and pleasures of campaigning, knew how to

keep the British public satisfied with accurate details, without assuming, as he might, the easier part of censor and reformer. Finally, the condition of events was such as to leave Lord Clyde more untrammelled than any General in the field since the era of the first Napoleon. The Indian telegraph by sea was not then laid, while that by land was everywhere destroyed or in the enemy's hands; he had at his beck and call men devoted to himself by past association, and in Sir William Mansfield he, first alone, but later joined by all the military world, recognised the ablest soldier of our time.

But it is not our intention to emulate the zeal of octogenarian heroes, who never tire of fighting well-fought battles yet once more. Too many books have helped to cast an insufficient light upon the acts in which their authors played at best a poor third part; and we must rest content with the attempt to trace some faint outline of the relative positions occupied by soldier and civilian—showing how each now wears the other's mask, how the civilian of an earlier day, having the command of soldiery, was martial to excess, while now that the rupees he monthly earns are owing to success in arms alone, but little love is lost between the services.

This mutual jealousy has constantly afforded cause for scandal, and not unfrequently produced results most baneful to the public interests. Formerly, in times of great excitement, or when some long-pending measure required immediate carrying-out, the difficulty was often met by joining in one man's hands the reins of military and civil rule. The biography of Lord Cornwallis affords more than one example of such a combination, necessary at the time, but invariably dissolved when the necessity had passed away. But when two men of equal ambition

and genius for usurping every field of action meet on the theatre of Indian life, difficulty invariably ensues. The last instance of such difficulty, growing from a mere personal feeling of dislike, or what Sir Cresswell Cresswell might have termed "incompatibility of temper," into a public animosity, such as to make it impossible for civil and military authorities to work in double harness, occurred in Lord Dalhousie's time, when Sir Charles Napier, rendered the weaker vessel by reason of the glowing administrative successes of the Governor-General, was shattered in the contest and recalled.

A much-abetting cause of these dissensions doubtless may be found in the constitution of what are termed the "Civil Regiments." These consist of corps enrolled rather for political reasons than as arms of Imperial warfare or defence, and as such they are subject to the sole control of the Governor-General, to the exclusion of the authority of the Commander-in-Chief. As vacancies occur, Queen's officers are appointed to them by the Viceroy, with the sanction of the Commander-in-Chief; and these appointments being highly paid, and affording special opportunities for distinction, are much coveted, and constitute a valuable branch of patronage. The "Punjab Irregular Force," * raised in 1849, ranks first

* "Perhaps the most celebrated of these local independent armies still existing, is that called the Punjab Irregular Force. It is just, however, at once to state, that although it may be open to criticism, as being removed from the control of the highest military authority, as a fighting body its deeds have ever shown it to be thoroughly well manned, and admirably led. This force appears to have been originally raised in 1849. It now consists of six field and mountain batteries, and of five cavalry and twelve infantry regiments, the whole amounting to upwards of 10,000 men. It is composed entirely of native troops, and is recruited on the frontier, and from the very Pathan races of whom an account has just been given The great majority of men in the ranks are from the districts within the border, though there are also many from the neighbouring mountains, the one set of men being hardly dis-

among these troops for efficiency and importance, being composed of horse and foot and guns; and since 1857 it has earned for itself an honourable place in the military history of India, beneath the iron hand and silken glove of Brigadier-General Neville Chamberlain, an officer whose daring and ambition found an ample field in the belt of country known as the Derajat, that separates the river Indus from the frontiers of Cabul. Many other corps belong to the list of "Civil Regiments;" the duty of some of them lies in obedience to the commands of the Resident at Hyderabad, and some receive their orders through the Agents to the Governor-General at Indore or Mount Aboo. Some are still more local in their character, like the Mhair-warrah battalion; and the special service of others, like the Viceroy's body-guard, and that of the Resident at Nipal, consists in the performance of perpetual escort-duty. There is, however, no necessity to name or number these personal and local military bodies. They all differ in externals; some are clothed in scarlet and gold, with jack-boots and plumed head-gear; others wear the dust-coloured khakee uni-

tinguishable from the other. The regiments and batteries of the Punjab Force are thinly distributed, at various isolated stations, for hundreds of miles along the north-west frontier, and are provided with means of conveyance and accessories, so as to be ready for immediate movement. The officers are carefully selected, and the whole force is full of martial spirit. The regiments look upon the neighbouring mountains as their hereditary fighting-ground, much in the same way that the border tribes regard the plains as their legitimate field for plunder."

Such is the account of the Punjab Irregular Force given by Colonel John Adye, C.B., of the Royal Artillery, in his very soldier-like narrative of 'Sitana, or a Mountain Campaign on the Borders of Affghanistan,' and this in a chapter devoted to the defects of the "Civil Regiments" system. The military jealousy that exists in India of this force, which occupies, as Colonel Adye himself tells us, the post of honour of to-day in Hindostan, is a remarkable illustration of the tendency engendered by amalgamation, to absorb or exterminate every Indian Service, on land or water, possessed of special qualifications for the performance of a local and a very special duty.

form and turban peculiar to the native infantry, and prefer to remove their European ammunition-boots before proceeding on a march ;* yet, though distinct in outward show, they have the fact in common, that all of them wear swords, which one and all know full well when, and for whom, to draw. Though the anomaly of this system is no doubt very great, it has hitherto been found practically to work well, and has proved itself of almost priceless value in these days, when so much of the real power of a Governor-General has been laid low—first by the creation of powerful subordinate administrations, and secondly by the system of increased subservience to home, even in matters of minute detail, such as the granting of a paltry annual pension ;†—thus rendering it doubly necessary that the office of Viceroy should be clothed with martial attributes, and all the outward pomp and circumstance of an Eastern Court.

With men of the stamp of the Governor-General who annexed the Punjab, and of the Commander-in-Chief who conquered Scinde, it was not unnatural that difficulty should have arisen ; but Lord Canning, at the outset of the Indian Mutiny, had for Chief Commander a man of the heroic caste, who, had he lived, might by the force of his prompt action have crushed in its first infancy the wide-spreading conflagration. But the sudden illness of a few days closed the life of General Anson, and he died in Northern India, on the very day our

* The almost invariable custom of native soldiery.

† The statesman in whom Her Majesty and Her Majesty's Government repose sufficient confidence to appoint him lord and master over 180,000,000 human beings, with power of life and death, for a recognised term of four years, is, by some quaint paradox, on which Macaulay's New Zealander may have cause to ruminate, not intrusted with the power of conferring upon a deserving native a Government pension of some £15 per annum, without due reference to, and the approval of, a "man in Westminster.'

countrymen exchanged the line of their intrenchments at Cawnpore, for the river-boats so treacherously provided for them by the Nana of infamous repute. Thus Lord Canning lost the services of one above jealousy like himself, and for a time was left alone to battle with events.

