

regulations of 1793 err on the side of over-complexity, in prescribing too tedious and refined a procedure of the courts of law, their introduction constituted an improvement of exceeding value on the chaotic state of confusion, and the total absence of method and defined responsibility, which marked the course of Indian administration before his advent.

CHAP.  
I.

The weakest point of the polity established by Lord Cornwallis is probably to be found in the systematic exclusion which it enforced of the natives of the country from all share in the administration. Whether he considered it hopeless to attempt a purification of the native service, cannot be said; but while the hitherto insufficient emoluments of the European officials were enormously raised, in order (to use his own words) 'to put them beyond the reach of temptation,' the remedy adopted as regards the inefficiency of the natives was, as far as possible, to dispense with their services altogether; nor was any attempt made to elevate the condition of the classes retained for subordinate posts, either by improved pay or prospects of preferment.

This part of his measures has, unfortunately, been only too steadily persisted in: and it is not until within the last few years that the impolicy and injustice of thus excluding the natives of the country from all but the humblest share of the administration has at all forced itself on public notice. But it is easy to be wise after the event; nor is it reasonable to suppose that Cornwallis would have left this blot permanently to deface his measures, had he continued to preside over them. On the contrary, from the freedom he displayed in building up, it may fairly be presumed that he would have been the first to alter what further experience showed to be defective.

To resume our narrative. The Charter granted to the Company by the Act of 1773, expired in 1793, when it was renewed for another term of twenty years. The

Renewal of  
Company's  
Charter,  
Act of  
1793.

**BOOK** principal provisions of the Act of renewal were:—I.  
1. One requiring the Governor-General, while absent from the Presidency (here used in the sense of the capital town), to appoint a Vice-President and Deputy-Governor of Fort William.—II. He was also authorised, should he find it expedient to visit another Presidency, to assume the government of it, the powers of the Governor being for the time suspended.—III. The Government is in this Act first styled Governor-General *in* Council, instead of Governor-General *and* Council, an alteration appropriately signifying the change which had actually occurred in the working of that government, under the operation of the Act of 1786.—IV. The appointment of the Commander-in-Chief at each Presidency to be a member of the Council was made permissive on the Court, instead of being obligatory.—V. The power of the Governments of Madras and Bombay to make Acts and Regulations for the territories subject to them respectively were distinctly referred to.—VI. Lastly, the authority of the Government of Bengal over the other Presidencies was defined in more decided and comprehensive terms than had been employed in any of the previous Acts.

Adminis-  
tration of  
Lord  
Wellesley.

The administration of Sir John Shore (afterwards Lord Teignmouth), who succeeded Lord Cornwallis, was marked by no change of importance; and we may pass on to the eventful period of the Marquis Wellesley, under whose rule the political state of India underwent a complete change. The Act of Parliament of 1784 forbade the Indian Government from making war or even treaties with native powers, except for absolutely defensive purposes, without the sanction of the Home Government. It also forbade further annexations of territory, and the prohibition was repeated in the Act of 1793. With these conditions Lord Cornwallis, so far as was practicable, had complied. The war with Tippoo was forced upon him by

the aggressive conduct of that prince; and hostilities having become necessary, it was pushed on with a degree of vigour new to Southern India, and the cessions of territory obtained from Tippoo at the peace seemed necessary as a means of reducing his power for the future within safe limits. But, except in this case, Lord Cornwallis strove to maintain the balance of power, and always treated the Nizam and the Mahrattas as friendly allies, on a footing of equality with the English. The policy pursued by Lord Wellesley had, on the contrary, the distinct object of making the British authority paramount throughout the country, and reducing the different native states to a position of complete dependence on it. The first war undertaken may indeed possibly be deemed to have been forced on him by the hostile attitude assumed by Tippoo, whose power, though weakened by the previous contest, was not broken. This war, which took place in 1799, ended in the complete conquest of the kingdom of Mysore. Of this a part was made over to our ally, the Nizam; the province of Mysore, as defined at the present day, was restored to the family of the former Hindoo princes; the remainder was annexed to the British dominions. The territory so obtained comprised the present collectorates of Canara, on the west coast, Coimbatore, and the Wynnad and Neilgherry Hills; while, a few months later, the Nizam made over a part of his share, the present districts of Bellary and Cuddapah, in payment for the subsidiary force, which ever since that time has maintained the authority of the Nizam in his kingdom.\* The same year saw the annexation of the Hindoo principality of Tanjore, the most fertile tract in Southern India. Finally, in 1801, the Nawab of the Carnatic—the nominal rulers of which had been for many years in a position of entire dependence on the British, and whose revenues were mortgaged

CHAP.

I

Conquest  
and parti-  
tion of  
Mysore.

Annexa-  
tion of  
Tanjore.

Cession of  
Carnatic,

\* This part of the country is still sometimes styled, by Madras officials, *The Ceded Districts*, a term which might, with equal propriety, be applied to the greater part of India.

BOOK  
I.

and forma-  
tion of  
Madras  
Presi-  
dency.

beyond redemption, to pay their military expenses—was required, as a condition of succeeding to the titular rank of Nawab, to resign his kingdom formally. This acquisition gave us the districts of Nellore, in the north ; North and South Arcot, in the centre ; Trichinopoly and Tinnevely, in the south of the peninsula. Thus, in a few months, the Madras Presidency was developed from a few scattered districts into the great country now known by that name, comprising the whole of Southern India, with the exception of the province of Mysore and the small district of Coorg, which occupy the centre of the peninsula, and the Hindoo principalities of Travancore and Cochin at the extreme south. Since that time the only territorial changes in this presidency have been the addition of the district of Kurnool, in the north of the Presidency, annexed in 1841, on account of the treason of the ruling Nawab ; and the transfer of the collectorate of North Canara to the Bombay Presidency, in 1862. The extent of the Madras Presidency was, therefore, nearly the same in the time of Lord Wellesley that it is now. The military establishment quartered in it was very much larger. It may be added that the Cornwallis system of Regulations was everywhere introduced, although a different settlement of the land revenue was made from that adopted in Bengal.

Cession of  
part of  
Nawab of  
Oudh's  
dominions.

The changes effected in the Bengal Presidency, in consequence of Lord Wellesley's successful wars, although relatively not so great, since the acquisitions of Clive still remained the largest and most important ever effected, were even more extensive and valuable than those in the Madras Presidency. In 1801 the Nawab-Vizier of Oudh—whose engagements with the British, entered into for the purpose of obtaining protection from the Mahrattas, had resulted in the establishment of embarrassing and complicated relations with his protectors—was compelled to cede the greater part of his kingdom, consisting of the lower part of the Gangetic Doab, com-



prising the present districts of Allahabad, Futtehpoor, and Cawnpoor; the country north of the Ganges, now divided into the Azimghur and Goruckpoor districts; and the greater part of Rohilcund, consisting of the districts of Bareilly, Moradabad, Bijnour, Budaon, and Shah-jehanpoor; a small portion of the province, less than an ordinary British district, being left to the Nawab of Rampoor. The district of Furruckabad, held by a chieftain subordinate to the Nawab of Oudh, was obtained shortly afterwards by cession of its ruler. The British territory in Northern India was thus bounded by the states of the great Mahratta Confederation, which at this time reached its greatest limits, the territory subject to it extending from Malabar to the Himalaya. Scindia, who was now the most powerful chief of the confederation, occupied the northern part of the empire, his territories bordering on the British frontier stations of Futteghur and Moradabad. He had possession of Delhi and the Emperor's person, and a considerable tract of country to the west of that city was also under his authority.

The great Mahratta War broke out in 1803. In the war with Tippoo of 1799, the operations had been dictated direct by Lord Wellesley, who proceeded to Madras for the purpose of being in immediate communication with the local Commander-in-Chief, and assumed charge for the time of the government of that presidency, in virtue of the authority conferred by the Act of 1793. On this occasion the Governor-General remained at Calcutta, but the operations of the armies of the three Presidencies which took a share in the war, were all controlled from that place, the commanding generals receiving their instructions direct from the Governor-General.

Of these armies, the two principal ones were—that under General Lake, the Commander-in-Chief in Bengal, which advanced from Cawnpoor and Futteghur; and the other under General Wellesley, composed of Madras

CHAP.  
I.

Conquests  
from Mah-  
rattas.

BOOK  
I.Formation  
of N.W.  
Provinces.

and Bombay troops, which operated from Poona as a base. The first of these armies drove the Mahrattas out of the Gangetic Doab; captured Delhi and Agra; and finally compelled Scindia to sue for peace, and to cede the whole of the territory occupied by him between the Ganges and Jumna, comprising the present districts of Etawa, Mynpoorie, Allyghur, Bolundshuhr, Meerut, Mozuffurnuggur, and Saharunpoor; the districts of Agra and Muttra, on the right bank of the Jumna; and the tract west of that river, known at that time as the Delhi territory, comprising the collectorates of Goorgaon, Delhi, Rohtuk, Hansi, Sirsa, and Paneeput. To these acquisitions must be added the collectorate of Banda, west of the Jumna, near its junction with the Ganges, and certain tracts in Bundelcund, ceded by the Peishwa, as will be noticed presently. These conquests, with the districts ceded by the Nawab of Oudh, in 1801, and the province of Benares, acquired in 1781, make up the great territory known by the now inappropriate title of the North-West Provinces, and which, next after Bengal, is the most populous and important of the great provinces of British India. This newly-acquired country was attached to the Presidency of Fort William, and administered by the Governor-General and Council of Bengal; but, some years later, a separate Board of Revenue and Courts of Civil and Criminal Appeal were established for it, and located at Allahabad. The Bengal Regulations were applied to these territories, and they were mapped out into districts, to which the usual staff of covenanted civil servants was eventually appointed.

Conquest  
of Cuttack.

