

LETTER X.

GOVERNMENT EMPLOYMENT OF NATIVES: SOCIAL
RESULTS.

A MARVELLOUS and unprecedented social problem has presented itself in India for our solution, and for the instruction of the world. We see a docile and intelligent people in a very backward state of civilization, forced on the road of material and moral progress by the foremost nation of Europe—the hard-earned fruits of the innumerable travailings and martyrdoms of the educator brought freely to the pupil's home in maturity and perfection: the printing-press, the steam-engine, railways, gas-lighting and the electric telegraph, equality before the law, freedom of exchange, liberty of speech and publication; we have brought them to India; let us not refuse her the means of comprehending, appreciating, and enjoying these blessings. Let us not begrudge the gift; let us not misunderstand or slight the true community of interests between the giver and receiver. Let us be well assured that our interests and those of the dependent nation are inseparable; that if we rob them of the wealth, power, or influence to which they have a just claim, we shall sooner or later rob ourselves of all power and influence what-

ever; that if we do not trust them, we may expect them every day to become less trustworthy; we may degrade them, we may break their spirit, and destroy their self-reliance, but we shall end by making them our bitter, intolerant, and brutal enemies, and not our humble friends.

Is it not quite clear that the interest of the British nation in the annual provision made for some hundreds of young gentlemen, and the fortunes and pensions acquired by some scores of retired servants of the Company, is of very circumscribed importance, and of infinitesimal value, when compared with its interest in the development of the resources of a vast empire, and of the tastes and desires of an immense and intelligent population? India must no longer be regarded as a field for patronage, but as a field for spreading our commerce, laws, science, and all that we have of good to give; as an inexhaustible field of producing and purchasing power, from whose gifts and wants our industry by land and sea may for ages reap a liberal and ever-increasing harvest.

India at present takes about nine million pounds' worth of exports from England, of which about six millions are coarse cotton goods. The causes of this small consumption (about a shilling a head for the population to which we have access by the ports of India) are manifold. The roads and other communications with the interior are bad and few—

depressing both production and consumption. The great mass of the people undoubtedly are very poor, but there are other and more fundamental reasons. Although the English have politically changed the face of the country during the last century, they have had so little social intercourse with any class of the people that very little effect has been produced on their customs or habits of life, and, except at the three Presidency towns, in their principles of trade or economy. Until the year 1857 the British Government might boast of having for nearly forty years preserved the entire peninsula of India in peace and security, and yet confidence in our inviolable respect for property, and insight into our commercial operations and combinations have been so scantily extended, that beyond the Presidency limits very few natives ever avail themselves of investments either in the Government funds or in joint-stock companies; very few, indeed, comprehend the nature of such investments. An immense amount of capital is buried and hoarded, and an incalculable quantity of gold and silver converted into jewels—partly as conveniently disposable and portable property, and partly as almost the sole criterion of the dignity and respectability of a family, and as almost the sole æsthetic taste which the natives seem to recognise and cherish. Doubtless, the high rate of interest results in a great measure from the hoarding

of money and constant demand for jewels. And the standard of household comfort is very low, even among the middle and higher classes.

It is utterly impossible to estimate the beneficial effect in stimulating industrial activity and in developing the national wealth that would be produced by extended education, arising from the proclaimed and accomplished eligibility and admission of educated and well-qualified natives to honourable and important offices, and from their more intimate and friendly relations with the English. A great demand for the produce of every species of European industry would follow the introduction of higher tastes, new desires, and a new standard of comfort, which could not fail to be the result of intercourse between the two races. There is now to be seen among the uneducated rich a very general desire to possess articles of European manufacture, which manifests itself at present in rather a barbarous and ostentatious manner. What is wanted is a more regulated and reasonable taste and fashion; and this would be the natural growth of greater knowledge, and of association in the pursuits of business, duty, and amusement, with a race of more elegant and cultivated habits of life. A flood of light would be poured on the inhabitants of India from the mature and accumulated experience of Europe. From political economy, and from the mere historical state-

ment and explanation of the progress of England, they would learn that it is better to invest money profitably than to hoard it. They would learn a thousand modes of employing their capital; they would discover as many contrivances for increasing both their comforts and their wealth. From the higher classes downwards would flow the stream of prosperity; industrial activity would be stimulated, and the labouring classes feel new wants and hopes arising contemporaneously with the power of gratifying them. For enlarged desires and a higher standard of comfort will not long be confined to a particular class, but will extend their bounds in all directions. The experience of nations confirms the truth of this. Let us lose no time in opening the door for the admittance of *qualified* persons from among this intelligent, docile, and laborious people to a share and an active interest in the government of their own country. Thus alone can human relations be re-established between the two races; thus alone can a deadly blow be struck at Hindoo superstition and Hindoo stagnation.

For there could be no such deadly blow to the indescribably obstructive and demoralizing Hindoo institutions as the gradual growth of a body of men of all castes, elevated simply by their educational acquirements and moral characters to positions of profit and dignity and to the privilege of familiar.

and friendly association with the English. The ignorant and undistinguished men of high caste could not long maintain their position in general estimation in the presence of their tried and proved superiors. Nor would the influences brought to bear upon the latter be of less weight and consequence. Intercourse with the English, and the freemasonry of English knowledge among themselves, would destroy the charm and value of caste distinctions; first one prejudice would be laid aside, then some other concession would be made, while the conversation, society, and customs of their natural companions would become distasteful and often revolting. Family divisions, social martyrdoms—those bitter cures, those painful antidotes—would become more common. And then the missionaries, both professional and voluntary, would be able to work with some success among classes to whom hitherto they have had little opportunity of access.

Can any one seriously suppose that a class of high native functionaries would not be loyal and attached to the British rule, that their admission would not introduce a conservative element into our empire, and a progressive and proselytizing element into Indian society? Which is likely to be the greatest check and stumbling-block in the way of Hindooism—a sprinkling of unconciliatory and unsympathizing Europeans, or a thick planting of educated natives,

who, while understanding, and respecting, and sympathizing with their countrymen, would show them by their life and actions that they could no longer join in their idolatrous ceremonies and superstitions, or bow to the senseless tyrannies of caste? Whether originally of high caste or low, the powerful influence of such men would soon make itself felt.