Then it was that Sir Colin Campbell, the first and last Lord Clyde, appeared upon the scene, bringing with him in his train a host of junior commanders, whose personal confidence he had acquired in what Mr Kinglake calls Crim Tartary. Yet a little, and Fort St George sent a representative in the person of Colonel Neill, while Sir James Outram, having put a hurried termination to the Persian war, hastened up from Bombay Presidency. Troops now poured in from every side, and every nerve was strung in expectation. The brigade of the "Shannon," and the other troops diverted by Lord Elgin from the second Chinese war, played their part right nobly in the struggle Lord Clyde, however, from the first set his hard face rigidly against advance, reserving his whole forces for defensive operations, until the white troops at his command should number seventy thousand souls. Many have since questioned the wisdom and necessity of such a resolution, and, *ex post facto* arguments being of special ease in application, it has not proved difficult to spread a crude belief that Lord Clyde might have done his work with less; and that even had he failed, though England might have lost some prestige in the East, she would at least have been relieved from the necessity of sending half her army to a distant sepulchre. Yet these criticisms are of little value, either for purposes of history, or to enable one to form an approximate appreciation of Lord Clyde as a soldier. He came rapidly from England, and formed a just decision

from the first. From this decision he never swerved by the width of a camel's hair. He was obstinate, he had his own way, fought his battles on spots selected by himself, and brought us through a doubtful crisis in our destiny without a moment's hesitation, and with success impossible to controvert.

The rebellion thus subdued, Lord Canning could afford to cast an anxious eye around, and see how much was gone, and what remained of former institutions. The first grand conclusion at which he speedily arrived, and which when taught by him soon found a general acceptance, was, that India, though reconquered by the sword, should now be ruled alone by legislation. Yet many a brigadier who holds command at some up-country station, still clings with moribund tenacity to the style quoted in 'Cawnpore,' by Mr George Trevelyan — a style remarkable for inhumanity, and boasting little force but that derived from bare alliteration: "Peafowl, partridges, and pandies, rose together—the latter," it is added, "affording the best sport." It is to be regretted that the class of thought to which such writing owes its origin still boasts of numerous advocates in our Anglo-Indian army; yet thrice happy is it that the practice of the human race divine to trim its sails by the prevailing breeze, whichever way it blows, is strong enough to modify the mischief; and hence, so long as wise discretion is displayed in the selection of officers for high command, for staff employ, and civil situations, no general impression adverse to our interests can be produced upon the masses of Indian population by the unchristian language of the few.

When Lord Clyde left India, a short military reign devolved upon Sir Patrick Grant, the then senior General commanding; and he was soon succeeded by a name

wellnigh synonymous with success. The career of Lieutenant-General Sir Hugh Rose* has been too lately laid before the public in a fascinating form by Major Mallison to call for any biographical detail. But queries, perhaps, it may not be deemed presumptuous to put, in order that the picture of this great man may form a pleasing object for the eye to dwell on, as perfect both in light and shade. If we would, therefore, criticise Sir Hugh's career, we might be tempted to dwell less leniently upon the amiable defects in which his character abounds—defects glossed over even by a hypercritical Review as casting the tenor of his life within a mould better fitting the past century than the present day. Again, some say that personal friendship may be carried to excess; and the enemies of Sir Hugh delight in pointing at many of his omissions and commissions as the results of causes certainly not professional. But these are personal questions, and of little import when compared with the administrative reforms which mark this period; for it is denied by none, that throughout four years of peace Sir Hugh devoted his considerable genius, and an activity that knows no bounds, mainly to improving the condition of our Indian army, by each and every device that could occur to an ever-thoughtful brain. Prominent among these ranks the grand experiment of regimental workshops, where the private soldier may spend profitably some hours each day, otherwise probably devoted to pernicious sleep, or to still more baneful idleness awake, in the construction of small articles either for his personal use or for sale in the bazaars, thereby enhancing the modest revenue from which the better class contrives to set aside a fund against some rainy day.

The sanitary condition of British troops in India has,

* Now Lord Strathnairn.

however, received of late a liberal measure of attention from the English public. The statistics furnished by Mr Strachey and Sir Sydney Cotton, contrasted with reports supplied by various departmental heads, have now afforded upwards of one year's study to those who can devote some time and consideration to the task of criticising and comparing compound sums like these, containing elements that assume a widely different aspect when seen from one or other point of view.

The fact is, white life in India has become so costly of importation and of maintenance, that the ablest minds have racked their ingenuity in endeavours to lay down conditions for its preservation at once humane and economical. Thus various dogmas have been promulgated, asserting that a length of service varying from five to ten years might be looked for from each white soldier transplanted to Calcutta at a cost of £90; and when Lord Clyde reached India the financial question had attained its zenith. A country then in debt, had to be recovered by expending money raised with difficulty at six per cent. Some there were who ventured to predict that, even if recovered, India would henceforth have lost its fascination as a mercantile investment; and Threadneedle Street eyed with doubt and hesitation the opening of loans, although secured by Government, for sums which far surpassed what some supposed the value of the stake. The funds were ultimately raised, however, and fifty thousand men were sent to India in six months. Though India was thus saved to us, she had to bear the debt incurred; and little wonder if Lord Clyde's successor, as Sir Hugh Rose may almost be called, felt his first care in time of peace to be the preservation of white life.

The tables framed by various statisticians have so differed, as to complicate the question of mortality and

sickness in India, as compared with corresponding entries laid before the House of Commons from other portions of Great Britain and her colonies; and the result has been, first to mislead those who sought with difficulty for truth, and secondly to discourage all who might have wished to understand what climate can effect when brought to bear on military immigration. As has been said, Sir Sydney Cotton, Mr Strachey, and others possessed of equal claims to our attention, have presented to the thinking world reports so differing as to preclude a true comparison on which to base a radical improvement. In the face of all these complications, Sir Hugh Rose adopted, when in India, the only course consistent with his own experience; and sought by zeal, and what approached to omnipresence, to counteract the harm of theories opposed or practical neglect. Often at Murree or Nynee-tal he might be heard of as arriving; yet ere the small and mixed community had decided on the mode of his reception, it would suddenly be known that he had reached Delhi or Mean Meer,* where cholera had appeared. Few could overtake or even trace him on these rapid marches. Correspondents of the press were almost invariably at fault. His Excellency might be reported on his road to seek a moment's respite from the toils of office at Simla or Mount Aboo; but only Colonel Haythorne and his satellites of the Adjutant or Quartermaster General's Department might know, that, with a chosen Staff, he at that moment was riding hard towards the valley of the Indus or the Ganges, where his troops were sickening in inaction, and needed the reviving presence of their Chief Commander.

Those whose knowledge of Sir Hugh has been confined to passing visits paid to Barnescourt or Mahasoo, where

* The military station of Lahore.

he was wont to spend some shady weeks each year, stolen from the arduous cares of Indian office, and who but saw him reclining on a mossy bank ten thousand feet above the level of the sea, beneath the shade of cedars trained by the artistic hands of Mr. Courtenay and Lord William Hay, could ill suppose that so refined, almost effeminate, an exterior contained a mind remarkable for ardent enterprise and great strategic combinations. The easy flowing life and many pleasures of an Indian sanitarium were but bright oases in the daily drudgery he for years performed at cost of health and strength; and the real light in which Sir Hugh appeared the most at home, was amid the gleam of hostile hosts, or the darker shades of tented hospitals. Essentially a soldier, the country now possesses the combined advantage of his vigour in a field where much lies in active military prevention, and of knowing that in peaceful India his successor, not one whit less the soldier, brings ripe statesmanship, and a still rarer knowledge of finance, to the solution of those mixed equations where the letter x is still affixed to men and money, as unknown quantities yet to be adjusted."