Simultaneously with the operations under General Lake, an expedition was despatched from Lower Bengal into the province of Cuttack, then belonging to the Rajah of Berar, another chief of the Mahratta confederacy, who was finally obliged to cede it. This province was also added to the Bengal Presidency; and is the

same which, under the name of Orissa, of which country it in fact forms a part, has lately obtained such an unhappy notoriety. By this conquest the Madras and Bengal Presidencies were brought into contact with each other on the seacoast. But practically they continued to be, and still are, quite unconnected. Even in the present day no road unites Calcutta with Madras. The post, carried by runners, occupies from ten to sixteen days, according to the weather; and practically the postal communication and the journeys of all travellers between the two places are still made by sea.

CHAP.

I.

The cession of Cuttack, and the terms generally obtained from the Mahrattas, were due, as is well known, as much to the victories obtained by the army under General Wellesley in Candeish and Berar, as to the operations of the force under General Lake. The war in that quarter was ostensibly undertaken on behalf of the Peishwa, the nominal head of the Mahrattas, in view to relieve him from the oppression of the chief of the confederacy. The result of the war in this quarter was to transfer the care of the Peishwa from Scindia and Holkar to the British Government. His territories were occupied by the Bombay Army, and a British resident, or controlling minister, was appointed to his capital, Poona. But the districts ceded by him in Western India, in return for these benefits, were shortly afterwards exchanged, in greater part, for the territory in Bundelcund already referred to; and, with the exception of some lands in Guzerat, the Bombay Presidency still possessed no territorial possessions, the province of Malabar having been transferred to Madras.

Acquisitions in  
Western  
India.

These wars and the occupation of these territories involved a large addition to the military forces of the Company, and the native troops, even when reduced to a peace establishment at the conclusion of the war, were considerably in excess of their present strength. The

## BOOK

## I.

Result of  
Lord Wel-  
lesley's ad-  
ministra-  
tion.

Madras Army, even including the increase of Europeans which has taken place lately, was then much larger than it is now. The civil service was also at this period largely extended, and the establishment of European covenanted servants of the Company now for the first time approached to its present strength. The vast uncovenanted establishment is a later growth.

The administration of Lord Wellesley may be regarded as the third great epoch in the formation of the British Indian Empire. The acquisition of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa was in a great measure accidental. The managers of the Company's affairs at that time, both in England and India, would have been quite satisfied with maintaining the state of things under which the Nawab had the appearance, and they the reality, of power. That he should be driven to try conclusions with them was quite unexpected, and Clive, opportunely returning to India, discerned the advantage of the acquisition offered. The era of Lord Cornwallis was marked chiefly by administrative reforms, the territorial extension effected by him having been comparatively small; while, as has been already observed, his foreign policy was directed to maintain the *status quo* he found existing in India, and especially to cultivate friendly relations with the Mahrattas. Lord Wellesley was the first to perceive that in India a political equilibrium was impossible; that peace was only to be ensured by establishing the preponderance of British power; and that the task of breaking down the Mahratta Confederacy was as practicable as, sooner or later, it must have been necessary to be undertaken. The result of the contest was never for a moment doubtful, and from this time the Company became beyond all question the paramount power in India, even the states which remained independent submitting to receive a supervising British agent at their courts, and a subsidiary garrison of British troops. Henceforward the only country which could measure

words against it with any chance of success lay beyond the Sutlej; and from this time it may be said that the duties of territorial government took the place of buying and selling as the leading pursuit of the Company's servants in India.

CHAP.  
I.

This policy was worked out by Lord Wellesley, not under the guidance of, but in direct opposition to, the wishes of his masters in England. The Directors, although they had from the first carried on their trade at a loss, still clung to trade as the only means of squaring their balance-sheet, and regarded with distrust every addition of territory, as productive of debt and financial embarrassment. Very much the same view appears to have been held by the English ministry; while the question has been much debated, whether Lord Wellesley's measures were not so far voluntary, rather than forced upon him by circumstances, as to constitute an infraction of the Acts of Parliament of 1784 and 1793, which enjoined a defensive and neutral policy, and distinctly prohibited territorial aggrandisement. However that may have been, the course pursued by Lord Wellesley, once entered on, could not be retraced; but the Court notwithstanding vainly desired to return to the former state of non-intervention and political equality with the Mahratta powers; and the influence of their sentiments so far affected the policy of Lord Wellesley's immediate successors, that the complete pacification of Central India, contemplated by him, was suspended on the eve of its accomplishment, and deferred till twelve years later. The Mahratta war of 1817-18 was the fruit of the timid policy of non-intervention pursued from 1805 until that time, and was forced on Lord Hastings' administration by the state of lawlessness which had grown up in Central India. The war resulted in the complete pacification of India. The Bombay Presidency may be considered to have been now formed, the territories on the western side of India, taken from the

His policy  
reversed  
by suc-  
cessors.

Mahratta  
war of  
1817-18.

Extension  
of Bombay  
Presi-  
dency.

BOOK  
I

Territory  
acquired  
in Central  
India,

Peishwa, Scindia, and Holkar, being eventually placed under the Bombay Government, which province thus became one of the great territorial divisions of the country. The formal procedure of the law-courts prescribed by the Bombay Regulations, which closely resembled those of Bengal, were introduced gradually into these provinces; but a large tract of country in the centre of India, near the source of the Nerbudda, ceded after the war by the Mahratta government of Nagpoor, was taken under the direct control of the Governor-General in Council, and styled the 'Saugor and Nerbudda Territories.' It was at first placed in executive charge of a Political Agent with a staff of assistants, and subsequently of a Commissioner, with a Deputy Commissioner and assistants to each district, who were chiefly military officers. This province was not brought under the Bengal Regulations, but the officials were enjoined to conduct their procedure in accordance with the spirit of the Regulations, so far as they might be found suitable to the circumstances of the country and its backward state of civilisation. Other districts situated in Bengal had previously been exempted (by a special regulation) from the operation of regulation law, but this is the first case of what afterwards was frequently repeated, the deliberate formation of a non-regulation province.

and in  
Himalaya.

In addition to these acquisitions, Lord Hastings' administration was also signalised by the gain of a tract of country in the Himalaya, from the Nepaulese, ceded in 1815, at the termination of the war with that people,—a country more extensive than productive, but precious to the English in India from its beauty and healthfulness—that portion of the Himalaya which reaches from the borders of the Jumna to the present frontiers of Nepal, on the east extremity of Rohilcund. This territory was also placed under a special Commissioner, and was not brought under the operation of the Regulations.

The passing of the Act of 1813 must now be recorded,

which renewed the Company's Charter for a further term of twenty years. The only points noticeable in this Act,\* for present purposes, are the clauses which virtually abolish the previous enactments, obliging all promotions of civilians to be made in order of seniority, and those which require the Court's nomination of Governors and Commanders-in-Chief to be confirmed by the Crown.

CHAP.  
I.  
Company's  
Charter  
renewed.  
Act of  
1813.

The next event to be recorded is the Burmese war of 1824, which resulted in the acquisition of the large country called Assam—the valley of the Brahmapootra on the north-east of Bengal; the maritime province of Arracan, at the head of the Bay of Bengal; and the province of Tenasserim, a narrow strip of land on the lower shore of that bay. Assam and Arracan were attached to the Bengal Presidency, so far that they were administered by the Governor-General in Council, and that the local officers were placed under the supervision of the Board of Revenue and Appellate Court at Calcutta; but since the people of these sparsely inhabited tracts differ in language and customs from the Bengalese, and those of Arracan in religion also, and the countries were not rich enough to bear the expense of the ordinary system of administration, they were not brought under the Regulations, but were provided each with a special staff of military officers. The Tenasserim province was dealt with in a similar way, but the garrison for it was furnished from the Madras Army.

Burmese  
war of  
1824: con-  
quest of  
Assam,  
Arracan,  
and Tenas-  
serim.

In 1833 the Charter of the Company expired, which had been granted in 1813, and another Act of Parliament was passed, renewing it for a further term of twenty years. By this Act the Company's functions as traders were abolished, and several changes were made in the form of Government, of which the following are the most important:—

Further  
renewal of  
Charter.  
Act of  
1833.

I. The fact that the Presidency of Fort William had far outgrown manageable dimensions, since the time of

\* 53 George III. cap. 155.



BOOK  
I.  
Subdi-  
vision of  
Bengal  
Presi-  
dency.

Lord Wellesley, was then for the first time recognised; and the Act provided for its division into two separate Presidencies—one to be styled the Presidency of Fort William in Bengal, the other the Presidency of Agra. A separate Governor was to be appointed for the latter, on the same footing as the Governors of Madras and Bombay.

Governor-  
General of  
Bengal  
becomes  
Governor-  
General of  
India.

II. Instead of, as heretofore, vesting the Governor-General in Council *of Bengal* with a power of general control over the Governments of the other Presidencies, the new Act provided, that 'The superintendence, direction, and control of the whole civil and military government of all the said territories and revenues in India shall be, and is hereby vested in a Governor-General and Councillors, to be styled the Governor-General *of India* in Council.' This Supreme Council was to consist of four ordinary members, of whom three were to be members of the Indian service; and the fourth, whose qualifications were not stated, but whose place the Ministry intended should be always filled by an English lawyer, was not to take a part in the executive business of government, but could sit and vote only at meetings for making laws and regulations. The Commander-in-Chief in India might be appointed an extraordinary member of Council as heretofore.

Provision  
for legis-  
lation;

III. The power of making laws and regulations for their Presidencies was withdrawn from the Governments of Madras and Bombay, and the duty of legislating for all India was placed on the Governor-General in Council, subject to the usual power of veto exercised by the Court of Directors. The Governor-General was given, as before, a casting-vote, and the power of overruling his Council on emergency, after exchanging minutes.

for moving  
Supreme  
Council  
from  
Calcutta.