The Protestant missionaries have done more to propagate English knowledge, manners, and morals among the natives than the Government has done, and more than a Government can or ought to, attempt to do. They allow no caste prejudices to be displayed in their schools. They openly and frankly avow their intention of destroying as far as they can, by the exhibition and inculcation of what they believe to be truth, all confidence in Hindooism. Unlike the great majority of English officials, especially the juniors, both civil and military, whose repulsive demeanour only enhances the value of caste distinctions, they mingle with the natives on terms of friendship and familiarity; no haughty pretensions and parade of superiority deter and forbid intercourse. Their motives and objects are fully proclaimed; they practise no concealment, yet they are seldom distrusted or disliked, because it is very generally known that they have no connexion with the Government. Belonging myself to no recognised religious sect, I have but little liking for the

special theological method and objects of the missionaries, with the exception of their healthily negative and destructive operations against idolatry, and against the malignant and impure superstitions of the country. Nor have I any exalted notion of the progress they have made in the conversion or enlightenment of India: their numbers are very small when compared with the extent of this immense continent, and there are among them (though the same might be said of almost any class of men) but few men of brilliant qualifications or of commanding abilities. Only in one district, that of Tinnevely in the extreme south of the Madras Presidency, where I believe there are about fifty thousand baptized persons, have they had any marked success in proselytism. But undoubtedly the missionaries have done something towards diffusing those sentiments of self-reliance, self-respect, charity, and veracity which will be found as more or less powerful influences wherever English freedom and European science prevail. And their labours have done something to raise the character of the English nation for sincerity, faith, and benevolence.

English knowledge, tastes, and habits, these are what are wanted to shake the gigantic structure of Hindoo superstition; and once well shaken, it will never recover itself. Neither the gross and naked idolatry, nor the revived transcendental Vedantism

can long endure a close attack on a field enlightened by European science. Place before the natives of India the hope of an honourable career, and in a few years they will be paying for their own missionaries. For already there is a strong predilection for English knowledge, a strong desire to trace the sources of that apparently stupendous and still growing intelligence, which towers above and spreads around them in innumerable forms. Let them but know that the study of English opens the road to honourable and high employment, and any standard of erudition might be demanded by the Government, and would be attained by the aspirants for the public service.

For the natives do not want the capacity, nor are they without the necessary facilities for learning. If the Government were to insist on good English scholarship, familiarity with the various branches of a modern general education, and with special subjects adapted to each particular service, as the conditions of employment, with a more liberal pay and better prospects of promotion, there is no reason to doubt that the summons would be responded to with marvellous activity. There are numerous families who possess the means of securing the very best instruction for their children; there are many more people capable of educating scattered about the country than would be imagined; and the supply and

quality of the teachers and of the subjects taught in the schools (those of the missionaries included) would be increased and improved according to the demand. The only educational institutions to be supported by the State would be, as at present, high schools and universities ; principally for examining and granting degrees and diplomas, without which no candidate should be admitted to any of the higher departments of the public service, and, I repeat, the people of India would soon be paying for their own missionaries.*

* When the Sirdars of the Deccan, the descendants of the nobles and military feudatories of the Mahratta Empire, assembled two or three years ago to present a valedictory address to Mr. Le Geyt, at Bombay, they made choice of a native missionary, a converted Brahmin, the well-known N. rayun Sheshadri, to be their spokesman.

LETTER XI.

QUALIFICATION OF NATIVES FOR THE PUBLIC
SERVICE.

I WANT no sweeping changes ; I have no wish to see a native, however distinguished, thrust with ostentatious liberality into the Supreme or the Legislative Council, or seated on the bench of the Sudder Adawlut. There are many more modest situations than these, especially in the judicial department, for which natives might easily be found, who are much better qualified, in every respect, than ninety-nine out of a hundred of those "covenanted" civil servants, who alone and all of whom are at present eligible, and all of whom are supposed, by virtue of their "covenants," to be qualified for all appointments, fiscal, judicial, and diplomatic. I do not wish to see any unqualified person, English or native, placed in any office, or any qualified person prematurely discarded ; but I do wish that the doors shall be opened to merit, and that the repeatedly enacted provision that no person is to be ineligible to any appointment on account of caste, creed, or colour, shall cease to be a mere clap-trap formula and become a living verity.

I don't want to see any "grand comprehensive" scheme for general education. Government schools and stipendiary instruction attract the wrong sort of people, and cultivate an objectionable breed of priggish upstarts. Do not let us have an unnatural system of forcing, but try to encourage a natural growth. Every one complains that the "Young Bengal" class is superficial in its acquirements, flippant and presuming in manners and conversation. There may be some injustice in the general censure, and there are undoubtedly numerous striking and conspicuous exceptions; but I suspect there is considerable truth in it; and I attribute these apparently objectionable results of English education, partly to the antagonistic feelings and deportment caused by the almost universally haughty and supercilious manner of our countrymen towards natives, but in a much greater degree to the fact that English education has hitherto affected the wrong classes. There is no inducement held out to persons of recognised rank and wealth to give their children a good English education. Such persons will not allow their sons to commence life in a position little, if at all, raised above that of a menial servant, with but few prospects of rising, after many years of humble and laborious service, to the rank of a native judge on very insufficient pay—the highest prize attainable—and with no prospect of ever rising to the level in

rank or authority of the youngest covenanted civilian in the service. Could we induce men of rank by an equitable and reasonable admission of qualified natives to educate their sons for the higher branches of the public service, we should obtain a class of young men of dignified manners, with considerable self-respect, and with a position in society which would be some guarantee for their integrity and independence. Such young men would not be inflated by their novel acquirements, they would not be drawn out of their natural element, but would have a recognised right to associate with English gentlemen, without reference to that education which would render them more congenial and more equal as companions. To the low-born Baboo an English education, picked up at a Government or a Missionary school, may be his sole distinction and his sole stock in trade. He is liable to be unduly puffed-up, and unduly anxious to turn his acquirements to profitable account. To the young man of rank, his English education is merely an honourable and useful accomplishment and means of influence.

It must not be supposed that I lay any peculiar stress upon this point, much less that I would exclude any person from employment, or from competition for employment, on account of his caste or connexions, in India any more than I would in England; but I believe that those who can qualify

themselves without extraneous aid will in general be found to be better qualified, both morally and intellectually, than those who have been raised above their ordinary sphere by charity schooling, public or private, by Government scholarships, or other artificial machinery. Men of decided genius, and even of extraordinary talent, may be left to work their way upwards; at least the Government has no special faculty for drawing them from their obscurity in their early youth.

It is obvious that my firm opinion of the expediency and duty of requiring a high degree of proficiency in English learning is totally incompatible with the advocacy of any measure for the immediate or speedy admission of any large number of natives to a higher sphere of action. The greatest caution would be necessary at first. The work of a generation cannot be done in a single year or lustrum, but sure foundations cannot be laid too soon. The gradual process of absorption and decay of the old system would allow time for the selection of materials and the solid construction of the new.