* The Simla Court Martial, with all its scandalous publicity, has provoked so much unjust criticism of Sir William Mansfield's share in that transaction, as to render it desirable that the simple story should be told by the pen of an unprejudiced civilian.

Captain Jervis was accused of misappropriating to his own use the household stores of the Commander in Chief, of which he, Captain Jervis, as household aide de camp, had the custody This charge Captain Jervis repelled with an excess of indignation amounting, in the opinion of the Commander in-Chief, to insubordination.

These facts becoming, unfortunately, publicly known to the gossiping society of Simla, the case rapidly became the leading topic of conversation in every mess-room and barrack-yard throughout the length and breadth of India.

Under these circumstances the Commander-in-Chief, as custodian of the discipline of Her Majesty's forces, had but one course open to him—a course equally demanded by the interest of the public service, and by regard for the reputation of Captain Jervis as an officer and a gentle-

The changes lately made in the Indian military world have been so numerous and important, as to constitute the dawn of a new era in its history. Not only have different and opposite systems of administration succeeded

man,—that of affording to Captain Jervis an opportunity of clearing himself from such grave imputations.

Now came Sir William Mansfield's first difficulty. Two modes of trial were suggested to the Commander-in-Chief by the Advocate-General's department—a court-martial, and a civil tribunal. Trial by court-martial had the disadvantage of placing the control of the proceedings in the hands of the prosecutor, the Commander-in-Chief; while, on the other hand, citation before a civil tribunal, on the only charge of which a civil tribunal was capable of taking cognisance, misappropriation, could but, we think it will be allowed, have tended to augment the scandal.

At any rate, this latter was the view taken by the Commander-in-Chief, and a court-martial accordingly sat at Simla, as the most convenient spot, owing to the actual committal there of the offences, and to the presence of some distinguished officers in search of health. To these were added some field-officers from the sultry plains, who brought to bear on the discussion other arguments than those that had been hotly canvassed on the Mall at Simla for the six preceding weeks.

The purely military offence of insubordination was not one to detain a court, and it was speedily disposed of as against the accused. If a like promptness was not shown in disposing of the original count of misappropriation, it was not a little owing to the latitude granted by the Court and the Commander-in-Chief to the accused in preparing his defence and citing witnesses.

After much delay, however, the result arrived at was as follows:—The Court acquitted Captain Jervis of the first grave charge, but sentenced him to dismissal from the service as guilty of the second, recommending him to the mercy of the Commander-in-Chief. Here, then, was the second difficulty for Sir William Mansfield. Could he, as Commander-in-Chief, in a case of unexampled publicity, nullify the long and costly proceedings of a court-martial in favour of his own household aide-de-camp? Had it been the aide-de-camp of any of his Major-Generals of Division, it would have been impossible for him to do so; for if Staff employ confers tangible advantages and privileges, it also entails on the recipients of such favours a greater responsibility for their personal behaviour than mere regimental duties do, since it is to them young subalterns on joining look for patterns for their future guidance. How much stronger, then, was the case in point? And let those who question the propriety of Sir William Mansfield's conduct ask themselves where the discipline of the army would have been, if the Commander-in-Chief had remitted punishments formally awarded by a court-martial, in the case of a member of his own personal Staff?

Setting aside, however, the merits of the case and the justice of the

one another with a rapidity rarely seen before upon so large a scale; not only has advance in science introduced organic changes subversive of almost every preconceived opinion, and pregnant with unnumbered theories in the arts of war; not only has the march of education, which in its infancy has proved that with natives as ourselves a little knowledge is a dangerous thing, steadily progressed, until its ripening buds burst forth and bore the fruits of confidence restored; but the individual agents of all these transformations have, from one cause or other, disappeared from those scenes wherein they played so prominent a part. Lord Clyde, Sir James Outram, Neill, Havelock, Nicholson, Sir Henry Lawrence, and too many more, have been gathered to their fathers. Sir Patrick Grant, Sir Sydney Cotton, and some others, have retired to well-earned rest at home; while Sir Hugh Rose, Sir Hope Grant, and a chosen few, now occupy some of the highest military offices within the British Isles. On the other hand, Sir William Mansfield has not disappointed the high hopes formed of him when chief of Lord Clyde's Staff, but has succeeded in his turn to the sword and mantle of his former master; while Sir Robert Napier, the Bayard of the Punjab, has found, first as military member of the Viceroy's Council, and later as Chief Commander in Bombay, ample scope for the exercise of his great ability and zeal. Thus in a brief survey of the

sentence, this *cause célèbre* is valuable to the student of Anglo-Indian life as illustrative of its personal, scandalous, and often flagitious character; and the detractors of Sir Hugh Rose and Sir William Mansfield will find, upon examination, that the Crawley court-martial, and the Burney trial, though disagreeable episodes in the annals of our martial history, were not less outbreaks of a social epidemic, and, as such, beyond the control of the Commander-in-Chief in India in times of peace, than was the case of Captain Jervis the result of causes inherent to Anglo-Indian society, and non-dependent on the hands that held the reins of military law.

characters brought into historical prominence by the events of 1857, Sir William Mansfield, Sir Robert Napier, and one other name, stand forth almost alone as still fighting India's battles with accustomed obstinacy and success. The third name is that of Colonel Norman, who understands, better perhaps than any one, the intricate mazes of amalgamation. Upon his shoulders has devolved the adjusting of incomprehensible accounts, and claims opposed. His brain alone seemed large enough to contain without confusion the cadres of upwards of a hundred corps, with military furlough regulations and retirements old and new, the whole surmounted and embarrassed by that royal warrant, dated January 16, 1861, to which England owes the somewhat rash formation of its hybrid Staff Corps.*

But let us leave the heads of action, and dwell a moment on the comparatively subordinate officers, who were mainly instrumental in carrying out the countless changes they, each day more and more bewildered, read of in army general orders. A divisional command in India is singularly well calculated to embarrass one who, without experience of local facts, should undertake its charge. Yet reference to recent Indian army lists will show, that the combined agency of the Horse Guards and the India Office has had for one of its results to place some names upon the roll of Generals of Division in satisfaction of claims not merely local. From this roll two major-generals have elected to follow the fortunes of Sir Hugh Rose to England and across St George's Channel: their names are Lord George Paget and Major-General Thurlow Cunyghame. For the appointment which has devolved upon the former, a fitter man could not have been selected; and it is no disparagement to

* See note to page 23.

add that, as Inspector-General of Cavalry, he has passed into a more congenial field of work, and one for which his genius better recommends him, than it did for the Sirhind command of troops, with whose drill and language he could boast of little previous acquaintance. His stay in India was short, however, and but a passing though unpleasant dream to Indian soldiers who had borne the heat and burden of the day; and he has now been permitted to exchange a sphere of almost forced inaction, for a post of high responsibility that he is admirably qualified to fill. The latter's term of Indian service was marked by none of the characteristics above mentioned. General Cunyghame fought his way to high preferment in fields beyond the Sutlej, and was long officially connected with one of England's military Governor-Generals of India. Upon him reposed successively the divisional commands of Mooltan and Lahore; and we only see in his transfer to Dublin a much-envied post conferred upon a much-deserving officer. Of others who have rendered good service throughout a long career, we may here briefly mention Sir John Garvock and the late Major-General Showers, both of whom owed ultimate promotion to the Presidency and Peshawur commands, more to years, than patronage, or the performance of great military miracles.