IV. An important provision was for the first time introduced, that the Supreme Council might meet in any part of India: before this, proceedings held anywhere



but at Fort William would have been invalid. This power, however, was not made use of until the year 1863. When assembled within any of the Presidencies of Fort St. George, or Bombay, or Agra, the Governor of such Presidency was to act as a member of the Council, but his power as Governor was not to be suspended.

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I.

V. The executive government of the four Presidencies of Fort William in Bengal, Fort St. George, Bombay, and Agra, was to be administered by a Governor and three Councillors, but the Governor-General of India was to be also Governor of the Presidency of Fort William. Thus two separate and distinct offices were placed on the Governor-General—the Government of India with the aid of one Council, and the Government of Bengal with the aid of another.

Government of the four Presidencies.

VI. The Court of Directors was, however, empowered to suspend the appointment of Councils, or to reduce the number of Councillors in any of the four Presidencies. It therefore rested with them to determine whether the administration in each case should be vested in a Governor alone, or a Governor aided by a Council of not more than three members.

Appointment of councillors left optional.

VII. The control of the central government was asserted much more distinctly than in previous Acts. No Governor was to have power to create offices, or grant money, without the previous sanction of the Governor-General of India in Council, who was invested 'with full power and authority to superintend and control the Governors and Governors in Council of Fort William in Bengal, Fort St. George, Bombay, and Agra, in all points relating to the civil and military administration of the said Presidencies respectively.' The latter were bound to obey all orders received from this authority, and to furnish periodically copies of all their orders and proceedings, and all other information called for. It is by means of the returns thus periodically supplied from this

Increased control vested in Supreme Government.

BOOK  
I.

Governor-General  
empowered to act  
without  
Council.

time forward, that the Supreme Government is now able to exert an efficient control over Indian affairs.

VIII. The Governor-General in Council could pass a law, from time to time, authorising the Governor-General, when visiting any part of India, to exercise all the powers possessed by the Council collectively, except that of making laws and regulations; the Governor-General, in such cases, was to nominate a member of the Council to be President of it during his absence, who would exercise his powers.

Special arrangement  
for Bengal  
Army and  
Civil Service.

IX. Although the Bengal Presidency was to be divided into two, the Bengal Army and Civil Service were not to be divided; and the Act recited that, for the purposes of the Mutiny Act, 'the Presidency of Fort William in Bengal shall be taken and deemed to comprise under and within it all the territories which, by or in virtue of this Act, shall be divided between the Presidencies of Fort William in Bengal and Agra respectively.'

Limits of  
Presidencies.

X. The Court of Directors was empowered to determine and declare the limits of each Presidency, and to alter the distribution of them from time to time, as might be necessary. Nevertheless, as will be seen hereafter, there are many parts of British India which have never been declared to belong to any presidency, and cannot be brought under the definition of one.

Modifications  
proposed in  
Bill.

The passing of this Act was vigorously opposed by the Court, mainly because it abolished the Company's power to trade; the idea being still tenaciously clung to, that trade was a source of benefit to the Company, and some of the most experienced members of the Court being strongly of opinion, that to throw it open to public enterprise would be injurious to the people of India—an opinion which carried more weight before than after the event. But, as regards the change in the form of Indian Governments, there were many who thought that the Bill of 1833 did not go far enough. The Governor-General of that period, Lord William Bentinck, recorded

his opinion that 'the local details pressing upon the time of the Supreme Government utterly preclude the performance of the higher and more important functions of its office,' and that the Governor-General and his Council should be relieved from the executive administration of any one presidency—also that the Commander-in-Chief should be relieved from the direct charge of any particular army. Sir Charles (afterwards Lord) Metcalfe, then a member of the Supreme Council, expressed the same opinion. Mr. Charles Grant (Lord Glenelg), the President of the Board of Control, drafted the scheme of his Bill very much according to Lord W. Bentinck's views, except that the Governor-General was still to be Governor of Bengal. It was also intended that Councils should be abolished at the minor Presidencies; but at the recommendation of the Court their retention was left optional, as above stated. Whilst the Bill was passing through Committee, it was proposed that the Governor-General should have two Lieutenant-Governors under him for the Bengal Presidency, and another amendment was moved that the Governor-General should be relieved from the charge of any particular Presidency. But these amendments were lost.

CHAP.  
I.

The Bill was passed on the 20th August, 1833. But the fourth Presidency of Agra was never established, the proposal of the Court of Directors, that a Lieutenant-Governor should be appointed to the Agra\* division of the Bengal Presidency, being accepted by the Board of Control, and legalised by an Act passed in 1835.† The country placed under the new Lieutenant-Governor was styled the North-Western Provinces, an infelicitous term, always geographically incorrect, and rendered still more

Modifi-  
cations  
carried out  
after-  
wards.

\* The Appellate Courts and Board of Revenue of the Upper Provinces were moved from Allahabad to Agra about this time. The mutiny brought to light the political disadvantages of making Agra the capital, and Allahabad has again been made the seat of government of the North-West Provinces.

† 5 & 6 William IV. cap. 52.

BOOK  
I.

inappropriate by the subsequent conquest of the Punjab. The Councils at Madras and Bombay were retained ; no Council was appointed for the Presidency of Fort William, the government of which was henceforward conducted by the Governor-General alone, with an entirely separate establishment from that attached to the Government of India.

Considering the state of India at this time—that the three Presidencies were practically quite isolated, with most imperfect and tardy means of communication with each other—it will probably be considered that the plan suggested by Lord William Bentinck and Sir Charles Metcalfe, of having a central government merely for supervising the other governments, then only four in number, would have been premature. The state of Central India at that time did not admit of a central government being placed there ; while to have conducted the whole business arising between India and England, by means of a central government, situated there or anywhere else (as seems to have been contemplated), would have been productive of extreme delay. It must have been then far simpler and more convenient for the Governments of Madras and Bombay to correspond for the most part directly with England ; while, on the other hand, the amount of business coming up in those days from the four subordinate governments, would probably not have been sufficient fully to employ the central authority. But, as will be seen presently, the conditions of the case are now entirely altered. The difficulty of communication has disappeared ; the number of separate administrations under the Supreme Government has been augmented from four to ten ; the business of government in every department has enormously increased ; while various causes, to be stated hereafter, combine to remove the differences of regulation and system which at that time militated against a general fusion of Indian administration under one head.

The further additions made to the British Empire in India, from 1833 to the present time, may now be briefly stated.

CHAP.  
I.

Further  
additions  
to British  
posses-  
sions.

In 1834 the small mountainous principality of Coorg, in Southern India, was annexed. The Commissioner who administered the affairs of the Rajah of Mysore, the western part of which province adjoins it, was made Commissioner of Coorg also.

Coorg;

So early as 1809 the British Government, under the administration of Lord Minto, had assumed the protection of the numerous petty Sikh states lying between the Jumna and the Sutlej; and brigades had been quartered at Loodiana and Ferozepoor, on the left bank of the latter river, to protect them against the incursions of Runjeet Singh, the ruler of the Punjab. On the failure of heirs to some of these chieftains, their possessions, on their death, were deemed to have lapsed to the British Government, which thus became possessed, between the years 1836 and 1843, of the country now known as the Cis-Sutlej States, comprising the districts of Thanesur, Umballa, Loodiana, and Ferozepoor. This territory was not attached to any presidency, but was placed under the Governor-General's Agent, who had charge of the diplomatic relations on this frontier, and the superintendence of the remaining protected chiefs.

territory  
on the  
Sutlej;

In 1841 the Nawab of Kurnool, in the north of the Madras Presidency, was discovered to be engaged in a plot for the subversion of our power. He was accordingly deposed, and Kurnool now forms one of the districts of the Madras Presidency.

Kurnool;

In 1843 Sind was annexed. The non-regulation system was adopted for this province, which was eventually placed under the orders of the Government of Bombay.

Sind.

In 1845 the war with the Sikhs broke out. At its conclusion the British Government occupied the Punjab, and appointed a Council of Regency, with a British

Sikh war.

BOOK  
I.  
Annexa-  
tion of  
Trans-  
Sutlej ter-  
ritory.

Annexa-  
tion of  
Punjab.

officer, styled Resident, at the head, to conduct the government of the country on behalf of the rajah, a minor. That part of the Punjab between the Sutlej and Beas, a tract of very fine country called the Jullundur Doab, or Trans-Sutlej States, was however annexed, and placed in charge of a Commissioner, under the orders of the Resident at Lahore. In 1848 the Punjab broke out into insurrection; the result of the war which followed was the annexation of the whole country. The province was not attached to any Presidency, but the direct control was assumed by the Governor-General in Council, the executive government being vested at first in a Board of Administration of three members, and afterwards in a Chief Commissioner. The non-regulation system was adopted, with a mixed administrative staff of civilians and military officers.

Second  
Burmese  
war.  
Cession of  
Pegu.

In 1852 occurred the second Burmese war, which was terminated by the cession of Pegu. Here also the non-regulation system was adopted, the province being put in charge of a Commissioner, who was placed directly under the orders of the Government of India: the garrison of the province was, however, supplied by the Madras Army.

Annexa-  
tion of  
Nagpoor.

In 1854 the Rajah of Nagpoor died, without heirs, and his kingdom was deemed to have lapsed to the dominant power. The non-regulation system was introduced here also, under a Commissioner and staff of civilians and military men chosen from the three Presidencies. Nagpoor had been already for many years garrisoned by Madras troops.

Further  
renewal of  
Charter.  
Act of  
1853.