Even with their present imperfect education and inadequate income, many natives have shown themselves to be able, acute, and upright in the performance of the duty of judge. This is the department of all others in which English officials are found to be the least competent; and for obvious reasons

they must, *cæteris paribus*—that is, even if equally well trained and practised in legal affairs with the native judges—continue to be inferior to the latter in the power of deciding with facility on the trustworthiness of evidence given in the vernacular language of the country. There are brilliant exceptions in favour of the European judges but on the other hand there have been, and still are, many flagrant cases of incompetency among them. And I may confidently assert that there has never yet been a fair specimen of a first-rate native judge, educated as such an official ought to be, placed upon the Bench. There are native pleaders at Calcutta of first-rate ability, but the salaries and the position offered to native judges are not sufficient to tempt them from their lucrative practice and from metropolitan society. It appears most probable, therefore, that in this department the Government would first find an opportunity of manifesting its future policy, by promoting a deserving native to a high and honourable position. And surely the most safe and most noble gift from the ruler to the subject, the most certain pledge of confidence on the one hand, and the strongest tie of allegiance on the other, is the privilege of having independent and native-born judges. And these respectable and erudite men would be the first to come closely and intimately in contact with Englishmen, and thus initiate that

human fellowship between the races without which our mission to the East will for ever remain barren and dark. If we are not there as instructors, why are we in India at all?

It may be said that I have throughout exaggerated the importance of this question; that facilities of official advancement can little affect the bulk of a people under any Government, and least of all under a mild and just Government. But in the first place I distinctly deny that our civil administration, carried on as it is in a great degree by inexperienced young Englishmen, is anything like as just or as efficient as it ought to be, and as it would be if well-qualified natives were judiciously associated in it; and in the second place I maintain that, through the fair exaction by Government of a high qualification in the superior official ranks, we have the best prospect of extending education, of setting English ideas in circulation, and of instituting a community of interests and feelings between the governors and the governed.

But it has often been said, and will still continue to be urged with some appearance of plausibility, that when we view the low standard of morality among the natives, and especially among those in Government employ, it is absurd and paradoxical to propose to entrust more power and authority to those who so grossly abuse that which they already

possess. In fact, that the natives are not fit for any high employment, but that when they prove themselves to be so, by the acquisition of knowledge and the manifestation of a higher sense of honour and public duty, they may be employed. Some people will go so far as to say that they cannot hope or expect that the natives of India will ever be fit to take a share in the government of their own country until they have been converted to the Christian religion. It appears to me that this question may be very completely and very concisely answered and disposed of in its theological, its ethnological, and its historical aspect. At present I will only urge that it is really difficult to believe that any one can seriously hope or expect education to spread among a people, when the most able and the most enlightened cannot obtain a reward, in either wealth, position, or influence, for all their labour and acquirements. Nor is it reasonable to expect honour and loyalty to spring up and flourish as the return for neglect, contempt, and humiliation. Hopeless exclusion and proscription will not produce a reformation, but something very different.

Much as the feelings of the higher class of natives have been embittered against us, the English character is regarded with decided admiration and reverence. Very many of them are doubtful, many of them are fully conscious of much that is un-

reasonable, immoral, and degrading in their religions, manners, and customs, such as polygamy, the forced ignorance and seclusion of women, and the prohibition of a second marriage to widows. They yearn to penetrate the mystery of English honour and loyalty, the decency without restraint, and freedom from that mutual jealousy and enmity which so often distract their own family and social intercourse. But whither are they to turn for support? The abandonment of some very vile custom may involve loss of caste; and loss of caste is loss of friends and relations. And none but those of high rank and fortune could hope (even if they became Christians) to receive a friendly reception from the English. Indeed, so long as the Government refuses to allow them to rise to positions of respectability, denies them the opportunity of elevating themselves, how can the English community accord them social rank? But undoubtedly the great reason attending all for this estrangement is, that so few of them are fit or congenial companions for us. English education will make them so.

There is little reason to fear that clever, well-educated natives in the possession of official rank and good salaries will have any difficulty in finding their way into society. Nor can it be doubted that the judgments and opinions of their English friends would exercise a great influence and control over

their public and private conduct. It is by intercourse with Europeans, by familiarity with their literature, habits of thought and taste, that a great ethical and social revolution may be commenced. Let us show them, if we are not afraid to invite comparison, the superior love and harmony of our homes, the simplicity and decency of our manners, and the elevating nature of European fine arts, of our employments, studies, and recreations. They will gain by the lesson; we shall not lose by becoming conscious of our true position as examples and instructors, and by the consequent duty of attaining of aiming at the somewhat ideal standard above indicated.

In many respects a somewhat ideal standard at present! The truth must be spoken. While there are comparatively few English in India who conciliate by their demeanour, there are also too many who do not edify by their example. This may appear a canting and impertinent truism, but it is not so if it can be shown that the present system of patronage tends to bring into the country, and to produce and foster there, much vice and idleness that would not otherwise exist. And there is this most unnatural and dangerous feature in the position of the English in India, that whereas in ordinary society the incapable and the vicious must in due course of time sink to their proper level, in the

Indian services, with a little good luck and prudence; they may safely and securely float, and rise far above the highest point attainable by the ablest native.

General Jacob, five or six years ago, in his pamphlet on the Bengal Army, pointed out the mischievous results of the number of useless officers in the Regular Sepoy regiments. "The Englishman," he said, "becomes too common to be held in proper and wholesome respect. He is seen holding no important position, but in the performance of trifling duties, which any native officer or non-commissioned officer could do equally well. He is often seen idling away his time in frivolous, or wasting his energies in vicious, pursuits. The prestige of the superior race is thus destroyed, when it too often happens that the European officer, having nothing important to occupy him, loses somewhat of his own self-respect." What General Jacob wrote with such force and prescience regarding the decrease of the British officer's prestige in the sepoy army, is equally applicable to every other branch of the public service in India. "We don't dislike the English Government," said a most intelligent native of rank in a newly annexed province to me—"we don't dislike the English race; but we can't endure the young English officers. Ignorant boys were not sent to domineer over us in former days." The extent to

which this rapidly growing bitterness against English officers had spread would not have been credited, and would have been very generally denied, but for the terrible disasters of 1857 which revealed the rankling sore.

LETTER XII.

THE INDIAN CIVIL SERVICE.