Yet as the earth's crust hardens by the unseen effect of time, so gradually pass away the opportunities and the necessity for feats of arms. Few military incidents of modern days, if we except the defence of Kars and the deeds of Hodson's Horse, are of such a character as to stamp their actors' names on the records of our history; and, practically, the utmost that authorities can be required to do is, to select such persons for the performance of a certain class of duties as may reasonably

be supposed competent to discharge them by force of professional experience. Yet we find that when some cause removes an officer from command, the choice of his successor is made in different ways by different men. A timid general often seeks to shield his personal responsibility by a blind endorsement of the praise awarded by his predecessor, the importance of which praise is, however, much diminished by the fact, that too many writers of military despatches deem it incumbent on them in all cases to record appreciation of several members of their general staff, and half the number of field-officers engaged, recommending a very large proportion for promotion or the Bath, and not unfrequently concluding with the used-up phrase, that where all are so deserving it is invidious to make distinctions. It is this method of despatch-writing which proves in modern days the greatest bar to the discernment of true military merit; and very much is to be said in favour of the system of filling up a vacancy from personal knowledge of the officer himself, thus assuming all responsibility, and risking the aspersions of a greedy and place-hunting multitude. Lord Clyde's Indian appointments were generally made in accordance with the principle laid down in time of need by all the greatest captains of the world. Sir Hugh Rose, succeeding to a time of peace, pursued a different course, and, in the absence of heroic exploits, often framed the roll of his promotions upon past records, easy in their application to those whom he himself preferred. Yet when all is told, Indian military patronage is so hedged in by reference to home, and the necessity of concurrence with the Governor-General in Council, as not only almost to exclude the possibility of pushing favouritism to a serious fault, but rather to confine a Chief Commander's choice within limits too

restricted for the reward of genius or the true requirements of each case.

Explanatory of this assertion, which may at first appear easy of disproval, an instance may be cited that, but for sake of argument, might well perhaps have passed unnoticed. Sir Hugh Rose had selected a young subaltern to conduct the office of his military secretary—a place in which it obviously is of the first importance that a General on active service should possess the man who suits him personally best in the discharge of confidential business. His choice had fallen on Captain, then Lieutenant, Burne, whose ability and tact alike it was impossible to impugn. Yet the Horse Guards held the post was one demanding a field-officer, who, while drawing higher pay and military allowances, is also entitled by his rank to partial aid in the maintenance of a stud at Government expense—advantages that are denied to subalterns not unfrequently superior in years and understanding, and that, taken by themselves, are certainly no crucial test of merit. The exception, however, that the Horse Guards took to the proposed appointment, though it ousted and retarded for a while a most deserving officer, was in this instance but a source of personal hardship to Lieutenant Burne; for the field-officer replacing him was Lieutenant-Colonel Sarel, whose attainments as a linguist, a soldier, and a man of business, would have rendered him an acquisition to the staff of any army in the world. But to discuss at any length the individual merits of recent nominations falls not within our province. Such a task would be at once too comprehensive and invidious for a civilian to undertake; yet a host of names must rise instinctively to the lips of any one acquainted even partially with our Anglo-Indian armies, and some of them must find utterance every now and

then in illustration of views expressed. Some there are whose services are too prominent to be passed over in sheer silence; and there are those whose services, though not less brilliant in themselves, call for observation as having heretofore been less prominently recorded. On one point, moreover, a civilian may perhaps be left unshackled by the wholesome knowledge of his technical ignorance of military discipline, and express appreciation of a now restricted class of officers of whom but little is generally known. As a type of these heroes, whose fame has been obscured without being dulled by the passing clouds of mutiny, and who, from the circumstances of their position, were so surrounded by temptation that it is indeed a miracle, considering the prejudices then existing both on their sides and our own, that any of their number proved faithful to the Queen, it behoves us here to mention, in terms of high respect and admiration, the name of Ressaldar Sirdar Bahadoor Mahomed Buksh Khan. The services of this officer date from the Affghan war; and both in the earning and the wearing of the Ghuznee medal, and the clasps for Moodki, Aliwal, Sobraon, and Ferozeshah, he has ever shone conspicuous for courage and fidelity. As native Aide-de-Camp he has now served upon the Staff of several successive Governors-General of India; and Colonels Blane or Bowie, and all who served with him, will willingly bear evidence to the value of his precept and example. Our Indian armies, as at present constituted, afford but few openings to native officers of advancement to anything approaching high military distinction; and it should be the aim of every man in India, with patronage at his disposal, to seek out and discover those of this numerous band whose obscurity, if such it can be called, is essen-

tially the result of their misfortunes, and endeavour to apply the remedy of fitting place to improve their hard position.

The day must come when some yet hidden cause will operate in the reduction of our British force in India. It cannot be supposed that England will for ever be content to stop in silence the gaps which each year makes in the more than seventy European regiments there maintained. Neither can it be supposed that, when the memory of recent struggles shall have grown remote, or been succeeded by events nearer to our homes, the House of Commons will willingly expend so large a portion of the Indian revenues on measures of precaution; while it may be questioned whether even Dr Cumming would venture to predict so speedy an approach of everlasting peace throughout the continents now most advanced in civilisation and the arts of war, as to warrant the conclusion that a large proportion of our Anglo-Indian forces may not some day be sorely needed in another quarter of the globe. With the prospect of such an inevitable future, though how far distant none can tell, it surely would be little less than folly on the part of those in power to blind themselves to such eventualities; and, on the contrary, it should be their aim to use these years of peace and calm security in gathering a chosen nucleus of well-proportioned native weapons of defence. The elements of danger have been discovered, and may henceforth be avoided with some degree of certainty. The completion of our railroad system will render thirty thousand English troops in India sufficiently omnipresent for all practical purposes of aid where aid may be required; and although we may forget as victors the events of 1857, the recollection of the bloody lesson

then learnt, by ill-starred Hindoos and Mahomedans alike, will not so soon be lost to native hearts and minds.

With the existing conditions of to-day, the English troops that were in India in 1857 before the mutiny broke forth would not only have been sufficient to guarantee the life and property then sacrificed, but even might have proved unnecessarily numerous. Strategic points, magazines, and arsenals, in European hands, added to the lever of native legislation and our increased commercial interests in common, afford together an array of power surpassing our requirements, and ill comparable with the facts that led to the rebellion.* The truth of this assertion is happily so patent as to render argument superfluous; and in concluding this disjointed picture of the fabric of our military ascendancy in India, we may without presumption express blind confidence in the stability of our rule from the Himalayas to the sea, so long as the balance of power established by the long-suffering treaties of 1815 remains unchanged in Europe. From natives we have naught to fear; with them we maintain a debtor and a creditor account, and to them our paramount duty is, honestly to pay the interest long since fallen into foul arrears, and due on borrowed land. The last sun of our sword-rule has set on Hindostan; her fruitful plains no longer lie at the tender mercies of hungry martial younger sons; her woods are cleared,

* To this array of mechanical power in the hands of the executive, may be added such administrative measures as the settlement of the Inam question, whereby upwards of 300,000 small landed proprietors in the Madras Presidency have been converted from a state of insecurity, which made them the habitual prey of corrupt native officers, into the highest description of freehold tenure—a conversion which alone, according to an ex-Governor of Madras, is worth half-a-dozen regiments.

and jungles drained, and have become vast fields for raising crops of indigo and cotton, farmed, 'tis true, by dint of English energy, but on fair payment of a rent which, while it leaves a large and profitable margin to the tenant, is high enough to guarantee undisturbed possession, so long as all conditions of our permanent lease are punctually fulfilled.