In 1853 the Charter of the Company came again to an end. In anticipation of this event, Select Committees of Enquiry were appointed, in the previous year, from both Houses of Parliament, who examined a great number of witnesses, and collected an immense amount of evidence on the state of India. No detailed reports were drawn up by the Committees, but the evidence taken sufficiently

indicated the nature of some of the changes which were desirable. Strong testimony was borne to the inconvenience and injustice to the people of Bengal, of the arrangement which placed that province directly under the Governor-General. It was pointed out, that not only did the vastly increased labour imposed on that personage of late years, in his capacity as head of the Supreme Government—arising out of the large additions of territory acquired, and the increased business carried on in every department of the administration—necessarily almost wholly engross his time, or, at any rate, leave not leisure for adequate supervision of the separate affairs of this province; a still greater defect was the constant change of Bengal administrations. The necessity for their presence near the army and the frontier, during the wars which had prevailed, almost without intermission, since 1838, had made the Governors-General, from the time of Lord Auckland, almost strangers to their capital; at most they had paid brief and unfrequent visits to it. During their absence the senior Member of Council acted as Governor of Bengal, under the provision of the Act of Parliament; and as the same person seldom remained senior Member of Council for many months, and the acting Governor was, moreover, displaced whenever the Governor-General returned to Calcutta, the province of Bengal was thus constantly subject to a change of rulers; and the government virtually fell into the hands of the Secretary, who might be an officer of small experience, or at any rate was wholly irresponsible. The notoriously backward and neglected state of Bengal was pointed to, particularly as regards public works; and the inefficient state of the police, as evidenced by the prevalence of gang robberies and other crimes, as a necessary consequence of this defective superintendence. On the other hand, the marks of progress and vigorous administration apparent in the North-Western Provinces were cited as proof of

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Lieut.-  
Governor  
appointed  
for Bengal.

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the advantages of a system of undivided responsibility, as opposed to a government by a Council or Board, and a similar plan was recommended for the Lower Provinces. Whether this superiority was due to the particular form of government supplied to the former, or to its being supplied with a responsible government of any form, will be a matter for notice hereafter: it will suffice to observe here, that the case for a change of some sort was clearly made out, and the Act of 1853 provided that the Court of Directors might either appoint a Governor to Bengal, or authorise the Governor-General in Council to appoint any servant of the Company of ten years' service in India to be Lieutenant-Governor 'of such part of the territories under the Presidency of Fort William, in Bengal, as may not be under the Lieutenant-Governor of the North-Western Provinces.' A Lieutenant-Governor was accordingly appointed, whose seat of government was fixed at Calcutta.

Legisla-  
tive Coun-  
cil estab-  
lished.

Another important change effected by the Act was the establishment of a Legislative Council for India. By the Act of 1833, all laws and regulations were enacted by the Supreme Council, consisting of the Governor-General and three members, besides the Commander-in-Chief, and one additional member for legislative business, not being a servant of the Company, who had always been an English barrister. Its proceedings were conducted in private, the only publicity attending them being that the drafts of proposed Acts were usually published in the official Gazette some weeks before they became law. A Legislative Council, on a somewhat wider basis, was now established, consisting, in addition to the members of the Supreme Executive Council, as before, of four members, nominated by the Governors of Madras and Bombay, and Lieutenant-Governors of Bengal and North-Western Provinces, respectively, besides the Chief Justice and one Puisne Judge of the Supreme Court at Calcutta. Two additional members might also be nominated from the



Indian Service by the Governor-General. The Legislative Council, which would thus consist of fourteen members, was established in a separate building from that in which the Supreme Executive Council held its sittings. Under the standing orders laid down, the proceedings were conducted on the plan common to deliberative assemblies generally, and the public were admitted to its discussions.

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In 1856 the kingdom of Oudh was annexed to the British dominions. The Punjab system of administration was introduced into this province, with a Chief Commissioner at the head, and a mixed staff of officials.

Annexation of Oudh.

This has been the last acquisition to the British Empire in India of sufficient importance to be recorded here. But the following important administrative changes have been made since the great events of 1857 :—

Recent administrative changes.

I. The country formerly known as the Delhi Territory, up to the right bank of the Jumna, and including the city of Delhi and adjacent districts, was transferred from the North-Western Provinces to the Punjab, and the administration of that province was transferred by the Government of India to a Lieutenant-Governor, the Chief Commissioner being elevated to that rank.\*

Transfer of Delhi Territory to Punjab.

II. A new territorial division was created in 1861, termed the Central Provinces, by detaching the country known as the Saugor and Nerbudda Territories from the Government of the North-Western Provinces, and uniting it to the province of Nagpoor, the Commissioner of which became Chief Commissioner of the amalgamated province.

Formation of Central Provinces;

III. In the same year, the territories which had been ceded by the Court of Ava in 1825 and 1853, viz. Arracan, attached to the Government of Bengal; the province of Pegu, and the long maritime tract called the Tenasserim and Martaban provinces—heretofore under

of British Burmah.

\* The first Chief Commissioner and first Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab was the present Lord Lawrence, late Governor-General of India.

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**I.**

Adminis-  
tration  
formed for  
Berar.

separate Commissioners, directly subordinate to the Government of India—all inhabited by Buddhists, speaking the Burmese language, were amalgamated under one administration, conducted by a Chief Commissioner.

IV. In 1853 the Nizam ceded the province of Berar in perpetuity, in payment for the expense of the force maintained for his support, known as the Hyderabad Contingent, the contributions due to the British Government for keeping up which had fallen greatly into arrears. In 1860 the boundaries of the province underwent some alteration. Berar has been formed into two divisions, each under a Commissioner, with the usual mixed staff of civil and military officers. This country, however, is held only in trust for the Nizam. The revenues and expenditure are accounted for separately from those of British India, and any surplus, after defraying all expenditure, including the cost of the contingent, is paid over to the Nizam. The Commissioners are under the immediate orders of the Resident at Hyderabad, who is thus virtually governor of the province.

Straits  
Settle-  
ments  
transferred  
to Colonial  
Office.

V. The settlements of Penang, Malacca, and Singapore, in the Malayan Archipelago—which, since their acquisition in the last century, had been deemed to be a part of British India, and garrisoned by Madras troops, with a Governor appointed by and reporting to the Governor-General in Council—were transferred, in 1866, to the Colonial Office, the Indian officials and troops being withdrawn.

There remains to notice, briefly, the following recent administrative changes :—

Transfer  
of govern-  
ment from  
Company  
to Crown.  
Act of  
1858.

I. In 1858, the government of India was transferred from the Company to the Crown.\* In place of the Court of Directors and the Board of Control, the supervision of Indian affairs was vested in a Secretary of State, with a Council of fifteen members, who hold office during good behaviour—eight to be appointed by the Secretary of

State, and seven by the majority of the Council; none of the Councillors to sit in Parliament. This constitution was somewhat modified by an Act passed in 1869,\* under which all future appointments of Councillors are to be made by the Secretary of State.

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The Supreme Council in India became the Council of the Governor-General. Appointments of Governor-General, fourth ordinary Member of Council, and Governors of Presidencies, were to be made by Her Majesty, by warrant under her royal sign-manual; those of ordinary Members of Council and of Commanders-in-Chief by the Secretary of State in Council, with the concurrence of a majority of members present at a meeting;† of Lieutenant-Governors by the Governor-General subject to the approval of Her Majesty. The Secretary of State was vested with the power of acting without the concurrence of his Council, except in matters involving an expenditure of public money. From this time the dignity and title of Viceroy have been conferred on the Governor-General.

II. In 1861 was passed the Indian Councils Act, containing the following provisions. Another member was added to the Governor-General's Council. Until 1859, the fourth ordinary member had always been a barrister; but in that year, the financial difficulties of the Indian Government led to the vacancy being filled up by the appointment of the well-known financier, the late Mr. James Wilson, then Secretary to the Treasury; and on his death, in the following year, Mr. S. Laing, who had succeeded him at the Treasury, was appointed in his place. This arrangement left the Council without a legal member, and it was therefore provided, in 1861, that two ordinary members should be appointed under warrant by Her Majesty, who need not belong to the Indian service,

Legisla-  
tion of  
1861.  
Indian  
Councils  
Act.

\* Act 32 & 33 Vict. cap. 87.

† By the Act of 1869 referred to above, all members of Council are now appointed by Her Majesty, by warrant under her royal sign-manual.

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one of whom was to be a barrister of ten years' standing. At the same time, all the ordinary members were placed on an equal footing, and henceforward took precedence in order of appointment. The Council of the Governor-General, therefore, now consists of five members—besides the Commander-in-Chief, who may be appointed an extraordinary member—of whom three must be members of the Indian service. Of these three, it has always been customary to appoint one from the Indian Army.

Heretofore, the senior ordinary Member of Council succeeded by law to the office of Governor-General, should it be vacated, pending the arrival of a successor. Since, under the arrangement above described, the senior member might be a person appointed solely for legal or financial requirements, without any experience in Indian administration, it was now provided that such vacancy should in future be filled by the Governor of Madras or Bombay, whichever should have been first appointed. It was in virtue of this clause that, on the sudden death of Lord Elgin in 1863, Sir William Denison, Governor of Madras, succeeded to the office of Governor-General pending the arrival of Sir John Lawrence.

The Legislative Council also underwent alteration. It now consists of twelve members, besides those of the Executive Council, of whom one-half must be non-official persons, and some have always been natives of rank. The remainder are usually members of the Civil Service, drawn during the session from different parts of India. Similar Legislative Councils have been established for the provinces of Madras, Bombay, and Bengal, and the Government of India is empowered to establish similar Councils, whenever it shall think fit, in the North-Western Provinces and Punjab.

Civil Service Act.

III. An important Act, termed the Civil Service Act, was passed in 1861, to which reference will be made hereafter.

IV. In the same year were amalgamated the Supreme

or Crown Courts at each Presidency town,\* which heretofore had exercised a jurisdiction of rule independent of the Indian Government, with the Indian Appellate Courts of Suddur Adawlut. The new tribunals were styled High Courts, and are composed each of a bench of barrister and civilian judges, or native pleaders of those courts, appointed by the Crown.

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I.  
Establishment of high courts.

Having thus followed the course of the development of English rule throughout the country, it may now be useful to survey briefly the territorial divisions into which British India has for administrative purposes been divided.

Provinces of British India recapitulated.