THE truth is, that a sad want of sympathy, and a consequent want of consideration and reflection in forming a judgment, are at the bottom of that impatient dislike and contempt with which so many Englishmen descant upon the *mœurs*, manners, and customs of their Indian fellow-subjects. Undoubtedly it is difficult to avoid a feeling of unmixed disgust and contempt at the many instances of gross ignorance, superstition, untruth, and still darker shades, visible in the words, and works, and ways of the people of India. But even in those traits of character and practice in which our race has really attained a high pre-eminence over the Asiatic, the latter is not so wholly deficient as our pride and prejudice persuade us. We can palliate and make allowances for the rapacity, the greediness, and the folly of our own countrymen; but we have no pity for the errors, no sympathy with the ambition, no eye for the virtues of the Hindoos. After taking into consideration the debasing and deadening effects of caste, I say the virtues of the Hindoos are extraordinary, and their national character presents a most hopeful field for improvement. But the accumulated

humiliations of a thousand years are not easily shaken off. Falsehood and deceit, the pursuit of an object by crooked and underhand arts, are much more common and more conspicuous in the conversation and dealings of the natives of India than in those of Englishmen. Under the yoke of alien conquerors what can we expect but the vices of slavery? Suspicion, dissimulation, duplicity, and falsehood, have ever been the weapons, defensive and offensive, of the weak and oppressed against the violent and unjust oppressor. Those among us who don't see that in proportion as English law and English freedom are conferred and comprehended, there is a decided diminution of Hindoo falsehood and duplicity, don't see it because they don't look for it, and don't care to look for it.

It will, however, be hardly necessary for me to quote contemporary and notorious cases of unvaracity, and bribery, and cheating, in both low and high stations of our own countrymen both in England and in India, to show that as a nation we are not as yet justified in throwing the first stone. And while the weakness, timidity, and ignorance of the Hindoos may extenuate their transgression, our strength and knowledge leave us no excuse. But we treat our own countrymen gently, and, more especially in India, avoid all unnecessary scandals; offenders are allowed to resign their offices, to retire

on pensions, or to sell their commissions. We wash our dirty linen at home; but the foulest rags of India are carefully selected and ostentatiously displayed as the habitual costume of the most respectable class of natives.

The vast majority of the native officials are miserably underpaid: and what, we may ask, was the purity by which the enormous fortunes of the Paul Benfields, and the host of English Nabobs, were acquired in the days when the Indian civilians received very small salaries? The English Government continues to pay its native servants on the same scale that they were paid by the old native Powers, and are now paid by the remaining Hindoo and Mussulman Princes. The receipt of presents and bribes is winked at, almost recognised as a legitimate source of emolument, by immemorial oriental custom: but the English Government, by adopting severe and degrading punishments as the sole remedy for corruption, has merely aggravated its infamy and secrecy, and has reduced both givers and takers of bribes to a state of permanent distrust and chronic desperation. Under native rule this abomination assumes a milder and more regular form; is pervaded by a rude notion of compensation for inadequate emolument, and is mitigated in practice by partial publicity, and by certain traditional limits of equity and compassion. And thus it does not involve so

much perfidy and injustice, or produce so much malignity and false accusation. The English Government attempts by merely penal measures to obtain the irreconcilable advantages of the cheapness of oriental, and the purity of European administration.

The evil effects of this vain attempt are increased by the little confidence and encouragement afforded to the native officials. Not only are they badly paid, but no amount of ability and faithful service can secure their advancement to places of consideration and profit for which they may be well qualified. Old age approaches ; illness may at once deprive them of their small incomes ; they must "make hay while the sun shines !" They find themselves with no more pay, with less responsibility and dignity, and with worse prospects than their fathers before them ; what wonder if they think themselves at least entitled to their forefathers' perquisites ? When confidence and recognition of merit are withheld, self-respect and honour are not very likely to be developed. And thus a better class of natives are deterred from seeking employment ; a high standard of education is not and cannot be demanded ; the purity of the public service does not improve ; corruption is but seldom satisfactorily detected ; and the severe penalties for bribery result in scarcely anything but occasional malignant and treacherous

charges and counter-charges in bewildering complication.

It is clear that this prevalent moral obliquity cannot be removed by merely penal severity. The reform of its servants cannot be directly effected by Government; and but little check over corruption and perjury can be maintained by any possible amount of vigilance or executive activity, aimed expressly at their suppression. The obstinate continuance of these offences is chargeable to a policy which lowers the position and self-respect of the officials by insufficient remuneration, and by confining them to subordinate situations in which they have little responsibility, and in which no distinction or high reward can be hoped for or obtained. But this national taint, the evidence of the misrule and internal distraction under which India suffered for so many ages, is now ripe for cure. Violent oppression, the great cause of the slavish vices, falsehood and deceit, has disappeared; and these vices must give way before the introduction of honourable, humanizing, ennobling sources of emulation, and of new ideas of honour and duty through the medium of the English language and literature, and by closer intercourse with English society.

And we must yet make a large qualification in the alleged scale of Hindoo untruthfulness, on account of the misrepresentation, misunderstanding, and mis-

trust on both sides. How often do we hear an English gentleman complain of the intense stupidity or perverseness or cunning of some particular native, or of natives in general, in never understanding, or pretending never to understand the simplest question, until they thus gain time to decide upon a safe or prudent answer! And undoubtedly some natives are very stupid, some are very perverse, some are very cunning. But I am sure that many of my readers know that in some of these cases the stupidity is all on the other side; that the indignant questioner constructs his sentences or pronounces his words in such a barbarous manner that no native, who has not served an apprenticeship to learn his style, ever can understand him; and that a great part of the stupidity and perverseness of *his* subordinates and servants may very fairly be referred to this cause. And if he is a man in power (as most English gentlemen in India are to some extent) and his temper happens not to be the most equable in the world, we shall be at no loss to account for some degree of cunning and caution in the natives around him, without attributing to them any extraordinary love of deceit. The Englishman, too often from prejudice, ignorance, or imperfect knowledge of the native languages and customs, and above all from want of sympathy, misunderstands and mistrusts all he hears, and passes his official life in a state of

mistrust and mystification. What wonder is it if mistrust and deceit increase and flourish within the influence of such a dangerous and unpersuasive chief? This is no overdrawn picture: nor is even the extreme case so uncommon as might be hoped.

The first necessary and essential step in our restorative and reformative plan would be the stoppage of appointments to the covenanted Civil Service, which should be allowed to die a natural death. The constitution of the Civil Service, and the renovated machinery for recruiting its ranks with "highly educated" young men, must, as long as they exist, obstruct the gradual admission of natives to any of the appointments reserved for the covenanted service, and negative the idea that any such admission is, or has been, seriously contemplated.

The existence of a privileged guild of foreign administrators, in a vast empire abounding with intelligent, docile, and laborious men, exasperates all the reflecting and high-spirited natives, checks education by shutting out hope, and impedes the introduction of English knowledge, manners, and morals. And the annual influx of young gentlemen who have "passed with great credit," and must be provided for during life, threatens to perpetuate the exclusive system, and must be damned up as a preliminary measure.