CHAPTER X.

FINANCE AND PUBLIC WORKS.

THE word "Finance" must here be read as having mainly reference to Revenue, Expenditure being represented by "Public Works," a department that of itself admits of a division into at least two distinct classifications—those works which are remunerative, and those which are the contrary. These may be regarded as natural foes, each ever opening its greedy mouth to swallow up the lion's share of our cash balances; and one of the most delicate tasks devolving on an Indian Chancellor of the Exchequer, is the steerage of his financial bark between this Scylla and Charybdis, in such a manner that the public should not give tongue and follow with a hue-and-cry each sum allotted to the one or other, nor raise its angry voice against imagined misappropriation.

It is not, however, at all times a very easy matter to discover to which class a given work may appertain. It frequently changes character more than once in course of progress; and an undertaking designed for raising revenue may actually prove an encumbrance to the State, while some system of highways, originally commenced for the sole purpose of opening up remoter provinces, and bringing them beneath the eye and hand of the ruling power, may prove upon completion a source

of prosperity and gain, not entering into the barren calculations of the projector. Within the last ten years we have had in India two grand specimens of these classes. The military works rendered necessary by rebellion are directly unremunerative in their character; while the railway system that has followed our reconquest of the country, though constructed at a vast expense, must ultimately prove reproductive in the truest sense.

In the division of available funds between the antagonistic claimants, it is more than probable that an unfair proportion has been dealt out to those most unremunerative in their character; for barracks, arsenals, and purely military roads have until quite lately been deemed to constitute our strongest hold upon the country, and hence entitled to the first consideration; while each outlay of a lakh * on one of these not only brings in no return, but entails the future payment of an annual sum for bare repairs and preservation. Again, it is not unreasonable to suppose that the military genius which long guided the councils of the Company made the most of military necessities, and the constant practice of appointing to the chief control of public works in India some military man, may well have tended in the same direction.

But let us turn from generalities to facts. The Ganges Canal is undoubtedly the grandest isolated reproductive work in India. At Hurdwar the sacred river breaks from its mountain source, discharging, it is estimated, when at the lowest ebb, seven thousand cubic feet of water every second; thence its course points near due south to Delhi, nature having apparently ordained that the tract of country known as The Doab should reap

* £10,000.

but little benefit from its fertilising power: but art willed otherwise. A plan of irrigation was originated, first by Lord William Bentinck, but little practical result then followed. Lord Auckland next renewed inquiries as to its feasibility, the subject having been painfully pressed upon the notice of the Government by the occurrence of repeated famines; and at length the persevering genius of Sir Proby Cautley elaborated a splendid scheme, combining irrigation with a navigable canal. One of the most serious hindrances to its execution existed in the low level of the land across which the water from the Ganges must in the first instance be carried by artifice towards the districts most in want. Moreover, this low land was seamed by three broad watercourses, dry in the thirsty season, but rapid angry rivers when swollen by the rains, and so differing in level that each had to be traversed in a peculiar manner,—the canal had to be borne across the first, through the volume of the second, and literally beneath the bed of the third.

Some notion of the costliness of these several undertakings may be formed from the following brief account of one among their number. The Solani river has been bridged by an aqueduct of stone, affording transit to the canal. It rests on fifteen arches, each spanning fifty feet, leaving a clear waterway of seven hundred and fifty feet. The strength of the work is enormous, and its duration appears destined to be coexistent with that of the rocks on which it rests. It is supported by blocks of masonry sunk twenty feet below the river-bed, and measuring twenty feet in length and breadth. Huge piles protect each part from injury by the current; and a full description of all the contrivances, multiform and ingenious beyond conception, by which it has been sought to secure the fabric against every accident imagination

could anticipate, would fill a moderate volume. This aqueduct alone has cost not less than thirty lakhs.

In its still unfinished state one cannot arrive at an accurate estimate of the total cost of the canal, but the best authorities consider it can hardly fall short of two millions sterling. It is, moreover, worthy of remark, that competent persons to whom the question has been submitted coincide in the belief, that the fact of tapping the Ganges at Hurdwar, and the consequent abstraction of some 75 per cent of its sacred volume, will not materially enhance the difficulty of navigating the inferior Ganges —the fact being, that the outpour at Hurdwar is small compared with the surface-drainage of the plains, and that this last is materially increased by the division of the original source. Thus, notwithstanding the gigantic difficulties nature strewed in the path of this great enterprise, and the yet more imminent dangers of administrative jealousy and studied opposition, energetic science, combined with British capital and credit, have carried it to near upon completion; and the fertilising element is already conveyed, by countless branches, dykes, and channels, to almost every village throughout a tract of country upwards of eight hundred miles in length, and is supplied to every tiller of the soil on payment of a trifling tax, quite out of all proportion with the benefit diffused.

This work alone might well suffice to stamp on us the character of Indian benefactors; and though it is but one of many undertakings of a similar nature, projected for the interest of the country, it yet may, from its proportions and the ability displayed in its construction, be not inaptly termed the father of remunerative public works in India. Its remunerative character is of the truest kind, as steadily augmenting by the lapse of time; its cost has been prodigious, and the revenues derived

from it can hardly yet afford a full set-off against the money sunk: but in years to come, the constantly increasing density of population and value of the soil must ultimately adjust the balance, and leave it equally entitled to our admiration, whether as regarded from a mercantile or philanthropic point of view.

The school founded by Sir Proby Cautley has been well maintained by his successors in influencing the Indian Government in favour of non-military public works. Cawnpore was the point fixed for the canal to rejoin the sacred stream, and below this the ingenuity of man has been directed rather to repelling than attracting the waters of the Ganges. Just below Benares, after the river has received the waters of its tributaries, the Sone or Nuddy, the Goomtee, and others, the average discharge, each second through the year, has been estimated at two hundred and fifty thousand cubic liquid feet; and by the latter end of July all the lower parts of Bengal contiguous to its banks are overflowed, forming inundations of a hundred miles in width, where little appears above the surface of the flood save isolated villages and trees. Embarkations of every kind then traverse the inland sea, those bound northwards availing themselves of a direct course, with comparatively still water, at a season when every stream has become a foaming torrent. Husbandry and grazing are alike suspended, and the peasant sculls his boat across the fields that he, in other months, was wont to plough, happy if here and there an elevated slope still yields him scanty herbage, for otherwise his flocks and herds must die. Where nature has afforded some slight assistance, large tracts are guarded jealously from inundation by means of costly and elaborate dams; and here again abundant proof is given of the benefit of Western rule, and above all of the habits in-

troduced by us of organising labour for a public object, in the performance of a task from which all private enterprise must necessarily shrink in prudence or despair.