I. The great Presidency of Fort William, in Bengal, has, since 1833, been separated into two divisions. Of these, the lower or south-eastern portion, comprising the original conquest of Clive with subsequent additions in the same quarter, is under the administration of a functionary styled the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal. This great country, which is considerably larger than France, somewhat larger than Austria, and contains a larger population than either, may be considered as made up of two distinct elements, each of almost exactly the same magnitude. The one consists of the well-cultivated and thickly-populated districts of the basin of the Ganges, which constitute Behar and Bengal proper, with the maritime districts of Orissa, all of which are subject to the general regulations and administrative system of the Indian Government. The other is made up of various outlying provinces, inhabited by primitive and less civilised races, and which are governed in a more or less informal and special manner. Of these non-regulation provinces, as they are termed, the principal are: 1. The great country of Assam, with the adjacent parts drained by

Bengal.

\* The Supreme Court of Fort William was established in 1773; that of Madras in 1800; that of Bombay in 1823.

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I.

the Brahmapootra and its tributaries, altogether as large as England with Wales: 2. The hill tracts of Orissa 3. The extensive territory south of Behar, which is still inappropriately termed the South-West Frontier. This tract, which has an area not far short of that of England forms the eastern shoulder of the great table-land of Central India, and is for the most part a wild and mountainous country, clothed with forests, and inhabited chiefly by the aboriginal races of India. Many parts of it have been scarcely ever visited by Europeans, and are tenanted by little else than the tiger and its prey.

The total population of the country under the Government of Bengal, is estimated to be not far short of forty millions; but, as will be readily understood, the non-regulation portion of the country contains but a small proportion of this total, and contributes scarcely any appreciable share of the general revenue. The population of these wild tracts is assumed to be about four millions; but this is a mere guess, and there is no reason to suppose that the actual number is in excess of this figure. The other portion has a population of nearly 300 to the square mile, being considerably in excess of the average population of Great Britain and Ireland. Bengal is divided into eleven commissionerships or divisions, and fifty-four districts, of which thirty-five belong to the regulation portion of the province.

N. W.  
Provinces.

II. The other division of the Presidency of Fort William, known as the North-West Provinces, is about two-thirds the extent of the regulation provinces of Bengal, and nearly equal in area to Great Britain. It has the largest population in proportion to its size of any of the great territorial divisions of India, there being an average of 361 persons to the square mile, which exceeds that of any country in Europe, except Belgium. The province is divided into thirty-five districts, of which twenty-nine are grouped into six commissionerships, and the rest are non-regulation.

III. The territory under the Governor and Council of Madras is, in extent, about one-half of that under the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, and a little larger than Great Britain with Ireland, but is much less densely populated than those countries, having an average of 180 persons to the square mile, or nearly the same as in France. These Madras territories, it should be added, which are not subject to the action of the perpetual settlement, produce the largest land revenue of any province in India. They are divided into nineteen districts.

IV. The Bombay Presidency is about three-fourths of, or including the cultivated portions of Sind, nearly equal in extent to the North-Western Provinces. If the uncultivated and uninhabited tracts on the borders of Sind be added, the total area nominally subordinate to the Governor and Council of Bombay slightly exceeds the Madras Presidency. The population is comparatively sparse, being, in the regulation districts of the Presidency proper, at the rate of about 170 persons to the square mile; but the land revenue contributed per head is higher here than in any other part of India. The British territories of this presidency are very much mixed up with those of the various native States which are superintended by the government of Bombay. The province is divided into nineteen districts, of which five are in Sind.

V. The Punjab, under a Lieutenant-Governor, has the same extent, and about two-thirds as great a population as the kingdom of Italy. The upper part is well cultivated and thickly peopled; towards the south, where it joins Sind and the great Indian desert, the soil, barren from the want of rain, supports only a scanty population. The Punjab is divided into thirty-two districts, grouped under ten commissioners.

VI. Oudh, administered by a chief Commissioner under the order of the government of India. About equal in extent to Belgium and Holland together, and

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I.

Madras.

Bombay.

Punjab.

Oudh.

- BOOK I.** almost as densely populated. It forms four commissionerships and twelve districts.
- Central Provinces.** VII. The Central Provinces, also under a Chief Commissioner. Nearly as large as the Madras Presidency, but containing a large proportion of uncultivated and forest land, sparsely inhabited by aboriginal tribes. There are here nineteen districts organised in four divisions.
- Burmah.** VIII. Burmah, organised in three divisions and thirteen districts, and administered by a Chief Commissioner. Nearly three times as large as Scotland, but with a smaller population. A large part of this province consists of uninhabited forest land.
- Berar.** IX. Berar, administered by the Resident at the Nizam's Court, under the orders of the Government of India. Somewhat larger than Denmark, with about the same amount of population. It has been formed into five districts under two commissioners.
- Mysore.** X. To the foregoing may be considered as added, for administrative purposes, the province of Mysore, forming that portion of the kingdom of Tippoo which, on its conquest, was made over to the descendant of the ancient Hindoo rulers, then a child. The government was administered in the first instance by a commission of British officials, until 1811, when the raja having attained his majority, the government was transferred to him. In 1832 the management of the country was resumed in consequence of the raja's misrule, and it has since then been administered in his name by an English Chief Commissioner, who is directly under the orders of the Government of India. It has lately been determined to restore Mysore to the raja's adopted son, when he shall attain his majority; in the meantime, from an administrative point of view, the country may be regarded as one of the British provinces. Mysore, which is a tableland elevated from three to six thousand feet above the level of the sea, is about as large as Bavaria, and nearly as populous. It is divided into three divisions and



eight districts. The small mountainous province of Coorg is attached to the administration of Mysore.

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There remains to notice the different native States which still comprise a large proportion of the whole peninsula of India. All these are subject to the control of the paramount power, which is exercised in a greater or less degree, according to the nature of the treaty subsisting with each State. Generally speaking, they have unrestricted civil and criminal jurisdiction, raise their own revenues, and in some cases levy customs on the frontier of their territories; and some of them maintain a considerable military force, more or less disciplined and equipped. But they are not required to take any share in the general defence of the country, although some of them make a contribution for this purpose to the imperial exchequer; they have no political relations with other States, and in most cases their territories are occupied by garrisons of British troops, European and native. They are thus very much in the position of the mediatized principalities of Germany. Of these States the most important is the dominion of the Nizam, the successor of the Mahomedan viceroy of the Deccan. A large British garrison is stationed at Hyderabad, the capital of the country, termed a subsidiary force, in consideration of which certain territory was permanently ceded by the Nizam in 1801; \* this force, it may be explained, being additional to that known as the Hyderabad Contingent, which is nominally the Nizam's own army. The Nizam's territory is larger than Great Britain, but a considerable part of it is waste or forest land, and the population at a rough guess is estimated not to exceed eleven millions. The post of Resident at the Court of Hyderabad is deemed to be the most important administrative office in India, save that of councillor or governor.

Native  
States.

Hydera-  
bad.

Rajpoo-  
tana.

Next in importance to the Deccan is the group of

\* See page 27.

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I.

native States, principally rajpoot, which under the name of Rajpootana occupies such a conspicuous place on the map of India. This great tract, which extends about 460 miles from north to south, and has an extreme breadth of 530 miles, comprises eighteen separate States, which since the final overthrow of the Mahratta power in 1817 have been under the protection of the British Government. The smallest of these States is smaller than an English county; the largest, Marwar, has a greater extent than Ireland, but bordering on the Indian desert, contains a large proportion of sterile land, and the total population of the State is roughly estimated not to exceed a million and a half. The total population of Rajpootana is put down at eight and a half millions; the aggregate military forces maintained by the States are about seventy thousand men. The affairs of Rajpootana are superintended by an official, styled Agent to the Governor-General, who resides at Ajmere, a small British district situated in the centre of the country, and who is aided by a staff of assistants and political agents. One of these agents is accredited to each of the larger States, while a single officer supervises a cluster of the smaller ones. Rajpootana is garrisoned by British brigades stationed at Nusseerabad and Neemuch, and the main lines of road throughout the country are constructed and maintained by British officials at the charge of the imperial treasury.

States in  
Central  
India.

Another very important group of native States is that supervised by the Agent to the Governor-General for Central India, which includes the native portion of the great table-land of Malwa, or Central India, and a number of States in Bundelcund. Some of these are petty chieftainships of less than a dozen square miles, the owners of which are, however, independent of all authority, save that of the British Government; but the Agency also includes the Mahratta principalities of

Holkar and Sindia, once the most powerful chiefs in India; and the dominions still in the possession of the latter form a country larger than Ireland. The table-land of Central India contains some of the finest parts of the continent, but it has been the scene of war and rapine from the first decline of the Mahomedan empire, a hundred and fifty years ago, until comparatively recent times; and the territories under the Central India agency, nearly 80,000 square miles, are estimated to contain not more than eight millions of persons. Central India is occupied by strong brigades of British troops, stationed at Mhow and Gwalior. Bundelcund also is garrisoned in the same way.

The ancient Hindoo principality of Travancore, in the extreme south of the peninsula, which is in size about as large as an average district, and the still smaller State of Cochin, have both survived all the revolutions brought about by successive invasions of India, and the anarchy which followed the dissolution of Mahomedan power. They are supervised by the Government of Madras, which also controls the chiefs of some wild tracts bordering on the northern districts of the Presidency.

Some extensive native States are interspersed among the Bombay districts, and supervised by the Government of that Presidency. Of these the principal are the possessions of the numerous petty chiefs in Kattywar and other parts of Guzerat. There are also the districts still held by the Guicowar, formerly a member of the Mahratta Confederate Empire, and a great number of petty States—more properly styled in some cases estates—belonging to Mahratta chiefs. Altogether the part of India generally known as the Bombay Presidency consists of British and native districts in nearly equal parts.