The Civil Service will never want defenders, either

from within or without its ranks. We may well be proud of them. But their high characters, their accomplishments and acquirements, are totally irrelevant to the question. The question is not whether the Indian Civil Service is a body of highly educated and honourable men, not whether a large number of able and experienced officials are included in its list, —not whether many distinguished diplomatists and governors have risen from its ranks but whether the bulk of the service are *so* fully competent and *so* peculiarly qualified, as to render their very large salaries a piece of State economy, and to render justifiable and expedient the absolute exclusion of the natives from all posts of dignity, with the attendant and inevitable evils of their expulsion from English society, and a total check to the education and *conversion* of the higher classes. But in fact the ability and efficacy of this body have been immensely overrated—especially in England. The eminent usefulness of the few cannot hide the costly mediocrity of the service, and ought to prove no obstacle to its gradual abolition, forming as it does, the base and centre of an odious and iniquitous system of monopoly and proscription.

The successful administration of Mysore, the Punjab, the Saugor and Nerbudda^a territories and Scinde, by military officers and uncovenanted servants, will perhaps be considered sufficient proof

that a separate and sacred civil hierarchy is not by any means essential to the good government of India.*

I do not think that the new measure of open competition for recruiting the Indian Civil Service will improve its quality or the quality of its work in the least.

The defects and infirmities which are most conspicuous among the Indian Civil servants, are a dull mediocrity, an attachment to ancient routine, an admiration and worship of "reports" and "returns," an unconciliatory demeanour, and the permission, which of course is the virtual exaction, of a prostrate servility from all their subordinates. The English officials, instead of discouraging, succumb to the unmanly oriental man-worship, and thus become accomplices in a reciprocally degrading relation between themselves and the natives, while they despise the latter for its existence. These prevalent defects may, I think, be all traced to the same causes, the early age at which these gentlemen are invested with rank and authority, and their luxurious security of position and of promotion. But little stimulus or induce-

* I must not be supposed to be an advocate for what is called the "non-regulation" system of administration. It is only suited for recently annexed unsettled districts; and no wealthy, instructed population could endure or exist under such a slovenly, arbitrary régime.

ment to acquire superior qualifications for his important duties are afforded to the young civilian on his arrival in India. He soon ascertains that with the exception of the seats in Council and a few other high offices, promotion in the Civil Service is regulated entirely by seniority ; and that no talent or exertion can possibly make him a Collector or a Judge a month before the time when he must succeed to such a post by virtue of his position in the list. His introduction to the service and initiation into its rules and customs are well calculated to instil a strong notion that he belongs to a chartered guild, and has a vested "covenanted" right to enjoy all its good things in rotation.

I don't think that the system of open competition is calculated to reduce or modify this sensation of absolute superiority and perfect security, and this confidence in vested rights and covenanted dignities, in the slightest degree. I rather suspect it will be found to aggravate them.

No time should be lost in putting a total stop to the tide of "highly educated" young gentlemen from England. Vacancies in the various civil departments can always be satisfactorily filled up from the army, from the bar, and from the uncovenanted ranks. Young men of approved abilities would not fail to present themselves for probationary employment. *

European officers, taken from the Queen's or Company's army, for civil employment or for the command of native corps, should, after passing their period of probation, be removed from the original regiments, and during the transition period the vacancies in our regular native corps should *not* be filled up by the appointment of cadets. Ultimately there should only be three selected European officers to each native corps, and the remaining officers should be efficient and respectable native officers,—not subadars and jemadars, but lieutenants and captains, native gentlemen with an English education.

LETTER XIII.

THE INDIAN ARMY.

WE shall never get trustworthy native officers for our regiments until we entrust them with real authority and endow them with real rank. Our subadars and jemadars, who have proved so useless as leaders and so faithless as officers, had no qualifications and no genuine position of command. Old worn-out men, raised by mere seniority from the ranks in which their own brothers and sons are serving, how can they be expected to feel any distinction of interests from the common sepoy, or any special responsibility towards us?

We must keep up a considerable native army in India to aid in the defence and in the preservation of the peace of our vast empire, and to support, when necessary, our influence and interests in Asia. The idea of permanently maintaining an army of 80,000, or a larger number of Europeans, in India, is preposterous. The burden of recruiting and transporting, of paying and lodging, and pensioning such an immense body of English troops at such a distance from home, would be intolerable both to England and to India. The notion of supplementing our

European force with Kroomen or Kaffirs, or West Indian negro regiments, appears to me to be quite chimerical. As a temporary expedient, to produce an immediate effect, the employment of negro soldiers in India might be highly advisable. But the experience of 1857 seems to have proved that this description of troops is not immediately available or procurable. And if there were a regular establishment of foreign black troops in India, let me ask what arrangement would be made for the time-expired, invalided, and worn-out Kaffirs, Kroomen, or Jamaica negroes? Many of them would, after ten or twenty years' service in India, prefer to remain in the country. In short, while the greatest difficulty would be found in keeping these alien savages, ignorant and devoid of resources for occupation or amusement, in good order or good temper, in the midst of a population which would hate and despise them, the result at no great distance of time would inevitably be an amalgamation of the foreign black soldiers with some of the lower castes. We could not well refuse to enlist the children of these unions, who would have no other livelihood open to them. Thus we should, after a generation or two, have only succeeded in introducing another mongrel caste into the country, whose sympathies and interests, like those of the half-breed Arab mercenaries in the Hyderabad, Gwalior, and other native States,

would soon be diverted into local channels. We should have nothing really in common with them.

Besides these somewhat remote considerations, I very much doubt the soldier-like qualities of these African races, their amenability to discipline, and their gallantry and intelligence in the field. I suspect they would be found impatient and desponding under danger and fatigue. If in small numbers, the addition to our strength would be insignificant; if in large numbers (which I believe to be impracticable), they would be very unmanageable, and a great source of irritation to the people of the country.

The great principle which I desire to enforce is, that we cannot hold India against its awakened public opinion by any possible amount of foreign physical force; that we cannot garrison the country, but must govern it; and that when we do govern it, its native military strength will be completely available and quite safe in our hands, adequate for all possible local requirements, and also for many imperial purposes to which, under the old system, it was never found applicable.