Passing from the Ganges to the valley of its sister stream, we find the white man's ingenuity again at war with nature. A thousand miles above the sea there stands the ancient town of Attock, whose name, signifying "obstacle," is said to have been given it under the presumption that no scrupulous Hindoo would venture farther to the westward. Here the Indus runs between banks so high that the enormous increase of its waters during rains and meltings of the snow affects its depth alone. The rocky banks are formed of blackish slate, polished by the stream until they shine like marble, and between them one clear blue stream shoots past, with great rapidity, and an average depth of fifty feet throughout the year. Its speed is fatal to all ferry-transit, while its breadth and inaccessibility preclude as yet the possibility of bridge-construction. The river-bed is formed of boulders, washed from the feet of the Hindoo Koosh, and ever travelling south by the action of a powerful undercurrent. Nature, with her usual profusion, has thrown these many difficulties in the path of an easy access to the central table-lands of Asia. We, in our turn, have sought to overcome them by evasion rather than by conquest, and, led by the fertile mind of Colonel Robertson, have bent our efforts to carve out a subterranean passage. This tunnel has not yet attained completion. Simultaneously commenced from both sides, some years witnessed satisfactory progress, and even wild Sittanas and Beloochees, whose instincts were opposed to such attempts at circumventing nature, looked forward to a speedy termination. Finance alone willed otherwise.

The work was costly; partially, perhaps, to disprove a native prophecy it had been undertaken, and who knows but what partially in obedience to such prophecy it has been now neglected? The pumps have ceased their work, and water has obtained possession of the caverns excavated for purposes of communication. It may thus afford no inapt example of that class of undertakings which change character more than once in course of execution: left in its condition of to-day, it only represents so much capital expended idly and without return; and yet it is probable that further appropriation for its prosecution might have the result of verifying the sanguine expectations of its original designers, who fondly dreamt of a grand highway for Indo-Persian commerce, combining a political object with the raising of imperial revenue.

Among recent occupants of the post of Secretary of Public Works in India, the names of Colonels Yule and Strachey will long remain associated with the spending of the largest sums disbursed within the memory of man on any single undertaking; and the outbreak of the mutiny and its suppression proved the more immediate source of this expenditure. It was generally felt that our future hold upon the country was much dependent on more rapid means of internal communication than Dâk Gharries* or the Government bullock-train afforded, and on the rendering accessible of certain districts either for the sake of health or the eradication of any local disaffection. The spending of the money thus determined on, was, after some discussion, placed under the control of the Government of India in the old-established office of its Public Works. This was preferred for certain reasons to the organisation of a separate Railway Depart-

* Small and uncomfortable travelling-carriages, drawn by one horse.

ment, conducting operations on an independent footing under the authority of the Governor-General, as part and parcel of the great machine of Government itself. The construction of these railways was regarded as a national object, demanding national aid, it might be even sacrifices; and Lord Stanley and his colleagues of that day boldly grappled with the stern necessity, and set their shoulders to the wheel, to raise by loans and bonds and guarantees, and every kind of credit and debenture, capital commensurate with the immensity of the task. But although the working of the machinery required for the design and execution of a strategic system of rail-communication between Madras, Bombay, Calcutta, and Mooltan, was intrusted to the Public Works Department, yet within that office, already overgrown and overworked, it was necessary to constitute an *imperium in imperio*, charged alone with railway business; and the House of Commons coincided with the Secretary of State for India in the advisability of appointing one possessed of technical qualifications Government Director of Indian Railway Companies. This office, requiring deep acquaintance with almost every branch of human industry, was well conferred upon Mr Juland Danvers, who for some years past has spent his time in rendering the accounts of every railway throughout the length and breadth of British India, accompanied by *viva voce* explanations, to the powers supreme in Westminster.

One of the most interesting results the public derives from the punctual performance of the duties intrusted to Mr Juland Danvers, is the annual presentation to both Houses of Parliament of a report, addressed by him to the Secretary of State for India in Council, on Indian railway progress during the previous year. From a perusal of these reports, it appears that up to 1850 the

coin spent on rail-construction in Her Majesty's Indian dominions was within two hundred thousand pounds; and the amount of miles opened within the year referred to, 1850, was simply *nil;* whereas in both 1861 and 1862 upwards of seven hundred miles of rail were opened to the public, at a cost averaging in each case six millions sterling. Further, it is shown that the capital that has already been expended on Indian railways falls little short of sixty millions sterling, whereof a third at least has accrued directly to the benefit of England through exportation of machinery and rails. For an expenditure of capital so ample we have, however, a fair share of labour done to show; for the natural difficulties overcome by Indian rail-contractors rank second to none within the range of engineering skill. The works which bear the iron horse across the Thull and Bhore Ghâts are perhaps unparalleled in boldness of design and happy execution; while the Sone viaduct, and the hundreds of miles of brick embankment through the Bengal flats, are probably unsurpassed in durative power and cost of workmanship.

The sections here referred to are but links of intercommunication between Calcutta and Bombay; and to form any adequate idea of the work performed by railway kings in India, of the numerical strength of the imported artisans therein employed, and of the firm hold upon the country and its inhabitants thereby acquired, it would be necessary to dive deeper into the recesses of Parliamentary blue-books than is consistent with our immediate purpose. Still it is impossible to consider with attention the remarkable figures above roughly quoted, without arriving at some slight conception of the sudden impetus the introduction of the railway system must have given, in the substitution of a

mutual commercial interest for one-sided military dominion.

It is, moreover, fortunate that the introduction of this system should have taken place within the sequent reigns of Lord Stanley and Sir Charles Wood—both statesmen of a practical type, superior to mere party strife, and who, following in the same broad track of progress, unbiassed by the narrow chains too often cast by a life's experience of power or opposition, have viewed with calm discussion the rival claims of many a vexed item of expenditure, as placeable to capital or revenue account, or as to whether this branch-line or that should be admitted to the receipt of certain subsidies, by driving a far-fetched quibble in a coach-and-six through some obscurely-worded Act of Parliament. Happily indeed for the great interests involved, Lord Stanley and Sir Charles Wood have been permitted to direct the march of Indian railway enterprise very much according to their own convictions, and have, of their wisdom, drawn a medium line between the oft-opposed requirements of strategy and commerce.

Having reached this point, which tends to prove that, in the distribution of the sums at their disposal, neither remunerative nor unremunerative, martial nor pacific enterprises have seriously suffered at the hands of recent Indian administrators, it may not be amiss to pause a while from more immediate considerations, and enter on a brief comparison of the mode pursued by ancient despots in expending revenue and contracting debt with that which has distinguished Anglo-Indian rule. It is, we think, in the broad field of finance that India reaps the greatest benefit at our hands. Taxation, if higher in densely populated or singularly fertile districts than it was in former days, when these same districts were less thickly

peopled and their wealth had not attained maturity, is now at least more equally distributed, and presses with greater ease on all. On the other hand, history bears record of the lavish sums that even Ackbar* squandered on the construction of vast palaces, destined to become nurseries of vice for the many thousands who could claim consanginuity by reason of polygamy or adoption, and who, ever multiplying and extending their fell influence farther and still farther from the palace gates, ultimately converted busy cities, like Delhi and Lucknow, into sinks of infamy and disorder.