The native States supervised by the Government of Bengal, Bengal consist entirely of wild and sparsely inhabited

**BOOK I.** tracts. These are, 1. A large and little known country on the south-west frontier of Bengal, inhabited for the most part by aboriginal tribes. 2. The mountainous tracts between Assam and Bengal called the Garrow and Cossya Hills. 3. Tipperah, north of the British district of Chittagong. 4. Muneepoor, which although controlled by the Government of Bengal, can however hardly be considered a part of British India, being bounded on the east by the King of Burmah's dominions. The extent of all these great tracts is no index of their relative importance in the general political system.

**Punjab,** The native States under the superintendence of the Punjab Government comprise an area of more than forty thousand square miles. Of this more than one half belongs to the Mahomedan principality of Bahawalpore, the greater part of which is little better than desert. There are several small Sikh States between the Sutlej and Jumna, and there are numerous petty principalities in the Himalayas—among which is situated the well known sanatorium, Simla—whose allegiance was transferred from the Nepaulese to the British, after the war of 1814. Cashmere, a country larger than England, for the most part consisting of enormous mountain ranges, although beyond British territory, is subject to British influence and a certain degree of control.

**and Central Provinces.** The southern parts of the Central Provinces contain some extensive tracts, almost uninhabited and uninhabitable, which are under the rule of native chiefs.

**Area and population of India.** The following table exhibits the principal political divisions of India, as above described. The whole country is slightly less in extent and population than the continent of Europe without Russia. It should be added that the estimate of the population of most of the native States is a mere approximation of the roughest kind. The land revenue of each British province is stated, but it will be readily understood that this is not

necessarily an index of their total revenues, or of their comparative wealth and importance :—

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I

| Province   | Area in Square Miles |           | Population  | Land Revenue   |
|--|----------------------|-----------|-------------|----------------|
| BRITISH PROVINCES.                                 |                      |           |             |                |
| Bengal regulation districts . . . . .              | 122,000              | 245,000   | 38,500,000  | £<br>3,838,000 |
| " non-regulation districts . . . . .               | 123,000              |           |             |                |
| N. W. Provinces regulation districts . . . . .     | 64,000               | 83,000    | 30,000,000  | 3,994,000      |
| " non-regulation districts . . . . .               | 19,000               |           |             |                |
| Madras . . . . .                                   | —                    | 124,000   | 26,500,000  | 4,376,000      |
| Bombay regulation districts . . . . .              | 63,000               | 117,000   | 12,500,000  | 2,944,000      |
| " Sind cultivated districts . . . . .              | 15,000               |           |             |                |
| " desert . . . . .                                 | 39,000               | 102,000   | 17,600,000  | 1,877,000      |
| Punjab non-regulation districts . . . . .          | —                    | 23,000    | 8,000,000   | 1,033,000      |
| Oudh ditto . . . . .                               | —                    | 83,000    | 8,000,000   | 671,000        |
| Central Provinces ditto . . . . .                  | —                    | 80,000    | 2,400,000   | 283,000        |
| Burmah ditto . . . . .                             | —                    | 17,000    | 2,200,000   | 493,000        |
| Benar ditto . . . . .                              | —                    | 2,000     | 100,000     | 21,000         |
| Coorg ditto . . . . .                              | —                    | —         | —           | —              |
| Total British territories . . . . .                | —                    | 876,000   | 145,800,000 | 19,452,000     |
| NATIVE STATES.                                     |                      |           |             |                |
| Under Government of India :—                       |                      |           |             |                |
| Mysore . . . . .                                   | 31,000               | —         | 3,500,000   | —              |
| Hyderabad . . . . .                                | 95,000               | —         | 10,600,000  | —              |
| Rajpootana . . . . .                               | 123,000              | —         | 8,500,000   | —              |
| Central India . . . . .                            | 77,000               | —         | —           | —              |
|  | —                    | 326,000   | 7,900,000   | —              |
| Under Government of—                               |                      |           |             |                |
| Madras . . . . .                                   | —                    | 21,000    | 1,750,000   | —              |
| Bombay . . . . .                                   | —                    | 60,000    | 4,500,000   | —              |
| Bengal . . . . .                                   | —                    | 46,000    | 1,500,000   | —              |
| N. W. Provinces . . . . .                          | —                    | 6,000     | 400,000     | —              |
| Punjab, in British territory . . . . .             | 43,000               | —         | —           | —              |
| " " Cashmere . . . . .                             | 60,000               | —         | 3,550,000   | —              |
|  | —                    | 103,000   | 3,000,000   | —              |
| Central Provinces . . . . .                        | —                    | 33,000    | 1,100,000   | —              |
| Total Native States . . . . .                      | —                    | 595,000   | 46,200,000  | —              |
| Grand total area and population of India . . . . . | —                    | 1,471,000 | 192,000,000 | —              |

## BOOK II.

## CONSTITUTION OF THE INDIAN GOVERNMENT.

## CHAPTER II.

## THE PRESIDENCIES.

BOOK  
II.  
Popular  
view that  
India con-  
sists of  
three Pre-  
sidencies  
erroneous.

THE NATURE of the first proposition, which it is the object of this work to establish, will probably have been already apprehended from the summary given in the foregoing chapter. It will be readily perceived from this account of the circumstances under which the administration of British India has gradually assumed its present form, that the idea popularly entertained, and countenanced more or less by official usage, that British India is divided into three Presidencies, is entirely inaccurate. This mode of division was correct at one time, but is so no longer.

British India is now divided into ten great provinces, each under its own civil government. These governments are vested with different degrees of executive power; but they are quite independent of each other; and all of them, both in law and practice, exercise their functions subject to the direct authority and control of the Governor-General of India in Council.

Ambiguity  
of the  
term 'Pre-  
sidency.'

It will also have been gathered from the first chapter that the titles popularly given to the three Presidencies, when they constituted the whole of British India, are

not their correct names. The territorial division known as Madras is properly the Presidency of Fort George, and no such place as the Bengal Presidency has ever existed. The ambiguous sense in which the word 'Presidency' itself is commonly used should also be noticed. Originally the title was applied to the governing body at each of the three principal settlements, the Commission namely of President and Council, to which the powers of the Company were delegated. From this meaning the term came to be extended to the territories of which those bodies in course of time obtained the possession; but even in this sense it has not been used with precision. The Acts of Parliament determining the form of Government for India, to which we have referred, all speak of 'the Presidency of Fort William in Bengal,' as if the Presidency were less than, and contained within, the country called Bengal; whereas, from the year 1813, it has been pronounced lawful to add various ceded territories beyond that country to the Presidency of Fort William. Further, the term 'Presidency' is frequently used, both popularly and in official language, to signify the capital town as distinguished from the interior of the country. Thus a person going to Calcutta or Madras, is said to be going 'to the Presidency;' officials residing at those towns are entitled in consequence to certain extra or 'presidency allowance;' and the divisions of the army, of which the commanding general's head-quarters are placed at the capital, are styled the 'presidency divisions.\*' It may be added that the name of each presidency has been somewhat differently derived. That on the western coast takes its name, both officially and in common parlance, from the seat of government; that on the eastern coast, usually known by the name of the capital town, is styled in official documents by the name of the fort which over-

\* This ambiguity is very conspicuous in the Mutiny Act, one section of which employs the term 'presidency' in the sense of a territorial division, while the following one uses it to denote a capital town.

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II.And of  
name  
'Bengal.'

looks the town; the third presidency derives its popular name from the most important of the different countries comprised within it.

Further the name 'Bengal' itself is also commonly used in three different senses. First, to denote the country, sometimes styled 'Bengal proper,' inhabited by the race which speaks the Bengalee language. Secondly, it is applied to the territories formerly comprised in the souhbadaree or viceroyalty of Bengal during the Mahomedan era; namely, the three great provinces of 'Bengal proper,' Behar, and Orissa, which with the provinces of Assam and Cuttack, subsequently added, are now under the jurisdiction of the 'Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal.' Thirdly, it is applied to the great plain of Upper India, extending from the mouths of the Brahmapootra to the borders of Afghanistan, which is garrisoned by the Bengal army, and administered by the agency of the Bengal civil service; and which, speaking roughly, is comprised by the three Lieutenant-Governorships and the Province of Oudh. This third application of the title 'Bengal Presidency,' which is the one most familiar to English readers, has no doubt arisen from the circumstance that the Bengal army is governed directly by the Governor-General in Council, who until 1833 was styled the General-Governor in Council of *Fort William in Bengal*; and also because the official body, termed the 'Bengal Civil Service,' constitutes the principal administrative agency throughout the countries garrisoned by the Bengal army. But, as we have seen, such a territorial division is not recognised by the law, and is quite inaccurate as a representation of facts. The Presidency of Fort William, as defined by the Act of 1833, comprises only the territories now under the jurisdiction of the Lieutenant-Governors of Bengal and the North-Western Provinces; while the so-called 'Bengal' Government—applying that term, not to the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, whom it properly denotes, but, after



popular usage, to the Government which controls the Bengal army, viz. the Governor-General of India in Council—is not more directly concerned with the administration of the provinces garrisoned by the Bengal army, than with that of any other part of India. It is even less concerned with such of these provinces as are ruled by Lieutenant-Governors, than with the provinces like Mysore and Berar, in the south and centre of India, the administrators of which possess less independent authority than do the Lieutenant-Governors.

As regards Madras and Bombay, the idea of a territorial division by presidential limits is so far appropriate that there are distinct armies and civil services employed in the territories under the jurisdiction of the Governments of Madras [Fort St. George] and Bombay respectively; and this fact has no doubt helped to foster the idea that there exists a third great territorial division, coextensive with the area covered by the third army and civil service. But even in the case of Madras and Bombay, the division by Presidencies holds good but partially. The troops and the civilians employed in the Madras [Fort St. George] Presidency, are certainly none but Madras troops and Madras civilians; but these bodies are also extensively employed beyond the limits of that presidency. The Madras army\* furnishes the garrisons of

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Origin of  
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aries.