I cannot entertain a doubt, looking especially to the state of the finances, that when the force of the rebellion is finally crushed, a very large reduction of the army will be necessary. It is in that direction that the military reorganization must proceed. We don't want a hundred thousand English soldiers, or

any combination of Europeans and negroes, to counterbalance and hold in check a native army of double that strength, but we want such an extensive reduction of our regular native troops as shall leave them in a reasonable and fair relative proportion with that force of British troops which must always be maintained. That force ought not to be allowed permanently to exceed by more than four or five thousand men the number of the combined Queen's and Company's European troops—dragoons, artillery, and infantry—which were ordinarily stationed in India before the outbreak of 1857. About forty-five thousand men judiciously distributed would be found amply sufficient for the defence of the country, and to support the authority of Government, and this number would include a moveable reserve in the hill stations.

The most striking example of the extravagant and unwieldy condition of the native army of India, as at present constituted, is to be seen in the native regular cavalry, in which the lust of patronage has forced a radically faulty organization to a pitch of absurdity, the simple statement of which is equivalent to a condemnation. There are still borne upon the army lists of the three Presidencies twenty-one regiments of Native Light Cavalry,* mustering each

* In Bengal, ten regiments (of which all but a few hundred men have either mutinied or been disbanded), eight in the Madras, and three in the Bombay army.

about 400 sabres. The Madras cavalry regiments at present have only 350 troopers. To each regiment there is a sinecure colonel, whose pay is about 1200*l.* per annum, drawn probably at Bath or Cheltenham. There is a lieutenant-colonel, who, if in command of the corps, receives, including the profits of the saddle contract, 2200*l.* a year. The major's pay is 1100*l.* a year. There are no less than seven captains; and the pay of a captain in command of a troop of 60 men, including the profits of the troop contract,* amounts to 840*l.* per annum. There are nine lieutenants, on 420*l.* a year, and five cornets, on 360*l.* a year.

One of the subalterns holds the appointment of adjutant and another that of quartermaster, both with handsome allowances in addition to their pay. There is a surgeon with 1000*l.* a year, also an assistant-surgeon with 420*l.* a year, and a veterinary surgeon with 500*l.* a year. There is a riding-master, a warrant officer, whose pay is about 200*l.* a year. And there are a sergeant-major and a quarter-master-sergeant, whose duties are chiefly clerical, having reference to the regimental records, accounts, and stores. All this immensely expensive staff of English officers—who are all entitled to pensions on retirement—is kept up for the purpose of bringing

* For horse-clothing, ropes, watering bridles, &c.

into the field four hundred imitation dragoons of very indifferent quality, who in the quietest times are always grumbling about the severity of their riding-school and stable duties, and the insufficiency of their pay ; who have no confidence in our saddles, our bits, or our swords, and who, even when not mutinous, have on active service always been unreliable.

And besides the cumbrous regimental system, a stud and remount establishment is maintained on so regal a scale that every horse supplied to the cavalry is computed to cost between 60*l.* and 70*l.* The cost of the horses in fact is so great, and their keep and veterinary charge so expensive, that four British dragoons can be entertained at the same annual charge as five of these native troopers, who on the other hand have no special quality or aptitude which can render them at any time or under any circumstances more useful or more economical than British dragoons.

But the Irregular Cavalry of India form a special and peculiar body of admirable light horsemen, whose place could not be supplied, and whose functions could not be performed by any number of the finest English dragoons. They will cheerfully undergo fatigue, and exposure, and bad living, that would disorganize British troops in India. They know the country and the habit. of their country-

men so well, and are so capable of shifting for themselves, that a regiment may, for particular purposes of police, or escort, or reconnoitring, send out for more or less lengthened periods, small detachments and parties, and even single men, a process which, if attempted with English dragoons, would be utterly destructive of discipline, and, at the same time, utterly inefficacious. They find everything themselves—horses, arms, and clothing; they are not dependent on the ~~staid~~ the Ordnance, or the commissariat. If fairly paid, as the Hyderabad Rissalahs are, they will move off at a day's notice anywhere, and require no marching money, or tents, or supplies of any sort. If fairly paid, and if their old custom of absolute family property in the "assamee" or "situation," and right to have a horse, be upheld, they ask for no pensions from Government. And although their horses are far inferior in appearance and in weight to those supplied by Government, the exploits of the Irregular Cavalry in the field have far surpassed those of the regulars.

The Regular Light Cavalry regiments have, as I before stated, each a succare colonel on 1200*l.* a year,* and are each commanded by a lieutenant-colonel on

* It may be said that these are the prize of the army, rewards for long and gallant service, and so forth; but I should say, give your rewards openly, as pensions or as generals' pay, but do not burden and encumber your regimental system with ornamental colonels, promoted by seniority only.

2200*l.* a year, with twenty highly-paid English officers also borne on the rolls of the corps, some of whom are of course always absent on leave, some employed on the staff, and the remainder present with the regiment, where they have very little authority, very little responsibility, and nothing to do except mere duties of parade and routine. The native officers, as in the entire regular native army, are entirely useless in every point of view.

The irregular regiment is commanded by a selected officer, usually of the rank of captain; his pay is 1200*l.* a year, and altogether his position is highly honourable, independent, and responsible, and renders him in his own estimation and in that of his contemporary brother officers, one of the fortunate men of the service. He is assisted by two juniors — a second in command and an adjutant, the former receiving about 600*l.* and the latter 500*l.* a year, both of whom may be considered as in a course of training and probation to succeed to commands, if their abilities and conduct entitle them to so important a charge. The native officers—although there might be a great improvement in this respect, for no particular qualification is exacted from them—are efficient, and have some authority and responsibility.*

* I fear, however, that there has been of late years some tendency to extend the ruinous custom of promotion by seniority into this branch of the service and to diminish the authority and influence of the native officers

The infantry regiments, organized on the same principle, with only three selected English officers, may be compared with the regular native corps of the line, and will be found quite equal in steadiness on parade, in their conduct on active service, and in their discipline ; while the expense of the regular infantry regiments, with twenty-six English officers, all entitled to pensions, is nearly double that of the irregular corps.

The regular native cavalry should disappear entirely. Eligible men, from its ranks, might be allowed to purchase the Government horses at a moderate price, and enter the new regiments on the Hindostanee plan as sallahadars. The number of regiments of this description should be very largely increased. They are by far the most effective troops for keeping the peace, suppressing minor disturbances, and for affording aid in general to the civil power.

The native infantry in India, according to the army lists of the three Presidencies, including all local corps, may be stated in round numbers to amount to 200 battalions, of which 155 battalions are on the regular plan, with 26 English officers to each. One hundred battalions, 50 for Bengal, 30 for Madras, and 20 for Bombay, all organized on the irregular principle, with only three selected officers, and all taking their tour of foreign service, would

be amply sufficient for all duties; and there would always be an available force for the exigencies of war.