Such were the objects to which, in those days, the taxation of a State was too often primarily directed. Some there were indeed, like Shahjehan, who exalted its use in the construction of buildings dedicated to their titular deities, or priceless mausoleums, like the Taj Mehal, rearing its proud head through three succeeding decades, and swallowing up more wealth than could have been raked together, at that early date, even by oppression, for any other than a quasi-religious object. Yet both palatial and ecclesiastical structures, though essentially unremunerative in their character, may at the time have rendered service by the employment of hordes of labourers and the consequent spread of skilled workmanship; but their termination was invariably followed by the results necessarily attendant on a heavier taxation, both in men and money, than the circumstances of the land permitted. Masses of men had been brought together to complete with all speed some shrine to an emperor's patron saint, in order that the old man's ashes might be laid upon the altar of his own creative fancy; but almost ere the ringing of the hammers was hushed in

* The most enlightened of Hindostanee rulers. See Sir R. Sullivan's 'Warriors and Statesmen of India.'

its completion, the country fell a prey to famine and the sword. Agriculture had been neglected, and the hands that should have tilled the fields had been employed in carving stone; while peace, perchance, had held so long dominion in the minds of men as to breed reactionary desire for war. Then came the winter of that country's discontent. The marble screens afforded no protection from the pangs of hunger or the spread of dire disease. In the nation's eye they remained, for a time at least, objects of deep veneration, or contempt, according to the appreciation of the sovereign by whom they had been reared, and the fickle sentiments of an ever-changing multitude. However this may be, the accumulated experience of past ages shows, that ancient public works in India, eloquent as they are as ever-living monuments of bygone dynasties and thrones, as surely paved the way to broadcast misery and want, as our remunerative undertakings of to-day prove themselves unerring heralds of enhanced prosperity.

A solitary example may suffice to illustrate this. On a spur of the Aravulli range, already noticed in a former chapter, there stands an ancient celebrated place of pilgrimage, which, according to the high authority of Colonel Tod, ranks beyond controversy among the most superb of Indian temples. It was, we are told, erected on the site of other shrines, dedicated in far gone days to Siva and to Vishnu; and tradition records how the original founder obtained the site from the Sirowee Raja, by covering with silver coin as much ground as was required. In the centre of a court, that forms an outskirt of the main edifice, is a pagoda containing a colossal statue of the deified Coryphæus of the Jains, composed of an alloy of several rich metals; and before the temple is an equestrian statue of its founder, Bimul Sah. It is estimated

that this temple occupied a period of fourteen years in building, at a cost of eighteen crores* of Company's rupees, besides some sixty lakhs spent in levelling the site itself. In close proximity there stands a second and more modern temple, dedicated to Nemminath, which those learned in inscriptions assert was built in 1236; and this is in its turn supported by two others, of still less antiquity and price, all, however, showing nearly equal symptoms of decay. The total cost of these buildings, into which must have entered largely the transport of the marble whereof they are constructed, must have exceeded twenty millions sterling, or one-third of our actual expenditure in Indian railway enterprise; and it should not be overlooked, that in the distant ages when these mines of wealth were worked to such pernicious use, the country could have offered no comparison with its smiling aspect of to-day; while its people, ignoring the advantage of a foreign commerce, could but compare unfavourably with wealthy Indian planters of the nineteenth century. Lastly, it must be remembered that but one instance has been quoted of a long array of ruinous works; and it would be an easy matter to establish that the comparatively unimportant sums we have raised and spent in India for India's own advantage, are, to use an Eastern phrase, but as the ear of corn to a barley loaf, when weighed against the boundless expenditure of an unproductive past.

Ere we quit the subject of recent Indian rail-construction, space must be found to record the triumph of a principle which occurred during Lord Elgin's term of holding the viceroyalty. At first sight it forms but a trifling link in the great chain of rail-communication between Calcutta and Mooltan, but in reality it is suscep-

* A crore is one hundred lakhs, or one million sterling.

tible of extended interpretation, if taken as an individual fact whereby to read the spirit of the times we live in; for in it the march of progress may be traced, bringing remote military considerations into due subordination to the immediate needs of commerce, by the conversion of a massive bastion into a city railway station. The last siege of Delhi was sufficiently protracted to inspire respect in England for the lines of her defences; and the Cashmere Gate, with other spots, will probably remain familiar to many generations, from their having been the salient points of our successes. Yet there are other works less generally known, because of their strategic strength, and consequent avoidance by our engineers. Foremost amongst these ranked the ancient Patan fort of Selimgurh, on the eastern bank of the Jumna, and communicating with the royal palace by a narrow bridge of stone. On this side Delhi was impregnable, at least to any means at our disposal in 1857, and the military world was loath to cast away this advantage, questionable as it was in a fort which had so frequently changed hands. The money, therefore, granted to restore the battered works, was concentrated on other weaker parts, and Selimgurh was guarded with all jealousy from base contamination by the arts of peace, until at last the waves of railway enterprise broke with fury uncontrollable against her storm-proof walls. Much discussion then ensued. Those there were who, loving Delhi dearly, loved their military prejudices more; the formation of the ground, however, was such as to leave the railway engineers a choice of evils admitting of but little compromise. If Delhi was to reap the full advantage of a railway, Selimgurh must sacrifice her hostile character; and, after some years of doubt and indecision, the question was finally set at rest on personal inspection by

Lord Elgin, who knew how to weigh improbable eventualities in the scales of practical requirement.

The conversion above referred to could not be effected without considerable expenditure; and the expectation of saving some few lakhs was not without its influence on those who estimate works of public utility by the rate of interest to be obtained on capital invested. The English House of Commons often thinks, that when it has accorded sanction to an outlay of some millions on Indian Works or Education, it has done a liberal thing —pluming itself upon expending larger sums on foreign than domestic soil; and country members often measure plans and undertakings by the standard of the local interests with which they are themselves associated—for, after all, opinions must be formed more in accordance with one's own experience than on the pleading of an interested counsel. Thus, while great safety lies undoubtedly in the necessity of home sanction, if only from its impedimentary action, at times a heavier drag may be thereby applied to the national wheels, than is counterbalanced by the benefit derived from what is often, really, over-caution and a false economy. The main remedy lies, of course, in local legislation; and it is our firm belief that in this respect a wider scope of power should be left to the supreme and presidency councils, in determining on the conduct of local enterprises, than has been previously the practice—subject of necessity, however, to ultimate control, by the prescribing of an imperial margin beyond which neither debt nor guarantee might be incurred.

The system now in force is the cause of constant trouble and delay in the passage of a scheme, in all its stages of design and execution, through the widely ramifying weary channels of local, supreme, and parliament-

ary legislation; and the prodigious difficulties growing out of a closer knowledge of this subject have hitherto been powerful enough to impede a simplifying process. Mutiny and debt, and the great names of Wilson, Laing, Trevelyan, have succeeded one another with such rapidity in the last few years, as to leave, one would imagine, little time for passing more than measures of paramount importance; and the only cause for wonder is, that so much has been effected. We cannot tell whether history will pronounce the credit of the manifold results obtained due to one man or to many; but until the wisdom of the future shall have passed its sentence on events still recent, we may be permitted to retain a firm belief that, after making ample discount for some errors, the untiring zeal displayed in the administration of India by the Maharaja Wood of Westminster affords, perhaps, the readiest key to the solution of this problem.