\* Distribution of Madras army, including British forces borne on the Madras establishment:—

|   | Batteries<br>Artillery | Regiments Cavalry |        | Battalions Infantry |        |
|---|------------------------|-------------------|--------|---------------------|--------|
|   |                        | European          | Native | European            | Native |
| Stationed within limits of<br>Madras Presidency .                               | 8                      | 0                 | 2      | 3                   | 19     |
| Stationed in Provinces under<br>direct control of Supreme<br>Government . . . . | 14                     | 2                 | 2      | 6                   | 21     |
| Total . . . .   | 22                     | 2                 | 4      | 9                   | 40     |

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the province of Mysore, the foreign kingdom of Hyderabad a great part of the Central Provinces, and the transmarin province of Burmah; countries the administrations of which are under the direct control of the Governor-General in Council, and have no sort of connection with or subordination to, the Government of Madras. The portion of the Madras army remaining at the disposal of the Madras Government, and stationed within the Madras Presidency, is, in fact, a mere fraction of the whole. Moreover, officers of the Madras civil service and army are largely employed in these provinces, in various civil capacities, and also to some extent in Oudh and the Punjab, the non-regulation provinces of the so-called Bengal Presidency. While so employed, they are wholly removed from the control and authority of the government of the presidency to which they are nominally deemed to belong.

The same remarks apply, in a lesser degree, to the Bombay army, which besides garrisoning the Bombay Presidency, also furnishes garrisons for the large stations of Mhow, Nusseerabad, and Neemuch, situated in foreign states, supervised by agents of the Supreme Government. Furthermore, the members of the Bombay Services, civil and military, are eligible, equally with those of Bengal, for employment in the different provinces administered by the Supreme Government.

Con-  
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Bengal  
Presidency  
and army.

The common notion, moreover, that the Bengal Presidency—using the term in its popular sense, *i.e.* to mean the country garrisoned by the Bengal army—consists of the three Lieutenant-Governorships and the province of Oudh, expresses the facts only very roughly. The Bengal army garrisons these territories, but it also shares with the Madras army the duty of supplying troops for the Central Provinces; and with the Bombay army garrisoning the Native States of Central India and Rajpootana.

Further, the body of officials known as the Beng

Civil Service, though bearing one name, is divided into two distinct parts, one of which is employed under the Bengal Government, the other in the northern provinces of India. The candidates for the Civil Service make their choice between these two divisions on first appointment, and shape their studies in the Indian languages accordingly, during their period of probation in England. Henceforward the divisions of the service are almost as completely separated from each other as they are from the Bombay and Madras Civil Services. The young civilians nominated to Bengal are at once on arrival placed at the disposal of the Lieutenant-Governor of that province, while the first distribution of those who form the second division, among the three northern provinces (the North-West Provinces, the Punjab, and Oudh), is made by the Government of India; but henceforward the employment and promotion of all are determined by the respective Lieutenant-Governors. The only bond of union between these two divisions, beyond their common name, is in fact that the members of both subscribe to one common fund for retiring annuities and family pensions. This tie is obviously quite trifling. The two divisions might at any time have been formed into two separate civil services for Bengal and Upper India without the smallest difficulty or infringement of vested rights.

Thus there are in effect four and not three civil services. It may be added that the two divisions of the Bengal, are much larger than either the Madras or Bombay Service, and that the differences of promotion and rates of salary in the Upper and Lower Divisions of the former, are quite as great as between those of Bengal and the other two services.

So far, however, from any further subdivision being desirable, the presumption appears to be quite the other way. The original division of the Civil Service into separate bodies, although suitable enough in former

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Bengal  
Civil  
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Madras or  
Bombay  
Civil  
Service.

Three  
separate  
civil  
services no  
longer ne-  
cessary or  
suitable.

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Anomalies  
arising out  
of this se-  
paration.

years, has now become obsolete and useless. The popular notion that it secures that our officials shall be conversant with the languages of the people whom they are set over, is quite fallacious. The diversity of languages in different districts of the Madras Presidency is much greater than the diversity between the languages of adjoining districts of the different provinces and presidencies. The same remark applies to the enormous territory ruled by the Government of Bengal. A Bengal officer may be sent from Behar, where the people are Hindostanees speaking pure Oordoo, to the extreme east of Bengal, where only Bengalee is spoken, or even to Assam, where an altogether distinct language is found; and a Madras officer may be transferred from the south of the peninsula, where the language is Tamul, to the extremity of the Northern Circars, where the language is derived from a different stock, or to the Canarese districts of Bellary. All that the present presidential system secures, is that under no circumstances shall a civilian step across the border from one regulation province to another, although the line of demarcation be a purely arbitrary one, such as that which divides the Bombay and Madras Presidencies on the west coast, or the Northern Circars and Cuttack on the east. This condition, however, does not hold with respect to the non-regulation provinces, as will have been understood from what has already been said. Bengal civilians are occasionally employed in Mysore, where the Canarese language is spoken, of which they have had no previous knowledge; and Madras and Bombay civilians are occasionally employed in Upper India. In these cases the division of the services fulfils no useful purpose whatever. On the other hand, not to mention that this division tends to perpetuate needless class prejudices and jealousies, it certainly operates to deprive the Madras and Bombay Services of their proportionate share of the higher appointments under the Supreme Government, which now

almost always fall to their more fortunate brethren in Bengal. The two former are in fact confined to provincial duties; the Bengal is regarded as being, and is in fact the imperial service. And an index of the superior estimation in which it is held in consequence, is afforded by the selection made by successful candidates at the annual competitive examination for admission to the Indian Civil Service. Those at the head of the list almost invariably choose Bengal, to the extent of the available vacancies; the rest are perforce appointed to Madras and Bombay.

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The conclusion seems therefore warranted, that as regards the civil service, these presidential distinctions may with great advantage be abolished, and all Indian civilians placed on the same footing, as belonging to one imperial establishment.

Fusion of  
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Such a change would involve no alteration in the mode of first appointment. Young civilians would still be distributed as at present to the four great divisions of the country, in view to the selection of the vernacular languages to be studied during their period of probation in England, and would proceed to their destinations accordingly on arriving in India. For the smaller provinces the Government of India would obtain the services of applicants from time to time, from the governments under which they were serving, just as is done at present. But the imperial departments would be filled up by selection from the whole Indian service, instead of falling, as the secretariat appointments practically do now, to the Bengal branch, and thus a wider experience would be obtained for the service of central government. Last, but not least, the change would be one step towards dispelling the notion commonly entertained, even in India, and partly justified by the present state of things, that the Supreme Government is not the Government of India, but the Government of Bengal, a belief continually

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BOOK II. productive of friction in the wheels of Indian administration.

In view to anticipate a possible cause of objection, it will be useful to explain that this change would not affect in any sensible degree the relations between the governments of Madras and Bombay, and the civil servants employed under them. The fiction would certainly be abandoned, that a Madras or Bombay civilian serving in the Punjab or Mysore was in any way connected with the Government of Madras or Bombay; as would be the notion that the Bengal civil servants are in any way directly under the orders of the Government of India. A civilian would be recognised to be, what in fact he is already, the servant of the particular government under which he happened to be immediately employed. The necessary adjustment of the pension and annuity funds, to suit the new plan, is a matter of detail which need not be pursued here.

Amalgamation of three existing military establishments still more desirable.

If the fusion of the three civil services into one be desirable, the amalgamation of the military services—with one important reservation to be referred to presently—would be still more so; indeed, in the present altered condition of India, the measure appears to be imperatively called for. The circumstances which first caused the separation of the Indian forces into three establishments—namely, that they were controlled by independent or quasi-independent authorities, that they were operating from different bases, and obtaining their reinforcements and supplies at three separate points—have altogether passed away, and this division is the last plan anyone would now propose, if the country in its present state were to be garrisoned anew. But this point will be best established by considering separately the three cases of—1. The European troops; 2. The officers of the Indian Army; and 3. The native troops.

British troops in India.

It needs hardly be said that Her Majesty's troops serving in India belong to one and the same army, subject

to the same Articles of War and Regulations, and being in all respects under precisely similar conditions. Nevertheless, they have always been, and are still, deemed to belong to the Bengal, Bombay, or Madras 'Establishment,' according as they are serving at stations occupied by the native armies of one or other of those presidencies respectively. The only bond of connection lies in the general control exercised over all British troops in India by the Commander-in-Chief, who is also Commander-in-Chief of the Bengal native army, but has no authority over those of Madras and Bombay. This general control has reference, principally, to courts-martial and leave of absence.

So long as the Company's government lasted, the anomaly involved in this condition of things had not arisen. The European troops in India consisted then of two parts—the local forces of the Company, which included the whole of the European artillery; and the British regiments of cavalry and infantry. Now, the former were actually divided into three separate armies; each with its own separate regulations; its distinct list for promotion; each serving in its own part of India; each receiving its cadets, recruits, stores, and equipments, direct from England; and each organised, in many respects, on its own plan. So long as these separate armies were maintained, it was not unreasonable that a similar separation of establishments should be extended to the royal troops, who formed the supplement to the European garrison of the country. But the local European troops have now all been absorbed into the British service, and all local distinctions have been abolished. Simultaneously with these changes, improvements have taken place in the means of communication throughout the country, which render it possible to conduct the business of the whole army with greater precision and despatch than could formerly be applied to the different detachments of a single brigade. Under these circumstances, to maintain the antiquated system, which originated in the

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II.

Meaning  
of the term  
Establish-  
ment.

necessities of a bygone age, long after the need and use for it has passed away, must surely be indefensible when the facts of the case are once understood.