Both in the cavalry and in the infantry I would have a certain small proportion of *corps d'élite*, with superior pay and privileges, into which meritorious soldiers from the ordinary regiments should be drafted as a reward for gallant and faithful conduct. These regiments of Guards, if the system were judiciously worked, would prove at once the greatest encouragement and the most perfect check on the masses of the native troops and on the population in general.

By the process of which I have hastily and briefly sketched a mere outline, the services of at least 1500 English officers, who add nothing to the strength or to the influence of the Government, or to the efficiency of the service, whose pay amounts to at least £450,000 a year, and whose pensions form an ever-increasing prospective burden on the revenues of India, would be dispensed with. The number of infantry sepoy would be reduced by about 70,000.

There would be no great difficulties in the details of transmutation, or in the process of absorption. No great injury or loss need be inflicted on individuals. For a few years there would be a heavy charge for pensions; but still the immediate saving would be very great; and the ultimate reduction

of the military expenditure would be at least two millions per annum.

Unless the question of the military charges be speedily dealt with in a bold, comprehensive, and statesmanlike manner, without regard to patronage or private interests, I can see no prospect of the finances of India being reduced to an equilibrium.

LETTER XIV.

RECEPTION OF HER MAJESTY'S PROCLAMATION.

NAGPORE, *November, 1858.*

"Her Majesty's gracious proclamation" was published on the 1st of this month in every city and large station of India, with such circumstances of military display and official rejoicing as local resources would permit. At Calcutta, Allahabad, Bombay and Madras, I doubt not that an effective spectacle was produced, and in the three great Presidency towns alone was to be found, I fear, somewhat of hope and somewhat of cordiality in the feelings with which the inauguration of the direct rule of Queen Victoria was greeted by the influential classes of the people. And even our scanty band of native well-wishers have been disappointed, the proclamation has fallen flat; it has produced no impression but one of distrust and dissatisfaction. Of course at present I can only speak positively for the city near which I am residing, but you may rely upon it,—in whatever *couleur-de-rose* hues the despatches of Government may report the reception of "Her Majesty's gracious proclamation,"—that every succeeding mail for the next six months will confirm the truth of my representations. This large city and its adjacent military

stations afford all the materials for ascertaining the temper of the times among the Mahrattas and other races of the province, the high-caste Hindoos and Moslems of Hindostan and Rajpootana,—of whom a large floating population has for many generations resorted to the capital of the Bhonsla Rajahs for service or for trade,—and among the military castes and tribes of the Deccan and the Carnatic, who fill the ranks of the brigade of Madras troops. At few points in the Peninsula is there such a convergence of nation and languages.

The result of my observations and inquiries is, that the Queen's proclamation was expected by all classes of natives but the very lowest, not—as some of the old school may assert—with indifference and apathy, but with the intensest interest and hope, and that it was received on its promulgation, not with enthusiasm or gratitude, but with general discontent and disappointment. All had trusted that the royal rule would have been instituted with some striking and sovereign act of grace, and that the proclamation would have contained some special promise of restoration or recognition to those heirs of illustrious historical families who have been rejected and despoiled within the last ten years, and who nevertheless preserved a friendly attitude, and—some of them—rendered substantial support and assistance during the terrible crisis of 1857. They hoped that

there would have been some grateful and approving notice of natives whose fidelity and services during the rebellion have been particularly conspicuous, some grant or earnest of reward and honours, and some binding pledge and authoritative instructions that the present rigid system of monopoly, by which natives are excluded from all share in the Government and from all the higher branches of administration, should be broken ~~through~~ at once. The reality turned out to be very different from the ideal proclamation of their expectations and hopes; there was nothing genial in it, and though couched in weighty and well-rounded sentences of some dignity, the effect was still commonplace and cold. The universal remark among the natives was:—"It is only the Company's government continued."

I hope I shall not be misunderstood; I am describing what appears to me to have been the general impression produced upon the native mind; I do not quarrel with the proclamation myself; I am not sure that I could suggest the alteration of a single sentence. I know that the royal proclamation—and more especially, while a rebellion was still raging—could not, with propriety or prudence, contain expressions of repentance or promises of reformation; that personal recognitions and nominations should be made by the Viceroy, the local Executive, and would have been out of place in such a document,

which was confined to the matter in hand, surely important enough, the announcement of the cessation of the Company's government, the assumption by the Queen of direct imperial rule, and a statement of the broad general principles upon which that rule would be based. But I do agree with my more intelligent and enlightened native friends who, admitting all this, regret that the royal proclamation was not accompanied with some signal acts of grace and favour, which might have been published in due form in the Governor-General's name, and which would have stamped every assurance of religious and national neutrality, and respect for property and privileges, contained in the proclamation, with the true blazon of royalty.

There was one negative ground for hope given in the proclamation,—the East India Company was not praised or lamented, and no reasons were given for its extinction. Whether intended or not, I cannot say, but this circumstance was noted and considered as significant and of good omen by our well-wishers among the natives.

LETTER XV.

THE OUDE LAND SETTLEMENT.

I CANNOT too often repeat that there is no necessity for precipitate alterations in the machinery of our Eastern Empire ; there is no necessity for lavishing rewards or for multiplying concessions, or for the elaboration of any symmetrical and specious plan, by which a large number of natives should be immediately introduced into the higher branches of the public service. When once the principle of their eligibility has been practically accepted,—as it now is legally and ostensibly admitted,—opportunities of manifesting the new policy cautiously and efficaciously will not fail to present themselves. But we must have a new policy.

If the Queen's gracious proclamation is not to become a byword and a reproach,—if its assurances of religious and national neutrality, and respect for property and privileges, are to be stamped as something more real and reliable than the stereotyped formulas of the Honourable Company,—no time should be lost in the manifestation of a new policy, and in evincing repentance by restitution and reconciliation. We shall want friends in India before many years have passed over our heads. Our difficulties are only beginning.

I am not, as you know, "a distinguished officer," nor have I the smallest pretensions to be classed as "an experienced officer" in any department of civil or military administration;—but I do claim to have acquired, by a long-continued, familiar, and not ungracious intercourse with many intelligent natives of various ranks and occupations, the power of gaining their confidence and of ascertaining with accuracy their real opinions and predilections. Time will show whether my report is true, and whether my prognostications are trustworthy; but in the meantime be warned not to place implicit reliance on the official or non-official representations of "distinguished and experienced" officers, whose high position prevents them from ever hearing the undisguised unvarnished truth, while their perceptions are blinded and their minds biassed, by their being thoroughly committed to those fatal maxims and false principles of Indian government, which have been avowed and brought into action with increasing recklessness ever since Lord Dalhousie landed in India in 1848. No doubt many of our Indian civil servants in high places have acquired great dexterity and vast experience in their several departments of administration,—but so has the shoemaker in his trade; and yet the latter functionary sometimes does pretend to know better than the wearer where the shoe pinches, or even to know that it does not pinch

at all. Do not expect that any distinguished North-West Collector, or Calcutta Secretary, beyond the age of forty, will ever throw any light upon the causes of the rebellion, or bring forward the new measures of imperial policy and administration which the times imperatively demand.