Abandoning this train of thought, we shall now proceed to a short examination of India's financial status of to-day. Her annual accounts are presented to the House of Commons in two parts—the one comprising finance transactions within the limits of continental India; the other, styled the home accounts, consisting mainly of interest on debts incurred and credits held or due in England. Part I. is far the most comprehensive, and its first care is laudably directed to presenting to the world a complete tabular statement of the gross and net revenue for the year, the charges of collection, and other payments for which those revenues are responsible—the whole for more general comprehension being converted into sterling money, at the rate of two shillings the rupee.

The total income varies with the circumstances of each year, but probably may, for some time hence, be

roughly stated as bordering on five-and-forty million pounds. A glance at this account shows at once the large proportion of revenue derived from land, amounting, as it does, to 45 per cent upon the total income. The remaining 55 per cent of gross receipts is subdivided under headings similar to those which enter into every European budget. Assessed taxes, customs, interest on capital accounts, and mixed incomings from remunerative Departments, such as the Post Office or Telegraph, each has its assigned place in this tabular statement. The two great Government monopolies of salt and opium represent over five and eight millions sterling respectively, and these, together with the large proportion derived from land, form the special characteristics of our Indian budgets. From this hasty survey it may be gathered with what anxiety Indian finance regarded Lord Canning's latest measures, for the sale of waste lands, and the ultimate redemption of the land-tax. The carrying out of these measures, and their practical adjustment to the necessities of the State, was left as a legacy to his successor, who was moreover pledged to the removal of the uneasy burden of the income-tax from native shoulders, at the earliest moment compatible with financial pressure, and, if not sooner, certainly at the expiry of the five years for which it had been imposed. A cry had, moreover, gone abroad against the continuance of Government monopolies as a source of revenue; and unless the hand of the Governor-General should stem the revolutionary tide then bearing down upon our treasuries, it would be left to the devices of Mr Laing's successors to meet an annual expenditure approaching five-and-forty millions, from practically little else than the resources of their own unaided brains. But things were not permitted to arrive at such a pass.

The action of the Government was stayed in Waste Lands Sales and Revenue Redemption, and practical restrictions were so imposed, as to impede the future legislation by which alone these measures could too hastily be carried out.*

Revenue has here been dealt with at greater length than is necessary for an account of Treasury outgoings, and this for two reasons: first, because expenditure has

* "The proposals of the Government of India were to the effect that all unoccupied waste lands throughout British India should be sold to any buyers, at a fixed price of five shillings per acre for uncleared, and ten shillings per acre for cleared, lands.

"Most delusive ideas were entertained by many as to the advantages likely to ensue from this resolution of the Government of India. Energetic capitalists were supposed to be only waiting for the opportunities thus presented to them, to flock to the jungles of India, and convert the howling wilderness into a smiling cotton-field

"The quantity of really unoccupied land in India, except in wild and remote districts, has been generally very much exaggerated.

"The land which was really available for sale by Government, consisted nearly altogether of wild districts in remote parts of India, in Assam, Oude, or the Central Provinces; and as to such lands, Sir Charles Wood approved of the proposed resolutions, with only two exceptions. In the first place, he insisted that a rough survey of the land should be made previously to, instead of after, the sale; and secondly, that on all occasions the land to be sold should be put up to auction, instead of being sold at a price fixed irrespective of the value of the soil, its situation, capacities for irrigation, and contiguity to roads."

The result of these modifications has been, that land which Lord Canning advertised for sale at a fixed price of five shillings per acre, has been very generally sold for as many sterling pounds.

The Land Redemption scheme was deprecated by Sir John Lawrence "as a policy, the effect of which he knew, if fully taken advantage of, would be to deprive the State of a large amount of income which the people of India had from time immemorial been accustomed to pay, and which, he said, has all the authority of prescription and tradition in its favour—an income which is drawn from the land, as has been observed by Mr James Mill, without any drain either upon the produce of any man's labour, or the produce of any man's capital."

Sir Charles Wood, concurring in the above views, finally vetoed the adoption of the redemption scheme.

The above quotations are extracted from Mr West's compendium of 'The Indian Administration of Sir Charles Wood from 1859 to 1866;' and are useful as explaining in a few words, unembarrassed by technicalities, the exact scope of Lord Canning's two last hurried measures.

already had its say, and must now be left to plead its own great cause; and, secondly, because it is marked by none of those protective peculiarities incidental to our Indian incomings.

Part II., or home accounts, may briefly be disposed of. They include the payment of about two millions interest guaranteed to railway companies. Further, a charge of £120,000 per annum for the establishment of the Secretary of State for India in Council, numbering near four hundred souls; and prominent on the list of expenditure we find a long array of charitable allowances to widows, orphans, invalids, who by their number prove that India is a costly appanage to England, at least in human life.

Thus India under the Crown is something more than a mere commercial enterprise, and her agency is now directed to something higher than that at which the Company aimed. The ambition of the Crown concerning India is, not so much that her stocks should be quoted so superior to par as to enable bond-holders to realise colossal fortunes, as that the destiny of a hundred and forty millions of her subjects should be worked out in accordance with the usages prescribed by the combined civilisation of the East and West; and therefore it is that the total of the revenue affords fair index to the actual expenditure. The days of old are counted out, when galleons laden to the water's edge with treasure were regarded as the natural products of colonial possessions. India no longer forms an orchard of pagoda trees for England's younger sons to shake: her value to us is that of an almost boundless field for the investment of energy and capital; and hence the balance-sheet at the termination of each financial year shows a long array of figures, wellnigh matched in every proportion—the re-

venue but slightly in excess of all legitimate requirements, whatever small excess there is being carried to the credit of ensuing years in the substantial shape of hard rupees.

Surely these things are worthy of being written. The outside world has not yet fully realised the high importance of the transfer from the Company to the Crown. It is argued that events repeat themselves, and that even as the Company to-day has been compelled by accidental pressure to give way, and ultimately retire from action, so later commercial interests must reassume preeminence, driving political philanthropists from the scene of India's future. But be this as it may, let each theory be heard in turn, if only to its own detriment. We have it on right good authority that "all this world's a stage," wherein we all are players, having entrances and exits in accordance with set rules which we happily for us ignore; and the day must come at length, when dreams of perfect trust, between what mischief-mongers love to call the subject races and ourselves, shall attain realisation in mutual bearance and forbearance, based on confidence in a common future, and on the wealth of past experience.

In conclusion, we permit a native statesman of great experience and ability in dealing with finance, to speak for his country and himself, on the question of the *modus operandi* for raising annually what moneys are required under the present *regime* to keep our Government of India alive. The memorandum wherein he has expressed his views, was prepared while the oppressive weight of the income-tax still remained upon the shoulders of the Indian people. In the removal of this unpopular source of revenue, which Mr Wilson first imposed for a limited period only as a war tax, or we might almost say a retri-