It may be well to explain here in what this presidential system consists, as applied to the British troops in India. In all other colonies, as is well known, the action of the Colonial Government is confined to recommendations for the distribution and, if need be, the employment of the troops, which in all other respects continue to be as completely under the control of the English War Office as if they were still in England. But the whole expense of the British troops stationed in India is borne by the Indian Exchequer; and consequently, except as regards discipline and the operation of the Articles of War, the whole administration of this portion of the army is conducted by the Indian Government, which determines the distribution and movement of the troops, and the allowances to be drawn by them, makes all provision for barracks and hospitals, and supplies all the establishments and camp-followers required to supplement the combatant forces. Thus a regiment on arriving in India comes under the supervision of a second War Department, and the inconsistency and anomaly of the existing practice consists in the maintenance of three War Departments instead of one. Besides the Military Department, as it is termed, of the Supreme Government, the Madras and Bombay Governments have each a smaller bureau of the same kind. Now if those Governments were financially responsible for their military administration, there might be some show of use for these offices; but since the whole military expenditure and administration throughout the country are in reality regulated entirely by the Supreme Government (to which all business has finally to be referred), these local Military Departments are, so far as the British troops are concerned, a mere interpolation of needless additional machinery.

The inconvenience, to use the mildest term, of the



present division of authority, may be best exemplified by one or two illustrations:—

The city of Nagpoor, the capital of the Central Provinces, is garrisoned by a line regiment from the Madras 'Establishment.' But Nagpoor can only be approached, from the south, by passing through an uninhabited malarious jungle, so the reliefs are usually shipped from the Madras coast to Bombay, whence a railway conveys them to Nagpoor. But as this regiment belongs to the Madras Establishment, no official cognisance of its movement would be taken by the Bombay Government, until it was requested to provide for its transport by the Madras Government. In fact the regiment, while passing through the Bombay Presidency, would be practically as much in a foreign country as are the British troops when passing through Egypt on their way to India.

Again, if the head of the administration of Burmah wants to alter the distribution of his garrison, he must apply to his superior authority, the Government of India, who state their wishes to the Government of Madras, who instruct their Commander-in-Chief to make the needful change. Or, conversely, if the general commanding the troops at Rangoon wants some improvement carried out in the barracks there, he applies to his Commander-in-Chief, who applies to the Madras Government, who apply to the Government of India, who finally instruct the Chief Commissioner accordingly. All this circumlocution is necessary, because the British regiments in Burmah are held to belong to the Madras Establishment, which supplies the native portion of the garrison.

Besides the needless multiplication of correspondence and loss of time in the disposal of business which this system necessarily causes, it adds great complexity to the army finance and accounts. So long as the three armies are kept separate, and provided for by separate grants, the accounts and estimates, which follow the course of those grants, must necessarily be kept separate also, and

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the Madras and Bombay Governments must have each their separate office for audit and control. But since the final audit and accounting must necessarily be carried out by the War Department at Calcutta, which makes the grants and supplies the money, the former are in fact merely branch offices, where the accounts are condensed before being sent on to the place where they can be finally disposed of.

and especially in  
time of  
war.

The inconvenience of the system during peace-time is, however, but trifling compared with what occurs in time of war. The danger and difficulty which attend all military enterprises undertaken by combined forces of allies; the importance of concentrating military authority in one head; the necessity for a centralised administration of military affairs—these are things universally admitted; and to work out the last condition successfully is the problem which every nation in Europe is eagerly employed in. Yet the object deliberately contemplated by the Indian system is artificially to create three armies out of one. That the British troops serving in different parts of India should have separate Commissariat Departments, and different systems of camp-followers and equipage, cannot be otherwise than extraordinarily inconvenient on active service. It is still more embarrassing that there should be three different systems of ordnance equipments. The evils of this diversity have been experienced in every campaign where mixed forces were employed. So long as there were three separate armies, it seemed unavoidable. Now, however, the inconvenience, if maintained, will be a purely artificial one. Uniformity of equipment will no doubt be gradually approached, as the old stores now in the arsenals are replaced by new stores from Woolwich; but that complete uniformity of system which is an essential condition of efficiency will never be reached, so long as there are three independent Ordnance Departments, which can only be approached through the Governments they serve.

Another change now impending renders the fusion of establishments more than ever desirable. Heretofore troops and stores have been despatched to and from India at three ports. But the railways from Madras and Calcutta to Bombay now approach completion, and henceforward all reliefs of British troops will arrive at and depart from Bombay, to and from which port the troops for all parts of India will find their way for embarkation. A regiment, therefore, instead of spending its whole tour of Indian service in one Presidency, will now be frequently passing from one to the other. Moreover, some of the regiments embarking at Bombay will belong to the Bombay establishment, having worked their way down from other parts of India, and some will be merely passing through the Presidency on their way to the port, without stopping to be brought on to the Bombay 'Establishment.' The complication of accounts and correspondence that must arise from the troops, belonging to three armies, thus pouring into one place, and the difficulty that must occur in preventing confusion, if the business has to be conducted by three Governments, will assuredly be found quite intolerable.

Last but not least the needless expense of this cumbrous organisation has to be noted. It may be confidently asserted that were these local military secretariats abolished, and a complete fusion effected of the European military establishments throughout India, the commissariat, ordnance, and other army departments being amalgamated each under one head, reporting direct to the Supreme Government, not only would the large resulting saving of expenditure be accomplished without any sacrifice of military efficiency, but the military administration of India would be in every way strengthened and simplified. The continuance of this obsolete system involves then a simple waste of money in the maintenance of establishments the necessity for which has now ceased to exist,

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New transport system involves abolition of separate establishments.

Costliness of present organisation.

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Effect of  
proposed  
fusion on  
Govern-  
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Madras  
and Bom-  
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and reform in this respect is plainly demanded in the interest of army economy.

The fact seems to be, that the present anomalous state of things is maintained, partly because the nature of the change caused by the abolition of the local Indian army has not yet been fully appreciated, and partly, no doubt, from an idea that the dignity of the Governments of Madras and Bombay is in some way involved in maintaining the appearance of their having a control over the British forces in those Presidencies. This semblance of authority, however, is not considered to be a needful attribute of any colonial government.\* It will probably not be considered that the constitution of the Madras and Bombay Governments—which consist of a governor, who possibly, and two civilians as councillors, who certainly, are without any previous experience on this head—renders them specially suited for the superintendence of the British Army.† And when the matter is looked into, it will be found that this superintendence, after all, is really quite nominal. The total strength of the British forces in India, and their distribution throughout the different provinces, are determined by the Supreme Government. As regards expenditure and arrangements for permanent objects—barracks, hospitals, and so forth—all the governments and administrations in India are precisely on the same footing, these being provided by the different provincial administrations, each for its own garrison respectively; and since, as has been already explained, more than one-half of the so-called Madras establishment is serving beyond the limits of that Presi-

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ment of  
India.

\* A colonial governor usually receives a commission as Captain-General and Commander-in-Chief. But this gives him no authority over the administration of, or financial arrangements connected with, the troops.

† The local Commander-in-Chief is also a Member of Council, but does not usually take an active part in the business of the administration, one portion of which is indeed obviously to criticise and control the management of the army by its executive head. But the advice and counsel of this officer could be obtained equally well, were he not a member of the Council.

gency, the Government of the latter has to provide in these matters for only the smaller residue.\* The special functions of the Bombay and Madras Governments, in regard to the British troops, may therefore really be reduced to this, that the selection of particular regiments for particular stations is nominally determined by them ; in reality, the matter will usually be settled by the local Commander-in-Chief. It will hardly be contended that the presidential system, with all the expense and trouble it causes, ought to be maintained any longer, simply for sustaining these trifling distinctions. The province which has the largest military garrison in India is the Punjab, the lieutenant-governor of which has of course an important share in determining its strength and distribution. Yet it would never be alleged that his dignity and just influence were lessened, because it is not left to him to determine which particular battalions and batteries shall occupy particular stations, or because his opinion is not taken as to the number of litters required for a regimental hospital.

Moreover, it is not as if the distribution of troops between the three Governments were an equal one, and the Madras and Bombay Governments had to deal with a large proportion of the whole British garrison, the separate administration of which by them afforded any considerable relief to the business of the Supreme Government. Of the eleven regiments of British cavalry serving in India, one is stationed within the Bombay, and none within the Madras Presidency. Of the fifty-two battalions of the line in that country, the battalions stationed in those Presidencies respectively are seven and three. No appreciable increase of trouble would be imposed on the administration which deals with the remainder, were these small bodies to be added to them.

\* One exception to this rule should be mentioned. The Madras Government provides the military buildings at Bangalore, the capital of the foreign State of Mysore.

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It seems clear, therefore, that the position of the Madras and Bombay Governments would in no way suffer by the removal of these needless complications, the relics of a state of affairs no longer existing; the only actual sufferers would be the members of the military secretariats at Madras and Bombay, the abolition of whose appointments would necessarily follow the cessation of the business on which they are now occupied, and the officers who would be found in excess of the required strength on the amalgamation of the different staffs and departments. But although in England personal interests often stand in the way of reforms, there is no difficulty of this kind in India, owing to the rapid course of official promotion. A complete change in the higher ranks of the administration takes place every five years, and no superfluous post need ever be retained, on the score of difficulty in providing suitably for the holder.

Case of  
officers of  
Indian  
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Organisa-  
tion of  
Staff  
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If we next consider the case of the officers of the Indian Army, the argument for change appears equally strong, while the amalgamation measure has removed all the difficulties which before stood in the way. Formerly, these officers were divided amongst three armies, their promotion running in separate regimental and general lists for each.\* This regimental system has now been entirely broken up; the officers have been removed altogether from the cadres of their regiments, and transferred to an unattached list, promotion in which no longer depends, as in other armies, on the occurrence of vacancies, but is regulated solely by length of service—an officer becoming a captain in twelve years, a major in twenty, and so on. From these unattached lists, or Staff Corps, as they are called, officers are appointed to the different native regiments of the army, and to the various situations, civil and military, which have to be filled throughout the country.

\* For a full account of the present organisation of the Indian Army, see Book IV.