Don't trust the men who, more than any others, are responsible for the revolt, and who are reprobate and unrepentant,—such men as Mr. R. D. Mangles, formerly of the Bengal Civil Service, late M.P. and Director of the East India Company, and now one of the Indian Council, who still persists at every favourable opportunity in parading that shallow and inadequate, but for the Honourable Company most convenient and exculpatory hypothesis of a military mutiny, as the explanation and description of one of the most thoroughly national rebellions that history has ever recorded, who still defends the Tuam Commission and the other modern appliances for confiscating landed property, and who has always been an advocate for annexation;—and Mr. Gubbins, who having been during a quarter of a century trained and exercised as a North-West Collector, became the author of that revenue settlement of Oude, the great principle of which, as he admits in his book, was that the Talookdars, the great feudatories of the country, were “mere middicmen,” farmers of the revenue; and who now wishes to persuade us that

the annexation was a highly popular measure, and that the villagers of Oude were devoted to the British Government.

The lamented Captain Crump, of the Madras Artillery, in one of those admirable letters which he contributed to the *Saturday Review*, tells a different tale, when describing Havelock's brilliant though unsuccessful attempts to relieve Lucknow. "Thrice," says he, speaking of one of the affairs among the mud-walled villages of Oude, "did a part of one of the best regiments in the field charge an enclosure containing a number of men, and thrice were they driven back with heavy loss." "The sepoys made but a feeble defence, and were speedily driven out of the village. Not so the matchlock-men." These matchlock-men, thousands of whom are still in arms against us, are the villagers of Oude, who rejecting the proffered "tenant-right" of Mr. Gubbins, follow the banners of those oppressive "middlemen," the Talookdars.

But the existence of this general revolt is much more distinctly asserted by the highest authority in India, the Governor-General himself. In paragraph twenty-seven of his letter, dated the 17th June, 1858, in reply to the despatch of the Secret Committee (Lord Ellenborough's), Lord Canning says:—"It might have been expected that when insurrection first arose in Oude,* and before it had grown to a

formidable head, the village occupants who had been so highly favoured by the British Government, and in justice to whom it had initiated a policy distasteful to the most powerful class in the province, would have come forward in support of the Government who had endeavoured to restore them to their hereditary rights, and with whose interests their interests were identical. Such, however, was not the case. So far as I am as yet informed, not an individual dared to be loyal to the Government which had befriended him. The village occupants, as a body, relapsed into their former subjection to the Talookdar, owned and obeyed his authority as if he had been their lawful suzerain, and joined the ranks of those who rose up in arms against the British Government. The endeavour to neutralize the usurped and largely abused power of the Talookdars by recognising the supposed proprietary rights of the people, and thus arousing their feelings of self-interest and evoking their gratitude, had failed utterly." And in paragraph twenty-eight, "Those whom we had desired to benefit, and had to our thinking benefited, did not value the rights which we had restored to them, and far from standing up in defence of those rights, and in support of the Government which had been the means of reviving them, they had acted in complete subordination to the Talookdars, and had been no less forward than these latter

in their efforts to subvert the authority of that Government, and to expel its officers "

Strange perversity of human nature in Oude ! Here may be seen one of those cases which prove the truth of the saying so current among gentlemen who have "been in India," that natives can't feel gratitude, don't know what gratitude means. Emancipated by us from those tyrannical "middlemen," the Talookdars, the villagers are found to join with their oppressors and to endeavour to expel their benefactors. Can no satisfactory explanation be given of this mysterious behaviour ?

‘ I think that a strong hint of the real explanation, and also an indication that Lord Canning is not far from sound views on the subject, may be found in the same despatch from which I have just quoted. In paragraph twenty-five, after detailing the means by which—as he had been informed—many of the Talookdars had acquired or enlarged their estates, including deeds of sale extorted from the village communities, his Lordship adds that the villagers "*lost but little by the act, for the practical fruition of proprietary right they had scarcely known* "

There is the great secret, —the villagers not only lost but little by the act, but they gained a great deal. The frame of Indian society is incomplete without the Zemindar or Talookdar, a landlord who is strong enough to deal with the Government on

fair terms, and to protect the ryots, especially from the underlings of office. His relations with his tenantry are controlled to a considerable extent by ancient custom and public opinion, while his power and wealth are in a great measure dependent on their good-will and on their prosperity. In fact, it is a complete mistake to speak of the proprietary rights of the village communities as if they were real and valuable. The ryots of India, where no landlord intervenes between them and the Government, never have had,—under Hindoo, under Mahomedan, or under British rule,—any substantial right but that of occupancy. No petty occupant has ever been able to secure a fixity of terms or of tax on his holding, or to escape from the additional illicit exactions of Government officials.

The villagers of Oude perfectly understood that Mr. Gubbins's "tenant-right" was nothing more than the right to pay their revenue directly to the Government instead of to the Talookdar. They knew quite well that the profit-rent, which was lost by the Talookdar, was no gain to them, but fell into the coffers of Government; while they lost the protection and countenance of their hereditary chief, and were transferred to the covenanted and uncovenanted mercies of Mr. Gubbins and his myrmidons.

Mr. Gubbins and the class of "crack collectors" say that the Talookdars are "mere middlemen;"

Lord Canning, in his reply to the Ellenborough despatch,* objects to their being called "the Barons of Oude," and conveys the notion that they were for the most part upstarts and usurpers. I believe these views to be totally erroneous, and I think they have been proved to be erroneous by the conduct of the people of the country throughout the rebellion. They evidently regard us and our revenue system with no complacency, while they look upon the Talookdars and Zemindars as the lords of the soil and as their natural leaders; and for my part I cannot but consider their title as good as that of any landed aristocracy in Europe or Asia. The abstract rights, the fundamental and original tenures of the great European landholders will not bear investigation;—but who proposes to investigate them? We cannot afford to have the framework of society torn asunder on abstract principles. We have learned the value, and therefore uphold the validity of prescriptive rights. All landed property in the world has passed, or has to pass, through that social era when "they may take who have the power, and they may keep who can." Every Cosmos rises out of chaos. The conflicting interests and claims of sovereign and baron, lord and tenant, State and squatter, have to be disposed of in every country and in every century.

* Paragraph 24